

**Monograph 01/2008**

# **Mapping and Assessment of Civil Society Organisations in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh**

SHAIBAL GUPTA  
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**Asian Development Research Institute**

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**Publisher**

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**Printed by**

The Offsetters (India) Private Limited

Chhajjubagh, Patna-800001

**Study Sponsored by**

Aga Khan Foundation, New Delhi

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## C O N T E N T

<b>Chapter I</b>	<b>: Introduction</b>	<b>1-11</b>
	Background of the Study / CSOs in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh / Objective of the Study / Key Parameters for Mapping and Assessment / Methodology / Sample Districts	
<b>Chapter II</b>	<b>: Political Economy of <i>Hindi Heartland States</i></b>	<b>12-24</b>
	Development and Regional Disparities / Status of Agrarian Economies / State Economy Relations / Social Profile of Muslims	
<b>Chapter III</b>	<b>: Profile of Sample Districts</b>	<b>25-46</b>
	Districts in Bihar / Districts in Uttar Pradesh / Pre-eminence of Madarsas in CSO Movement / Profile of Sample CSOs	
<b>Chapter IV</b>	<b>: Assessment of Civil Society Organisations</b>	<b>47-91</b>
	Structure of Organisations : Location of Headquarters/ Office Space / Physical Capacity / Human Base of Operation / Annual Expenditure	
	Functions of Organisations : Geographical Coverage / Sectoral Coverage / Gender Orientation	
	Credibility and Impact : Perception about Major Difficulties	
<b>Chapter V</b>	<b>: Conclusion</b>	<b>92-103</b>
	Civil Society Organisation / Case Studies	



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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Unlike in the twentieth century, when colonialism and various ideological predilections guided the development trajectory, the current century is distinguished by a nearly uniform modicum of democracy across the globe and ironically increasing absence of plurality in development strategy. The state-led growth, which had ideological sanction from various political hues including Keynesians, immortalized through the ‘new deal’, is now getting increasingly eclipsed in the developmental discourse. The market-centric growth is either getting increasing acceptability or being thrust upon various nations or regions, irrespective of their level of development. However, in the face of decreasing role of the state, it is being expected that the space for the social sector development will be filled by the civil society organizations.

The civil society organizations are, however, not uniform either across the globe or even within India. In the Western countries, the civil society organizations are not only ethnically uniform, but are genealogically product of identical tradition of renaissance, reformation or trade union movement. Later on, several civil society movements were developed on specific agendas like civil rights or environment. In India, the states with the history of social movement had seen plethora of civil society organizations, but the states in the *Hindi* Heartland are not part of this trend. Ironically, in India, the provinces with relatively stronger state structure are also the home of vibrant civil society organizations. It has been further witnessed that the corporate sector has not only promoted but also sustained civil society organizations, where state structure is already in commanding position. So, in some of the developed provinces of South, West and North India, the troika of state, corporate sector and civil society organizations work in union.

#### **Background of the Study**

The civil society organizations have gained preeminent position in India because, for the critical goal of an inclusive economic and social development, a new institutional

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landscape is necessary. Earlier, the concept of a 'developmental state' has been central to the process of Indian planning that had started in the fifties. In this framework, the government was treated as the principal agent of development. A sizeable public sector, an expanding social sector to cover mainly health and education, a number of welfare programmes to help various marginalized sections of the society were all part of the state-led development programme. Admittedly, there were some areas where this strategy has shown some positive results (like infrastructure growth, industrial growth, agricultural growth in Green Revolution areas, etc.), but its effectiveness in removing mass poverty and improving the living conditions of the marginalized communities has been rather limited. Since this state-led development process has been almost entirely managed by the bureaucracy, the participation of the poor in the programmes for their own development has been very low. Over the years, the process has been even more bureaucratized and, hence, less efficient and leaving ample scope for leakage of precious public resources.

Such a negative trend of development, however, has not been unique in India. It has happened in many other countries of the developing world, inviting the attention of the development analysts across the world. Several economic, social, political and cultural factors have been identified to be at the root of such a trend, with wide variations across the countries. However, a general conclusion that emerges from all these analyses is that development requires not merely resources; it also equally requires a strong 'institutional' base that could ensure the proper utilization of scarce resources to achieve the development goals. The state structure is only one such institution. But if it were to become the 'sole' social institution of a country, the development process is certain to be affected. Driven basically by this institutional theory of development, a number of civil society organizations (CSO) have emerged in the recent decades to own the agenda of development, to act sometimes as complementary to the state structure and at other occasions to supplement it.

A CSO is generally defined as a social entity that exists outside the family or household, but not a part of the state structure. This space between the family and the state is indeed very wide and encompasses a large variety of 'collective actions', all to satisfy a shared need, be it economic, social, religious, cultural or political. Under such a definition, a CSO

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is certainly not a recent phenomenon. To supplement the functioning of the state structure, all societies, including traditional ones, have created their own CSOs to serve their various needs. Many of the modern CSOs are, however, form a distinct category, having as their focus the economic and human development of the marginalized sections of the society. These marginalized people are by-passed not merely by the state-led development programmes; the market-led growth process is equally unable to reach them, making them doubly disadvantaged. The challenge, under such circumstances, is to initiate an alternative development process whose benefits accrue to all including those at the bottom, is not an easy one. It is basically an exercise in 'social engineering', where only self-evolving strategies have been found to meet success. But such success has indeed been substantial across different geographical regions and varying social sectors, increasingly reinforcing the faith of the development strategies on the potential of CSOs.

While the imperative of a strong CSO network can be felt throughout India, its absence in some states, regions or for some specially disadvantaged social groups is even more critical than elsewhere. Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, two large states in the *Hindi* heartland, indeed fall in this category for several reasons. In spite of being a part of the Gangetic plains where land is very fertile, the overall level of economic development is extremely low (Table 1.1) in these two states. At one hand, their agricultural economies suffer from some serious institutional bottlenecks and, at the other, because of historical reasons, its industrial economy is very small, except in a few districts in the western Uttar Pradesh. Consequently, these two states appear at the bottom of the list of Indian states arranged in terms of either Per Capita Income or any other indicator of economic development. In terms of social indicators like literacy, fertility behavior or health standards, these two states are again way behind all other states.

With barely one-fourth of its total population residing in urban areas, India is essentially a rural country. There also exists a sharp and persisting duality between the economy of its rural and urban areas; nearly three-fourths of the Indian population residing in rural areas are able to produce only about one-fourth of the national income. This obviously makes the rural population far more vulnerable to poverty than their counterparts in the urban areas. For the two states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, however, this ruralness is a much



**Table 1.1 : Comparative Economic and Social Profile of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh**

Sl. No.	Indicators	Bihar	Uttar Pradesh	India
<b>I</b>	<b>Demographic</b>			
1.	Area ('000' sq. km)	94.2	240.9	3287.2
2.	Population (million) (2001)	82.9	166.0	1028.7
3.	Sex ratio (2001)	921	898	933
4.	Decadal growth rate of population (1991 – 2001)	28.4	25.8	21.3
5.	Density of population (2001) (persons / sq. km.)	880	689	325
6.	Urbanization (2001)	10.5	20.8	27.8
<b>II.</b>	<b>Economic</b>			
7.	Per capita Income (current prices) (2002 – 2003)	5683	9870	18988
8.	Poverty ratio (2005)	42.2	33.9	28.7
9.	Annual growth rate of the state economy (1995 – 2005)	5.48	5.82	6.80
10.	Share of agricultural sector in the State Domestic Product (2005)	39.8	33.6	24.2
<b>III.</b>	<b>Social</b>			
11.	Literacy rate (2001) – Male	60.3	70.2	75.8
	- Female	33.6	43.0	54.2
	- Overall	47.5	57.4	65.4
12.	Life expectancy at birth (1998 – 2002)	60.8	59.1	62.5
13.	Infant mortality rate (2003)	60.0	76.0	60.0
14.	Birth rate (2003)	30.7	31.3	24.8
15.	Death rate (2003)	7.9	9.5	8.0
16.	Percentage of society disadvantaged population			
	(a) Scheduled Castes	15.7	21.1	16.2
	(b) Muslims	16.5	18.5	13.4

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stronger phenomenon, the urbanization level being less than national average in both the states. Even though level of urbanisation in Uttar Pradesh is twice that of Bihar. The population here is essentially dependent on the low-productivity agricultural sector, supported very modestly by the income from the tertiary sector and very marginally from the extremely small secondary sector. This economic disadvantage is very well reflected in their social status, specially the literacy levels and the demographic behavior.

An inegalitarian landholding pattern and the associated asymmetric agrarian relations are probably symptomatic of all traditional agrarian societies; but these problems are far more in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh which were under the *Permanent Settlement* of land during the colonial period. Although that settlement pattern has been formally undone after independence, it has not been followed by any major agrarian reform, leaving the inegalitarian land distribution largely unaltered. Yet another important characteristics of the rural society and the economy in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, as in most other parts of India, is the presence of a substantial parallelism between two different distributions of the rural households — one along their landholdings and the other along their religion and caste background. The scheduled castes Hindus are the most disadvantaged social group in terms of land endowment and they form about one-fifth of the households, both in Bihar and India. Nearly all of them are landless and this phenomenon of land poverty is also very wide among the Muslim households who account for about one-sixth of the total population in the two states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.

Apart from the very low and limited economic endowment in these two provinces, the authority of the state is also very low. Even though a large part of the former United Province was under the central authority of the *Awadh Princely State* since the collapse of the ‘First War of Independence’ in 1857, due to the protracted British rule for more than a century, authentic authority of the state did not return even after independence. In case of Bihar, it had been historically under-governed. Being under the tenurial system of ‘*Permanent Settlement*’, introduced by Lord Cornwallis in 1793, the intermediaries, euphemistically known as ‘*Zamindar*’, were the kingpin in the rural governance. Unlike in the *Rydwatwari Settlement*, in south and west India, where survey and settlement operations were regularly organized in the absence of ‘intermediaries’, the visibility and operation of

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governance from below was an old phenomenon. This resulted in creation of massive edifice of governance structure, which not only ensured social mediation but also development. In Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, in contrast, the grassroots level governance, largely dictated by local land-based elites, was very weak. With the ushering of the market centric concern in the states with limited governmental structure, the space could be filled by the CSOs.

If one were to make any meaningful development interventions in either of these two states, it is very desirable that a proper mapping is undertaken of the existing CSOs in the region and they are assessed objectively in terms of their overall orientation and capacity. The present study is an attempt in that direction with a special focus on those CSOs which have worked among the Muslim minorities.

### **CSOs in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh**

The civil society organizations, as mentioned before, are not an entirely new phenomenon. Even in traditional societies, one can locate collective action by individuals, to serve a social goal, which cannot be addressed by a single individual and yet does not receive the attention of the state structure. But generally, such CSOs in traditional societies will be informal in structure and oriented towards religious and cultural goals. Among them, the religious institutions are of particular importance in India, as the temples and mosques have played important social roles, besides discharging their 'limited' religious obligations. Many of these traditional CSOs have also survived in the modern days, albeit with modified structure. One can easily find such CSOs in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh also.

The orientation and the cognitive world of CSO is a necessary precondition for determining the social agenda of a given region. Uttar Pradesh and Bihar being the main theatre of revolt in 1857, the failure led to extreme repression, leading to resistance to modernization. Over and above, in the absence of a social movement of a multi-caste nature, these states did not create a regional identity agenda. In the process, caste remained the most important social anchor. In the post independent period, social democratization has led to dramatic electoral consequences in both the states. This social democratisation

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had also led to the emergence of a number of CSOs in the recent past in both Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. But if one were looking for CSOs in the region working on social equality, women development and the like, which aimed to modernise the society, the scenario is dismal. Steeped in the culture of '*Permanent Settlement*' for long, these states have not witnessed any social movement around those modern goals. Thus, the tenurial relations and the resulting 'social conservatism' together have largely conditioned the character of the development process in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, both during the colonial period and the years since independence. The only redeeming feature of the region has been a strong 'political' process in the recent decades, in contrast to the absence of any 'social' movement in earlier periods. Both the states have witnessed the emergence of a new political authority in recent decades, led by intermediate or backward castes and sometimes by its Muslim population. The political equation in these two states, from the top down to the village level, is now radically changed. Although the agenda of this new political force is yet to include an agenda of development that encompasses the entire population, including its marginalised sections, some beginning have been made and a number of CSOs have emerged in the region in last two decades with a vision of an alternative development process.

### **Objective of the Study**

In the above backdrop, the overall objective of the present study has been to map the civil society organisations working for socio-economic and developed needs of the marginalised communities, with special reference to the Muslim minorities which is generally deprived. The study has helped towards gaining a deeper understanding of how best to support these organisations to enhance their contribution to build an inclusive society with a pluralistic overview. The specific objectives of the study may be divided into the following five components :

- (1) To understand the wider political and developmental context within which the civil society operates in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh in particular and *Hindi* Heartland in general.

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- (2) To identify various types of civil society organisations working in districts with high concentration of Muslim population.
  - (3) To map and assess the existing civil society organisations that are largely addressing the needs of Muslim minorities against the identified parameters like structure, function, values, impact and credibility.
  - (4) To identify key areas for enhancing the efficiency of the civil society to build a vibrant pluralistic society.
  - (5) To disseminate findings in a consultation forum for synthesising areas of engagement and enhancement of civil society organisations to respond to the needs of specific marginalised communities in a wider environment.

### **Key Parametres for Mapping and Assessment**

The CSOs that were covered as a part of the present study include not-for-profit organisations such as community groups, non-government organisations (NGO), indigenous groups, charitable organisations, faith-based organisations, professional organisations and the like. As regards the key areas / parametres along which the CSOs has been studied are following :

- (a) legal base and organisational structure,
- (b) human base in terms of membership, patronage and functionaries,
- (c) resource base (both financial and non-financial), source of funds for the financial resources and financial health,
- (d) basic value orientation (how secular and pluralistic they are)
- (e) social focus of the activities undertaken in the recent years (Muslims, scheduled castes, below poverty line families, etc.)
- (f) sectoral focus of the activities undertaken in the recent past (health, education, women empowerment, child welfare, livelihood promotion, etc.)

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- (g) nature of various activities (resource support, promoting awareness, training, advocacy, capacity building, innovativeness, etc.)
  - (h) capacity of the CSO's own functionaries in terms of educational background, professional knowledge and experience
  - (i) professionalism in CSOs work in terms of monitoring, documentation, financial discipline, dissemination and networking
  - (j) impact of CSOs activities on beneficiary persons/ households as evidenced through evaluation studies and/or perception of beneficiaries, and
  - (k) sustainability of the CSO vis-a-vis physical, financial and human resources.

## **Methodology**

The present study comprises desk research, field work to identify and assess various civil society organisations and interviews with key stakeholders (individuals, groups, institutions and government officials). Apart from that, religious leaders and opinion makers, from subaltern to elite, were extensively interviewed.

Even before the commencement of the field work, a state level and district wise list was prepared through secondary information. Understandably, this list was not exhaustive and, therefore, it was later supplemented by extensive field work. This strategy succeeded in mapping the broadest possible CSOs in each district. Keeping in mind the time budget and strength of study personnel, it was decided to study about 40 CSOs in each district. As expected, there was no uniformity in the performance of these CSOs. We focused on relatively better performing CSOs, to understand more deeply their success and to locate their source of strength. The Aga Khan Foundation will possibly find them to be worthy partners for its intervention programmes in the future.

For assessment of the identified CSOs, the fieldwork validated information on key parametres of structure, function, values, impact and credibility of the CSOs. The validation exercise included a mix of methodologies such as in-depth interviews with CSO staff, beneficiaries of the organisation, apart from the field observations. The key

informants for the overall study and specially its field work were — (i) individuals (political / religious / business / civil society leaders, activists, etc.), (ii) institutions or groups (political, academic, professional, developmental or religious) that were knowledgeable about the functioning of CSOs in their respective areas, (iii) constituent / beneficiary groups of the identified CSOs and their key associates, (iv) representatives of various ethnic or marginalised community-based groups and (v) government functionaries.

The study also entailed two Consultation Forums (one each for Bihar and Uttar Pradesh) which worked out the broad contours of the design of the study. The present study will be further presented in the Consultations forum.

### Sample Districts

The survey was conducted in four districts each in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. The size of the Muslim population in these states is 1.37 and 3.07 crores respectively (Table 1.2). After identifying the districts with substantial Muslim population in both the states, the sample districts were chosen keeping in mind two criteria — (i) Percentage of Muslim population and (ii) HDI Rank of the district. In addition, the selection process has also been mindful that the geographical spread of the sample is wide enough to cover the different regions of the state. The selected districts in Bihar along with the percentage of Muslim population in each of them are — Patna (7.5 percent), Muzaffarpur (14.8 percent), Kishanganj (65.9 percent) and West Champaran (20.6 percent). The corresponding list for Uttar Pradesh is — Barabanki (22.1 percent), Bahraich (34.8 percent), Saharanpur (39.1 percent) and Agra

**Table 1.2 : Population and Literacy Rate of Muslims in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and India**

Sl. No.	Particulars	Bihar	Uttar Pradesh	India
1.	Population (crore)	8.3	16.6	100.03
2.	Muslim Population (crore)	1.37	3.07	13.8
3.	Muslim Literacy			
	(i) Male	51.8	57.3	67.6
	(ii) Female	31.5	37.4	50.1
	(iii) Total	42.0	47.8	59.1

(8.9 percent). In both the states, one district each with meager Muslim population was also selected (Patna districts with 7.5 percent and Agra with 8.9 percent Muslim population). This was deliberate, to study the districts with low concentration of Muslim population. The districts with either very high concentration (Kishanganj or Bahraich) or low concentration (Patna or Agra) have generally been outside the pale of communal conflict. But Barabanki or West Champaran, even though not with very high concentration of Muslim population, has generally been on the threshold of communal conflagrations. The resulting list of the sample districts is presented in Table 1.3.

**Table 1.3 : Sample Districts in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh**

Bihar			Uttar Pradesh		
District	Percentage of Muslim Population	HDI Rank	District	Percentage of Muslim Population	HDI Rank
Kishanganj	67.6	2	Barabanki	22.1	4
West Champaran	21.4	6	Bahraich	34.8	21
Muzaffarpur	15.2	24	Saharanpur	39.1	37
Patna	7.8	37	Agra	8.9	54

Before starting the field work, two Consultative Workshops were organised in Patna (July 2, 2007) and Lucknow (July 9, 2007), attended by Muslim community leaders, academicians, CSO functionaries and other interested individuals. The total numbers of participants in these workshops were 17 in Patna and 29 in Lucknow. The deliberations of the Workshops had helped the research team to obtain an initial understanding of the development needs of the Muslim population, the nature of responses of the CSOs towards meeting those felt needs and the nature of difficulties that CSOs themselves are encountering in their operations. In addition, the participants in the Workshops had also underlined the wide variation across the two states in terms of the socio-economic conditions of the Muslims and had suggested that the study should factor this intra-state variation into the overall analysis of the CSOs in the two states. While planning the field work, we had worked out a contingency plan of replacing a selected district in the absence of availability of adequate number of CSOs. Fortunately that contingency did not arise. We could locate adequate number of CSOs in all the selected districts.



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## CHAPTER II

### POLITICAL ECONOMY OF HINDI HEARTLAND STATES

The long term growth rate of the Indian economy, covering the entire post-independence period of 1950-2000 has been at least moderate at around 4 percent. Even more comfortable is the fact that, during the last two decades, the economy has come out of the shell of 'Hindu' rate of growth, to reach the decent growth rates of close to 8 percent. But this description of the aggregate economy is misleading, as the equity outcomes of this growth has been very skewed. What possibly had contributed most to such (in)equity outcomes is the sectoral composition of growth — during the entire post-independence period, the agricultural economy had grown at less than half of the growth rate of the non-agricultural economy. Since the source of livelihood for close to 70 percent of the population is still agriculture, this sectoral disparity has got translated into social disparity and secondly, depending on the relative size of the agricultural sector in different States, it also widened regional disparity. The regions with relatively larger agricultural sectors fell behind, others with some industrial base forged ahead. Now if the regional disparity is widening and that again over a long period of half a century, then in spite of the federal structure of the Indian state, it is very likely to precipitate varying patterns of state-economy interactions across the regions.

The two States of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh together constitute the bulk of the *Hindi* heartland of India which, although christened as a linguistic region, constitutes a distinct economic region also. These two states are among the perpetual poor-income states of India where both the share of the population dependent on agriculture and share of the agricultural output in total income are much higher than elsewhere in India. Thus both the economic trend and the political process tend immediately to take on a far more predominantly rural referent in these States.

#### **Development and Regional Disparities**

The core elements of India's development strategy are 'sector specific' and hence apparently 'region-neutral', more so the strategy of industrialisation. But, much to the

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disadvantage of *Hindi* heartland States, this was not the case. Both the strategies of industrialisation and agricultural growth had displayed asymmetric geographical distribution of resources in favour of States that were already better off because of historical reasons. To consider the strategy of industrialisation first, one may note that at least initially it had implied favourable investment patterns in at least two *Hindi* heartland States of Bihar and Madhya Pradesh, because of their rich mineral resources. But this initial advantage was more than offset by the policy of ‘freight equalisation’ which ensured availability of basic industrial inputs like coal and steel at same prices throughout India. This promoted the growth of industries in those regions where the industrial economy was already relatively large (to take advantage of the external economic) and deprived remaining regions of India, including even those areas of *Hindi* heartland which had natural ‘comparative advantage’ for industrialisation. To promote agricultural growth throughout India; a coverage of barely one-fifth of the cultivated area in the country under the Green Revolution was sufficient to attain the goal.

The resulting regional economic disparities can be best expressed when per capita SDP (State Domestic Product) of different States are expressed as percentages of per capita GDP (Gross Domestic Product) at national level (Table 2.1) for different years. Two conclusions easily emerge from these figures. First, the relative rankings of the different States have remained largely unchanged, specially for the richer states. Secondly, except for the decade of eighties, the overall inequality among the States has been steadily increasing, as denoted by the substantial increase in the ratio of per capita SDP of the richest and the poorest States, from 1.9 in the beginning of sixties to 3.6 at the end of nineties. It is not difficult to realize that this widening of the regional disparities was an ‘inherent’ component of the development strategy of the state at the central level. For one, the states at the regional levels had no participation in the investment decisions of the state at the central level either for the policy of industrialization during fifties and sixties, or for the policy of agricultural development pursued during mid-sixties and seventies. However, because of varying natural endowment in different regions and their growth pattern in earlier (colonial) period, the ‘sector selectivity’ of the central state was certain to be translated into ‘region selectivity’, causing regional disparities to widen over the decades.

**Table 2.1 : Per Capita SDP of States as Percentages of Per Capita GDP**

States with rank-order for successive years	Per capita SDP of states as percentages of per capita GDP					
	Average Rank	1960-61	1970-71	1980-81	1990-91	2000-01
<b>Bihar (1+1+1+1+1)/5</b>	<b>1.0</b>	<b>65.2</b>	<b>59.1</b>	<b>55.1</b>	<b>51.6</b>	<b>41.1</b>
Orissa (2+3+5+2+2)/5	2.8	65.8	71.3	75.8	62.7	57.8
<b>Madhya Pradesh (3+2+2+4+5)/5</b>	<b>3.2</b>	<b>76.4</b>	<b>71.2</b>	<b>72.8</b>	<b>60.5</b>	<b>74.2</b>
<b>Uttar Pradesh (4+4+6+3+3)/5</b>	<b>4.0</b>	<b>76.4</b>	<b>71.5</b>	<b>79.0</b>	<b>64.2</b>	<b>60.0</b>
Assam (9+5+4+5+4)/4	5.4	95.5	78.7	73.8	65.0	61.3
<b>Rajasthan (7+10+3+6+6)/5</b>	<b>6.4</b>	<b>86.1</b>	<b>94.8</b>	<b>73.8</b>	<b>70.2</b>	<b>85.8</b>
Andhra Pradesh (6+7+7+8+8)/5	7.2	83.4	86.0	84.9	75.6	97.2
Kerala (5+8+8+7+10)/5	7.6	78.5	87.4	90.0	74.5	111.4
Tamil Nadu (11+6+9+10+11)/5	9.4	101.3	85.4	92.2	82.4	122.4
Karnataka (8+9+10+11+9)/5	9.4	89.8	94.3	99.2	85.2	107.1
West Bengal (14+12+11+9+7)/5	10.6	118.2	106.2	99.2	81.6	94.8
Himachal Pradesh (11+12+12+12)/4	11.8	—	95.7	102.4	82.0	88.5
Gujarat (12+14+13+13+13)/5	13.0	109.8	121.9	121.2	110.2	130.7
Haryana (10+15+14+15+14)/4	13.6	99.1	129.0	145.8	125.4	137.0
Maharashtra (15+13+15+14+15)/4	14.4	124.0	115.2	149.4	121.7	141.4
Punjab (13+16+16+16+16)/5	15.4	111.0	157.4	167.6	148.3	147.2
All India per capita GDP Rs	--	329.8	680.0	1,625.0	4,284.5	1439.0
Ratio between per capita SDP of the richest and poorest State	--	1.9	2.7	3.0	2.9	3.6

Source : Central Statistical Organisation, New Delhi

The inequity impact of the strategies of industrialization and Green Revolution, both of which seem to rest on discretionary privileges of the central government, was not limited to only some loss of resources for the deprived regions; it also meant loss of certain development opportunity for them, including the *Hindi* heartland states. As regards industrialization, it must be remembered that it was an easier challenge during the early decades after independence when support of public investment was substantial and the competitive forces were relatively less. For the other major development agenda, viz., transformation of the agrarian economies, the loss is probably even larger for the *Hindi* heartland states. As the experience would show, structural transformation of traditional agrarian economics has generally been possible when it had received an ‘external’ impetus for growth, like the role of urban food demand for agricultural growth in Green Revolution areas. With that objective already met, the said external impetus has also disappeared.

Thus, just as Green Revolution has helped transform the agrarian economy of certain regions, by so doing, it has also caused ‘detachment’ of the rest of the agrarian economies from the industrial sector, the only source of an external impetus. It is in this sense that widening regional disparities have negative and strong structural implications for the disadvantaged regions like *Hindi* heartland.

### **Status of Agrarian Economies**

Agrarian economies are relatively larger in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh (Table 2.2). In terms of population, nearly 75 percent of them live off agriculture in these States, compared to 60 percent in India as a whole. In terms of output, agriculture contributes close to 50 percent of the income of these states, whereas its share is barely one-fourth for the entire national economy. Apart from its sheer size, the critical importance of the agrarian economy lies in its static nature. Irrespective of the growth rate of agricultural output in different regions, the shift of population from agriculture to non-agriculture has been very slow in India. In about 50 years since independence, the urbanization has gone up by barely 16 percentage points — from 10 percent in 1951 to 26 percent in 2001. The absolute size of rural population today is larger and, consequently, rural workers per acre of gross (or just net) cultivated area are also higher. The expected shift of workers/population would have been slow in any case in backward regions like Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, but even in fast growing regions, the pace of transfer is only marginally higher.

**Table 2.2 : Size of Agrarian Economy in *Hindi* Heartland States**

	Percentage of workers engaged in agriculture (2001)	Income from agriculture as percentage of SDP (2000-01)
Bihar	77.0	47.5
Uttar Pradesh	73.4	42.6
India	61.4	24.8

Source : Census of India (2001) for share of workers and Central Statistical organisation, New Delhi (data in floppy) for share in income.

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In the overall national strategy of development, dominated by the agenda of industrialization, structural transformation of the agrarian economy had received a low priority. The basic requirement for this transformation was radical land reforms, encompassing abolition of intermediaries, enforcement of ceiling of landholdings and the distribution surplus land, all to be carried out by the state governments. But dominated as they were by the regional agrarian elites in most of the Indian States in early decades after independence, these reforms were never carried out. It is, therefore, not surprising that much of the agrarian economies across the country, outside the Green Revolution areas, still function within the parameters of a largely feudal structure. Coming down to the *Hindi* heartland, it is important to note at the outset that the prime institutional change of land reform has not been carried out in any of the states here. Although land settlement patterns were similar across the states, the element of patron-client relations between landlords and tenants has always been present throughout the region. However, the absence of land reforms in Bihar and UP where the distribution of land is more iniquitous has entailed much larger loss of growth potential because of the higher productivity of its fertile soil.

Although land reforms have been a far cry in both the states, the distribution of landholdings in the region has undergone considerable change (Table 2.3). In the absence of shift of population from rural to urban areas, there have been division of the earlier holdings among next generation of cultivators and, secondly, there has also been sale and purchase of land for various economic reasons. In general, there has been a swelling of holdings at the bottom, both in terms of number of holdings as well as area operated. But the trend is much stronger in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh which were earlier under '*Permanent Settlement*'. At present, about 95 percent of the cultivators in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh have less than 2 hectares of land. It is, therefore, not surprising that the political process in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh has shown much changes whereas the nature of political authority has remained relatively unaltered unlike in other states.

**Table 2.3 : Landholding Patterns in Hindi Heartland States (1970-71, 1980-81 and 1990-91)**

States / Size-groups of landholding	1970-71		1980-81		1990-91	
	Percentage of holdings	Percentage of area operated	Percentage of holdings	Percentage of area operated	Percentage of holdings	Percentage of area operated
<b>Bihar</b>						
Marginal / Small	78.9	29.7	86.7	41.6	88.0	47.5
Small Medium	12.1	22.1	8.5	23.4	8.1	23.8
Medium	7.2	27.7	4.2	24.5	3.4	21.0
Large	1.8	20.6	0.6	10.5	0.4	7.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>Uttar Pradesh</b>						
Marginal / Small	68.7	41.9	86.8	48.3	89.4	55.8
Small Medium	10.6	25.0	9.1	24.6	7.7	23.4
Medium	4.7	23.2	3.7	21.0	2.7	16.9
Large	0.7	9.9	0.4	6.2	0.2	3.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>All India</b>						
Marginal / Small	69.7	20.9	74.5	26.2	78.0	32.2
Small Medium	15.2	18.5	14.0	21.2	13.2	23.2
Medium	11.2	30.0	9.1	29.6	7.2	27.7
Large	3.9	30.9	2.4	23.0	1.6	17.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source : 'Profile of State', Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy (CMIE)', March, 1997.

Although the agricultural economies of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh have remained unchanged, the feudal agrarian relation there, however, has been challenged mainly by the middle sections of the agrarian population. Not only the command of this middle section is larger in terms of their landholdings, they have also experienced social and political mobilization largely around their caste identities. The earlier scenario where a landlord, belonging generally to an upper caste, dominated the entire agrarian relations in a village, is now not so frequent. Even in relatively more socially static villages in Rajasthan, it has been found that "... the concept of the dominant caste obscures more than it illuminates agrarian social structure... the land and authority have now been delinked in village India... this amounts to a historic, if non-revolutionary, transformation"<sup>1</sup>. This transformation, of course, has been most decisive in Bihar, followed by Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan in that order. Thus, although the long term agricultural growth rates in

<sup>1</sup> Mendelsohn, O (2002), 'The Transformation of Authority in Rural India's in Shah, G (ed.), 'Caste and Democratic Politics in India', Permanent Black, New Delhi.

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*Hindi* heartland were indeed low, in recent decades, the growth rates have been fairly decent in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan being the only State where the agrarian economy had stagnated throughout since the seventies. This pattern indeed suggests a close relation between the changes in the social base of agriculture and its growth performance. It is in this sense that the agrarian changes in the *Hindi* heartland in recent past have been historic, although as yet non-revolutionary.

### **State-Economy Relations**

In an ideal approach to investigate the interplay of state and economy, economic and political phenomena are simultaneous outcomes of ‘public policies’ and they are also joint inputs for the ‘people’ to make appropriate demands on the state; the state in turn decides the new public policies, completing the ‘circular’ sequence of causations. In the context of *Hindi* heartland states, the two major components of the economic dynamics, have been — first, a prolonged trend of resource deprivation for the region causing structural deterioration of the regional economies and second, in spite of the old power relations changing in the rural areas in favour of a new class of middle farmers, the agrarian economy in yet to experience a decisive structural transformation. One of the most visible consequences of these economic trends, from the perspective of functioning of the state, has been the ‘fragmentation of the polity’ across the whole of *Hindi* heartland. This fragmentation is most severe in Uttar Pradesh and then in Bihar, the two States where the development levels are the lowest. With the emergence of political parties, representing the interests of middle and lower sections of the rural population, the Congress Party has been most marginalised in these two States and the Bhartiya Janta Party (BJP), the other all-India party, is far from being a serious contender here for political power on its own strength. The political space in both these States are now filled by a multiplicity of parties, each significant and based on sectional or sectarian politics.

A second dimension of political changes in the *Hindi* heartland, much related to the phenomenon of fragmentation of polity, has been around the institution of caste. In one sense, the caste system in India is actually weakening, as the connection between hereditary ritual status and occupation which constituted one of caste system’s defining characteristics, is gradually disappearing. But paradoxically, the system is also getting

simultaneously and increasingly reinforced vis-à-vis the political behavior of the individuals. From a position of ‘reference group’ in social and political behavior earlier, the institution has now become an ‘axis of mobilization’ to serve the objectives of ‘politics of identity’. Looking for the reasons that have caused the emergence of such politics, one may note that development strategies of the past have only benefited a small section of the population, comprising the ‘bourgeois, high managerial elites and state bureaucracy’ in the urban areas and the ‘agrarian magnates’ in the rural areas. The resulting resentment among the vast majority of population, bypassed by development, has been tapped by various political parties, leading to the fragmentation of the polity. Although the rationale for the fragmentation was an economic trend, the process of mobilization through which the deprived has asserted their claims has been around the social identity of caste for two reasons. First, the deprived sections did have a reasonably homogeneous caste background and, secondly, the rejection of the traditional political elites by the emerging ones was extended to a rejection of all that the former had stood for, including the concept of national or even sub-national identities. One of the visible outcomes of this new political trend is the increasing share of OBC (Other Backward Caste) MPs in the national Parliament (Table 2.4). At the core of the process of ‘subaltern politicization’ has,

**Table 2.4 : Caste Background of MPs from *Hindi Heartland States***

Year	Upper Castes	Intermediate Castes	Backward Castes	Other Caste / Religion	All MPs
1971	115 (52.4)	10 (4.4)	23 (10.4)	71 (32.8)	219 (100.0)
1977	122 (53.9)	9 (4.1)	23 (10.1)	72 (31.9)	226 (100.0)
1980	92 (40.9)	12 (5.3)	3.1 (13.7)	90 (40.1)	225 (100.0)
1984	106 (46.9)	12 (5.3)	25 (11.1)	83 (36.7)	226 (100.0)
1989	86 (38.2)	18 (8.0)	47 (20.9)	74 (32.9)	225 (100.0)
1991	82 (37.1)	12 (5.4)	50 (22.6)	77 (34.9)	221 (100.0)
1996	79 (35.3)	17 (7.5)	56 (24.4)	74 (32.4)	226 (100.0)
1998	78 (34.7)	20 (8.9)	53 (23.6)	74 (32.8)	225 (100.0)
1999	68 (30.9)	14 (6.4)	49 (22.2)	90 (40.5)	221 (100.0)

Source : Jafferlot, C (2003) <sup>2</sup>

therefore, emerged a new identity around castes. This process of subaltern politicization has been strongest in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh and it shows how the traditional

<sup>2</sup> Jafferlot, C (2003), *India’s Silent Revolution : The Rise of The Low Castes in North Indian Politics*, Permanent Black, New Delhi.



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communities react in the face of consolidation of market society under capitalist transformation. These reactions are essentially for social protection and it “can be mobilized by any number of political tendencies. This could be a political party of any stripe, a religious movement, a charismatic populist appealing to ethnic or caste identity, a warlord or a fascist”<sup>3</sup>. Such impulses for social protection are obviously stronger in poorer states of *Hindi* heartland where the capitalist transformation has entailed only limited gains, but extremely large losses.

The character of the state-economy relations in the *Hindi* heartland states is, however, not based on the nature of the emerging polities alone in the region. Since the eighties and more decisively since the nineties, the state has been redefined with its role much lessened under the policy of economic reforms. Again, although the policy is apparently the same for the entire nation, its impact has been widely different in poorer and richer States. In the former, the state had to vacate much of its space for a market which was so small in size that the act of vacation indeed meant ‘creation of a vacuum’ vis-à-vis the possibility of providing any growth impetus. In contrast, in the richer States, their larger market had at least the potential to fill the space vacated by the state and, in many of the States, the market had indeed played that role. Thus, as was noted earlier, the inter-regional economic disparity indeed widened during the nineties. The state had to be reinvented in the face of economic reforms to meet the demands of the newly emerging elites in the regions of India, including the *Hindi* heartland. There are at least five distinct modes of governance in India arising out of these changes — challenging the state, controlling the state, franchising the state, partnering the state and, finally, decentralizing the state. In spite of declining role of the state, the emerging elite has found ‘controlling the state’ to be its primary objective, not because of the state’s potential as a development agency, but acquiring of state power is perceived to be the most convincing proof of its distinct identity.

For several reasons including the sheer size of most of the Indian states in terms of population, their natural resource endowments and the presence of regional polities with

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<sup>3</sup> Putzel, J (2002), ‘Politics, The State and The Impulse for Social Protection : The Implications of Karl Polanyi’s Ideas for Understanding Development and Crisis’, Crisis State Programme Working Paper, Series No. 12, LSE, London.

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their 'own' social and economic base, the argument of 'absence of autonomy for the state at regional levels' cannot be stretched far. In relatively higher income regions, such autonomy of the state is not only a theoretical possibility but has been seen to be exercised to the advantage of the respective regions. In this background, the overall analysis actually leads to the prognosis that the disadvantaged regions in India, like the *Hindi* heartland States, can escape their existing economic and political crisis-like situation only when there emerges newer 'internal' social forces providing political strength to a sufficiently autonomous state at the regional level which is capable of responding to the development needs of its population.

Finally, one should also take note of some specific political features of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, not present in other regions of the *Hindi* heartland. Both the states have achieved an enviable social empowerment benchmark. In both the states, there is complete turnaround in the political sense. While traditional elites in both the states have been politically marginalized, in some cases they have been co-opted under subaltern suzerainty. In both the states, governments with virulent social justice agenda, have given way to 'coalition of extreme'. This may lead not only to stability in social front, but may have a far reaching consequences in maintaining communal harmony, as both the states have substantial Muslim population, 16.5 percent in Bihar and 18.5 percent in Uttar Pradesh. If the Dalit population of the both the states (15.7 percent in Bihar and 21.1 percent in Uttar Pradesh) are taken into consideration, the percentage of disadvantage population (Muslim and Dalit taken together) is one of the highest in the country (32.2 and 39.6 percent in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh respectively). If the total Muslim population of India is taken into consideration, 32.2 percent of them reside in these two states. The literacy rate of the Muslims in the respective state is not only much below the national average, but even below the state average. In Bihar, the state average of literacy, as per the 2001 census, is 47.5 percent, whereas that of the Muslim is 42 percent; in Uttar Pradesh, the state average is 57.4 percent, whereas among the Muslim, it is 47.8 percent. With the highest concentration of disadvantaged population in both the states, with lowest per capita incomes (Rs. 5683 in Bihar and Rs. 9870 in Uttar Pradesh), the condition of the disadvantaged population is indeed pathetic. If one takes a purely techno-managerial view point, in view of the weak public finance base and limited per capita income, the economic

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upliftment of the socially marginalised groups is not feasible without the general turnaround of the state. On the economic growth front, one may note that governing Bihar and Uttar Pradesh itself is a tall proposition, ensuring growth is a taller agenda, and to make that growth an inclusive one is an even taller one. What is the strategy of governance which retains popular support with appropriate social configuration? Is the state structure adequate to take up the development challenges ?

Historically both the states were subjected to systematic deindustrialisation. In the Gangetic belt, from Uttar Pradesh to Bengal, there was flourishing industry in the pre-British period. When the Britishers came first and established their authority to ensure market for their home product and to control the sprawling levers of local economic network, through the systematic marginalisation of the artisans and the traders, sometimes even exterminations. But the extent of devastation was mainly concentrated in the Bengal and Bihar proper. In the process, the local industry, mainly situated on the bank of the Ganges, across east to north, was subjected to deindustrialisation. In Bihar, the handicraft and the artisans were devastated, but in Uttar Pradesh, they not only survived but continued to remain the major economic fulcrum in many districts of the state. In this sector, Muslim artisans play a decisive role. The entrepreneur from their rank and the traders, generally from the Hindu stock, played an important role in the economy of the respective districts and the state. In the post independent period, this sector did not get adequate support from the state and now, in the wake of globalisation, resulting in lowering of tariff barriers, these industries are subjected to perils of deindustrialisation.

Although Bihar and Uttar Pradesh in totality pose the toughest developmental challenge, unfortunately, the per capita non-plan grant in the name of 'equalization', or per capita plan grant for development, are both possibly one of the lowest in the country. Both these states are considered lagged and a blot in the otherwise grand profile of 'other' India, which has nearly integrated itself with the international economic grid. The developmental bottlenecks there are considered by many as a drain on the national exchequer, leading countervailing forces, though sporadic, for 'cessation of the successful'. The successful states in south, west and north India 'legitimately' feel disadvantaged that, inspite of their good track record in the developmental front, the successive Finance Commissions have

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penalized them in the matter of awarding the non-plan grant in the name of ‘equalization’. Apart from the absence of substantial economic development, CSOs in both the states remained weak, even though politically it was an enlightened enclave. These two states, therefore, present picture of a politically alive region, yet economically weak, without a consolidated CSO network.

### **Social Profile of Muslims**

Muslim population in both the states are not merely demographic expression, but are very much part of the socio-cultural profile and ethos of the provinces. The composite culture of India was scripted keeping both the tradition of Hindu and Islam as integral part of nation building. But with democratic populism and increasing ethno-religious mobilization, the tradition and values of composite culture got marginalized. Even the formation of Pakistan had not created the social chasm between Hindu and Muslim, in the way the political development in eighties and nineties created the divide. Even the institutions of the state, specially police and civil administration, which are supposed to be autonomous, got afflicted largely to communal orientation. Not only armed constabulary in Uttar Pradesh displayed fierce communal passion, but during the infamous Bhagalpur riots, the ‘state’ in Bihar also sided openly with the rioters.

The occasional riots or dismantling of ‘Babri Masjid’ could have been treated as stand alone historical aberrations, which could be corrected with some efforts. But these events not only communalized the state structure, but ethno-religious mobilization became the agenda around which the polity started moving. Even though Muslims in both the state was a significant factor, they became object of marginalisation, scorn or hate. In contrast, in some quarters, there was a strategy of reverse cooption of the Muslims to swell the dwindling support base of a given party to be used later in the electoral battle.

Even though, Bihar is better off in the realm of communal conflagrations, but on all other count, Uttar Pradesh is armed with better attributes and endowment for the Muslims, especially in the realm of literacy rate, economic status and occupational diversification. Muslims of Uttar Pradesh not only have an independent economic identity, but in the realm of politics, they are becoming an independent power center. Even though in terms of

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proportion of population, Muslim concentration is slightly higher in Uttar Pradesh than in Bihar, but their representation in the state legislature in Uttar Pradesh is double than that in Bihar. In case of parliament, the proportion of Muslim representation in both the state is similar. However, in both the houses and in both the states, the Muslim representation is far below compared to their shares of population (Table 2.5).

**Table 2.5 : Political Representation of Muslims**

State	Percentage of Muslims among	
	MLA	MP
Bihar	15 / 243 (6.2)	5/40 (12.5)
Uttar Pradesh	52 / 403 (12.9)	11 / 80 (13.8)

Note : The figures refer to the present Assemblies and Parliament

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## CHAPTER III

### PROFILE OF SAMPLE DISTRICTS

For the present study, four districts each have been selected from both the states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. In Bihar, three districts were selected from the North Bihar plain (Kishanganj, West Champaran and Muzaffarpur) and the other one is Patna which, apart from being the capital of the state, is located in South Bihar plain. In Uttar Pradesh, two districts (Agra and Saharanpur) were selected from the comparatively more developed western part of the state, other two districts (Bahraich and Barabanki) being from the relatively economically backward eastern part. The Bundelkhand and the central region were left out, even though the survey team had very intense interaction with CSOs in Lucknow, part of the central region. As mentioned earlier, the most disadvantaged social groups form a substantial part of the population in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Consequently, in both the states, districts selected for the study are also the home of the disadvantaged social groups. In case of Bihar, three districts (Kishanganj, West Champaran and Muzaffarpur) have additional disadvantage of nature. Not only all of them are flood prone, but Kishanganj have further disadvantaged of being affected by a river whose course gets changed regularly affecting its population and it is also very disease prone district. While Bahraich and West Champaran touches international border with Nepal, in case of Kishanganj, it is situated both near Nepal and Bangla Desh.

#### **Districts in Bihar**

**Kishanganj**, in the north east region of Bihar, was an important subdivision of earlier British demarcated district of Purnea. It came into separate existence on January 14, 1990. The district is bound by the river *Mahananda* on the east, on the south by the *Ganga* and the west by one of the seven tributaries of the river *Kosi*. The district's boundary has often mirrored the ebb and flow of its rivers in physical terms. The *Kosi*'s movement across the western portion of Purnea translated into the ever-changing environment, depending on location, weather pattern, season and era. The shifting, unpredictable terrain provided the arena for one of the early great, conundrums of eco-system management and institutional control, one that would confound the revenue administration throughout the period of British Rule. Even after the establishment of *Kosi* embankment, the unpredictability of the

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river remained unchanged. Kishanganj and Araria (though not part of the study), two present districts which were earlier part of Purnea, form part of this unpredictable terrain. Even after independence, this area saw one of the prolonged peasant movements. The mammoth feudal concentration could not be broken in the district. Nor there has been any initiative from administration to break the feudal concentration. So in the recent period, there is some sort of social and political passivity in the district. Thus, in the absence of social ferment, the literacy movement could not be brought into the center stage here. While the Muslim population is 67 percent, the literacy rate of the district (31 percent) is one of the lowest in the country. Even within the rank of the Muslim, the literacy rate is further lower at 27 percent. A common proverb expresses this geographical enclave's notorious reputation for disease — '*Na Jahar Khao / Na Mahur Khao / Marna Hai to Purnea Jao*' (if you wish to die/ don't eat poison / don't take venom / rather go to Purnea). Purnea has always been one of the malaria-ridden districts of Bihar, of which Kishanganj was an integral part. The CSO movement is very weak in Kishanganj. However, there are some isolated examples. One CSO was established in 1957 which now successfully runs a composite school-college unit,<sup>4</sup> the *INSAN* School, a unique example of secular education in one of the poorest part of India. Bulk of the Muslim community belongs to *Shershahbadi* and *Surajapuri* community who are essentially from the lowest strata of the society. One of the CSOs is dedicated to the interest of the *Shershahbadi* Muslim community. Even though participation of women in CSO was very limited, one organization was established for vocational training of the girls.

**West Champaran** was carved out in 1972 from the old Champaran district, the place of Mahatma Gandhi's Satyagrah movement. The district is bordering Nepal in the north and UP in the west. Unlike Kishanganj, it is a huge district with 18 blocks, 319 Panchayats and 1487 revenue villages. As per 2001 census, the total population of the district is 30.43 lakhs and the sex ratio is 901. The overall literacy rate of the district is 38.9 percent, with the female literacy rate at 25.9 percent. The district has also substantial number of SC/ST population apart from Muslim community.<sup>5</sup> The concentration of the Muslim population

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<sup>4</sup> 'Insan School', Kishanganj

<sup>5</sup> 'Tauheed Educational Trust', Kishanganj

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is about 21.2 percent, with literacy rate amongst them at 43.3 percent. The literacy rate amongst the Muslim in West Champaran is lower than the state average. Despite the history of great movements, this district remains not only a poor literacy district but is also one of the most backward districts of the state. In this district, majority of the rural mass are landless labourers. After the creation of this new district, nearly all the *Zamindari* estates, big or small, remained in this part of the district. Therefore, the rural society here is characterized by a few *Zamindars* who command nearly whole of the land and the remaining majority comprising mostly landless labourers. Over and above, it is subjected to annual fury of floods which devastates the district in regular intervals. Incidentally, the district was the theatre of *Gandhi's* first tryst with mass movement in the country, immortalized as '*Champaran Satyagrah*'. The CSOs dedicated to Muslim interest is very limited in the district. Social space in West Champaran is being filled by *Madarsas*, with other types of CSOs being very limited. Government aided *Madarsas* are in relatively better shape. Their infrastructure is also better. The conditions of the unaided *Madarsas*, unlike in Uttar Pradesh, are not good. Some Muslim caste-based CSOs were established there in recent years.

**Muzaffarpur** was practically the financial and the commercial capital of North Bihar, till both the sides of the states were linked by a road bridge in Patna in 1982. Incidentally, the market of the district town served the hinterland of the entire north Bihar, part of eastern UP and the provinces of the north-east of India. Even though Muzaffarpur town was home of many educational institutions of the state, contrary to general expectations, its literacy rate was not higher than the state average. However, the literacy rate of the Muslim population was close to the state average, signaling relatively better social endowment of the Muslims, unlike their counterpart in Kishanganj and West Champaran. Even in the matter of District Gross Domestic Product (DGDP), it is better than those two districts. Incidentally, Muzaffarpur was not only the home of substantial capital investment during the British period, its wholesale market in textile is one of the largest in the country among the non-manufacturing states. In the realm of horticulture, the Lichi fruit of Muzaffarpur is globally known. Muzaffarpur is also flood prone. This is one of the few districts with a very high CSO presence, but organizations dedicated to the welfare of Muslims are very



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limited. Two major programmes (DFID supported PACS programme and IFAD supported *Swashakti* programme) are operating in the district. In recent period, one CSO was established to support education of the Muslim girls; its agenda has now been extended to other community as well, including vocational education. This is possibly the only district in our study where CSO is working amongst the sex workers.<sup>6</sup>

The district of **Patna** is endowed with best of social and economic endowment in relation to any of its counterpart in the state. Even though capital of the state of Bihar is located here for nearly a century, it is yet to acquire either cosmopolitan or urbane profile. Unlike other capitals of the *Hindi* heartland states, especially Lucknow, it did not acquire a culture of distinctiveness. The failure of Sepoy Mutiny did ensure social retreat for both the cities; however, Lucknow being the citadel of 'Awadh state', it retained some culture of the old court even if it was recreational centric, unlike the European renaissance. Even though Patna was home of some of the best educational institutions in the country, in view of its sanitized character, its reach remain limited. The limitation of its urbanity is revealed by the fact that its literacy rate of 62.9 percent, although highest in the state, is still behind the national average. Fortunately, the social endowment of the Muslim is higher here which is indicated by a literacy rate of 69.6 percent among them, much higher than the state average. Muslims form only 7.8 percent of the population in the district, and their social concentration is very urban rather than rural. Other than some very small-scale industry, its economy is mainly sustained by agriculture. Being home of state capital, it has huge concentration of government employees, which in turn creates a huge market. In Patna, there are several CSOs working amongst the Muslim, but essentially they are urban based, a few of them being<sup>7</sup> pan-Bihar organizations working for the welfare of Muslim. They are also known for professionalism and probity. One CSOs is successfully working in the realm of banking and micro-finance.<sup>8</sup> One CSO has a unique track record of collecting donations for being passed over to other organizations. Some CSOs are working for supporting poor students and vocational training for the Muslim women.

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<sup>6</sup> 'Mahila Development Centre', Muzaffarpur

<sup>7</sup> 'Imarat Shariah', Patna

<sup>8</sup> 'Alkhair Cooperative Credit Society Limited', Patna

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## Districts in Uttar Pradesh

Even though Uttar Pradesh is part of the *Hindi* heartland, the social and economic profiles of its districts are different from Bihar. Every district of Uttar Pradesh has its distinct social and cultural profile. Uttar Pradesh in general may not have acquired a distinct sub-national identity, but its different regions and districts had distinct identities of their own. In fact, even its mufossil areas, euphemistically known as ‘*qasba*’, were centers of pluralism and multiculturalism. In the *qasbas*, contrary to impression of outsiders, “life was lived and this is where poetry, literature and music flourished, and the fusion of culture took place”<sup>9</sup>. Apart from cultural identity, most of the districts also have very developed artisan-based industries. As mentioned earlier, unlike Bengal and Bihar proper, Uttar Pradesh survived the onslaught of de-industrialisation during the British period. So artisan-based industry forms a very substantive component of economy of the state. There is plethora of household, tiny and small industrial units, producing a variety of goods in the districts of the state. These are lock industry of Aligarh, brassware industry of Moradabad, pottery of Khujra, glass industry of Firozabad etc. The town of Varanasi in Uttar Pradesh has double identity. Apart from being part of the carpet industry belt of Mirzapur-Bhadoi-Varanasi, it also has very developed silk and silk product related industry. Out of the four districts selected for the study, two (Saharanpur and Agra ) are part of the identified industrial corridor of Uttar Pradesh, but the other two (Barabanki and Bahraich) are relatively underdeveloped.

Among all the four districts of Uttar Pradesh, **Saharanpur** has the highest concentration of Muslim population (39.1 percent). Contrary to the trend of low literacy figure in the Muslim concentrated districts of India, the literacy level here is 61.2 percent, which is higher than the state average. The literacy rate amongst the Muslim is 47.6 percent, even though it is home of two most important religious universities of the world, *Darul Uloom* at *Deoband* and *Madarsa Mazahir Uloom* at Saharanpur. The intellectual catchments area of its very strong nationalist tradition, covers the entire *Hindi* heartland. Apart from being the home of a religious excellence, the district is also known for woodcarving. Infact, it is

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<sup>9</sup> Hasan, Mushirul (2007), *From Pluralism to Separatism : Qasbas in Colonial Awadh*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi

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known as ‘*Shisham Wood Village*’ or ‘*Wood City*’ of India. This industry in Saharanpur is about 300 years old. About 4 lakhs people are directly or indirectly involved with the trade. A substantial proportion in this segment is from the Muslim community. Agriculturally also, this is one of the most developed district of western Uttar Pradesh. Because of the powerful presence of the two religious universities, as mentioned before, and generation of substantial economic surplus, establishing *Madarsas* has become almost a mass movement in this part of the state. *Madarsas* were generally established in those places where there was a gap in the public investment in social sectors. In fact, in this district, there are several instances of establishment of more than one *Madarsa* in a single village. Apart from the agenda of establishing *Madarsas* in the district, a number of CSOs were formed for dedicated service to the Muslim in the realm of modern educational institutions, vocational training centers, and micro-finance. A *Muslim Fund Trust Bank* was established in Deoband in 1961, to ensure liquidity without interest in their rank. Apart from lending activity which is no longer limited to Muslims only, the bank has also promoted other institutions for societal enabling. This is one of the few districts in the country where CSOs headed by and dedicated to the cause of Muslim women are found. One of the women CSOs <sup>10</sup> of the district had taken up the case of *Imrana*, who was subjected to diabolic rape and subsequent divorce by her own father-in-law. This notorious incident was nationally known. The concerned CSO displayed unmatched bravery, inspite of all insinuation and machination from its conservative rank. Unfortunately, it is one of the few districts with high concentration of Muslim population which had witnessed several instances of communal riots. However, the heritage of plurality ensured that, inspite of intense communal riots, none of the seats of religious learning was disturbed by the opposite communal fringe. Finally, one may note that some of the major CSOs in the district came into being, as a consequence of the extreme left (*Naxalite*) movement for ensuring the rights of the people residing in forest villages on the forest resources. These CSOs were established to consolidate the forest movement which had later co-opted other social agenda.

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<sup>10</sup> 'Astitva', Saharanpur

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The district of **Agra**, especially the main town, is one of the richest geographical enclaves of Uttar Pradesh. Apart from its rich agriculture, the district's economy is based on small scale industry in the realm of leather goods, handicrafts, Zari Zardoi, stone carving etc. But above all, the tourist trade possibly overshadows all possible economic activities in the backdrop of inimitable *Taj Mahal*. The Muslims in this district are essentially urban inhabitants with population concentration being of only 8.9 percent. The literacy rate here (62.6 percent) is higher than the state average like in Saharanpur. Muslims being concentrated in the urban area of the district, the literacy rate amongst them is 50.3 percent. It is possibly the only district in the country where the numbers of entrepreneurs in small-scale industry (especially leather) are from among the most disadvantaged rank, *Muslims* and the *Dalits*. Possibly because of Agra being a rich district, the absence of state sector social intervention is not acutely felt here. In the process, there were not many CSOs operating in the district, unlike in other parts of Uttar Pradesh. Although there are not many local CSOs, many organizations located outside the district or state is operative here. There is less diversification in the functioning of the CSOs. Most of the CSOs are dedicated towards imparting vocational training, particularly in the leather industry. Being a place of regular communal riots, a number of CSOs here are working towards either security related matter or communal harmony, essentially the reflection of a strong survival instinct. Some of the CSOs are also operating only for the charity. It is interesting that some of the *Madarsas* here are reinventing themselves, incorporating modern vocational training course.

The district of **Barabanki** is situated about 29 kms from Lucknow, the capital of Uttar Pradesh. The district being part of the Faizabad division, is located in the heart of the Awadh region. It is also known as 'Entrance to Poorvanchal'. It is a copy book example of a distinct *gasba* culture, in spite being a part of the cultural catchment area of Lucknow. This district is not only home to several national and international luminaries in art, culture, politics and academics, but also home for huge handloom industry, though officially not a part of the industrial corridor of Uttar Pradesh. Out of the four districts of Uttar Pradesh for the study, it has the highest consumption of different types of yarns. It has also the highest number of looms, number of households engaged in handloom activity, and full-time and part-time weavers. However, the condition of the bulk of the artisans engaged in this trade is dismal. Even though the artisans of Barabanki survived

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historically the onslaught of de-industrialisation during the British period, in the post-independence period, because of the absence of sufficient state patronage and current phase of globalisation, it is spelling doom to their trade. There are about 60 handlooms cooperative in the district. It is reported that the total turnover of the industry is about Rs. 500 crore. Unfortunately, although the bulk of the artisans creating wealth are from the backward Muslim community, the Hindu traders are controlling the sprawling trade. In Barabanki, 22.1 percent of the population is from the Muslim community with a literacy rate of 41.1 percent, even though the district average is 47.4 percent. In both the cases, it is much below the state average of literacy rate of 57.4 percent. This district also witnessed several rounds of communal riots, further putting the subaltern Muslim population into dismal state. Even though served by several rivers like the Ghaghra, Gomti and Kalyani and a canal system, its agriculture is not developed like that of the western Uttar Pradesh. Over and above, the *Permanent Settlement*, introduced during the British period, further acted fetter in the realm of incentive structure of production and productivity in agriculture. Apart from this institutional limitation, widespread cultivation of 'opium' also came in the way of proper development of the district economy. This is also one of the few districts where traditional elites were marginalized as a result of a widespread movement of the left parties earlier and *Dalit* movement later. In the absence of public investment in social sector, the gap in the educational sector is being filled by *Madarsas* and a number of subaltern Muslim led *Madarsas* have been set up, like in *Katra Ali Akbar Kasba*. *Imam* of the *Masjid* and *Idgah* is from a weaver community. In the Jaitpur Mohalla of the district, an important seat of handloom production, in the absence of government sponsored school, it is reported that 5 to 6 thousand boys have sat for *Hafeez* examination and about 400 girls sat for *Alim* examination from the community. In most of the places, *Madarsas* are sponsored to coopt the children from the lowest stratum of the Muslim community. In Barabanki, thus, the subalterns have created educational edifice for themselves. However, because of the proximity to Lucknow, CSOs are generally based there and not many CSOs have originated in the district itself. Possibly because of the backdrop of riots, many of the CSOs are working for the communal amity and charity and their nomenclature often indicate substantial partnership with the Hindu community. Some CSOs have been established in the *Masauli*, the seat of *Kidwais*, who have established educational institutions outside the religious agenda. Incidentally, there is no government school there within a radius of 12 kms. and the private schools being very expensive, children from the

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Muslim community cannot join them. In the absence of very organized CSOs, the welfare and enabling agenda for the weavers are not being served.

Out of the 8 districts selected for the study, **Bahraich** is the second most deprived district according to all social sector indicators, next only to Kishanganj. This is the only district in Uttar Pradesh in our study, which is also disadvantaged by nature as well. Apart from the dense forest, international border with Nepal, the district is regularly inundated by fast flowing rivers. Thus, inspite of fertile land and easy availability of ground and river water, the human settlement was very sparse in the district. Historically also, the district was neglected by the British administration, because it was the exit route for many of the mutineers to Nepal. The history of revolt did not end with the mutiny and, during the wake of freedom movement, the district played important role and Gandhi himself had visited the district. The district has the further disadvantage of being extremely feudal. It has about 16 estates, and the largest of them was *Kapurthala Estate*. Being owned by an absentee landlord, the Estate did not have the sense of ownership by its landlord to develop his fiefdom. Bahraich is a good example of intense participation in the revolt, then developing resistance to modernization and getting more insular. Further, although its natural endowment was rich, but a combination of insularity, feudalism and neglect of development both during the British and post independence period, made it one of the most backward enclave. Over and above, there is intense problem of human and child trafficking. It was reported that, in view of the sparse population, Nehru had once announced incentive of 5 acres of land to any family deciding to settle in the district in the fifties. After the partition, there was huge settlement of Sikh refugees in this part of the country. Even though the percentage of Muslim population in the district is only 34.8, the social indicators are dismal. While the general literacy rate is only 35.5 percent, amongst the Muslim, it is much lower at only 32.7 percent. Though there is a lack of social investment in the district, it has not triggered a wide spread CSO movement. However, some CSOs have been formed, primarily in the backdrop of regular floods, for relief and rehabilitation operation. Most of them are professionally driven, located outside the district. This district, like Muzaffarpur in Bihar, is covered by the PACS programme of DFID. Like in Barabanki, some of the Muslim led CSOs in Baharaich have also co-opted their Hindu brethren. Bahraich also has a share of caste-based Muslim CSOs. While there is clearly a lack of major entrepreneurship in the CSO front, there are numerous instances

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of promoting *Madarsas* even from below, essentially the result of absence of investment in schools by the state. Fortunately, *Madarsas* here are not limiting their reach to boys only, but extending it to girls' education as well. Unlike in Bihar, *Madarsas* in Uttar Pradesh in general and those in Bahraich in particular, are hostile to the idea of getting grants from the government. Such grants from government, they fear, will fetter their autonomy which in turn will be at the cost of quality. The *Madarsas* of *Darul Uloom Misodia Misbagia*, based in Bahraich town, is leading the campaign, even though this organization is not flushed with fund. However, the organization is confident to raise resources every year through their network all over the country. Many dedicated Muslim CSOs complained that, while it is impossible to raise resources for establishing modern school, getting donation for the *Madarsas* is not a difficult proposition. Ironically, even with less social endowment, *Madarsas* in Baharaich are modernizing and also becoming gender sensitive.

### **Pre-eminence of Madarsas in CSO Movement**

Most of the CSOs in the modern sense have not developed significantly among the Muslims. However, it will be erroneous if we do not take into consideration the decisive role that the CSOs are playing in the establishment of *Madarsas*. These *Madarsas* should not be viewed as a religious agenda only, and they have been established primarily because of skewed nature of the economic development, where Muslims are most affected. In the *Hindi* Heartland, with the increasing retreat of the state and the absence of coherent socio-economic agenda since the eighties, the electoral mobilization was either through ethno-religious hysteria or on the ground of positive discrimination. The entire *Nehrui* strategy of pluralistic nation building got relegated in the background. There was several fallout of this phenomenon. Ethno-religious mobilization of Hindus had immediate ideological resonance. The school textbooks were subjected to communal orientation, denying the nation its multi-culturalist heritage. *Urdu* language in the late nineteenth century had to face twin hostility. At one end, it was marginalized by the British and at the other end, it had to face determined hostility of '*Hindi*' language inventor *Bharatendu Harishchandra*. Even though the partition created massive communal divide leading to vivisection of the country, the fissiparous forces could not usurp the pluralistic agenda of nation building. However, this could not continue for long. With the increasing absence of inclusive ideological thrust and the compulsions of electoral politics, even the mainstream parties

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got succumbed to the appeal of ethno-religious mobilization. Any ideology which aims for a long term strategy, make school textbooks the first action point of its onslaught. The communalization of the textbook and the further marginalization of *Urdu* got new lease of life during the seventies. In Uttar Pradesh, with huge concentration of *Urdu* Speaking population (nearly two million), there is hardly any *Urdu* medium primary school, contrary to the provision of the Constitution (under Article 350 A). Over and above, *Urdu* is not considered as elective subject in Uttar Pradesh. At the last stage of Mulayam Singh Government, before it was voted out of power in 2007, *Urdu* was declared as second language. In contrast, hostility of the state towards this language has been absent in Bihar. Not only *Urdu* is the second language, even its teaching in school is available in many parts of the state.

The marginalisation of the Muslims, skewed nature of economic development, neglect of *Urdu* and communalization of the text books, all these together have triggered establishment of the *Madarsas* in many parts of the *Hindi* heartland. Thus, *Madarsas* have filled four important spaces, ensured literacy amongst the Muslim, co-opt students from the poorest rank, keeping alive the *Urdu* language and religious teaching. Bulk of the students in *Madarsas* is from the poorest strata where, apart from their studies, the expenditure on other items is also taken care by the *Madarsas*. The Muslim CSOs could continue with this task, because of the huge resource base that is available for this agenda, outside the formal structure of the state. This resource could be generated through the practice of *zakaat* and *ushra*. The concept of *zakaat* entails contribution of 2.5 percent on savings and movable properties of the donor and *ushra* entails 10 percent of agricultural produce of the donor for charity. These two practices derived their religious sustenance from the *Shariyat Laws*, which prescribes that *zakaat* or *ushra* resources should be spent only for the cause of the poor or religious education. It was reported that for the *Shias*, who are known for their wealth, the fiet for the *zakaat* is 10 percent. Contrary to the general understanding, it strictly prohibits any expenditure either on construction or maintenance of mosques or graveyards, but it can be spent for religious education. Thus the trigger of the *Madarsa* formation resulted from the addict of the *Shariyat Law*. This *Shariyat Law*, when it was propounded, was a brilliant strategy to create and consolidate the knowledge base among the Muslims even from the ordinary rank, because then theology, epistemology and science were all taught within the canopy of the religious institutions.



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Knowledge production through the *Madarsa* structure, it was envisaged, will get internalized in the rank of the Muslims. However, over the centuries, the cognitive world of *Madarsas* got generally stagnated, and even with ante-diluvium idea, its formation and expansion did not stop. With assured availability of resources, the agenda of Muslim COSs have not diversified. Over and above, institution like *Nadwatul Ulma* of Lucknow, *Darul Uloom* of Deoband and institutions established by *Bareilva Ulmas* and *Ulmas* of *Ahle-Hadis* have been the religious Northern Star for the establishment of the *Madarsas*.

### **Profile of Sample CSOs**

The concept of CSO is rather wide and it includes all social organisations, formal or informal, formed to undertake any 'collective' effort to address a social need. In this sense, CSOs have been in existence even in traditional societies, like the religious institutions, cultural groups or association of persons having same occupation or pursuing similar trade. Many of these traditional CSOs survive even in modern societies. However, in a modern society, one can observe a number of CSOs which are distinct from the traditional ones, both in terms of their agenda and organisational structure. The agenda for the present day CSOs include economic and social development, empowerment of marginalised sections of the population, environment, etc. and, to address them in the current context, the new CSOs are often formal organisations with defined membership with their own physical, human and financial base. These organisations are generally categorised as NGOs (non-governmental organisations). The present study, however, focuses on the entire spectrum of CSOs — traditional or modern, registered or unregistered, faith-based or agenda-based and, finally, including CSOs with various sectoral coverages.

The present survey is based on a sample of 301 CSOs, spread across 8 districts in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Before presenting the analytical profile of those organisations, it is necessary to describe the sampling procedure through which those 301 CSOs were chosen. At the field work stage of the study is each district, the research team had first tried to prepare two lists of the CSOs functioning in the district — one for the faith-based organisations and the other for the remaining social agenda-based ones. It might be noted here that neither of the lists was probably an exhaustive one. In case of faith based CSOs, the list is particularly non-exhaustive in those districts (e.g., Kishanganj in Bihar and Saharanpur in Uttar Pradesh) where such organisations are too numerous, mainly in the

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form of *Madarsas*. However, in all the districts, the list had sufficient number of CSOs to allow for a randomly selected sample. In case of social agenda-based CSOs, the prepared lists may also be non-exhaustive, as many such CSOs are not easily visible and they need to be 'discovered' by what is known as 'chain method' (one already identified CSO naming two/three more, those two/three CSOs naming another set and so forth). However, this exercise was done thoroughly in all the districts and the extent of non-inclusion might be rather limited in case of social agenda-based CSOs. After these two lists were prepared in each of the districts, random samples were drawn. For social agenda-based CSOs, the sample size was about 20 in each district. For faith-based CSOs again, it was planned to draw a sample 20 in each district, but the sample size had to be curtailed in several districts, because the month of Ramzan covered a large part of the survey period, and functionaries of the faith-based CSOs are generally busy in collection drive during the month. Table 3.2 presents the details of CSOs finally identified and interviewed for all the districts in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.

The total sample size for the study, as presented in Table 3.2, was 161 CSOs in Bihar and 140 of them in Uttar Pradesh, totaling to 301 CSOs in the two states. The sample CSOs in Bihar comprise 22.2 percent of the identified CSOs and, in Uttar Pradesh, the corresponding figure is 25.9 percent. In other words, approximately 1 out of every 4 identified CSOs has been interviewed in both the states. For social agenda-based CSOs where the pattern of functioning exhibits considerable variation, the coverage of the sample CSOs is wider — the proportion of identified CSOs finally interviewed being 35.5 and 32.7 percent in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh respectively. In other words, approximately, 1 out of every 3 social agenda-based CSOs has been included in the sample in both the states.

It was initially decided to present the profile the CSOs in the two states separately for two sub-samples, the faith-based CSOs and the social agenda-based ones. However, in course of analysis, it was realised that it would be more appropriate to divide the total sample into three sub-samples (not two) as per the following criterion:

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(i) Type 1

These CSOs are agenda-based organisations which define their area of operation in terms of geographical units, sometimes as small as a single village. A specific focus for the welfare of Muslim population is not planned by them. The sample for the present study, however, includes only those Type 1 CSOs in whose operational area Muslims constitute a sizeable part of the population. Such CSOs were found to be headed or organised in some instances by the Muslims, in other instances by the Hindus.

(ii) Type II

These CSOs are again agenda-based organisations, but their scope of activities is focused exclusively on the welfare of the Muslims. They are invariably organised and headed by the Muslims. They are, however, not faith-based organisations and they generally address wider issues of development like education, health, economic opportunities and the like. Such CSOs are relatively less in number, but from the perspective of strengthening the CSO movement among the Muslims, they deserve a separate attention.

(iii) Type III

These CSOs are those organisations which are faith-based and have a welfare agenda for the Muslims population. Nearly all of them are Madarsas, but of varying nature, some maintaining the educational unit alone, others having residential facilities and still others running orphanage homes, etc. The 'charity' activities of these CSOs are very wide, in contrast to 'enabling' activities which characterise other two types of CSOs.

In Table 3.3, we have presented the percentage distribution of the sample CSOs in those three categories. It is interesting to note from this table that, in Bihar, only 14 out of the 161 sample CSOs (8.7 percent) were of Type II, a category indicating the initiatives of the Muslims for their own welfare outside the traditional faith-based organisations. In Uttar Pradesh, such initiative is comparatively more visible, as 24 out of 140 sample CSOs (17.1

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percent) were found to be of Type II. Among the districts, such CSOs are relatively more in Patna (Bihar) and Saharanpur (Uttar Pradesh).

As regards the duration of existence of sample CSOs (Table 3.4), the responses indicate that the CSO, as a social movement, has a longer history in Bihar than in Uttar Pradesh. Admittedly, the institution of *Madarsa* and ‘zakaat’ has an equally long history in both the states, but the social agenda-based CSOs had probably emerged earlier in Bihar than in Uttar Pradesh. Thus, no less than 60.9 percent of the CSOs in Bihar are reported to be in existence for than 10 years, such CSOs being only 35.3 percent in Uttar Pradesh. Indeed, the process of creation of new CSOs is still very strong in Uttar Pradesh where no less than 18.7 percent of them were established in last three years; in contrast, such newly created CSOs are only 4.3 percent in Bihar. Within Bihar, the CSOs in Patna have the longest duration of existence, followed by West Champaran, Muzaffarpur and Kishanganj. Interestingly, as will be observed later, the CSO movement in Kishanganj is found to be relatively stronger, although the movement has started there much later. In Uttar Pradesh, the CSO movement had originated much earlier in Agra, followed by Barabanki, Saharanpur and Baharaich.

Leaving aside the faith-based CSOs which generally operate around a mosque or a *Kabristan*, other organisations are the result of social initiative of a single or at most a small group of individuals. Broadly speaking, such individuals were found to have three types of backgrounds. Some of them have been social workers or social activists during the early party of their lives and, based on their working experiences, they have later formed CSOs which make their earlier efforts wider and more organised. The second group of individuals comprised those who were part of political movements at some stage of their lives and had later decided to change their mode of functioning and organised CSOs to serve the disadvantaged sections of the population. Finally, there were individuals who were members of the elite section of the society, mostly professionals, and had decided to organise CSOs, largely out of a sense of idealism and philanthropy. Of course, one can also find instances where the people themselves have formed CSOs on their own (with a leader chosen from among themselves), mainly to meet a common problem (e.g., prevention of encroachment of *Kabristan* land), but such efforts are not numerous.

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It is interesting to note that, whatever might be the origin of different CSOs, their organisational structures are fairly homogeneous. Consider, for example, the fact that the practice of getting the CSOs registered (and hence provide a legal identity of the organisation) is very common in Bihar and more so in Uttar Pradesh. In Bihar, 71.4 percent of the CSOs are registered. This registration is either under the Societies Registration Act and in a very small number case under the Trust Act. Besides that, in many cases among the *Madarsas*, the registration (more precisely, affiliation) is with the state-level *Madarsa* Board. Among the districts in Bihar, the practice of registration/affiliation is the widest in Patna and Kishanganj, the two districts where CSO movement is relatively stronger. In Uttar Pradesh, the proportion of CSO registered (here they are actually registered, not just affiliated) is even higher at 87.0 percent and the practice is equally wide in all the districts.

The concept of an Executive Body is relevant for a registered CSO, either under the Society or Trust Act. But an equivalent concept of a body that is responsible for taking major policy decision is relevant for all CSOs, including unregistered, informal, traditional faith-based ones. Within such an interpretation, the 'average size of the executive body of the CSOs' in presented in Table 3.6A (Bihar) and Table 3.6B (Uttar Pradesh). Surprisingly, this is a very stable figure, ranging from 10-12, across both the states and all the three types of CSOs. As regards the gender composition of the executive bodies, it is interesting to note that female members are altogether absent not only among the faith-based Type III CSOs, but they are equally absent in Type II CSOs as well. Fortunately, there is some space for female members in the executive body of Type I CSOs. In Bihar, broadly speaking, about one-fifth of the members of the executive body are a female; in Uttar Pradesh, females constitute about one-sixth of the executive committee members.

Even with respect to the 'average number of meetings of the executive committee', CSOs in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh display a steady pattern. This figure is 1.9 in Bihar and slightly less at 1.8 for Bihar, implying that executive committees of CSOs meet about twice in a year. Interestingly, this frequency of meeting is found among all types of CSO and, even among the districts, the variation is very limited.

**Table 3.1 : Profile of Selected Districts in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh**

Item	Bihar			
	Kishanganj	W. Champaran	Muzaffarpur	Patna
Area (Sq. km)	1884	5228	3172	3202
Population (in lakh)	13.0	30.43	37.46	47.19
Sex Ratio	936	901	920	873
Density of Population	688	582	1181	1474
Percentage of SC Population	6.6	14.3	15.9	15.5
Percentage of ST Population	3.6	1.5	0.1	0.2
Percentage of Muslim Population	67.6	21.2	15.3	7.8
Muslim Literacy Rate	27.0	43.3	47.0	69.6
General Literacy Rate — (a) Male	42.7	51.1	59.1	73.3
(b) Female	18.6	25.2	35.8	50.8
(c) Total	31.1	38.9	47.9	62.9
Administrative Structure: (a) Tehsils	1	3	2	6
(b) Blocks	7	18	16	
(c) Town	3	5	3	12
(d) Villages	771	148	1796	1421
Educational Infrastructure : (a) Schools	556	1692	2735	1773
(b) Colleges	3	3	26	16
	Uttar Pradesh			
	Barabanki	Bahraich	Saharanpur	Agra
Area (Sq. km)	4402	4420	3689	4027
Population (in lakh)	26.7 lac	23.8 lac	29.0 lac	36.2 lac
Sex Ratio	887	867	865	846
Density of Population	607	539	785	899
Percentage of SC Population	26.9	14.4	21.7	21.8
Percentage of ST Population	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.1
Percentage of Muslim Population	22.1	34.8	39.1	8.9
Muslim Literacy Rate	41.4	32.7	47.6	50.3
General Literacy Rates : (a) Male	58.8	45.6	70.9	74.6
(b) Female	34.3	22.8	50.0	48.3
(c) Total	47.4	35.2	61.2	62.6
Administrative Structure : (a) Tehsils	7	4	4	6
(b) Blocks	21	12	11	15
(c) Town	12	4	13	17
(d) Villages	1842	1226	1606	938
Educational Infrastructure: (a) School	3,178	1180	2206	2603
(b) Colleges	11	7	8	15

**Table 3.2 : Details of CSOs Identified and Interviewed in Different Districts (Bihar and Uttar Pradesh)**

	Identified CSOs			Interviewed CSOs		
	Faith based	Agenda based	Total	Faith based	Agenda based	Total
<b>Bihar</b>						
Kishanganj	225	37	262	11 (4.9)	23 (62.2)	34 (13.0)
W. Champaran	142	137	279	29 (20.4)	20 (14.6)	49 (17.6)
Muzaffarpur	61	41	102	21 (34.4)	24 (58.5)	45 (44.1)
Patna	51	30	82	13 (25.0)	20 (66.7)	33 (40.2)
All districts	480	245	725	74 (15.4)	87 (35.5)	161 (22.2)
<b>Uttar Pradesh</b>						
Barabanki	24	113	137	17 (70.8)	20 (17.7)	37 (27.0)
Bahraich	168	60	228	15 (8.9)	21 (35.0)	36 (15.8)
Saharanpur	60	40	100	10 (16.7)	23 (57.5)	33 (33.0)
Agra	15	59	74	9 (60.0)	25 (42.4)	34 (45.9)
All districts	267	272	539	51 (19.1)	89 (32.7)	140 (26.0)

Note : Figures in bracket indicate Interviewed CSOs as percentage of Identified CSOs

**Table 3.3 : Percentage Distribution of Sample CSOs by Organizational Base (Bihar and Uttar Pradesh)**

Type of CSO	Bihar				
	Kishanganj (N = 34)	West Champaran (N = 49)	Muzaffarpur (N = 45)	Patna (N = 33)	Total (N = 161)
Type – I	67.6	40.8	42.2	57.6	50.3
Type – II	11.8	2.0	4.4	21.2	8.7
Type – III	20.6	57.1	53.3	21.2	41.0
All	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Type of CSO	Uttar Pradesh				
	Barabanki (N = 37)	Baharaich (N = 36)	Saharanpur (N = 33)	Agra (N = 34)	Total (N = 140)
Type – I	54.1	44.4	51.5	85.3	58.6
Type – II	13.5	13.9	33.3	8.8	17.1
Type – III	32.4	41.7	15.2	5.9	24.3
All	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

**Table 3.4 : Percentage Distribution of Sample CSOs by Duration of Existence (Bihar and Uttar Pradesh)**

Districts	Duration of Existence				
	Up to 3 year	4-6 year	7-10 years	Above 10 years	Total
<b>Bihar</b>					
Kishanganj	2 (5.9)	9 (26.5)	9 (26.5)	14 (41.1)	34 (100.0)
West Champaran	2 (4.1)	5 (10.2)	6 (12.2)	36 (73.5)	49 (100.0)
Muzaffarpur	3 (6.7)	5 (11.1)	15 (33.3)	22 (48.9)	45 (100.0)
Patna	0 (0.0)	3 (9.1)	4 (12.1)	26 (78.8)	33 (100.0)
All Districts	7 (4.3)	22 (13.7)	34 (21.1)	98 (60.9)	161 (100.0)
<b>Uttar Pradesh</b>					
Barabanki	8 (21.6)	4 (10.8)	10 (27.0)	15 (40.5)	37 (100.0)
Bahraich	9 (25.0)	6 (16.7)	16 (44.4)	5 (13.9)	36 (100.0)
Saharanpur	8 (24.2)	14 (42.4)	6 (18.2)	5 (15.2)	33 (100.0)
Agra	1 (2.9)	0 (0.0)	9 (26.5)	24 (70.6)	34 (100.0)
All Districts	26 (18.6)	23 (16.4)	41 (29.3)	49 (35.0)	140 (100.0)

**Table 3.5 : Percentage Distribution of Sampled CSOs by Duration of Existence Duration of Existence**

District	Type	Up to 3 years	4-6 years	7-10 years	Above 10 years	Total
Bihar	Type – I	3 (3.7)	17 (21.0)	25 (30.9)	36 (44.4)	81 (100.0)
	Type – II	1 (7.1)	1 (7.1)	2 (14.3)	10 (71.5)	14 (100.0)
	Type – III	3 (4.5)	4 (6.1)	7 (10.6)	52 (78.8)	66 (100.0)
	Total	7 (4.3)	22 (13.7)	34 (21.1)	98 (60.9)	161 (100.0)
Uttar Pradesh	Type – I	13 (15.9)	15 (18.3)	22 (26.8)	32 (39.0)	82 (100.0)
	Type – II	10 (41.7)	5 (20.8)	5 (20.8)	4 (16.7)	24 (100.0)
	Type – III	3 (8.8)	4 (11.8)	14 (41.2)	13 (38.2)	34 (100.0)
	Total	26 (18.6)	24 (17.1)	41 (29.3)	49 (35.0)	140 (100.0)



**Table 3.6 : Distribution of Sampled CSOs by Legal Status (Bihar and Uttar Pradesh)**

Districts	Legal Status		Total
	Registered	Unregistered	
<b>Bihar</b>			
Kishanganj	30 (88.2)	4 (11.8)	34 (100.0)
West Champaran	26 (53.1)	23 (46.9)	49 (100.0)
Muzaffarpur	29 (64.4)	16 (35.6)	45 (100.0)
Patna	30 (90.9)	3 (9.1)	33 (100.0)
All Districts	115 (71.4)	46 (28.6)	161 (100.0)
<b>Uttar Pradesh</b>			
Barabanki	32 (86.5)	5 (13.5)	37 (100.0)
Bahraich	30 (83.3)	6 (16.7)	36 (100.0)
Saharanpur	27 (81.8)	6 (18.2)	33 (100.0)
Agra	33 (97.0)	1 (3.0)	34 (100.0)
All Districts	122 (87.1)	18 (12.9)	140 (100.0)

Note : Only 8 out of 115 registered CSOs in Bihar are registered under Trust Act. In Uttar Pradesh, the registration under Trust Act is even lesser, only 5 out of 122 registered CSOs.

**Table 3.7 : Percentage Distribution of Sampled CSOs by Legal Status**

Status	Type	Legal Status		Total
		Registered	Unregistered	
Bihar	Type – I	78 (96.3)	3 (3.7)	81 (100.0)
	Type – II	14 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	14 (100.0)
	Type – III	23 (34.8)	43 (65.2)	66 (100.0)
	Total	115 (71.4)	46 (28.6)	161 (100.0)
Uttar Pradesh	Type – I	80 (97.6)	2 (2.4)	82 (100.0)
	Type – II	11 (45.8)	13 (54.2)	24 (100.0)
	Type – III	31 (91.2)	3 (8.8)	34 (100.0)
	Total	122 (87.1)	18 (12.9)	140 (100.0)

**Table 3.8 : Average Size of Executive Body of CSOs (Bihar and Uttar Pradesh)**

District	Type of CSO	Male	Female	Total	District	Type of CSO	Male	Female	Total
Bihar					Uttar Pradesh				
Kishanganj	Type – I	9.1	2.1	11.2	Barabanki	Type – I	9.1	2.1	11.2
	Type – II	10.0	—	10.0		Type – II	10.2	—	10.2
	Type – III	10.7	—	10.7		Type – III	10.7	—	10.7
	All	9.5	1.4	10.9		All	9.8	1.1	10.9
W. Champaran	Type – I	7.8	1.8	9.6	Baharaich	Type – I	12.3	0.1	12.4
	Type – II	11.0	—	11.0		Type – II	15.0	—	15.0
	Type – III	14.7	—	14.7		Type – III	14.4	—	14.4
	All	11.7	0.7	12.4		All	13.5	0.1	13.6
Muzaffarpur	Type – I	9.2	2.0	11.2	Saharanpur	Type – I	8.5	2.7	11.2
	Type – II	12.0	—	12.0		Type – II	11.4	—	11.4
	Type – III	11.0	—	11.0		Type – III	10.6	—	10.6
	All	10.3	0.8	11.1		All	9.8	1.4	11.2
Patna	Type – I	8.3	2.5	10.7	Agra	Type – I	7.8	1.9	9.7
	Type – II	11.6	—	11.6		Type – II	10.3	—	10.3
	Type – III	10.4	—	10.4		Type – III	11.0	—	11.0
	All	9.4	1.5	10.9		All	8.2	1.6	9.8
Bihar	Type – I	8.6	2.1	10.7	Uttar Pradesh	Type – I	9.1	1.8	10.9
	Type – II	11.1	—	11.1		Type – II	11.7	—	11.7
	Type – III	12.4	—	12.4		Type – III	12.3	—	12.3
	All	10.4	1.1	11.5		All	10.4	1.0	11.4

**Table 3.9 : Average Number of Meetings of Executive Body Last Year (Bihar and Uttar Pradesh)**

District	Type of CSO	Average No. of Meeting	District	Type of CSO	Average No. of Meetings
Kishanganj	Type – I	1.7	Barabanki	Type – I	1.6
	Type – II	1.5		Type – II	1.6
	Type – III	2.1		Type – III	1.7
	All	1.7		All	1.6
W. Champaran	Type – I	1.8	Baharaich	Type – I	1.7
	Type – II	1.0		Type – II	1.8
	Type – III	1.9		Type – III	1.9
	All	1.8		All	1.8
Muzaffarpur	Type – I	2.0	Saharanpur	Type – I	2.0
	Type – II	2.5		Type – II	1.8
	Type – III	1.9		Type – III	1.8
	All	2.0		All	1.9
Patna	Type – I	2.1	Agra	Type – I	1.8
	Type – II	2.1		Type – II	2.0
	Type – III	1.9		Type – III	2.0
	All	2.1		All	1.8
Bihar	Type – I	1.9	Uttar Pradesh	Type – I	1.8
	Type – II	2.0		Type – II	1.8
	Type – III	1.9		Type – III	1.8
	All	1.9		All	1.8

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## CHAPTER IV

### ASSESSMENT OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS

The emergence of CSOs, either in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh or elsewhere in India, as discussed before, has been a people's response to the failure of the development policies since independence. These failures are easily identifiable in terms of unemployment, poverty, shrinkage of livelihood opportunities, poor educational and health standards and finally, steady widening of social and regional disparities. It is not difficult to present a set of statistical figures, substantiating the limitations of the development policy in each of those spheres, indicating the nature of social 'stimulus' that has been at work to give rise to the CSOs in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. In contrast, it will be extremely difficult to present an equally informative set of statistical figures that adequately characterise the nature of social 'response' to the development challenge at hand. This is primarily because such responses are highly heterogeneous, each one made by a group of individuals matching its own understanding of the local problems and its own initial resources, part of it human and the rest physical. The functioning of a CSO and its success or failure is largely determined by the adequacy of its theoretical understanding of the development challenge at hand and its resource base. It is possibly true that many CSOs which had emerged in recent period had failed because of an inappropriate goal-setting, but it will possibly be even more true that many more have failed to achieve their goals because of capacity limitations.

Whether one talks of human or physical resource base, together comprising the organisation's capacity endowment, the problems encountered by them are likely to be substantially different for different types of CSOs, particularly those which are faith-based and the rest which are formal NGOs. In the following discussion, therefore, we have used the three-fold classification of CSOs, as detailed in the previous Chapter.

#### **Structure of Organisations**

Within the consideration of structure, the survey has considered five different dimensions — location of headquarters, office space, possession of movable assets, human base of operation and annual expenditure.

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### Location of Headquarters

For understandable reasons, closeness to the grassroots is considered as one of the strengths of CSOs, lending it a capacity to interact directly with the population at that level and thereby enhance the chances of a successful development intervention. Under this assumption, if the headquarters of a CSO is located 'outside the district', it is a rather disadvantage; to be located at the 'district headquarters' is relatively more desirable; and finally, an office for the CSO at sub-district levels at 'other town/rural areas' bring it still closer to the people and hence even more desirable. This broad reasoning, however, does not preclude the possibility of a particular CSO maintaining close contact with its targetted clientele, in spite of having its office at a rather distant place. The percentage distribution of sample CSOs by the location of their headquarters is presented in Table 4.1A (Bihar) and 4.1B (Uttar Pradesh).

In Bihar, 57.1 percent of the CSOs have their headquarters in 'other town/ rural areas', implying their closeness to the people. Another 37.9 percent of the CSOs are located at the 'district headquarters' and only a small portion of the CSOs (5.0 percent) operate from 'outside the district'. Quite expectedly, this feature of closeness to the people is even more valid for Type III CSOs which are faith-based, with no less than 83.3 percent of them having their headquarters at 'other town/ rural areas'. Among the districts, this overall tendency of having the CSO headquarters at 'other town/rural areas', is found to be stronger in West Champaran and Muzaffarpur; but in other two districts (Kishanganj and Patna), CSOs with headquarters at 'district headquarters' is relatively more, particularly in Patna. This is primarily because Patna, being the state capital, offers some special advantages and, as Kishanganj is an extremely backward district, the facilities outside the district headquarters are very limited. In both these districts, therefore, CSOs have a tendency to be located at the district headquarters.

In Uttar Pradesh, the situation with respect to the location of CSO's headquarters is slightly different where only 40.7 percent of the CSOs have their headquarters at 'other town/rural areas', compared to 50.0 percent of CSOs operating from the 'district headquarters' and another 9.3 percent having their headquarters 'outside the district'. Apparently, it is a disadvantage for the CSOs in Uttar Pradesh, but when one compares the situation across the four districts, it appears that some CSOs there overcome this location disadvantage

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because of relatively better transport and communication facilities in relatively developed districts like Saharanpur and Agra. The proportion of CSOs having their headquarters at 'district headquarters' or 'outside the district' is very high at both Saharanpur (69.7 percent) and Agra (82.4 percent). In other two districts (Barabanki and Baharacih), the preponderance of CSOs with headquarters at 'other town/rural areas' is relatively higher. As regards variation across different types of CSOs, one observes a uniform trend in both Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, viz., a majority of the faith-based CSOs (Type III) have their headquarters at 'other town/rural areas', but the headquarters of formal NGOs (Type I or Type II) are more often located at 'district headquarters' or 'outside the district'.

### Office Space

Towards knowing the physical capacity of the sample CSOs, the survey had collected information about the adequacy of their office spaces as well as the nature of its ownership. In the absence of any standard measure, the respondents were asked to report their 'subjective' opinion (whether adequate or not) about their respective office spaces, but the responses are certainly based on their working experiences and hence merit attention. The relevant information on these important dimensions of the physical capacity endowment is presented in Table 4.2A (Bihar) and Table 4.2B (Uttar Pradesh).

It is important to note that no less than 41.0 percent of the CSOs in Bihar operate in an office space, considered to be inadequate by the functionaries. This is undoubtedly a serious limitation of their capacities, and this limitation is observed for all types of CSOs (Types I, II or III). In most cases, this office space is owned (70.8 percent), but very often, they are either part of a mosque or private property of a member of the CSO who has kindly allowed its use by the organisation. With their limited financial resources, the CSOs are not able to own a space. It is true that 27.3 percent of the CSOs are able to rent a space for their office, but generally such rented offices are too small and inadequate for any efficient functioning of the organisations. Among the districts, CSOs in Kishanganj are more fortunate, as 85.3 percent of the CSOs there operate with adequate office space, some of them even renting it. At the other end lie the CSOs in West Champaran where only 44.9

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percent of them operate with adequate office space, the practice of renting an office space being the least in the district.

In Uttar Pradesh, the capacity endowment of the CSOs with respect to adequacy of office space and its ownership is slightly higher, but even there no less than 35.0 percent of the CSOs operate with inadequate office space. Among the districts, rather surprisingly, the CSOs in Barabanki and Baharaich are relatively better off in terms of adequacy of office space, although they are relatively more backward regions. As regards ownership of the office space, they are generally owned (71.4 percent), but as observed in Bihar, they are either part of a mosque or private property of one of the kind members of the CSO.

### Physical Capacity

Yet another physical capacity endowment of CSOs is the furniture/ fixtures in their office and availability of computer/ vehicle with them. Again, in the absence of any standard measure, the respondents were asked to report their 'subjective' opinion (whether adequate or not) about their furniture/ fixtures and computer/ vehicle, based on their working experiences. These responses are presented in Table 4.3 A (Bihar) and Table 4.3 B (Uttar Pradesh).

Since furnitures/ fixtures are relatively less costly, one would have expected that nearly all the CSOs have adequate endowment of this minimal working facility. But unfortunately, this is not the case. In Bihar, no less than 47.8 percent of the CSOs are forced to operate with either inadequate furniture/ fixture or none of it at all. This capacity limitation is even more serious for faith-based organisations (Type III), 75.8 percent of which lack this minimal working facility. Among the districts, one observes considerable variation with respect to availability of furniture/ fixtures for the CSOs. But here again, it is the CSOs at Kishanganj which are found to be most equipped in terms of office equipments. The most handicapped CSOs are found in West Champaran.

It was earlier observed that CSOs in Uttar Pradesh were slightly better off in terms of office space. When it comes to furniture/ fixtures, one observes a similar trend, as 67.9

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percent of the CSOs there are reported to have adequate furniture/ fixtures. But for an overall evaluation of physical capacity endowment of CSOs, one should remember that no less than 32.1 percent of them operate with inadequate or no furniture/ fixture in Uttar Pradesh. There is not much variation among different types of CSOs (Types I, II and III) in terms of endowment of office equipments, but among the districts, the variations are considerable. It is the CSOs in Agra district which are best endowed with office equipments, with 85.3 percent of them reporting their furnitures/ fixtures to be adequate. The worst working conditions are found to exist in Saharanpur. Indeed, the inter-district variation with respect to endowment of office equipment is so wide in Uttar Pradesh that, once the CSOs in Agra district are left out of the discussion, the situation in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh will be nearly same where about half the CSOs lack adequate office equipments, hindering their functioning.

Apart from furnitures/ fixtures, any organisation these days also requires computers and vehicles, two modern facilities which are also relatively more costly, particularly vehicle. In a scenario where even minimal endowment of furniture/ fixture is absent, one would not expect the CSOs in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh to be well-equipped with computers and vehicles, but for a complete evaluation of their capacity endowment, it is necessary to know how many of the CSOs are fortunate to own these facilities. It may be noted here that, considering the nature of functioning of CSOs which involve extensive local travelling, a vehicle is often a part of minimal necessity.

As regards computer, no less than 37.9 percent of the CSOs do not have this facility. As expected, this deprivation is the highest among the faith-based organisations (Type III). However, it is heartening to note that, among Type I CSOs, this deprivation is very low, only 4.9 percent of them reporting the absence of a computer. On the other end, only 27.3 percent of the CSOs are found to have adequate modern computer facility. Thus, on the whole, it might be inferred that availability of computers for CSOs is very low in Bihar. Among the four districts, this physical capacity endowment is the highest in Patna, followed by Kishanganj, West Champaran and Muzaffarpur. For vehicles, the situation is much worse. For Bihar as a whole, 78.9 percent of the CSOs operate without a vehicle, the



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deprivation being the highest among the Type III CSOs. Among the districts, the CSOs in Kishanganj are much better off, particularly those of Types I and II.

In Uttar Pradesh, the physical capacity endowment of the CSO in terms of availability of computers is worse than in Bihar. Here no less than 50.0 percent of the CSOs do not have this modern facility. As in Bihar, this capacity limitation is more among the Type III CSOs in Uttar Pradesh also. The proportion of CSOs with adequate computer facility in Uttar Pradesh is only 28.6 percent, nearly the same as in Bihar. Among the four sample districts, this physical capacity endowment is the highest in Saharanpur where 39.4 percent of the CSOs are reported to have adequate computer facilities. Other districts in decreasing order of endowment are Agra, Baharaich and Barabanki. For vehicles again, the situation in Uttar Pradesh is worse where 89.6 percent of the CSOs operate without a vehicle. Remembering that many of the CSOs in Uttar Pradesh have their office away from their area of operation, the absence of a vehicle is even more serious constraint in Uttar Pradesh than in Bihar.

### Human Base of Operation

Even when a CSO is a formal one in the sense that they are registered bodies, classified as Type I or II in the present study, they remain largely informal in their functioning. Indeed, it is this informal nature of their functioning that lends them enormous flexibility to respond to their varying tasks, fluctuating external support or diverse social milieu. Nowhere this informal nature of a CSO is more visible than in the human base of their operations. At the core of this human base of a CSO lies a small group of individuals whose commitment to the organisation is the highest, it is this group that sets the broad agenda of the CSO, plan its different operations, collect resources (sometimes making personal contributions) and also mobilise 'additional manpower' to undertake development interventions. However, the composition of this additional manpower greatly varies across the CSOs and across their different programmes. Broadly speaking this additional manpower can be divided into three components — first, a group of persons who work regularly with the organisation, generally in lieu of a payment; second, there are persons who work for the CSO for a particular project and assignment, again in lieu of a payment,

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but their association is temporary and lasts as long as the project lasts; and finally, there are persons who work ‘voluntarily’ for the CSO, either because they are direct/ indirect beneficiaries of its programmes or because of purely philanthropic motivations. Of these three components, the last one is too fluid to be quantified and second one is rather unsteady. To indicate the strength of the human base of the CSOs, we have, thus, restricted our enquiry to the first component alone, viz., the persons who work regularly for the organisation. Therefore, the average number of persons regularly working with a CSO, as reported in Table 4.4 A (Bihar) and Table 4.4B (Uttar Pradesh), is rather small. But we should remember that this small group is generally supplemented by others (temporary workers or volunteers), depending upon the CSO and their programmes.

In Bihar, average number of persons working regularly for a CSO is 12.8 and this might be considered as a decent strength. The volume of development work done by these organisations, as will be discussed next, is not very high and, as such, an office having strength of about 13 persons should be considered as adequate for the CSOs. Out of this 12.8 persons, 7.7 persons (60.2 percent) belong to the category of professional staff, the remaining 5.1 persons (39.8 percent) being supporting workers. This division is not as strict as in many government or private organisations and it is very likely that, depending upon the situation at hand, the supporting staff quite often supplements the efforts of their professional colleagues. But it does appear that, in Bihar, the average size of the supporting staff is rather large, at the cost of the strength of the professionals. Among the three types of CSOs, the average staff strength is the highest for Type I CSOs (15.4 persons) and this is very expected, as most of them enjoy substantial external support to implement various development programmes. Among the districts, the average staff strength of a CSO is the highest in West Champaran (18.9 persons) and the lowest in Muzaffarpur (8.0 persons). It is interesting to note that when the staff strength is low, CSOs economise on supporting staff, rather than on professionals. Thus, in Muzaffarpur, out of total staff strength of 8.0 persons, only 2.3 persons (28.8 percent) are supporting staff, the remaining 5.7 (71.2 percent) persons being professionals. If we take a staff strength of 5 regular workers as the minimum for an effective and viable CSO, it is noticed that more than 40 percent of the CSOs do not meet this requirement. The situation is nearly the same in all the districts.

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The human base of the CSO operations in Uttar Pradesh is unfortunately weaker, compared to the scenario in Bihar. The average number of regularly working persons in a CSO there is only 8.4, compared to 12.8 in Bihar. Admittedly, part of this human base disadvantage is because of smaller agenda of the CSOs in Uttar Pradesh, but staff strength of barely 8.4 persons can be a serious deterrent for their functioning. Fortunately, the CSOs there, maintain relatively lesser number of supporting staff; out of 8.4 staff members, only 2.7 (32.1 percent) are supporting staff, compared to 39.8 percent in Bihar. If one compares average staff strength for different types of CSOs, the scenarios in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh are again seen to be very different. Whereas in Bihar, the CSOs of Type I was found to have relatively wider human resources base, it is the CSOs of Type III (faith-based organisations) that command relatively wider human base in Uttar Pradesh. The average staff strength for Type III CSOs in Uttar Pradesh is 12.5 persons, compared to 8.0 and 3.9 persons for Type I and Type II CSOs respectively. From this fact as well as a few other observations in the field, it appears that the programmes of faith-based organisations in Uttar Pradesh are more substantive and wider, requiring the services of more staff members. One also observes this tendency of higher average staff strength for Type III CSOs in all the districts of Uttar Pradesh.

### Annual Expenditure

An evaluation of the capacity endowments of CSOs, for obvious reasons, must also include its financial base, besides the physical infrastructure and manpower, discussed just above. Taking annual expenditure as the indicator of their financial capacity, Table 4.5A (Bihar) and Table 4.5B (Uttar Pradesh) present the percentage distribution of CSOs in different expenditure categories.

In Bihar, the distribution of the sample CSOs in four expenditure categories indicates a wide range of financial base for the CSOs there. Just as 39.8 percent of the CSOs there operate with a rather small budget of less than Rs. 2 lakh, one can also find at the other extreme 26.7 percent of CSOs operating with a rather large budget of more than Rs. 10 lakh. Interestingly, the group of CSOs with an annual expenditure above Rs. 10 lakh also includes a number of faith-based CSOs which are generally supported by individual

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contributions. The proportion of CSOs with an annual expenditure above Rs. 10 lakh is the highest among the Type I CSOs (37.0 percent), and even among the Type II CSOs, the proportion is a decent 28.6 percent. Among the districts, as expected, CSOs in Patna enjoy the strongest financial base where nearly half the CSOs (45.5 percent) operate with an annual budget above Rs. 10 lakh. This advantage is essentially a result of Patna being the state capital. It was earlier observed that the capacity of the CSOs in Kishanganj is relatively higher and this conclusion is further reiterated through their annual expenditure figures which are next only to those at Patna. In Kishanganj, no less than 38.2 percent of the CSOs spend more than Rs. 10 lakh per year. The other two districts with decreasing order of financial strength are Muzaffarpur and West Champaran.

The financial strength of the CSOs in Uttar Pradesh, as revealed through their average annual expenditure, is relatively less compared to their counterparts in Bihar. Of the total number of sample CSOs there, nearly half (45.7 percent) operate with an annual budget of only less than Rs. 2 lakh and barely 18.6 percent of them have an annual expenditure over Rs. 10 lakh. The corresponding figures for Bihar, as mentioned just above, are 39.8 percent and 26.7 percent respectively. Fortunately, even here, some of the Type III CSOs operate with a large budget of above Rs. 10 lakh, but the financial strength of Type II CSOs in Uttar Pradesh is extremely weak, as nearly all of them (95.8 percent) have an annual expenditure of less than Rs. 5 lakh. Among the four districts, the financial health is most satisfactory for CSOs in Agra, with other three districts in decreasing order of their financial strength being Baharaich, Saharanpur and Barabanki.

It was found during the field survey that the annual expenditure of CSOs is not a steady amount and it shows substantial year-to-year variation. The two tables (4.5A and 4.5B) were prepared on the basis of average expenditure for three latest years, generally 2003-04, 2004-05 and 2005-06. From only three-year long data, it is not easy to prepare an index of 'steadiness' of the annual expenditure figures. However, two broad observations can be noted here regarding the steadiness of these expenditure figures. First, the problem of unsteady expenditure is probably the least for Type III CSOs which are largely based on *zakaat* or other donations, and this positive feature is found to be generally true for all

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Type III CSOs, irrespective of the level of annual expenditures. Secondly, the year-to-year variations are relatively more in those districts where the CSO movement is comparatively weaker in terms of their physical resources, human base or financial strength. In Bihar, these districts are West Champaran and Muzaffarpur; in Uttar Pradesh, these disadvantages districts are Barabanki and Baharaich.

We had earlier analysed the human base of CSOs in the two states and concluded that it was relatively stronger in Bihar. It was also observed that, in Bihar, it was the Type I CSOs that had the highest number of regular workers; in contrast, in Uttar Pradesh, it was the Type III CSOs that had the highest number of workers. But, apart from the character of the CSOs, their strength of regular workers is also determined by the size of their activities which, in turn, is dependent on their annual budget. Tables 4.6A and 4.6B bring out this relation clearly. In Bihar, 60.4 percent of the CSOs operating with a rather large budget (above Rs. 10 lakh) have more than 10 regular staff members each. The pattern is no different in Uttar Pradesh where 76.0 percent of the CSOs with similar budget have more than 10 regular staff members each .

As regards the major sources of funds for the CSOs in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, there are only three of them — *zakaat*, donations and external agencies. The percentage distribution of the sample CSOs by their source of funds in presented in Table 4.7 A (Bihar) and Table 4.7 B (Uttar Pradesh).

One can easily notice from these two tables that there is hardly any CSO in either Bihar or Uttar Pradesh which is dependent 'exclusively' on external agencies. It is not that the contribution of external agencies limited, but such contributions generally supplement the *zakaat* or private donations, as is evident from the observation that nearly half the CSOs in both the state receive their funding from multiple sources. As regards the relative importance of *zakaat* and private donations, it is observed the former is more important in Bihar, the latter being so in Uttar Pradesh.

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## Functions of Organisations

### Geographical Coverage

Prima facie, one would expect that the CSOs at the grassroot level serve only the local population, occasionally reaching to nearby areas within the district. Such local orientation is dictated not only by the limitations of their physical, human and financial capacities, as was reported in the previous sections, but by strategic considerations too since CSOs acquire much of their organisational strength and credibility through closeness to the people they serve. But from the data collected in the present survey, it appears that, although serving the local interests is very important for the CSOs, they also spread to other areas quite often. The information in this regard, the percentage distribution of CSOs by their geographical coverages, is presented in Table 4.8A (Bihar) and Table 4.8B (Uttar Pradesh).

In Bihar, the sample CSOs have a strong local orientation as no less than 42.5 percent of them are seen to operate locally only. On the other end, only 19.3 percent of CSOs cross the boundaries of their districts in course of their development activities. Among the districts, the local orientation of the CSOs is relatively stronger in West Champaran and Muzaffarpur, where as observed before, the CSOs are relatively weaker. On the other end, the CSO movement is the strongest in Kishanganj and more than 40 percent of the CSOs there have a reach beyond their own district.

As regards the CSOs in Uttar Pradesh, it is clearly observed that their geographical coverage is more spread out than their counterparts in Bihar. The majority of the CSOs there operate 'within the district' (40.3 percent), those operating locally being about one-third (33.1 percent) and at least one fourth of them (26.6 percent) spreading their activities beyond their own districts. Among the districts, the local orientation of the CSOs in the strongest in Barabanki, followed by Saharanpur, Baharaich and Agra.

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## Sectoral Coverage

In an economy where about thirty to forty percent of the population live below the official poverty line, and where the social relations are still largely guided by primordial identities around caste and religion and, finally, where the political authority is far from stable because of acute economic and social contradictions, the development needs of the people are bound to be varied, covering both economic and non-economic dimensions. Irrespective of the organisational base of the CSOs, be they faith-based or social-agenda based, they are expected to be a response to those varied needs and, as will become apparent from the discussion that follow, CSOs in both Bihar and Uttar Pradesh are trying to make their best efforts to meet that difficult challenge. It was observed in the previous sections that the capacity endowments of the CSOs in the two states are far from adequate and one wonders how, in spite of those capacity constraints, the CSOs are able to organise such varied development activities. In a sense, this is a testimony to the genuineness of the desire of the CSOs to serve the development interests of the regions.

From the discussion with the representatives of the CSOs, it was revealed that most of them had started with a single focus, some of them economic, others social and still others religious. But nearly all of them had gradually realised that, to enjoy the confidence of the people and be effective, CSOs need to be multi-focal, although their thrust area might be limited. Table 4.9A (Bihar) and 4.9B (Uttar Pradesh) present the percentage of CSOs operating either with a single-sector or multi-sector coverage. The proportion of CSOs with multi-sector coverage is a little higher in Bihar (57.1 percent) than in Uttar Pradesh (49.3 percent). Secondly, as expected, the proportion of CSOs with multi-sector coverage is the highest among Type I CSOs, followed by Types II and III. But, it is interesting to note that even among the Type III CSOs, characterised by their traditional orientation, the tendency to have a multi-sectoral coverage is not very limited — in Bihar, 33.1 percent of them have multi-sectoral coverage and, in Uttar Pradesh, the corresponding figure is 20.6 percent. Apparently, many of these Type III CSOs have gradually realised the limitations of a single-sector approach and had then modified it to acquire a multi-sectoral focus.

In Table 4.10A (Bihar) and Table 4.10B (Uttar Pradesh), we have presented the sectoral coverage of the sample CSOs, in terms of percentage of CSOs serving each of the listed sectors. Due to multiple responses, the frequencies in the tables exceed the total at the

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bottom of the table and the percentages exceed 100. In Bihar, the survey was able to identify no less than 15 sectors, each covered by at least one CSO. Since the study has covered CSOs which serve the Muslim population, it is not surprising that nearly half of them (44.1 percent) pursue the objective of ‘religious education’ as one of their activities. This object, thus, emerges as the most relevant for Muslim-oriented CSOs. In the next category, one might club three sectors (health and sanitation, education and women empowerment), all aiming at the social needs of the marginalised sections of the population. These three sectors together are served by no less than 62.7 percent of the CSOs, about two out of every three CSOs in Bihar. The economic needs of the population are covered by the next important group of sectors, comprising — vocational training, income generation and micro-finance, and agricultural development work. No less than 33.5 percent of the sample CSOs, about one out of every three, covers these sectors as part of their development activities. Although the economic sectors are seen to receive relatively less attention of the CSOs in Bihar than the social sectors, it should not be treated as an evidence of economic hardships being lesser than the social deprivation. The CSOs are generally more engaged with social problems, because they are more suited to serve this goal. Among the remaining 8 identified sectors, ‘charity work’ and ‘running orphanage’ are very important for many Muslim-oriented CSOs and this two sectors together are covered by 16.8 percent of the sample CSOs. In all likelihood, this objective is even more important for faith-based organisations. The remaining sectors, although served by limited number of CSOs (less than 5 percent in each case), are undoubtedly very important and they indicate the width of attention of the CSOs. These sectors are — eradication of child labour, maintenance of religious places, welfare of physically/mentally handicapped, national integration and communal harmony, environment and institution building. Since the social and economic conditions vary widely among the districts, so does the sectoral coverage of CSOs in each of them. For example, the sector receiving maximum attention in different districts are — education in Kishanganj (38.2 percent), religious education in West Champaran (57.1 percent), religious education again in Muzaffarpur (57.8 percent) and education and income generation in Patna (48.4 percent).



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The importance of the different sectors in the overall agenda of the CSOs in Uttar Pradesh is, however, moderately different. Using the classifications mentioned in the context of Bihar, we might first note that only 26.6 percent of the CSOs in Uttar Pradesh serve the agenda of religious education, compared to 44.1 percent in Bihar. The social sectors are equally important in Uttar Pradesh which is served by 66.2 percent of the CSOs, compared to 62.7 percent in Bihar. A similar situation is also observed for three economic sectors which together receive the attention of 40.3 percent of the CSOs in Uttar Pradesh, compared to a little lower at 33.5 percent in Bihar. The charity work was seen to receive the attention of 14.3 percent of CSOs in Bihar, but in Uttar Pradesh it is 8.6 percent. The relatively less served sectors in Uttar Pradesh (each served by less than 5 percent of the CSOs) are — eradication of child labour, maintenance of religious places, *jati zamat*, welfare of physically/ mentally handicapped, national integration and communal harmony, livelihood issues and interest of handloom weavers.

### Gender Orientation

In the development literature, one can find numerous instances where development programmes, even when properly designed and enjoying adequate resource support, have failed to reach their goals due to their indifference to gender considerations. This is not surprising at all. Most development programmes are such that it requires substantial people's participation which in turn is contingent upon increased awareness among the people and certain kind of behavioural changes by them. In a sense, they all require social 'mobilisation' which is bound to be limited in the absence of women's participation. The present survey had therefore specifically asked whether the CSOs in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh had cared to ensure gender orientation of their various development activities. In Table 4.11A (Bihar) and Table 4.11B (Uttar Pradesh), these responses are presented as 'percentage of programmes having specific gender orientation'.

In Bihar, 54.7 percent of the development activities by the CSOs are reported to have gender orientation which cannot be considered as a satisfactory situation. One would expect this figure to be close to 100, ensuring that all the development activities of the CSOs are sensitive to the gender discriminations in the society. Fortunately, for CSOs of

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Type I and Type II, the proportion of programmes with gender orientation is indeed close to 100 (83.9 and 85.7 percent respectively). It is only the Type III CSOs that are seen to be indifferent to the gender issues. These faith-based organisations may argue that, for the traditional agenda that they usually serve, the place for women is limited; but the argument practically amounts to rejecting any modification in the traditional agenda, respecting the changed social and economic scenario. Among the four districts, the extent of gender orientation of development activities is particularly lower in West Champaran (46.9 percent) and Muzaffarpur (44.4 percent). In Kishanganj (67.6 percent) and Patna (66.6 percent), the situation is certainly better, but the gap is still very wide.

In Uttar Pradesh, it is found that 62.1 percent of the development activities have a specific gender orientation and this situation is certainly better than in Bihar. But here again the gap between the existing and the ideal situation is very wide. Among the three types of CSOs, the absence of gender orientation is very high in Type III CSOs, as was found in Bihar too. But in Uttar Pradesh, even the Type II CSOs display considerable indifference to gender issues, as only 54.2 percent of their development activities are reported to be gender oriented. Among the districts, the gender orientation is the strongest in Agra (82.4 percent), followed by Barabanki (62.2 percent), Baharaich (52.8 percent) and Saharanpur (51.5 percent).

It is relevant to recount here that the limited gender orientation of the programme of the CSO in both the states is partly attributable to the gender composition of their Executive Bodies (Tables 3.8A and 3.8B). The average size of an Executive Body was found to be about 11-12 persons in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. But, unfortunately, only 1 out of those 11-12 member body was a woman. And, it is not therefore surprising that the CSOs in both the states display considerable insensitivity to the gender dimensions of development work.

### **Credibility and Impact**

The credibility of an organisation is built on several considerations, including the impact it makes on the lives of the people. However, a preliminary requirement for acquiring

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credibility is the extent to which the organisation is prepared to share information with others regarding its objectives and activities. Documentation of programmes, Annual Reports, Audit Reports and Monitoring/ Evaluation Reports is the instruments for such information sharing.

Within an informal arrangement which generally characterise the functioning of the CSOs, the practice of preparing detailed work plans or documentation of their development activities is often given only limited attention. This is obviously undesirable, as most CSOs are required to be result-driven units and much of their external support is determined by the level of success of their previous activities. In the present survey, the CSOs were asked ‘whether they undertake any documentation of their programmes’ and the responses are presented in Table 4.11A (Bihar) and Table 4.11B (Uttar Pradesh).

It is surprising to note that 90.1 percent of the CSOs claim that their programmes and activities are indeed documented. Such documentation of activities is most prevalent among Type II CSOs, 100.0 percent of whom claim that they regularly undertake documentation. It seems that the word ‘documentation’ was interpreted rather loosely by the respondents. Thus, even in West Champaran and Muzaffarpur, where the CSOs are rather weak both in terms of capacity endowments and extent of development activities, the practice of documentation is reported to be very wider (87.8 percent and 84.4 percent respectively). The confusion is equally presented in Uttar Pradesh where 85.0 percent of the CSOs claim that their activities are documented.

Yet another way of recording the development activities of a CSO is to prepare the Annual Reports which is generally a mandatory requirement for their annual Board meetings. These Annual Reports are supposed to contain both the financial details of the working of the CSO, changes in its organisational structure and, finally, the description of activities undertaken by the CSOs in the relevant year. Unfortunately, among the CSOs that do prepare their Annual Reports, many had not cared to include in it the details of their development activities. However, within this limitation, the proportions of CSOs which prepare such Annual Reports are presented again in Table 4.11A (Bihar) and Table 4.11B (Uttar Pradesh)

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In Bihar, it was found that only 68.3 percent of the CSOs prepare their Annual Reports, the remaining 31.7 percent failing on this ground, although they all are accountable to individuals and external agencies from which they receive donations and grants. It may also be noted here that the proportion of CSOs in Bihar reporting documentation of their development activities was reported to be 90.9 percent, implying that some CSOs do not prepare their Annual Reports, but care to document their development activities. This is rather unlikely, unless documentation is very liberally interpreted to include even minimal efforts in that direction. Among the three types of CSOs, it is noted that all the Type I CSOs prepare their Annual Report (because of legal compulsions), but only 64.3 percent of the Type II CSOs complete this formality. For the faith-based Type III CSOs, the proportion is even less at 30.3 percent. That the Type III CSOs continue to enjoy the confidence among its donors in spite of not preparing their Annual Reports indicates a strong element of 'trust' between the donors and the CSOs. This is indeed one of the most important strengths of *zakaat* or donation-based CSOs among the Muslims. Among the four districts, the preparation of Annual Report is most common for the CSOs in Patna. The practice of preparing Annual Reports is nearly equally common in Uttar Pradesh (71.4 percent) and Bihar (68.3 percent). Here again, all the Type I CSOs are reported to prepare their Annual Reports; among the Type II and Type III CSOs, the proportions are 37.5 and 26.5 percent respectively. Among the four districts, the practice is most common in Agra (85.3 percent).

It was earlier found that 71.4 percent of the CSOs in Bihar and 87.1 percent of them in Uttar Pradesh are registered organisations. For all such organisations, the annual audit of their financial transactions is mandatory. It appears that nearly all the registered CSOs complete this task. In fact, in Bihar, 74.5 percent of the CSOs get their finances audited which is a little higher than the proportion of registered CSOs (71.4 percent). In Uttar Pradesh, this legal compliance is relatively less where only 76.4 percent of the CSOs get their accounts audited.

Besides documentation of development activities, either exclusively or in course of the preparation of their Annual Reports, the CSOs can also undertake specific monitoring and

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evaluation activities to improve their functioning. Indeed, such monitoring and evaluations are so important these days that most donor agencies treat it as mandatory for any CSO to receive their assistance. In the present, survey, therefore, it was decided to collect information on whether the sample CSOs undertake any monitoring/ evaluation exercise. The responses to this query are presented in Table 4.12A (Bihar) and Table 4.12B (Uttar Pradesh). It is very apparent from those two tables that the extent of monitoring/ evaluation exercises is very limited in both the states.

In Bihar, no less than 63.4 percent of the sample CSOs is reported not to have any mechanism for monitoring/ evaluation. In this category of (un) evaluated CSOs are also included a number of Type I CSOs, besides the Type III CSOs. Although all Type II CSOs report monitoring/ evaluation activities, they are all community monitoring which may have certain limitations. Among the CSOs that claim to have some monitoring/ evaluation mechanisms, that by community and donor agencies are more common, each mentioned by 14.9 percent of the CSOs. Monitoring/ evaluation by own team is rare (6.2 percent) and that by independent organisations even rarer (0.6 percent).

The extent of monitoring/ evaluation activities by CSOs in Uttar Pradesh is only slightly higher, as 53.6 percent of the organisations there do not undertake any such activity. Among the three types of CSOs, the percentages of organisations without any mechanism for monitoring/ evaluation are — 51.2 percent (Type I), 16.7 percent (Type II) and 85.3 percent (Type III). This pattern is very similar to that observed in Bihar. As regards the agencies undertaking monitoring/ evaluation, the pattern again is same in the two states — the relatively more frequent agencies being community (18.6 percent) and independent organisation (20.0) percent.

For assessing the impact of the functioning of the CSOs in two states, it was necessary to undertake a parallel survey of the beneficiaries of their different programmes. Within the time constraint, it was not possible to undertake such a survey. But from the field work, it was quite apparent that the desired impacts have been made in most cases, although of varying degree. In particular, the traditional faith-based organisations (Type III) were most successful in their programmes, as evidenced by the length of their existence. All these

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organisations are dependent on the private donations or *zakaat* and such cooperation would not have possible without donors being sure of the performance of the organisations. Admittedly, their activities have a strong charity orientation, but for a large section of the poor Muslim population, they mean valuable support. Among the agenda-based CSOs, the objectives were varied and the impacts of their programmes have not been the same in different sectors. However, education (including religious education) has been the main agenda for many CSOs and the most substantial impact is also noticed in this field. A number of educational institutions, with adequate student and staff strength, are being run by CSOs in the two states. In comparison, the impact of CSO functioning on such sectors as health, economic opportunities or women empowerment, has been rather limited. It is also to be noted here that CSOs that aim to serve the Muslim population exclusively (i.e., Type II) have had least impact towards improving the welfare of its target population, largely attributable to their weak organisational base.

#### Perception about Major Difficulties

In course of field work, the CSOs had reported a number of difficulties faced by them while implementing their agenda, either self-sponsored or externally funded. For a ranking of those difficulties in terms of their intensity, CSOs was requested to cite two most important difficulties faced by them and these responses are presented in Table 4.13A (Bihar) and 4.13B (Uttar Pradesh).

In Bihar, the most important difficulties faced by CSOs are financial support and physical infrastructure, mentioned by 65.8 and 60.9 percent of the CSOs respectively. Although many CSOs have mentioned non-availability of professional staff or absence of training facility as important bottlenecks for them in course of discussion, they appear to be less so in comparison to lack of financial or physical endowments. In Uttar Pradesh, one finds a similar trend, except that financial difficulties are even more important there with 70.7 percent of the CSOs facing the problem.

**Table 4.1 A : Percentage Distribution of CSOs by Location of Headquarters (Bihar)**

District	Type of CSO	Location of Headquarters			
		Out of District	District HQ	Other Town/Rural area	All
Kishanganj	Type – I	8.7	60.9	30.4	100.0
	Type – II	—	50.0	50.0	100.0
	Type – III	—	14.3	85.7	100.0
	All	5.9	50.0	44.1	100.0
W. Champaran	Type – I	5.0	35.0	60.0	100.0
	Type – II	—	—	100.0	100.0
	Type – III	—	7.1	92.9	100.0
	All	2.0	18.4	79.6	100.0
Muzaffarpur	Type – I	26.3	21.1	52.6	100.0
	Type – II	—	50.00	50.0	100.0
	Type – III	—	16.7	83.3	100.0
	All	11.1	20.0	68.9	100.0
Patna	Type – I	—	78.9	21.1	100.0
	Type – II	—	100.0	—	100.0
	Type – III	—	57.1	42.9	100.0
	All	—	78.8	21.2	100.0
Bihar	Type – I	9.9	49.4	40.7	100.0
	Type – II	—	71.4	28.6	100.0
	Type – III	—	16.7	83.3	100.0
	All	5.0	37.9	57.1	100.0

**Table 4.1 B : Percentage Distribution of CSOs by Location of Headquarters (Uttar Pradesh)**

District	Type of CSO	Location of Headquarters			
		Out of District	District HQ	Other Town/Rural area	All
Barabanki	Type – I	5.0	40.0	55.0	100.0
	Type – II	—	80.0	20.0	100.0
	Type – III	—	—	100.0	100.0
	All	2.7	32.4	64.9	100.0
Baharaich	Type – I	6.3	43.7	50.0	100.0
	Type – II	20.0	80.0	—	100.0
	Type – III	—	40.0	60.0	100.0
	All	5.6	47.2	47.2	100.0
Saharanpur	Type – I	11.8	58.8	29.4	100.0
	Type – II	—	90.9	9.1	100.0
	Type – III	20.0	—	80.0	100.0
	All	9.1	60.6	30.3	100.0
Agra	Type – I	24.1	58.6	17.2	100.0
	Type – II	—	66.7	33.3	100.0
	Type – III	—	100.0	—	100.0
	All	20.6	61.8	17.6	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	Type – I	13.4	51.2	35.4	100.0
	Type – II	4.2	83.3	12.5	100.0
	Type – III	2.9	23.5	73.5	100.0
	All	9.3	50.0	40.7	100.0



**Table 4.2 A : Percentage Distribution of CSOs by Office Space (Bihar)**

District	Type of CSO	Office Space			Ownership of Office Space			
		Adequate	Inadequate	All	Owned	Rented	No Formal Office	All
Kishanganj	Type – I	82.6	17.4	100.0	43.5	47.8	8.7	100.0
	Type – II	75.0	25.0	100.0	75.0	—	25.0	100.0
	Type – III	100.0	—	100.0	100.0	—	—	100.0
	All	85.3	14.7	100.0	58.8	32.4	8.8	100.0
W.Champaran	Type – I	45.0	55.0	100.0	65.0	35.0	—	100.0
	Type – II	—	100.0	100.0	100.0	—	—	100.0
	Type – III	46.4	53.6	100.0	100.0	—	—	100.0
	All	44.9	55.1	100.0	85.7	14.3	—	100.0
Muzaffarpur	Type – I	47.4	52.6	100.0	26.3	73.7	—	100.0
	Type – II	100.0	—	100.0	100.0	—	—	100.0
	Type – III	70.8	29.2	100.0	100.0	—	—	100.0
	All	62.2	37.8	100.0	68.9	31.1	—	100.0
Patna	Type – I	57.9	42.1	100.0	68.4	31.6	—	100.0
	Type – II	42.9	57.1	100.0	57.1	42.9	—	100.0
	Type – III	28.6	71.4	100.0	57.1	42.9	—	100.0
	All	48.5	51.5	100.0	63.6	36.4	—	100.0
Bihar	Type – I	59.3	40.7	100.0	50.6	46.9	2.5	100.0
	Type – II	57.1	42.9	100.0	71.4	21.4	7.1	100.0
	Type – III	59.1	40.9	100.0	95.5	4.5	—	100.0
	All	59.0	41.0	100.0	70.8	27.3	1.9	100.0

**Table 4.2 B : Percentage Distribution of CSOs by Office Space (Uttar Pradesh)**

District	Type of CSO	Office Space			Ownership of Office Space			
		Adequate	Inadequate	All	Owned	Rented	No Formal Office	All
Barabanki	Type – I	80.0	20.0	100.0	75.0	25.0	—	100.0
	Type – II	60.0	40.0	100.0	80.0	—	20.0	100.0
	Type – III	66.7	33.3	100.0	91.7	—	8.3	100.0
	All	73.0	27.0	100.0	81.1	13.5	5.4	100.0
Baharaich	Type – I	87.5	12.5	100.0	68.7	31.3	—	100.0
	Type – II	40.0	60.0	100.0	20.0	20.0	60.0	100.0
	Type – III	80.0	20.0	100.0	100.0	—	—	100.0
	All	77.8	22.2	100.0	75.0	16.7	8.3	100.0
Saharanpur	Type – I	52.9	47.1	100.0	70.6	29.4	—	100.0
	Type – II	36.4	63.6	100.0	81.8	18.2	—	100.0
	Type – III	40.0	60.0	100.0	80.0	20.0	—	100.0
	All	45.5	54.5	100.0	66.6	33.3	—	100.0
Agra	Type – I	58.6	41.4	100.0	48.3	37.9	13.8	100.0
	Type – II	66.7	33.3	100.0	66.6	—	33.3	100.0
	Type – III	100.0	—	100.0	100.0	—	—	100.0
	All	61.8	38.2	100.0	52.9	32.4	14.7	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	Type – I	68.3	31.7	100.0	63.4	31.7	4.9	100.0
	Type – II	45.8	54.2	100.0	66.7	12.5	20.8	100.0
	Type – III	70.6	29.4	100.0	94.1	2.9	2.9	100.0
	All	65.0	35.0	100.0	71.4	21.4	7.1	100.0

**Table 4.3 A : Percentage Distribution of CSOs by its Movable Assets (Bihar)**

Type of CSO	Furniture & Fixture				Computer				Vehicle		
	Adequ - ate	Inadequ -ate	Not Availa - ble	All	Adequ - ate	Inadequ -ate	Not Availa - ble	All	Availa - ble	Not Availa - ble	All
Kishanganj											
Type – I	82.6	17.4	—	100.0	43.5	39.1	17.4	100.0	43.5	56.5	100.0
Type – II	75.0	25.0	—	100.0	—	50.0	50.0	100.0	50.0	50.0	100.0
Type – III	42.9	57.1	—	100.0	14.3	28.6	57.1	100.0	28.5	71.5	100.0
All	73.5	26.5	—	100.0	32.4	38.2	29.4	100.0	41.2	58.8	100.0
W. Champaran											
Type – I	65.0	35.0	—	100.0	50.0	50.0	—	100.0	45.0	55.0	100.0
Type – II	—	—	100.0	100.0	—	—	100.0	100.0	—	100.0	100.0
Type – III	7.1	71.4	21.4	100.0	—	14.3	85.7	100.0	10.7	89.3	100.0
All	30.6	55.1	14.3	100.0	20.4	28.6	51.0	100.0	24.5	75.5	100.0
Muzaffarpur											
Type – I	100.0	—	—	100.0	36.8	63.1	—	100.0	15.8	84.2	100.0
Type – II	100.0	—	—	100.0	50.0	50.0	—	100.0	—	100.0	100.0
Type – III	41.7	58.3	—	100.0	—	—	100.0	100.0	—	100.0	100.0
All	68.9	31.1	—	100.0	17.8	28.9	53.3	100.0	6.7	93.3	100.0
Patna											
Type – I	52.6	47.4	—	100.0	63.1	36.9	—	100.0	10.5	89.5	100.0
Type – II	28.6	71.4	—	100.0	42.9	57.1	—	100.0	28.6	71.4	100.0
Type – III	14.3	85.7	—	100.0	—	71.4	28.6	100.0	14.3	85.7	100.0
All	39.4	60.6	—	100.0	45.5	48.5	6.1	100.0	15.2	84.8	100.0
Bihar											
Type – I	75.3	24.7	—	100.0	48.1	46.9	4.9	100.0	29.7	70.3	100.0
Type – II	50.0	42.9	7.1	100.0	28.6	50.0	21.4	100.0	28.6	71.4	100.0
Type – III	24.2	66.7	9.1	100.0	1.5	16.7	81.8	100.0	9.1	90.9	100.0
All	52.2	43.5	4.3	100.0	27.3	34.8	37.9	100.0	21.1	78.9	100.0

**Table 4.3 B : Percentage Distribution of CSOs by its Movable Assets (Uttar Pradesh)**

Type of CSO	Furniture & Fixture				Computer				Vehicle		
	Adequ - ate	Inadequ -ate	Not Availa - ble	All	Adequ - ate	Inadequ -ate	Not Availa -ble	All	Availa - ble	Not Availa -ble	All
Barabanki											
Type – I	65.0	35.0	—	100.0	20.0	20.0	60.0	100.0	10.0	90.0	100.0
Type – II	60.0	40.0	—	100.0	—	—	100.0	100.0	—	100.0	100.0
Type – III	75.0	25.0	—	100.0	8.3	—	91.7	100.0	—	100.0	100.0
All	64.9	35.1	—	100.0	13.5	10.8	75.7	100.0	5.4	94.6	100.0
Baharaich											
Type – I	81.2	18.8	—	100.0	50.0	12.5	37.5	100.0	18.7	81.3	100.0
Type – II	40.0	60.0	—	100.0	20.0	—	80.0	100.0	—	100.0	100.0
Type – III	80.0	20.0	—	100.0	13.3	13.3	73.4	100.0	—	100.0	100.0
All	75.0	25.0	—	100.0	30.6	11.1	58.3	100.0	8.3	91.7	100.0
Saharanpur											
Type – I	47.1	41.2	11.8	100.0	35.3	35.3	29.4	100.0	11.2	88.8	100.0
Type – II	45.5	54.5	—	100.0	45.5	18.2	36.4	100.0	9.1	90.9	100.0
Type – III	40.0	60.0	—	100.0	40.0	20.0	40.0	100.0	40.0	60.0	100.0
All	45.5	48.5	6.1	100.0	39.4	27.3	33.3	100.0	15.2	84.8	100.0
Agra											
Type – I	82.8	17.2	—	100.0	31.0	41.4	27.6	100.0	13.8	86.2	100.0
Type – II	100.0	—	—	100.0	33.3	33.3	33.3	100.0	33.3	66.7	100.0
Type – III	100.0	—	—	100.0	50.0	—	50.0	100.0	—	100.0	100.0
All	85.3	14.7	—	100.0	32.4	38.2	29.4	100.0	14.7	85.3	100.0
Uttar Pradesh											
Type – I	70.7	26.8	2.4	100.0	32.9	29.3	37.8	100.0	14.6	85.4	100.0
Type – II	54.2	45.8	—	100.0	29.2	12.5	58.3	100.0	8.3	91.7	100.0
Type – III	70.6	29.4	—	100.0	17.6	8.8	73.5	100.0	5.9	94.1	100.0
All	67.9	30.7	1.4	100.0	28.6	21.4	50.0	100.0	11.4	89.6	100.0

**Table 4.4 A : Percentage Distribution of CSOs by Type and No. of Regular Workers (Bihar)**

Type of CSOs	No. of regular workers					Average no. of regular worker s		
	Less than 3	3-5	6-10	Above 10	Total	Profess ional	Support Staff	All
<b>Kishanganj</b>								
Type-I	2 (8.7)	6 (26.1)	2 (8.7)	13 (56.5)	23 (100.0)	5.8	13.6	19.4
Type-II	2 (50.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (25.0)	1 (25.0)	4 (100.0)	4.6	4.0	8.6
Type-III	0 (0.0)	2 (28.6)	2 (28.6)	3 (42.8)	7 (100.0)	9.2	4.0	13.2
	4 (11.8)	8 (23.5)	5 (14.7)	17 (50.0)	34 (100.0)	6.4	4.7	11.1
<b>W. Champaran</b>								
Type-I	5 (25.0)	3 (15.0)	5 (25.0)	7 (35.0)	20 (100.0)	15.8	13.0	28.8
Type-II	0 (0.0)	1 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (100.0)	3.0	3.0	6.0
Type-III	2 (7.1)	8 (28.6)	11 (39.3)	7 (25.0)	28 (100.0)	7.5	4.7	12.2
	7 (14.3)	12 (24.5)	16 (32.6)	14 (28.6)	49 (100.0)	10.8	8.1	18.9
<b>Muzaffarpur</b>								
Type-I	2 (10.5)	6 (31.6)	3 (15.8)	8 (42.1)	19 (100.0)	4.9	2.5	7.4
Type-II	2 (100.)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (100.0)	8.0	4.5	12.5
Type-III	4 (16.7)	8 (33.3)	6 (25.0)	6 (25.0)	24 (100.0)	6.1	1.7	7.8
	8 (17.8)	14 (31.1)	9 (20.0)	14 (31.1)	45 (100.0)	5.7	2.3	8.0
<b>Patna</b>								
Type-I	5 (26.3)	5 (26.3)	4 (21.1)	5 (26.3)	19 (100.0)	8.0	6.7	14.7
Type-II	3 (42.9)	1 (14.3)	1 (14.3)	2 (26.5)	7 (100.0)	4.6	6.1	8.7
Type-III	3 (42.9)	1 (14.3)	0 (0.0)	3 (42.9)	7 (100.0)	2.3	1.0	3.3
	11 (33.3)	7 (21.2)	5 (15.1)	10 (30.3)	33 (100.0)	6.1	4.9	11.0
<b>Bihar</b>								
Type-I	14 (17.3)	20 (24.7)	14 (17.3)	22 (40.7)	81 (100.0)	8.6	6.8	15.4
Type-II	7 (50.0)	2 (14.3)	2 (14.3)	3 (21.4)	14 (100.0)	5.0	4.1	9.1
Type-III	9 (13.6)	19 (28.8)	19 (28.8)	19 (28.8)	66 (100.0)	6.7	3.2	9.9
<b>All</b>	30 (18.6)	41 (25.5)	35 (21.7)	55 (34.2)	161 (100.0)	7.7	5.1	12.8

**Table 4.4 B : Percentage Distribution of CSOs by Type and No. of Regular Workers (Uttar Pradesh)**

Type of CSOs	No. of regular workers					Average no. of regular workers		
	Less than 3	3-5	6-10	Above 10	Total	Professional	Support Staff	All
<b>Barabanki</b>								
Type-I	11 (55.0)	7 (35.0)	1 (5.0)	1 (5.0)	20 (100.0)	1.5	2.5	4.0
Type-II	5 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (100.0)	0.6	1.4	2.0
Type-III	2 (16.7)	2 (16.7)	5 (41.6)	3 (25.0)	12 (100.0)	6.9	0.8	7.7
All	18 (48.6)	9 (24.3)	6 (16.2)	4 (10.8)	37 (100.0)	3.1	1.8	4.9
<b>Baharaich</b>								
Type-I	5 (31.2)	3 (18.7)	2 (12.5)	6 (37.5)	16 (100.0)	6.2	3.0	9.2
Type-II	5 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (100.0)	0.8	0.6	1.4
Type-III	1 (6.7)	0 (0.0)	5 (33.3)	9 (60.0)	15 (100.0)	11.1	1.5	12.6
All	11 (30.5)	3 (8.3)	7 (19.4)	15 (41.7)	36 (100.0)	7.5	2.0	9.5
<b>Saharanpur</b>								
Type-I	7 (41.2)	4 (23.5)	4 (23.5)	2 (11.8)	17 (100.0)	4.8	2.7	7.5
Type-II	5 (45.4)	5 (45.4)	1 (9.1)	0 (0.0)	11 (100.0)	4.2	1.0	5.2
Type-III	0 (0.0)	1 (20.0)	2 (40.0)	2 (40.0)	5 (100.0)	10.4	3.0	13.4
All	12 (36.4)	10 (30.3)	7 (21.2)	4 (12.1)	33 (100.0)	5.5	2.2	7.7
<b>Agra</b>								
Type-I	6 (20.7)	8 (27.6)	12 (41.4)	3 (10.3)	29 (100.0)	6.2	3.9	10.1
Type-II	1 (33.3)	2 (66.7)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (100.0)	3.3	1.7	5.0
Type-III	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (100.0)	2 (100.0)	17.5	20.5	38.0
All	7 (20.6)	10 (29.4)	12 (35.3)	5 (14.7)	34 (100.0)	6.6	4.7	11.3
<b>Uttar Pradesh</b>								
Type-I	29 (35.4)	22 (26.8)	19 (23.2)	12 (14.6)	82 (100.0)	4.8	3.2	8.0
Type-II	16 (66.7)	7 (29.2)	1 (4.2)	0 (0.0)	24 (100.0)	2.7	1.2	3.9
Type-III	3 (8.8)	3 (8.8)	12 (35.3)	16 (47.1)	34 (100.0)	9.9	2.6	12.5
All	48 (34.3)	32 (22.9)	32 (22.9)	28 (20.0)	140 (100.0)	5.7	2.7	8.4

**Table 4.5 A : Information on CSOs by its Annual Expenditure (Bihar)**

District	Type of CSO	Annual Expenditure				
		Up to 2 lakh	2-5 lakh	5-10 lakh	Above 10 lakh	All
Kishanganj	Type – I	39.1	4.3	8.7	47.8	100.0
	Type – II	75.0	25.0	0	0	100.0
	Type – III	28.6	42.9	0	28.6	100.0
	All	41.2	14.7	5.9	38.2	100.0
W. Champaran	Type – I	30.0	30.0	30.0	10.0	100.0
	Type – II	100.0	0	0	0	100.0
	Type – III	50.0	25.0	7.1	17.9	100.0
	All	42.9	26.5	16.3	14.3	100.0
Muzaffarpur	Type – I	21.1	36.8	15.8	26.3	100.0
	Type – II	0	0	50.0	50.0	100.0
	Type – III	70.8	4.2	16.7	8.3	100.0
	All	46.7	17.8	17.8	17.8	100.0
Patna	Type – I	10.5	15.8	10.5	63.2	100.0
	Type – II	14.3	28.6	14.3	42.9	100.0
	Type – III	71.4	28.6	0	0	100.0
	All	24.2	21.2	9.1	45.5	100.0
Bihar	Type – I	25.9	21.0	16.0	37.0	100.0
	Type – II	35.7	21.4	14.3	28.6	100.0
	Type – III	57.6	19.7	9.1	13.6	100.0
	All	39.8	20.5	13.0	26.7	100.0

**Table 4.5 B : Percentage Distribution of CSOs by its Annual Expenditure (Uttar Pradesh)**

District	Type of CSO	Annual Expenditure				
		Up to 2 lakh	2-5 lakh	5-10 lakh	Above 10 lakh	All
Barabanki	Type – I	35.0	55.0	—	10.0	100.0
	Type – II	100.0	—	—	—	100.0
	Type – III	66.7	25.0	—	8.3	100.0
	All	54.1	37.8	—	8.1	100.0
Baharaich	Type – I	25.0	12.5	25.0	37.5	100.0
	Type – II	80.0	—	—	20.0	100.0
	Type – III	33.3	13.3	46.7	6.7	100.0
	All	36.1	11.1	30.6	22.2	100.0
Saharanpur	Type – I	23.5	17.6	35.3	23.5	100.0
	Type – II	72.7	27.3	—	—	100.0
	Type – III	40.0	20.0	20.0	20.0	100.0
	All	42.4	21.2	21.2	15.2	100.0
Agra	Type – I	48.3	10.3	10.3	31.0	100.0
	Type – II	100.0	—	—	—	100.0
	Type – III	—	—	50.0	50.0	100.0
	All	50.0	8.8	11.8	29.4	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	Type – I	35.4	23.3	15.9	25.6	100.0
	Type – II	83.3	12.5	—	4.2	100.0
	Type – III	44.1	17.6	26.5	11.8	100.0
	All	45.7	20.0	15.7	18.6	100.0



**Table 4.6 A : Percentage Distribution of CSOs by Annual Expenditure and No. of Regular workers (Bihar)**

District	Annual Expenditure	No. of Regular Workers				Total
		Less than 3 Staff	3 – 5 Staff	6 – 10 Staff	Above 10 Staff	
Kishanganj	Up to Rs. 2 lac	2 (40.0)	2 (40.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (20.0)	5 (100.0)
	2-5 lac	1 (12.5)	3 (37.5)	1 (12.5)	3 (37.5)	8 (100.0)
	5-10 lac	1 (9.1)	2 (18.2)	2 (18.2)	6 (54.5)	11 (100.0)
	Above 10 lac	0 (0.0)	1 (10.0)	2 (20.0)	7 (70.0)	10 (100.0)
	All	4 (11.8)	8 (23.5)	5 (14.7)	17 (50.0)	34 (100.0)
W. Champaran	Up to Rs. 2 lac	6 (37.5)	4 (25.0)	6 (37.5)	0 (0.0)	16 (100.0)
	2-5 lac	1 (7.7)	3 (23.1)	6 (46.2)	3 (23.1)	13 (100.0)
	5-10 lac	0 (0.0)	2 (22.2)	3 (33.3)	4 (44.4)	9 (100.0)
	Above 10 lac	0 (0.0)	3 (27.3)	1 (9.1)	7 (63.6)	11 (100.0)
	All	7 (14.3)	12 (24.5)	16 (32.6)	14 (28.6)	49 (100.0)
Muzaffarpur	Up to Rs. 2 lac	4 (30.8)	3 (23.1)	5 (38.5)	1 (7.7)	13 (100.0)
	2-5 lac	2 (40.0)	2 (40.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (20.0)	5 (100.0)
	5-10 lac	1 (8.3)	5 (41.7)	1 (8.3)	5 (41.7)	12 (100.0)
	Above 10 lac	1 (6.7)	4 (26.7)	3 (20.0)	7 (46.7)	15 (100.0)
	All	8 (17.8)	14 (31.1)	9 (20.0)	14 (31.1)	45 (100.0)
Patna	Up to Rs. 2 lac	5 (71.4)	2 (28.6)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	7 (100.0)
	2-5 lac	4 (50.0)	3 (37.5)	1 (12.5)	0 (0.0)	8 (100.0)
	5-10 lac	1 (16.7)	2 (33.3)	1 (16.7)	2 (33.3)	6 (100.0)
	Above 10 lac	1 (8.3)	0 (0.0)	3 (25.0)	8 (66.7)	12 (100.0)
	All	11 (33.3)	7 (21.2)	5 (15.2)	10 (30.3)	33 (100.0)
Bihar	Up to Rs. 2 lac	17 (41.5)	11 (26.8)	11 (26.8)	2 (4.9)	41 (100.0)
	2-5 lac	8 (23.5)	11 (32.4)	8 (23.5)	7 (20.6)	34 (100.0)
	5-10 lac	3 (7.9)	11 (28.9)	7 (18.4)	17 (44.7)	38 (100.0)
	Above 10 lac	2 (4.2)	8 (16.7)	9 (18.7)	29 (60.4)	48 (100.0)
	All	30 (18.6)	41 (25.5)	35 (21.7)	55 (34.2)	161 (100.0)

**Table 4.6 B : Percentage Distribution of CSOs by Annual Expenditure and No. of Regular workers (Uttar Pradesh)**

District	Annual Expenditure	No. of Regular Workers				
		Less than 3 Staff	3 – 5 Staff	6 – 10 Staff	Above 10 Staff	Total
Barabanki	Up to Rs. 2 lac	12 (70.6)	2 (11.8)	2 (11.8)	1 (5.9)	17 (100.0)
	2-5 lac	5 (38.5)	4 (30.8)	4 (30.8)	0 (0.0)	13 (100.0)
	5-10 lac	1 (33.3)	2 (66.7)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (100.0)
	Above 10 lac	0 (0.0)	1 (25.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (75.5)	4 (100.0)
	All	18 (48.6)	9 (24.3)	6 (16.2)	4 (10.8)	37 (100.0)
Baharaich	Up to Rs. 2 lac	10 (83.3)	1 (8.3)	0 (0.0)	1 (8.3)	12 (100.0)
	2-5 lac	0 (0.0)	1 (33.3)	2 (66.7)	0 (0.0)	3 (100.0)
	5-10 lac	0 (0.0)	1 (12.5)	3 (37.5)	4 (50.0)	8 (100.0)
	Above 10 lac	1 (7.7)	0 (0.0)	2 (15.4)	10 (76.9)	13 (100.0)
	All	11 (30.6)	3(8.3)	7 (19.4)	15 (41.7)	36 (100.0)
Saharanpur	Up to Rs. 2 lac	9 (56.2)	4 (25.0)	3 (18.8)	0 (0.0)	16 (100.0)
	2-5 lac	2 (25.0)	4 (50.0)	2 (25.0)	0 (0.0)	8 (100.0)
	5-10 lac	1 (14.3)	2 (28.6)	2 (28.6)	2 (28.6)	7 (100.0)
	Above 10 lac	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (100.0)	2 (100.0)
	All	12 (36.4)	10 (30.3)	7 (21.2)	4 (12.1)	33 (100.0)
Agra	Up to Rs. 2 lac	5 (45.5)	3 (27.3)	3 (27.3)	0 (0.0)	11 (100.0)
	2-5 lac	2 (16.7)	5 (41.7)	5 (41.7)	0 (0.0)	12 (100.0)
	5-10 lac	0 (0.0)	2 (40.0)	2 (40.0)	1 (20.0)	5 (100.0)
	Above 10 lac	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (33.3)	4 (66.7)	6 (100.0)
	All	7 (20.6)	10 (29.4)	12 (35.3)	5 (14.7)	34 (100.0)
Uttar Pradesh	Up to Rs. 2 lac	36 (64.3)	10 (17.9)	8 (14.3)	2 (2.3)	56 (100.0)
	2-5 lac	9 (25.0)	14 (38.9)	13 (36.1)	0 (0.0)	36 (100.0)
	5-10 lac	2 (8.7)	7 (30.4)	7 (30.4)	7 (30.4)	23 (100.0)
	Above 10 lac	1 (4.0)	1 (4.00)	4 (16.0)	19 (76.0)	25 (100.0)
	All	48 (34.3)	32 (22.9)	32 (22.9)	28 (20.0)	140 (100.0)

**Table 4.7 A : Information on CSOs by its Major Source of Fund (Bihar)**

District	Type of CSO	Source of Fund				
		Only Zakat	Only Donation	Only External Agencies	Multiple Source	Total
Kishanganj	Type – I	—	7 (30.4)	1 (4.3)	15 (65.2)	23 (100.0)
	Type – II	—	1 (25.0)	—	3 (75.0)	4 (100.0)
	Type – III	5 (71.4)	—	—	2 (28.6)	7 (100.0)
	All	5 (14.7)	8 (23.5)	1 (2.9)	20 (58.8)	34 (100.0)
W. Champaran	Type – I	—	5 (25.0)	—	15 (75.0)	20 (100.0)
	Type – II	—	1 (100.0)	—	—	1 (100.0)
	Type – III	18 (64.3)	2 (7.1)	—	8 (28.6)	28 (100.0)
	All	18 (36.7)	8 (16.3)	—	23 (46.9)	49 (100.0)
Muzaffarpur	Type – I	—	5 (26.3)	—	14 (73.7)	19 (100.0)
	Type – II	—	1 (50.0)	—	1 (50.0)	2 (100.0)
	Type – III	21 (87.5)	—	—	3 (12.5)	24 (100.0)
	All	21 (46.7)	6 (13.3)	—	18 (40.0)	45 (100.0)
Patna	Type – I	—	6 (31.6)	—	13 (68.4)	19 (100.0)
	Type – II	1 (14.3)	2 (28.6)	—	4 (57.1)	7 (100.0)
	Type – III	4 (57.1)	1 (14.3)	—	2 (28.6)	7 (100.0)
	All	5 (15.2)	9 (27.3)	—	19 (57.6)	33 (100.0)
Bihar	Type – I	—	23 (28.4)	1 (1.2)	57 (65.5)	81 (100.0)
	Type – II	1 (7.1)	5 (35.7)	—	8 (57.1)	14 (100.0)
	Type – III	48 (72.7)	3 (4.5)	—	15 (22.7)	66 (100.0)
	All	49 (30.4)	31 (19.3)	1 (0.6)	80 (49.7)	16 (100.0)

**Table 4.7 B : Information on CSOs by its Major Source of Fund (Uttar Pradesh )**

District	Type of CSO	Source of Fund				Total
		Only Zakat	Only Donation	Only External Agencies	Multiple Source	
Barabanki	Type – I	—	5 (25.0)	1 (5.0)	14 (70.0)	20 (100.0)
	Type – II	—	5 (100.0)	—	—	5 (100.0)
	Type – III	10 (83.3)	—	—	2 (16.7)	12 (100.0)
	All	10 (27.0)	10 (27.0)	1 (2.7)	16 (43.2)	37 (100.0)
Baharaich	Type – I	—	4 (25.0)	—	12 (75.0)	16 (100.0)
	Type – II	—	2 (40.0)	—	3 (60.0)	5 (100.0)
	Type – III	13 (86.7)	—	—	2 (13.3)	15 (100.0)
	All	13 (36.1)	6 (16.7)	—	17 (47.2)	36 (100.0)
Saharanpur	Type – I	—	9 (52.9)	—	8 (47.1)	17 (100.0)
	Type – II	—	7 (63.6)	—	4 (36.4)	11 (100.0)
	Type – III	3 (60.0)	—	—	2 (40.0)	5 (100.0)
	All	3 (9.1)	16 (48.5)	—	14 (42.4)	33 (100.0)
Agra	Type – I	—	9 (31.0)	1 (3.4)	19 (65.5)	29 (100.0)
	Type – II	—	3 (100.0)	—	—	3 (100.0)
	Type – III	2 (100.0)	—	—	—	2 (100.0)
	All	2 (5.9)	12 (35.3)	1 (2.9)	19 (55.9)	34 (100.0)
Uttar Pradesh	Type – I	—	27 (32.9)	2 (2.4)	53 (64.6)	82 (100.0)
	Type – II	—	17 (70.8)	—	7 (29.2)	24 (100.0)
	Type – III	28 (82.4)	—	—	6 (17.6)	34 (100.0)
	All	28 (20.0)	44 (31.4)	2 (1.4)	66 (47.1)	140 (100.0)

**Table 4.8 A : Distribution of Sample CSOs by Geographical Coverage Area (Bihar)**

District	Type of CSO	Geographical Area Coverage			
		Local	With in Distinct	Beyond the District	Total
Kishanganj	Type – I	0 (0.0)	9 (39.1)	14 (60.9)	23 (100.0)
	Type – II	2 (50.0)	2 (50.0)	0 (0.0)	4 (100.0)
	Type – III	7 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	7 (100.0)
	All	9 (26.5)	11 (32.4)	14 (41.1)	34 (100.0)
W. Champaran	Type – I	0 (0.0)	16 (80.0)	4 (20.0)	20 (100.0)
	Type – II	0 (0.0)	1 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (100.0)
	Type – III	25 (89.3)	3 (10.7)	0 (0.0)	28 (100.0)
	All	25 (51.0)	20 (40.8)	4 (8.2)	49 (100.0)
Muzaffarpur	Type – I	3 (15.8)	13 (68.4)	3 (15.8)	19 (100.0)
	Type – II	2 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (100.0)
	Type – III	24 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	24 (100.0)
	All	29 (64.4)	13 (28.9)	3 (6.7)	45 (100.0)
Patna	Type – I	0 (0.0)	9 (47.4)	10 (52.6)	19 (100.0)
	Type – II	0 (0.0)	7 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	7 (100.0)
	Type – III	6 (85.7)	1 (14.3)	0 (0.0)	7 (100.0)
	All	6 (18.2)	17 (51.5)	10 (30.3)	33 (100.0)
Bihar	Type – I	3 (3.7)	47 (58.0)	31 (38.3)	81 (100.0)
	Type – II	4 (28.6)	10 (71.4)	0 (0.0)	14 (100.0)
	Type – III	62 (93.9)	4 (6.1)	0 (0.0)	66 (100.0)
	All	69 (42.9)	61 (37.9)	31 (19.2)	161 (100.0)

**Table 4.8 B : Distribution of Sample CSOs by Geographical Coverage Area (Uttar Pradesh)**

District	Type of CSO	Geographical Area Coverage			
		Local	With in Distinct	Beyond the District	Total
Barabanki	Type – I	0 (0.0)	18 (90.0)	2 (10.0)	20 (100.0)
	Type – II	3 (60.0)	2 (40.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (100.0)
	Type – III	12 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	12 (100.0)
	All	15 (40.5)	20 (54.1)	2 (5.4)	37 (100.0)
Baharaich	Type – I	0 (0.0)	5 (31.2)	11 (68.8)	16 (100.0)
	Type – II	0 (0.0)	5 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (100.0)
	Type – III	12 (80.0)	3 (20.0)	0 (0.0)	15 (100.0)
	All	12 (33.3)	13 (36.1)	11 (30.6)	36 (100.0)
Saharanpur	Type – I	0 (0.0)	8 (47.1)	9 (52.9)	17 (100.0)
	Type – II	6 (54.5)	5 (45.5)	0 (0.0)	11 (100.0)
	Type – III	5 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (100.0)
	All	11 (33.3)	13 (39.4)	9 (27.3)	33 (100.0)
Agra	Type – I	4 (13.8)	10 (34.5)	15 (51.7)	29 (100.0)
	Type – II	2 (66.7)	1 (33.3)	0 (0.0)	3 (100.0)
	Type – III	2 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (100.0)
	All	8 (23.5)	11 (32.4)	15 (44.1)	34 (100.0)
Uttar Pradesh	Type – I	4 (4.9)	41 (50.0)	37 (45.1)	82 (100.0)
	Type – II	11 (45.8)	13 (54.3)	0 (0.0)	24 (100.0)
	Type – III	31 (91.2)	3 (8.8)	0 (0.0)	34 (100.0)
	All	46 (32.9)	57 (40.7)	37 (26.4)	140 (100.0)

**Table 4.9 A : Distribution of Sampled CSOs by Sectoral Coverage (Bihar)**

District	Type of CSO	Sectoral Coverage		
		Single Sector	Multiple Sector	Total
Kishanganj	Type – I	6 (26.1)	17 (73.9)	23 (100.0)
	Type – II	2 (50.0)	2 (50.0)	4 (100.0)
	Type – III	2 (28.6)	5 (71.4)	7 (100.0)
	All	10 (29.4)	24 (70.6)	34 (100.0)
W. Champaran	Type – I	1 (5.0)	19 (95.0)	20 (100.0)
	Type – II	1 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (100.0)
	Type – III	16 (57.1)	12 (42.9)	28 (100.0)
	All	18 (36.7)	31 (63.3)	49 (100.0)
Muzaffarpur	Type – I	5 (26.3)	14 (73.7)	19 (100.0)
	Type – II	0 (0.0)	2 (100.0)	2 (100.0)
	Type – III	21 (61.8)	3 (38.2)	24 (100.0)
	All	26 (57.8)	19 (42.2)	45 (100.0)
Patna	Type – I	6 (31.6)	13 (68.4)	19 (100.0)
	Type – II	4 (57.1)	3 (42.9)	7 (100.0)
	Type – III	5 (71.4)	2 (28.6)	7 (100.0)
	All	15 (45.5)	18 (54.5)	33 (100.0)
Bihar	Type – I	18 (22.2)	63 (77.8)	81 (100.0)
	Type – II	7 (50.0)	7 (50.0)	14 (100.0)
	Type – III	44 (66.7)	22 (33.3)	66 (100.0)
	All	69 (42.9)	92 (57.1)	161 (100.0)

**Table 4.9 B : Distribution of Sampled CSOs by Sectoral Coverage (Uttar Pradesh)**

District	Type of CSO	Sectoral Coverage		
		Single Sector	Multiple Sector	Total
Barabanki	Type – I	10 (50.0)	10 (50.0)	20 (100.0)
	Type – II	3 (60.0)	2 (40.0)	5 (100.0)
	Type – III	10 (83.3)	2 (16.7)	12 (100.0)
	All	23 (62.2)	14 (37.8)	37 (100.0)
Baharaich	Type – I	3 (18.7)	13 (81.3)	16 (100.0)
	Type – II	4 (80.0)	1 (20.0)	5 (100.0)
	Type – III	12 (80.0)	3 (20.0)	15 (100.0)
	All	19 (52.8)	17 (47.2)	36 (100.0)
Saharanpur	Type – I	7 (41.2)	10 (58.8)	17 (100.0)
	Type – II	7 (63.6)	4 (36.4)	11 (100.0)
	Type – III	3 (60.0)	2 (40.0)	5 (100.0)
	All	17 (51.5)	16 (48.5)	33 (100.0)
Agra	Type – I	7 (24.1)	22 (75.9)	29 (100.0)
	Type – II	3 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (100.0)
	Type – III	2 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (100.0)
	All	12 (35.3)	22 (64.7)	34 (100.0)
Uttar Pradesh	Type – I	27 (32.9)	55 (67.1)	82 (100.0)
	Type – II	17 (70.8)	7 (29.2)	24 (100.0)
	Type – III	27 (79.4)	7 (20.6)	34 (100.0)
	All	71 (50.7)	69 (49.3)	140 (100.0)



**Table 4.10 A : Distribution of Sampled CSOs by Sectoral Coverage (Bihar)**

Sectors	Districts				
	Kishanganj	West Champran	Muzaffarpur	Patna	Total
(i) Education	13 (38.2)	13 (26.5)	5 (11.1)	8 (24.2)	39 (24.2)
(ii) Religious Education	11 (32.4)	28 (57.1)	26 (57.8)	6 (18.2)	71 (44.1)
(iii) Health & Sanitation	8 (23.5)	2 (4.1)	18 (40.0)	5 (15.1)	33 (20.5)
(iv) Charity Work	2 (5.9)	2 (4.1)	13 (28.9)	6 (18.2)	23 (14.3)
(v) Orphanage	1 (2.9)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (9.1)	4 (2.5)
(vi) Maintenance of Religious Place	3 (8.8)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	4 (12.1)	7 (4.3)
(vii) Physical & Mental Handicapped	0 (0.0)	1 (2.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (6.1)	3 (1.9)
(viii) Income Generation & Micro Finance	4 (11.8)	2 (4.1)	16 (35.5)	8 (24.2)	30 (18.6)
(ix) Vocational Training	5 (14.7)	2 (4.1)	10 (22.2)	3 (9.1)	20 (12.4)
(x) Agr. Development Work	2 (5.9)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (6.1)	4 (2.5)
(xi) Women Empowerment	4 (11.8)	13 (26.5)	8 (17.8)	4 (12.1)	29 (18.0)
(xii) National Integration & Communal Harmony	2 (5.9)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	6 (18.2)	8 (5.0)
(xiii) Eradication of Child Labour	2 (5.9)	1 (2.4)	3 (6.7)	0 (0.0)	6 (3.7)
(xiv) Environment	0 (0.0)	2 (4.1)	0 (0.0)	1 (3.0)	3 (1.9)
(xv) Institution Building	3 (8.8)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (6.1)	5 (3.1)
Total	60	66	99	60	285

**Note :** Due to multiple responses, the frequencies do not add up to the total at the bottom and the percentages do not add up to 100.

**Table 4.10 B : Distribution of Sampled CSOs by Sectoral Coverage (Uttar Pradesh)**

Sectors	Districts				
	Barabanki	Bahraich	Saharanpur	Agra	Total
(i) Education	9 (24.3)	14 (40.0)	12 (36.4)	5 (14.7)	40 (28.8)
(ii) Religious Education	12 (32.4)	9 (25.7)	13 (39.4)	3 (8.8)	37 (26.6)
(iii) Health & Sanitation	6 (16.2)	7 (20.0)	5 (15.2)	8 (23.5)	26 (18.7)
(iv) Charity Work	5 (13.5)	4 (11.4)	2 (6.1)	1 (2.9)	12 (8.6)
(v) Orphanage	0 (0.0)	3 (8.6)	3 (9.1)	1 (2.9)	7 (5.0)
(vi) Maintenance of Religious Place	1 (2.7)	2 (5.7)	2 (6.1)	0 (0.0)	5 (3.6)
(vii) Physical & Mental Handicapped	1 (2.7)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (8.8)	4 (2.9)
(viii) Income Generation & Micro Finance	3 (8.1)	5 (14.3)	14 (42.4)	1 (2.9)	23 (16.5)
(ix) Vocational Training	4 (10.8)	9 (25.7)	7 (21.2)	4 (11.8)	24 (17.3)
(x) Livelihood	0 (0.0)	2 (5.7)	6 (18.2)	1 (2.9)	9 (6.5)
(xi) Women Empowerment	3 (8.1)	8 (22.9)	11 (33.3)	4 (11.8)	26 (18.7)
(xii) National Integration & Communal Harmony	2 (5.4)	4 (11.4)	3 (9.1)	7 (20.6)	16 (11.5)
(xiii) Eradication of Child Labour	0 (0.0)	2 (5.7)	0 (0.0)	3 (8.8)	5 (3.6)
(xiv) Handloom Weaver	3 (8.1)	0 (0.0)	3 (9.1)	3 (8.8)	9 (6.5)
(xv) Jati Jamat	3 (8.1)	1 (2.9)	0 (0.0)	1 (2.9)	5 (3.6)
Total	52	70	81	45	248

**Note :** Due to multiple responses, the frequencies do not add up to the total at the bottom and the percentages do not add up to 100.

**Table 4.11 A : Percentage of CSO Reporting Gender Orientation of Development Programmes, Documentation of Programmes and Preparation of Annual Report (Bihar)**

District	Type of CSO	Percentage of CSOs Reporting			
		Gender Orientation of Different Programmes	Documentation of Programmes	Preparation of Annual Report	Preparation of Audit Report
Kishanganj	Type – I	78.3	87.0	100.0	91.3
	Type – II	100.0	100.0	—	50.0
	Type – III	14.3	100.0	28.6	57.1
	All	67.6	91.2	73.5	79.4
W. Champaran	Type – I	90.0	75.0	100.0	100.0
	Type – II	100.0	100.0	—	0.0
	Type – III	14.3	96.4	28.6	67.9
	All	46.9	87.8	57.1	79.6
Muzaffarpur	Type – I	78.9	68.4	100.0	94.7
	Type – II	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Type – III	12.5	95.8	16.7	37.5
	All	44.4	84.4	55.6	64.4
Patna	Type – I	89.5	100.0	100.0	94.7
	Type – II	71.4	100.0	100.0	57.1
	Type – III	—	100.0	85.7	42.9
	All	66.7	100.0	97.0	75.7
Bihar	Type – I	83.9	82.7	100.0	95.1
	Type – II	85.7	100.0	64.3	57.1
	Type – III	12.1	97.0	30.3	53.0
	All	54.7	90.1	68.3	74.5

**Table 4.11 B : Percentage of CSO Reporting Gender Orientation of Development Programmes, Documentation of Programmes and Preparation of Annual Report (Uttar Pradesh)**

District	Type of CSO	Percentage of CSOs Reporting			
		Gender Orientation of Different Programmes	Documentation of Programmes	Preparation of Annual Report	Preparation of Audit Report
Barabanki	Type – I	80.0	90.0	100.0	90.0
	Type – II	100.0	—	60.0	60.0
	Type – III	16.7	91.7	25.0	66.7
	All	62.2	78.4	70.3	78.4
Baharaich	Type – I	87.5	87.5	100.0	87.5
	Type – II	60.0	20.0	20.0	40.0
	Type – III	13.3	93.3	26.7	66.7
	All	52.8	80.6	58.3	72.2
Saharanpur	Type – I	82.4	88.2	100.0	82.4
	Type – II	18.2	90.9	45.5	63.6
	Type – III	20.0	100.0	40.0	60.0
	All	51.5	90.9	72.7	72.7
Agra	Type – I	86.2	89.7	100.0	86.2
	Type – II	100.0	100.0	—	66.7
	Type – III	—	100.0	—	50.0
	All	82.4	91.2	85.3	82.4
Uttar Pradesh	Type – I	84.1	89.0	100.0	86.6
	Type – II	54.2	58.3	37.5	58.3
	Type – III	14.7	94.1	26.5	64.7
	All	62.1	85.0	71.4	76.4

**Table 4.12 A : Information on CSOs by Mechanism for Evaluation and Monitoring (Bihar)**

District	Type of CSO	Own Team	Community Monitoring	Independent Organization	Donor Agency	Multiple Mechanism	No. Mechanism
Kishanganj	Type – I	8.7	8.7	—	30.4	26.1	52.2
	Type – II	—	100.0	—	—	50.0	—
	Type – III	—	42.9	—	—	—	57.1
	All	5.9	26.5	—	20.6	23.5	47.1
W. Champaran	Type – I	5.0	5.0	5.0	35.0	25.0	50.0
	Type – II	—	100.0	—	—	—	—
	Type – III	—	—	—	—	—	100.0
	All	2.0	4.0	2.0	14.3	10.2	77.6
Muzaffarpur	Type – I	—	10.5	—	26.3	10.5	63.2
	Type – II	—	100.0	—	—	—	—
	Type – III	16.7	—	—	—	—	83.3
	All	8.9	8.9	—	11.1	4.4	71.1
Patna	Type – I	10.5	10.5	—	26.3	21.1	52.6
	Type – II	—	100.0	—	—	42.9	—
	Type – III	14.3	—	—	—	—	85.7
	All	9.1	27.3	—	15.2	21.2	48.5
Bihar	Type – I	6.2	8.6	1.2	29.6	21.0	54.3
	Type – II	—	100.0	—	—	35.7	—
	Type – III	7.6	4.5	—	—	—	87.9
	All	6.2	14.9	0.6	14.9	13.7	63.4

**Table 4.12 B : Information on CSOs by Mechanism for Evaluation and Monitoring (Uttar Pradesh)**

District	Type of CSO	Own Team	Community Monitoring	Independent Organization	Donor Agency	Multiple Mechanism	No. Mechanism
Barabanki	Type – I	5.0	10.0	—	35.0	30.0	50.0
	Type – II	—	100.0	—	—	—	—
	Type – III	—	—	—	—	—	100.0
	All	2.7	18.9	—	18.9	16.2	59.5
Baharaich	Type – I	12.5	6.2	—	37.5	31.25	43.8
	Type – II	—	100.0	—	—	—	—
	Type – III	20.0	—	—	—	—	80.0
	All	13.9	16.7	—	16.7	13.9	52.8
Saharanpur	Type – I	11.8	—	—	41.2	35.3	47.0
	Type – II	—	63.6	—	—	—	36.4
	Type – III	40.0	—	—	—	—	60.0
	All	12.1	21.2	—	21.2	18.2	45.5
Agra	Type – I	3.4	10.3	—	27.6	24.1	58.6
	Type – II	—	100.0	—	—	—	—
	Type – III	—	—	—	—	—	100.0
	All	2.9	17.6	—	23.5	20.6	55.9
Uttar Pradesh	Type – I	7.3	7.3	—	34.1	29.3	51.2
	Type – II	—	83.3	—	—	—	16.7
	Type – III	14.7	—	—	—	—	85.3
	All	7.9	18.6	—	20.0	17.1	53.6

**Table 4.13 A : Perception of CSOs about Major Difficulties in Operation (Bihar)**

District	Percentage of CSOs reporting the difficulty of					
	Type of CSO	Financial Support	Physical Infrastructure	Availability of Professional Staff	Pre and in-service Training	Total (N)
Kishanganj	Type – I	73.9	52.2	39.1	21.7	100.0 (23)
	Type – II	100.0	75.0	—	—	100.0 (4)
	Type – III	42.9	71.4	—	—	100.0 (7)
	All	70.6	58.8	26.5	14.7	100.0 (34)
W. Champaran	Type – I	90.0	65.0	35.0	25.0	100.0 (20)
	Type – II	100.0	100.0	—	—	100.0 (1)
	Type – III	60.7	35.7	—	—	100.0 (28)
	All	73.5	49.0	14.3	10.2	100.0 (49)
Muzaffarpur	Type – I	73.7	63.2	36.8	42.1	100.0 (19)
	Type – II	100.0	100.0	—	—	100.0 (2)
	Type – III	41.7	79.2	—	—	100.0 (24)
	All	57.8	73.3	15.6	17.8	100.0 (45)
Patna	Type – I	63.2	68.4	21.1	36.8	100.0 (19)
	Type – II	71.4	57.1	—	—	100.0 (7)
	Type – III	42.9	57.1	—	—	100.0 (7)
	All	60.6	63.6	12.1	21.2	100.0 (33)
Bihar	Type – I	75.3	61.7	33.3	30.9	100.0 (81)
	Type – II	85.7	71.4	—	—	100.0 (14)
	Type – III	50.0	57.6	—	—	100.0 (66)
	All	65.8	60.9	16.8	15.5	100.0 (161)

Note : Percentages do not add up to 100, because of multiple responses by the CSOs.

**Table 4.13 B : Perception of CSOs about Major Difficulties in Operation (Uttar Pradesh)**

District	Percentage of CSOs reporting the difficulty of					
	Type of CSO	Financial Support	Physical Infrastructure	Availability of Professional Staff	Pre and in-service Training	Total (N)
Barabanki	Type – I	100.0	65.0	35.0	30.0	100.0 (20)
	Type – II	60.0	40.0	—	—	100.0 (5)
	Type – III	58.3	50.0	8.3	—	100.0 (12)
	All	73.0	56.8	21.6	16.2	100.0 (37)
Baharaich	Type – I	87.5	62.5	50.0	43.7	100.0 (16)
	Type – II	20.0	40.0	—	—	100.0 (5)
	Type – III	53.3	60.0	6.7	—	100.0 (15)
	All	63.9	58.3	25.0	19.4	100.0 (36)
Saharanpur	Type – I	88.2	58.8	41.2	35.3	100.0 (17)
	Type – II	27.3	18.2	—	—	100.0 (11)
	Type – III	60.0	60.0	—	—	100.0 (5)
	All	63.6	45.5	21.2	18.2	100.0 (33)
Agra	Type – I	69.0	55.2	27.6	27.6	100.0 (29)
	Type – II	100.0	—	—	—	100.0 (3)
	Type – III	100.0	100.0	—	—	100.0 (2)
	All	73.5	52.9	23.5	23.5	100.0 (34)
Uttar Pradesh	Type – I	84.1	59.8	36.6	32.9	100.0 (82)
	Type – II	41.7	25.0	—	—	100.0 (24)
	Type – III	58.8	58.8	5.9	—	100.0 (34)
	All	70.7	53.6	28.6	19.3	100.0 (140)

Note : Percentages do not add up to 100, because of multiple responses by the CSOs.



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## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, constituting the two most important states of *Hindi* heartland, are characterised by extremely low levels of their economic development and an equally low levels of their social development. But unlike some other poor states of the country, both these states are also characterised by a vibrant social and political mobilisation process. Since the eighties and more decisively since the nineties, the institution of state has been redefined with its role much lessened under the policy of economic reforms. But, although this policy is apparently the same for the entire nation, its impact has been widely different in poorer regions of the country, including Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, where the state had to vacate much of its space for a market which was so small in size that the act of vacation indeed meant ‘creation of a vacuum’, vis-à-vis the possibility of providing an impetus for growth. Thus, the character of the state-economy relation in regions like Bihar and Uttar Pradesh is very complex and the emergence of CSOs and their functioning here are conditioned by these economic, social and political trends. As regards the CSOs concerned with the welfare of the Muslims, one might first note that the size of the Muslim population in these two states is substantial; second, the extent of economic and social deprivation for this Muslim population is much higher than for the general population; and finally, the process of subaltern socio-political mobilisation here also encompasses the Muslims. Thus, Muslim-oriented CSOs are now a quite visible phenomenon in both these states. Since such CSOs have never been studied before, the present study assumes great significance, both as a social enquiry and a source of ideas to strengthen the phenomenon.

#### **Civil Society Organisation**

The CSOs in south and western India are essentially product of social movement. Even in Bengal proper, the civil society organisations were product of renaissance movement. Unlike in the south India, the potential CSO activist joined the political movement in Bengal with strong ideological orientation. In contrast, in both Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, the CSO activists were not the product of social movement, nor had strong ideological mooring. Most of the CSOs are essentially the outcome of social entrepreneurship. This attribute has got pronounced in the social sector in both the states, with increasing withdrawal of the state. Although CSOs which aim to serve a social

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agenda using a modern organisational framework in the shape of non-governmental organisation or a professional body are relatively new in both the states, the Muslim society has a long tradition of having some organisations which serve the poorer sections of its population, based on *zakaat* donations collected from the community members. These donations are generally used for running *Madarsas* or orphanages or imparting religious education. They all have a strong charity orientation and may not be effective as organisations working for empowerment or enabling of the poor. But, within that limitation, these *zakaat*-based organisations are very strong in the sense that they achieve much of their stated goals and they also enjoy the confidence of both its beneficiaries and donors. The element of trust in these organisations is very apparent and they often function without such formal practice of registration, annual reports or audited accounts. The other component of Muslim-oriented CSOs are the social agenda-based ones which are comparatively recent, more so in Uttar Pradesh. The origin of all these social agenda-based CSOs is non-religious, although they focus on the welfare of the marginalised section of the Muslim population. Generally, they emerge out of the social entrepreneurship or three kinds of individuals or a small group of individuals. Some of them have been social activists who, based on their experience, have later formed CSOs to make their efforts wider and more organised. The second group of individuals comprised those who were part of the political movements at some stage of their lives and had later decided to organise CSOs as an alternative mode of serving the poor. Finally, there were individuals who were members of the elites and, out of a sense of idealism and philanthropy, had organised CSOs. Interestingly, it was found in the survey that, in many cases, even some of the social agenda-based CSOs had taken up establishment of *Madarsas*, an apparently faith-based activity, as its goal. On deeper enquiry, it was found that *Madarsas* not only serve the need of religious education in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, but they also serve other interests such as vocational education, promotion of *Urdu* language and social mobilisation. One should also remember here that Muslims, just like the Hindus, are not a homogeneous community. They are deeply divided both along caste considerations and socio-economic status. The socio-political mobilisation that Bihar and Uttar Pradesh had witnessed in recent decades on the issue of social justice also gets reflected in their ranks. Thus many of the social agenda-based CSOs which have emerged in the recent years among the Muslim are caste or profession-based, to serve the specific socio-economic interests of its members.

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The present study had found clear evidence of substantial CSO activity for the Muslims in both the states, but they were not probably adequate in number. For serving the huge Muslim population, a large part of whom are very marginalised, one certainly needs more social agenda-based CSOs in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. However, a more serious limitation of the Muslim-oriented CSOs in the two states was their poor physical infrastructure and financial base. While the faith-based CSOs generally operate from their informal base at the mosques, other CSOs are often seen to operate from a small office with even inadequate furnitures. The availability of modern office facilities like computers and vehicles is even more limited. The weakness of their financial health can be judged from the fact that about 4 out of 10 of them operate with an annual budget of less than Rs. 2 lakh. Additionally, even this poor financial base is not very stable, the problem of unstable finance being more in those very districts where the CSO movement is relatively weaker. Yet another important limitation of the CSOs in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh is their lack of gender orientation. This undesirable trend is noticed most among the programmes of faith-based CSOs. In fact, one does not see the presence of any women in the executive committees of faith-based CSOs or even those social agenda-based CSOs which are entirely Muslim-oriented. Fortunately, other CSOs (Type 1) are relatively free of this limitation.

In spite of having a number of capacity constraints — physical infrastructure, human base or financial health, the CSOs in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh try to address a large number of development needs. Although the objective of ‘religious education’ is served most by the CSOs, social and economic needs are found to occupy a sizeable place in the overall agenda of CSOs. However, one notices an absence of professionalism in the working of many of these CSOs as the practice of documentation is rather weak and they also do not care to undertake evaluation of their developmental work. Prima facie, one would expect the CSOs at the grassroot level to serve only the local population, occasionally reaching to the nearby areas. But the present survey shows that CSOs in both Bihar and Uttar Pradesh have a tendency not to limit their activities to local areas alone, but spread to other areas whenever an opportunity is available.

It is unfortunate that most CSOs in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, including those which have been in operation for long, were unable to respond meaningfully to the query about their

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future plans. It is basically a reflection of the indifference of the CSOs towards any introspection of their role as a development agency. Understandably, because of serious capacity constraints, their entire effort is geared towards the immediate programmes at hand. Thus, they are not able to appreciate the fact that, unless some of their time is spent on future planning, their achievements are likely to remain too limited to impact the overall development scenario. In course of the field work, it was often realised that the important functionaries of the CSOs are generally unable to differentiate between a charity work and development work, let alone the implications of such a difference for the effectiveness of a CSO. Similarly, the CSOs were also found to be unaware of the concept of 'pluralism' and how Muslim-oriented CSOs could be mindful of this dimension of CSO movement to strengthen themselves and also further the cause of religious tolerance.

There are several ways by which the present CSO movement in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh could be strengthened, either the movement in general or a section of it that addresses the welfare of the Muslim population. To begin with, the capacity building of such CSOs could be first through meeting their infrastructural needs like office space, furnitures, computers or vehicles. The survey team had found those facilities to be very inadequate for most of the CSOs and the organisations themselves have mentioned them as one of their serious handicaps, apart from financial assistance. However, the CSOs were not very conscious of their other difficulties. The survey team often felt that the quality of the professional staff employed by the CSOs was quite often rather unsatisfactory, hindering the quality of their programmes. Thus, providing for pre- and in-service training for the staff members of CSOs can make a substantial difference to their working in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. One should also remember that the functionaries of the CSOs are often not able to think beyond their own cognitive world, because their exposure to the world outside is very limited. Many funding agencies, operative in various Indian states, have improved the efficiency of the development programmes funded by them through arranging exposure visit of the functionaries of the implementing CSOs to places where similar programmes have been implemented satisfactorily. Since many of the CSOs in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh function at very small towns or rural areas, such exposure visits are even more desirable for them. Finally, many of the existing CSOs could improve their performance, provided they are able to introduce professionalism in their functioning

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through proper documentation and monitoring/ evaluation activities. These again could be promoted through proper training and possibly exposure visits. In the context of Muslim-oriented CSOs, yet another effort to strengthen the movement could be to convince some of the faith-based organisations to take up a social agenda without disturbing their traditional programmes. One could also attain this objective of expanding the space for social agenda by pooling of resources of different CSOs. At one end, one could think of pairing of two CSOs, one faith-based and other social agenda-based; at the other, one could establish network of CSOs pursuing similar objectives to share their resources and experience.

### **Case Studies**

#### Insan School, Kishanganj (Bihar)

The Insan School was started as an educational mission by the name of Taleemi Mission Corp in 1966. Its aim was not limited to produce only degree holders, but to produce well-educated people with all round development. Insan School, Insan College and Insan Adult School came as offsprings to this mission. The school imparts religious instruction, including an understanding of the spirit behind all religions. Apart from this, the school promotes self-reliance among the students.

Dr. Syed Hasan, the founder of the school, believes that education plays a vital role in the upliftment of people, in finding constructive solutions to social challenges and needs. Young Syed Hasan was very saddened by the disparity of his people and injustices of colonial administration. However, he saw hopes in many reform efforts, ideas and personalities such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Ali Brothers. He felt that education held the key to the solution of many challenges faced by his own society. In 1955, he went to the Southern Illinois University, USA on a fellowship. In 1965, Dr. Hasan returned to India leaving many opportunities in the USA. Though he had several areas in mind, he finally chose Kishanganj, the most backward region at the time, as a challenge to start his mission.

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Dr. Hasan started the school from the scratch, refusing to look for donations. He had no land to start his project. A hut was hired at a monthly rent of Rs 50. 'Insan' was born. Today the Insan School has a sprawling campus of about 120 hectares with a cluster of small buildings. The school attracts children from all communities; nearly 25 per cent of the students are non-Muslims. Staff members also belong to a mixture of various communities. The students come from all of the adjacent districts of both Bihar and West Bengal. The medium of teaching is Hindi. Every year this school has to get affiliation from the Bihar School Examination Board on temporary basis, though it has adequate number of students and infrastructure. In some years, it becomes difficult to get even temporary affiliation from the Board; in that case, the school collaborates with another affiliated school to conduct the examination for the examinees. Its impact on the society is quite observable. After completion of the college education from the Insan college, many students have gone to other parts of the country for higher education.

#### Alklair cooperative Credit society, Patna (Bihar)

It is generally believed that there is need of credit for employment generation, but the usual interest bearing credit becomes difficult for those who are extremely poor. The credit can serve its purpose only when if it is interest-free. The notion behind making the credit facility available without interest was the prime mover for the establishment of Alklair Cooperative Credit Society in 2002. One of the founder members of this cooperative is Dr. Arshad Azmal who is very meticulous in terms of synthesizing the ideas for the safeguards of the downtrodden class in the society. In the world of CSOs, this organization is working with a quiet innovative objective. In Bihar, this society is the only Muslim-oriented CSO which works on micro-credit. This kind of facility is for all who are economically deprived, irrespective of the caste and religion. The functioning of the organisation amply demonstrates that this kind of support to the small entrepreneurs and pauperized section of the society greatly helps in reducing the urban poverty. In some way, it also works as a bank for saving of the small entrepreneurs. There are three types of loan which the Society grants to its members :

- (i) Demand Loan : This loan is provided for education, medical treatment, to meet the social and family needs, and finally, asset creation and its maintenance. For this loan, a

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certain amount is charged as the service charge which is one time payable. The maximum amount under this loan is Rs. 20000.

- (ii) Short Term Business Loan : This loan is made available to the small entrepreneurs on the basis of profit sharing. Its limit is also Rs.20000.
- (iii) Murabaha Loan : Under this scheme of loan, all kinds of consumer goods — TV, cooler, washing machine, fan, mobile phone etc. are made available to needy persons after an internally agreed level of profit.

#### Imarat Shariah, Patna (Bihar)

Imarat Shariah is a unique socio-religious organization of Muslims belonging to the states of Bihar, Jharkhand and Orissa. It came into being in 1921, based on the principles of Islam and its Shariat laws. Since then, this organization has been rendering valuable services for the preaching of Islam, besides inspiring and guiding the Muslim Ummah for leading a collective life under the Shariat laws. In 1993, a separate trust was formed to widen its scope of working. The newly formed trust is known as Imarat Shariah Educational and Welfare Trust. The main objectives of this organization are :

- (a) To establish technical, paramedical and non-technical institutions and hospitals, preferably in the backward regions having sizable population of minority community
- (b) To eradicate the curse of illiteracy from the poor, socially, educationally and economically backward, and in this way to provide opportunity for their upliftment.
- (c) To produce, responsive, sensible and better skilled manpower to cater to the needs of modern industrial needs of the country.

To achieve the above objectives, the organization has captured larger institutional domain and are running the following institutions: (i) Maulana Sajjad Memorial Hospital, Phulwarisharif, Patna. (ii) Maulana Minnatullah Rahmani Memorial Technical Institute (I.T.I.) Phulwarisharif, Patna. (iii) Maulana Minnatullah Rahmani Memorial Technical Institute (Pathology) Phulwarisharif, Patna. (iv) Imarat Institute of Computer and Electronics, Phulwarisharif, Patna. (v) Imarat Mojibia Technical Institute (I.T.I.), Darbhanga. (vi) Imarat Technical Institute (I.T.I.), Gulabbagh, Purnea. (vii) Imarat Umar

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Technical training Centre (I.T.I.), Birsa, Raurkela, Orissa. (viii) Reyaz Industrial Training Institute, Sathi, West Champaran. (ix) New National Middle and High School, Jamshedpur, Jharkhand and (x) M.S.M. Hospital, Phulwarisharif, Patna.

In last few years, this organization has covered larger sectoral as well as geographical areas in Bihar. It has a very organized office set up with adequate infrastructural facilities to cope with its large volume of work. The staff members consist of Ulemas, intellectuals, technocrats, doctors and supporting staff. It plays a significant role at the time of natural calamities like floods and earthquake in the state. Though its initial agenda was based on the charity works, in the last few years, its focus has been widened to include developmental works as well.

#### Darul Uloom, Deoband (Uttar Pradesh)

The revolt of 1857 marked a seminal moment for Indo-Islamic consciousness, especially for the established Muslim elites of north India, who tended to view 1857 as the end of their political predominance and the beginning of what could be the dark period of Muslim history. In this situation, in May 1866, Hujjiatul Islam Al-Imam Maulana Muhammad Qasim Nanotwi established the Darul Uloom Seminary in the town of Deoband, north of Delhi, from where many Muslim elites had fled. The establishment of this Seminary in the land of Deoband and its stability is the result of a concerted effort of the Muslims of the sub-continent.

Darul Uloom, Deoband, is today a renowned religious and academic centre in the Islamic world. It is the largest institution for the dissemination and propagation of Islam and considered as an incomparable institution for the religious education of the Muslims not only in the sub-continent but throughout the Islamic world. The institution has played a great role in investing the Muslim thoughts and views with freshness and sacredness. Besides this, it has rendered immense services in the revival of the Islam and awakening the political consciousness among the Muslims.



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Deoband curriculum is based on the 17<sup>th</sup> century Indo-Islamic syllabus, known as Darse-Nizami. Over 1500 graduates of this institution have gone on to establish many Madarsas across modern India, Pakistan and other parts of the world. The school of the Islamic religion promulgated here is often described as Deobandi. There is a separate constitution for the Darul Uloom, Deoband. In the constitution, the founder has proposed for the establishment and efficient functioning of the seminaries. There are some fundamental principles for the seminaries which could be summarized as follows — first, the functionaries of the Madarsas, as far as possible, should always have an eye for the augmentation of the donation; second, the wellwishers of the Madarsas, as far as they can, should endeavour for the continuous supply of food to the students; third, the counselor of Madarsas should always bear in mind that the Madarsas should promote well-being and excellence, and no one should be unyielding in one's opinion.

#### Unity College, Lucknow (Uttar Pradesh)

Unity College is an unaided English medium, co-educational college established by a registered philanthropic society, the Tauheedul Muslimeen Trust Foundation Society, Lucknow. This is a very unique Shia organization which is treated as the hub of the modern educational centre situated in the state capital. Today, it has about 2500 students, above 100 staff members and classes from Lower Nursery to class XII. Unity College is affiliated with the council for the Indian School Certificate Examinations, New Delhi. Nestling among the architectural splendor of old Lucknow, the Unity College is spread over 5.75 acres which provides the best in modern education. The infrastructure is comparable to the best elsewhere for the all-round development of the child's personality, preparing him/her to meet the challenges of the coming times. The college has an ever growing library with the latest editions of world class books and well-equipped laboratories for computer and science subjects. Excellent facilities for games and sports exist on the campus itself. The college has fully trained teaching staff using the latest teaching techniques to keep pace with the growing needs of the time. The college endeavors to keep the ideal teacher-student ratio and lays great emphasis on individual attention on the children by the teachers. The Trust mainly operates in three areas namely — education, health care and charity, with education given the top priority. The objectives of the trust are :

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- (a) To primarily work in the field of education, health and rehabilitation of underprivileged.
  - (b) To financially assist the poor, intelligent and diligent students particularly belonging to underprivileged classes and to guide them for better future.
  - (c) To open minority educational and training institutions in various parts of the country as funds permit.
  - (d) To do any other act of philanthropy to the society as the Trust feels fit and proper.

Keeping the above objectives in mind, the Trust is also running Unity Industrial Training Centre (UITC) within the Unity College Campus. The Centre has 17 rooms and offers seven courses approved by the National Council for Vocational Training (NCVT), Government of India — (i) Draughtsman Civil, (ii) Computer Operator and Programming. (iii) Mechanic Refrigeration and Air Conditioning. (iv) Stenography English. (v) Stenography Hindi. (vi) Cutting and Sewing. and (vii) Hair and Skin Care.

#### Astitva, Saharanpur (Uttar Pradesh)

Rehana Adib, is a muslim woman who has traversed across many ups and downs in her life. When she was married, she had no idea about the atrocity prevailing in the Muslim society, because she was too young. Initially, she confronted many traditional values of the Muslim society. Later, when she started protesting, she was assaulted by her husband for her intolerance against social prejudices. Continuously, she was experiencing different kinds of atrocity faced by the Muslim women. It was very difficult for her to lead a life as a housewife within a narrow family domain. Finally, she decided to move out and work for the social justice. To concretize her ideas, she joined an organization called DISHA in Saharanpur. There, she worked for the empowerment of the Muslim women. While working with DISHA, she had formed nearly 1500 SHGs across the district. But the effort she made was not adequate to free the women from atrocities faced by them. She herself faced discrimination in the organization. The head of the organization used to put pressure on her to remain silent when she tried to expose such discrimination. Finally, she quit the organization and got involved with independent work, a difficult challenge in place like Sharanpur. The head of DISHA tortured her badly and pressurised her to work in any district other than Saharanpur. Then she was forced to choose Muzaffarnagar, very adjacent district to Saharanpur.

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There, she registered an organization called ASTITVA (reflecting the idea of struggle for identity) with an extension office at Saharanpur. In Muzaffarnagar, she started working for woman rights and other issues related with gender. While working on these issues, she took up the then very burning issue of Imrana who hailed from a village Kukda in Muzaffarnagar. The lady was raped many times by her father-in-law and then thrown out of home. She was not able to raise her voice against such a heinous crime. Rehana Adib was the first woman who took the daunting step to curb such patriarchal malpractices and decided to fight for her rights. While dealing with the case, she used to wear *burkha* in the court to hide her face so that no one could recognize her. She tirelessly worked for Imrana and most of the time she used to stay at night in Muzaffarnagar civil court. At that time, it was a burning issue in the politics of Uttar Pradesh. It was the ASTITVA which provided the platform to the fight continuously till the conviction of the offender. Since then, this organization is working for the various issues like women rights, child rights etc. At present, because of its weak infrastructure, it is unable to take up the larger issues and spread its geographical coverage.

#### Madarsa Jamia Naimian Kareemian, Barabanki (Uttar Pradesh)

The Madarsa was registered in 1998 under the Society Registration Act. It was an outcome of the community effort to establish an educational centre in the village. About 90 percent of the village population belongs to the Muslim backward caste, i.e., *ansari*, *julaha* and others. The literacy rate among them is extremely low. The economic base of this community is also very weak. They are mainly weavers. One of the key person of the community is Hazi Mohammad Abraham who belongs to the *ansari caste*. He is fully illiterate, but for the last two decades, he is working as social entrepreneur. He has been experiencing the ill effects of the educational deprivation. In late 90s, he realized that only education could be the strong instrument to change the socio-economic condition of this village. That apart, he also thought that through the religious consolidation for the community, its socio-cultural strength could be revived. Towards this, he along with two of his neighbours decided to establish a Madarsa in the village so that their next generation could be educated. To achieve this aim, Md. Abraham first donated all his land to the Madarsa and an *Idgah* for the religious activities. After being influenced by the sacrifice

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made by Mr. Abraham for the community, other community members also started donating their land to the Madarsa. Once the land was made available, under the leadership of Md. Abraham, the villagers worked for the construction of the rooms for the Madarsa.

Today, this Madarsa has a big campus. There is also an *Idgah* on the campus which is a rare phenomena. There are 350 boys and 125 girls studying in the Madarsa. There are ten teachers and the teaching is not confined to religious education alone; they have also taken initiative to provide modern education to all the children enrolled. The financial base is local donation and some part of Zakaat.

#### Glutex Handloom Cooperative Society Limited, Barabanki (Uttar Pradesh)

According to official estimates, there are nearly 60 handloom cooperative societies located in Barabanki, making it an important centre in Uttar Pradesh after Varanasi, Azamgarh, Mubarakpur, Mau and Gorakhpur. Nearly 80 percent of the handloom weavers in Barabanki are from the minority community. The Glutex Handloom Cooperative Society was registered in 1988 under the Society Registration Act. The structure of this cooperative is much different from others, in terms of its agenda. Unlike others, it has embraced the agenda of social development as well, apart from the commercial agenda for the minority community. Md. Matin, the President of the society, is a social activist and his idea about the rural employment gets reflected in the working pattern of the society. Most of time he works as the motivator and the trainer for the weavers around the village. There are nearly 750 weavers working for the society. In order to produce better quality of the products, the society has appointed a designer from the National Institute of Fashion Technology (NIFT), New Delhi. The President himself has been participating in the various national and international level exhibitions with some of the products produced in the society. They are planning to export their product in many parts of the world. In response to the need of a school dedicated for the weavers' education, the society has taken the initiative towards establishing such a school.

Apart from the commercial activities, the society also gets involved with the promotion of skill development among the women, and the education for their children. To achieve this target, the training programme for the skill development is organized on a regular basis.



The Asian Development Research Institute (ADRI) Society was established and registered by a group of social scientists in 1991. The motivation for starting yet another Institute in Patna was not merely to expand social science research, but to lend it a distinct development orientation and deliver all research output to its potential users in a demystified form. In this research perspective, the broad objectives of ADRI Society are:

- ✎ to undertake academic research of direct relevance to development efforts made by an individual or a group or the community itself;
- ✎ to broaden the database of research as also of its end use by involving as many classes of persons and institutions as possible;
- ✎ to offer research results in a more innovative, demystified and useworthy form; and finally
- ✎ to restore man to his central position in social research in totality and with full dignity.