

Fight Inequality Alliance - India

Pre-budget survey: 2021

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Support: Samta Network, State Inequality Alliance-Odisha, SCORE, UP Swasthata Abhiyaan, LEADS Trust, Koshish Charitable trust, Health Rights Network partners, JSA-Odisha, Grammitra Samaj Sevi Sanstha, Path Pradarshak, Pihu Foundation, Jan Vikas Parishad Evam Anusandhan Sansthan, Centre for Social Equity and Inclusion, Mobile Creches, National Youth Equity Forum, Right to Education Forum, Wada Na Todo Abhiyan, National Coalition for Education, Alliance for Right to ECD, Neenv Delhi FORCES, Binod Sinha, Prakash Gardia, Pratiush Prakash and Noopur

Design: Akshay Tarfe

January 2021

About Fight Inequality Alliance India

The Fight Inequality Alliance (FIA) India is a group of leading international and national non-profit organisations, human rights campaigners, women's rights groups, environmental groups, trade unions, social movements and other civil society organisations that have come together to fight the growing crisis of inequality.

The membership of FIA India consists of 5 state networks (Uttar Pradesh, Odisha, Chhattisgarh, Bihar and Jharkhand) and multiple national networks including the Right to Education Forum, Wada Na Todo Abhiyan, National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights, Oxfam India, Water Aid, Alliance for Right to Early Childhood Development, National Coalition for Education and National Centre for Promotion of Employment for Disabled People amongst others.

Contents

Introduction	4
Methodology and Limitations	5
What should the government allocate additional funds in the upcoming budget for?	6
How do people want the government to increase availability of funds for social services? \dots	16
What measures should the government take in the upcoming budget session?	19
Recommendations	23
State factsheets	24
Uttar Pradesh	25
Jharkhand	29
Bihar	33
Chhattisgarh	36
Odisha	40
Gujarat	45
Delhi	48
Maharashtra	52
References	57
Annexure 1- Profile of respondents	61

Introduction

The Union Budget 2021-22 comes at a time that is unprecedented. 122 million people have lost their jobs and millions are at risk of falling back into poverty (Vyas, 2020). At the same time, the wealth of billionaires in India has continued to grow at a rapid pace— Mukesh Ambani earned INR 90 crore per hour since the lockdown began (Kumar, 2020). Given this context, the Fight Inequality Alliance India sough to find what people want from the upcoming budget. This led to a country-wide survey that reached out to 1451 people spread across 24 states¹ which covered people across genders, social groups, religions and income classes.

The survey findings indicate a clear mandate for the Union Budget 2021-22 to focus on strengthening social protection mechanisms for the poor and increasing taxation on the super-rich and large corporations. A summary of the key findings is given below:

What should the government allocate additional funds in the upcoming budget for?

- 95% want provision of minimum wage and insurance for all frontline health workers (e.g. Anganwadi and ASHA workers).
- 87% want a free COVID vaccine for all
- 95% want universal minimum social security including health and maternity benefits, accident insurance, life insurance and pension to be provided to all unorganized workers
- 97% want additional funding to ensure that all schools provide additional academic support to students who experienced learning loss and have adequate sanitation and handwashing facilities for safe reopening
- 87% want universalization of the public distribution system to give every individual the option to avail adequate free rations up to June 2021
- 88% want an urban employment guarantee scheme, along the lines of MNREGS to be setup
- 97% want additional funding to strengthen support services for the prevention of gender-based violence

How do people want the government to increase availability of funds for social services?

- 78% respondents believe that a 2% COVID cess should be imposed on individuals earning more than INR 2 crore per annum and a temporary tax be imposed on companies making extra profits² during the pandemic
- 77% want expenditure on expensive projects such as the Central Vista and bullet train to be reduced for the duration of the pandemic

¹ Arunachal Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Chandigarh, Chhattisgarh, Delhi, Gujarat, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Odisha, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Telangana, Tripura, Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand and West Bengal

² Additional profits in the pandemic period when compared to the pre-pandemic period

Methodology and Limitations

A total of 1451 people from across 24 states participated in the survey. Data was collected through the use of a survey which was filled via google form, either directly by respondents or in cases where the respondent lacked digital know-how and devices, by data collectors based on oral responses. An effort was made to reach out to individuals across regions, genders, age groups, religions and social groups. A detailed profile of the respondents can be viewed in Annexure 1 while state-wise³ factsheets can be viewed on page 24.

The use of offline methods of data collected ensured that the sample was not restricted to those with access to digital devices and high-income levels- 27% of the sample comprises of individuals earning less than INR 10,000 per month. It must be stated the study suffers from the limitations of having a small sample which is not completely representative of the entire population, affecting the external validity of the findings. However, it offers insights into expectations people have from the budget and the key areas that government must prioritise in the Union Budget 2021-22.

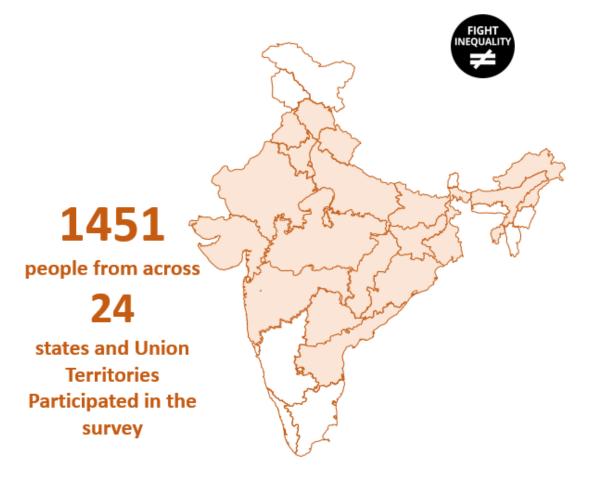


Figure 1 Survey participants

³ States with more than 40 responses were included in the state-wise analysis

What should the government allocate additional funds in the upcoming budget for?

95% want provision of minimum wage and insurance for all frontline health workers (e.g. Anganwadi and ASHA workers).

Anganwadi and ASHA workers are the back-bone of India's public health system. Despite being fundamental to the COVID efforts and working long hours – media reports show that since the lockdown began, **ASHA** workers have worked 14 hours a day, they continue to be treated as 'volunteers' who receive a fraction of the minimum wages (Chakraborty, 2020). In most states, this ranges between INR 2000-4500 per month (Kapur, 2021). An estimate from Oxfam India's Davos Supplement 2021 shows that if India's top 11 billionaires are taxed at just 1 percent of their wealth, it would pay the average wage of nine lakh ASHA workers in the country for 5 years (Dutta & Sardar, 2021).

In recognition of the important role played by frontline health workers, the overwhelming majority—95% of the respondents surveyed believe that the government should allocate additional funds in the upcoming budget to ensure minimum wage and insurance for all frontline health workers such as Anganwdi and ASHA workers. This finding is consistent across regions, genders, age and social groups.

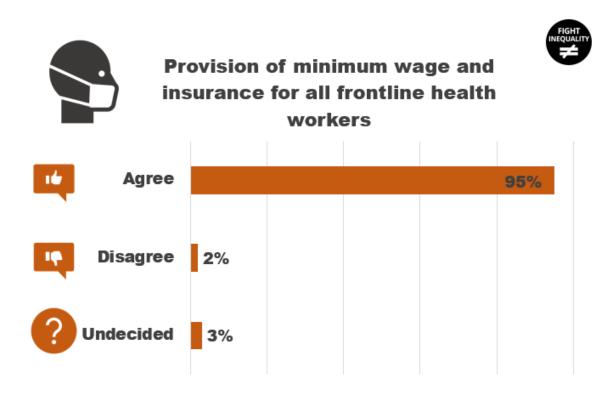


Figure 2 Minimum wage for frontline health workers

87% want a free COVID vaccine for all; figure rises to 93% for respondents from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

According to Health Minister Harsh Vardhan, the COVID vaccine will be free for the nearly three crore healthcare & frontline workers in the country (Perappadan, 2021). We are yet to hear the government's plans for the remaining population. According to media reports⁴, the government procurement price for Covishield is Rs 200 (first 100 million doses and INR 1000 thereafter at private outlets) and Rs 295 per dose for Covaxin. Neither⁵ is currently on the National List of Essential Medicines. At the same time, even at the subsidized price, the costs are significant given that casual workers in India earn less than INR 150 per day (Sanghera, 2018).

Peoples' movements the world over have demanded a Peoples' COVID Vaccine that is free and available for all. The experience of successful vaccination campaigns such as the Polio campaign in India shows that universal coverage is contingent upon making vaccines available free of cost to all (Deutsch, Singh, Singh, Curtis & Siddique, 2017). This demand appears to resonate with the people wherein the overwhelming majority— 87% of the respondents surveyed believe that the government should allocate additional funds in the upcoming budget to ensure a free COVID vaccine for everyone. This figure rises to 93% when analyzing responses of individuals from Scheduled Castes and Schedules Tribes.

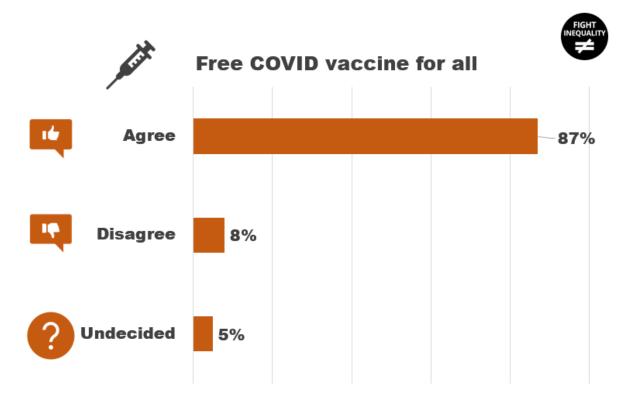


Figure 3 Free COVID Vaccine for all

⁴ https://www.indiatoday.in/coronavirus-outbreak/vaccine-updates/story/here-is-what-one-dose-of-various-covid-19-vaccines-will-cost-in-india-1758527-2021-01-13

⁵http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/articleshow/80320537.cms?utm_source=contentofinterest&utm_medium=te_xt&utm_campaign=cppst_

95% want universal minimum social security including health and maternity benefits, accident insurance, life insurance and pension to be provided to all unorganized workers

This year has been devastating for India's poor. A survey of over 11,000 workers in the beginning of the lockdown found that close to 90% did not get paid by employers and over 70% had less than INR 200 left with them (Stranded Workers Action Network, 2020). Over ninety percent of the labour force in India is comprised of unorganized workers (International Labour Organization, 2020). While Ambani's wealth increased by INR 90 crore/hour, forty crore unorganized workers are at risk of falling into deeper poverty (Kumar, 2020).

The survey findings show that a critical mass of India's population (95% of those surveyed) feels it is imperative for the government to **provide unorganized workers basic social protections to prevent them from falling into poverty.** This Union budget should ensure that 90% of India's workforce receive their rights to universal social protection enjoyed by the other 10%.

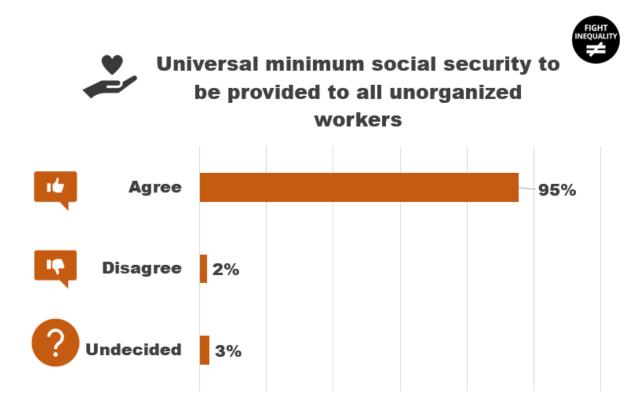


Figure 4 Universal Social Security for workers

87% want an expansion in the insurance coverage of Ayushman Bharat- Pradhan Mantri Jan Arogya Yojna from INR 5 lakhs to INR 10 lakhs and, a larger proportion of beneficiaries to be included.

Close to 60% Indians incur out of pocket expenditure for health (National Health Systems Resource Centre, 2019). The pandemic has been rife with instances of overcharging and exploitation of patients by hospitals, with cases of individuals being charged up to INR 16 lakhs for COVID treatment (Chaitanya, 2020). In a country where over 80% earn less than 10,000 per month, the daily rate for an ICU in Delhi is INR 10,000 (Basole, 2018; Saxena, 2020). Given this context, the Ayushman Bharat scheme offers the potential of cashless treatment in designated hospitals.

While the scheme currently covers 50 crore individuals, only 14 percent of both SC and ST households are registered under the scheme, thus excluding many of those most in need (Dutta & Sardar, 2021). In addition, transgender persons have also experienced a high rate of exclusion from the scheme (Karmakar, 2018). Furthermore, the current limit of INR 5 lakhs per family under the scheme is not sufficient. A significant portion of those surveyed (87%) are in favour of the government increasing the coverage amount and include a larger proportion of beneficiaries; the corresponding figure for Muslim respondents is 91%.

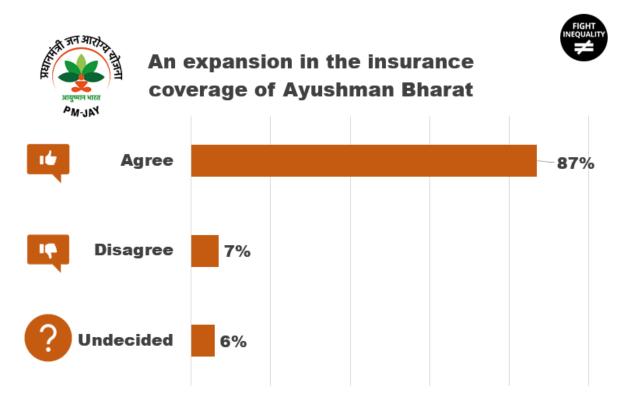


Figure 5 An expansion of Ayushman Bharat

97% want additional funding to ensure that all schools provide additional academic support to students who experienced learning loss and have adequate sanitation and handwashing facilities for safe reopening

A study by Oxfam India shows that in the early stages of the lockdown, 80% of students in government schools could not access education (Vyas, 2020). While children from rich families attended online classes in the plush comfort of their homes and spent the lockdown reading books in their well-stocked home libraries, there were multiple, distressing cases of suicides by children from underprivileged families due to frustration over not being able to access digital education (Emmanuel, 2020). There is a need to provide increased funding for additional academic support and learning materials for children in government schools to recover the learning loss. This is particularly true for girls, who might lose upto 50% of their total years of education if not proactive steps are not taken (Malala Fund, 2020).

Additionally, over 40% government schools were being used as quarantine centres and 54% lacked adequate WASH (water, soap and functional toilets) facilities (NIEPA 2017; Vyas, 2020). Almost the entire sample surveyed (97%) agrees that the government must make WASH facilities available in all schools before they reopen. This finding is consistent across regions, genders, age and social groups.

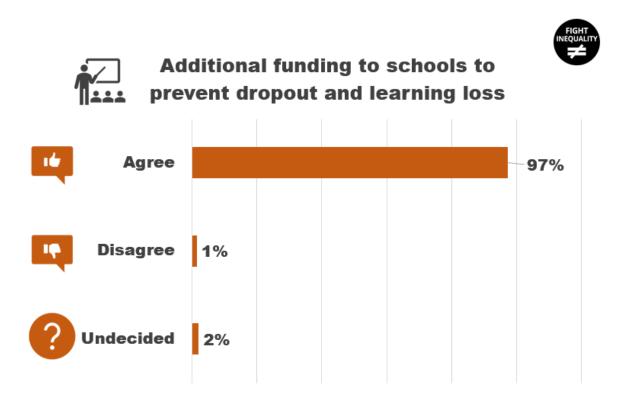


Figure 6 Additional Funding to schools

87% want universalization of the public distribution system (PDS) to give every individual the option to avail adequate free rations up to June 2021

The Pradhan Mantri Garib Kalyan Ann Yojana gave 80 crore individuals access to free rations up till November 2020 (Press Information Bureau, 2020). However, the scheme only offers rations to ration card holders using 9-year old data, which has left a **100 million poor people ineligible to access rations** (Iqubbal, 2020). Even migrants who were away from their home state were unable to access rations, with a survey in the beginning of the lockdown, showing that 96% migrants did not receive any rations (Stranded Workers Action Network, 2020). In the absence of ration cards, persons with disabilities, particularly women, struggled to access rations under the PM Garib Kalyan Ann Yojana (Rising Flame & Sightsavers, 2020).

87% respondent want the government to allocate funding in the Union budget to give every individual the option to access free rations unconditionally – without asking for documentation such as ration card or checking eligibility based on any criteria. Further, they also want such a scheme to be extended till at least June 2021 to provide continued food security. For individuals whose household income is less than INR 20,000 per month, this figure is even higher, at 94%.

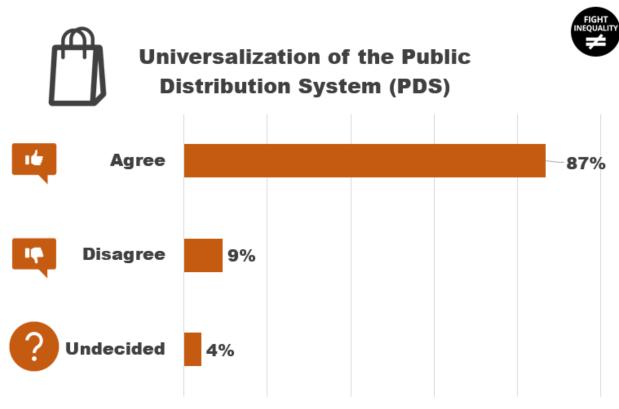


Figure 7 Universalisation PDS

88% want an urban employment guarantee scheme, along the lines of MNREGS to be setup

170,000 people lost their jobs every hour⁶ in April. The images of migrant workers walking hundreds of miles to their villages became the defining image of the pandemic and clearly highlights their lack of job security. The increased allocation of funds for MNERGS was a positive step and a 26% increase in households availing employment under the scheme indicates the crucial role it plays in providing social protection to families in rural areas (Ghildiyal, 2020). However, the pandemic has highlighted the need for such a scheme in urban areas as well. Data shows that people in urban areas have been harder hit than their rural counterparts, with a survey showing that more families in rural areas received extra rations than compared to urban areas (Mazumdar, Pramanik & Desai, 2020).

An urban employment guarantee scheme is not a new idea. Kerala's Ayyankali urban employment guarantee scheme has been running for a few years now (Basole, Narayanan, Shrivastava & Swamy, 2020). Additionally, states such as Odisha, Himachal Pradesh and Jharkhand have also started urban employment schemes (ibid). 88% of the respondents believe that the time is ripe for the government to allocate funds in the upcoming Union budget for an urban employment guarantee scheme so that workers never have to walk back to their villages the next time there is a pandemic. For urban Muslims, the support for such a demand is even more overwhelming, at 96%.

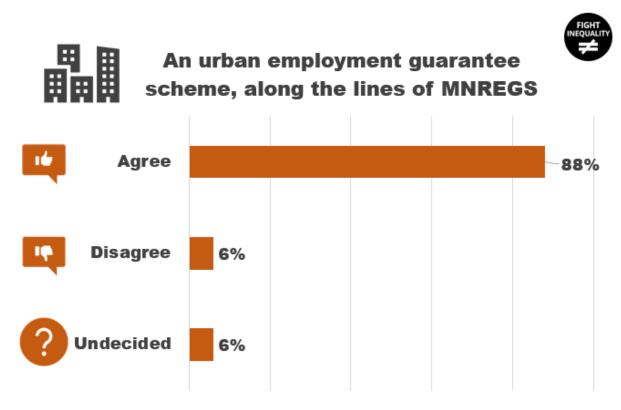


Figure 8 Urban MNREGS

 $^{^6}$ 122 million people lost their jobs in the month of April (CMIE). Number of people lost their job in an hour: =[122000000/(30*24)] = 169444 or 170,000

97% want additional funding to strengthen support services for the prevention of gender-based violence; figure rises to 100% for those aged 60 and above

The recent COVID crisis and consequent lock-down resulted in many women being trapped in their homes with abusive spouses and family members. The services and counsellors who could reach out to women have reported an increase in violence against women, both in numbers and severity of violence. At the same time the **lock-down prevented the functioning of the One Stop Centres, Crisis support services** and the functioning of the Domestic Violence Act (PWDVA, 2005) which are important vehicles to provide immediate and medium term relief to women facing violence.

An analysis of budgets for Violence Against Women, including the Nirbhaya budgets, by Oxfam India⁷ has shown that budgets have been unevenly used across the country and high levels of budgetary support would continue to be required to put an optimum infrastructure and functioning support services for violence against women in place. There is clear consensus amongst the sample, with 97% agreeing that the Union budget 2021-22 should provide additional funding to strengthen support services for the prevention of gender-based violence; 100% of the respondents aged 60 and above are in favor of such a step.

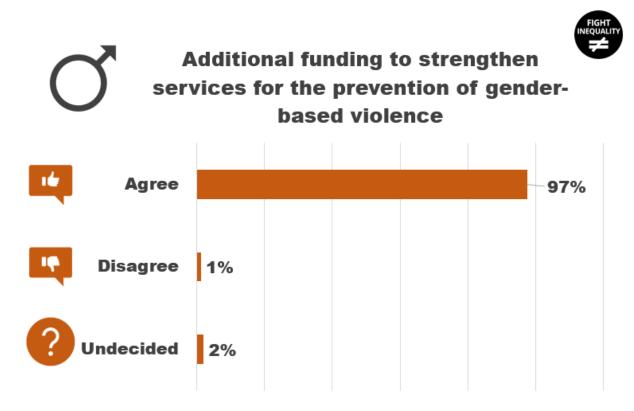


Figure 9 Funding to prevent Gender based violence

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⁷ Forthcoming

83% want debts of small and marginal farmers to be cancelled; 96% of SCs and STs from rural areas in favour

According to the 2013 survey of farm households by the National Sample Survey Office (NSSO), India's **90 million agricultural households spend more than they earn on average each month, pushing them into debt**. The rising agricultural debt is also one of leading reasons of death by suicide among Indian farmers (Saha, 2017). It is crucial to focus on indebtedness of small and marginal farmers as 80% of the farms in India are run by them (Ministry of Agriculture and Farmers Welfare, 2015). The Farmers Freedom from Indebtedness Bill 2018 which is supported by All Kisan Sangharsh Coordination Committee (AIKSCC), a coalition of about 200 farmers' organizations, also proposes loan waivers for farmers and a right to institutional credit to prevent further debt.

The issue of farmer debt clearly resonates with people across India with over 80% agreeing that the debts of marginal farmers be cancelled. In comparison, 96% respondents from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes based in rural areas are in favour of debt cancellation.

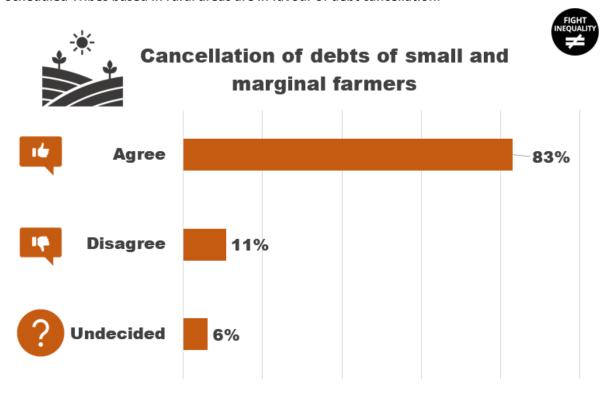


Figure 10 Debt cancellation of farmers

65% DON'T want the Finance Minister to offer higher tax rebates to large corporates and the super-rich; figure rises to 77% for individuals whose household income is over INR 1,00,000 per month

An area where the majority of respondents don't want higher spending by the government is on tax rebates to large corporates and super rich. In September 2019, **corporate tax rates were cut from 30% to 22% (CBGA, 2020). This resulted in a drop in tax revenue by 1,50,000 crores**, reducing availability of resources for social sector spending and other redistributive measures (ibid) Interestingly, while 65% of the overall sample is against higher tax rebates to the super rich, 77% of the respondents whose household income is more than INR 1,00,000 per month, are against such a step.

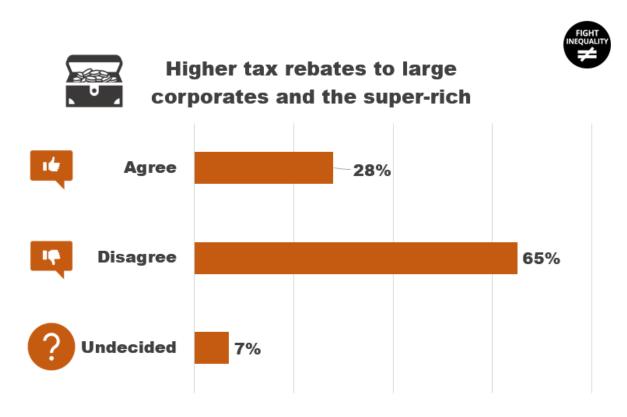


Figure 11 Tax rebates

How do people want the government to increase availability of funds for social services?

78% respondents believe that a 2% COVID cess should be imposed on individuals earning more than INR 2 crore per annum and a temporary tax be imposed on companies making extra profits during the pandemic

According to Oxfam India Davos Supplement 2021, the increase in wealth of the top 11 billionaires of India during the pandemic could sustain the MGNREGS scheme for 10 years (Dutta & Sardar, 2021). Many countries have introduced higher taxes on the richest individuals during the pandemic. Peru has proposed a temporary solidarity tax on the wealthy and super-rich Peruvians (Singh, 2020). Argentina's senate has passed a one-off wealth tax that affects its richest 10,000 citizens and which aims to raise USD 3 billion for social spending for those impacted by the pandemic (Meredith, 2020).

78% of the respondents are in **favour of the government imposing a COVID cess** on **individuals** earning a gross income of more than INR 2 crore⁸ per annum and a **temporary tax** on **companies** making extra profits during the pandemic. While 70% of those whose household income is more than INR 1,00,000 are in favour of such a step, **this figure rises to 80% for individuals whose household income is less than INR 20,000 per month.**

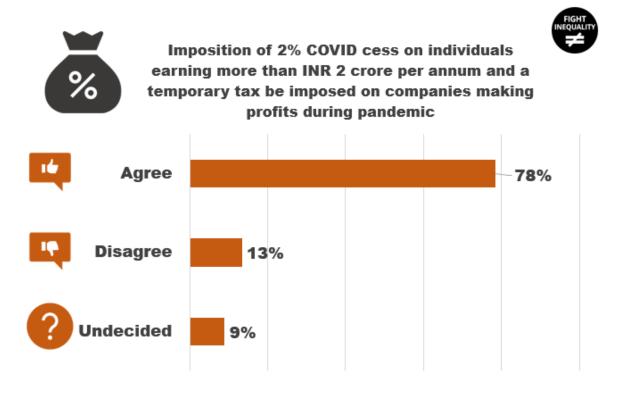


Figure 12 Imposition of COVID cess

⁸ The cutoff has been taken at INR 2 crore instead of 1 crore since 2-5 crore is a separate bracket in the income tax slabs from a surcharge point of view.

77% want expenditure on expensive projects such as the Central Vista and bullet train to be reduced for the duration of the pandemic

It is estimated that the gross tax revenue of the Central government will reduce by 12.5% compared to last year (Patnaik & Sengupta, 2020). Despite this, it is crucial for **government spending** on key public services and social sectors to **increase in order to provide a safety net to the most marginalized people** at this difficult time. Given this, 77% of the respondents feel there is a need to reduce spending on expensive projects such as the Central Vista and bullet train for the duration of the pandemic, in order to increase availability of funds for the social sector. **It is estimated that the cost incurred on Central Vista could fund 15 new AIIMS** (Nath, 2020; PIB, 2020).

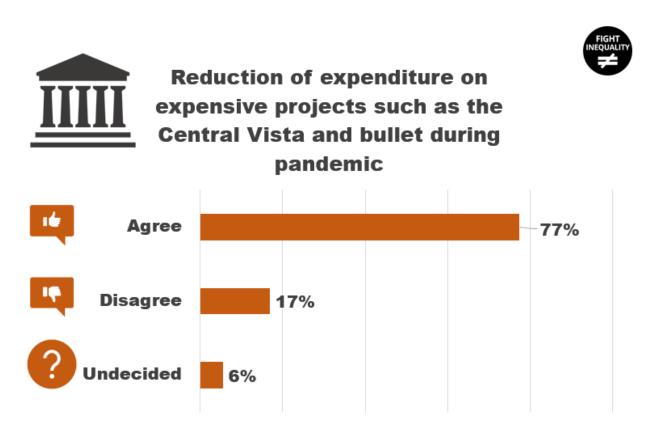


Figure 13 Reduction of expenditure

64% DON'T want the government to borrow from the World Bank or foreign countries

A majority of the respondents believe that the government should not borrow money from the World Bank or foreign countries to increase availability of funds for social sector spending. **Evidence shows that such loans promote greater privatization and reduced funding by the government**, leading to negative long-term implications for the most underprivileged people (Bretton Woods Project, 2020). Indeed, the recent loan from the Bank to the Ministry of Education for the STARS (Strengthening Teaching-Learning and Results for States) project focuses on greater involvement of non-state actors in education including taking over management of government schools (World Bank, 2020).

70% DON'T want privatization of key public sector enterprises such as LIC and BPCL

In February 2020, the Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman announced that INR 2.1 lakh crore would be disinvested in the financial year 2020-21 (PTI, 2020). Puzzlingly, this includes the profitable Bharat Petroleum, India's second largest fuel retailer. However, 70% of the respondents believe that privatization of such key public sector enterprises should not be the way forward, with **80% Muslims against privatization**. A report by the United Nations (2018) warns that rising privatization could lead to further marginalization of the poor and increase inequality. Indeed, 25 years after the liberalization, privation and globalization reforms, India is richer but more unequal (Hiro, 2016).

86% DON'T want GST to be increased on essential commodities such as food items, basic clothing, medicines and fuel (petrol, diesel, cooking gas)

The GST tax is a consumption based tax that penalizes the poor more than the rich, since they spend most of their income on consumption. At a time when everyone is already reeling from extremely high inflation rates and price hikes of essential commodities such as food and fuel, the overwhelming majority of respondents (86%) are clear that the upcoming budget should not announce an increase in GST rates on such commodities.

What measures should the government take in the upcoming budget session?

Over 95% want control over food inflation and electricity and fuel prices

At a time when people were already reeling from unemployment and job losses, fuel prices have reached new highs with petrol prices in Delhi recorded at INR 85.45/litre on January 22 (IANS, 2021). This is an increase of over 18% compared to the prices in March 2020 (Singh, 2020). Since the beginning of the lockdown in end-March, food inflation has hovered between 9-11% some relief in December (Inani, 2021). The rise in food inflation has affected the poor disproportionately with a survey by the Right to Food campaign showing **that nearly two-thirds of poor households reduced their food consumption during the pandemic** – for Particularly Vulnerable Tribal groups and Dalits, the figure was even higher, at 77% and 76% respectively (The Wire, 2020). Thus, it is crucial for the government to take urgent measures in the upcoming budget session to control food inflation and prices of fuel, and electricity.

Almost all the respondents surveyed (95%) across regions, income levels and social groups are of the opinion that the government needs to take urgent measures in the upcoming budget session to control food inflation and prices of essential commodities and utilities such as electricity and fuel.

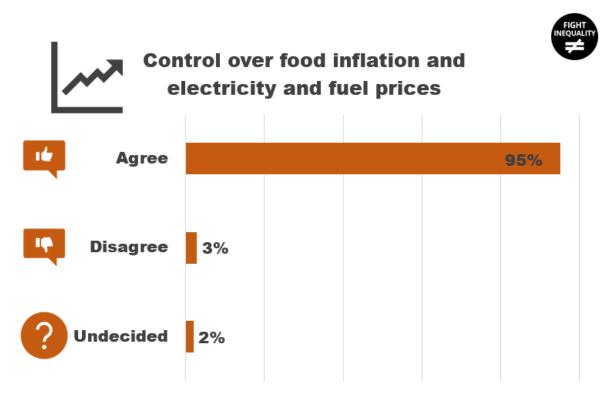


Figure 14 Control over food inflation

94% want greater regulation of private schools and hospitals

The pandemic has been characterized by exploitation of patients and parents by private hospitals and schools. A survey by Oxfam India found that close to 40% private schools hiked their fees despite state guidelines and physical closure of schools (Vyas, 2020). There have also been reports of schools charging additional fees for online classes and restricting access to these classes for students unable to pay fees (Iftikhar, 2020). Private hospitals responded to the increased demand due to the pandemic by hiking their charges manifold, to the extent that they became unaffordable even for the middle class. It is estimated that the cost of COVID-19 treatment at a super-specialty private hospital can go up to 31 times the average monthly income of an Indian citizen (Dutta & Sardar, 2021). As India slowly embarks on a path of COVID recovery, 94% respondents believe that protecting rights of patients, parents and children by better regulation of private schools and hospitals should be a priority for the government.

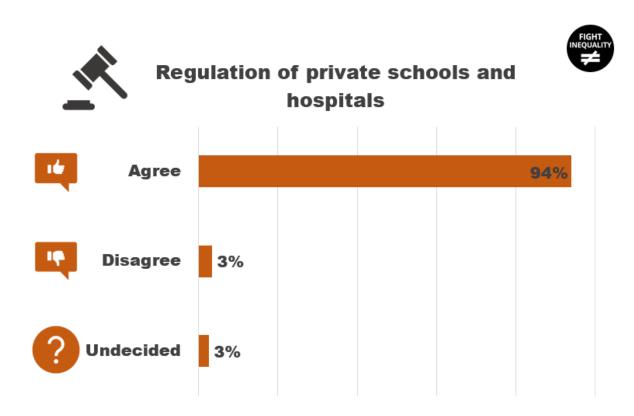


Figure 15 Regulation of private schools

36% disagree, 10% undecided about giving rapid environmental clearances for industrial projects in ecologically sensitive areas

There have been ongoing protests in Goa against the proposed industrial projects that threaten deforestation in the state (Dutt, 2020). The government has proposed fast-tracking environmental clearances in different parts of the country to promote industrial projects (Shekhar, 2020). There isn't a clear consensus amongst respondents about whether this should be done. While 54% are in agreement, 36% disagree and the rest are undecided. In Delhi and Maharashtra, over 60% respondents are of the opinion that the government should not give rapid environmental clearances for industrial projects in ecologically sensitive areas.

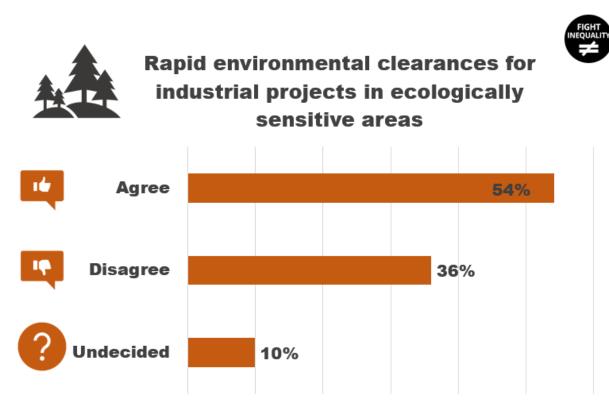


Figure 16 Environmental clearances

45% disagree, 12% undecided about giving the central government more power in framing agriculture and labour policies which currently fall under the purview of state governments.

Amarinder Singh, the Chief Minister of Punjab has alleged⁹ that the recent agricultural reforms are a threat to the federal structure by interfering in agriculture, which is a state subject. Opinion appears divided on this issue. While 45% are in disagreement of giving the central government greater power over state matters, an equivalent (43%) are in favour with 12% undecided. However, there is regional variation on the issue with only 17% from Delhi in favour of such a step.

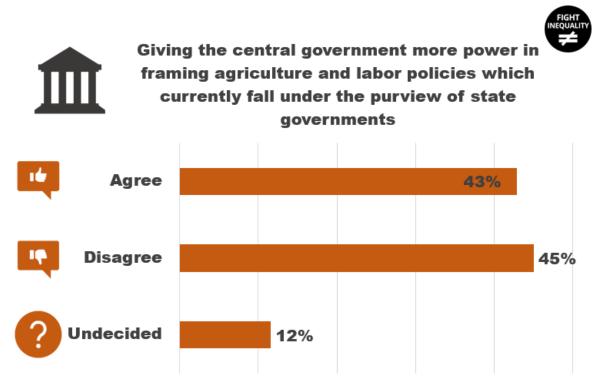


Figure 17 Agriculture and labour policies

 $^9~https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/centres-agriculture-ordinance-undermines-federal-structure/article31762066.ece\\$

Recommendations

The government should allocate additional funds in the upcoming budget to ensure the following:

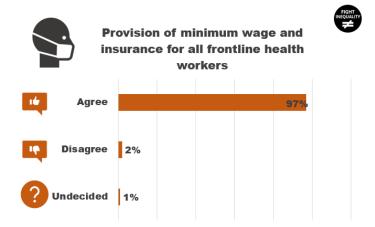
- Provision of minimum wage and insurance to all frontline health workers (e.g. Anganwadi and ASHA workers).
- Free COVID Vaccine for all
- Universal minimum social security including health and maternity benefits, accident insurance, life insurance and pension for all unorganized workers
- Provision of additional academic support to students who experienced learning loss and adequate sanitation and handwashing facilities in all schools for safe reopening
- Universalization of public system to give every individual the option to avail adequate free rations up to June 2021
- Setting up of an urban employment guarantee scheme, along the lines of MNREGS
- Strengthened support services for the prevention of gender-based violence
- Debt cancellation of small and marginal farmers

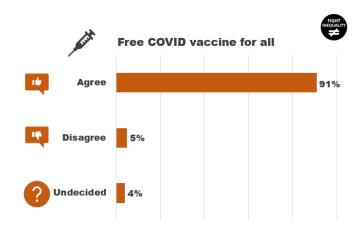
To increase availability of funds for social services, the government must:

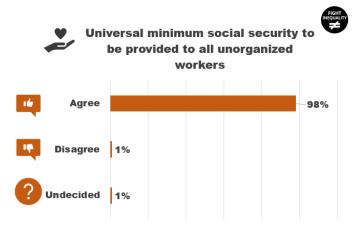
- Impose a 2% COVID cess on individuals earning more than INR 2 crore per annum
- Impose a temporary tax be imposed on companies making extra profits during the pandemic
- Reduce expenditure on expensive projects such as the Central Vista and bullet train for the duration of the pandemic

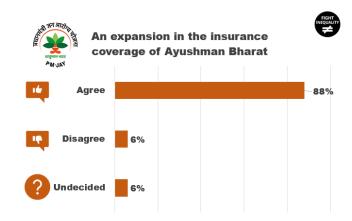
State factsheets

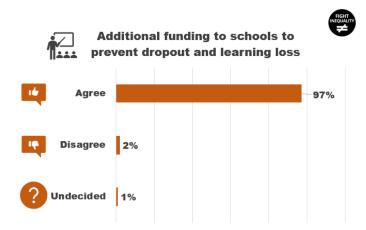
Uttar Pradesh

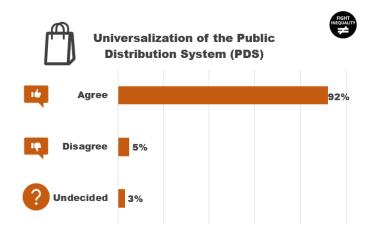


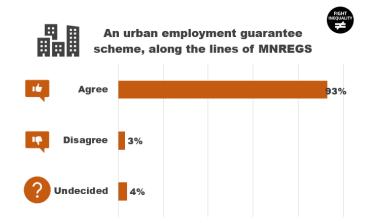


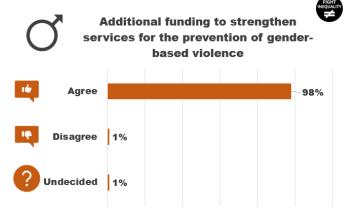


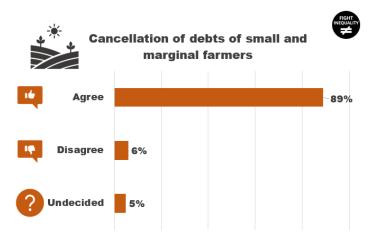


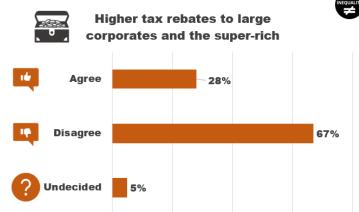


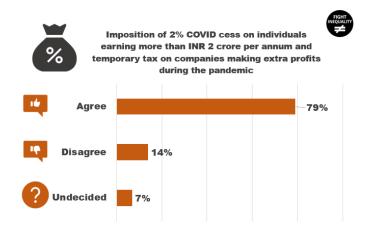


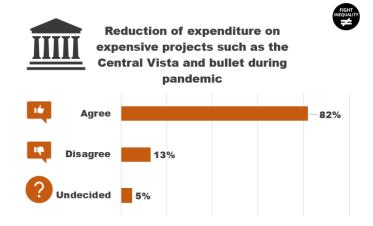


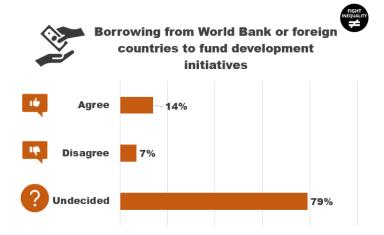


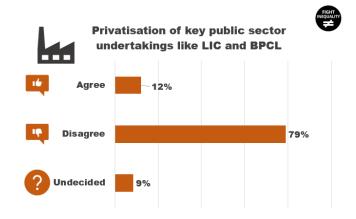


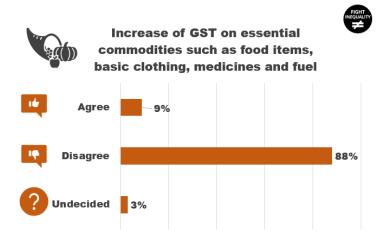


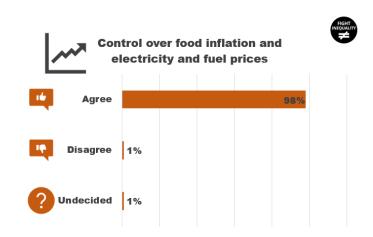


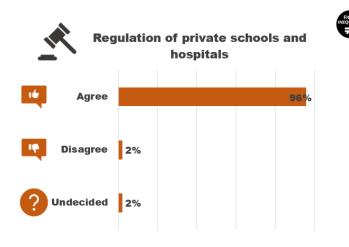


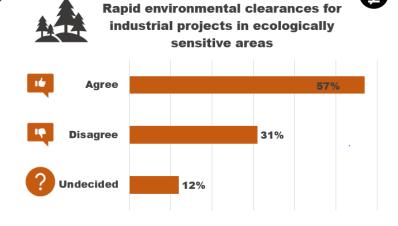








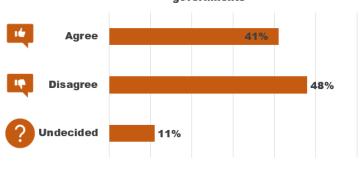




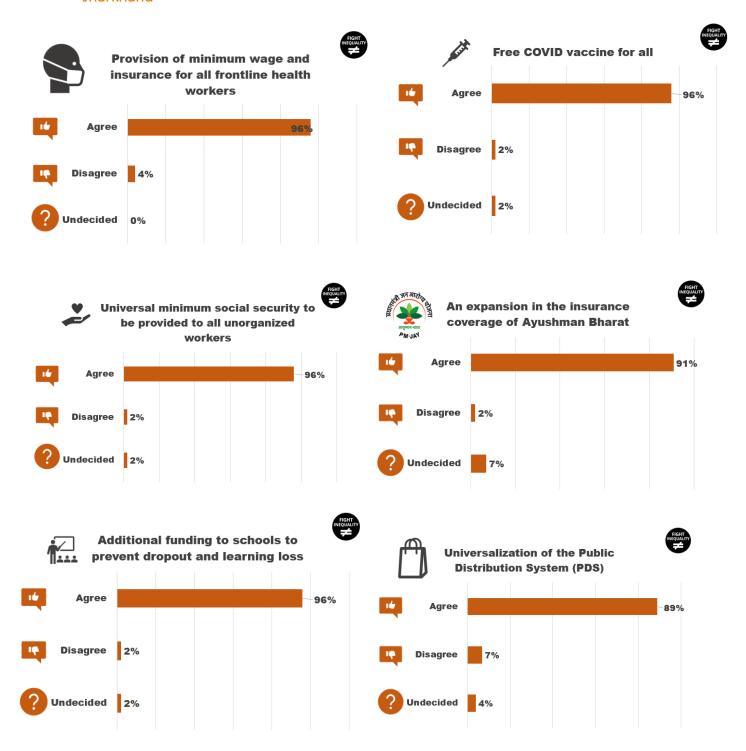


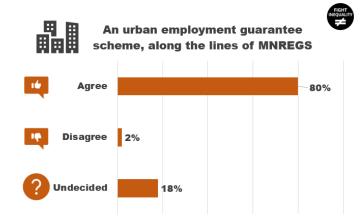


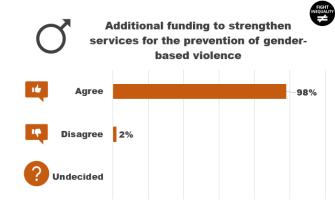
Giving the central government more power in framing agriculture and labor policies which currently fall under the purview of state governments

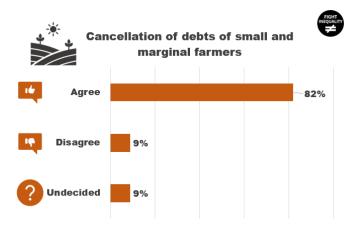


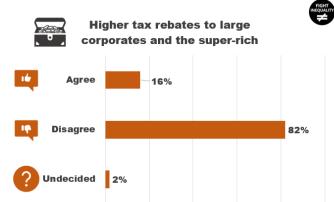
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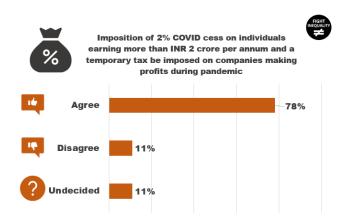


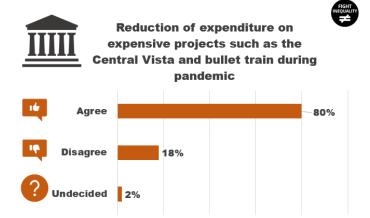


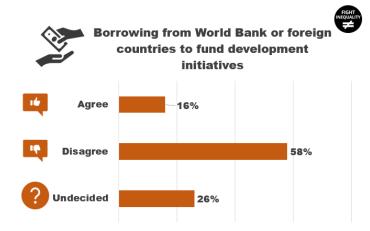


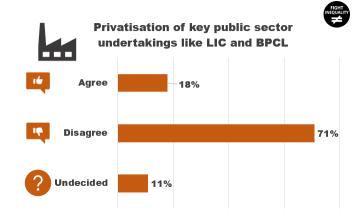


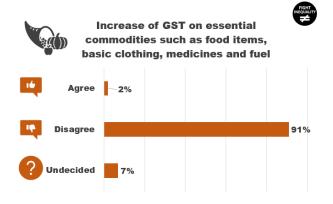


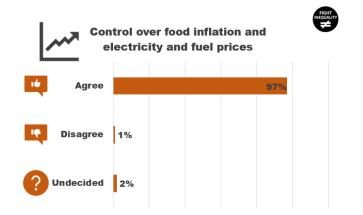


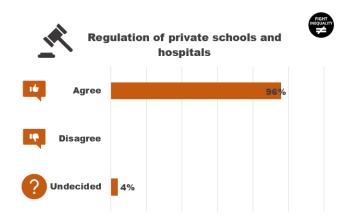


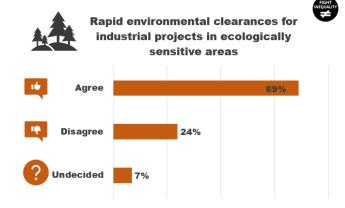


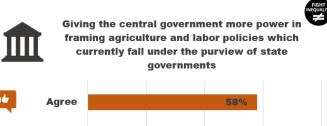


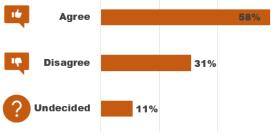




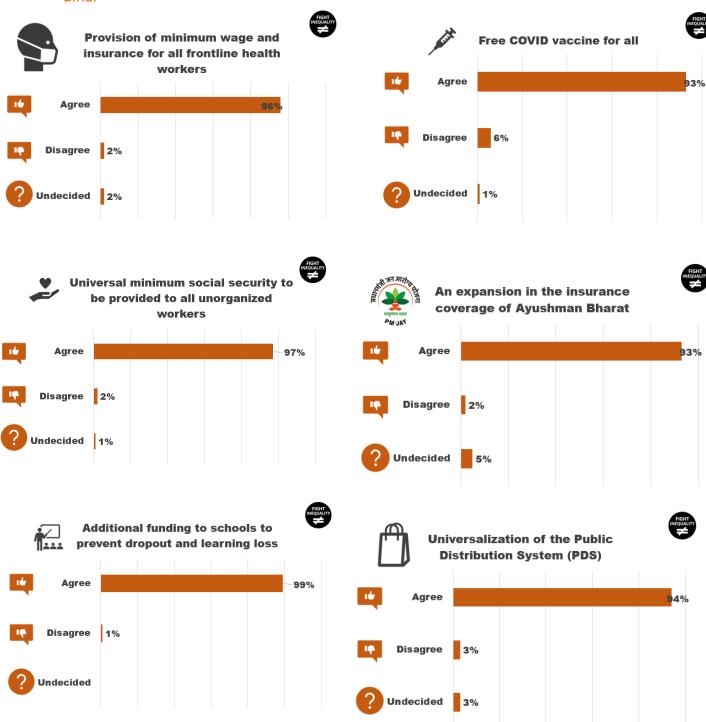


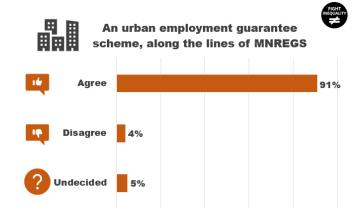


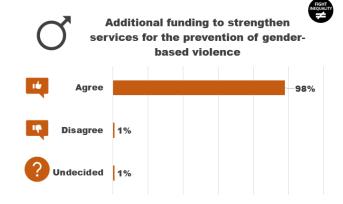


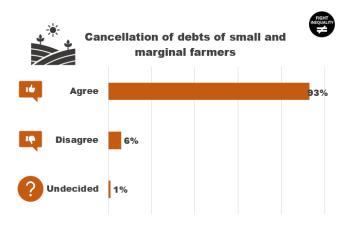


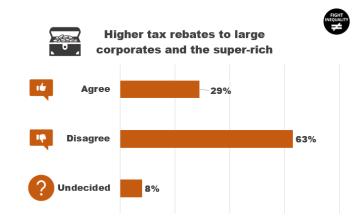
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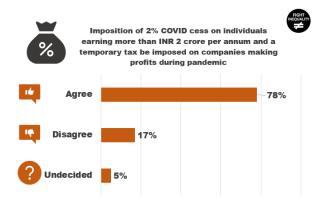


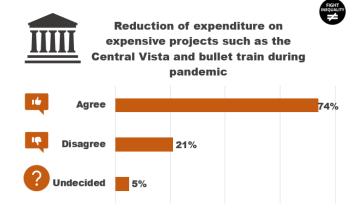


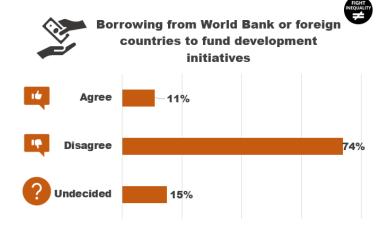


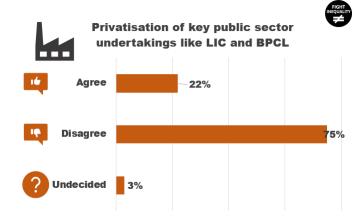


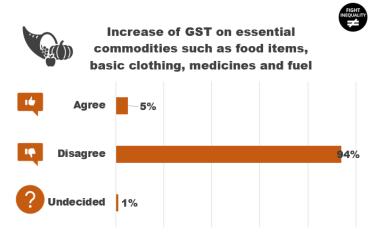


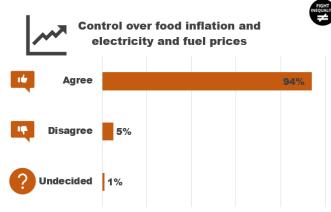


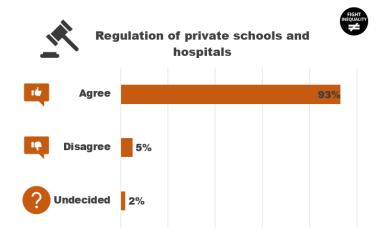


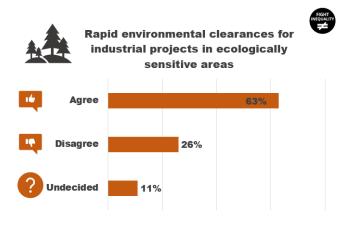








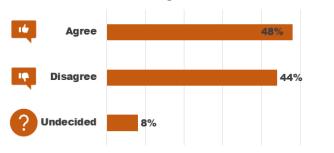




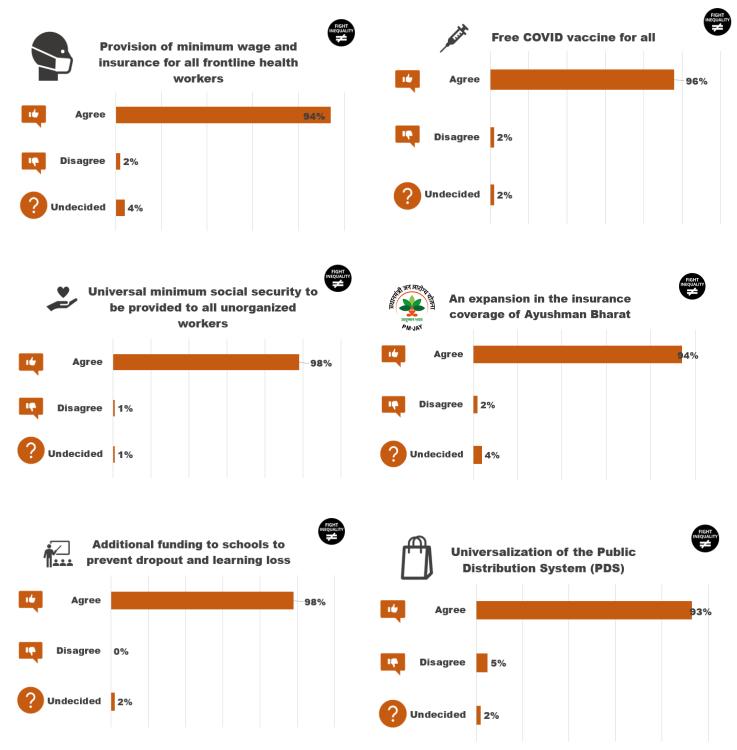


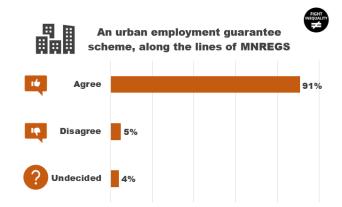


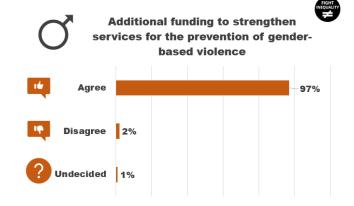
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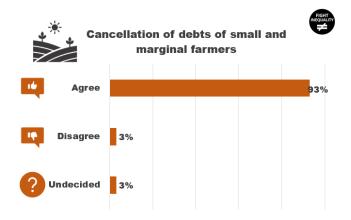


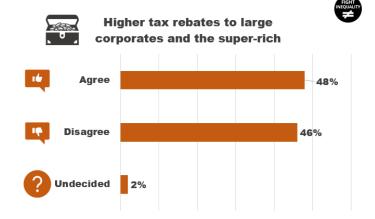
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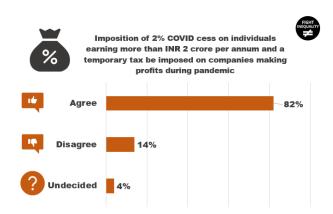


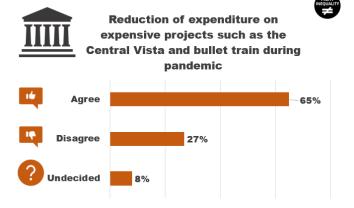


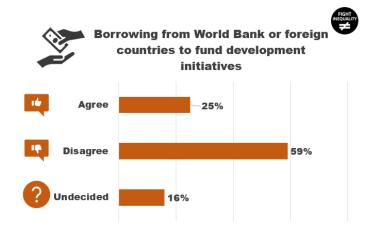


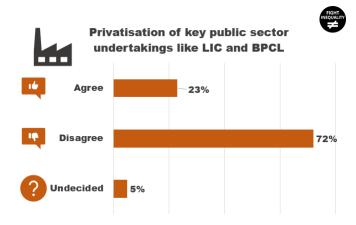


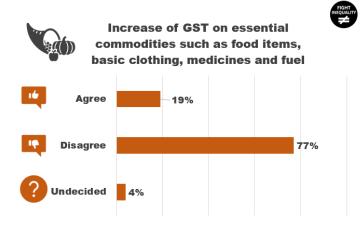


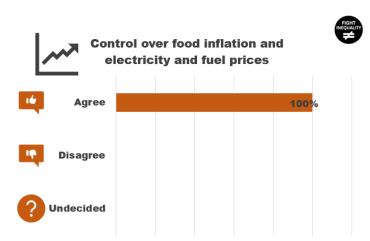


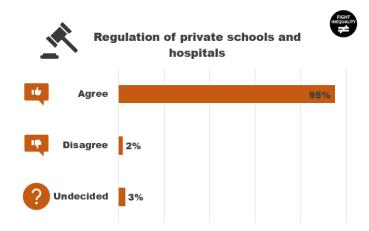


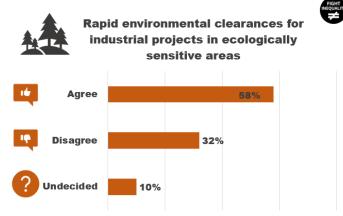


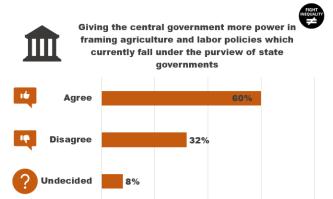




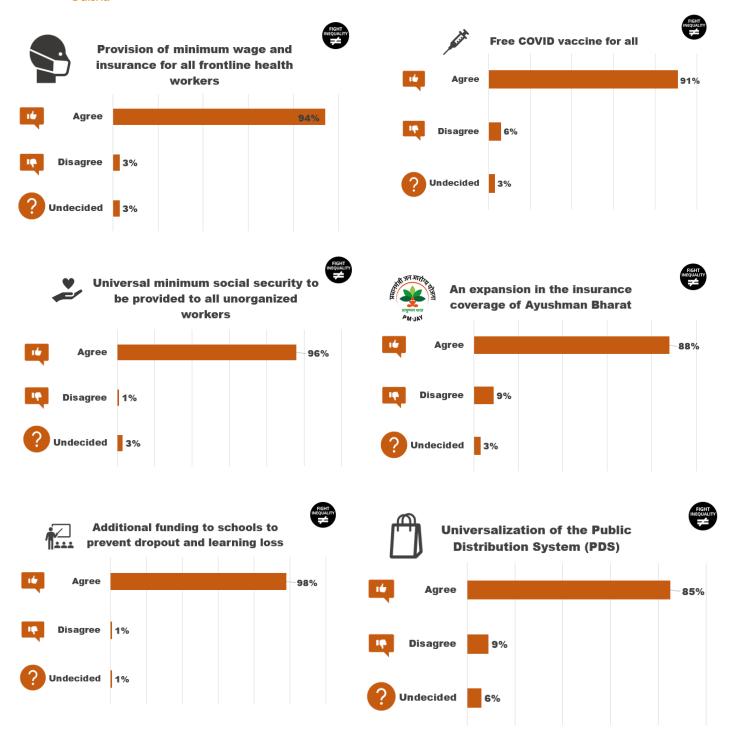


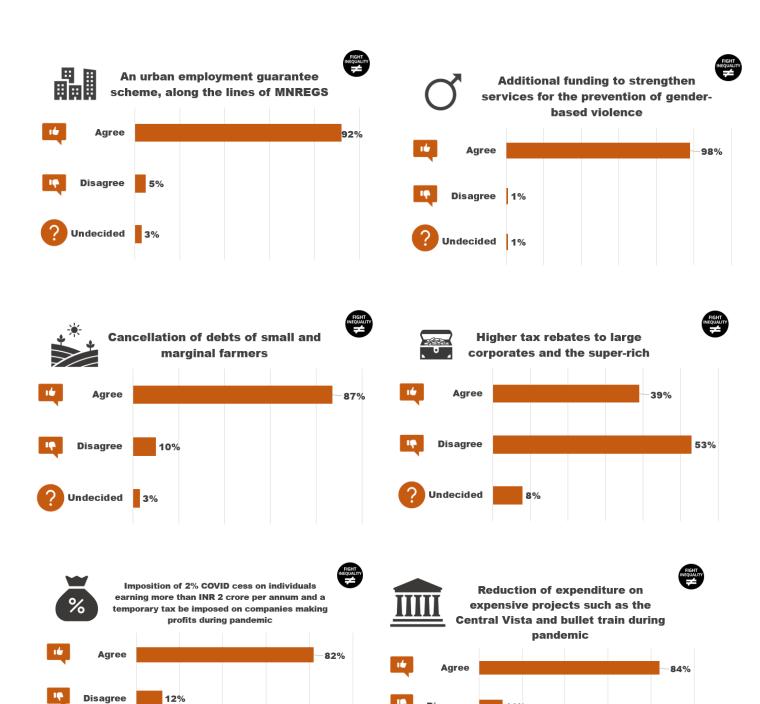






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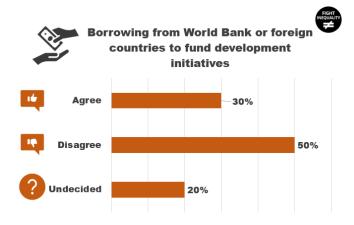


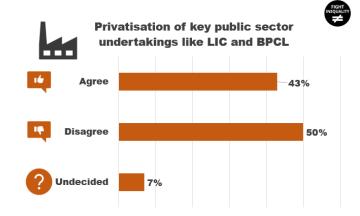


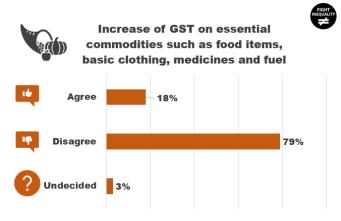
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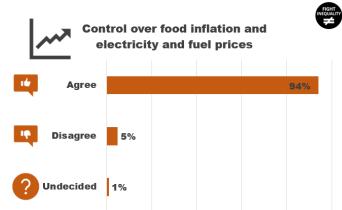
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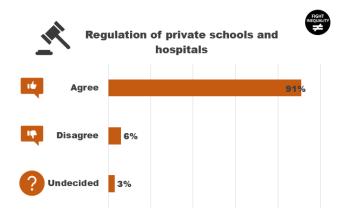
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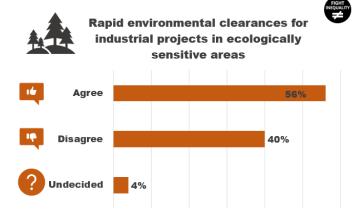


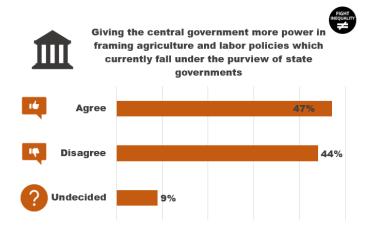




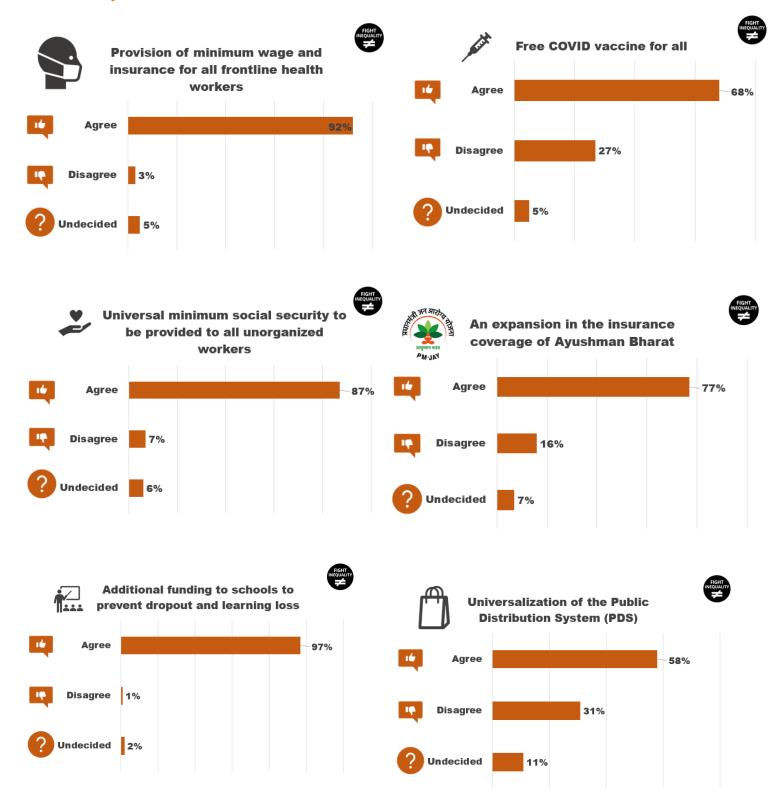


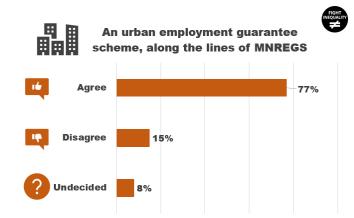


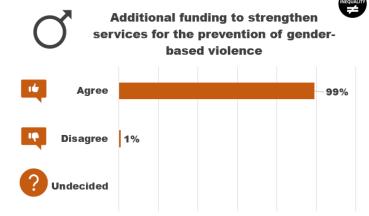


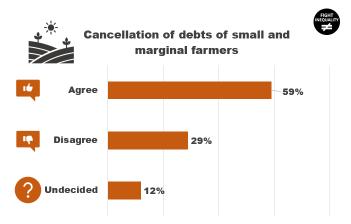


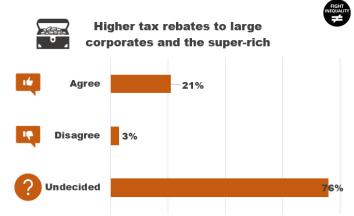
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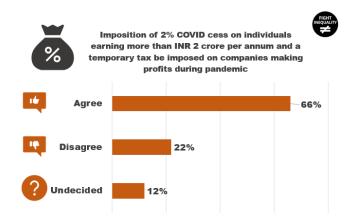


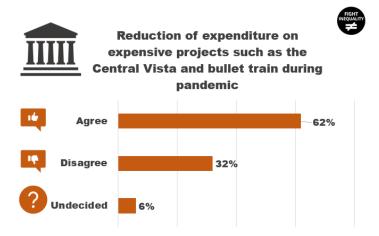


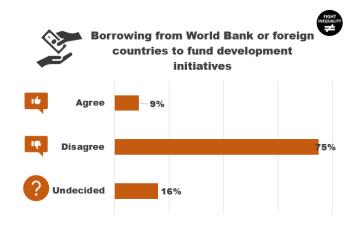


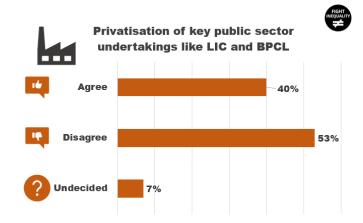


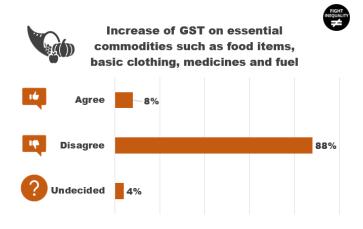


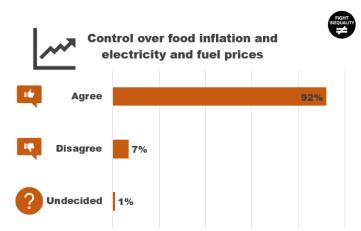


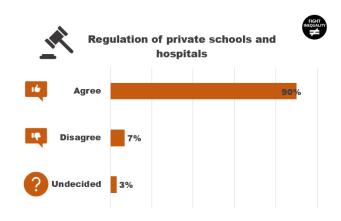


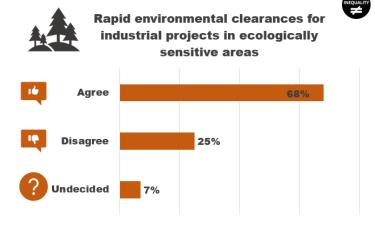


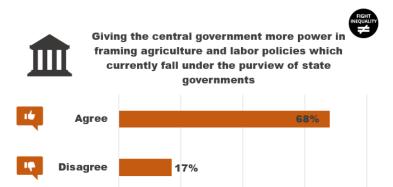








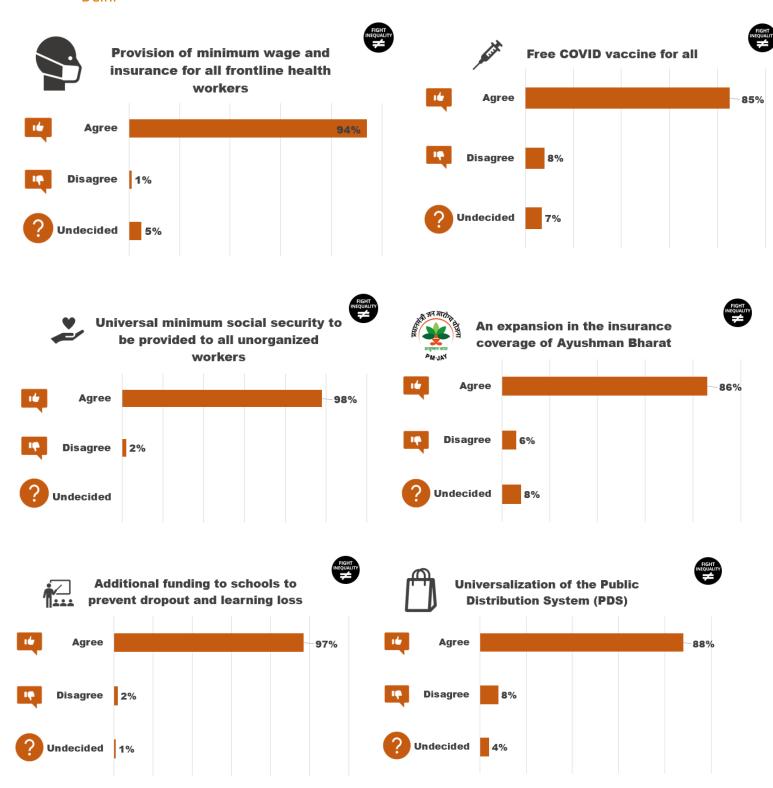




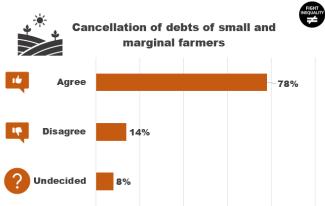
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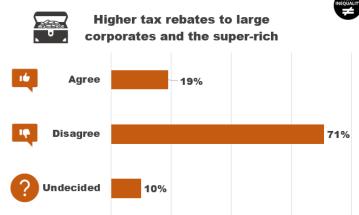
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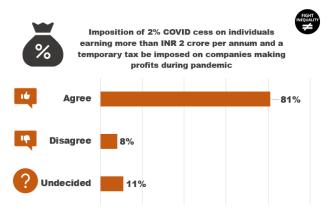
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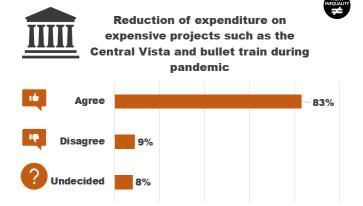


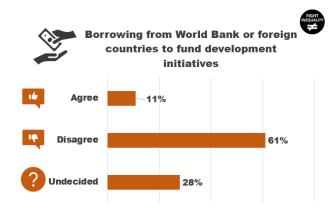


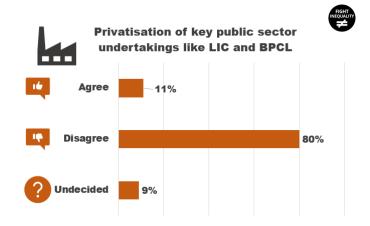


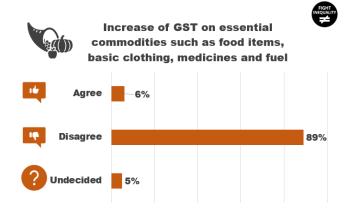


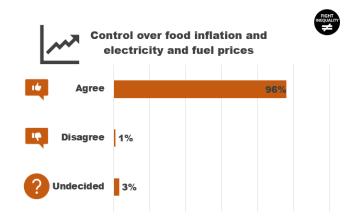


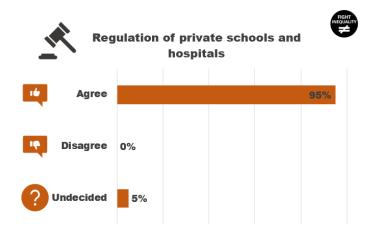


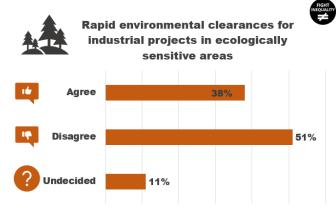


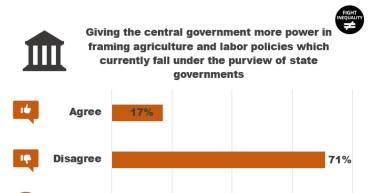








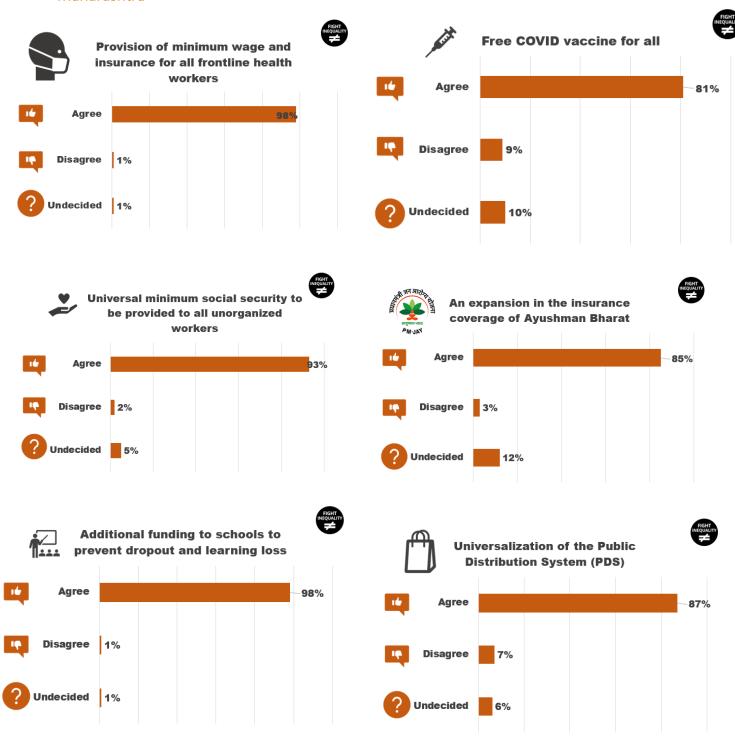


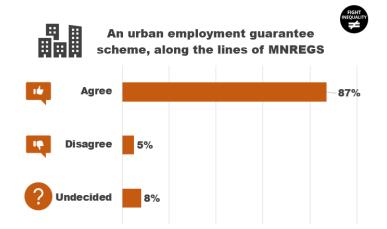


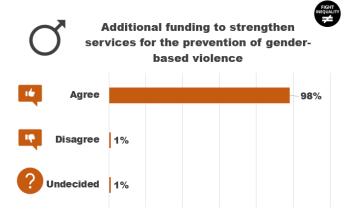
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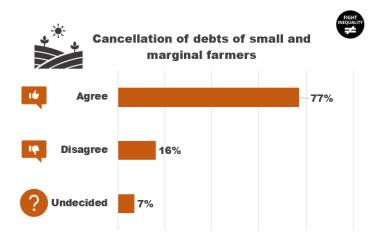
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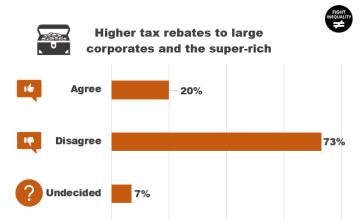
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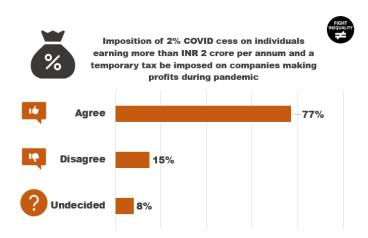


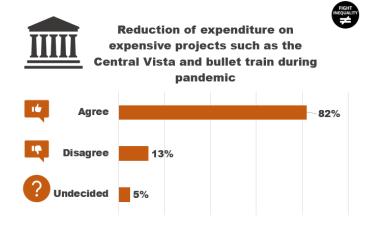


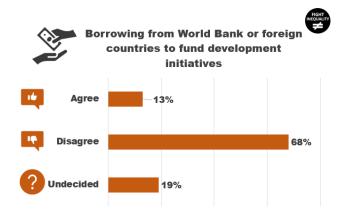


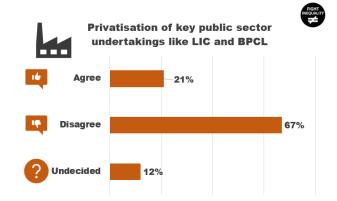


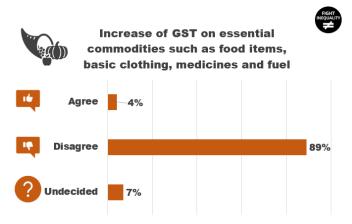


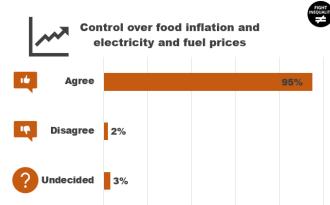


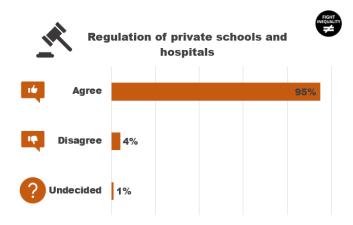


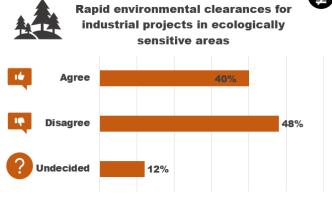








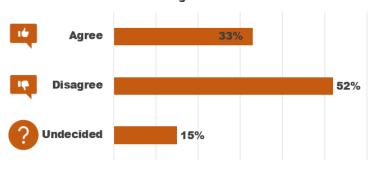








Giving the central government more power in framing agriculture and labor policies which currently fall under the purview of state governments



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Annexure 1- Profile of respondents

Gender		Age		Area		Income (INR per month)	
Male	62%	18-24	22%	Urban	61%	Less than 10,000	27%
Female	37.8 %	25-40	41%	Rural	39%	10,000- 20,000	19%
Transgender	0.2 %	41-59	29%			20,000- 35,000	15%
		60 and above	8%			35,000- 60,00	13%
						60,000- 1,00,000	10%
						1,00,000 and above	16%
Religion		Caste and social groups		Education level			
Buddhism	4.5%	General	50.6%	No schooling	2%		
Christianity	3.9%	Other backward castes	19.9%	Below 10th grade	5%		
Jainism	1.4%	Scheduled Castes	18%	10-12th grade	13%		
Hinduism	74.8%	Scheduled Tribes	9.5%	Graduation	37%		
Islam	10.5%	Extremely backward castes	1.6%	Post- graduation	43%		
Zoroastrianism	0.3%	People with disabilities	0.4%				

Sikhism	0.5%			
Others	4.1%			