Muslims in Globalized India, 1991-2007: An Analysis

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of
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DEDICATION

To the three pillars of my life: Allah Almighty, the Holy Prophet (Peace be upon Him), and my parents.

ABSTRACT

The beginning of the globalization, privatization and liberalization in India in 1990s, introduced a new era of development and progress in the country. The decision to introduce the economic reforms of 1991 was the first step taken by the Indian government to say goodbye to traditional state owned economic system. The openness of Indian economy eventually attracted foreign investment in different sectors of the society, which further has caused socio-political reforms in the Indian society. For the sack of adjustment in a global society, India government has been introducing socio-political reforms by indulging major portion of Indian society into mainstream politics and decision-making process. In this context, the recent study is focused on the socio-economic and political status of the Indian Muslims in the post globalization India.

The detailed analysis of available official and academic sources shows that no significant change has been witnessed in the status of Indian Muslims in post reform era. Some exceptional cases of Muslims success stories do exist but overall community is still struggling for better socio-economic and political status in the society. To some extent, Globalization infact has proved less beneficial to the Indian Muslims as compare to other religious communities. While the situation of the urban Muslims has been worsen further as they are not in a position to compete the challenges of open market with their traditional capabilities and skills. The Indian Muslims are mostly self-employed in traditional sources of income. They are artisans, rickshaw pullers, weavers, and laborers, thus their traditional source of incomes are now loosing their importance in the age of modern technology. In the case when they don't have the share in government and private sector jobs according to their proportion things are deteriorated further. Muslims are equivalent in socio-economic and political status only to Scheduled Casts and Other Backward Classes and tribes (SCs/OBCs). Their political representation is again very low then their proportion in the population. The prevailing sense of insecurity, illiteracy, immense poverty and poor living condition are the hallmark of Indian Muslim community even in the age of globalization. The study of the status of the world's largest minority is significant as they are the citizens of world's largest secular democracy, India. It further becomes important when it comes to the age of globalization. Hence, it would generate lot of interest and raise the new questions to address.

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Sadia Khanum

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CHAPTER1: INTRODUCTION

1:I Statement of the Study

India is the home of various religious groups including Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Buddhists, and Jains. Indian Muslims constitute the largest minority group anywhere in the world. They are over 13 per cent (according to official record however unofficial sources state their percentage at 20 in the total population of the country) of India's 1.3 billion population. Only Indonesian and Pakistani Muslims exceed them in number, but it is also a fact that they are citizens of a country where 80 per cent of population belong to a different religion, history and to some extent culture as well. Therefore, in a nation of more than a billion they are still a minority, with all the burdens that minorities anywhere have to carry.

The history of sixty-one years of independent India shows the prejudiced, biased and unfair treatment of the Muslim community. Muslims are being deprived of employment and education opportunities, basic health facilities and political representation. They are amongst the most deprived sections of the society. Official and unofficial surveys, conducted at different times and under different administrative setups, throw light on poor socio-economic and socio-political condition of the Muslims in the country.

Muslims contributed for the betterment of Indian society in almost all fields. There are Muslim success stories in the booming Indian economy. Azim Premji, the founder of the giant Wipro, is one of the richest individuals in India and the world as well. His contributions to the Indian society in economy, and provision of education and health facilities to the less privileged segments of the society are worth mentioning. Three Muslim presidents served the country so far. The history of independent and sovereign India is incomplete without mentioning the name of the founder of Indian atomic bomb, Abdul Kalam Azad (who also served the country as president). Muslim community also added in the pride and honour of the country by providing super stars in many fields including bollywood and cricket. However, it is also a fact that the majority of the Muslim community overall is living in very poor condition in India and being the largest minority, it desrve to be studied exclusively.

In 1990s, the collapse of Soviet Union and victory of the open market (capitalist) economy over socialism paved new ways and opportunities for private sector and multinational organizations/companies to make way in a state having the second largest population of the world. Globalization process took momentum after the end of cold war between Soviet Union and United States.

India introduced socio-economic reforms in 1991 after the deep economic crisis to solve the balance of payment problem. The liberalization and privatization process allowed the entrance of globalization into the Indian society. The new era of economic, and in turn social development, raised the expectations of equal opportunities to development and progress for all the sections of society, especially for minorities.

In the globalized world, concept of state with strong borders is declining, even though state is still powerful enough to run and control the system internally and externally, but many other non-state actors have emerged, especially multinational agencies, NGOs etc. In this globalized system, personal capabilities and skills are important rather than religion or ethnic backgrounds. Adoption of free market economy helped Indian economy to flourish in this globalized world. The boosting economy also created new opportunities for Indian citizens to improve their livelihood as the proportion of middle class has increased comparatively.

In this context an attempt has been made to analyze whether the religious minorities, especially Muslim minority of India, are also among the beneficiaries of globalization or they still are deprived and among have-nots. It is argued that the Indian booming economy and changed political and social system have contributed towards the enlightenment of the common people. Literacy rate, job opportunities have increased, but whether the

Muslim population is also part of progressive new India is still a question mark.

1.II Theoretical Framework

Due to massive media coverage, many people are familiar with the controversy and organized resistance that globalization has generated around the world, yet explaining what globalization actually means in practice is a complicated task. For so many analysts globalization has the potential to eradicate poverty and promote economic growth. In developing world, globalization has been welcomed as an instrument to bring socio-economic reforms along with cultural harmony. Worldwide introduction of MNCs because of acceptance of free market economy and LPG (Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization) model has been considered an opportunity to develop the society on equal basis. In this situation, the discrimination of cast and creed is very much controllable, as foreign direct investment holder societies prefer skills and credibility to prejudiced recruitment on the bases of ideological and religious differences.

In 1980s, interconnectivity was increased between countries and the end of cold war had been provided a boost to the process of globalization further. The end of cold war encouraged nations to avail the opportunity to build a peaceful international society and eliminate the threat of any other

clash or war.[1] Globalization increased the possibility of cooperation among states in political, economic and social spheres.

There is lack of consensus on what globalization really mean? Generally, it is believed that globalization stands for connectivity of networks dealing with economic, political, social and cultural spheres.[2] Globalization has different aspects; it is not easy to define it in a sentence or with a single perspective. Globalization is an on going process that aims to bring nations closer through economic integration, by facilitating trade, investment and capital flows without any restrictions, political connectivity, and cultural exchanges. Information technology makes possible such interaction and connectivity among nations.[3] Robert Cox defines globalization as a process of internationalization of products, the new international division of labour, migrations from the South to the North, and that competition for survival among the nations is boosting up these activities by making the state an international actor just like other agencies of the globalizing world.[4]

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[1] John Glenn, *Globalization: North-South Perspectives* (London and New York: Routledge Taylor &Francis Group, 2007), p. 1.

[2] Joseph. S Tulchin, Gary Bland, (ed.). *Getting Globalization Right: The Dilemmas of Inequality* (New Delhi: Viva Books Private Limited, 2007), p. 3.

[3] Prof. N. Joykumar Singh, (ed.). *Globalization and the changing scenario of cultural interaction: Manipur Experience* (New Delhi: Centre for Manipur Studies, M.U. Imphal), p. 1.

[4] Quoted in, J Baylis and S Smith, *The Globalization of World Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 15.

Globalization process is like an umbrella that covers the every aspect of social, political, and economic occurrence with local or international reach. It implies variety of transformation both at national and international levels, is vibrant and multidimensional in character and is a result of increasing socio-economic socio-political interdependence beyond borders restrictions.

1:III Literature Review

A good amount of literature is available dealing with the Muslims' conditions in post independence India. Even though it covers social, economic and political status of the Muslims from 1947 until now, there is lack of macro studies on Muslims' socio-economic conditions in India.

The Indian Muslims are passing through a period of great importance in modern globalized India. At more than 13 per cent of the Indian population, they constitute the largest minority group in the country. Yet, they are one of the most deprived and impecunious communities in twenty first century's India.[5] Bloody riots, prevailing illiteracy, poor health conditions and bad economic conditions are the main characteristics of the Muslim community of India. All this become more alarming when it is happening in a globalized society where state claims to be a liberal, secular and custodian of rights and

[5] Z.M.Khan, "Indian Muslims: Profile and Challenges," Institute of Objective Studies. http://www.iosworld.org/indian_muslims.htm

safety of all citizens. This scenario has attracted scholarly and academic investigation.

India has been the focus of great scholarly and academic research. India's long held tradition of democracy and pluralism have attracted tremendous interest from academics. Muslims' politics in India has also been studied in the literature on the Indian politics as well as Muslim minority. Partition of India in 1947 and its impact on Indian Muslims attracted many academicians to work on the topic. Indian Muslim writers themselves have done most of the work on this issue. These works aim to provide a basic understanding of problems faced by the Indian Muslims in the aftermath of partition. K.L. Gauba's book was one of the first works of its kind, which attempted to describe the depressing state of affairs regarding Muslims in India.[6]

These books are mostly written by permanent Indian Muslims who felt that due to their privileged position in the Indian society, they could speak out against the treatment meted out to Muslims. These books strive to explain the Indian Muslims perspective regarding their status and standing in the Indian society.

[6] K.L.Gauba, *Passive Vioces: A Penetrating Study of Muslims in India* (Lahore: Student Services, 1970)

Other most important and useful work in this category is Omar Khalidi's *Indian Muslims since independence.*[7] It attempts to provide an objective profile of Muslims in India. The biggest hurdle in the way of an objective understanding of condition of Indian Muslims is the dearth scientific data. In addition to Omar Khalidi's book, another important work in this regard is Rafiq Zakaria's The *Widening Divide: An Insight into Hindu-Muslim Relations.*[8] Zakaria has also conducted a detailed study of the sources of Muslims grievances in the India. He provides a profile of Indian Muslims. He also attempts to present the Indian Muslim's response to the various charges labeled against them by the majority community.

There are number of books and articles, which discuss the various aspects of Muslims' socio-political and economic standing in the post independence and post reformation (1991) India. However, most of these works suffer from a lack of scientific and objective information. There are few scholarly studies of the Indian Muslims. Indian politics might have attracted a deluge of scholarship but Muslim politics in India remains a somewhat neglected area. Objective and scholarly works exploring the various aspects of Muslims life in India are needed.

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[7] Omar Khalidi, *Indian Muslims Since Independence* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1996)

[8] Rafiq Zakaria, *The Widening Divide: An Insight into Hindu-Muslim Relations* (New Delhi: Viking, 1995)

In addition to the general discussion on Muslims in India, there have been studies which have sought to explore the major grievances of Indian Muslims.

Paul Brass, Tariq Rehman and Omar Khalidi have explored the origin and development of the controversies surrounding the decline of Urdu language, Ali Garh Muslim University and prevailing communal and ethnic hatred in post independent India.[9] These works, which focus on the development of Muslim grievances, crucial to the shaping of Muslim identity in India, have helped tremendously in establishing an understanding of Muslim responses and grievances in India.

Another area of academic research concerning Indian politics is the Indian elections. India being the biggest democracy of the world, having an unhindered development of the democratic politics, with the interruption of only two years of emergency and the complexity of Indian electorate has all contributed to the plethora of literature available on this theme. There have been various approaches adapted to the study of electoral politics in India. The individual Indian elections have been thoroughly analysed.[10]

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[9] See Tariq Rehman, Language, Ideology and Power: Language Learning Among the Muslims of Pakistan and North India (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002), Paul R. Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in North India* (Cambridge University Press, 1974)

[10] Examples can be found in various articles found in scholarly journals, analyzing different elections in India like, Myron Weiner, *Party Politics and Electoral Behaviour: From*

In these studies of Indian elections, the focus of analysis varies. In some cases, elections are highlighted to show the changing party-system in India. In other cases, elections have been used specifically to show the rise or decline of certain party and the role of minorities in this regard. Elections also studied to understand the voter behaviour.[11] Some exclusive studies have been conducted to discuss Muslim electoral behaviour in various constituencies or in certain elections.[12]

In the post independence period, India has seen the frequent out break of communal violence. This phenomenon of communal violence has received certain degree of academic attention. Ashutosh Varshney has studied the communal violence in India and has related it to the break down of civic linkages between to communities.[13] Various theories of communal violence have been discussed to develop an understanding of the menace of

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Independence to the 1980, in Ashutosh Varshney, (ed.), *The Indian Paradox: Essay on Indian Politics* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1989)

[11] Theodore P. Wright Jr., "Muslims and the 1977 Elections: A Watershed?" *Asian Survey*. Vol.XVII, No. 12, (Dec 1977).

[12] Violette Graff, *The Muslims Vote in the Indian General Elections of Decemeber 1984*, in Paul R.Brass and Francis Robinson, (ed.) *The Indian National Congress and Indian Society: Ideology, Social Structure and Political Dominance* (Delhi: Chanakya Publications, 1987) Also see, Violette Graff, *Religious Identities and Indian Politics: Elections in Aligarh, 1971-1989*, in Andre Wink, (ed), *Islam, Politics and Society in South Asia*, (New Delhi: Manhoar, 1991)

[13] Ashutosh Varshney, *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: The Hindús and Muslims in India*, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002)

communal violence.[14] The Babri Masjid issue has received tremendous amount of attention among the academics. This incident is important because the demolition of the mosque was a huge blow for the Indian secularism while it was the high point of Muslim struggle in Indian society. Another significance of this incident is it happened in early 1990s when globalization was introduced by Indian government and economic reforms were taking place in Indian society with the slogan of liberalization, privatization and globalization. Various studies are available which discuss the different dimensions of this issue. From discovering the roots of Ramjanambhoomi-Babri Masjid conflict to understanding its significance and impact on Muslims socio-political and economic conditions in modern globalizing India, literature is available for thorough study and analysis.[15]

The globalization and liberalization of the Indian society, is a very interesting subject of research for many writers. Thomas L. Friedman has written a very interesting account of the age of globalization and Indian share in it.[16] Mira Kamdar's book *Planet India* is also a comprehensive work on

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[14] See a comprehensive discussion of various approaches to the study of Hindu-Muslims violence in India by Sudhir Kakar. See Sudhir Kakar, " The Times of Kali: Violence Between Religious Groups in India," *Social Research*, Vol.67, issue, 3, (Fall 2000).

[15] Ashis Nandy, Shikha Trivedy, Shail Mayaram andAchyut Yagnik, *Creating a Nationality: The Ramjanam bhumi Movement and Fear of the Self* (New Delhi: Oxford University press, 2008) or see, Saruvepalli Gopal, (ed.), *Anatomy of a Confrontation: The Babri Masjid-Ramjanam Bhumi Issue* (New Delhi: Viking Publishers, 1991)

[16] Thomas L. Friedman, *The World is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005)

this subject. She elaborates the impact of globalization, liberalization and privatization, on almost all spheres of Indian socio-economic and political life, very extensively.[17]

1: IV Objective of the Study

The study looks into the Muslim minority's socio- political and socio-economic conditions in globalizing India. It has been analyzed whether globalization process is bringing benefits for the Muslim community of India or not. The post globalization socio-economic reforms have brought an overall change in Indian society and the change encompasses the condition of the Muslims community as well. In this perspective, this research is an attempt to highlight the actual practices of Indian government regarding the Muslim community. The study has focused on the changes and improvement, if any, for the Muslim community in post 1990s phase of globalization and liberalization. The communal insecurity is one of the many reasons of Muslims poor socio-economic and political status in India. In the past sixty years, several Hindu-Muslim riots have taken place, targeting Muslim community specifically. The sense of insecurity also deters socio-economic and political growth of the community. The impact of communal disturbance on Muslims has also been discussed here in detail.

[17]Mira Kamdar, *Planet India* (London: Simon & Schuster UK Ltd, 2007)

1:V Related Questions

This research attempts to answer the following questions. What were the demographic trends of Muslim minority of India in the past and what is the recent demographic condition? What is the share of the Muslim community in different socio-economic and political sectors, such as agriculture, industry, education, and health? What is the Muslim community's share at the national and regional level? What were the Muslims' socio-economic and political conditions before globalization? Has globalization brought changes in socio-economic and political conditions of the Muslim community? Are the socio-economic political condition of the Muslims better then the other religious minorities, such as Christians, Sikhs, Parsis and Dalits? To what extent has India been successful in decreasing the gap between different segments of society? Do the Indian government and the society treat the largest Muslim minority equally? Is globalization reducing social, political and economic gaps between the majority Hindus and minority Muslims? Do they have rights and opportunities to excel in mainstream Indian politics and economy? If Muslims are in same condition as they were in pre 1990s and if they are not the beneficiaries of liberalization and globalization, then what are the reasons behind it?

1:VI Hypothesis

The benefits of globalization in India have not been equally shared with the Muslim minority due to the socio-economic and political conditions already prevailing in the Indian society, and the Muslims are still lagging behind the other sections of the society.

1:VII Justification of the Study

India, being the seventh largest economy, is a very important actor in the world politics. It is on the path to be regional and global power, and that is why the importance of India has increased manifold in the world. It is home to the second largest Muslim population in the world and this fact makes India important for the Muslim world as well. This study would be very helpful to know the actual existing situation of Indian Muslims.

India claims to be a secular state where all citizens have equal rights and opportunities, and where no one is discriminated on the basis of religion, cast or identity. However, past practices do not match the secular principles. Religious minorities were discriminated and suppressed by the majority Hindu population and extremist organizations. Muslims were the victims of the Hindu majority's wrath and cruel treatment. There is a long list of anti-Muslim riots in different parts of the country at different times. The Muslims have been deprived in all spheres, and the community is still backward with

fewer opportunities in economic, educational, political and social sectors. Now when India is very ambitious to become a global power, it is essential to have a look into its internal situation especially from human rights perspective, whether it is a responsible state or it only claims to be so, because power needs sense of responsibility, otherwise it cause destruction.

There is a lot of literature available on different issues related with the Muslim community of India, this research study is an objective attempt to have a macro view of the Muslims' condition in India in the light of the prevailing facts and realities. The study attempts to give an in depth analysis of the current situation of Indian Muslims with reference to reformation and resultant changes taking place in the Indian society.

1:VIII Research Methodology

Different research methods have been applied in this study, such as description, analysis of available data and deduction method to conclude the outcomes. This research has encompassed past (post independence) and contemporary conditions of Indian Muslim community. Various sources have been used to analyze the Muslim community's condition in pre and post globalization period. Primary sources, such as government documents, fact finding commissions' reports, surveys, government and private sector statements, and newspapers, etc have been included for the purpose. Secondary sources used in the study include; books, research conducted by

different organizations, institutions and individuals, journal articles, and other available data dealing with the Muslim community of India.

1:IX Thesis Structure

This study is divided into five chapters, and the conclusion at the end. This division is helpful in clear understanding of the subject at hand.

The first chapter provides an introduction of the study. It includes the detailed outline of the study. It mainly focuses on objective and significance of the study. Literature review is also included in this chapter. It further discusses theoretical framework of the study and questions that have been addressed in the study. Briefly, it covers the lay out plan of the study.

Second chapter, "Muslims in Post-Independence India (Retrospect)", discusses the socio-economic and political conditions of the Muslim community of India in the context of history, covering the census data, surveys and government reports regarding the Muslims' participation in the country's politics, government and private sector employment, education, health, and security conditions. It covers the period from 1947 to 1990.

Third chapter, "Globalization: Impact on India", discusses the concept of globalization in general by defining its meaning, and the factors and aspects involved therein. The chapter describes the positive and negative aspects of the globalization generally as well as with reference to the Indian experience of globalization.

Chapter four, "Prevailing Insecurity and Impact on Social, Economic and Political Status of Muslims: With the Special Reference to Post 1990s Anti-Muslim Riots", is a discussion on the impact of the communal violence on the Muslim community in post independence India, but focus is mainly on the post 1990s violence targeting the Muslim community. It is analyzed whether liberalization and globalization has intensified the communal violence in India against the Muslim community or reduced the religious hatred among the Hindus and Muslims. Communal violence increases sense of insecurity that leads to deficit of trust in the system and less participation as a result.

Chapter five "Socio-economic and Socio-political Conditions of Muslim Community in Post Globalization Period: 1991-2007", is a description of the Muslims' status in India in post 1990s period in the light of Sachhar Commission Report, census of India 2007 data and National Sample Survey Organization's (NSSO) 55th, 60, 61 and 65th round country wide surveys. It gives an analysis of the Muslims' share in employment, education, health and political system of the country in post liberalization and globalization of 1990s.

Sixth and the last chapter is the conclusion of the study containing an overall analysis and recommendation.

1:X Periodization of Study

In this research study, the focus has been on the last two decades proceedings in India regarding the Muslim community. This is the time when the Indian government initiated liberalization of economic policy, and where international economic and social organizations entered and got some influence in the country. Globalization is believed to be liberal in its nature and hence many expectations are related with it. The history of last 60 years of India has also been reviewed in perspective of conditions of the Muslim population and government's policies regarding them, the actual research period is 1990 to 2007.

CHAPTER 2: MUSLIMS IN POST-INDEPENDENCE INDIA

(Retrospect)

After India's independence in 1947, a significant number of Muslims decided to stay in India despite large-scale killing and violence. The worst communal violence of the century had left disastrous impact on society. Muslims opted to ally with secular forces of the country in that difficult situation. Despite its overwhelming support to the secular political forces of India, the Muslim community could not manage to escape from discrimination, social stagnation and educational marginalization in a post-colonial India. The secular forces could not pave a way for the largest Muslim minority in the state.[18] Muslims under representation in social and political sectors resulted in growing economic backwardness of the community.

[18] Imran Ali, Yoginder Sikand, "Survey of Socio-Economic Conditions of Muslims In India," http://www.countercurrents.org/comm-sikand090206.htm. (accessed 14/08/2009)

Muslims backwardness in India is a result of years of sociao-political, social and economic marginalization. The Muslim backwardness in India is a well-known fact as shown by numerous studies and even by various commissions set up by different governments and institutions to analyze the actual conditions of the community. A Minority Commission was established in 1978, and subsequently in 1980, Indira Gandhi government formed a high-powered committee known as Dr Gopal Singh Committee. This Committee submitted its 119 page Report on June 14, 1983. This Report had revealed the condition of Muslim minority in great detail. Then in 1995, the Minority Commission collected and released data and information, which clearly demonstrates the fact that the Muslims were fallen behind the rest of the population.[19] In May 2005, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh had formed a high-powered committee under the chairmanship of Justice Rajinder Sachhar, with the mandate to assess the socio-economic condition of Indian Muslims. The Sachhar Committee report was tabled in Parliament on 30 November 2006. The Committee's findings were not very much different from previous finding albeit with some more rigorous data analysis. The report reveals that there is no significant

[19] Moinul Hassan, "Hunter Commission to Sachhar Committee: Socio-Economic Condition of Indian Muslims," *People's Democracy (Weekly Organ of the Communist Party of India (Marxist)*, Vol. XXX, No. 50(December 10, 2006).

improvement in community's socio-economic and political status during the post-independence period. Unfortunately, the recommendations of any of these studies and reports have never been implemented.

The right-wing Hindutva groups have wrongly accused Muslims of being appeased. In reality, the ordinary Muslims were left to their fate and the few initiatives from governments for uplifting the community were never made effectual. Economic and educational deprivation of the community does not let it to create space in mainstream socio-political life. The migration of a large section of the north Indian middle class to Pakistan in the wake of the Partition, left behind millions of Muslims leaderless.[20] After the partition, the Indian Muslims have not also seen a credible political leadership who would consistently articulate the socio-economic and political demands of the community.

A significant section of Hindu population was not ready to trust the Muslims and considered them as enemy since the Hindutva groups think that Indian Muslims supported and helped the partition of their motherland although bulk of the Indian Muslims remained in their own country. The Indian Muslims had to prove their loyalty with India and render sacrifices in political, social and economic terms to restore the trust. Support for the Pakistan movement and then mass migration or desire to migrate to Pakistan

[20] Imran Ali, Yoginder Sikand, *Opcit.*

caused doubts for their loyalty and sincerity for India.[21] Although such doubt for their loyalty has no ground since those who supported the Pakistan demand actually migrated to Pakistan and those Indian Muslims, who wanted to stay back in India actually remained in India. The violent scars of partition suddenly turned the community into a traitor from patriot. After serving the country for thousand years, their own motherland refused to provide them with shelter and affection. They lost the confidence, trust and courage; they lost everything that they had before partition.

Indian Muslims had no leadership who could provide guidance in those gloomy days as Muslim league's top leadership had been migrated to Pakistan.[22] Communal violence, occupation of Muslim majority area of Kashmir by Indian army and then Gandhi's assassination added further to increasing insecurity of the community.[23] In such uncertainty, Muslims were too afraid to put any demand to secure their rights as a minority community.

[21]Gyanendra Pandey, "Can a Muslim Be an Indian?," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 41, No. 4 (Oct. 1999):p. 612.
[22] Balraj Puri, "Indian Muslims Since Partition," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 28, No. 40 (Oct. 2, 1993): p. 2141.
[23] Balraj Puri, *Muslims of India Since Partition* (New Delhi: Gayan Publishing House 2007), p. 22.

2.I Demographic Location of Muslims in India

The Muslim community constitutes the largest minority of India, comprising 13.4 % of the population according to the 2001 Census of India. The data related to the demographic composition of Indian Muslim would be helpful in analyzing their socio-economic condition and further in understanding their political status according to their population in different states of Indian union and in districts.

The Muslim population in India, according to the 1941 census, was 24.28 % but due to the mass migration after the division of India and creation of Pakistan as a separate state, it decreased phenomenally to 9.91 %. Hindu fundamentalist right wing parties often propagate that Muslims are intentionally increasing their population to out number the majority Hindus. It seems very ironic that 9.91 % (of post independence) or almost 14 % (of recent time) population could outnumbered the 80 % population, nothing but a senseless cry of majority to create a fear among masses.

The Muslim population has grown over the year in numbers like any other segment of the society. According to the Indian census, the proportional decadal growth of the Muslim population is 10.70 % (1961),

11.20 % (1971), 11.36 % (1981), and 11.45 % (1991).[24] A big number of Muslims reside in the three states of Uttar Pradesh (UP), Bihar, and West Bengal. More than a half (52.01 %) of total Muslim population in the country is located in these three states, more than 1/5 (22.43 %) Muslims live in south Indian states of Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and the union territory of Pondicherry. About 1/7 (14.9 %) Muslims reside in western states of Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Goa and 2 union territories of Daman and Diu and Dadna and Nagar Hveli. 1/20 (5.05 %) live in 7 states of northeastern region and 1/25 (3.87 %) in Madhya Pradesh and Orissa.[25]

Decadal growth of Indian Muslims shows there was no abrupt increase in Muslim population it was predictable through out the decades.

Table 1: Decadal growth of India and Muslim population

Decades	India's Population increases in %	Muslims' population increases in %
1961	21.51	25.61
1971	24.8	30.85
1981	24.69	30.59
1991	23.56	28

[24] Hafeez Malik, "Indian Muslims: Adaptation to Indian Secularism," *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*. Vol. XXXI, No. 1)(Fall 2007): p. 17.

[25] Dr. M. Motiur Rehamn, "Muslim Population in India: Demographic Changes," *Radiance*, Vol. XXVII, No. 24, (5-11 April 1992):p. 67. Cited in Shahzana, Malik, *Hindu Revivalism and the Indian Muslims* (Karachi: Royal Book Company), 1994. p. 68.

Source: S.K. Ghosh, *Muslim Politics in India*, New Delhi: Ashish Publishing House, 1987, p. 91

Table 2: State Wise Muslim Population in India (In Millions) 1961-1991

State/Union Territory	1961	1971	1981
Andhra Pradesh	2.71	3.52	4.53
Assam	2.74	3.59	No census
Bihar	5.78	7.59	9.87
Gujarat	1.74	2.25	2.9
Haryana	0.29	0.4	0.52
Himachal Pradesh	0.03	0.05	0.07
Jammu & Kashmir	2.43	3.04	3.84
Karnataka	3.03	4.16	5.4
Madhya Pradesh	1.32	1.81	2.5
Maharashtra	3.03	4.23	5.8
Manipur	0.05	0.07	0.09
Meghalaya	0.02	0.03	0.04
Orissa	0.21	0.32	0.42
Punjab	0.89	0.11	0.16
Rajasthan	1.31	1.77	2.49
Tamil Nadu	1.56	2.1	2.51
Tripura	0.23	0.1	0.13
Uttar Pradesh	10.78	13.67	17.65
West Bengal	6.89	10.08	11.74
Other Union Territories	0.22	0.23	0.63

Source: Ausaf Ahmad, *Indian Muslims: Issues in Social and Economic Development*. New Delhi: Khama Publishers, 1993, p.133.

According to 1991 census, Muslims are in numerical majority in sixteen districts of the country: 11 in disputed territory of Kashmir and 5 within Indian states. Santhal Pargana in Bihar, Malappuram in Kerala,

Kamrup and Chachar in Assam, and Minicoy in Lakshdweep are the majority Muslim districts.[26] Murshidabad district in West Bengal has the highest number of Muslims; they constitute 58.67 % of the population. Muslims constitutes 9.96 % of the total rural population and 16.21 % of the total urban population.[27]

Muslims are scattered all over the India but the largest Muslims concentration is in Uttar Pradesh (UP), out of every 100 Muslims 24 persons belong to UP. In Lakshdweep, Minicoy and Amindri islands, Muslims constituted 94.37 %, 65.85 % in Jammu and Kashmir, in Assam, 24.03 %, in West Bengal 20.46 %, in Kerala, 20.86 %, in UP, 19.50 %, and in Bihar, 13.48 %.[28] Muslim population is a considerable portion of other large states of India as well, even though they are less than 10% in these states. In Maharashtra Muslims were 9.25 %, Andhra Pradesh 8.47 %, Gujarat has 8.53% Muslim population, Tamil Nadu 5.21 %, Madhya Pradesh 4.80 %, and in Rajasthan Muslims are 7.28 %.[29] In 120 out of 400* districts Muslims constitute about 20 % of the total population.[30] Syed Shahabuddin in his

[26] Hafeez Malik, *Opcit*, p. 17.
[27] Shahzana Malik, *Opcit*, p. 68.
[28] Sunita Ganywal, *Minorities in India: A Study in Communal Process and Individual Rights* (Jiapur: Arihant Publishing House, 1995), p. 61.
[29] Shahzana Malik, *Opcit*, p. 69.
* In 1991 the number of districts had increased to 466 from 400
[30] Syed Shahabuddin, "Economic Status of the Muslim Community in India: An Overview," *Journal of Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs*. Vol. 5: 1(Jan. 1984): p. 243.

analysis of 1991 Census data, mention little bit different statistics but the difference is marginal (in points).

Table 3: 1991 Census: State wise Muslim Population

India	Total population	Muslim Population	SMP* as % SP**
India	846,367,594	106,656,401***	12.6
Andhra Pradesh	66,508,008	5,923,954	8.91
Arunachal Pd.	864,558	11,922	1.39
Assam	22,414,322	6,373,204	28.43
Bihar	86,374,465	12,787,985	14.8
Goa	1,169,793	61,455	5.21
Gujarat	41,309,582	3,606,920	8.73
Haryana	16,463,648	763,775	4.64
Himachal Pd.	5,170,877	89,134	1.72
J&K****	7,783,606	5,059,344	65
Karnataka	44,977.20	5,234,023	11.63
Kerala	29,098,518	6,788,364	23.33
Madhya Pd.	66,181,170	3,282,800	4.96
Maharashtra	78,973,187	7,628,755	9.66
Manipur	1,837,149	133,535	7.29
Meghalaya	1,774,778	61,462	3.43
Mizoram	689,756	4,538	0.72
Nagaland	1,209,546	20,642	1.74
Orissa	31,659,736	577,775	1.83
Punjab	20,281,969	239,401	1.18
Rajasthan	44,005,990	3,525,339	8.01

India	Total population	Muslim Population	SMP* as % SP**
Sikkim	406,457	3,849	0.99
Tamil Nadu	55,858,946	3,052,717	5.47
Tripura	2,757,205	196,495	7.11
Uttar Pradesh	139,112,287	24,109,684	17.33
W.Bengal	68,077,965	16,075,836	23.61

Union Territories

A&N Islands	280,661	21,354	7.61
Chandigarh	642,015	17,477	2.72
D&N Haveli	138,477	3,341	2.41
Daman &Diu	101,586	9,048	8.91
Delhi	9,420,644	889,641	9.44
Lakshadweep	51,707	48,765	94.31
Pondicherry	805,785	52,867	6.54

Source: Syed Shahabuddin, *Demography of Muslim India: An Analysis of 1991 Census Data*, *Journal of Muslim Minority affairs*, Vol. 18, No. 2, 1998, p. 273

* SMP= state Muslim population

** SP= state population

*** Including projected population of J&K based on roughly the same rate of increase as during 1971-81 (30%) and roughly the same Muslim population (65%) s in 1981

According to the Census 2001, the ratio of Muslims in total population of India is 13.43 per cent, which implies that total Muslim population in India is second largest in the world after Indonesia. The states with large number of Muslim population are Uttar Pradesh (31 million), West Bengal (20 million), Bihar (14 million), Maharashtra (10 million), Kerala (8 million), Andhra Pradesh (7 million) and Jammu & Kashmir

(67%). J&K and Lakshadweep are Muslims majority areas. Muslims are over 30 percent of the total population in almost 43 districts in UP, West Bengal, Bihar, Assam, J&K, Jharkhand, Haryana and Uttaranchal. Within these districts, 10 are in UP, five in West Bengal, 4 in Bihar, 10 each in Assam and J&K, 2 in Jharkhand and 1 each in Haryana and Uttaranchal.[31]

2.II Muslims in Politics since Partition:

Partition of India and emergence of Pakistan added up in the hurdles of Muslim community of India. Migration of Muslim League's leadership to Pakistan deprived them of their representative voices. Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad and Sheikh Abdullah provided them with temporary hope but Kalam's demise in 50s and Sheikh Abdullah's detention by Indian government left them leaderless again. The second category's leadership was not capable to convey their grievances before authorities effectively.[32]

Dispersed, fearful and uncertain about their future, further the antagonism of merciless majority pushed the Muslim community of India into silent pessimism. They had no organized political party of their own to represent them.

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[31] See. Moin Hassan; *Opcit.*
[32] See Raghuraj Gupta, "Changing Role and Status of the Muslim Minority in India: A Point of View," *Journal Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol. V, No. 1(1983/84).

As Omar Khalidi rightly observed Muslims were left with three choices, to join a party sympathetic to them like Congress, can work through a pressure group that does not have any political affiliation but ensure the election of sympathetic individuals, and or form their own representative party that can work for their benefit while remaining in coalition government.[33] Muslim community supported Indian National Congress soon after partition. Congress was the major party having secular image and Jawaharlal Nehru was considered the symbol of secularism and liberalism. His determination and commitment to protect minorities' right in independent India gave hope to Muslim community and that was the reason of Muslim trust and support for Congress.

In 1952, 1957 and 1962's elections Muslims supported congress party. In the 1952's general elections 145 Muslim legislatures were affiliated with Congress, while in the 1957 elections, 131 of the 159 Muslim legislators were belonged to Congress party. The attempt to revive Indian Muslim League was met with failure. The other smaller Muslim representative parties were not able to prove their credibility or separate identity.[34]

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[33] Omar Khalidi, "Muslims in Indian Political Process: Group Goals and Alternative Strategies," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 28, No. ½ (Jan. 2-9,1993): p. 43.

[34] Shaheen Akhtar, "The State of Muslims in India," *South Asian Studies-VI.* (Islamabad: Institute of Regional Studies, 1996): p. 23.

Jamiat ul Ulema Hind was a Muslim representative body, an ally of the Congress party that ties with Congress was established during freedom movement (pre-partition era), it opposed the demand of Pakistan and after partition, it remained the close ally of congress party. However, due to many reasons it could not restore Muslims confidence in system and bridging gap between Hindus and Muslims.[35] Jamiat's main goal to establish good contacts with Congress (the ruling party) was to fulfill its aspirations to remain custodian of religion and relevant matters.

Muslims representatives of Congress party could not deliver well to their community as they were under strong pressure to prove their loyalty to the country and stay beyond religious and community affiliations. Muslims unconditional support for Congress almost for a decade could not benefited them, then they started to deliberate on other options.[36] The communal riots of 1963 further diverted Muslim community's attention to ponder on other available choices.

The remaining part of Muslim League was limited to Kerala unable to work for Muslim unity and welfare.[37] Therefore, they were left with only choice, formation of a new representative party. The formation of Muslim Majlis e Mushawerat (1964) was the indication of that need of community.

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[35]Balraj Puri, *Muslims of India since Partition* (New Delhi: Gayan Publishing House, 2007), pp. 19-20.
[36] Raghuraj Gupta, *Opcit.*, p. 190.
[37]Balraj Puri, *Opcit.*, p. 18.

The Majlis primarily was a reaction of communal disturbances in eastern and central Indian states in 1963.[38] Its principle objective was to awake Muslims representatives and elites to come with a strategy to solve problems faced by Muslim community. Majlis had put its utmost efforts to pressurize authorities to give Muslims their political and social rights.

The MMM published a nine point people's manifesto consists of demands and grievances of the Muslim community. The nine point manifesto was consist of these demands; elimination of Hindu biases from text books, proportional representation for Muslims in elections, protection of Muslim Personal Law, status for Urdu as a second official language in the northern states, and the preservation of Aligarh Muslim University as a minority institution.[39] The MMM persuaded political parties to support the People's Manifesto, candidates of parties assure MMM their support for Muslim cause but after being elected, they forgot their promises, as they could not go against the party policies.[40]

During this time, Muslims started to think to formulate their exclusive political parties instead of relying on non-Muslim parties. Kerala's Muslim League, which showed impressive performance in elections, was the precedent for new parties. It had won one parliamentary seat and seven state

[38]Imtiaz Ahmad, "Indian Muslims and Electoral Politics," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 2, No. 10 (Mar. 11, 1967): p. 521
[39] Mushirul Hassan, *Opcit.*, p. 2468.
[40] Omar Khalidi, *Opcit.*, p. 44.

assembly constituencies from West Bengal in the 1971 elections. The Muslim League's strength in the Kerala assembly had made possible for it to bargain with coalition partners between 1967, 1987 and 1991.[41]

Another reason for formation of separate political representative bodies for Muslim community was the Muslims' hopes that their own religious mates would be more trustworthy and sympathetic toward Muslims' cause. In this regard, community struggled hard to approve reservation of seats in parliament in proportion of Muslims population but nationalist parties were not in favor of reserved quota for Muslims. Historical evidence of reserved quota or separate electorate had not been in favor of majority Hindus (the Government of India Act of 1909, 1919 and 1935 provided separate electorate for minorities in undivided India under colonial rule. These historical landmarks reminded Hindu leadership the struggle of Muslims for a separate homeland and identity).[42] Nationalist leadership was afraid that if they accept the demand for separate electorate or reserved quota for Muslims in legislature than it would be harmful for country's integration.

On May 11, 1949 majority of 58 to 3 rejected the motion of HC Mookherjee against reservation for minorities.[43] Prominent Muslim leaders kept silent on this move including Maulana Abulkalam Azad. This move

[41] Shaheen Akhtar, *Opcit.*, p. 30.
[42] Omer Khalidi, *Opcit.*, p. 44.
[43] Omer Khalidi, *Opcit.*, p. 44.

caused questions in Muslim community's minds. It was considered discriminatory as tribes and scheduled casts were awarded reserved quota in legislature because of economic backwardness while Muslims were denied of quota although their economic, political and social status was no better than lower cast Hindus and Tribes. Such kind of decisions taken by Indian government added sense of alienation amongst Muslim community. The largest minority of the country was not allowed to have equal share in political representation and decision-making body, according to its population's proportion.

The Muslim representation in Lok Sabha from 1947 to 1991 shows that they had never been more than 7% of the total number.

Table 4: Muslim Membership of the Lok Sabha

Year	Number of Muslim Membership	Total Members %
1947*	31	13.1
1952	36	7.21
1957	24	4.74
1962	32	6.27
1967	29	5.68
1971	27	5.18
1977	32	6.03
1980	46	8.5
1984	41	7.60 *
1989	33	6.31**
1991	28	5.03***
1994	27	4.96

Notes:

* Represents the Constituent Assembly that had a membership elected through separate electorates. Source: Grenville Austin, *The Indian Constitution,* Oxford, 1966, p. 13. The 13.1 percent Muslim membership represented a slightly higher number than the community's proportion in the national population in 1947.
* No election in Assam or Punjab.
** No election in Assam.
*** No election in Kashmir and Punjab.

Source: *Muslim India* 190, (April 1983) and subsequent issues of the same journal.

In 1970s, Muslim community witnessed a change in its political affiliation, when Congress failed to deliver its promises, Muslim community started to think for alternatives. The emergency imposed by Indira Gandhi opened the door for political collaboration between Muslim community and other anti Congress parties, especially Jan Sangh. Jamaat e Islami and Jan Sangh's combine struggle against emergency gave boost to the hope that Hindu and Muslims are capable to work together in every sphere of political life.[44] In 1977's general elections, Muslim supported Janata coalition against Congress but it too could not fulfilled the community's aspirations after getting power. Janata party mergence with Jan Sangh actually made victory possible.[45]

Jan Sangh was a communal party and a political tool of RSS; it did not accept Muslims' entrance in party and coalition government even though

[44] Balraj Puri, *Opci.t*, p. 27.
[45] Raghuraj Gupta, *Opcit.*, p. 192.

Muslim contributed in its arrival in power. The Janata coalition government could not sustain the burden of government, its internal contradictions facilitated its collapse, and in 1980's general elections, Indira Gandhi resumed the power.[46] She used Hindu card very effectively in election. Her militant nationalism laid foundation for new phase in Indian politics. She knew that her party had lost the trust of lower classes and minorities especially of Muslim community. She was left with only choice, to exploit Hindu masses' anti Muslim and anti Pakistan sentiments and she achieved her ends but pushed Indian society to communal tension, where minorities especially Sikhs and Muslims were the victims of majority chauvinism. Her aggressive policies, external and internal on both front appeased majority and caused concerns for minorities. Her determined efforts to bring uniformity in Indian politics and culture provoked Muslims to struggle hard for the perseverance of their separate identiy.

Meanwhile, Khomeini's Iranian revolution of 1980 strongly affected Indian Muslims as well. They were boosted by that bold act of neighboring Muslim state. They started to think about the revival of their ignored religious identity in Indian society. That was the time when US backed jihad was on its peak in Afghanistan against Soviet Union and Pakistan was hosting and supporting mujahedins from all over the world. Such external

[46] Asghar Ali Engineer, *Muslims and India* (New Delhi: Gayan Publishing House, 2007), p. 134.

scenario and suppressive internal politics encouraged Muslims to take a stand for their rights. Indira Gandhi's assassination consolidated Hindu community and it resulted in the victory of Congress party with highest ever margin in 1984's general elections. This trend further increased the divide between Hindus and Muslim communities.[47]

Shah Bano case controversy and then Congress government's permission to open the Babri Mosque for idol worship further provoked the community. Muslims demonstrated against Congress government in Delhi and other cities. All this resulted in Congress defeat in 1989's general elections.[48] The fundamentalist Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) was the beneficiary of the situation.

The BJP's success in 1989's general election paved way for the entrance of Hindu fundamentalists groups in Indian politics. The Bhartiya Janata Party had increased its power gradually it could secure only 2 seats in 1984's election but its communal vote bank politics enabled it to won 86 seats in general elections of 1989. BJP exploited Hindu masses' sentiments by using issue of Ram Temple construction in the place of Babri Mosque, for political gains.

BJP earlier known as Jan Sangh is the political extension of RSS. It represented the upper caste Hindus of northern region of the country. In 80s,

[47] Balraj Puri, *Opcit.*, pp. 28-29.
[48] Balraj Puri, *Opcit.*, p. 31.

it realized that its regional orientation and upper caste credentials could not win national level acceptance for it, after that it started to exploit the poor Hindu masses on the name of religion. The communal politics of BJP further alienated the Muslim community from mainstream politics. The BJP contested elections on anti Muslim agenda; the construction of Ram janambhoomi, imposition of uniform civil code and removal of article 370 granting Kashmir a special status were the main points of its election campaign.[49]

The 1980s brought tough time for Indian Muslim community since partition. Several anti Muslim riots exposed their vulnerability; the Bihar sharif riots of 1981, the Meerut and Baroda riots of 1982, Neli (Assam) riots of 1983 had claimed several thousand lives.[50]

The celebrated Shah Bano case in 1984 provoked Hindu middle classes against Muslim civil law and BJP used this issue to strengthen its vote bank. That was the start of communal agenda holder BJP and after that it never saw a set back until general elections of 2004.

If we review the election history and Muslims participation in India the facts and figures show very devastating situation. Lack of trust of majority community on the Muslim minority and less opportunities to excel in mainstream politics leaves Muslim far behind in Lok Sabha and state

[49] Asghar Ali Engineer, *Opcit.*, p. 59.
[50] Asghar Ali Engineer, *Opcit.*, p. 59.

legislatures. According to Hafeez Malik from 1952 to 1999, Muslims representation in Lok Sabha witnessed 47.45 percent electoral deficit while their regional or state wise electoral deficit varies. In national capital Delhi deficit was 13.79 percent and it reaches to 79.29 percent in Gujarat legislature. Only one Muslim could manage to be elected in the period of fifty years to the Lok Sabha in New Delhi. Muslims highest 79 percent electoral deficit was in Gujarat State Assembly. In Rajasthan only two Muslims were elected to the Lok Sabha from 1952-1994 while, Muslim population of the state deserved 21 members.[51] Muslims political marginalization in political sphere caused serious damage to the community.

Muslim through out the Indian political history remained unheard, ignored and scattered. Reasons for their political weak status are obvious; majority's ruthlessness, lack of leadership, unity and discipline within the Muslim community.

2. III Socio-Economic Status of Indian Muslims

The Muslim community in India is economically most backward and deprived section of the society. There is enormous documented evidence to

[51] Hafeez Malik, "Indian Muslims' Adaptation to Indian Secularism," *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*. Vol. XXXI, No. 1, (Fall 2007): pp. 19-20.

show that on all major index of human development e.g. income, education, employment, poverty Muslims rated dismally lower than other communities.

Their status is no higher than Scheduled casts (untouchables), Scheduled tribes and Other Backward Casts (OBCs). The situation of some of the sections of Muslim community is worst than other weaker sections as Scheduled Casts and Tribes at least have been bestowed with reservation quota in political and economic institutions.

Muslims have fewer opportunities, rather it is more appropriate to say, are deprived of opportunities to excel in society or at least to maintain their livelihood through respected means. Their per capita income is far less then average per capita income of the country. Central and states' governments had promised to reserve quota for them in the light of several commissions' reports' recommendation to upgrade the Muslim's situation but these promises never came true. Muslim conditions had remained miserable economically and socially through out the independent India's history. The government and private sector ignored them.

There are several reasons of their plight, prejudice behavior of majority, mass migration of elite and middle class Muslims to Pakistan after partition, illiteracy and ignorance to the modern knowledge, poverty and lack of appropriate strategy. Poverty does not allow them to send their children to educational institutions to learn skilled-based knowledge that could improve

their living conditions when they come to practical field and most of the all lack of guidance from leadership forces Muslim community to remain in dark ages of the modern time. Constant recurring of communal and anti Muslim riots in different parts of country added in their miseries. Every time when riots occurred, the victims were Muslims. They lost their lives, property, business and most of all self-respect and dignity.

Statistics and figures expose the Muslim economic status in the secular democratic India. The proportion of Muslims in the central and state services and in the private sector (small businesses and big industries) was very low. Muslim share in the Indian administrative services (IAS) was 3.3%, in the Indian Foreign Services (IFS) 3.4% and Indian Police Service (IPS) 2.7%.[52] In the Indian Defense Services Muslims' share has come down from 32% at the time of partition to 2%.[53]

The Representation of the Minorities in the All India Services till 1980 clearly indicates that the Muslims' proportion in services is less than other minorities' proportion even. The following table shows a comparative data of Muslims, Christians and Sikhs in the All India Services.[54]

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[52] Rahul Pathek, Vivian Fernandes, "Nailing the Big Lie," *India Today*, New Delhi, 31(Jan 1993).

[53] Shaheen Akhtar, *Opcit.*, p. 16.

[54] See Syed Najiullah, "The Status of Muslims," *Opcit.* http://www.indianmuslims.info/statistics/articles_related_to_statistics/syed_najiullah_the_status_of_muslims_in_india.html. (accessed 11/07/2010)

2.III (a) All India Services

Table 5: Minorities in All India Services (Percentage to the total in brackets)

Name of Services	Total No. of Officers	No. of Muslims	No. of Christians	No. of Sikhs
IAS	3975	128 (3.22)	109(2.74)	165(4.15)
IPS	2159	57(2.64)	49(2.26)	177(5.41)
IFS	1433	45(3.14)	23(1.60)	44(3.07)
Total	7567	230(3.04)	181(2.39)	326(4.31)

Source: Dr. Gopal Singh Report on Minorities, 1983, p.33.

The following table shows the representation of Muslims in comparison with other minorities like Sikhs and Christians in Indian Administrative Services.[55]

Table 6: Minorities in Indian Administrative Service: (Percentage to the total in brackets) I

Year	Total	Intake	Muslims	Sikhs	Christians
1971	87	1	-1.14	4(4.59)	5(5.74)
1972	142	1	-0.7	6(4.85)	4(2.81)
1973	124	3	-2.41	5(4.03)	7(5.64)
1974	141	1	-0.7	9(6.38)	4(2.83)
1975	129	2	-1.55	5(3.87)	7(5.42)

Source: Dr. Gopal Singh Report on Minorities, 1983, p.31.

[55] See. Syed Najiullah, "The Status of Muslims." *Opcit.*

Table 7: Minorities in Indian Administrative Service: (Percentage to the total in brackets) II

Year	Total	Intake	Muslims	Sikhs	Christians
1976	138	5	-3.62	9(6.52)	10(7.24)
1977	158		10(6.32)	4(2.53)	13(8.22)
1978	134		10(7.46)	6(4.47)	13(9.70)
1979	117	3	-2.56	8(6.83)	7(5.98)
1980	124	1	-0.8	5(4.03)	3(2.41)
Total	1294		37(2.86)	61(4.71)	73(5.64)

Source: Dr. Gopal Singh Report on Minorities, 1983, p.31.

Above-mentioned table clearly shows the Muslims share is less in IAS as compare to other minorities. Muslims proportion in IAS is far more less than Christians and Sikhs even though their number of population is higher than any other minority in India. Muslims share in IAS remained very low even after 1980. Muslims' share in IAS from 1980 to 1991 remained poor and there is no notable improvement in their share.

Table 8: Muslims in Indian Administrative Services 1981-1991

Year	Total	Muslims	Percentage
1981	126	01	0.79
1982	167	05	2.99
1983	235	01	0.43
1984	233	06	2.58
1985	214	04	1.87
1986	216	06	2.78
1987	178	05	2.81
1988	249	15	6.02
1989	246	13	5.28
1990	298	09	3.02
1991	217	08	3.69

Source: *Muslim India*, No.238, October, 2002, p.462

Share of the Muslims community in the public services ranges from 0.9% to 6.2% in the central services.[56] It is worth mentioning that these low percentages of Muslims share in different sectors further decreases as the level of authority increases. Above mentioned tables help to understand this phenomena. Muslims remained deprived of influential positions in government and private sectors.

Muslims were 5.12% of class IV employees. In class III of non-technical supervisory cadre, this proportion is 4.4%. Muslims proportion further reduced to 3% in class II cadre of technical supervisors. In executive cadre of class I, Muslims proportion is only 1.6% of the total employees.[57]

[56] Shaheen Akhtar. *Opcit.*, p. 16.
[57] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

Some relatively blessed casts among Indian Muslims are limited to Bohras, Khojas and Memons. Muslims involvement in agriculture was much lower as compare to the rest of the country's population. They don not have bigger land property. In industry, again their share is marginal. In private sector, their presence is far more less than their population.[58] The sample study conducted by the Gopal Singh Commission, on the results of the examination for recruitment to class III services, Clerical Cadre in the Central Secretariat held by the Central Subordinate Services Commission in 1979 shows that Muslims were only 1.56 per cent of the total successful candidates.[59]

Table 9: Subordinate Services (Central Government)

Religion	% to Population	No & % of Applicants	No & % of Successful Candidates
Muslims	11.12	5336 (2.59)	83(1.56)
Christians	2.60	9502(4.61)	366(3.85)
Sikhs	1.89	3643(1.77)	90 (2.47)

Source: Dr. Gopal Singh report on Minorities, 1983, p.33

In the urban areas, nearly 80% Muslims live below poverty line. The large number is earning their livelihood through self-employment. They are

[58] Syed Shahabuddin, "Economic status of the Muslim Community in India: An Overview," *Journal Institute of Minority Affairs*, Vol. 5: 1(Jan, 1984): p. 244.
[59] See. Syed Najiullah, "The Status of Muslims." *Opcit.*

mostly rickshaw pullers, street hawkers, laborers and leather tanners. In the Beedi industry, which was monopolized by them, their participation, is now reduced to mere 20%. They are not even the owners of rickshaws they drive.[60] Muslims in rural areas are less poor than in urban areas, where their poverty rate of 38 percent is higher then any other minority community.

It is worth mentioning that Indian Muslims as a minority community do not constitute a homogenous group. In fact, the community is as fragmented as any other religious formation is, on economic, social, linguistic, ethnic, and regional and caste lines. Although there is no Muslim religious based caste system exists, but they are divided into three groups; ashraf, ajlaf, and arzal. The ashrafs are upper class Muslims thought to be of Arab ancestry, while the ajlafs tend to be considered Hindus who converted to Islam to escape India's caste system. A third group, the arzals, correlates to the lowest caste of Hindus.[61] Such type of division based on occupations or status in the society also creates hurdles in the way of community's progress. The upper castes comprise no more than 8 per cent of the total Muslim population. The majority of Muslims in Sheher are qureshis, ansaris, saifis, rangrez, bishtis or alvis. The low-caste Muslim communities such as julaha (weavers), halalkhor, lalbegi (scavenger), bhatiara, gorkan

[60] Shahzana Malik, *Opcit*, p. 18.
[61] Carin Zissis, "India's Muslim Population," http://www.indianmuslims.info/reports_about_indian_muslims/india_s_muslim_population.html (accseesed April 9, 2010)

(gravediggers), bakkho, mirshikar. chik (butcher), rangrez, darzi and nat are victims of discrimination in everyday life by the ashraf (upper cast) Muslims. [62]

The partition of India and the elimination of zamindari system caused a severe damage to Muslims' socio-economic status. It deprived them of their traditional source of earning. Decision of demolition of zamindari system in 1950s further deteriorated Muslims economic condition.[63] On the one hand, Muslims had lost their lands and on other side, government did not take any initiatives to compensate their loss by increasing their share in industrial sector or public and private jobs. In 1979, Muslims got only five out of 405 industrial licenses (1.25%), in 1980, Muslim could get only 6 license out 380 (1.5%). The Muslims had 4.05% petrol dealership of the Indian Oil Corporation (a private sector undertaking) 2.3% of it oil dealership and 6.2% of kerosene dealership.[64]

Ausaf Ahmad in his work mentions a study by Dr. S. Navalakha on the relative positions of Muslim community in India. According to this study, Hindus were 82.2% of population and they constitute 85.3% in country's elites. Other minorities' percentage among the elite was higher

[62] Irfan Ahmad, "A Different Jihad: Dalit Muslims' Challenge to Ashraf Hegemony," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 38, No. 46 (Nov. 15-21, 2003): pp. 4886-4891.
[63] Ausaf Ahmad, *Indian Muslims: Issues in Social and Economic Development*, New Delhi:Khama Publishers, 1993. p. 37.
[64] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

than their population but Muslims were only 4.5% of the elite while they were 11.2% of the total population. The following table explains the percentage distribution of different communities among elites.

Table 10: Percentage of different communities among elites

Communities	% in Population 1971	%Among Elites
Hindus	82.7	85.3
Muslims	11.2	4.5
Christians	2.6	3.5
Sikhs	1.9	3.6
Jains	0.5	2.8

Source: Dr. S. Navalakha, Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi

The reserved bank of India (central bank of India), had 19 members of the central board none of them was Muslim. Only two Muslims were included in its 60 director and manager level executives. Among approximately 700 directors of the 20 major public sector banks, only 10 were Muslims. Under representation of Muslims in the Indian public services is explained by the data provided in tables below.[65]

[65] Mushirul Hasan, "Legacy of a Divided Nation: India's Muslims since Independence," (Delhi: OUP, 2001), p. 282. Cited in Maidul Islam, "Mapping the Socio-Economic Status of Indian Muslims: A Factual Analysis," *Jawaharlal Nehru University*, New Delhi, Working paper series, Vol. 1, No. 2 (2009): p. 12.

Table 11: Muslims in the Indian Public Services
All India & Central Services

Name of the Service	Year	Total	Muslims	%age
IAS	1981	3,883	116	2.99
Income Tax I	1981	1,753	50	2.85
Railway Traffic & Account Services	1971-1980	881	27	3.06

Random Survey of Public Employment

Name of Institutions	Sample Size	Total	Muslims	%age
Central Government Offices	105 offices in 13 states	17,951	3,346	4.41
State Government Offices	876 offices in 13 states	8,26,669	49,718	6.01
Nationalized Banks	1,317	1,13,772	2,479	2.18
Public Sector Units	168 undertakings in 13 states	4,76,972	51,755	10.85
(Central & States Total)		14,99,881	1,07,491	6.6

Source: Maidul Islam, "Mapping the Socio-Economic Status of Indian Muslims: A Factual Analysis," *Jawaharlal Nehru University*, New Delhi. Working paper series, Vol. 1, No. 2 (2009), p. 12.

All evidences show that Muslims' share in white-collar jobs was minimal they were largely indulged in petty businesses, small-scale enterprise, and low paid jobs. In small scale enterprise even, their situation is worst. Only 14000 out of 600,000 industrial units belonged to Muslims, constituting about 2.3% and among those only 2000 were up to the standard to qualify for official definition of small scale industry.[66]

[66] Ausaf Ahmad, *Opcit.*, pp. 63-64.

The Indian Human Development Report of 1990s reveals the condition of Muslims on various economic indicators like house hold income, per capita income, Work participation, source of income, land holding etc.[67]

Tabel 12: Income, Asset and Material Well-being of Households according to Caste and Religion

	ST	SC	Hindus	Muslims	All
Household Income (Rs)	19556	17465	25713	22807	25653
PerCapita Income (Rs)	3504	3237	4514	3678	4485
Work participation					
Male	51.6	52.8	52.3	48	51.9
Female	27.7	23	19.3	9.6	18.4
Source of Income					
Agriculture	55.6	37.7	56.1	44.1	55
Artisanship	2.7	5.7	4.3	8.3	4.5
Salaried	14.8	15.2	16.4	14.7	16.5
Land Holding in acres	4.3	2.8	4.6	3.6	4.5
% Kutcha Houses	74	66.6	55.2	65.9	55.4
%Electricity	29.7	30.7	43.2	30	42.9
%Protected Water	61.6	72.8	71.1	68.1	72
% Piped Water	17.2	22.6	25.3	19.4	24.8
% having Toilets	12.2	8.3	13.2	26.7	15.3
% Using PDS	37.5	32.1	34.1	21.8	33.2
Poverty Head Count	51	50	39	43	39

Source: *India: Human Development report of the 1990s*, cited by Abusaleh Shariff in *Muslim India*, No.216, December, 2000, p. 534

[67] See. Syed Najiullah, *Opcit.*

Above table clearly indicates the poor status of Muslims in all major indicators of socio-economic well being. Their household income is less in proportion to other communities and national average. Their per capita income is bit high of ST (Schedule Tribes) and SC (Schedule Casts) but again less than national per capita income. Muslims access to basic facilities of life is far more less than other communities. Muslims earned less than other minorities through prevailed sources of income like agriculture and salaried jobs. Hence, the overall situation shows that Muslims economic condition is very poor despite they constitute a large portion of Indian society. They come along with SCs and STs in socio-economic profile and lay far below the national average.

2.III (b) Education

Among many other reasons of Muslims backwardness in socio economic and political spheres one and most important is educational backwardness and illiteracy among the community. Muslims' negative attitude towards modern education and than negligence on the part of government and private sector deprived them of opportunities to be educated.

According to critics, the reason of poor performance in educational sector is Muslims attachment with their culture and religion. Asghar Ali Engineer in his book, *Indian Muslims* quotes A. B. Shah

> The Muslims are backward mainly because they refuse to shake off a crippling cultural heritage and identity themselves with the rest of the nation. This is not the place to go into a detailed analysis of the nature of this heritage....., but it has to be noted that a community which refuses to equip itself with the knowledge and skills required in the modern world cannot register significant progress in any field of life. For instance, according to Basheer Ahmad Syed, a former judge of Madras High Court, the incidence of literacy among Muslim males in India in 1971 was about 10 percent and that among Muslim females only about 0.5 percent. Most of these persons would have studied in madarasas and dropped out after a few years of elementary education. Very few of them go to college even today and still fewer study science, which is a precondition for entry into professional colleges.[68]

However, A. B. Shah ignores other hurdles in the way of Muslims educational progress. It is not only Muslims' negative approach but the government's policies and society's behavior as well that hindered the minority from socio economic prosperity and educational well-being. Infect poor economic conditions of community deterred it to invest in education. How can a slum dweller pay fee of his/her child to enroll him/her in school

[68] A. B. Shah, " Minority Segment in Indian Polity -A Comment ," *Economic and Political Weekly*, November 18, 1978, 1911, in Asghar Ali Engineer, *Indian Muslims: A Study of the Minority Problem in India* (Delhi: Ajant Publication, 1985), p. 310.

while social security is absent. It is unrealistic to expect from a hungry bagger to participate in a charity. Majority Muslims lived below poverty line; they do not have access to basic facilities of life then how can they even think to get their children educated. Prejudiced and biased attitude of majority further discouraged them.

There are several reasons behind Muslims backwardness in education; the massive poverty, trend to send their children to madarsas(religious school) due to the fear that modern schools' education would cause harm to their religious beliefs, they do not have access to institutes of higher education.[69] Anti Muslim social setup leads them to believe that they will be discriminated in job opportunities. Therefore, they consider it fruitless to invest in education. Poor families prefer their children to join the family occupation in early age and they do not go for long-term benefits of modern education. Modern education is not very attractive for them as it is almost irrelevant to their occupations. Communal riots added to their sense of insecurity and it discouraged any productive effort on their part. Urdu language's decline in Indian society and especially in Hindi Heartland (Central India) where Urdu is no more a medium of instruction in educational institutes parents prefer to send their children to Madaris. Thus, children have to compromise the quality education as

[69] Syed Shahabuddin, "Economic Status of Muslim Community in India: An Overview," *Journal Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs*. Vol. V, No. 1(1983/84): p. 246.

Madaris have Muslim dominant environment with low competitive spirit. Muslims leaders' ignorance of community's backwardness in education, they stress on non-issues instead of social construction of the community.

The narrow middle class base among the community is the main reason of backwardness of Muslim community in all spheres of social life including education sector.[70]

Middle class plays an important role in prosperity of any society and community but post partition migration of elite and professionals (doctors, lawyers, professors, government servants etc) to Pakistan left mostly poor and laborer class of Muslims in India. Abolition of feudal system and replacement of Urdu by Hindi and English languages further deteriorated the situation.

The ministry of home affair, government of India had compiled the data from different districts with significant number of Muslims from all over the country dealing the state of enrolment of Muslims in schools and colleges and Anis Ansari mentions it in his article *Educational Backwardness of Muslims*.[71]

[70] Anis Ansari, "Educational Backwardness of Muslims," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 27, No. 42 (Oct. 17, 1992): p. 2290.
[71] *Ibid.*, pp. 2289-2290.

Table 13: Muslim Enrolment in Schools and Colleges

Category	No of Districts Surveyed	% of Muslims in the Surveyed Districts (Census1971)	Total No of Students (1981-82)	Muslim Students (1981- 82)	%	Ratio of 6 &3 =Eduac-ation Index
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Elementary School	45 districts/12 states	17.32	98.48 Lakhs	12.20 Lakhs	12.30	0.72
Secondary School	38 districts/11 states	18.56	19.64 Lakhs	2.09 Lakhs	10.70	0.58
High Schools	8 boards	12.00	13.44 Lakhs	0.54 Lakhs	4.00	0.33
Class XII	5 boards	10.30	2.26 Lakhs	5645	2.49	0.24
Engineering	9 universities	12.44	2698	92	3.41	0.27
Medical	12 medical colleges	9.55	2845	98	3.44	0.36

Source: N C Sexena, 'Public Employment and Education Backwardness among Muslims in India', Man *and Development*, Vol V, No 4; December 1983, p 16.

Even though constitution of the state provided them with right to excel in every field but these beautiful words of freedom and equal opportunities for minorities are limited to texts only. Prejudices on part of the nationalist political parties in government and biases in private sector institution forced Muslims to keep them locked in shall of fear and inferiority complex. Their political and economic ghettoization left worst impact on Muslims life style and education as well.

About 50.5 % of Muslims were illiterate while illiteracy among Hindus was 33 percent. Muslims poor participation in elementary and secondary school education and then high dropout ratio reduced the proportion of community in the higher technical education. As a result, Muslims were only 1.6 percent of the total college graduates in India.[72] The table below highlights the relative levels of education and education rates among Hindus and Muslims in rural and urban areas of India.

Table 14: Distribution of Persons by General Education Sex and religion, Rural India, 1987-88

(in percentage)

Education Level	Hindus		Muslims		Christians		Others	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Not Literate	51.3	75.0	58.2	76.1	33.7	43.1	45.3	61.4
Primary	19.0	11.8	18.6	13.1	20.5	17.8	17.9	15.7
Pre-Medical	22.7	11.2	19.1	9.9	35.4	29.2	25.5	19.4
Secondary	5.7	1.7	3.4	0.8	9.3	8.1	9.0	3.1
Graduate	1.2	0.2	0.6		1.8	1.5	2.3	0.3

Source: NSS 43rd Round, 1987-88, Table 31.4 (Page S82,83) cited in Dr. Abu Saleh Shariff in Muslim India, No. 140, August 1994, p.378

[72] Asghar Ali Engineer, "Survival Strategy for Muslim Indians," *Muslim India*, New Delhi, Vol, 143, (November 1994): p. 522.

Table 15: Distribution of Persons by General Education Sex and Religion, Urban India, 1987-88

(in percentage)

Education Level	Hindus		Muslims		Christians		Others	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Not Literate	25.3	42.2	42.2	59.5	18.8	22.7	18.0	31.2
Primary	18.8	17.2	20.9	18.5	16.0	17.5	15.6	14.7
Pre-Medical	30.5	25.3	26.3	16.8	36.7	33.4	30.0	8.5
Secondary	17.2	10.7	8.0	4.3	20.1	20.8	23.6	17.5
Graduate	7.9	4.2	2.3	0.8	8.1	5.5	11.7	7.9

Source: NSS 43rd Round, 1987-88, Table 31.4 (Page S85, 86) cited in Dr. Abu Saleh Shariff in Muslim India, No. 140, August 1994, p.378)

Table 16: Distribution of Persons Currently Attending Educational Institutions According to Age Group, Sex and Religion, Rural India, 1987-88

(in percentage)

Attending School/ age Group	Hindus		Muslims		Christians		Others	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
5-9	53.5	40.6	42.1	32.8	67.4	66.9	60.1	50.5
10-14	66.9	41.3	56.6	37.0	75.6	70.1	62.6	65.4
15-19	37.7	12.6	26.9	8.8	47.7	43.3	31.3	13.7
21+	8.8	1.8	7.4	1.4	14.0	10.4	9.3	1.7
N.R.	3.2	1.2	15.0	15.9	50.9		8.7	16.7

Source: NSS 43rd Round, 1987-88, Table 31.4 (Page S-106, 107) cited in Dr. Abu Saleh Shariff in Muslim India, No. 140, August 1994, p.364.

Table 17: Distribution of Persons Currently Attending Educational Institutions According to Age Group, Sex and Religion, Urban India, 1987-88

(in percentage)

Attending School/ age Group	Hindus		Muslims		Christians		Others	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
5-9	76.3	70.7	56.0	52.1	89.2	86.1	88.0	85.6
10-14	83.2	74.6	63.6	53.6	93.3	90.0	89.8	82.7
15-19	56.1	42.4	34.8	19.3	60.6	57.1	63.7	60.2
21+	21.8	10.2	12.1	4.7	18.2	12.0	35.8	17.2
N.R.	31.3	29.4	6.4		67.4	13.6	3.0	40.7

Source: NSS 43rd Round, 1987-88, Table 31.4 (Page S-109, 110) cited in Dr. Abu Saleh Shariff in Muslim India, No. 140, August 1994, p.364.

The above tables clearly show that Muslims' enrolment in educational institutions is far more less than other communities. Their participation percentage is coming down steadily from Pri-Middle level to graduate level, the percentage of students who reached Higher education in rural areas is 0.6 for the male and in urban areas, and the corresponding percentages are 2.3 and 0.8 for male and female respectively. In the light of available data, it is very clear that Muslims are the most deprived section of India in educational sector.

CHAPTER 3: GLOBALIZATION

3.I An Over view

The process of globalization is considered an outcome of human being's need and nature of cooperation and collaboration in an environment where they can get equal gains and benefits through as a result of positive competition. Globalization process got momentum at the end of twentieth century. The concept of building close partnerships in financial matters to make world prosperous and more interactive is implicable on other fields of state and global human life. Isolation does not suits human nature in any form or field as human nature wants productive interaction that can bring mutual benefits. Therefore, globalization process is being accepted and welcomed by the majority states and societies. Globalization is the outcome of human desire and efforts to make world more responsive and well connected so that conflict and clashes could be avoided through interconnectivity.

In 1980s interconnectivity was increased between countries and the end of cold war had been provided a boost to the process of globalization

further. The end of cold war encouraged nations to avail the opportunity to build a peaceful international society and eliminate the threat of any other clash or war.[73] Globalization increased the possibility of cooperation among states in political, economic and social spheres.

There is lack of consensus on what globalization really means, generally, it is believed that globalization stands for connectivity of networks dealing with economic, political, social and cultural spheres.[74] Globalization has different aspects; it is not easy to define it in a sentence or with single perspective. Globalization is an on going process aims to bring nations closer through economic integration by facilitating trade, investment and capital flows without any restrictions, political connectivity, and cultural exchanges. Information technology makes possible such interaction and connectivity among nations.[75] Robert Cox defines globalization as a process of internationalization of products, the new international division of labour, migrations from the South to the North. Competition for survival among the nations is boosting up these activities by making the state an international actor just like other agencies of the globalizing world.[76] Anthony Gidden explains globalization as the intensification of international social relations, which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped

[73] John Glenn, *Opcit.*, p. 1.
[74] Joseph. S Tulchin, Gary Bland, *Opsit.*, p. 3.
[75] Prof. N. Joykumar Singh., *Opcit.*, p. 1.
[76] Baylis and S Smith, *Opcit.*, p. 15.

by events occurring miles away and even little change at local level, hurts the whole international community.[77] Globalization process is like an umbrella that covers the every aspect of social, political, and economic occurrence with local or international reach. It implies variety of transformation both at national and international levels, vibrant and multidimensional in character and is a result of increasing socio-economic socio-political interdependence beyond borders restrictions. The increasing interconnectivity and interdependence of world system is the result of globalization-based procedures.[78]

Formation of multinationals and reformation of existing institutions covering vast range of social, economic and political matters boosted the process of globalization. In start, people were not ready to accept the existence of international community and process of globalization that bring it together.[79] However, when with the passage of time its benefits became visible as it brings people and nations closer through increasingly rapid exchange of knowledge, information, capital, goods, services and people, its acceptance among masses is increasing. Globalization is the outcome of technology; no one can even imagine such a revolution in communication sector with out the invention of computer, television, radio, fax machine and

[77] *Ibid*, p. 15.
[78] D. Held, A. McGrew, D. Goldblatt and J. Perraton, *Global Transformations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), pp. 1-2.
[79] Tulchin S Joseph, Bland Gary. *Opcit.*, p.1.

so many other means of transformation and transportation of information and people. Information technology, facilitated globalization further, internet connected the world. It makes information transferable in a very short time. Through internet, we can access happenings in the remote places in seconds. The increasing interaction among the nations has changed the orientation of world from remoteness to global village.[80]

Multinationals and private sector's rapid growth minimizes the government role in many departments. The concept of strict governance with lots of checks and scrutinies has been vanished, state is still powerful but its dictatorship in economic and social sectors is no more accepted.[81] Increasing complexity in economic and social systems needs comprehensive strategy to deal with such issues and governments alone cannot cope with these problems. Therefore, this liability of government paves way for global institutions to come forward.

3.II Driving Forces of Globalization

Globalization is not a very new trend but what make contemporary globalization comparatively new and modern are the forces behind it. It is not an accidental occurrence. It is the result of deliberative process to bring a

[80] John Glenn, *Opcit.*, 1.
[81] John Glenn, *Opcit.*, pp. 122-123.

change in existing political and economic system and invention of new technology related facilitated the procedure by minimizng restrictions to connect the nations across the world.[82] There are so many reasons behind acceleration of globalization in 1990s but three dominant drivers are Economic liberalization, Political liberalization and new Information and communications technology.[83]

3.II (a) Economic Liberalization

Economic liberalization at large refers to the liberty of establishing connection with others in economic realm but such interactions mostly come under the jurisdiction of institutional rules and regulations. However, in new globalized system institutional policies are the subject to ensure public interests at large.[84] The world economy has been under rapid changes from the last two decades. The high growth rate is the result of rapid increase in trade interaction and it could only have possible through technological developments and intensive efforts to minimize trade restrictions.[85] The 1994 Marrakech agreement that ended the Uruguay Round was a significant step

[82] Lincoln Chen, Sakiko Fukuda-Parr, Ellen Seidensticker, (ed.). *Human Insecurity in a Global World* (New Delhi: Viva Books Private Limited, 2005), p. 1.
[83] *Ibid.*, p. 2.
[84] "*Victor Ognivstev.Economic Liberalization as a Driving Force of Globalization,*" www.unescap.org/tid/projects/globalize_wgvictor.pdf (Accessed 14/08/2010)
[85] "*Global Trade Liberalization and the Developing Countries,*" http://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/ib/2001/110801.htm (accessed 02/08/2010)

towards globalization and economic liberalization.[86] It had reduced the trade barriers and introduced the multilateral trade rather than bilateral trade agreements. It also took initiatives for institutional arrangements for enforcement of the agreements with the creation of the World Trade Organization. Such kind of agreements and accords amongst nations gave boost to global reach of economic liberalization.

The new liberal free trade regime of the Post-Cold War era enforced the developing economies to minimize the trade related restrictions for the sake of increasing their share of opportunities for economic development. The world exports of the goods and services have been increased due to economic liberalization. GDP growth rate almost tripled in real terms in last three decades.[87] The Washington consensus developed in the late eighties and promoted by the developed economies of United States and Europe vigorously. They argued for a minimal state control, lower taxes barriers, and the promotion of free market principles involving privatization of public services, liberalization of trade, finance and production, deregulation of labour and the less state interference in the public realm.[88] The economic liberal policies were promoted not only by developed countries of Europe and US but also by the 'International Monetary Fund, World Bank and wide spread think tanks all over the world.

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[86] Lincoln Chen, Sakiko Fukuda-Parr, Ellen Seidensticker. (ed.). *Opcit.*, pp, 1-2.
[87] John Glenn, *Opcit*, pp 20-21.
[88] John Glenn, *Opcit*, p 18.

The role of Non-government organizations (NGO's) has also been accelerated beyond their previous limitations in this age of globalization. The infrastructural outlook and functional capabilities have made their reach global. The international organizations like United Nations, the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, and the World Trade Organization have some new roles to play in the formation of economic political and social policies of the countries. Overall, transnational institutions (political and economic both) have the major role to play in the new era of globalization.[89]

Economic integration has caused acceleration of the world overall economy. "The daily revenue of foreign exchange markets increased from around US$ 10-20 billion in the 1970s to US $1.2 trillion in 2001. Foreign direct investment (FDI) has reached to seven times higher, reaching US$735 billion in 2001, the short-term capital flows have also grown to three times higher in the past 20 years, reaching to more than US$2 trillion. International bank lending went from a total of US$265 billion in 1975 to US$9.4 trillion in 2002. Annual cross-border mergers and acquisition peaked to US$601 billion in 2001 compare to US$151 billion in the early 1990s."[90]

[89] Michael D. Intriligator, "Globalization of the World Economy: Potential Benefits and Costs and a Ned Assessment," *Center for Globalization and Policy Research, School of Public Policy and Social Research, UCLA*. Working Paper No. 2(2001). www.sppsr.ucla.edu. (accessed17/7/2010)

[90] Lincoln Chen, Sakiko Fukuda-Parr, Ellen Seidensticker,(ed.). *Opcit.*, pp. 1- 2.

Many developing countries adopted an open trade approach by reducing heavy taxes and tariffs. India had reduces its tariffs to 30% from an average of 82% in 1990, Brazil to 12% from 25% in 1991, and China reduced tariffs to 11% from 43% in 1992.[91]

The living standards have risen because of integration of economy around the world. The developing countries witnessed a positive change, as the economic development and rise in incomes has add-up in countries' overall prosperity. Growing GDP rate has increased the importance and influence of the developing nations, their share in the world trade is one-third of the whole. The change has come in last three to four decades.[92] The rapid increase in exports of home made production and services in developing countries have intensified their GDP growth. The manufactures good's share has risen to 80 percent in exports. Another very positive trend that benefited the growth rate is the increasing trade activities between developing countries, the significant share (up to 40 %) of their exports now circulated among them.[93]

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[91] Whalley John, *Developing Countries in the Global Economy: A Forward looking View*, background paper for Human Development Report 1999, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999. p. 23.

[92] "Global Trade Liberalization and the Developing Countries." http://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/ib/2001/110801.htm (accessed 2/8/10)

[93] *Ibid.*,

Reduction of trade barriers and privatization of formerly government owned enterprises (in 1992, almost 6800 enterprises were being privatized in 80 states)[94] have made economic integration possible. On one side, it enables the states to accelerate their growth rate but on other, it increases the risk of job insecurity, inequality both between and within states. Hence, economic liberalization cannot be seen with only one perspective.

3.II (b) Political Liberalization

Globalization process cannot be completed without reformation in political system. Political liberalization is an essential component of globalization. The main purpose of globalization is the building of a free and transparent society, open for securitization by the local and international community. The democratization of a state is prerequisite of political liberalization that means the devolution of political power to masses instead of specific privileged group of people through internationally accepted standards.[95] The disintegration of Soviet socialist system brought

[94] John Glenn. *Opcit.*, p. 21.
[95] Miaojie Yu, "Trade Globalization and Political Liberalization: A Gravity Approach," *Centre for Economic Research China* (2007): p. 2.
http://www.cenet.org.cn (accessesd 4/8/20106)

transformation in economic, political and social setups.[96] The interconnectivity of economy and political structure enforced the implementation of political liberalization along with economic reforms. Consequently, it is not feasible to distinguish the economic liberalization from other social influences, primarily political processes.

The removal of the Berlin Wall in 1989 had paved way for the growth and acceptance of new ideas globally. The interactive communication between the Eastern Europe and the newly emancipated Commonwealth of Independent States has increased as a result of less restricted borders. This trend was followed in China and Vietnam where 1.3 billion people become enable to interact with the outside world.[97] The process of political and social liberalization encircled the whole world in one or another manner. The ratio of adopting new democratic regime principles has increased in last two and half decades 81 countries have taken serious initiatives for the democratization of their state and society.[98] The last two decades of the twentieth century have seen the large-scale initiatives towards political liberalization taken by 70% of developing countries.[99]

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[96] See Marija Dzunic, "Political Liberalization and Economic Reforms-Mutual Effects," *Economics and Organization* Vol. 3, No 1(2006).
[97] Lincoln Chen, Sakiko Fukuda-Parr, Ellen Seidensticker, *Opcit.*, p. 3.
[98] See. Marija Dzunic, *Opcit.*
[99] Rudra Nara, "Globalization and the Strengthening of Democracy in the Developing world," *American Journal of Political Science.* No,2 (1994): pp. 704-730.

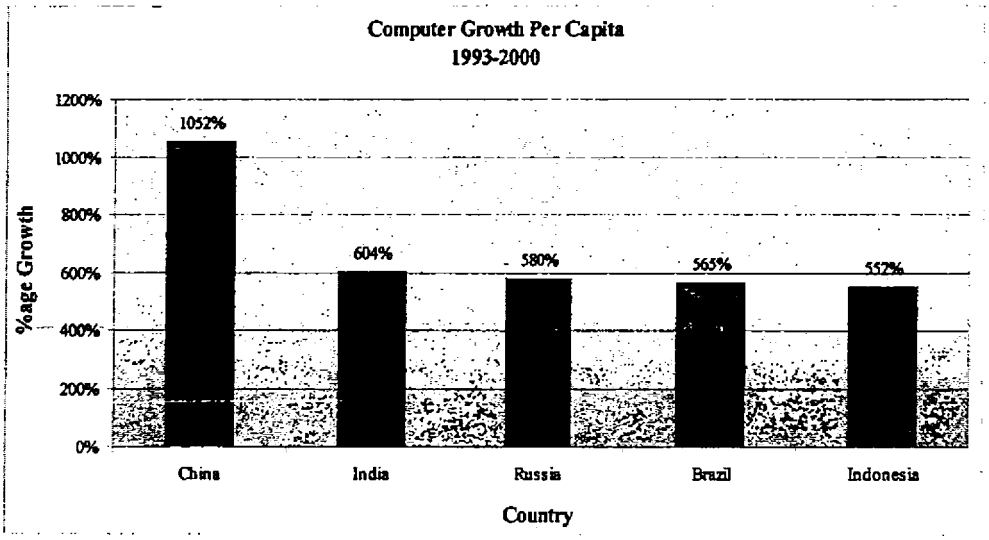
Prohibitions on political parties were removed, as the existence of representative political parties symbolizes democratic system. "There were 37000 registered international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in 2000, one-fifth more than in 1990. The biggest increases were in Eastern Europe and Asia. In the small state of Nepal, growth of registered NGOs reached to 1210 in 1993 from 220 in 1990 to. In Tunisia the NGO's sector also grew rapidly in 1988, there were 1886 registered NGO's but number increased to 5186 in 1991. India had one million non-governmental organizations in 1996. In 2005, the larger portion of the world could access a free or partly free mass communication sources. One hundred and twenty five states with 62% of the world population were able to access media. The masses' access to print media (broadly in terms of the daily newspapers) in developing countries has increased to 29 to 60 copies per 1000 people. In the same years, the number of television increased 16-fold."[100] The existence of free press and media symbolizes the political liberty and its acceptance among government and masses both. Non-state actors play an important role in keeping governance system transparent. The presence of civil society and free print and electronic media prevent governments from imposing any illegal restriction on people's movement and interaction. Political liberalization made global interaction of people, and production (goods and intellectual property both) possible.

[100] Lincoln Chen, Sakiko Fukuda-Parr, Ellen Seidensticker,(ed.). *Opcit.*, p. 3.

3.II (c) New Information and Communications Technology

Information Technology (IT) and modern sources of information and communication exhanges brought a real change in the world system. Modern technology's benefits make globalization more accessable and that's why it is considered a major force in the process of globalization.[101] Modern technnology of quick information and interaction facilitates the transaction of manufactures, creative ideas, and resources across the globe equally. Being an efficient and effective channel of information and services transformation, IT has been the main source for global integration. The new well equiped and advance computer technology has further facilitated the access of people to quick and reliable information, knowledge. The modern technology has increased the economic potential of the people and organization as well.[102]

[101] "Information Technology and Globalization" *Center for Strategic & International Studies* .http://www.globalenvision.org (accessed 04/8/2010)
[102] *Ibid.*

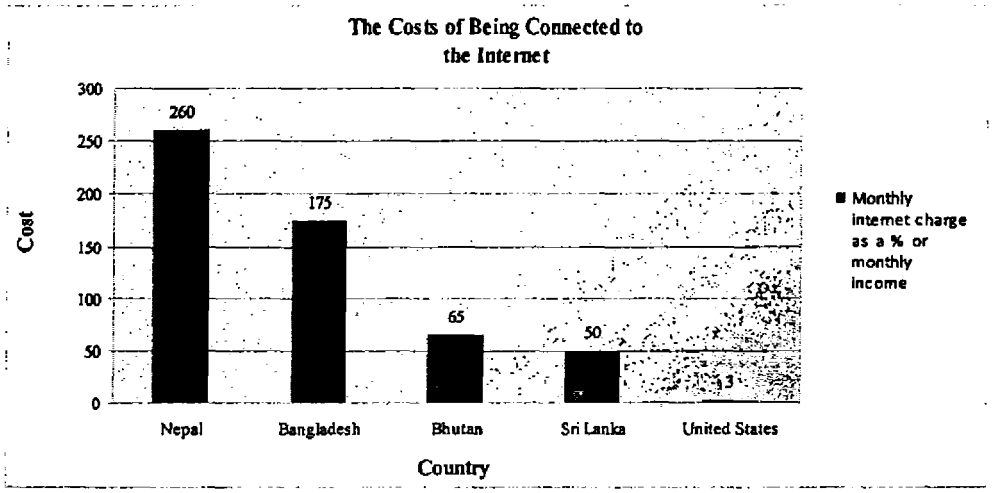


The invention of new electrical communication systems brought people very close (despite their disparate regions and identities), into fast growing global network of information, trade, finance, and culture. The digitization of a vast amount of knowledge (information) has made it transportable to locations across the boundaries of states. The convergence of communication sources with computer technologies that further leads to internet technologies has made it possible.[103]

The wide reach of radio FM transmissions, satellite based communication and global broadband networking has caused a major breakthrough in cross border communications. The availability of cheap personal computers and introduction of Netscape in 1994 and its free of cost access to everyone has

[103] Sawasti Mitter, "*Offshore Outsourcing of Information Technology Services*," http://www.globalenvision.org/library/ (accessed 4/8/2010)

made the technology generalized rather than a specialized used only by researchers and or for businesses.[104] The fast growing economies of BRIC countries and Southeast Asia have witnessed a sharp rise in the number of personal computers. During 1993-2000, the growth rate of computers in the reach of masses went to 500% for each of these nations. While over all in developing or under-developed world, users of computers and internet are increasing because of declining and affordable costs of technology.[105]



New information and communication technology has made global market integration in finance, investment, services and trade much easier. The long distance trade in very short time and extensive financial market integration would not be possible without new sources of communication. During 1960 and 1990, the airline-operating costs per mile were reduced to

[104] Lincoln Chen, Sakiko Fukuda-Parr, Ellen Seidensticker. (ed.). *Opcit.*, p. 3.
[105] "Information Technology and Globalization," *Center for Strategic & International Studies* ,http://www.globalenvision.org (accessed 04/8/2010)

half. According to the data compiled by UNDP (United Nations Development Program) in 2001, the transformation of information through a single cable in much more less time is possible than in 1997. The fax services in the 1980s, and the introduction of the email service in the 1990s, enhanced the easy flow of information by facilitating the communication in affordable costs. In 2001, emailing a 40 page document from a country to another cost less than 10 cents, faxing it about US$10, sending it by courier US$50."[106]

Table 18: Decline Cost of Transport and Communication

	Sea freight*	Air transport**	Trans-Atlantic phone calls***	Computers (1990=100
1930	60	0.68	245	-
1940	63	0.46	189	-
1950	34	0.30	53	-
1960	27	0.24	46	12,500
1970	27	0.16	32	1,947
1980	24	0.10	05	362
1990	29	0.11	03	100

*average ocean freight and port charges per ton

**average revenue per passenger mile

***3 minutes New York/London.

Source: Human Development Report 1999: "Globalization with a Human Face," table 1.3. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). Cited in D. Held, A. McGrew, D.Goldblatt and J.Perraton, "Globl Transformation: Politics, Economic and Culture" (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 170.

[106] Lincoln Chen, Sakiko Fukuda-Parr, Ellen Seidensticker. (ed.). *Opcit.*, p. 4.

The overall easy access to technology and in turn to information, contributed in acceptance of globalization in real sense. Nobody can imagine the integration of world business, trade, resources (intellectual and material both) and culture without having low cost and effective information technology and communication services.

3.III The Positive and Negative Implications of Globalization

> "We have seen the result (of globalization). The spread of sweatshops. The resurgence of child labor, prison and forced labor. Three hundred million more in extreme poverty than 10 years ago. Countries that have lost ground. A boom in busts in which a generation of progress is erased in a month of speculation. Workers everywhere trapped in a competitive race to the bottom." (AFL-CIO President John J. Sweeney at the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions Convention, April 4, 2000)[107]

"How to judge globalism: global links have spread knowledge and raised average living standards. But the present version of globalism needlessly harms the world's poorest."

Amartya Sen.[108]

There are two different views about the impact of globalization. Supporters of globalization believe that free trade and increasing foreign investment is helpful in boosting the economy of both developed and developing world. They claim that it provides opportunity of economic well

[107] http://www.aflcio.org/publ/speech2000/sp0404.htm, quoted in, Nancy Brune, Geoffrey Garrett, "The Globalization Rorschach Test: International Economic Integration, Inequality and the Role of Government," in *Annual Review of Political Science* vol. 8(2005).

[108] Amartya Sen, "How to Judge Globalism," *The American Prospect,* Vol.3, (Jan 1, 2002) : p.2 .

being and prosperity especially to developing nations. It brings transparency in governance and management in both governmental and private sector. Strict scrutiny of policies and execution process enhances civil liberties and leads to a more trustworthy distribution of resources.[109] The transportation of people and goods is now easier and consumes short time then earlier.

Interconnectivity and interdependence in economy and other related fields decreases the possibility of conflict among nations.[110] Globalization facilitates the free flow of information, knowledge, and ideas. Global reach of mass media is contributing in this sense a lot.

The increasing capital liquidity enables the developing world to take advantages of developed nations' experiences as now they are amongst the receivers of investment from rich North. The international corporations and institutions now have more flexibility and freedom to operate across borders and thus interaction between the individuals and corporation increases all over the world.[111]

Globalization brings so many benefits in economic, social, political and cultural spheres. It brings nations and people together. Where it involves benefits, it also has costs or potential problems that are being considered

[109] N. Joykumar Sing, (ed.). *Globalization and the Changing Scenario of Cultural Interaction* (New Delhi: Akanshs Publishing House, 2007), p. 3.
[110] Michael D. Intriligator, "Globalization of the World Economy: Potential Benefits and Costs and a Net Assessment," *Center for Globalization and Policy Research, School of Public Policy and Social Research*, UCLA. Working Paper No. 2(2001).
[111] John Glenn. *Opcit.*, p. 22.

great perils. Critics oppose the neo-liberal version of globalization. Skeptics believe globalization has added to difficulties of poor countries.

Its critics argue that globalization is in favour of rich industrial countries causing some detrimental effects on developing world. The competition posed by multinationals to developing countries and then selective opening of markets to international trade by industrialized countries is in their own favor. The tough competition of market economy further creates hurdles in the process of economic well being of developing or poor countries.[112]

The critics of globalization consider it a major factor in the gradual erosion of state sovereignty. Since globalization has started intruding into traditionally accepted state function, it is believed that global institutions and corporations are replacing state slowly and gradually.[113] The emergence of liberal global economic giants is the cause of serious concerns for the state as it losing its traditional role of controlling fiscal activities; states are losing its influence to the politically and economically more influential supranational institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank and NGO sector. State can use sovereignty only as a part of a spectrum of

[112] See Mikhail Beliaev, "Democracy and Globalization: Sources of Discontent, "*Department of Cultural Studies*, Sratov State University, Russia(2003).
[113] *Ibid.*

bargaining advantages.[114] In this process, developing countries are the real victims than developed world. Infact the poor economies are being compelled to compromise on their traditional sovereignty in order to meet the prerequisites of international standards of liberalization of trade, politics and culture.[115] The developed western market economies and their supported international organizations have opted to focus on program comprises of three main elements for global transportation of goods and services. These are the "stabilization of the macro economy, liberalization of prices, and the privatization of state-owned enterprise."[116] However, the "SLP" agenda could not contribute in positive manners in strengthening market institutions, balance growth of competitive institutions, and proper role for state in the maintenance of governance in new economy.[117]

The opponents of globalization see it as a tool to impose western dominance and a continuation of western imperialism. In this view, contemporary capitalism and liberal economic policies initiated by western countries have established rules of trade and business relations that do not

[114] Joshua S. Glodstein, *International Relations* (London: Pearson Education, 2004), p. 308.
[115] Syed Imran Sardar, "Indian Experience of Globalization: An Overview," Regional *Studies Quarterly Journal of IRS* Islamabad. Vol. xxvi, No. 3(2008): p. 87.
[116] See. Michael D. Intriligator. *Opcit.*, 3.
[117] Michael D. Intriligator. *Opcit.*, p. 5.

serve the interests of the poorer people in the world but only their own interest.[118]

Critics of globalization consider flows of foreign direct investment (FDI) from developed to developing countries in favour of western economies and of very few developing countries. It is a fact that there are clear benefits to developing countries of an increase in private capital inflows but there are possible costs as well to consider. "The magnitude of the recent surge of capital inflows has not been uniform across all developing-country regions. Indeed, five countries--China, Brazil, Mexico, Korea, and Thailand-alone have accounted for almost 55 percent of total inflows, and about a dozen countries accounted for nearly 80 percent of the total. The surge phenomenon has been particularly pronounced in Asia and Latin America (Table below). The other developing regions, namely Africa and the Middle East, have not benefited as much as Asia and Latin America from capital inflows. As a matter of fact, most developing countries are just beginning to be integrated with global financial markets and 140 of the 166 developing nations account for less than 5 percent of total flows during 1990-97 to the developing world."[119]

[118] See: Amartya Sen, *Opcit.*
[119] Mohsin S. Khan, "Capital Flows to Developing Countries: Blessing or Curse?" *The Pakistan Development Review* Part 1, Vol. 4 (Winter 1998): pp. 127-128.

Table 19: Developing Countries: Capital -lows'
(Annual Average, in Billions of U.S. Dollars)

	1977-83	1984-89	1990-97	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Developing Countries	40.1	44	150.2	148.1	131.5	163.3	145.7	183.7	205.5	172.9
Africa	10.9	8.7	12.2	8	8.8	9.3	18.6	18.9	11	17.3
Asia	13.3	20.8	63.3	42.8	31.5	64.3	69.3	96.9	111.5	56.3
Middle East and Europe	-1 1.0	6.4	22.4	68.4	37.2	25.7	14.4	10	14.9	14.8
Western Hemisphere	26.9	8	52.3	28.9	54	64	43.4	57.9	68.1	84.5

Source: International Monetary Fund, World Ecoaomic Outlook database. 'Net capital flows comprise net direct investment, net portfolio investment, and other long- and short-term net investment flows, including official and private borrowing.

It is observed that a common attribute of these capital flow reversals has been lack of confidence in domestic macroeconomic policies. Foreign direct investment can have adverse macroeconomic effects and strain the financial systems of the recipient countries. Furthermore, capital flows can reverse themselves, forcing recessions and severe financial distress.[120] The economic crisis of 1990s in Asia is a very clear example of risks related to flow of FDI in developing countries.

[120] Mohsin S. Khan. *Opcit.*, p. 145.

Globalization has contributed a lot to the progress of the world through shrinking the distances between the nations. New inventions in science and technology and their easy access around the world only could possible because of globalization. The remarkable growth of world trade communication means, spread of cultural influences, and everyone's reach to knowledge resources are some of the benefits of modern globalization. Freedom of interaction among nations in different spheres has contributed to the growth and progress of developing world. There are also some risks involved, state's hegemony is in danger, free flows of capital and interdependence some times brings trouble as well, crisis or disruption in one state hurts the whole world[121] but still the benefits of globalization are much more then its demerits. Now nations are interconnected in not only economic sphere but also laws and regulations and social movements have become international. Globalization has covered the politics, culture trends along with market economy.

3.IV Globalization in India

The economic reformation of 1990s in India by than Prime Minister Narasimha Rao and Dr. Manmohan Singh (then finance minister) almost

[121] "Liberalization: where it has lead us and where it is headed," http://india_resource.tripod.com/liber.html (accessed 2/08/2010)

altered the country's economic policy. The new economic reforms Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization (LPG model) were introduced to tackle the problems of economic deficit country facing that time. The series of reforms had been undertaken to make industrial sector, trade as well as financial sector more efficient. The centralized economy of India over the previous forty years replaced by globalized economy.[122]

The immediate reason of 1991's reformation process was a balance of payments crisis at that time India facing. Indian economy was facing svere crisis in July 1991, when foreign currency reserves were being melted down to $1 billion, inflation and fiscal deficit was very high and economic crisis reached to unmanageable stage; foreign and local investment came down to dead level.[123] To deal with the financial crisis the government accepted the International Monetary Fund (IMF) program along with major reform package. Dr Singh had no alternative but to seek an IMF stand-by loan.[124]

The reforms that started in 1990s have liberalized the economy from strict state monopoly. State monopoly over all sectors was being removed while private sector has witnessed a rapid growth in last two decades. India has opened its economy for the free flow of foreign direct investment by

[122] Charan D Wadhva, *Economic Reforms in India and the market Economy* (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1994), p. 67.
[123] Stephen P. Cohen, *India-Emerging Power* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 101-102.
[124] Arvind Panagariya, "*India's Economic Reforms*," http://www.adb.org (Accessed 2/8/2010)

facilitating multinationals' investment in the country. The country has brought the trade restrictions to the possible minimal level. In post reform era, Indian companies are going for joint ventures with foreign companies at home and abroad. Abolition of rigid import restrictions also added in the growth of import sector.[125]

The reformation in Indian economic policy marked a U-turn in the economic trends of the country. The debate that whether globalization and open market economy brought positive implications for Indian society or not is yet to be concluded. Globalization of Indian economy has brought overall positive impacts in terms of growth in gross domestic product (GDP), foreign trade, investment and services etc. IT (Information Technology) and software sectors' contribution in Indian economy make it equally important along with agriculture, retail sector and small-scale industry in the post reform era.[126] Indian economy has witnessed a remarkable transformation since the open market oriented strategy adopted under the 1991's reforms. India's GDP growth reached to 9 percent during 2005-06 that made India the world third largest economy.[127]

Such positive trends in economy as a result of liberalization, privatization and globalization of the system encouraged India to exploit

[125] Mira Kamdar, *Planet India* (London: Simon & Schuster UK Ltd, 2007), p. 43.
[126] Syed Imran Sardar. *Opcit.*, p. 84.
[127] Mira Kamdar. *Opcit.*, p. 43.

further the benefits of liberal open market at home and in international market. The gradual shift of service sector employment opportunities, from high-waged European economies and US to low-waged Asian nations as India or the Philippines, has made globalization beneficial for developing world.[128]

3.IV Major steps towards globalization of Indian economy

Indian government had taken some initiatives towards reformation strategy with lasting effects in 1990s they were:

3.IV (a) Devaluation

The major step taken towards liberalization was the devaluation of Indian rupee by eighteen to nineteen percent against the established currencies of the international foreign exchange market to deal with the balance of payment problem.[129]

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[128] Swasti Mitter, "*Offshore Outsourcing of Information Technology Services*," http://www.globalenvision.org/library/ (accessed 4/8/2010)
[129] Syed Imran Sardar, *Opcit.*, p. 90.

3.IV (b) Disinvestment

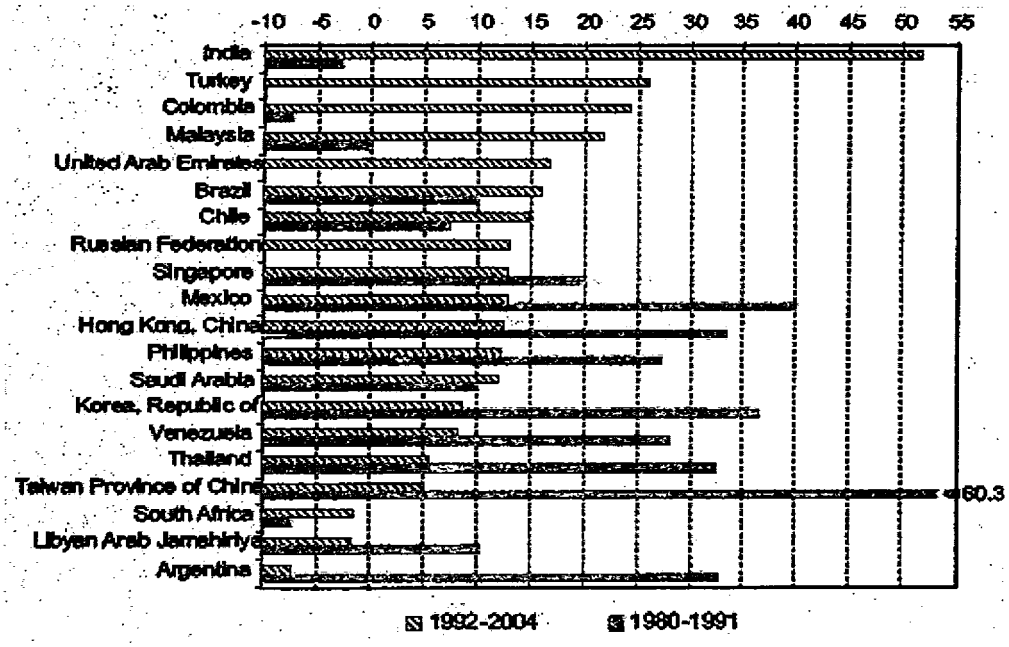
The government preferred to privatize the public sector enterprises for the sake of better adjustment with globalization process.[130]

Allowing Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)

FDI was allowed in a wide range of sectors such as Insurance (26%), defense industries (26%) development of integrated townships (upto 100%) tea plantation (upto 100% subject to divestment of 26% within five years to FDI) etc. "The Enhancement of FDI limits in private sector banking, allowing FDI up to 100% under the automatic route for most manufacturing activities in SEZs (Special Economic Zones); opening up B2B (Business to Business) e-commerce; Internet Service Providers (ISPs) without Gateways; electronic mail and voice mail to 100% foreign investment subject to 26% divestment condition; etc."[131]

[130] *Ibid.*
[131] See. Tanvir Malik, *Opcit.*

Annual average growth rates of outward FDI (%)[132]



3.VI (c) Non-Resident Indian Scheme

The Non-Resident Indian are equally facilitated to invest in the country along with foreigners by applying the policy existing for foreign direct investment to NRIs. Furthermore, to encourage investment in the country, some concession has been given to them in case of having more than 60% stake.[133]

3.IV (d) Dismantling of the Industrial Licensing Regime

There are only six industries in the state are under compulsory licensing and the purpose is to ensure the protection of environmental safety

[132] Vikram Kumar, "Aspects of Globalization," *presentation to VSL* London (July 3, 2007).
[133] Mira Kamdar, *Opcit.*, p. 43.

and maintaining check on strategically important areas. The government has amended the industrial licensing laws to encourage the investment of the new companies. The industrialists willing to invest have no need to take approval from the government for the establishment of new firms and factories in the areas out of the populated cities.[134]

The government policy of reservation of public sector is being removed as private entrepreneur are allowed to invest in public specific areas of investment. The outcome of this policy resulted in the almost total abolition of industrial reserved quota.[135] The removal of the Monopolistic and Restrictive Trade Practices (MRTP) act is another major initiative toward liberalization. This act deals with issues regarding the abolition of import restrictions and expansion of project on Indian soil. The customs tariff has being reduced to 30 per cent from 300 percent.□[136]

The reforms in the banking sector, capital markets, and insurance sectors, including the removal of government's control of fixing interest rates, government scrutiny, and the introduction multinationals sector

[134] See "*Indusrial Policy, Objectives and Industrial Climate*," http://www.economywatch.com/node/6098/ (accessed 28/8/2010)
[135] see "*The Impact of Globalization on Developing Countries*": http://www.eurojournals.com/IRJFE%25206%2520goyal.pdf (accessed 28/8/2010)
[136] *Ibid.*

competition were some of the initiative the Indian government has been taken since 1991.[137]

3.V The Bright Side of Globalization

Since the adoption of global market economy in 1991, Indian economy is witnessing continuous progress in different sectors. The structural changes have made it more sustainable and mature economy. India has secured recognition of emerging global economic power.

The annual growth rate of India had speeded up from just 1.25 per cent in 1970s to 5.6 percent during 1980-90. It has further increased to seven per cent for the years 1993-2001. The stable democratic system and continuation of policies contributed in the smooth growth of economy. The annual growth rate of the GDP is being risen up to an impressive pace and it has facilitates Indian government to expand its investment further. "The GDP per capita income was at 7.5 per cent (2003-04), 8.5 per cent (2004-05), nine per cent (2005-06) and 9.2 per cent (2006-07). In the year 2006, the country earned 24 percent from import-export benefit in the GDP. Arrival of foreign direct investment (FDI) in the country is 2 percent of GDP from less than 0.1 percent in 1990, the outflows of foreign direct investment also accelerating significantly at the end of 2006."[138] The sectors contributing in FDI inflows are electronics and IT related products (18 per cent), service sector (13 per

[137]See. "*The Impact of Globalization on Developing Countries*". *Opcit.*
[138] See. Charan D Wadhva. *Opcit.*

cent), telecommunications (10 per cent), transportation industry (nine per cent), etc. In the inflow of FDI, India constitutes the fourth largest recipient in the world. [139]

The foreign exchange reserves were US$ 180 billion in February 2007. It is expected that, India will cross the $ 200 billion mark by the end of 2008 and it would achieve $ 2 trillion mark by 2011-12.[140]

India 's share in outsourcing market is 45 per cent which generate an income of $ 50 billion. The proportion of jobs outsourced from Europe and the United States to the developing countries in different fields (finance, technology, life sciences, human-resourced administration, and business management) is expected to increase from less than 5 percent to 30 percent.

India is the biggest beneficiary of jobs outsourcing across the world and specially from US.[141]

The significant numbers of Indian companies are competing with multinationals for global leadership. Tata Indicom, Infosys, Wipro, Mittal Steel, Bharat Forge, Suzlon, Reliance, Ranbaxy, and Biocon are some of the Indian companies having global reach and posing challenges for multinationals. Pharmaceuticals, software and IT related services have been

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[139]See Era, Sezhiyan, "Global for the Rich-Zero for the Poor: Globalization of the Indian Economy," *The Mainstream Weekly*, New Delhi. Vol, XLV No. 20. (May 5, 2007)

[140]*See The Indian Express*, "Indian eco moving towards $2 trillion mark," www,indianexpress.com (accessed 2/8/2010).

[141] Ron Hira, Anil Hira. *Outsourcing America: What's Behind Our National Crisis and How We Can Reclaim American Jobs* (New York: AMACOM Books, 2005), pp. 44-48.

the main drivers of Indian FDI abroad. India has built a cyber city in Bangalore on the model of US Silicon Valley. India has more than 250,000 software employees, it constitute 30 percent of the total global IT workforce.[142]

The Indian technological revolution has brought change in employment sector as well. Earlier the job candidate needed a reference of family background and status in the society. However, it is changed somewhat, now it is possible to be hired and to succeed purely on merit. The large portion of employment is the outcome of offshoring of foreign businesses. IT sector has contributed in country's GDP up to 8-10 percent.[143]

The high growth rate resulted in the growth of rich class of the country. The Forbes list for 2007 reported an increase in number of billionaires of India to 40 from previous year. India has more billionaires than many other developed and industrialized economies of the world.[144] The year 2007 witnessed a sharp increase in the wealth of the Indian billionaires up to 60 per cent from $ 106 billion in 2006 to $ 170 billion in 2007. These

[142] Syed Imran Sardar. *Opcit.*, p. 94.
[143] Mira Kamdar. *Opcit.*, p. 43.
[144] See Forbes List of World Billionares 2007. http://www.forbes.com/2007/03/07/billionaires-worlds richest_07billionaires_cz_lk_af_0308billie_land.html. (accessed 20/8/2010)

Indian billionaires' assets worth about Rs. 7.50 lakh crores is more than Central Government of India' assets Rs. 3.93 lakh crores only.[145]

It is believed that high growth rate through out the last fifteen years has been increased the average income of masses. The rising incomes have helped to decrease the poverty rate of the state. "The official figures show that poverty in total population has declined from 40 percent in 1993-1994 to 26 percent in 2000."[146]

Briefly, the above analysis shows that the introduction of reforms in Indian economy in 1991 by adopting outward-oriented strategy has enabled India to bring economic growth and stability at home. Economic resurgence as a result of globalization of Indian economy and society has created new opportunities for the people of India in social and economic spheres. They have more chances to improve their life standards by participating in an open market economy by utilizing their skills and expertise where cast, creed and social differences are no more hurdles in progress as multinational companies and private entrepreneurship is free of communal politics or misuse of identity.

[145] See Globalization: Challenges and Opportunities-Legal Service India. http://www.legalserviceindia.com/article/l280-Globalization-challenges-and-opportunities.html. (Accessed 10/6/2010)

[146] See India's Economic Reforms: What Has Been Achieved http://www.columbia.edu/~ap2231/Policy%2520Papers/OPB2.pdf. (Accessed 20/6/2010)

3.VI Areas of Poor Performance

The conventional believe is that globalization and free market economy spread out opportunities and is good for rich and poor alike on the other hand, there is plenty of evidence to the contrary. The economic reforms have caused some negative impact on the society as well. Economic resurgence on one side has boosted the urban economy but on the other side, the population residing in the rural sectors is being ignored in new urban centered economy.

The majority of Indian population living in villages is being depended on agriculture related sources of economy for earning their bread and butter. The products of agriculture contributes in the overall GDP of the country by providing the raw material to industry which provide useful manufactures good for exports.[147]

The state refusal to backing agriculture sector has made banks less sensitive to farmers' issues and liabilities; as a result, the poor farmer cannot take loan for the cultivation of lands from banks. Now they are being left with only option of getting loans from moneylenders on high percentage of

[147] India at 50: *Facts, Figures, and Analysis, 1947-1997* (Chennai: Express Publications, Madurai Ltd, 1997), p. 76 and Census 2001, in Syed Imran Sardar. *Opcit.*, p. 23.

interest rates. It is adding in the burden of poor farmers.[148] The farmer is losing incentive because of availability of cheap imported food items and other products in market as a result of soft import regime. This resulted in decreasing productive activities of farmers.[149]

Table 20: Population of main workers engaged in agriculture (In %)

Category	1971	1981	1991	2001
Cultivation	42.56	35.86	31.44	22.6
Agriculture	20.11	22.16	23.82	16.3
Total	62.67	58.02	55.26	38.90

Source: Human Development Report (Punjab), (2004c:46), Census of India, 2001.

Most of the suicides by farmers in Maharashtra and Kerala were the result of decreasing prizes of cotton and paddy in market due to the removal of import restrictions. Kerala's pepper producing farmers are facing the same dilemma. The drought in Monsoon rains dependents areas resulted in crop failure that further forced the farmers to go for debt.[150] The note worthy impact of the crisis is sharp visible decrease in the agricultural sector growth that in turn has been lowered the share of profit in GDP. The ignorance of agriculture sector in post 1990s period resulted in the deficit both in terms of

[148] Pallavi Chavan. "Access to Bank Credit". *Economic and Political Weekly*, Mumbai, Vol XLLII, No. 31, (August 4-10, 2007).
[149] Sitaram Yeehury, " Globalization: Impact on Indian Economy", (http://www.cpim.org/misc/2000_globalization_sry.htm).
[150] Report of the Expert Group on Agricultural Indebtedness, Ministry of Finance, Government of India (2007): p, 26.

gross domestic product and in terms of output compared to pre reformation time.[151]

Table 21: Growth of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), Sectoral GDP and Per Capita Income (1999-2000 Prices)

Year	Agriculture	Industry	Services	GDP at factor cost	Per capita NNP at factor cost
1980-81 to 1990-91	3.08	5.79	6.54	5.15	2.82
1992-93 to 2002-03	2.61	5.82	7.65	5.85	3.89
1992-93 to 2005-06	2.57	6.05	7.72	6.00	4.10
1950-51 to 2005-06	2.54	5.19	5.40	4.26	1.94

Note: Growth is Compound Annual Growth Rate, NNP denotes Net National Product.
Source: CSO, National Accounts Statistics, Various Years, mentions in Report of the Expert Group on Agricultural Indebtedness, Ministry of Finance, Government of India, 2007. P, 23.
Source: Syed Imran Sardar, "Indian Experience of Globalization: An Overview," Regional *Studies Quarterly Journal of IRS* Islamabad. Vol. xxvi, No. 3, 2008, 87.

Another very alarming dimension of the agriculture crisis is the rising rate of unemployment in the country. According to finance ministry of government of India's report on Agricultural Indebtedness (July 2007), "the employment ratio has been decreased to 1.74 per cent during 1983 to 1993-94 to 1.08 per cent during 1993-94 to 2004-05. Consequently, the incorporation of labour from agriculture into other activities has taken place. The growth rate of agricultural–employment during 1991 to 2005 has

[151] *Ibid.*

declined from 1.41 per cent to only 0.63 per cent indicating a sharp deceleration in growth of employment in agriculture in the post-reform period. Another very disturbing factor of concern for workers is that employment in non-agricultural occupations too did not increase sufficiently during this time.[152] The abrupt increase in labour force has caused a sharp increase in unemployment during 1993-94 to 2004-05. The National Sample Survey (NSS) depicts the 3.98 million unemployed in India in 1973-74 and it had increased to 7.49 million by 1993-94 and to 13.6 million by 2004-05. Unemployment in the country (defined as the ratio of unemployed persons to the labour force) has increased from 1.64 per cent in 1973-74 to 1.96 per cent in 1993-94 and to 2.39 per cent in 2004-05.[153]

The introductory paragraph of the Report of the Task Force on Employment Opportunities (Planning Commission, 2001), commissioned by the Government of India clearly indicates the scarcity of situation:

> The need to ensure adequate growth in employment opportunities to provide productive employment for the continuing increase in the labour force is widely regarded as one of the most important problems facing the country. There is widespread concern that the acceleration in GDP growth in the post-reform period has not been accompanied by a commensurate expansion in employment. Public sector employment is expected to fall as the public sector withdraws

[152] Report of the Expert Group on Agricultural Indebtedness, Ministry of Finance, Government of India(2007): p, 29. http://www.igidr.ac.in/pdf/publication/PP-059.pdf (accessed on 25/7/2010)

[153] *Ibid.*

> from many areas. There are fears that the processes of internal liberalization and globalization, inevitable though they may be, are creating an environment, which is not conducive to expanding employment in the organized private sector. Existing industrial units are shedding excess labour in order to remain competitive, and new technology, which is essential to ensure competitiveness, is typically more automated and therefore not job-creating. The net result of these forces, it is feared, could be a very slow expansion in employment opportunities in the organized sector, with a rise in unemployment rates and growing frustration among the youth. The problem is perceived to be especially severe for educated youth, who have high expectations about the quality of employment opportunities that should come their way (para.1.1).[154]

The poverty ratio in rural areas among the owners of a small piece of land or landless families was being increased from 35 per cent in 1987 to 45 percent in 1999.[155] Landlessness among rural part of the country further increased to 55 per cent in 2005. The devastating situation contributed in the increasing number of suicide rate among farmers. The failure to return the debt taken from moneylenders had taken the lives of 1,00,000 farmers (by attempting suicides) during the period 1993-2003.[156] The National Sample

[154]Quoted in Sonia Bhalotra. The Impact of Economic Liberalization on Employment and Wages in India. paper submitted to International Policy Group, International Labour Office, Geneva (31 Jan 2002).(http://www.efm.bris.ac.uk/ecsrb/papers/indialib.pdf)

[155]See Era Sezhiyan. Globe for the Rich -Zero for the Poor: Globalization of Indian Economy. http://www.mainstreamweekly.net/article19.html (Accessed on 20/7/2010)

[156] Ibid.

Survey for the year 2004-05 did not predict any change in the poverty pattern in rural sector near future.[157]

Small-scale industry (SSI) and corporations are also facing the same crisis. A large number of small producers and workers facing challenges in post reforms India. Before the liberalization, small industries were protected by reservation. The small-scale industries were used to produce most of the consumer goods as the government provided the special protections, principally favourable to small industries. It was compulsion for the large entrepreneurs to follow labour laws strictly and the benefits went to employees. The private sector was operating under restriction and there were no reservations for them. The competition of small industries with prosperous foreigner and local industries has made the survival of small-scale difficult. The revenue output of domestic small enterprises was reduced to eight percent in 2001, as compared to eleven percent in the 1990s.[158]

[157] Usta Patnaik, "Neoliberalism and Rural Poverty in India." New Delhi, *Economic and Political Weekly*, (28 July 2007).

[158] See Diana Hochraich, "Indian Reforms in manufacturing and Financial Sectors: Winners and Losers". economix.u-paris10.fr/pdf/colloques/2006_india/Hochraich2.pdf. (Accessed on 20/7/2010)

Table 22: The working number of units in small scale sector in pre and post globalization period in India[159]

(Unit= Million Nos.)

Year	Units	% increase from previous year	Year	Units	% increase from previous year
1973-1974	0.42	--	1990-91	6.79	273.08
1974-75	0.50	19.5	1991-92	7.06	3.98
1975-76	0.55	10.00	1992-93	7.35	4.11
1976-77	0.59	7.27	1993-94	7.65	4.08
1977-78	0.67	13.56	1994-95	7.96	4.05
1978-79	0.73	8.96	1995-96	8.28	4.02
1979-80	0.81	10.96	1996-97	8.62	4.11
1980-81	0.87	7.41	1997-98	8.97	4.06
1981-82	0.96	10.34	1998-99	9.34	4.12
1982-83	1.6	10.42	1999-2000	9.72	4.07
1983-84	1.16	9.43	2000-01	10.11	4.01
1984-85	1.24	6.90	2001-02	10.52	4.06
1985-86	1.35	8.87	2002-03	10.95	4.09
1986-87	1.46	8.15	2003-04	11.40	4.11
1987-88	1.58	8.22	2004-05	11.86	4.04
1988-1989	1.71	8.23	2005-06	12.34	4.05
1989-90	1.82	6.43	2006-07	12.84	4.05
AAGR	9.36		AAGR		

AAGR: Annual Average Growth Rate or Exponential Growth Rate.
Source: Ministry of Macro, Small and Medium Enterprises, GOI.

The above-mentioned table elaborates that the annual average growth rate of number of units in the pre-reformation period, from 1973-74 to 1989-

[159] Sonia, Dr. Rajeev Kansal. Globalization and its Impact on Small Scale Industries in India, PCMA *Journal of Business*, Punjab, India. Vol. 1, No. 2 (June, 2009): p. 141

90 was 9.36 percent and in post-reformation, it was decreased to 4.07 percent. In pre-reformation period, the yearly growth rate was higher than average growth rate in the initial years and from 1984-85 to 1989-90; the annual growth rate was less than average growth rate. In 1989-90, the yearly growth rate was least in the pre-reformation period. In the post –reformation period, 1990-91 it was very high and after it was remained between 3.98 percent and 4.12 percent. Most of the time the annual growth rate was less than average growth rate. In 1999-00 the annual growth rate and average growth rate was similar. In this time, large scale of units emerged but the average and yearly growth rate was higher in pre-liberalized period than post liberalized period.

Globalization and the pressure of competition with multinationals have also posed a threat to the worker's jobs, as they are not secure any more. During 1990s, 10 percent of the firms could not survive and employment was fallen to one percent a year.[160] The shortage of workers, forced the workers to work overtime to make both ends meet. However, despite the tough duty hours the workers are sometimes denied their fair share of benefits, which is brought about by globalization.

[160] See Nagaraj, " Foreign Direct Investment in India in the 1990s: Trends and Issues", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol 38, No 17 (26 April 2003).

Table 23: Small-scale sector on the growth of employees.

(Employment=Million Nos.)

Year	Employment	% increase to previous year	Year	Employment	% increase to previous year
1973-1974	3.97	--	1990-91	15.83	32.36
1974-75	4.04	1.76	1991-92	16.60	4.86
1975-76	4.59	13.61	1992-93	17.48	5.30
1976-77	4.98	8.50	1993-94	18.26	4.46
1977-78	5.40	8.43	1994-95	19.14	4.82
1978-79	6.38	18.15	1995-96	19.89	3.40
1979-80	6.70	5.02	1996-97	20.59	4.04
1980-81	7.10	5.97	1997-98	21.32	3.55
1981-82	7.50	5.63	1998-99	22.06	3.47
1982-83	7.90	5.33	1999-2000	22.91	3.85
1983-84	8.42	6.58	2000-01	24.09	5.15
1984-85	9.00	6.89	2001-02	25.23	4.73
1985-86	9.60	5.67	2002-03	26.37	4.52
1986-87	10.14	5.63	2003-04	27.53	4.40
1987-88	10.70	5.52	2004-05	28.76	4.47
1988-1989	11.30	5.61	2005-06	29.99	4.28
1989-90	11.96	5.84	2006-07	31.25	4.20
AAGR	7.25		AAGR	4.26	

Source: Ministry of Macro, Small and Medium Enterprises, GOI
AAGR: Annual Average Growth Rate or Exponential Growth Rate

The table clearly shows the decline in employment in 2001 to 2007, the annual growth rate is decreasing. Most of the time yearly growth rate was

less than average growth rate. The growth rate was higher in pre-reformation period than post-reformation period.

The retail sector is also facing the same kind of problems in India. Nearly 30 million people are involved in retail trade, (hawkers, traders, farmers, consumers, transporters and workers).[161] The growth of large foreign and local firms is creating problem in the growth of small retail sectors and in turn for its employees. The poor low wage worker is the prime victim of this trend.

India has achieved tremendous growth following the adoption of market-oriented reforms by elimination of trade and social barriers. The international outsourcing has brought new opportunities for the country. However, it is important to note that the population living in countryside is the victim of negligence on the behalf of government. Post reform development and higher growth rate's benefits were not being trickled down to them. India needs to address the problems faced by farmers in globalizing India. The majority population of the country is living in rural areas, depended on agriculture and small-scale industry but country's focus is on urban centered foreign investment, carried by large-scale multinational and indigenous firms. The expanding large-scale industries and industrialists are

[161] See Syed Imran Sardar, *Opcit.*

receiving the benefits of globalization so far but the process will remain incomplete unless the common man of India will be at the receiving end of the benefits of the liberalization, privatization and globalization.

CHAPTER 4: The Impact of Communal Violence on Muslims

(Intensification of Anti-Muslim Violence and Increasing Vulnerability of Muslim Community in Post Reform Era)

4. I An Overview

Since its partition in 1947, India has experienced an alarming rise in Hindu-Muslim violence across the country. The communal violence has some very disastrous effects for Indian society generally and specifically for Muslim community. It is a common believe among various Muslim leaders and scholars that the low education standard and poor economic condition of Muslim community is attributed to the fear of communal violence.

According to one study, communal riots occur almost five times every week. The main victims remain the Muslims who lose their life, property and honour.[162]

[162] Shahzana Mallick. *Opcit.*, p. 83.

Table 24: Incidence and Causalities in Communal Violence 1961-1990

Year	Total No. of Riots	Causality	Total Injured
1961	92	108	593
1962	60	43	348
1963	61	26	489
1964	1070	1919	2053
1965	173	34	758
1966	144	45	467
1967	198	251	880
1968	346	133	1309
1969	519	673	2702
1970	521	298	1607
1971	321	103	1263
1972	240	69	1056
1973	242	72	1318
1974	248	87	1123
1975	205	33	890
1976	169	39	794
1977	188	36	1122
1978	230	110	1853
1979	304	261	2379
1980	421	372	2691
1981	319	196	2613
1982	470	238	3025
1983	404	202	3478
1984	476	445	4836
1985	525	328	3665
1986	--	164	--
1987	--	198	--
1988	--	59	--
1989	--	573	--
1990	--	850	--

Source: Raising the Stakes. "Communalism and Worldly Pursuits" in *Frontline*, Madaris, Oct. 26, Nov. 8, 1991, p. 123.

In October 1961, communal riots broke out in Aligarh where Aligarh Muslim University (AMU) is the symbol of Muslim communalism for Hindu community and lock industry is the major source of income for Muslim community.[163] Aligarh remained the target of communal tensions during 1971 to 1981.. communal tensions encircled almost the whole country for next decades; in 1962 Jabalpur(Madhya Pradesh) was hit by communal tensions. In 1964 Bhivandi (Maharashtra), in 1967, Ranchi (Bihar), in 1969, Ahmedabad (Gujarat), in 1970, Bhiwandi, Jalgaon, Malad (Maharashtra) 1978-1980: Jamshedpur (Bihar), Varanasi (UP), in 1980, Moradabad (UP), in 1981, Meenakshipuram, Biharsharif, in 1982, Meerut(UP), in 1983 riots of Nellie (Assam) claimed the life of more then three thousand innocent people. The Nellie riot was the one of the worst riots in the country. In 1983, Bhatkal (Karnataka), in April 1986, Newada (Bihar), in 1987, Meerut(UP) in 1989: Bhagalpur(Bihar) had witnessed the communal riots. The Muslim community was the major victim of all these riots. According to a government of India's estimate, the 80 percent victims of the riots were Muslims.[164]

[163] Asghar Ali Engineer. "Aligarh Riots: Unplanned Outburst." *Economic and Political Weekly*. Vol. 30, No. 13 (Apr. 1, 1995): p. 665.
[164] See http://www.indianmuslims.info/statistics/riots.html

4.II Causes of Conflict

There are several reasons involved in communal riots erupted at a particular place and time and their subsequent spread to other places. The eruption of apparently localized conflicts, generally have many underlie factors. The combination of historical, religious, social, economic and political grudges generally provided the reasons of communal violence.[165]

4.II (a) Communal Misperceptions

The ideology of Hinduization of Indian society played a significant role in post independence communal violence in India. The majority community's perception that only Hindus can live in India and other communities either are of foreign origins or converted to other religions during foreign rule over the country hence they should return to Hinduism or leave the country, ignites distress and anger among other communities. The exclusion of minority communities from mainstream life by tagging them the "Others" provided opportunity to extremist Hindu out fits and politicians to make use of it for their own benefits. Christophe Jaffrelot observes that communal riots in India are the outcome of infamous ideology of "the

[165] S.K. Ghosh, *Communal Riots in India* (New Delhi: Ashish Publishing House, 1987), p. 27.

Other." The Hindu majority does not trust Muslims as loyal citizens. Infact they consider them a threat to Indian society.[166]

The communal forces have been using the communal philosophy as a very effective tool to propagate hatred among masses to provoke them against minority communities, especially Muslims. The image of Muslims portrayed by the Hindu extremist outfits as occupiers and aggressors ignite the majority community against them. The use of print and electronic media to create communal tensions for the sake of personal or group interest leads to violent clashes among rival communities. Justice Madon Commission (formed to investigate the causes and impacts of riots in Jalgaon, Bhiwandi and some other places of Maharashtra in 1970) has identified some of the causes of communal hatred that further leads to communal riots.[167]

- The myth that during the 700 years rule of Muslims in India, people were converted to Islam by force, Hindu worship places were destroyed and converted into Mosques.
- Image of the Indian Muslim as an alien, outsider, with extra-territorial loyalty to Pakistan, hence incapable of belonging to the state as a patriotic citizen.
- Muslim community is being considered sole responsible for the partition of mother India and large-scale killings.
- The Charge that a Muslim has publicly slaughtered a cow, violated the honour of a Hindu temple or the idol of a Hindu god.

[166]See Christophe Jaffrelot, "Communal Riots in Gujarat: The State At the Risk?" *South Asian Institute*, University of Heidelberg, working paper no.17 (July 2003).

[167] Extracts from Justice P.D. Madon Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Communal Riots in Maharashtra in 1970, quoted in, "Source-Springs of Communalism, Communal Tensions & Communal Violence," *Muslim India* (New Delhi, November 1983): pp. 496-97.

- The charge that a Muslim has kidnapped a Hindu girl or outraged her modesty.
- Advocating to sending away of all Muslims to Pakistan forcefully (Hindu extremist often raised the slogan Pakistan jao, ya Qabristan jao (go to Pakistan or then to graveyard).
- Hindu extremists' claim that India belongs to Hindus only, hence only they deserve to rule and Muslims should not have any protection from government or security agencies against the oppression by the Hindus.
- The appeasement of Muslim by the Congress government.
- Provoking Hindus to stand up to fight the Muslim menace with unity.
- Blaming Muslims for raising pro-Pakistan slogans.
- Outcry of the existence of Muslim militancy.
- The charge that the Hindu majority wants to eliminate and destroy the Muslim community and its religion, language and cultural heritage.
- Muslim minority will not be protected against the atrocities of Hindu majority as government and administration is in under their control.
- Muslim minority is being discriminated against in government and public jobs and cannot get justice.
- Muslim should unite and fight the Hindus in self-defense as government and the police will not protect them.

These myths and suppositions are commonly used to make people of both communities insecure, threatened from each other, and finally resulted into a communal clash that can accelerate to communal riot. The use of print and electronic media to propagate the communal hatred by producing dramas, tele-plays, theatre and movies on television, radio and cinema is very effective in Indian society where people are very sensitive about their

cultural heritage and history.[168] The printing and distribution of literature on communally sensitive issues; religion, history, culture etc play a vital role in making a hostile environment between the rival communities.[169]

The educational institutes are also not free of communal prejudices against minorities. The increasing influence of communal forces in the education system of the country is a source of serious concern among the Muslim minority and tolerant Hindus. The Hindu extremist groups as RSS (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh) are working in very organized and disciplinary manners on changing the school level curriculum by adding up sectarian, anti minorities and fundamentalist curricula. The communal teaching provided at school level education converts into political and social hatred in advance stages.[170] The RSS is running almost three thousand institutions across India, contributing a significant share in spreading communal hatred in the society.[171] The RSS' attempt to rewrite the history by correcting the existing history of India is another worrisome and alarming situation for minorities as well as secularists. Such attempts aimed at elimination of other cultural identities' contribution in Indian history and

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[168] Sohail Mahmood, " Hindu Extremism, Indian Muslims and the Issue of Human Rights", in the *journal of Institute of Regional Studies*, Islamabad. Vol. XX, No. 4, (Autumn 2002): p. 68.

[169] K.N. Panikkar. (ed.). *Communalism in India: History, Politics and Culture* (New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1991), p. 13.

[170] Angana, Chatterji. Learning in Saffron: RSS Schools in Orissa. http://dissidentvoice.org/Articles9/Chatterji_RSS-Orissa.htm (Accessed on 4/9/2010)

[171] Krishna Kumar. *Hindu Revivalism and Education in North Central India.* Cited in K.N. Panikkar , Opcit., p. 191.

exclusion of their historical part in the upbringing of Indian civilization would leave an adverse impact on Indian plural society. It will alienate the minorities from the existing composite culture of the country infact Indian culture or Indian identity is nothing if the history of Muslim Hindustan being excluded from the history of India. The presentation of distorted picture of ancient history by portraying the Muslim monarchs' oppressors, cruel and unjust in their dealing with non-Muslim subjects especially with Hindus has built up an atmosphere of hate and anger among Hindu majority against Muslim minority. The humiliation of Muslim heroes in literature, print and electronic media and appreciation of Hindu saints and warriors (like Shiva je) is a major source of building communal consciousness among the communities. Such propaganda by extremist Hindu organizations caused the demolition of the tomb of Afzal Khan (Muslim general in Mughal period who fought many wars with Shiva je and finally Shiva je assassinated him through a conspiracy) and historic Babri Mosque.

The reports of different commissions formed by different governments to investigate the causes and effects of riots taken place in different localities time to time, shows that the Hindu extremist organization were involved in the planning and execution of communal riots. The role of Jana Sangh and the other groups working under the banner of Hindu Mahasabha (a religious and cultural society) in Ahmedabad and some other

districts of Gujarat, in provoking the emotional crowed and then taking part in rioting, was pointed out in Justice Jagmohan Reddy commission report.[172] The role of RSS, VHP, Bajrang Dal and Shiv Sena in inciting the Tellichary riots, Jamshedpur riots, Mumbai riots and Hyderabad communal riots was highlighted in different commissions.[173] Unfortunately, no government could ever bring the perpetrators and instigators to justice despite of having all proves against the culprits collected by judicial and other commissions. These commissions provided the complete analysis of causes of riots and even identified the names of perpetrators of communal clashes and gave recommendations to control the menace of extremism in the society.[174]

4.II (b) Political Causes:

The Muslim minority of India is a marginalized group in the country's politics. The largest minority of the country is deprived of its legal and constitutional rights in the society. Their demands; to preserve Urdu language by giving it a proper status, protection of Muslim personal law and minority status for the Aligarh Muslim university are considered a betrayal to the Indian nation. Announcement of reserved quota in jobs and incentives to participate in political mainstream have never been implemented in practice. The prevailing stereotyped images of one another and antagonistic history of

[172] Moin Shakir, *Islam in Indian Politics* (New Delhi: Ajanta Publications, 1983), p. 50.
[173] *Ibid.*, pp. 49-51.
[174] Sunita Gangwal, *Minorities in India: A Study in Communal Process and Individual Rights*, Jaipur: Arihant Publications, 1995. p. 204.

both communities has given rise to political misunderstanding, which resulted in clashes that turn into communal violence at large scale.

The low socio-political and socio-economic profile of the majority of Muslim community enhances the feeling of dealighnment. When they feel that in a Hindu state they cannot go ahead with their religious believes and if they will try to follow the religious code then majority population would tagged them as fundamentalist, anti social and anti Indian, then they get frustrated. The sectarian and opportunistic political leadership of both communities takes benefit of the situation by exploiting the antagonistic sentiments of the people, to secure their own interests.[175] In addition, the Hindu nationalist political parties, instead of building the bridge by eliminating the misperception, often use it as a mean to achieve their political goals. The outbreak of violence prior to election provides them with an issue to exploit the sentiments of people to secure their vote bank. The opportunistic behaviour of nationalist parties creates havoc and provokes majority community against the Muslims. The use of religious sentiments for political interests by provoking violent riots in pre election period is a common practice in India since independence.[176]

[175] Iqbal A. Ansari. *Opcit.*, pp. 176-182.
[176] Paul R. Brass. "The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India" (Accessed www.nyu.edu/gsas/dept/politics/faculty/chandra/Brass2006.pdf 20/8/2010)

The formation of Jansangh in 1951, which transformed into BJP in 1980, had changed the political scenario of the country. A widely heterogeneous society, divided on religious and caste lines provided the strong basis to a communal party, which is an extension of extremist Hindu outfit RSS, to secure its political interests. RSS, VHP, and BJP used religion to secure vote bank of lower class Hindus. Exploitation of Hindu majority's religious sentiments by using religious rhetoric developed a strong basis for communal hatred between the two communities.[177]

These political parties (with communal agenda) have used the issue of Ram Mandir very tactically as it helps provoking the religious sentiments of middle class Hindus as well. These parties portray the Muslims as an aggressor community whose' ancestors occupied India and destroyed the religious symbols and worship places of local Hindu population. The movement of reconstruction of the Ramjanambhoomi on the place of historic Babri mosque site further polarized the society. The bearer of Hindutva ideology won the election but pushed the country into the series of worst communal riots in the country after independence.[178] The vote bank politics of congress, BJP and their allied political parties severely damaged Muslim population's interests.

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[177] Asghar Ali Engineer. *Muslims and India* (New Delhi: Gayan Publishing House, 2006), p. 138.
[178] *Ibid.*

4.II (c) Economic Reasons

There are some economic reasons too behind the large-scale riots. It is being observed that communal riots in different Indian states were aimed at to target the localities of Muslims where they have relatively better economic conditions. Rioting generally have adverse implications for the position of the prosperous Muslims."[179] The fact is that all the major communal riots during the last two-three decades have occurred in places where Muslims have attained a relative economic stability through utilizing their traditional and entrepreneurial skills. The evidence shows that most of the riot-hit areas are medium-sized towns with a relatively large entrepreneurial class of Muslims competing with and challenging the monopoly of the Hindu trading and business class.[180] Mushirul Hassan observes that Hindu elites consider it a threat for their interests. For Hindus economic prosperity of Muslims is a source of the revival of Muslim glorious period, as it would boost their confidence to demand their proper share in socio-economic and socio-political domains.[181] Such kinds of suppositions are used to incite communal sentiments among masses against the Muslims. The perceived purpose of all these activities is to harm the

[179] Moin Shakir, *Opcit.*, pp. 49-50.
[180] Asghar Ali Engineer, "Socio-Economic basis of Communalism", *Mainstream*, New Delhi (July 1983): pp. 15-18.
[181] Moin Shakir, *Opcit.*, p. 50.

economic well being of the community,[182] by damaging the small scale Muslim entrepreneurship to ensure the abolition of any competition from the opposite side.[183]

The constant and frequent violence and rioting across the country diminish the economic prosperity of the community by de moralizing them. It causes the sense of insecurity and deficit of confidence in the Muslim community.[184] This pattern has been observed in many riot-hit areas. "The Muslims of Aligarh, are indulged in lock and construction industries; in Varanasi, Muslim weavers have established their hold over the silk saree trade and tried to obtain ownership in the industry itself; in Moradabad the industrial apparatus was reoriented into producing decorative brassware for export to rich Arab countries; in Bhiwandi in Maharashtra, Muslims have gradually come to own a few small-scale textile units; in Meerut in western UP, Muslim weavers have done well in iron foundries, furniture manufacture, scissor making and lathe operations; in the walled city of Delhi the traditional Hindu mercantile community resents the Muslim intrusion into its commercial enclave"[185] and in, Jamshedpur, Ahmedabad, Hatia, and Hyderabad the competition between two communities is over government

[182] *Ibid.*
[183] Mushirual Hassan, "In Search of Integration and Identity: Indian Muslims Since Independence", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Bombay, Special Number, (November 1988).
[184] Moin Shakir, *Opcit.*, p. 50.
[185] See. Mushirul Hassan, *Opcit.*

and private sector employment, contracts and small businesses.[186] The target of communal riots in Hyderabad in 1970-80 was the Muslim localities where the majority of Gulf moneyed Muslim Hyderabadis lived.[187]

The 2002 riots in Sholapur, the major city of Maharashtra, badly damaged the economic interest of the Muslim community who are in a significant number (20% of the total population of one million). The major victims of the riots were the Muslim entrepreneurs and shopkeepers. Furious rioters burned the factories, shops and houses. They looted the goods from the Muslims' shops, burnt the rickshaws (the only source of earning of many Muslims) and murdered the poor bidi workers and people indulged in weaving industry.[188] The Muslim community of Badlapur went through the same destruction. Muslim community there was in better economic position. They owned rice mils, shops and other businesses. The economic prosperity of the community has strengthened their social status as well. Their educational status is also better comparatively. The Shiv Sena and BJP extremists exclusively had targeted their property.[189]

The Muslim community of India is being the major victim of communal riots in the country. The causes of violence could be varied from

[186] Shaheen Akhtar, op.cit., pp. 58-59.
[187] Syed Majeedul Hasan, " Indian Muslims and Foreign Remittance: A Sample Survey", in *Journal Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol.II and Vol. III:1 (Summer 1981): p. 93.
[188] Asghar Ali Engineer, *Muslims and India, Opcit*, pp. 184-185.
[189] *Opcit.*, p. 186.

place to place and time-to-time but the Muslim minority remained the loss bearer.[190]

4.III The Post 1990s Rioting

The BJP's communal politics over controversial Ayodhya dispute reached to peak in late 1980s and early 1990s. The infamous Rath Yatra of BJP's leader L.K. Advani had created a communal frenzy all over the country. Alomost all the major urban centres of the country were severely affected by Rath Yatra Politics. Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan, Hyderabad, Bihar and Karnataka came under the worst violnace, which claimed hundred of lives.[191]

During 1991 election campaign, the Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP) and BJP had fully exploited the masses over the issue of constructing Ram Temple in the place of historical Babri Mosque. The extremist Hindu parties and groups utilized this opportunity to achieve their own agenda by creating tension and sense of insecurity among the masses. During this time period four hundred and sixty two people were become victims of communal violence and majority of victims were Muslims.[192] During 1992, 1,991

[190] Theodore P. Wright Jr., "Does Democratic Political Participation Reduce Political Violence? The Contrary Case of the Muslim Minority in India," in *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies* Vol. XXVII, No. 2, (Winter 2004) : p. 3.

[191] Farzand Ahmed, "Bhagalpur Riots: Politics Versus Justice," *India Today*, New Delhi (31 July 1995).

[192] "Communal Riots: State wise Incidence, 1991." *Muslim India*, 112, New Delhi, (April 1992): p. 178.

incidence of communal violence took place in various parts of the country and 1,640 people lost their lives, in 1993 and 1994, 885 and 50 people were killed respectively in communal violence.[193]

In June 1992, Congress regained the power in centre and BJP had managed to form the government in Uttar Pradesh (UP). The extremist Hindu organization got an opportunity to promote the communal agenda. The VHP Kar Sevaks despite the orders of Lucknow High Court, Supreme Court and Allahabad High Court to refrain from constructing temple around the disputed area of Babri Mosque, started construction of Ram Temple. The BJP fully supported the decision of VHP despite the judiciary's verdict.

The weak judiciary and biased central and state government could not restrain the extremist Hindus from violent activity and some 300,000 RSS, VHP and BJP workers demolished the historic Babri Mosque on 6 December 1992.[194] The UP government provided shelter to extremist Hindus by allowing them to destroy the structure of Mosque in the day light and kept silent. The Hindu fanatics had broken down the state law in the presence of law enforcing agencies. The personnel of Provincial Armed Constabulary, Central Reserve Police Force, Indo-Tibetan Border Police Force, and the Elite forces were present at the spot but they did not restrain the crowd and

[193] Asghar Ali Engineer. "Communalism and Communal Violence," in *Economic and Political Weekly*. Bombay, (4 February 1995).
[194] Ramesh Thakur, "Ayodhya and the Politics of India's Secularism: A Double Standards Discourse," in *Asian Survey*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 7, (July 1993).

remained silent spectators.[195] It was revealed later in enquiry that Kar Sevaks were trained by the security agencies and retired army officers.[196]

The post-demolition carnages had added up to the insecurity and helplessness of Muslim community. After the demolition, anti-Muslim violence broke out in all major cities of the country. According to official figures 1,729 people lost their lives and some 6,005 were badly injured but unofficial sources reported the higher number of casualties (about 6000) and injured people (more than 50,000).[197]

The business, property and worship places of the Muslim community were being torched by fanatic Hindu mobs in the surroundings of Ayodhya. The shameful act of demolition of Babri Masjid triggered the outburst of communal violence not only in Hindi belt but also in eastern and southern part of country. The worst effected cities were; Bombay (now Mumbai), Malegaon (Maharashtra), Ahmedabad, Surat, Kanpur (Uttar Pradesh), Bhopal (Madhya Pradesh), Jaipur (Rajasthan), Calcutta (West Bengal), Tamil Nadu and New Delhi. The relatively less communally sensitive states

[195] V. P.S. Sidhu, Dilip Awasthi., "Spineless Spectators," *India Today*, New Delhi, 31 December 1992. p.56.
[196] Dilip Awasthi, Uday Mahurkar, in Orchestrated Onslaught, in *India Today*, New Delhi, (31 December 199): p.55, *Times of India*, New Delhi (19 December 1992).
[197] "What to Do Now", *Radiance*, New Delhi (14 March 1993) in Shaheen Akhtar, *The State of Muslims in India*, Islamabad: Institute of Regional Studies, 1996,. p. 91.

of southern India also witnessed severe communal riots in post demolition phase.[198]

The large Muslim population is concentrated in urban centers and communal violence in major cities left lasting effects on their poor economic and social conditions. The extremist Hindu mobs looted the shops and burnt down the homes of the Muslim community in the presence of Police and law enforcement agencies. Later investigations revealed that it was not a spontaneous reaction of anger, such large-scale destruction of Muslim property and businesses, particularly in Maharashtra and Gujarat, was pre-planned.[199]

The post demolition communal violence in Bombay claimed the lives of one thousand people, twenty million people were forced to leave their locality and around 50,000 lost the shelter.[200] The riots affected the lives of poor and rich Muslims alike. There was no escape for Muslims whether living in slums or in rich localities. Furious Hindus destroyed hundred of factories and shops of Muslims that caused a severe economic lose to

[198] *Muslim India*, 127, New Delhi, July 1993, p. 304.
[199] "Facets of Communal Fascism: Post-Ayodhya Programs in Ahmadabad-Surat-Bombay", *Mainstream*, New Delhi(22 May 1993).
[200] Praful Bidwai, "Not Just Another Enquiry", *Economic Times*, New Delhi (30 August 199) in Shaheen Akhtar, *Opcit.*, pp. 97-98.

them.[201] The extremist Hindu groups like RSS and Vishva Hindu Parishad trained their workers to carry out the destruction in a very organized way.

They spread hatred among masses through false propaganda that Muslims are preparing for revenge and collecting weapons and destructive material to kill the people and destruction of Hindu Temples. They used the electoral lists to identify the properties, houses, businesses and other belongings of Muslims and then they destroyed all.[202]

In Surat, the anti-Muslim riots took the worst shape. Surat is the destination of middle class and migrated working class. Muslims migrated from central eastern and northern states to Surat for bread and butter, live largely in slums near industrial area of Surat. The middle class Muslims mainly khojas and bohras were in significant numbers. The post Babri Masjid demolition riots claimed the life of about 185 dead (according to official sources), left thousands injured. The hundreds of houses were looted and burnt to ashes. The cruelest face of the riots was ill-treatment of Muslim females. The rape was used as a tool of humiliation and disgrace of the community. The rioters burnt the people alive and raping and killing was recorded in cameras.[203] The small-scale industries owned by Muslims were

[201] *Ibid.*
[202] *Ibid.*
[203] Lancy Lobo, Paul D'Souza. "Surat Riots II: Images of Violence", in *Economic and Political Weekly*(January 30, 1993).

destroyed in the day light and in the presence of police.[204] Total twenty industries were destroyed and burnt and most of the property was belongs to Muslim community. Nine hundred houses, out of one thousand burnt houses, were of Muslims. rioters burnt down 15 Masjids.[205]

The role of BJP and other ambitious political parties in Surat cannot be ignored. The vote bank politics of BJP and VHP ignited the hatred between two communities and the issue of demolition of Babri Masjid was

used as a tool to provoke the majority community against Muslim minority.[206]

The central government under Prime Minister Narasimha Rao could not response on Ayodhya dispute and post Babri Masjid demolition situation, in effective manners. He announced some compensatory measures but all announcements and promises remained ineffective. The Narasimha Rao government announced to set up a investigation committee and later on a one person investigation commission under justice M.S. Liberhan was set up. The Liberhan commission submitted its report on 30 June 2009 after the delay of 17 year. However, despite all available evidences and proves Indian

[204]See Anti Muslims Riots Exosed, Part II. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cMxP7EP5KDM&feature=related and also watch http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TpI-M7QZmto&feature=related

[205]See Asghar Ali Engineer, "Surat Shames the Nation", *Mainstream*, New Delhi (3 April 1993) in Shaheen Akhtar, *Opcit.*, p. 102.

[206] Irfan Engineer. "Backward Communities and Migrant Workers in Surat Riots," *Economic and Political Weekly*. Vo. 29, No. 22 (May 28, 1994) : p. 1348.

government is still hesitant to take action against the culprits of the destruction of Babri Masjid.

Gujarat Riots 2002

The Gujarat program of 2002 was another horrific episode of killing of innocent Muslims and destruction of their homes and businesses. The riots started when 58 Kar sevaks (the RSS workers) were burnt to death while returning from Ayodhya by the Sabarmati Express train on February 27, at the Godhra railway station. The extremist Hindu organizations accused Muslims for the incident but different media and other independent investigation reports suggested some other reasons behind the killing.[207] It is revealed that Kar Sevaks used abusive languge and insult the Muslim women to provoke the Muslim passengers and vendors.[208] The Banerjee Committee revealed that the fire was the result of cooking range in the train and it was not started from any outside source.[209] The political rivalries of Congress and BJP and further between Muslim political outfits and Hindu organization was another cause of riots. The history of communal violance between Hindu

[207] Asghar Ali Engineer. *Muslims and India* (New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, 2006), p. 233.

[208] Paul Brass, "The Gujarat Pogrom 2002" (Accessed http://therearenosunglasses.wordpress.com/2008/12/01/the-gujarat-pogrom-of-2002/, 25/08/2009)

[209] Asghar Ali Engineer, *Opcit.*, p. 234.

Muslims in Godhra town, where Muslims are in substantial number, also concidered a cause of violance.[210]

The extremist Hindu organization Sangh Parivar and it's allies organization including BJP took the incident as an opportunity and justification of the killings of innocent Muslims. The bloody riots had begun on 28 Feburary, when a shutter down protest was called by Vishwa Hindu Parishad in Gujarat and continued for almost five months.[211]

The Guajarat massacres were planned systematically and in a very organized way by the extremist Hindus; the state police and administration provided them with full cooperation. Chief Minister of Guarat Narendra Modi and his party (BJP) not only encouraged the fanatic mobs rather rendered full support in executing the plan of massive killing and rapes of Muslim community. It is revealed in many investigation reports that Trishuls (three-pronged spears) and Swords were distributed among the Bajrang Dal, RSS, and VHP workers, before the riots. The extremist Hindu organizations hold training camps for the workers in different areas across the country.[212] The LPG (Liquefied Petroleum Gas) cylinders were stored in the city few weeks earlier and the rioters used the stored cylinders to burn the homes and

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[210] See. Paul Brass, *Opcit.*
[211] *Ibid.*
[212] See "Threatened Existence: A Feminist Analysis of the Genocide in Gujarat," Report by the International Initiative for Justice (IIJ)(December 2003).
(Accessed:http://www.onlinevolunteers.org/gujarat/reports/iijg/2003/annexures.pdf. 29/09/2010)

businesses of Muslim community.[213] To identify the Muslim households and properties, lists were prepared through different surveys a month before and local administration rendered full support to VHP and other extremist groups in this regard.[214]

The workers of extremist Hindu organizations had proudly expalin their crimes in a video taped by Tehlka.com. The killers of thousands of innocent Muslims accepted in the video that Narendra Modi provided them with legal protection after killing and rapping of Muslims.[215]

According to official figures 2000 people were killed in the riots. The majority of people who lost lives were Muslims and brutly burnt to death in the presence of police and other security agencies.[216] Ahmedabad city witnessed the worst anti-Muslim violence on February 28. A place name Naroda Patia was the centre of brutality, where more than 80 people were burnt to death. The cruel mob did not show any mercy to women and children even and number of women became victim of rape publicly. In the Gulbarg Society massacre, about 40 people were burnt alive including the former Congress M.P Ahsan Jafri. The chief mininster of Guajarat Narendra

[213] See. Paul Brass, *Opcit.*
[214] *Ibid.*
[215] See "The Truth: Gujarat 2002: Babu Bajrangi." (Available online at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mfnTl_Fwvbo)
[216] See Asghar Ali Engineer, "Communal Riots-2002." (Accessed http://www.sacw.net/2002/EngineerJan03.html 12/08/2010)

Modi justified the cruality of extremist Hindus as a justified reaction to Godhra incident.[217]

The furious mob destroyed around seven hundred mosques and other symbols of Muslim identity. The northern and central district including Panchmahal, Baroda, Ahmedabad and Mehsana of Gujarat province bear the brunt of financial loses. According to a rough estimate, lose of valuable property was worth of 10,000 crores, looted or burnt to ashes by rioters. A significant number of Muslim families were forced to leave their homes.[218] The 2002 Gujarat riots increased the number of Muslim slum dwellers and after a long time have passed away but they still are not able to return to their homes or some alternative places of shelters. Almost 2500 people were missing (or killed) and the number of displaced person was around 113,000, now living in relief camps.[219] In Arundhati Roy's words, "even today, many of them live in ghettos, some built on garbage heaps with no water supply, no drainage, no streetlights, no healthcare. They live as second-class citizens, boycotted socially and economically. Meanwhile, the killers, police as well

[217] *Ibid.*
[218] *Ibid.*
[219] Threatened Existence: A Feminist Analysis of the Genocide in Gujarat Report by the International Initiative for Justice," *Opcit.*

as civilian, have been embraced, rewarded, promoted. This state of affairs is now considered 'normal'."[220]

The catastrophic Gujarat riots left long lasting affects on Muslim community of India. They lost their lives, property and the most significantly the self-respect and confidence. Their trust in democratic institutions was badly shattered, as they knew that government and security agencies were behind the carnage. Unfortunately, it all happened in a modern, secular and liberal society whose constitution guarantees equal rights and protections to minorities. The one of the strongest media (both electronic and print) of the world watched the "genocide of Muslims" and even identified the culprits but Indian Muslims are still waiting for the justice.[221]

The BJP promoted the anti-Muslim riots of Gujarat as a pride and used it to win the elections in state two times. Narendra Modi has become a hero in the eyes of fascist political parties and communal organizations. Gujarat riots were infact an organized genocide of Muslim community; a genocide in the twenty first century's India in the presence of global media and by using the modern techniques and technology. Norman M. Naimark describes genocide as "the intentional killing off of a part or all of an ethnic, religious, or national group; the murder of a people or peoples is the

[220] See Arundhati Roy, "Genocide, Denial And Celebration." (accessed at http://communalism.blogspot.com/2008/01/arundhati-roy-on-genocide-denial-and.html, 29/9/2010)
[221] *Ibid.*

objective."[222] In case of applying this definition to Gujarat case, the pre-planned killings of Muslims and destruction of their properties by the hands of majority in Gujarat was genocide.

The anti Muslim sentiments in the last three to four decades reached to its peak and the reason behind this animosity is the increasing interaction and competition between the two communities. Economic reforms have brought a new era of socio-economic developments in various fields and departments in India in the last two decades of twentieth century (1980s and 1990s) and the openness of economy because of reformation boosted the competition within the society. Moreover, regional and identity based rivalries and hatred have been intensified in turn.[223] The opportunistic politician and communal forces took the advantage of this situation and used it for their own interests (to gain political power).

The industrial cities have remained the centers of riots through out the 1980s and 1990s.[224] The increasing migrations from rural areas to urban centers in India forced people to search new occupations to earn bread and butter and they have chosen the new sources of earnings in industrial cities as an alternative of traditional methods. This trend has caused concerns among

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[222] Norman M. Naimark, *Fires of Hatred: Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth Century Europe* (London: Harvard University Press, 2002), p. 3.

[223] See India: Hindu-Muslim Tensions (Accessed at http://countrystudies.us/india/118.htm 18/8/2010)

[224] Ashutosh Varshney. *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life; Hindus and Muslims in India,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 95-96.

the natives. The improved financial and social status of Muslim migrants caused concerns among the elite Hindu class. They considered this change in socio-economic status of Muslim a threat for their exploitative system of vote bank politics and economic monopoly. The Hindu militancy is the result of this insecurity of Hindu elites. These militants have targeted the well-off Muslim entrepreneurs and the families who got advantage of the boom of the oil-based economy of the Persian Gulf states (migrated Muslims sent back money to their families and this improved their socio-economic status at home).[225]

[225]See. India: Hindu-Muslim Tensions, *Opcit.*

CHAPTER 5: The Socio-Economic and Socio-Political Status of Muslims in Post reformation Era (Globalized India)

The post reform period of 1990s is being considered a breakthrough for all deprived sections of the society in regards of improvement in their socio-economic and socio political context. It is assumed that the globalization process has opened up new ventures of opportunities where every individual can attain excellence and can grow according to his/her credibility and skills regardless of cast, creed and identity base differences. If we apply this to Indian Muslims case then Muslim minority should have equal share in the economic, social and political progress and development of the country. Another opinion is that globalization and liberalization of economy has made the situation more complex in India. In the post reformation period the deprived and marginalized section of society have been marginalized and neglected further. The working class or laborers such as farmers, small business holders, landless class and artisans were among the victims of globalization. The majority of Muslims in India is belong to

this class and in effect is the target of unequal distribution of resources and opportunities.[226]

This chapter will discuss the situation of Muslim minority in India in the post reform (globalization) period. The focus will be on the analysis of Sachhar Commission report on the condition of minorities in India, and the 2001 census' data regarding the socio-economic and socio-political status of Indian Muslims.

5. I Socio-Economic Status of Indian Muslims (Post Reformation era)

The privatization, liberalization and globalization of Indian society changed the meaning of poverty and deprivation. Now poverty is not refers to only being poor but it has so many new dimensions attached with it. The introduction of neoliberal economy in India forced government's withdrawal from social sectors as non-governmental organizations and private sector replaced the state in these sectors. These changes have some adverse impacts on deprived sections of society as the prospered classes and sections of society are among the beneficiaries of privatization and globalization. The

[226] See. Imran Ali & Yoginder Sikand, Survey Of Socio-Economic Conditions Of Muslims In India, *Opcit.*

dominant sections have further strengthened their control over resources as a result of privatization of almost all economic and social institutions.[227]

The Muslim community of the country was expected to be among the beneficiaries of globalization but facts revealed in different official and non-official reports tell some other story. The neoliberal regime contributed a lot in the development of the society overall especially in economic sphere. However, it is also a fact that a multi-ethnic pluralist society cannot make significant development by ignoring a comparatively numerable section of society. Muslims are not in majority but they constitute 13.4% of the total population hence their participation in political, economic and social spheres can contribute in the overall growth of society.

The Muslim minority is facing socio- economic deprivation more then other minorities and the majority community. The National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO), conducted surveys of 55 and 61 round in 1999-2000 and 2004-2005 respectively. These surveys reveal the poor socio-economical status of the Muslims. The Census data of 2001 also explicitly revealed the deprivation, poverty, illiteracy and poor health conditions among the Muslim community of India. The findings of Sachhar Committee

[227] See Maidul Islam, "Posing the Muslim Question in India: A Leftwing Perspective." http://oxford.academia.edu

reports regarding socio-economic conditions of Muslims are also not very different.

5.I (a) Employment Rate of Muslim Community

The privatization of state owned businesses and entrance of multinational companies in India has brought very positive impact for employment sector. Indian growing economy largely depends on services sector. It comes amongst the world largest service providers. However the neo-liberal regime also increased competition among the different sections of society and the educated and skilled sections are the beneficiaries of the new raising employment opportunities as a result of globalization and privatization. Muslim community is legging behind in education and business skills. The Information Technology and industrial sector boom in India has brought a clear difference in the status of Muslims and majority community. There are some success stories of Muslims as well like Azim Premji (the owner of IT corporation Wipro Limited) in new emerging IT based industry some individuals' prosperity does not change the situation of whole community.

Data collected from different sources shows that reformations after globalization could not bring some positive impact instead neo-liberal economic reforms increased the deprivation of Muslim community.

In pre 1990s reformation time (1987-88), Muslims were in better position then the majority community. Their skills in runing small scale business and providing man power for services sector was the major factor in the low employment rate in small towns and cities of the country. The Hindu community's employment rate was 4 per cent while Muslims'employment rate was 5.5 per cent. The situation remained same till early 1990s but the end of the decade (1999-2000), brought some different trends. Muslims unemploment rate was increased to 5 per cent compare to Hindus' 4.7 per cent unemployment. The unemploment among Muslim women is one of the reason of high unemploment rate of the community. In rural India , however, there is no significant change in the emploment rate of the Muslims.They are suffuring financially in rural areas on the same pattern of pre 1990s.[228] Muslim community's high unemployment rate, low literacy rate and their disadvantageous position in access to ploughable land is very clearly indicated in the monthly per capita consumption expenditure of different religious groups.

[228] See C. Rammanohar Reddy, "Socio-economic development in 1990s." Accessed at www.indianmuslims.info

Table 25: Distribution of Persons according to Monthly Consumption Expenditure
(Among the Bottom 20 percent of total in each religion)

	Hindus	Muslims	All Religions
Rural (less than Rs.300)	26	29	26
Urban (less than Rs. 425)	22	40	25

(Source: 55th Round of National Sample Survey, cited by C. Rammohan Reddy, in Muslim India, No. 238, October, 2002, p. 463)

Table 26: Distribution of Persons according to Monthly Consumption expenditure
(Among the Top 20 percent of total in each religion)

	Hindus	Muslims	All Religions
Rural(more than Rs.615)	14	12	15
Urban (more than Rs.1120)	17	6	16

(Source: 55th Round of National Sample Survey, cited by C.Rammohan Reddy, in Muslim India, No. 238, October, 2002, p. 463)

The differnce in annual per capita income of Muslims and other communities has been increased since the last decade. National Sample Survey Organization's finding shows the difference in annual income of the Muslims and Hindus was very small in early decade. It was only two to three per cent differnce in income level of both the communities in 1993-94, however this margin has been increasing by the end of last years of 1990s and start of 2001.

Table 27: Annual Income of Religious communities according to NSSO

Category	50th round 1993-94	61st round 2004-05
Hindu	24,691	72,618
Muslim	22,786	63,943
Christian	33,178	1,03,453
National	24,980	73,145
Figures in Rupees, average annual income. India Today, 24 Sept 2007		

Source: Syed Najiullah, The Status of Muslims in India. http://www.indianmuslims.info/statistics/economic.html

Table 28: Annual Per Capita and Household Income of different religious Mnorities

Category	Muslims	Christians	Other Minorities
Annual percapita Income	3,678	5,920	2,9427
Household Income	22,807	28,860	30,330

Source: A study by the National Council for Applied Economic Research (NCAER) August 2006.

Muslims are generally having employment in casual labour work. Muslims' participation in regular salaried jobs is less than Scheduled Casts (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST). The Hindu SC/ST workers are sharing 25 per cent of regular jobs, but Muslims have only 13 per cent share in regular salaried jobs.[229]

[229] Sachhae Committee Report, 2006. p. 92.

Abu Saleh Sharif reported 43 percent Muslims are living below poverty line.[230] The extremist Hindu groups' propagenda of Muslim appeasement by secular parties has proved wrong as Sachhar Committee's finding nullfies any appeasment of Muslim minority in India. According to the committee's finding Muslim community has fallen behind the other religious communities in every walk of life; employment, education, health and income level. According to committee's findings Muslims share in govermental sector jobs is less than their population. Their share is less then their proportion in total population of the country even. The table complied by Sachhar Committee indicates the less participation of Mulsims in government sector jobs.

[230] India: Human Development report of the 1990s, cited by Abusaleh Shariff in Muslim India, No.216, (December, 2000), p. 534

Table 29: Muslims percentage in Government sector jobs

Institutions	Reported Number of Employees	Reported Number of Muslim Employees	Muslims as % of Reported Employees
State Level Departments	4452851	278385	6.3
Railways	1418747	64066	4.5
Banks & RBI	680833	15030	2.2
Security Agencies (CRPF, CISF, BSF, SSB and Others)	1879138	60517	3.2
Postal Service	275841	13759	5.0
Universities (129 Universities and 84 Colleges)	137263	6416	4.7
All Reported Government Employment (Excluding PSUs)	8844669	438173	4.9
Central PSUs (154 PSUs)	687512	22387	3.3
State PSUs	745271	80661	10.8
Total	1432783	103048	7.2

Source: Sachar Commison Report on the condition of Minorities in India, 2005, p. 54

5.I (b) Muslims in All India Services

Muslims' participation in pre reformation time in white-collar jobs was not in accordance with their proportion in total poultion of India. The liberalization of economy and privitization of economic and social institutes opened up new venues of opportunities but situaton for Muslim community is still the same. The employment rate among Muslims has increased but still they are far behind to other minority communities and Hindus in getting government jobs of high cadre. Their share in IAS (Indian Administative Services) is very marginal. They constitute almost fourteen per cent of the total population but share in IAS could reach to 8.79, at all time best in the year 1995. The table given below ilustrate the muslims' share in Indian Adminstative Services from year1990 to 2000.

Table 30: Muslims in Indian Administrative Services since 1990

Year	Total	Muslims	Percentage
1990	298	9	3.02
1991	217	8	3.69
1992	157	3	1.91
1993	147	2	1.36
1994	131	2	1.53
1995	91	8	8.79
1996	81	3	3.7
1997	76	3	3.95
1998	55	1	1.82
1999	56	2	3.57
2000	93	6	6.45
Total	1402	47	3.5

(Source: Muslim India, No.238, October, 2002, p.462)

The representation of Muslim community in Indian Administrtaive Service 2006 is only 2.2 % as mentioned in the Civil List 2006. The total number of Muslim IAS officers in the government is 108 while the total IAS officers are around 4790 in the country. The Muslims share in top positions of IAS is zero; there is even not a single Muslim in eighty three Secretaries of IAS in the Centre.[231]

[231] See IAS, IPS, IFS: The invisible officer and a Muslim, http://www.indianexpress.com (Nov 5, 2006)

Muslims in Indian Police Service

Although Muslims' representation in all government jobs is very low but it further comes down when we talk about security related institutions. The Indian Police Service is a big job provider institution for people along with Indian Armes Services. However, data ragading Muslims' participation in Indian Army is not available but there are different reports showing the exact number and per centage of Muslims' participation in Indian Police Secvice. The statistics given by National Crime Record Bureau of India show the low participation of Muslims in IPS (Indian Police Service) in different states.

Muslims constitute 25.25 per cent of the West Bengal's total population but their share in Police Service is only 7.32%, in Assam they are 30.92 % of the state population while participation in police force is mere10.95 %. In Bihar Muslims are 16.53% of the population and their share in police service is 5.94%. In Kerala, Muslims' population is 24.7% and they enjoy relatively better life standard but here too their share in police jobs is 12.96 %. Karnataka has 12.23 per cent Muslims' population and 6.71% have employment in Police Service. The Muslim majority state of J&K(disputed territory) is having 66.94% Muslims but share in police service is still less than their proportion. Only 56.36% of Muslims are in

Police Force. Gujarat, the industrial state of India and the centre of globalization and liberalization has 9.06 per cent Muslims' population and their share in the police force is 5.94%. Maharashtra, one of the most developed states of the Indian Union has 10.60 per cent Muslims of total population of the state and their share in police service is only 4.71 per cent. Muslims constitute the 18.50 per cent of Uttar Pradesh (population wise the largest state of India) but again only 4.24 per cent have employment in Pollice. Tamil Nadu is another centre of global activities has 5.56 percent Muslims and their representation in in police force is 0.11%. The only state where Muslims have larger participation than their population is Andhra Pradesh. In Andhra Pradesh Muslims are 9.17 % of the population but their share in Police service is 13.25 %, more than their proportion.[232]

Muslim community is legging behind in education sector is considered the main reason of their low participation in Police force but it is also a fact that police department is also not free of biases against the community and monopolized by the upper class Hindus. They consider Muslims a security risk for the country and not enough trustworthy to be given share in any sensitive institution or department.[233]

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[232] See Asghar Ali Engineer, "Representation of Muslims in police force and communal riots."
http://www.indianmuslims.info/articles.
[233] *Ibid.*

5:I (c) Muslims Share in Judiciary

Indian judicial system is always been considered biased towards minorities in its verdict (specialy when it comes to decide between majority versis minority conflicts). The Muslims participation in judicial system is very minimal. According to Sachhar Committee's finding Muslims' representation in judiciary is very low as compared to their proportion in population. Muslims share in judiciery in the states containing high number of them is just 7.8 %. They have only five per cent representation in judiciary in West Bengal while percentage in poulation is 25.2 %. West Bengal is under the rule of Leftest parties who claim to be pro-marginalised sections of society and used to contest elections on issues like equal rights and sepcial quota for Muslim minority. Assam is another state where Muslims have larger concentration. They constitute 30.9 % of the population while the percentage in judiciery is only 9.4 %. They are in majority in Indian Held Jammu and Kashmir having 66.97 per cent of population but only 48.3 per cent of them are part of judiciary. The only state, where they have more share in judiciary than their proportion in population, is Andhra Pradesh,

where they are 9.2 per cent of the population and their share in judiciary is 12.4 per cent. [234]

According to the findings of Sachhar Commission, Muslims living in urban India largely works in small scale enterprises and their per centage as owners of small enterprises is higher than Schedual Casts and Schedual Tribes. Muslim women's partcipation in home based small businesses is higher then men but their income is lower as they are depended on contractor in dealing with market. Muslims share in Public Sector Undertakings (PSU) is only 6 per cent smaller than other Socio Religious Categories (SRCs), SC/ST and OBC (Other Backward Classes) share. The share per centage for all male workers in (PSU) is 10 per cent and 13 percent for majority community's male workders.[235]

Sachhar Commission has identified some key occupations providing bread and butter to Muslim community of India:

> "(1) Merchants and shopkeepers (especially for males and in urban areas);
> (2) Sales persons and shop assistants (especially for males and in urban areas);
> (3) Tailors, dress makers and the like (especially for women an in urban areas);
> (4)Transport equipment operators (especially for males and in urban areas);
> (5) Tobacco preparers and tobacco product makers (especially women);

[234] See World directory of Minorities: Muslims. Accessed at http://www.minorityrights.org

[235] Sachhar Committee Report. Opcit., p, 95.

(6) Spinners, weaver, knitters and dyers (especially for males in urban area: and
(7) Machinery fitters, assemblers and precision instrument makers (especially for males and in urban areas)."[236]

Over all Muslims are employed in traditional professions and their participation in modern professions and high cadre jobs is very low.

Table 31: Distribution of Workers in Each Socio- Religious Category by Industry Groups in Rural and Urban Areas, 2004-05, (All workers aged 15-64)

Industry Group	Hindus				Muslims	Other Minorities	All
	All Hindus	SCs/STs	OBCs	UC			
	Urban						
Agriculture, livestock, forestry etc.	8.9	10.8	12.1	4.9	5.6	7.6	8.4
Mining and quarrying	0.9	1.1	0.8	0.9	0.2	0.4	0.8
Manufacturing	23.5	21.2	26.4	22	32.4	17.5	24
Electricity, gas and water	0.7	0.9	0.6	0.8	0.5	0.7	0.7
Construction	8.2	13.4	9.2	4.7	7.6	8.6	8.2
Wholesale and retail trade	19.9	14.7	18.7	24	28.1	23.9	21
Hotels & Restaurant	3.3	2.2	3.7	3.5	2.2	2.8	3.1
Transport, Storage and	8.7	10.4	8.2	8.2	10.3	7.8	8.8
communications							
Finance, insurance, real estate etc.	5.6	2.7	4.1	8.7	2.8	7.1	5.3
Community, social and personal services	20.1	22.6	16.2	23	10.3	23.7	19
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	Rural						

[236] Sachhar Committee Report. *Opcit.*, p, 103.

Agriculture, livestock, forestry etc.	73.7	75.5	73.7	71	56.3	72.3	72
Mining and quarrying	0.6	0.8	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.5
Manufacturing	7.6	6.7	8.5	7.1	14.7	6.3	8.1
Electricity, gas and water	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.2
Construction	4.9	7.1	4.2	2.5	6.4	5.3	5.1
Wholesale and retail trade	4.9	3.1	5.2	7.7	11.3	5	5.5
Hotels & Restaurant	0.7	0.4	0.8	1	0.8	0.5	0.7
Transport, Storage and	2.4	2.2	2.3	2.9	4.5	3.1	2.6
communications							
Finance, insurance, real estate etc.	0.5	0.3	0.4	1	0.4	0.7	0.5
Community, social and personal services	4.6	3.7	4.3	6.8	5.1	5.8	4.7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Sachhar Committee Report, 2006. **p**, 103

Table 32: Muslim Employees in Government Sector Employment

Departments/ Institutions Reporting	Reported No. of Employees	Reported number of Muslim Employees	Muslims as Percentage to reported Employees
State Level - Departments	4452851	278385	6.3
Railways	1418747	64066	4.5
Banks and RBI	680833	15030	2.2
Security Agencies*	1879134	60517	3.2
Postal Service	275841	13759	5
Universities**	137263	6416	4.7

All Reported Government Employment (Excludes PSUs)	**8844669**	**438173**	**4.9**
Central PSUs***	687512	22387	3.3
States PSUs	745271	80661	10.8
All PSUs	**1432783**	**103048**	**7.2**
*CRPF, CISF, BSF, SSB and other agencies; **129 Universities (Central and State) and 84 Colleges; *** Data from 154 PSUs			

Source: Complied by Sachhar Commission. 2005, p. 106

Table 33: Share of Muslims in All India Civil Services – 2006

Service	All Officers	No. of Muslim Officers	Muslim as Percentage to All	Unconfirmed Names
Civil Service Officers (IAS, IFS & IPS)	8827	285	3.2	10
Direct Recruitment through competitive examination	6460	155	2.4	4
Promoted from State Service	2367	130	5.5	6
Indian Administrative Service	4790	142	3	4
Direct Recruitment through competitive examination	3542	80	2.3	0
Promoted from State Service	1248	62*	5	4

Indian Foreign Service	828	15	1.8	0
Direct Recruitment	621	12	1.9	0
Grade I of IFS(B) Personnel	207	3	1.4	0
Indian Police Service	3209	128	4	6
Direct Recruitment through competitive examination	2297	63	2.7	4
Promoted from State Service	912	65**	7.1	2

Note: All direct recruitments include appointments under Initial Constitution Scheme and EC/SSC * 20 Officers are from Jammu and Kashmir cadre; ** 30 Officers are from Jammu and Kashmir cadre. Note: Data for other allied services are not included Source: Indian Administrative Service Civil List-2006 Ministry of Personnel, Public Grievances and Pensions, GOI (51st Edition), Indian Police Service Civil Lists-2006 Ministry of Home Affairs, GOI (50th Edition); Indian Foreign Service Civil Lists-2006 Ministry of External Affairs (GOI).

Source: Sachhar Commission Report on Minorities, 2005, p. 166

Table 34: Share of Muslim Employees in Selected State Governments
(No. of Employees : 44,52,851*)

States	Total number of Employees	Muslim Population (%)	Higher Positions	Lower Positions	Group A	Group B	Group C	Group D	Others
West Bengal	134972	25.2	4.7	1.8	6.7	3.9	2.1	2.5	1.4
Kerala	268733	24.7	10.3	10.4	11.8	10.1	11.1	9.1	10.5
Uttar Pradesh	134053	18.5	7.5	4.9	4.6	8	4.3	5.4	6.7
Bihar	78114	16.5	7.2	7.6	7.9	7	7.3	8.4	5.2
Assam	81261	30.9	10.2	11.4	9.2	10.7	11.5	9.9	10.5
Jharkhand	15374	13.8	3.8	7.2	4	3.7	9	4.5	-
Karnataka	528401	12.2	4.9	8.9	4.7	5.1	9.3	6	-
Delhi	135877	11.7	2.1	3.3	3.5	1.4	3.9	1.1	1.6
Maharashtra	915645	10.6	3.1	4.5	2.3	3.4	4.4	4.6	-
Gujarat	754533	9.1	3.4	5.5	-	-	-	-	-
Tamil Nadu	529597	5.6	4.2	2.9	4	4.2	3.1	2.5	-
Sum of States	4452851	16	5.7	5.6	5.8	6.1	5.9	5.1	3.3

Note: Higher Positions: aggregate of Group A and Group B. Lower Positions: aggregate of Group C, Group D and Others *876291 employees from Andhra Pradesh are included in the Sum of States, further breakup of these data is not available.

Source: Sachhar Commission report on Minorities 2005, p. 170

Indian Railways

India's Railway Department has one of the largest employers of the country. The number of its total employers is about 14 lakh people and only 64 thousand Muslims are part of the department, which constitute 4.5 per cent representation of them. 98.7% of those 4.5 % Muslim employees of Indian railways are working at lower levels. They are only 1.3% of employees come in Group 'A' or Group 'B' officers. The percentage of "Other Hindu" Group in A category is 72% positions followed by SCs/STs at 18%. Muslims are only 3% at this level. Muslims share in lower level positions is somewhat higher at 5%, whereas the share of Other Hindus is lower at 65%.[237]

The economic condition of the Muslim community of India is over all very poor. They only can be compared in their status, with Schedualed Casts and Schedual Tribes. The Indian Human Development Report of 1990s reveals their miserable conditions of Muslim minortiy on various economic indicators like household income, percapita income, Work participation, source of income, land holding etc.

[237] Sachhar Commission Report, *Opcit.*, p. 167.

Table 35: Income, Asset and Material Well-being of Households according to Caste and Religion

	ST	SC	Hindus	Muslims	All
Household Income(Rs)	19556	17465	25713	22807	25653
Per Capita Income (Rs)	3504	3237	4514	3678	4485
Work participation					
(Male)	51.6	52.8	52.3	48	51.9
(Female)	27.7	23	19.3	9.6	18.4
Source of Income					
Agriculture	55.6	37.7	56.1	44.1	55
Artisanship	2.7	5.7	4.3	8.3	4.5
Salaried	14.8	15.2	16.4	14.7	16.5
Land Holding in acres	4.3	2.8	4.6	3.6	4.5
% Kutcha Houses	74	66.6	55.2	65.9	55.4
%Electricity	29.7	30.7	43.2	30	42.9
%Protected Water	61.6	72.8	71.1	78.1	72
% Piped Water	17.2	22.6	25.3	19.4	24.8
% having Toilets	12.2	8.3	13.2	26.7	15.3
% Using PDS	37.5	32.1	34.1	21.8	33.2
Poverty Head Count	51	50	39	43	39

(Source: India: Human Development report of the 1990s, cited by Abusaleh Shariff in *Muslim India*, No.216, December, 2000, p. 534)

This is clear from the above mentioned table that the poverty head count among Muslims is 43 which is more than the whole population. Their household income is less then that of the national average and also of the majority community. The per capita income of Muslims is almost equalent of SCs and STs yet far less than per capita income of the whole population and that of the Hindus. The Muslim community is more deprived in terms of land

holding in the country. Muslims proportion in agriculatural related activities is minimal as compare to majority Hindus and other minority groups. Muslims have less access to basic needs of life such as clean water, electricity, proper housing and healthy food. Muslims are below national average in terms of access to basic facilities of very day life. Muslims's share in PDS (Public Distribution System) utilization is less than all other castes and religious categories. All this availabe data shows that Muslims economic conditions are no better than the SCs and STs and far below the national average.

The National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO) conducted its 55th Round countrywide survey in 1999-2000. The Survey reveals that a large number of Muslims suffer from low levels of consumption. According to the findings of Survey 29 percent Muslims living in rural India have average consumption expenditure of less than Rs. 300 a month by each member of a family, while Hindus' (living in rural side) proportion is 26 per cent in the bottom 20 percent. This difference increses further when if compare both communities in towns and cities where almost 40 percent of

Muslims come in the bottom 20 as compare to 22 percent figure for Hindus.[238]

Mumbai, the financial capital and industrial state of India has the largest number of slums and slum dwellers. According to Islamic Voice's June, 2004 edition it has 5.82 million slum dwellers. New Delhi comes second with 1.82 million, Kolkata with 1.49 million is having third largest number of slum dwellers and Chennai has 1.08 million. The proportion of Muslims in slum dewelers is again very high. 28.5 percent muslims are living in miserable condition in slums of Mumbai, 18.8 percent Delhi, 18.3 percent in Chennai and 12.7 percent in Kolkata.[239]

The liberalization and privatization process as a result of globalization has displaced Muslims from their traditional occupations of earning and has contributed to Muslims being deprived of their means of livelihood and has led to economic backwardness. It is observed by Sachhar Commission that the economic wellbeing of India could not bring difference for Muslims as the increasing competition unleashed by liberalization poses a threat to less educated and socially unprotected Muslims. Liberalization of economy both at internal and external level has brought with it considerable costs for the society and specially for the deprived sections in terms of

[238] See. Syed Najiullah, *Opcit.*
[239] *Ibid.*

unemployment and displacement of workers who have lost their jobs to competitive companies that import products. Muslim community in India largely, is engaged in the unorganized sectors of the economy, which rarely have any social and legal protection and due to this insecurity, they are more vulnerable to the adverse impact of liberalization. The traditional occupations of Muslims in industries such as silk and sericulture, hand and power looms, the leather industry, automobile repairing, garment making have borne the brunt of liberalization.[240]

Muslims do not have sufficient financial resources to invest in small-scale businesses or to start new source of earnings therefore, they need financial support in form of bank credit. However, their access to bank credit is limited as minority (especially anti-Muslim) discrimination by both public and private sector banks in providing bank credit is widespread and the issue was raised in most of the states of the union. Areas with large Muslim concentration are being designated as "negative or red zones", where they do not give loans. Another problem that Muslim community faced in applying for bank loans is the condition to get a guarantee from a government official (which is the stipulated requirement laid down by the banks). Muslims do not have easy access to government officials either because there are not

[240] Sachhar Commission Report, *Opcit.*, p, 21.

enough Muslims in the government or because the non-Muslim government officials are not willing to give guarantee for a Muslim. This behaviour is not limited to private banks only infact nationalized banks are also reluctant to give loans to Muslims even under government sponsored schemes for less privileged sections of society. One of the reasons of this discrimination is government's negligence and less check on the banking sector in implementation of these schemes with respect to benefits that have flowed to Muslims and other Minorities. Another very serious issue in this regards is the absence of nationalized, private and cooperative banks in Muslim populated areas from where they could get loans or have easy access at least.[241]

Another big hurdle in the prosperity of small-scale businesspersons and self-employed Muslim families is the lack of infrastructure, especially roads and electricity. Muslims living in less developed localities do not have proper set up to enhance their growth and attract buyers. This liability has caused an adverse impact on the financial condition of Muslims particularly artisans and craftsmen as customers prefer to deal with the people who tend to move to places where good approach roads ensure that the products are supplied on time. Muslim entrepreneurs are in loss because district industrial

[241]Sachhar Commission Report, *Opcit.*, pp.22-23.

estates, where decent facilities for trading and entrepreneurship are available, are not located in Muslim areas. Muslims do not have enough resources to buy plots in areas where industrial estates are located. Another reason that deter Muslims to move to industrial localities is sense of insecurity as in case of communal conflict the first target of extremists are used to be the Muslims living in comparatively better localities.[242]

Gulf Factor

The late 1970s and the decade of 1980s had brought some good oppertunities for Muslim community along with other segments of society to improve heir economic conditions. The boost of petro economy of Gulf countries attracted foreign labours and Muslims minority of India migrated to these countries for better employment oppertunities. The wealth they earned there changed the lives of their families at home (India). The Muslim community of Kerala and Karanatka fully utilized the opportunity and migrated to Gulf States in large number. This migration improved their life standerds; educational status, social status in society. But it also raised the compeition between Muslims and Hindus there. Muslims living in northern part of the country also got attracted to the new sources of income. The Gulf migrations was being viewed as the main source of remittances, added in

[242] Sachhar Commission Report. *Opcit.*, p, 23.

foreign exchange reserves of the country and provided the people to invest in new ventures at home. The IT (Information Technology) workers' (of North) immigrations to Europe and US also improved the financial conditions of the people however Muslims' share in IT based immigrations is lower than the other communities.[243]

The economic wellbeing provided the resources for small-scale business in the north and this has also helped bring about a slow improvement in the Muslim economic position. However, the Gulf war and then internal conflicts have caused major setbacks for the Muslim community. The employment oppertunities decreased in the aftermath of the Gulf war that seriously affected the job market for immigrants and indian Muslims were amongst the losers of their source of income. Large number of Muslims returned to India but could not enjoyed little the same level of employment that they had enjoyed in the Middle East.[244]

The other phase of skilled workers' migration to West Asia and European countries started in 1991 that caused a good impact on indian economy. But Indian Muslims lack of education and skills in modern technologies and education is a big hurdle now to move to abroad.

[243] See Binod Khadria, "India: Skilled Migration to Developed Countries , Labour Migration to the Gulf." (http://estudiosdeldesarrollo.net/revista/rev7ing/2.pdf)
[244] See World directory of Minorities: Muslims, Accessed at http://www.minorityrights.org

Muslims were in better position in 1987-88 especially in urban areas, their share in employment was equal or slightly higher for Muslims in then the Hindus. The employment rate for Hindus was 4 per cent while for Muslim community it was 5.5 per cent. This situation prevails during 1993 and 1994. However, situation was changed by 1999-2000. Muslims unemployment rate increased to 5 percent as compare to 4.7 percent of Hindus. In countryside, however, situation had remained same. Muslims were suffering low employment opportunities in 1980s and 1990s did not bring any significant change for them.[245]

5: I (d) Muslim's Literacy Rate

One of the most significant reasons of Muslims' backwardness in India is their less participation in education sector. The Census of 2001 shows the poor condition of Muslim in education sector. The national literacy rate of India is 64.8 per cent, while Muslims' literacy rate is 59.1 per cent.[246] The conditions are not very different at regional and state level. The state-wise break-up to know the Muslim community's literacy rate shows that Muslims are legging behind in education as compare to other

[245] C. Rammanohar Reddy, "Deprivation Affects Muslims More." http://www.countercurrents.org/comm-reddy070803.htm 12/10/2010

[246] Moinul Hassan, Huntter Commission to Sachhar Committee: Socio-Economic Conditions of Indian Muslims in *People's Democracy*, Vol xxx No. 50 (December 10, 2006).

communities. In UP (population wise the largest state of India and having one of the largest concentration of Muslims in any state of the union) literacy rate for Muslims is "47.8 per cent, 42 per cent in Bihar, 48.4 per cent in Assam, 57.5 per cent in West Bengal and 47.3 per cent in Jammu and Kashmir."[247] The situation is further very critical when one comes to Muslim women's literacy rates. The Muslims female literacy rate in Haryana is 21.5 per cent, Jharkhand: 42.7 percent and Uttaranchal: 40.3 per cent. Haryana is at the bottom of all states and union territories in Muslims female literacy rate.[248]

The findings of National Sample Survey Organization show some improvement in the literacy rates for both Hindus and Muslims albeit slowly, between 1993-94 and 1999-2000. However, in rural India this gap between majority community of Hindus and minority community of Muslims has remained where it was. The scale of difference has come down in the urban areas. In the year 1993-94, illetracy among Hindus in the country side was 50 per cent while for Muslims it was 54 per cent, by the end of decade it decreased to 44 per cent and for Muslims came down to 48 per cent. The difference was of 6 percentage points in rural areas. But the difference

[247] *Ibid.*
[248] *Ibid.*

between the two communities has decreased to 11 points which was 14 point more previously (1993-94).[249]

The comparison of Muslims literacy rate with other communities shows that Muslims are behind almost all other religious communities in education. The data showing the lietracy rate of prominent religious communities in India is given in the Census 2001

Table 36: Literacy Rate among Religious Communities Census 2001 (In %age)

Religious community	Literacy Rate (Female)	Literacy Rate (All)
Muslims	50.1	59.1
Hindus	53.2	65.1
Christians	76.2	80.3
Sikhs	63.1	69.4
Jains	90.6	94.1
Buddhists	61.7	72.7

(Source: Syed Shahabuddin in Mainstream, October 23, 2004, p.14)

Above table clearly indicates the Mulims compartively poor condition in education. They are legging behind in education from other religious communities.

[249]See C. Rammanohar, "Reddy, Socio-economic development in 1990s." Accessed at www.indianmuslims.info

The analysis of available data shows that one of the reasons of low literacy rate among Muslim community is the higher dropout rate of students in early childhood years. A survey conducted by Education Consultants India Limited and the Social and Rural Research Institute of India shows that dropout rate from schools among Muslim children is much higher than any other backward or less previliged community.[250]

Table 37: Dropout Rate in 6-13 Age Group (%age)

Category	National	Rural	Urban
National	6.94	7.8	4.34
OBCs	6.9	7.73	3.83
SCs	8.17	8.55	6.25
STs	9.54	10.11	4.12
Muslims	9.97	12.03	7.17

Source: Telegraphindia.com, 15 April 2006, calcutta, India

The data compiled by NSSO (National Sample Survey Organization) shows that Muslim participation in education institutes declines as level increases. Muslims'percentage in higher education is low than other communities.

[250] See *Telegraphindia.com*, Calcutta, India (15 April 2006).

Table 38: Education status as %age(age 15 years and above)

Education level	Hindu	Muslim	Christian	All	Muslim presence
Not literate	43.6	46.87	23.81	43.2	12.05
Literate to primary	20.6	25.4	23.98	21.2	13.31
Middle	14.8	13.86	19.85	14.8	10.37
Secondary	10.2	7.78	16.85	10.3	8.39
Higher Secondary	5.4	3.43	7.89	5.3	7.2
Graduate and above	5.29	2.52	7.56	5.08	5.51

Source: National Sample Survey, 55th round (1999-2000)

The famous Gopal Singh Commission report mentions that only 3.14 per cent Muslims get enroled in engineering colleges while their percentage of getting registered at the employment exchange is only 6.77. According to Abu Saaleh Sharif's research on Mulsim community's literacy rate shows that Muslims are falling behind all communities in education and lieteracy rate.[251]

[251] See Research by Abu Saaleh Sharif, 1988 quoted in Dominic Emmanuel, "Much Ado About Nothing," in *Milli Gazette*(16-30 June 2005).

Table 39: Participation of different communities in education

(Age 7 years and above)

Muslim males	59.5%,	Muslim,females	38%	Total	49.50%
Hindu males	65.9%,	Hindu females	39.20%	Total	52.50%
Christian males	85%,	Crh. females	76.50%	Total	81%
Others males	65.6%,	Others females	40.10%	Total	53.50%

Source: Research by Abu Saaleh Sharif, 1988 quoted in Dominic Emmanuel, Much Ado About Nothing, in Milli Gazette, 16-30 June 2005.

The findings of Sachhar Commission report show Muslim community across the country have less access to educational facilities than other religious communities at all levels particularly in higher education. The ignorance on the part of government and private sectors Muslims have only 3.4 per cent share in total graduates while the share for non-OBC (Other Backward Class), non-S.C./S.T.(Schedule Cast/Schedule Tribes) Hindus is 15.3 per cent.[252] According to the report the percentage of Muslim boys enrolment in schools, in urban areas, is 80 per cent less than 90 per cent enrolment for in S.C./S.T. and 95 per cent for others. This percentage further decreased to 68 for Muslim girls' enrolment in schools even less than Dalit Girls, having 72 per cent. Other religious communities' girls have 80 per cent enrolment. The myth that Muslim community prefer to send their

[252] Sachaar Commission Report, *Opcit.*, p. 65.

children to attain Islamic education in madrassas instead of sending them in government owned schools for modern education has proved wrong. As the data (collected by Sachhar Commission across the country) shows that, the number of Muslims going to madrassas is not very high, only 3 to 4 per cent of Muslim children go to madrassas. However, few families who tend to send the children to madrassas cannot afford the regular education. The poor economic conditions of the Muslim parents do not allow them to send their children to regular schools.[253]

5:I (e) Health Conditions

The poor economic condition of the Muslim minority in India has further led to poor health condition. It is observed that Muslims have less access to health related facilities in the country. The Muslim dominated areas are deprived of health facilities. Moinul Hassan stated that "40 per cent of the Muslim-dominated villages do not have any health facility. The maternal mortality rates, incidence of underweight children and anemic mothers are comparatively higher among Muslims. Their nutritional status in terms of per capita calorie intake is also lower than the rest of the population."[254]

The poor health of Muslims, especially women, can not be detached from poverty and the absence of basic services in Muslim localities like clean

[253] *Ibid.*
[254] See. Moinul Hassan, *Opcit.*

drinking water and sanitation which causes malnutrition, anemia, a variety of diseases and poor life expectancy. Along with these diseases, psychological problems are also increasing. Evidence shows that in conflict prone areas, where Muslims consider themselves insecure, psychosocial problems are rising; stress, depression, and post-traumatic disorders are very common among community and especially women are the victims of these disorders.[255]

Muslim women are facing the severe health problems because of poor situation of health services in Muslim concentration areas. Sachhar Commission evaluates that Muslims are living in poor health conditions, worse then for women from other deprived sections of society. The areas of Muslim concentration are being deprived of even basic health facilities they have to travel a long way to get access to primary health facilities. Muslim women avoid going for proper treatment in medical centres because of Insulting and disgusting behavior they encounter at public health centres discourages them from going there. They mostly prefer to consult local health care providers available in their own community and locality even though they may not be as qualified.[256]

According to Sachhar commission findings, the percentage of underweight children among Muslims is higher than in other backward

[255] Sachhar Commission Report. *Opcit.*, pp. 23-24.
[256] *Ibid.*

communities. The ratio of under-nutrition children among Muslims is higher than other religious groups in the country. For instance, Muslims suffer from the highest rates of stunting and the second-highest rates of underweight children among all social-religious groups.[257]

The ratio of low birth-weight babies among Muslim community varies in different regions. In the South (Kerala, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh), West (Gujarat, Maharashtra Goa), and Central (Hindi heartland; Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh) regions, Muslims are in better position than other Socio-Religious Communities (SRCs) in rate of low birth weight babies, they are having lowest or second-lowest incidence of low birth weight babies in these regions of the state. But in North (Indian Held Kashmir, Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan), East (West Bengal, Orissa, Assam) and North-eastern regions Muslims have the highest or second highest incidence of low birth-weight babies among all groups.[258] The data provides enough evidence to prove that child malnutrition among Muslim children is slightly higher than Other Hindu children. The rate of low birth-weight babies has increased sharply between 1992-93 and 1998-99.[259]

Thus, it is clear from the findings of Sachhar Commission and National Sample Survey Organization's last few round specially 55, 61 and

[257]Sachhar Commission Report, *Opcit.*, pp, 42-43.
[258] *Ibid.*
[259] *Ibid.*,p, 44.

65th rounds that Muslims are living in very poor socio-economic conditions. They are deprived of basic health facilities. They are backward educationally, having less opportunities and facilities to access regular education institutions. They have far less share in government and private sector employment opportunities, less than their proportion in the country's population. The era of globalization started in 1990s could not eliminate or reduce immense poverty among Indian Muslim minority. There is no improvement in poor literacy rate through out the one and half decade. The Muslim community of India is remained below average and differnces in Muslims and other socio-religious groups in socio-economic has widened during the globalization and liberalization of 1990s.

5:II Socio-Political Status of Indian Muslims (Post Reformation era)

There are two approaches for any minority community to participate in electoral and political system. One, they choose to participate as an integrated unit of the society by following majority community's rules and principles. By this, the community has to sacrifice the separate identity. Two, if they insist to maintain their separate identity and culture and try to work as a cohesive unit of society, different from majority, then they have to face the

isolation and feeling of otherness.[260] The Muslim minority of India followed the second approach, as it is generally believed. Muslim community usually participates in electoral politics as a separate and cohesive unit even then that of their scattered demographic position in the country. Thus, their participation in electoral process always had a direct impact on election outcome. They play an important role in shaping the political development in the country. However, it is also a fact that Muslim community could not organize itself in any meaningful way to influence the decision making and implementation regarding the community specifically and in general as well.

In the absence of reliable and authentic data for measuring the participation trends and behavior of any specific community, it is bit difficult to analyze the electoral participation of any community. The only reliable source for keeping record, compilation, managing and maintaining the electoral data is the Election Commission of India. However, ECI does not collect and record the data covering statistics of participation of socio-religious groups in electoral process. Thus, one has to rely on available survey data (surveys conducted by various research organizations).

[260] H W Blair, "Minority Electoral Politics in a North Indian State: Aggregate Data Analysis and the Muslim Community in Bihar", *The American Political Science Review*, Vol 67 (4) (1973): pp. 1275-87.

5:II (a) Muslim Turnout in Elections

The review of data of Muslims turnout in last few elections shows a highly fluctuated pattern as the turnout in electoral process has remained between the highest of 69 per cent (1999) and a low of 46 per cent (2004). It is observed that Muslims did not come out for polling in large number in election except 1998 and1999 elections when their turn out exceeds the national turn out.

Table 40: Trends in Turnout among Muslims (in %)

Election Year	All	Muslims
1996	58	56
1998	62	65
1999	60	67
2004	58	46
2009	58	55

Since the Election Commission does not collect data on community-wise turnout, these figures are based on self reporting by respondents. Respondents who said that they had voted but did not have a mark on their finger were treated as not having voted. Those treated as having voted were weighed by the actual turnout and rounded off with 0.5 as the cut-off point.

Source: National Election Study, respective years.

Another important observations is that, in places where Muslims' population is 30 per cent or below the half the total population the voting turnout among them increases but if the demographic balance is clearly in favour of the community, in places where they constitute a significant number in total population than overall turnout declines.[261]

Table 41: Turnout in Constituencies by Proportion of Muslim Population

Proportion of Muslims	No of Lok Sabha Constituencies	Average Turnout (%)
Up to 15%	418	57.8
15-30%	86	56.9
30-45%	24	67.5
Above 45	15	65
All	543	58.2

Classification of constituencies is based on an approximation of the Muslim population from Census 2001.

Source: CSDS Data Unit.

The reason of a relatively high turnout in constituencies where Muslim population is 30 to 45 per cent of total population is not due to a higher Muslim turnout only but the competitive communal Mobilization also plays its role. When Muslims population increase to 30 to 45 per cent of total population then communally sensitive forces also get momentum and Muslims and other competitive groups come out in large number to cast their

[261]Mohd, Sanjeer Alam Whither Muslim Politics.
www.eurac.edu/en/research/institutes/imr.

vote. State wise Muslim turnout varies state to state as in Assam, Karnataka, Kerala and West Bengal Muslim turnout is higher then overall turn out in last six general elections. States where Muslim turnout is lower than over all voters turnout are Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Rajasthan. In some states the Muslim turn out was comparatively high than overall low turnout and these states are Bihar, Delhi and Gujarat.[262]

One of the reasons of Muslims' higher than average turnout in Assam, Kerala and West Bengal is their demographic weight that results in political cohesiveness. In Assam, Muslims constitute a large share in so many political constituencies and they influence election outcomes. And such demographic trends also give rise to competition and in turn communal mobilization. There is no communal competition or mobilization in Kerala and West Bengal even though Muslims are in significant number. However the feelings of dissatisfaction with Communist parties/government and realization of the separate identity urges them to go to poling stations. In Karnataka, the higher Muslim turnout is the result of communalization of politics by BJP and other saffron parties.[363]

Muslims are in less number in states such as Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Maharashtra and this is the main reason of the lower than

[262] *Ibid.*
[263] *Ibid.*

average Muslim turnout in states. Muslims are scattered all over the state and do not have any significant stake in the body politic. Because of dispersed demographic position and lower share in politics, politicians do not concentrate on them. All of this results in a low participation of Muslim community in elections even though these states' politics revolves around a Hindutva versus non-Hindutva forces.

Muslims turnout is actually the outcome of different factors in different states.

5:II (b) Muslim 'Vote Bank'

It is believed that Muslims vote to specific parties constantly and other parties exploit people in the name of Muslim vote bank versus Hindu vote bank politics. However, data collected from a number of parliamentary elections shows that Muslim support has never been constant for the Congress or any other party has. They have never voted in constant favour of any political party. Besides the Congress, Muslims also voted for the left parties (CPI and CPI (Marxist). Their support to the left front was also not constant and has been variable across time. Muslim community voted for Smajwadi party and Bahujan Samaj Party as well. In 1996 elections, the Smajwadi Party secured one-fourth of the Muslim vote in Uttar Pradesh. The

reason of Muslim community's support to SP was that this was the first election held after the demolition of the Babri Masjid and insecure and dissatisfied Muslims had seen the SP as the only political party, at least in Uttar Pradesh, that could work for the community's welfare. However, the support of the community for SP has eroded over the years.

Table 42: Trends in Voting Pattern of Muslims (in %)

Party	1996	1998	1999	2004	2009
Congress	32	32	40	36	38
BJP	2	5	6	7	4
Left	13	8	10	9	12
SP	25	19	11	15	10

Figures are weighed by actual vote share of parties at the national level and all figures are percentages.

Source: National Election Studies, respective years, CSDS, Delhi.

In Bihar, Rashtriya Janata Dal under Laloo Parshad Yadev managed to win Muslims confidence in elections; 1991, 1996, 1998,1999, and his minority and backward classes friendly policies made him very popular in state. Congress share decreased to 6.6 per cent in 2000 elections from 21.9 per cent of 1995 state elections.

Table 43: Shift among Muslim Voters, 1995-2000

Party	1995	1996	1998	1999	2000
Congress	21.9	23.3	14.9	33.9	6.6
BJP+	7.5	5.6	4.2	13.4	7.9
JD+	57.3	68.9	19.0	---	---
RJD	---	---	59.6	48.2	61.4

Source: compiled by election results of respective years

Muslims prefer to vote for a secular political parties and this behaviour has always been favourable for All India Congress and other secular political alliances or independent candidates. In 2004 election their support to Congress led alliance of United Progressive Alliance played an important role in the victory of congress party after a decade in elections.

Table 44: Muslim community's party wise voting performance

	Congress+	BJP+	Others
Andhra Pradesh	61	34*	5
Assam	64	8	28**
Bihar	75	8	17
Delhi	94	3	3
Gujarat	66	20	14
J & K	24	1	75**
Karnataka	54	21*	25**
Kerala	58	2	40**
Maharashtra	72	14	14
Rajasthan	85	13	2
Tamil Nadu	75	14	11
Uttar Pradesh	15	3	82**
West Bengal	26	20*	54**

* Includes the votes of TDP (AP), JD(U) (Karnataka) and AITC (W. Bengal)
** Includes the votes of AGP (Assam), PDP/JKNC (J&K), JD(S) (Karnataka), LDF (Kerala), SP & BSP (UP) and LF (W. Bengal).
All figures in percentages. Based on data from NES 2004.
Source: *The Hindu*, 20 May, 2004.

In 2004 elections, they managed to defeat BJP but again could not increase their tally in Lok Sabha.

Thus Muslims voting turnout largely depends on existing circumstances. Sachhar Commission pointed out that less Muslim

representation in the government, and other legislation making institutions even in local self-government bodies has resulted in a situation that Muslims have lagged behind. Without having proper representation in decision making bodies, achievement of equity is almost impossible. Muslim community is denied of their participation and representation in electoral and political system of the country by using two mechanism:

Non- Inclusion of Muslims in the Voter Lists: it is observed that many names of Muslims were missing in the voter lists of a number of states. Not only does this dis-empower them, it also makes them ineligible as beneficiaries of government schemes.

Notification of Reserved Constituencies: Another issue is that Muslim concentration assembly constituencies being declared as 'reserved' constituencies where only Schedualed Casts' candidates can contest elections. By this move, Muslims are being systematically denied political participation.[264]

5:II (c) Muslim Representation in Parliament

The representation of Indian Muslim community in parliament and state assemblies is declining over the time. Their representation in Lok Sabha

[264] Sachhar Commision Report, *Opcit.*, pp, 24-25.

was decreased to 5 per cent in 1991 from 10 per cent in 1982. In 1982, there were 46 Muslim members of Lok Sabha while in 1991 the number reduced to 26 only. In the states' legislatures, percentage varies. They range zero percent to one third of their share in population.

Table 45: Muslim Members in Lok Sabha

Year	Muslim Members	Total	% of Muslim Membership
1989	29	531	5.4
1991	27	533	5.6
1996	27	545	4.9
1998	29	545	5.3
1999	31	545	5.6
2004	35	545	6.4

Source: Iqbal A. Ansari, *Minority Representation.* http://www.india-seminar.com/2001/506/506%20iqbal%20a.%20ansari.htm

Muslims share in state assemblies is also less than their proportion in population. States, where Muslim concentrated in significant number as UP, West Bengal, Assam, Bihar, Kerala etc, the number of Muslim members of state assembly is not up to their proportion.

Table 46: State wise Deprivation Level

State Level	Due Muslim		Actual		Deprivation
AP	4	2	2	50%	50%
Assam	4	2	2	50%	50%
Bihar	6	3	3+1*	50%	33-1/3%
Delhi	1	0	0	100%	100%
Gujarat	2	0	0	100%	100%
Haryana	1	0	0	100%	100%

J&K	4	4	3	00%	25%
Jharkhand	2	0	1	100%	50%
Karnataka	3	3	2	00%	33-1/3%
Kerala	4	3	3	25%	25%
MP	2	0	0	100%	100%
Maharashtra	5	0	1	100%	80%
Rajasthan	2	0	0	100%	100%
Tamil Nadu	2	0	2	100%	00%
UP	15	8	9	47%	40%
Uttaranchal	1	0	0	100%	100%
W. Bengal	11	6	5	45%	45%
U.T.	1	2	1	+50%	00%
Total	70	32	35	54%	50%

Source: Syed Shahabuddin Muslim Representation in Lok Sabha. The Milli Gazette, Vol_5 No_11, 1-5 June 2004.

The central Indian state of Bihar has the sizeable Muslim concentration, but their representation in state legislature has always remained below ten per cent.[265]

Table 47: Representation of Different Groups in Legislature

Category	1989	1991	1996	1998	1999
Upper caste	33.3	18.9	27.7	29.6	42.5
OBC	30.6	43.1	38.7	31.4	24.0
Muslim	5.5	4.1	7.4	11.1	5.5
Women	3.7	5.5	5.5	7.4	9.2

[265] See Who voted for the RJD (Bihar). http://www.democracy-asia.org/countryteam/sanjay/New%20Phase%20in%20Backward%20Caste%20Politics.pdf

Source:http://www.democracy-asia.org/countryteam/sanjay/New%20Phase%20in%20Backward%20Caste%20Politics.pdf

In Uttar Pradesh, Muslims constitute 25 percent of the total population and scattered in 27 districts of the state. Muslims dominate the result of 130 state assembly and 34 Lok Sabha constituencies. Their votes in these constituencies determine the fate of candidates. In 24 (Total 34) Lok Sabha constituencies, they are in a position to influence the over all results. Only in ten Lok Sabha constituencies, they do not have any significant effect on over all outcomes, as they are less in number.

Despite of Muslims sizeable number in the state, only eight- out of 80 were elected to the Lok Sabha in the 1999 elections. Only forty-four Muslims out of 403 Members of Legislative Assembly could get representation in the Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly in 1999 elections. The situation was not very different in previous state and national elections.[266]

Political parties hesitate to give party tickets to Muslim candidates because of the fear of majority population's hostile behaviour towards Muslim community. Another reason of less share for Muslims in state and national assemblies is the disunity of the community. The existence of

[266] See Masood Hasan, *In UP Tussle for Muslim Votes.* http://www.milligazette.com/Archives/2004/01-15Apr04

different political parties within the community caused the sharp division of votes and therefore their representation in parliament is being effected. The benefit of the division, among Muslim community's vote bank, goes to the other parties. Their presentation in state and national legislature could increase if the Muslim leadership put sincere efforts to stop the vote division and contest elections by the consent of the community.[267]

Table 49: Muslim Winners, Party-wise 2004

	INC	SP	CPM	BSP	RJD	JDU	DMK	IUML	JKN	PDP	AIMIM
1999	10	2	5	3	2			2	1	4	1
2004	10	7	5	4	2+1	1	1	1	1	2	1

Source: Syed Shahabuddin Muslim Representation in Lok Sabha. *The Milli Gazette*, Vol_5 No_11, 1-5 June 2004.

Table 50: Muslim Performance, Party-wise 2004

	Candidates			Won		
Party	**Total**	**Muslim**	**%**	**Total**	**Muslim**	**%**
BJP	364	10	2.7	138	0	0
INC	417	33	7.9	145	10	6.9
CPI	35	1	2.9	10	0	0
CPI(M)	70	10	14.3	43	5	11.6
BSP	435	50	11.5	19	4	21.1
SP	237	38	16.0	36	7	19.4
NCP	32	1	3.1	9	0	0
RJD	41	5	12.2	21	3	14.3
JD(U)	73	6	8.2	8	1	12.5
JD(S)	43	4	9.3	3	0	0
DMK	16	1	6.3	16	1	6.3
ADMK	33	1	3.0	0	0	0
AITC	33	4	12.1	2	0	0

[267] *Ibid.*

AIMIM	2	2	100.0	1	1	100.0
CPI(ML)(L)	65	2	3.1	0	0	0

Source: Syed Shahabuddin Muslim Representation in Lok Sabha. *The Milli Gazette*, Vol_5 No_11, 1-5 June 2004.

It is the failure on the behalf of secular governments and political parties that they could not bring Muslim community in mainstream politics by increasing their number in parliament. The religious or extremist political parties do not entertain Muslim candidates while secular parties also do not give them party tickets according to their population proportion. Political parties usually do not give party nomination to Muslims from Muslim-concentration constituencies and prefer to give tickets to Hindu candidates to avoid any lose. The widespread insecurity among the community forced them to vote for the secular candidate, irrespective of party affiliation.

The Muslim community of India is more informed and aware about their socio-political and socio-economic rights and prevailing deprivation. The last two decades increased the realization that they are falling behind and need to progress in all fields; education, economy, and politics. The new era of liberalization and globalization was started in India with the demolition of historic Babri Masjid in December 1992 and wide spread violence across the country and this disharmony between the Hindus and Muslims left some worst impact on Indian society in general and politics and

economic conditions of the community specifically. The vote bank politics of BJP and ally parties further divided the society and deprived Muslims of their right of representation. Muslims were being neglected during the two terms of BJP in rule. The All India Congress' politics of Muslim appeasement also proved fake, while the other regional parties like Smajwadi party, Janta Dal and Communist parties could not deliver good to Muslims. Thus, the globalization and liberalization process did not bring much difference in the Muslim community's socio-political and socio-economic status in the country.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6:I Findings

The beginning of the globalization and privatization in India in 1990s, introduced a new era of development and progress in the country. Liberalization and privatization of the economy and entry into various liberal regimes provided an opportunity to state and society both to get benefit of the new system and work for the prosperity. Over all the performance of the state has been outstanding throughout the last two decades. In this study, focus is on the socio-economic and political growth and development of the Indian Muslim minority in the post globalization and liberalization period. Whether liberalization, privatization and globalization process has equally been benefited for the Muslims of the India or has any positive impact on them.

The analysis of the available material; surveys conducted by different governmental and private institutes, fact finding commissions, reports of national and international organizations and individuals and census data of different periods etc, shows that there is no significant change in the status of Muslims in post globalization period. Muslims concentrated in rural areas are living in the same old miserable conditions. The economic boost of the post 1990s did not bring any positive change for them. While the situation of the urban Muslims has been worsen further as the open market competition hurt their traditional capabilities and skills. The Indian Muslims are mostly self-employed in traditional sources of income. They are artisans, craftsmen, rickshaw pullers, weavers, and laborers, thus their traditional source of incomes are now loosing their importance in the age of modern technology.

Muslims' share in the government and private sectors' jobs is less then their proportion in population. Their participation in Indian Administrative Service, Indian Foreign Service, Indian Police Service and Indian Railways is less not only then their proportion, but less than other minorities as well. Other minorities like Christians, Sikhs, and Jains have larger number of share in jobs then the Muslims even though they are far less in number then Muslims. Muslims are equivalent only to Scheduled Casts and Other Backward Classes and tribes (SCs/OBCs). In some sectors, like

education and health they are legging behind to Dalits even, the reason is the acceptance of reserved quota for them while Muslim are still being deprived of any reservation in socio-economic and political fields. The reports of different fact-finding commissions, formulated by government of India, in different times have been declared Muslims the most backward community of the country and in this regard the report of the Sachhar commission is being considered very significant.

The Sachhar Commission report describes the socio-economic and socio-political status of the Muslim community in detail and the findings of the commission show the poor social, political and economic conditions of the community. The National Sample Survey Organization's (NSSO) various countrywide rounds also portray the same picture of miserable conditions of the Muslim minority. The national census data of India also counts Muslims among the most backward segment of society, socially and economically. The analysis of data makes it very clear that majority of Muslims do not have access to the basic facilities of life. They cannot afford higher education, health facilities, social security, and a respectable life in the Indian society.

The available data and analysis of the Muslims participation in the electoral process of the country shows very disappointing situation. Muslims participation in elections has been better then other communities, as the

sense of alienness is much higher among them then others. They used to vote in a large number to make sure the victory of a secular or less fundamentalist candidate, who share sympathy with them and work for the betterment of the community. As far as their representation in parliament is considered, it is again very low then their proportion in the population. Political parties do not take risk to give party ticket to contest election to any Muslims even in a constituency where majority belongs to Muslims. The analysis of elections being held in last decades, shows that Muslims' representation in the two houses of the parliament (Lok Sabha, Rajya Sabha) and state assemblies has always been very low then their proportion. The lower casts and other backward classes enjoy the reserved quota in parliament but Muslims do not have any reservation in the house. The rising safforanization of the politics during with the emergence of BJP as a national political party and then during its rule in 1990s til 2004, caused damage to Muslims politics. The Hindutva ideology and vote bank politics played a vital role in the division of Indian society in lines of religious hatred.

The last decade of twentieth century saw an intensification of the religious fanaticism in India. The demolition of Babri Masjid and then frequent communal riots badly hurt the socio-political and economic life of the Muslim community. These riots have been resulted in the heavy losses of

the community. The series of riots reached to climax in 2002 when Hindu fanatics burnt thousands of Muslims and their homes and businesses.

Globalization and liberalization of Indian society has been intensified the competition among the have and have-nots. The struggle for a better life standard has widened the gap between privileged and deprived. In this struggle, the Muslims are legging behind because of their poor education and social status. They do not have skills to qualify for white-collar jobs or in modern IT (information technology) based industry. The poverty reduction schemes announced by different governments have never been implemented.

There are some success stories of Muslims in the growing economy and socio-cultural spheres of India, however over all situations is not very satisfactory when it goes to an ordinary Muslim. Muslim community in a globalized India is suffering in all walks of life. Whatever the reasons are, but globalization did not bring any change in the socio-economic and socio-political conditions of the Muslims.

6:II Recommendations:

The following measures are recommended to bring the Muslim community in mainstream globalized Indian society:

- Mechanisms to ensure equity and equality of opportunity and elimination of discrimination.
- Qouta should be researved in Parliament (Lok Sabha, Rajiya Sabha) for Muslims representation according to their proportion in population.
- The real need is of policy initiatives that improve the participation and share of the Muslims in the business, govemement jobs, private economic organizations/institutions etc.
- The community should be represented on interview panels and Boards. The underprivileged should be helped to utilize new opportunities in its high growth phase through skill development and education.
- Government should facilitate admissions to the Muslims in the regular universities and autonomous colleges, quota reservation in educational institutes should be adopted to facilitate the students from backward Muslim community.
- The states should run Urdu medium schools to increase literacy rate among Muslims and should Work out mechanisms whereby Madarsas can be linked with a higher secondary school board so that students wanting to shift to a regular mainstream education can do so after having passed from a Madarsa.

- Community should be provided with proper health and sanitation related facilities.
- There is an acute need to initiate a bill against communal violence to make the Muslims realize that they are secure in their country and other necessary trust building measures should be taken.

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