CHAPTER II
A REVIEW OF LITERATURE.

This chapter is an analysis of the secondary data collected in the form of articles and other literature related to the status of minorities in India. A review of the related literature is of great importance as it helps in framing the aims and objectives and hypotheses for any research based on the results from the data. Thus, the analysis or the review of the literature collected for the present research is made below in chronological order from the latest to the oldest works made on minorities in India and other countries throughout the world and the references in alphabetical order at the end of the chapter.

Prema Kurien (2017) in her paper Majority Versus Minority Religious Status and Diasporic Nationalism: Indian American Advocacy Organisations, Nations and Nationalism holds that, studies of the homeland-oriented activism of diasporic groups focus on cases where those who share national origins also share common political interests. But other literature indicates that ethnic majority and minority groups may have different attitudes towards their homelands. This paper examines how majority and minority religious status in the homeland affects the foreign policy activism of immigrant organisations. It also examines how competing groups mobilising around foreign policy concerns frame their issues in such a way as to
resonate with their Western audiences. Using examples of the mobilisation of Indian American groups around religious issues in India, it demonstrates that there are fundamental differences in the concerns and goals of Hindu American organisations and those representing Muslims, Sikhs and Christian Americans of Indian ancestry. These differences often result in opposing patterns of mobilisation around homeland issues.

Matteo Migheli (2016) in Minority Religious Groups and Life Satisfaction in India, holds that, the link between individual religiosity and life satisfaction has been studied from different perspectives but the general conclusion is that religiosity makes people happier. Extant studies, however, have never considered minority religious groups in areas of conflict. This article therefore analyses India, a multi-religious country largely characterised by religious conflicts. Membership of a minority religion, which is in conflict with the dominant group, is likely to decrease life satisfaction; this effect can be reversed if the group is concentrated in a particular region (in which it constitutes the majority).

Mohd Sanjeer Alam (2016) in his article Affirmative Action for Minorities in India: Constraints and Possibilities, holds that, India is one of the most socially fragmented and unequal societies of the world. At the same time, it has the distinction of having the longest history of most elaborative affirmative action programmes for alleviating socially structured inequalities.
While the affirmative action programmes have wider coverage in terms of social groups, there is continuing demand by new social groups for getting acknowledged as ‘disadvantaged’ and inclusion in the system of affirmative action. While group based ‘reservation’ as the most vital instrument of social justice has long been under fire and grappling with several challenges, the social justice regime is faced with the charge that it has largely excluded nation’s religious minorities. Of course, religion based affirmative action is faced with many constraints; nevertheless there are possibilities for it. This article discusses the constraints and possibilities of affirmative action for disadvantaged religious minorities, Muslims in particular.

Abdul Majid (2015) in Indian Secularism and Religious Minorities in India, examines the working of secularism in India. He holds that secular state can be described as a state that does not officially identify with any religion. It treats all citizens as equal irrespective of religion. In a secular form of government, no state promotes the religion or any religious group and also not interferes in religious affairs. A secular state does not limit itself with the social welfare of only one religion. No one will ever dispute the notion that Indians (especially Hindus) have two faces. One that depicts its leader Gandhi and other that represents Chanakya. There are numerous examples where Hindu culture is described as Indian Culture. No modern secular democracy other then India experienced multiple, state sponsored pogroms – that of Sikh
in 1984, and of Muslims in 1992, 2002. In India, almost all minorities (especially Muslims) recall with despair and despondence how it has been constitutionally pushed to the wall.

**Rollin F Tusalem (2015) in Ethnic Minority Governments, Democracy, and Human Rights, Politics and Policy**, investigates empirically whether or not the presence of minority governments is more likely to induce the erosion of democracy. This is in light of how extant research in comparative democratization has focused on the deleterious effect of ethnic fractionalization on democratic survival. However, a more recent work that re-examined the ethnic heterogeneity and democratic collapse nexus finds mostly null effects. This article shows that ethnic fractionalization per se does not hinder the process of democratization. The study finds that the assumption to power of minority heads of government and their length of tenure in office lead to ethnic minority dominance that has a pernicious effect on democratic development and the promotion of human rights. The implications suggest that the presence of minority governments may generate ethnic tensions that precipitate longstanding political instability, which makes it difficult for democratic politics and its practices to endure.

**Vazira Zamindar (2015), in South Asia in Dark Times: Homogenizing Nation-States and the Problem of Minorities says**, “As we witness growing chauvinism and violence toward minorities in India and Pakistan alike, we
must ask what price we are willing to pay for the homogenizing wrath of Partition’s nation-states” Seventh in a series on resurgent nationalism around the world.

Mayuri Sengupta (2014) in her paper State-Initiated Development and the Reang Ethnic Minority in Tripura (North East India), explores the wider implications of state-led development on the Reang ethnic minority in the North East Indian state of Tripura, and in doing so presents a critical view on such development endeavours. Basing itself on the study of the relationship between the state and the ethnic minorities, this research argues the following: – first, most state-led development programmes are formulated on a preconceived notion of ‘backwardness’ in the ethnic minorities. Second, state-led development projects create internal fissures and ruptures within ethnic minorities on issues of what constitutes development. Third, often, state-led development programmes create an image of oneself as inherently ‘backward’, whereby the conditioning of the mind plays an important role in extending the desire of the members of an ethnic minority to achieve this ‘imagined modernity’.

Mohammad Allam (2014) in his article Minority Institutions and the Question of Autonomy: A Case of Aligarh Muslim University holds that India is a multi-cultural, multi-religious and multi-linguistic country. This has been acknowledged by the constitution of free India where each and every
community has been given fair share for their development through education. The autonomy has been granted to the institutions run by the minorities to promote and adjust their interest with mainstream and save themselves from marginalization. Certain other safeguards have been granted them constitutionally and on the principles of democracy. In recent time many committees like Pathan committee have been constituted for bringing uniform system of administration of the central universities in the name of ensuring qualitative and meet the need of market economy. AMU is the leading university administered by Indian Muslims. How the Pathan and other committee would affect the aims and objectives of AMU and other universities established for special purposes by uniform administration of the Central universities? This paper is meant to study all those aspects, which would affect the aims and objectives of AMU from the curtailment of autonomy, principles of decentralization and democratic functioning by constituting various committees to look into uniform administration of the Central Universities of India.

Mohammad Mustafa B (2013) in his article Debates on Minority Rights in India: Liberal Perspective, tries to situate the minorities, especially the Muslims in the context of their rights and liberties guaranteed in the democratic constitutional set up. This paper intends to bring about the
problems and challenges before the minorities in terms of asserting their rightful claims as a citizens of liberal democracy.

Ming-Tak Hue and Kerry John Kennedy (2013), in Building a Connected Classroom: Teachers’ Narratives about Managing the Cultural Diversity of Ethnic Minority Students in Hong Kong Secondary Schools reveal that Many Hong Kong schools are concerned about their growing numbers of ethnic minority students. When these students are enrolled in Hong Kong secondary schools, how their cultural diversity is catered for becomes critical. This article examines how teachers narrate the cultural diversity of ethnic minority students, who come from Pakistan, India, Nepal, the Philippines and Thailand. Qualitative data were collected from interviews, through which the narratives of twenty-four teachers from four secondary schools were explored. The study showed that to address cultural diversity, a ‘connected’ classroom should be established by promoting interpersonal relationships, developing adaptive teaching strategies, keeping the balance between guidance and discipline and strengthening home-school collaboration. Implications for the development of teacher education will be presented.

E Sridharan (2012) in his article, Why are Multi-Party Minority Governments Viable in India? Theory and Comparison attempts to explain the apparently exceptional pattern of coalition politics in India compared to
international patterns—the prevalence of minority governments and among them, minority coalitions, among non-single party majority governments, as well as the predominance of very large coalitions of 6–12 parties—in the light of theorising on coalition and minority governments and the specificities of India’s political institutions. It shows that there are two general and three specific circumstances that favour such a pattern and that most of these have been present at government formation since 1989, and particularly since 1996.

Vedpathak Madhukar Ranchandra (2012) in Constitutional Provisions and Minorities in India states that, minority is a social class that does not constitute a politically dominant voting majority of the total population of a given society. A sociological minority is not necessarily a numerical minority—it may include any group that is sub-normal with respect to a dominant group in terms of social status, education, employment, wealth and political power. To avoid confusion, some writers prefer the terms “Subordinate group” and “dominant group” rather than “minority” and “majority”, respectively. IN socioeconomics, the term “minority” typically refers to a socially subordinate ethnic group (understood in terms of language, nationality, religion and/or culture). Other minority groups include people with disabilities, “economic minorities” (working poor or unemployed), “age
minorities” (who are younger or older than a typical working age) and sexual minorities.

Meghna Guha, Thakur T. A (2012) Amidst the Winds of Change: The Hindu Minority in Bangladesh, hold that Partition and the legacy of the two-nation theory have shaped the history of the subcontinent. The division of two nation-states into Hindus and Muslims had formalized this divide in a way that one religious community dominated the other, that is, the Hindus in India and the Muslims in Pakistan. The partition of the subcontinent along religious lines with accompanying communal violence produced a politics that was reproduced consecutively in the day-to-day lives of religious minorities of the region. In this article, I discuss how Hindus came to be constituted as minorities in the state of Bangladesh, in the context of its Constitution, legal structure, demography and ideology. It charts the trajectory of their journey as a minority in Bangladesh, the politics of minority vote banks, its interplay with electoral politics, the intricacy of property laws and the reasons for their resultant exodus into India. In describing the growing vulnerability of Hindus, I locate their responses in the context of present-day national, regional and global politics.

Tanweerfazal (2012) in Minority Rights and the Nationalist Doctrine in India: Contestation and Coalescence in the Public Sphere, analyses that in India the genealogy of the concept of minority rights is drawn from its
pre-independent past and is intrinsic to the nationalist doctrine that emerged. Indeed minority groups were endowed with certain self-preservation rights, albeit extremely limited, in the new Constitution. This single fact has driven theorists to laud the commitment of the Indian polity towards minority entitlements. Amidst such celebratory euphoria, however, the disquiet, deceit and aversion with which the prevailing nationalist opinion engaged with the concept, is often overlooked. This essay seeks to trace the trajectory of the idea of minority rights as it evolved within the Constituent Assembly as much as outside it in the public domain. In the process, the essay interrogates the constitution of the public sphere as an arena, rational and autonomous of state influences.

Umbreen Javaid and Malik Nisar Ahmed (2012) in Socio-Political Status of Muslims in India: Post Partition, interprete that since India got independence, the Muslims who opted to make India as their homeland have to witness numerous problems in terms of their economy, education, politics and culture. Rather their miseries and deprivations even farther multiplied as compared to colonial period of sway. As Gopal Singh committee Report 1983, the Sachar Report 2006 and lastly, the Ranganath Report 2007 manifest the other side of the story against the Indian government’s claim that the Muslims are progressing and prospering alike other communities. Indian governments have constituted several commissions to probe into Muslims’ plight, but have
showed reluctance to implement the findings or recommendations of the said committees on the one hand while the Hindu extremists always blame the Indian government’s policy of “Muslims’ appeasement” on the other. Since independence the Muslims have been made sandwich between the two variations... the duplicity of Indian governments and the adverse attitude of the Hindu fundamentalists. However, it is the need of the hour to take certain affirmative measures to curtail the Muslims’ deprivations in the areas of education, economics and politics.

Mariella Sica (2012) in Politics and Religion in India: Minorities, Transition Studies Review, addresses the minority issue in India. In the introduction gives a definition of minority, which is not asserted by a numerical criteria, but rather by the share of power and freedoms. Then proceed giving an overlook of the largely diverse Indian state, which for its pluralistic composition has to face socioeconomic and religious challenges. Some legal guarantees are provided by the Constitution, although they are not fully respected in practice, rejecting Indian secularism’s criticisms. Then we analyze the model of Indian secularism, consisting in the separation between State and religious, though taking into account the delicate balance of multiple social interests. The positivistic view of Bhargava suggests us that the Indian conception is better equipped at political and moral level to deal with deep religious diversity. The conclusion suggests that Indian democracy has a
great potential, even with its cracks and odds still to be solved, and at least in absolute terms has much to teach to other proclaimed secular countries in the Western world.

Barry Sautman (2012) in Paved with Good Intentions: Proposals to Curb Minority Rights and their Consequences for China says that since 2004, academics concerned about a prospective fracturing of China’s territory have advanced proposals to phase out ethnic regional autonomy, preferential policies, and other minority rights. Riots in Lhasa, Tibet, in 2008 and Urumqi, Xinjiang, in 2009 gave greater impetus to the proposals, as they moved from academic to wider circles and complaints about preferential policies in criminal justice, family planning, and school admissions grew, with even state recognition of minorities challenged. Yet many minority and some Han intellectuals continue to see the proposals as deleterious to interethnic and minority–state relations and arguments for them based on practices in the United States and India have lacked persuasive power. The state has reacted to this discourse by reemphasizing existing policies, but it has also brought about a “subtle shift” in ethnic policies since 2010, albeit not the shift that proponents of curbing minority rights have sought.

a transformation in social structure due to the partition. The adoption of the constitution and the merger of hundreds of feudal states, which contributed towards a deliberate policy of the government of India with respect to industrial policy resolutions, the planning mechanism and a series of legislative, administrative and other measures. They have been adapted to change socio-economic conditions of Indian society. It is noticed that the family structure and function among Muslims is undergoing a change as a result of industrialization and urbanization and the enacting of various legislations. The society compared to the earlier Mohgal rule, British rule and even after post independent in India has developed a complex web of network of educational and health services number of institutions both government and voluntary, spread over the country the family life among Muslim in India both rural and urban. The paper will discuss in broad terms, the Muslim population in India has been growing in geometrical progression vis-à-vis Hindus who have been growing in arithmetical progression.

Larry L Howard and Nishithprakash (2012) in Do Employment Quotas Explain the Occupational Choices of Disadvantaged Minorities in India?, investigated the effects of a large-scale public sector employment quota policy for disadvantaged minorities (Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes) in India on their occupational choices, as defined by skill level, during the 1980s and 1990s. They found that, first, the employment quota policy
significantly affects the occupational structure of both disadvantaged minority populations. In response to the employment quotas, individuals belonging to the Scheduled Caste group are more likely to choose high-skill occupations and less likely to choose low- and middle-skill occupations, while individuals belonging to the Scheduled Tribe group are less likely to choose high-skill occupations and more likely to choose low- and middle-skill occupations. Second, the impact of the employment quotas is significantly related with an individual’s years of schooling. Overall, the results indicate that the employment quota policy changes the occupational choices of individuals within the targeted populations and contributes to their improved socio-economic standing.

Duncan McDuie-Ra (2012) in Violence against Women in the Militarized Indian Frontier: Beyond “Indian Culture” in the Experiences of Ethnic Minority Women, holds that Violence against women (VAW) in India is commonly attributed to an overarching metacultural patriarchal framework. Focusing on this national culture of violence obscures the experiences of VAW among ethnic minority women. This article focuses on VAW in Northeast India, a region populated by large numbers of Scheduled Tribes with different cultural norms and where society has become militarized by ongoing insurgency and counterinsurgency. Though tempting, militarization alone is not a sufficient explanation for VAW; instead, this article focuses on
the interplay between nonfamilial and familial contexts in creating a “frontier culture of violence” in which VAW is experienced and contested.

Waughray Annapurna (2010) in Caste Discrimination and Minority Rights: The Case of India’s Dalits holds that, India’s Dalits (formerly known as Untouchables) number around 167 million or one-sixth of India’s population. Despite constitutional and legislative prohibitions of Untouchability and discrimination on grounds of caste, they continue to suffer caste-based discrimination and violence. Internationally, caste discrimination has been affirmed since 1996 by the UN committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination as a form of racial discrimination prohibited by the International Convention for the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, and since 2000 as a form of discrimination prohibited by international human rights law. India’s Dalits have also pursued minority rights and indigenous peoples’ approaches before international forums. Yet the Dalits do not readily meet the internationally-agreed criteria for minorities or for indigenous peoples, while in India they are not classified legally as a minority, enjoying a constitutional status and constitutional protections in the form of affirmative action provisions distinct from those groups classified as minorities. This article is concerned with the characterization of the Dalits in international and Indian law. In particular, it focuses on India’s provisions on Dalits and minorities respectively, examining the origins and limitations of the Scheduled Caste
category (the constitutional term for the Dalits) and the relationship between Scheduled Caste status and religion. The article addresses arguments for the extension of Scheduled Caste status to Muslim and Christian Dalits (currently excluded from the constitutional category on grounds of religion) and concludes by endorsing calls for re-examination of the domestic legal categories encompassing victims of caste discrimination and of the legal strategies for the elimination of such discrimination. While arguing that internationally caste discrimination might be more effectively addressed by the conceptualization of caste as a sui generis ground of discrimination as in India.

Pankaj Jha (2009) in his article, Changing Political Dynamics in Malaysia: Role of Ethnic Minorities holds that, the 12th Malaysian general elections have been significant in more ways than one. Most importantly, the opposition unity combined with the grievance vote of the ethnic minorities challenged the United Malays National Organisation hegemony long prevalent in Malaysian politics. The Bersih rally and Hindraf agitation that saw large-scale mobilisation before the elections also points to the active participation of civil society. The socio-economic marginalization of the ethnic minorities, erosion of religious rights, corruption, and unemployment accelerated such a change in the political scenario. This paper looks into different facets of the changing political dynamics in Malaysia and the role of ethnic minorities. It
also looks into the policy options before India with regard to ethnic Indians in
Malaysia.

Ayelet Harel-Shalev (2009) in The Problematic Nature of Religious
Autonomy to Minorities in Democracies-The Case of India’s Muslims,
focuses on the ambivalent effect of religious autonomy in India and the
outcome for democracy in the country. The Indian constitution guarantees
autonomy to its religious minorities, and promises the minorities the freedom
independently to manage their religious affairs in addition to a proportional
share of the budget. At the same time, the constitution emphasizes the
aspiration to legislate 'uniform personal laws' for all the citizens of India in
accordance with the principles of secularism, equality and with India’s self-
definition as a civic nation. This recommendation has however remained a
'dead letter' until today. In this domain, the state has constituted a civic law for
Hindus, which adjusts Hinduism to democratic principles. In this sense, the
state has nationalized Hinduism, and the government has assumed authority
and reformed Hindu civic and marriage laws. However, although they have
tried, the state’s legal and political institutions have not interfered thus far with
Muslim marriage and religious laws. Muslims are committed to the Sharia
while Hindus must obey the state's civic laws. By avoiding enforcement of
affirmative action for Muslims in the spheres of political representation or
public employment, while simultaneously prohibiting Hindus' group rights, and
providing religious autonomy to the Muslim minority, the Constitution, which stresses so-called secularism as well as minority protection, intensifies the conflict between these two governance principles. The conclusion is that this situation not only leads to ideological conflicts and resource competition but also, overall, threatens the stability of India's democracy.

S Srinivasa Rao (2008) in *India's Language Debates and Education of Linguistic Minorities*, analyses that more than one billion India’s population comprises a unique mosaic of more than 400-odd languages and 3,000-odd dialects spread across its 28 states and seven union territories, making it a very distinct linguistic, cultural and ethnic landscape. However, this linguistic and cultural diversity has come under attack in different periods of history and has threatened the existence of many of the minority languages, mainly those which are numerically less represented and also those which are powerless or are of less utility in terms of social mobility. The paper discusses different contexts, starting from the colonial period to the recent National Knowledge Commission Report (2006) that tended to undermine the languages of less power in Indian education.

Ella Rolfe (2008) in *Refugee, Minority, Citizen, Threat: Tibetans and the Indian Refugee Script* analyses that ideas of ‘the refugee’ in India, long integrated with concepts of the nation through the partition experience, have significantly contributed to India's lack of formal refugee legislation. The
present article argues that the resultant vague conceptual basis-or script-for refugee treatment has allowed India to deal relatively successfully with refugee situations of great variation and huge scale in the past when refugees were largely integrated into an existing narrative of ‘minorities, a vital component of India's national identity and political landscape. However, recent pressures from within and from the international community to standardise refugee treatment and introduce a formal refugee law have combined with political events of recent years to disadvantage some refugee groups. This article seeks to understand the changes in refugee treatment in India today and focuses on Tibetans, who appear to suffer increasingly from association with a changing narrative that links refugees, penetration by outsiders, and threats to national security, arising partly as a result of the activities of refugee Tamils from Sri Lanka, and non–refugee incomers from Pakistan.

Bryan S Turner (2007) in Minorities and Modernity: The Crisis of Liberal Secularism, Citizenship Studies, opines that Enlightenment as the origin of modernity and as the foundation of moral universalism has been much invoked by social theory in recent years especially by writers influenced by Michel Foucault's essay on the subject. Postmodernism and cultural anthropology have made the question about Enlightenment universalism ever more pressing. At one level the issue is very simple. By its emphasis on
universalism in knowledge and ethics, the Enlightenment made particularity a problem and it resulted in a stigmatization of those social groups that patently departed from its magisterial interpretation of rationality appear to be irrational, premodern and dangerous. Aamir Mufti claims uncontroversially that the Enlightenment idea of universalism set up a series of contrasts between the universalism of the bourgeois world of civility, civilization and citizenship on the one hand and local practices and customs on the other. The result was to construct a classification of social minorities who were deemed to be in need of education, moral reform, modernization and assimilation.

Enlightenment in the Colony involves a comparison between “the Jewish Question” and the Partition of India. The particularity of Jews and Muslims is examined in the context of modern assumptions about universalism, especially the notion of universal citizenship.

Oonk Gijsbert (2006) in *South Asians in East Africa (1880-1920) with a Particular Focus on Zanzibar: Toward a Historical Explanation of Economic Success of a Middlemen Minority* says that, the main object of this article is to falsify the common historical portrait of South Asians in Zanzibar and East Africa. Most studies, a-priori, assume the outstanding business success of the Asian minority in East Africa. In explaining this success, they emphasize common explanations and theories for their economic success, like hard work, having a superior business mind, using
their ethnic resources for capital accumulation and knowledge of (international) markets. In this article, he attempts to explain the success of South Asians in Zanzibar, East Africa, from a historical point of view. My main argument is that South Asians started with a far more favorable socio-economic position as compared to their African counterparts. They were more than Swahilis, accustomed with a money economy and the concept of interest. In addition, they knew how to read, write and produce account books. Finally, they had access to the rulers, and were able to negotiate profitable terms of trade. Nevertheless, many were not successful at all and went bankrupt. Therefore, the success of South Asians in East Africa may be explained as the outcome of a 'trial and error' process. The successful remained in East Africa, whereas others left. India remained a safety net for those who did not make out as well as a source for new recruitment of traders, shopkeepers and clerks.

Rashmi Shrivastava (2005) in Minority Representation of a Political Majority Group: Women in Indian Democratic Process holds that, while women constitute nearly half of the electorate in India, their representation in elected bodies including the two houses of parliament has always been negligible. Woman candidates have to struggle against great odds, no matter to which party they belong. The old political norms of the Gandhian era have been totally discarded by now and women find themselves at a great
disadvantage in this cut-throat political atmosphere. The low representation given to them by the various political parties on their lists of candidates for the elections to the parliament and state assemblies is not merely an indicator of their inferior political status but reveals their subordinate position in a society and refusal to recognize their right and ability to participate in the nation’s development activities. The recent trends in electoral processes in the country reflects the poor status of Indian women in terms of their political participation. The object of this paper is to highlight the fact that the numerical strength of women in decision making bodies poses serious problems.

Ananya Jahanara Kabir (2003) in her article "Allegories of Alienation and Politics of Bargaining: Minority Subjectivities in Mani Ratnam’s Dil Se," examines Mani Ratnam’s film Dil Se (India, 1998, Tamil and Hindi), as an allegory of the relationship between dominant and dominated groups within the Indian nation-state. By reading its narrative of doomed love against its counter narratives of cinematography and soundtrack, she argues that, the film exposes the libidinal economy of the federal democratic framework, urging groups currently alienated within that framework to work towards a successful politics of bargaining in order to claim their rightful place within the nation and initiates processes of mourning for cultural losses sustained through homogenising majoritarian discourses, including those of Bollywood itself. By invoking Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari’s theory of 'minor
literatures’, she reveals the minority subjectivities of those involved in the film’s making as the key unlocking the therapeutic, even redemptive potential of its radical political messages, that, despite the film’s commercial failure, circulate subliminally through its popular soundtrack.

Rochana Bajpai (2002) in her article The Conceptual Vocabularies of Secularism and Minority Rights in India, says that secularism, one of the main political ideologies of the post-colonial state in India, has been at the centre of scholarly and political debates in recent times. This article seeks to illuminate some aspects of the career of secularism in India through an analysis of two landmark parliamentary debates on minority rights: the Constituent Assembly debates (1946-1949) and the Shah Bano debate (1986). My analysis attempts, first, to challenge a contrast commonly made by both advocates and critics of secularism in India, between a Western model of secularism, identified with separation of state and religion, and an Indian model, based on equal respect for all religions. Secondly, I critically examine the dominant view that the Shah Bano case constituted a watershed with regard to the career of secularism in India. I attempt to delineate the changes in the constellation of concepts associated with secularism that contribute to this impression while arguing that the ideological shift in the Shah Bano case is less radical than is commonly supposed.
L D Jenkins (2001) in *Becoming Backward: Preferential Policies and Religious Minorities in India* holds that, Official categories imposed by the state shape religious and caste identities but do not determine them. Various protest groups in India are challenging the classifications of citizens used to implement preferential policies, known as reservations, for disadvantaged or 'backward' groups. Muslim and Christian demands to be included in the officially backward categories have sparked dissent within these minority communities. The resulting controversies over who should be allowed to become backward illustrate ongoing political constructions of religious, caste and national identities. India’s cross-cutting identities lead to frequent disagreements over group-based policies, but competing demands may also prevent the reification of state categories and the dangers of dichotomised conflict.

Amalendu Misra (2000), in his article *Hindu Nationalism and Muslim Minority Rights in India* opines that after half a century of experiment with secular politics, India has finally gone fundamentalist, preferring to be ruled by religious nationalists. This mind set among Indian voters is induced intriguing. The mandate for the nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), in the recent parliamentary elections is an indication that India’s majority Hindus are uncomfortable with their minority Muslim counterparts. Simultaneously, the support of a section of Muslims for the BJP also questions the true nature of
secularism in India. Is this behaviour an indication of erosion of faith in secular politics? In this article he explores the roots of majority-minority divide in India. He argues that the rise of Hindu nationalism is a direct response to the politically motivated pseudo-secular ideas of the Congress party that ruled 45 out of 50 years of independent India. Analysing three of the most controversial issues viz. Article 370, Uniform Civil Code and Ram temple, the article evaluates the minority loss and gain in case the BJP succeeds in implementing its policies over these. Finally, it looks into the position of Muslims in a Hindu nation.

**N S Jodha (1988) in Poverty Debate in India: A Minority View** holds that rural socio-economic change is often inadequately captured by social science research in the field. This happens partly due to perceptions of the researchers and partly due to inadequacies of research tools and approaches. This paper illustrates the situation by presenting evidence on incidence of rural poverty in two villages of Rajasthan as examined through different approaches, during 1963-66 and 1982-84. Households that have become poorer by conventional measurement of income in fact appear better off when seen through different qualitative indicators of their economic well-being. The paper suggests the need for supplementing conventional measurements of income by qualitative indicators of change to arrive at a realistic understanding of rural socio-economic change.
Rasheeduddin Khan (1978) in his article Minority Segments in Indian Polity: Muslim Situation and Plight of Urdu says that The political unity of India, cherished by the major political parties in the country and superimposed by the Constitution on an age-old socio-cultural diversity, gives the country a unique impress of pluralism. For purposes of national integration, many segments of this plural society have to be coalesced in a pattern of unity in diversity: religion, language, region, culture, class, and social stratification. The present article focuses attention on religion and language as applicable to the largest of India’s minorities, the Muslims. It questions the common assumptions about the Muslims as constituting a ‘minority’ in the Indian context, consisting as they do, in aggregate terms, of more than six crore people. It argues that the so-called ‘Muslim problem’, like the ‘Hindu problem’, is in fact the problem of India because the Hindus and the Muslims are the only two all-India communities who are fragmented regionally, linguistically, culturally and ethnically, and whose problems have a relevance at each level and for all sectors of national life.

Moin Shakir (1980) in his article Electoral Participation of Minorities and Indian Political System views that the support extended by large sections of the Muslims, the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes to Indira Gandhi has generally been acknowledged to have contributed significantly to her victory in the recent Lok Sabha polls. But, contrary to popular impression,
the votes of these sections are not always purchased by "contractors" and delivered, at a price, to the political aspirant; the voting pattern of these minority communities is determined by their limited perception of certain concrete situations and issues - security of life and property and bread and butter issues. Thus, it is significant that, even though the organized leadership of the Muslims in the form of the ‘National Muslim Front’ as well as many notable leaders of the RPI and the Dalit Panthers openly supported Jagjivan Ram, it was Indira Gandhi who finally cornered the votes. An analysis of the voting figures shows that in constituencies where Muslims constitute between 20 and 40 percent of the population, the alliance around the Lok Dal and the Congress (U) and the Left groups together polled more votes than even the Congress (I). The lesson is clear. It is possible and, indeed, essential, to organise the minorities on economic issues; and the masses among the minorities themselves perceive that the solution to the "minority problem" in India lies in a socialist agrarian revolution. But as things stand, the choice posed before them is between two reactionary ideologies: peasant Gandhism on the one hand and casteism and communal obscurantism on the other.

Rasheeduddin Khan (1978) in Minority Segments in Indian Polity: Muslim Situation and Plight of Urdu says that, the political unity of India, cherished by the major political parties in the country and superimposed by the Constitution on an age-old socio-cultural diversity, gives the country a
unique impress of pluralism. For purposes of national integration, many segments of this plural society have to be coalesced in a pattern of unity in diversity: religion, language, region, culture, class, and social stratification. The present article focuses attention on religion and language as applicable to the largest of India’s minorities, the Muslims. It questions the common assumptions about the Muslims as constituting a ‘minority’ in the Indian context, consisting as they do, in aggregate terms, of more than six crore people. It argues that the so-called ‘Muslim problem’, like the ‘Hindu problem’, is in fact the problem of India because the Hindus and the Muslims are the only two all-India communities who are fragmented regionally, linguistically, culturally and ethnically, and whose problems have a relevance at each level and for all sectors of national life.

Rasheeduddin Khan (1971a), in Muslim Leadership and Electoral Politics in Hyderabad: A Pattern of Minority Articulation-I, holds that the reconciliation of minority identities with the national identity takes many forms. In the context of India’s plural society, in which the long continuity and stability of multiple traditional cultures makes the unified democratic experiment anyhow more complicated, the task of harmonizing the particular and exclusive demands of minorities with the nation’s general processes of change becomes all the more perilous. If only for this reason a study of minority politics in all its ramifications acquires a certain primacy for
construction of relevant hypotheses of India’s functional politics. Of all the minorities, the Muslims occupy a distinctive place in Indian politics for many reasons because of their proportion in the population which makes them the single biggest minority; because of their historical role, cultural contribution, social distinctiveness and urban and semi-urban habitation contrasted with their present cultural bewilderment, social degeneracy, educational decline and economic backwardness; and because of their sense of political despair so unwisely perpetuated by the existence of exclusivistic non-secular, uncreative and inept leadership. For a clearer understanding of Indian politics, no less than for a better appreciation of the Muslim response to the processes of secularization and modernization in India, systematic studies of Muslim politics under different situations and conditions and in different parts and regions of the country are called for. This paper studies the traditional leadership situation among Muslims in a major urban political centre of Muslims, the city of Hyderabad in Andhra Pradesh. The paper is published in two parts. In this, the first, part the author examines the process of communal polarization in Hyderabad city politics in successive elections and discusses the traditional Muslim parties in Hyderabad and their leaderships.

Rasheeduddin Khan (1971b) in Muslim Leadership and Electoral Politics in Hyderabad: A Pattern of Minority Articulation-II, views that the reconciliation of minority identities with the national identity takes many forms.
In the context of India’s plural society, in which the long continuity and stability of multiple traditional cultures makes the unified democratic experiment anyhow more complicated, the task of harmonizing the particular and exclusive demands of minorities with the nation’s general processes of change becomes all the more perilous. If only for this reason a study of minority politics in all its ramifications acquires a certain primacy for construction of relevant hypotheses of India’s functional policies. Of all the minorities, the Muslims occupy a distinctive place in Indian politics for many reasons: because of their proportion in the population which makes them the single biggest minority; because of their historical role, cultural contribution, social distinctiveness and urban and semi-urban habitation contrasted with their present cultural bewilderment, social degeneracy, educational decline and economic backwardness; and because of their sense of political despair so unwisely perpetuated by the existence of an exclusivistic non-secular, uncreative and inept leadership. For a clearer understanding of Indian politics, no less than for a better appreciation of the Muslim response to the processes of secularization and modernization in India, systematic studies of Muslim politics under different situations and conditions and in different parts and regions of the country are called for. This paper studies the traditional leadership situation among Muslims in a major urban political centre of Muslims, the city of Hyderabad in Andhra Pradesh. The paper has been
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major aspects of the Muslim problem in Hyderabad and also seeks to suggest
a general framework for understanding communal polarization.
REFERENCES


