CHAPTER III

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

Overview

In this chapter an attempt has been made to explain the statement of the problem, review of literature, objectives of the study and methodology of the study.

Statement of the Problem

The Muslims of India, over 120 million, constitute about 12 percent of the total population and are the second largest religious community in the country. They are about 10 percent of the total Muslim population of the world and are nearly one third of the total Muslim minority population in the world. India has the largest concentration of the Muslims outside the member countries of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the second largest in the world. Muslim minorities think that Indian Muslims are deprived of their democratic rights and social justice, make their own efforts to improve their living conditions but they are often frustrated in these attempts by the hostile forces of Hindu fanaticism, who always want to see that Muslims do not cross the barrier of economic and social backwardness. Government machinery, instead of assisting them in their attempts to attain economic progress, often puts snags on their way.
The residential houses and commercial establishments built by the Muslims are demolished either by the communal forces or by the government machinery in the name of enforcing law. Obviously the purpose of all these is to retard their progress and development. An example of such a nefarious and cruel action was the demolition of 20 multi-storeyed commercial complexes in Miralam at the outskirts of Hyderabad. The buildings constructed by the local Muslims after attaining proper permission from the municipality were reduced to rubble using heavy duty bulldozers even without issuing any notice to their owners. The action was reportedly taken by the municipality on the instruction of the State Government in line with its policy of uprooting the new Muslim settlements in the area. Hindu fundamentalism is increasingly widening its influence everywhere and has already established for itself a firm base in every sector of the Indian society including bureaucracy, media, educational institutions and the like. The hate campaign unleashed by the fundamentalist forces is keeping the Muslims wholly preoccupied with defending their basic human rights and cultural identity, leaving little time for them to work for upliftment of their social status and improvement of their standard of living. Under these circumstances, their social and economic conditions are deteriorating day by day. Unless the problems of Muslims are solved, a peaceful society cannot be established in India. Under these circumstances the researcher thought that a research study on minority politics with reference to Malappuram District could help to provide solutions to settle the problems of Muslim minority. The formation of Indian Muslim League in Malabar District has helped to solve not
only the problems of Muslims but also has helped to develop good relations between
Muslims, Christians, Hindus and other religious groups. The researcher thought that a
research study on minority politics with reference to Malabar District could help to
solve the minority Muslims in India. Therefore, the present research study has been
taken up for detailed analysis.

**Review of Literature**

The topic of research is about minority politics. Therefore, in the
following pages an attempt has been made to review the literatures relating to
minority politics.

Lisa Garcia Bedolla (2009) focusing on five Latino groups - Mexicans,
Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Salvadorans, and Guatemalans - provides students with a
comprehensive introduction to Latino participation in US politics. It begins by
looking at the migration history of each group and how that experience is affected by
US foreign policy and economic interests in each country of origin. The political
status of Latinos on arrival in the United States, including their civil rights,
employment opportunities, and political incorporation, is then examined. Finally, the
analysis follows each group's history of collective mobilization and political activity,
exploring the varied ways they have engaged in the U.S. political system. Using the
tension between individual agency and structural constraints as its central organizing
theme, the discussion situates Latino migrants, and their children, within larger macro
economic and geo-political structures that influence their decisions to migrate and their ability to adapt socially, economically, and politically to their new country. It also demonstrates how Latinos continually have shown that through political action they can significantly improve their channels of opportunity. Thus, the book pushes students to think critically about what it means to be a racialized minority group within a majoritarian U.S. political system, and how that position structures Latinos' ability to achieve their social, economic, and political goals.¹

Satya P. Mohanty, et.al's (2005) work focuses on the deployment of "identity" within ethnic-, women's-, disability-, and gay and lesbian studies in order to stimulate discussion about issues that are simultaneously theoretical and practical, ranging from ethics and epistemology to political theory and pedagogical practice. This collection of powerful essays by both well-known and emerging scholars offers original answers to questions concerning the analytical legitimacy of "identity" and "experience," and the relationships among cultural autonomy, moral universalism, and progressive politics.²

Stephen May’s (2011) book addresses new theoretical and empirical developments since its initial publication, including the burgeoning influence of globalization and the relentless rise of English as the current world language. May’s broad position, however, remains largely unchanged. He argues that the causes of many of the language-based conflicts in the world today still lie with the nation-state and its preoccupation with establishing a 'common' language and culture via mass

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education. The solution, he suggests, is to rethink nation-states in more culturally and linguistically plural ways while avoiding, at the same time, essentializing the language-identity link. This edition, like the first, adopts a wide interdisciplinary framework, drawing on sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, sociology, political theory, education and law. It also includes new discussions of cosmopolitanism, globalization, the role of English, and language and mobility, highlighting the ongoing difficulties faced by minority language speakers in the world today.³

According to Gary Segura and Shaun Bowler (2011) today's demographic reality is a majority-minority America wherein racial and ethnic minorities comprise a growing share of the U.S. population and electorate, and are themselves becoming more diverse and representing more decisive votes. How America evolves as a society and a polity depends on whether and how these new Americans access and are accommodated by existing institutions. The Future is Ours offers a data-based examination of whether (and exactly how) minority citizens differ from members of the white majority in political participation, voting preferences, policy opinions, orientations toward government, and legislative representation. Data analyses are presented in non-technical fashion, but throughout the authors attempt to engage issues of research design that expose students to the logics of social science inquiry.⁴

Kendra King’s (2008) book on African-American Politics is a cutting-edge introduction to the political successes, failures, and persistent challenges of
African-American political participation in the United States. Exploring both historic and present day political phenomena, the book draws on a wide range of sources, including U.S. Census data, Gallup Polls, landmark court opinions, speeches and first-hand interviews to provide the reader with a comprehensive and up-to-the-minute analysis of what often appear to be "irreconcilable differences" between the American political system and one of its most historically subjugated constituency groups.5

According to Juliet Hooker (2009) solidarity--the reciprocal relations of trust and obligation between citizens that are essential for a thriving polity--is a basic goal of all political communities. Yet it is extremely difficult to achieve, especially in multiracial societies. In an era of increasing global migration and democratization, that issue is more pressing than perhaps ever before. In the past few decades, racial diversity and the problems of justice that often accompany it have risen dramatically throughout the world. It features prominently nearly everywhere: from the United States, where it has been a perennial social and political problem, to Europe, which has experienced an unprecedented influx of Muslim and African immigrants, to Latin America, where the rise of vocal black and indigenous movements has brought the question to the fore. Political theorists have long wrestled with the topic of political solidarity, but they have not had much to say about the impact of race on such solidarity, except to claim that what is necessary is to move beyond race. The prevailing approach has been: How can a multicultural and multiracial polity, with all of the different allegiances inherent in it, be transformed into a unified, liberal one? Juliet Hooker flips this question around. In multiracial and
multicultural societies, she argues, the practice of political solidarity has been indelibly shaped by the social fact of race. The starting point should thus be the existence of racialized solidarity itself: How can we create political solidarity when racial and cultural diversity are more or less permanent? Unlike the tendency to claim that the best way to deal with the problem of racism is to abandon the concept of race altogether, Hooker stresses the importance of coming to terms with racial injustice, and explores the role that it plays in both the United States and Latin America. Coming to terms with the lasting power of racial identity, she contends, is the starting point for any political project attempting to achieve solidarity.6

Stephanie Greco Larson’s (2005) book covers all major media—including television, film, newspapers, radio, and magazines—and systematically analyzes their representation of the four largest minority groups in the United States: African Americans, Native Americans, Hispanics, and Asian Americans. Entertainment media are compared and contrasted with news media, and special attention is devoted to coverage of social movements for racial justice and politicians of color. Political communication scholar Stephanie Greco Larson brings sharp insight into how the white-dominated media do a disservice to all their audiences when it comes to their representation of racial and ethnic minorities. She gives us ammunition for decoding the dominant messages and then combating them, whether through political activism, "culture jamming," or the creation and patronage of alternative media. Larson encourages readers to fight the misleading media messengers, saying "you're fired!" to media that undermine racial equality.7
Ashutosh Varshney’s (2003) work updated for the paperback edition, examines how civic ties between Hindus and Muslims in different Indian cities serve to contain, or even prevent, ethnic violence. It should be of interest to South Asian scholars and policymakers as well as to those studying multiethnic societies in other areas of the world.  

This extraordinary cookbook from celebrated authors by Andreas Viestad and Mette Randem (2007) explores the culinary wonders along the legendary spice route, from Zanzibar to India to Bali and everywhere in between. Part travelogue, part cookbook, this colorful volume captures the spirit of each region and reveals the origins of the spices now used in everyday cooking across the globe. Nearly 100 recipes, a glossary of spices, source list, and unforgettable color photographs document the people, places, and best of all the irresistible cuisine at every stop on the journey. Where Flavor Was Born brings the exotic flavors and cultures of the Indian Ocean into the home kitchen.  

Gavin D. Flood’s (1996) book provides a much-needed thematic and historical introduction to Hinduism, the religion of the majority of people in India. Dr. Flood traces the development of Hindu traditions from ancient origins and the major deities to the modern world. Hinduism as both a global religion and a form of nationalism are discussed. Emphasis is given to the tantric traditions, which have been so influential; to Hindu ritual, more fundamental than belief or doctrine; and to Dravidian influences. It introduces some debates within contemporary scholarship.
The book by Bruce Bueno de Mesquita (2010) originally published in 1975, presents a theory of behaviour in coalitions and presents an application of the theory to Indian political party coalitions. The major findings of the study are (a) the size of political parties is unimportant when important benefits are distributed in coalitions; (b) behaviour that combines a moderate degree of cooperation and competition with one's allies leads to a much greater political success than either highly competitive or highly cooperative behaviour; and (c) political parties with leaders whose personalities can be characterised as having a high need to achieve enjoy much greater electoral success than parties whose leaders are relatively low in need for achievement. The book is important because the theory is able to explain long term and short term consequences of coalitions; it presents a careful analysis of political party behaviour in India and it combines elements of positive political theory, empirical political science and psychology in explaining coalition behaviour.\(^\text{11}\)

Tony Carnes and Fenggang Yang’s (2004) book focuses on religion in Asian American communities in New York, Houston, Los Angeles, and the Silicon Valley/Bay Area, and it includes a current demographic overview of the various Asian populations across the United States. It also provides information on current trends, such as that Filipino and Korean Americans are the most religiously observant people in America, that over 60 percent of Asian Americans who have a religious identification are Christian, and that one-third of Muslims in the United States are Asian Americans. Rather than organizing the book around particular ethnic groups or religions, Asian American Religions centers on thematic issues, like symbols and
rituals, political boundaries, and generation gaps, in order to highlight the role of Asian American religions in negotiating, accepting, redefining, changing, and creating boundaries in the communities' social life.\textsuperscript{12}

Revealing why Hindu-Muslim riots in India break out when and where they do, Steven Wilkinson (2004) demonstrates why some state governments in India prevent Hindu-Muslim riots while others do not or even help to incite violence. Wilkinson asserts that riots are manipulated to help win elections, and that State Governments decide whether to stop them--depending on electoral calculations concerning the loss or gain of votes. He tests this claim using a dataset on riots and their causes as well as case studies of several Indian states.\textsuperscript{13}

Werner Ende and Udo Steinbach’s (2010) book is considered the most authoritative single-volume reference work on Islam in the contemporary world, the German-language Der Islam in der Gegenwart, currently in its fifth edition, offers a wealth of authoritative information on the religious, political, social, and cultural life of Islamic nations and of Islamic immigrant communities elsewhere. Now, Cornell University Press is making this invaluable resource accessible to English-language readers. More current than the latest German edition on which it is based, Islam in the World Today covers a staggering array of topics in concise essays by some of the world's leading experts on Islam, including the history of Islam from the earliest years through the twentieth century, with particular attention to Sunni and Shi'i Islam and Islamic revival movements during the last three centuries; data on the advance of
Why does the United States, the richest country in the world, rank twenty-fifth in international life expectancy? Pioneering epidemiologist Richard Wilkinson (2005) demonstrates that inequality is socially corrosive and affects health because the quality of social relations is crucial to well-being. The poor health performance of the United States, its high rates of violence, and its low social capital all reflect how societal relations are strained to the breaking point by record levels of inequality. In wealthy countries, health is not simply a matter of how material circumstances determine your quality of life and access to health care; it is how your social standing makes you feel. The Impact of Inequality explains why low social status—being devalued and looked down on—is so stressful and can have devastating effects on people’s lives and communities. Comparing the United States with other market democracies and one state with another, this book shows why more unequal
societies have poorer communal environments, and why the whole social spectrum suffers everything from higher levels of violence to more widespread depression. The Impact of Inequality presents a radical theory of the psychosocial impact of class stratification, with particular emphasis on health and the quality of societal relations. It addresses people's experience of class and inequality and the pervasive sense that modern societies, despite material success, are social failures. At the same time, it shows that even small reductions in inequality matter, compelling us to pursue greater social and political equality to improve life for everyone.¹⁵

This innovative work of historical anthropology explores how India's Dalits, or ex-untouchables, transformed themselves from stigmatized subjects into citizens. Anupama Rao's (2009) account challenges standard thinking on caste as either a vestige of precolonial society or an artifact of colonial governance. Focusing on western India in the colonial and postcolonial periods, she shines a light on South Asian historiography and ongoing caste discrimination, to show how persons without rights came to possess them and how Dalit struggles led to the transformation of such terms of colonial liberalism as rights, equality, and personhood. Extending into the present, the ethnographic analyses of The Caste Question reveal the dynamics of an Indian democracy distinguished not by overcoming caste, but by new forms of violence and new means of regulating caste.¹⁶

Zoya Hasan’s (2009) study explores the dynamics and strategies of the state with regard to Muslims and lower castes. It examines the underlying issues that
influence state policy towards disadvantaged groups and assesses specific strategies and whether these need rethinking and reshaping to take India forward in its quest or equality. It also looks at the constitutional framework, the institutional structures, and the responses and debates surrounding the inclusion for lower castes and minorities, especially the emphasis on affirmative action for the former and the continuing opposition to the inclusion of the latter in this framework.  

Changing Homelands offers a startling new perspective on what was and was not politically possible in late colonial India. In this highly readable account of the partition in the Punjab, Neeti Nair (2011) rejects the idea that essential differences between the Hindu and Muslim communities made political settlement impossible. Far from being an inevitable solution, the idea of partition was a very late, stunning surprise to the majority of Hindus in the region. In tracing the political and social history of the Punjab from the early years of the twentieth century, Nair overturns the entrenched view that Muslims were responsible for the partition of India. Some powerful Punjabi Hindus also preferred partition and contributed to its adoption. Almost no one, however, foresaw the deaths and devastation that would follow in its wake. Though much has been written on the politics of the Muslim and Sikh communities in the Punjab, Nair is the first historian to focus on the Hindu minority, both before and long after the divide of 1947. She engages with politics in post-Partition India by drawing from oral histories that reveal the complex relationship between memory and history—a relationship that continues to inform politics between India and Pakistan.
This keen study provides an interesting description of the cultural assimilation of two separate groups in Manipur. These two peoples are geographically separated and culturally distinct, yet their myths of origin speak of a common parentage. Brara (1998) uses Clifford Geertz's notion of the theater state, an influential concept from the pages of cultural anthropology, to understand contemporary politics and ethnic relations in the North East Hill region.¹⁹

According to Csaba Nikolenyi (2009) India's national parliamentary elections typically result in the election of majority parliaments and the formation of a single-party majority government. However, India’s national party system has changed beyond recognition since the parliamentary elections of 1989. The Congress Party has lost its dominant party status; the number of political parties that contest elections, win seats in parliament and gain cabinet portfolios have increased; minority governments and cabinet instability have become regular features of parliamentary politics. This book addresses each of these aspects of party system transformation in India by applying the analytical techniques of rational and social choice theory. Challenging conventional wisdom, the book argues that the number of parties in India has increased as a result of the unexpected consequences of the constitutional amendment of 1985 that was conceived to curtail party defections. Although the Congress Party no longer dominates the new multi-party system, it still retains a pivotal role in deciding which coalitions may form viable and stable minority government.²⁰
The above literatures reviewed and appended in bibliography have not analyzed in detail the minority politics in Kerala with reference to Malappuram District. Therefore, the researcher thought it proper to take up a study on minority politics in Kerala with reference to Malappuram District.

**Objectives of the Study**

The objectives of the study are:

1. To analyze the background of the study;
2. To elucidate the setting of the study;
3. To explain the design of the study; and
4. To analyze the personal background of the respondents and their attitude to the different problems of Muslims and other communities.

**Scope of the Study**

The main focus of the study is on minority politics with reference to Malappuram District. Therefore, the major thrust is about the minority politics with reference to Malappuram District from the point of view of the responses of the respondents.
Method of Research

Social survey method has been made use of in this study as the study is mainly based on the data collected from a sample of respondents selected for this study.

Sources of Data

The data for this study have been collected both from primary and secondary sources. The primary sources of data have been collected from the schedules furnished to the respondents of the Malappuram District. The secondary sources of data have been collected from the Books, Articles, Reports, Acts and Monographs.

Study Design

The primary purpose of the study is not the testing of any hypothesis. Being an exploratory-cum-descriptive study, its basic thrust is to gain familiarity and insight into the minority politics with reference to Malappuram District.

Sampling Design

There are six Taluks in Malappuram District. The researcher has selected 100 respondents from each Taluk totaling 600 respondents from Malappuram District.
Interview Schedule

The Interview schedule has been designed to collect the information from the respondents of Malappuram District. The interview schedule consisted of the following items:

1. The personal background of the respondents; and
2. Their attitude to the different problems of Muslims and other communities in Malappuram District.

Technique of Observation

The researcher has also adopted the technique of personal observation in the present study. In fact this technique has helped this researcher to corroborate the data which he collected using interviews.

Data Collection

Collection of data is an important and rich experience in the whole of this research process. It took part-time fieldwork for almost one year. Since the respondents selected were scattered in six Taluks of Malappuram District, traveling took quite a lot of time and effort. It took almost about three hours to interview each respondent of Malappuram District.

Method of Data Collection

Personal interview with the help of the structured interview schedule was the main method used for the collection of primary data from the respondents.
This approach in data collection helped the researcher in many ways. The researcher got an opportunity to stay with the respondents during data collection. It was a very helpful exposure where he got an ample chance to observe and discuss the various issues relating to minority politics with reference to Malappuram District.

**Pre Test**

Having prepared the interview schedule, pre testing was done in order to ensure against difficulties of comprehension and ambiguities of questions. Responses had been coded and a preliminary analysis had been done to see whether the interview schedule would yield required data. The necessary changes were done in the interview schedule accordingly.

**Data Analysis**

Empirical, descriptive and analytical methods have been made use of to analyze the data. The researcher also has made use of simple statistical tools in the analysis of the data.

Area diagram, which displays the trend of the contribution of each value over time or categories is made use of to interpret the data relating to Annual Income of the Respondents, Objectives of Nishpaksha Sangham, All Kerala Muslim Conference, Speeches by Moulana Shoukathali, Influence of Minority Political Parties, Shareehath Law and Membership of Hindus and Muslims in All India Muslim League.
Bar Diagram which compares values across categories is made use of to interpret the data relating to Religion of the Respondents, Association of Muslim Leaders in Nishpaksha Sangham, Repeal of the “Moplah Outrages Act”, Outcome of 1937 Elections to the Assembly, Influence of Muslim Ulama and Development of Industries.

Column Diagram which compares values across categories is made use of to interpret the data relating to Age of the Respondents, Position of Muslims Before 1921, Origin of Kerala Association of Muslims, Muslim Club, Visits and Speeches of All India Muslim League Leaders, Role of Mappila Devotional Songs, Padappattu, Moulds and Other Ballads, Mappilas as Integral Part of Malayali Society, Close Association of Minority Leaders with Religion, Encouragement of Muslim Women’s Education, Muslims in Government Service and Participation of Muslims in the Functions of Christians and Hindus.

Cone Diagram with a Conical Shape is made use of to interpret the data relating to Deport of Mappilas to the Andaman Islands, Birth of Kerala Muslim Majlis, Third Annual Conference of Majlis, Difference of Opinion among the Leaders of Majlis, District League Conferences Moulds and Other Ballads, Separate Political Identity and Formation of All India Muslim League in India and Malabar.

Cylinder Diagram with Cylindrical Shape is made use of to interpret the data relating to Occupation of the Respondents, Founders of Kerala Association of
Muslims, Elections to State Assemblies in 1937, Mappila Support to Muslim League and Participation of Christians and Hindus in the Functions of Muslims.

Doughnut Diagram like a pie chart but can contain multiple series is made use of to interpret the data relating to Issues Concentrated by Nishpaksha Sangham, General Distrust in the Congress Leadership among the Mappilas, Relationship between Muslims and Other Religious Groups and Muslims Attitude Towards Threat to India.

Line Diagram with markers displayed at each data value is made use of to interpret the data relating to Sex of the Respondents, Educational Qualification of the Respondents, Kodungallur as the Centre of Muslim Reformation in Kerala, Issue of Reservation in Taluk and District Boards, Objectives of Kerala Muslim Majlis, Youth Conference of All Kerala Muslims, Founder Leader of Muslim League in Malabar, Formation of Malabar District Muslim League, Consequences of the Formation of Malabar District Muslim League and Support of Hindus and Christians to Muslims.

Pie Diagram displays the contribution of each value to a total is made use of to interpret the data relating to Marital Status of the Respondents, Rebellion of 1921, Merger of Sangham with Kerala Muslim Majlis and Lost Conference of Majlis.
Pyramid Diagram with a Pyramid shape is made use of to interpret the data relating to Resolution Condemning the Matrilineal System, Role of Sathar Sait for the Spread of Muslim League activates, Muslim Separatism among the North Indian Muslims and Attitude of Malabar Muslims Towards the Attack of Muslims in Foreign Countries.

**Presentation of the Report**

After processing and analyzing the raw data the report writing work was undertaken. Sufficient care was taken to present the report as per the requirements of the study designed earlier.
End Notes:


