

Political exclusion of Muslim in India

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Abstract Through this research paper an attempt is made to put forth a critique on the interplay of religion and politics in post-independent India” on the basis of four major arguments. Firstly, in Post independent India, religion has been one of the one major bases of politics. The nature of Muslim society in India is not homogenous. It has been divided into many social and political groups. Its voting behavior has been not homogenous. Secondly, after 1990 Muslim politics has changed. It does not portray one pattern. Its politics has many patterns but basically Muslim majority politics & Muslim minority politics are two major patterns of Indian Muslim Politics. Thirdly, Muslim political voting behavior has been homogenous, is a myth. This myth is strong in Hindu society. Fourthly,

Muslim is excused by politically. This process is happen in many states. Thereby, this paper is presented on the basis of these four major factual data. The research paper is supported by theoretical concept of Inclusion & exclusion and use of statistical data.

Introduction Indian politics is always divided on the basis of religion. Hindu politics & Muslim politics these are the two major aspects of Indian Politics. In this paper an attempt is made to throw light on only one part of Indian politics that is Muslim politics in India. Muslim politics in India is not homogenous. There are many differences within Muslim community. All Muslim communities’ interest is not same or equal. Because of this no single political party was able to mobilize the Muslim community as a whole. Muslim politics in Indian is divided into many political parties. There is no separate single national level Muslim political party in India. There are many Muslim political parties established at state level e.g. Indian Union Muslim League (Kerala), Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen (Andhra Pradesh), All India United Democratic Front (AIUDF) (Assam), People's Democratic Conference of India (from West Bengal, has merged with AIUDF), Welfare Party of India (West Bengal), Social Democratic Party of India (West Bengal), Manithaneyya Makkal Katchi (MMK) (Tamil Nadu), All India Ulema Council (Uttar Pradesh), Peace Party (Uttar Pradesh), Indian National League (Kerala), People's Democratic Party (Kerala) these are Muslim political parties in India. This information points out towards the following facts.

- 1) Muslim politics is divided into many political parties.
- 2)The nature these Muslim political parties is regional, Sub-regional & urban.
- 3) Rural Muslim Community are not represented through these Muslim political parties
- 4) OBC Muslim Community are not represented through these Muslim political parties

The political behavior of the various Muslim societies is not same. Thereby at the national level Muslim politics is not same and there are different types or patterns that have been established

Muslim politics in India We cannot prove that Muslim votes are more than Hindu votes. This perception comes from seeing long queues at polling stations in some Muslim majority urban areas where community voters, especially the poor and women, tend to be very visible. Research shows that in most elections after 1996, the turnout of Muslim voters have actually been a little lower than that of Hindus (Yogendra Yadav).

The other perception about Muslims voting en bloc has an element of truth. Any minority community tends to flock together, consult among themselves, and has a great sense of community. This applies to Muslims as much as it applies to Sikhs in Delhi, Hindu pundits in

Indian-administered Kashmir and to Bengalis in north-eastern India. But it is simply not true that there is anything like a Muslim bloc at national level. If there is one striking thing about Indian Muslims, it is the fact that unlike most minorities in most democracies around the world, Indian Muslims have not voted for Muslim parties (Yogendra Yadav).

They have had their preferred political parties - Congress used to be one of those parties, and now there are many. Also, Muslims in India do not vote en bloc like, say, the black vote in the US for the Democratic Party or the UK's ethnic minorities who largely vote for the Labour Party. Politically speaking, there is no single unified Muslim community in India. Muslims are fragmented along the lines of religion, caste and community. In the past two decades, Muslim voters have chosen different parties in different states: the CPI(M) in Bengal, the RJD in Bihar, the regional Samajwadi Party (SP) in Uttar Pradesh, the DMK party in Tamil Nadu and the Congress in other parts of the country. In other words, it is an exaggeration to say there is one unified Muslim vote in the country (Yogendra Yadav). With the help of this information of Yogendra Yadav it becomes a strongly established fact that Muslim Community has been divided into many political parties. Its voting behavior has been not homogenous. This is one major real fact that comes to the forefront in case of Muslims in India.

Muslim politics in Maharashtra. As compared to Hindu Community in Maharashtra, Muslim Community is in minority. The population of Muslim is 10.60 % in the total population of Maharashtra. Maharashtra is divided into five regions. Mumbai with Kokan, Marathawada, Vidharbha, Western Maharashtra, North Maharashtra. But the Muslim population is not same in all the five regions of Maharashtra. In some region of Maharashtra Muslim population is highest & some region of Maharashtra Muslim population is less (Prakash Pawar : 2009). In Maharashtra the highest population of Muslim is in Bombay district, with 22 %. The second largest Muslim population is in Aurangabad District, with 19.65 %. The third largest Muslim population is in Akola having 18.17 %. The fourth largest Muslim population is in sub Urban Bombay District with 17.34 % Muslims. In other districts of Maharashtra, Muslim population is as follows- Thane -10.83%, Nasik -10.53%, Jalgon - 12.36%, Nanded -13.38%, Amravati-13.31%, Latur -14.08%, Buldhana -12.78%, Beed- 11.87%, Parbhani-15.96%, Jalna -13.11%, Ratanagiri- 10.35%, Usamanabad -10.16 %, Washim- 10.96 %, Hingoli- 10.45% . This is the district level social composition of Muslims in Maharashtra. The highest Muslim population is in Mumbai with Kokan region (Table 1). This is coastal region of Maharashtra. But in coastal region's two districts Raigad (7.69%) & Sindhudurg (2.72%) has very less Muslim Population. In Mumbai- Kokan region of Bombay urban districts Muslim society is not in minority. In this area Muslim society is in majority. Only Bombay urban districts areas Muslim society is in majority not all over Mumbai with Kokan region. This is most important Social fact.

In Maharashtra the second highest Muslim population is in Marathawada region. There are six districts. The Muslim Population within these six districts are between 19.65 % to 10 %. For example the Muslim in Aurangabad are -19.65%, Nanded are-13.38%, Latur are -14.08%, Beed -11.87%, Parbhani 15.96%, Jalna 13.11%, Usamanabad 10.16 %, Hingoli 10.45%. In Marathwada region, Muslim population is not in majority, they are in minority. But Muslim society has been spread all over the Marathawada regions. This region is economically backward region. The conflict between economically sound and economically backward region plays an important role in Maharashtra politics. It is second fact. Muslim community living in Marathawada is backward, as compared to Marathawada's Muslim society Bombay region's where Muslim community is more forward. The western part of Vidharbha region has been considered to be backward region. Muslim population in this region is as follows; Akola -18.17

%, Amravati- 13.31%, Buldhana -12.78% & Washim- 10.96 %. In Western Vidharbha region, Muslim population is not in majority, but they are spread all over the region. This region being economically backward undoubtedly, the Muslim community is also backward.

The western Maharashtra region has been more progressive and developed as compared to other regions of Maharashtra. In Western Maharashtra, Muslim population is 16.16 %. But in many districts Muslim population is less than 10%. Like eg. Solapur has 9.80 %, Sangli -7.87 %, Satara -4.47, Pune- 6.25 %, Kolhapur- 6.72%. Again the three districts i.e. Solapur, Sangli & Satara are not fully developed and progressive. Western Maharashtra's East part is backward & Western part is forward. Most of Muslim population is in eastern part of western Maharashtra and are thereby backward. In North Maharashtra region, Muslim population is 11.70 %. This population is not in majority. But the two urban center; Ahmednagar and Malegaon have been dominated by Muslim. In these two urban centers Muslims are in majority. But all over North Maharashtra they are not in majority

Thus on the basis of the above statistical facts it could be said that in Maharashtra the Muslim society is in minority and secondly the Muslims in Maharashtra are economically backward. Taking into consideration this social and economical situation of the Muslim society, it could be argued that the Muslim Community has no influence on the politics of Maharashtra. **Table 1: Region wise Classification of Muslim Population's in Maharashtra**

| Sr. No | Region | Muslim Population | Muslim Population % |
|--------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| 1 | Mumbai with Kokan | 34,73,643 | 33.82 |
| 2 | Maratwada | 22,14,021 | 21.55 |
| 3 | West Maharashtra | 16,60,181 | 16.16 |
| 4 | West Vidrabh | 12,37,681 | 12.05 |
| 5 | North Maharashtra | 12,01,952 | 11.70 |
| 6 | East Vidrabha | 4,83,007 | 4.70 |
| | Total | 1,02,70,485 | 99.98 |

Census of India, 2001

Myths & Muslims The six most popular myths that are prevalent in relation to the Muslim politics in Maharashtra are; 1) The Muslim society is homogenous. 2) Muslims are orthodox 3) Religious leaders are political decision makers. 4) Muslim society is not rational. 5) Muslim is one Vote bank. 6) Muslim voting paradigm is **realize** to Muslim party. These are very strong myths in politics in the Indian context.. But these myths are artificial. The Muslim society is divided into numerous caste and it comprises of nearly 80 castes. Muslim society is divided between upper caste and backward caste. **Tadvi and Nagarchi are tribal Muslim communities in Maharashtra. Naekvadi, patharut, tkari, patharvath, sangatras and chaparband** are the denotified Tribes. In Nomadic tribes 11 castes are included. Beldar, sapgarudi, lohar, shikalgar, bhoei, bahurupiya, garudi, & Muslim gavali are Nomadic tribes. There are 54 castes listed under Other backward castes (OBC). Sikh, Pathan, syadd & Mogal are Upper caste (Jamir Tamboli, 2011: 21-25). This data proves that Muslim Community is divided into many Castes hence the understanding that the Muslim society is homogenous is a myth and not a reality as the Muslim society is not homogenous.

The second myth is that the Muslims are orthodox. This is a general observation. Why this is general observation? Many Muslim leaders are active in social movement. Muslim satyshodak movement is active in Maharashtra (Adhav Baba). They are anti caste system. So that satyshodhak movement main role is against Upper caste. This fact says that Muslim society's some part is orthodox and some part is rational. This is also Hindu society's fact. So that the Hindu is rational and the Muslim is orthodox. It is totally false.

There is also an understanding that Muslim religious leaders are political decision maker. The facts seem to be altogether contradictory. Five state leaders of Muslim League out of 119 won in Maharashtra Assembly election (Table-2). The highest elected Muslim members i.e.88 out

of 119 members from Congress party were elected. This figure proves that Muslim religious leaders are different from Muslim Political leaders. Both the group of leaders seems to have different perceptions and thereby their political behavior is also different.

Table : 2 Assembly Election & Muslim in Maharashtra: 1962 -2009

| Sr. NO | Election year | Congress - NCP | SS -BJP | Muslim League | Socialist party | Other | total |
|--------|---------------|----------------|---------|---------------|-----------------|-------|-------|
| 1 | 1962 | 11 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 11 |
| 2 | 1967 | 07 | 00 | 1 | 01 | 00 | 09 |
| 3 | 1972 | 11 | 00 | 1 | 00 | 01 | 13 |
| 4 | 1978 | 02 | 07 | 2 | 0 | 00 | 11 |
| 5 | 1980 | 14 | 1 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 15 |
| 6 | 1985 | 09 | 1 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 11 |
| 7 | 1990 | 04 | 02 | 01 | 00 | 00 | 07 |
| 8 | 1995 | 02 | 03 | 00 | 03 | 00 | 08 |
| 9 | 1999 | 10 | 1 | 0 | 02 | 00 | 13 |
| 10 | 2004 | 11 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 11 |
| 11 | 2009 | 07 | 00 | 00 | 02 | 01 | 10 |
| | Total | 88 | 15 | 05 | 09 | 02 | 119 |

Tamboli Jamir , 2011

Political exclusion Social exclusion is defined as an outcome of processes of discrimination against specific groups of people (DFID, 2005), leading to their systematic disadvantage in relation to economic assets and livelihoods, human resources such as health and education services and political and social participation.

The process of political exclusion of Muslim society in Maharashtra has occurred. The Constitution of India has given rights to Muslims but its implementation is far from reality. In Parliamentary democracy majority is important. Muslims are not in majority. The number of Muslim elected members to Maharashtra Legislative Assembly & Lok Sabha is very less and thereby ,they have been politically excluded.

Table : 3 Assembly Election & Muslim in Maharashtra: 1962 -2009

| Sr. NO | Election year | Maharashtra : Vidan Sabha Total seat | Muslim Population % | Muslim Populations & actual representation | Elected Muslim representative | Elected Muslim representative % |
|--------|---------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------|--|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 | 1962 | 264 | 7.67 | 20 | 11 | 4.54 |
| 2 | 1967 | 270 | 7.67 | 21 | 09 | 3.33 |
| 3 | 1972 | 270 | 8.04 | 23 | 13 | 4.44 |
| 4 | 1977 | 288 | 8.04 | 24 | 11 | 3.81 |
| 5 | 1980 | 288 | 8.04 | 24 | 15 | 5.10 |
| 6 | 1985 | 288 | 9.25 | 27 | 11 | 4.16 |
| 7 | 1990 | 288 | 9.25 | 27 | 07 | 2.77 |
| 8 | 1995 | 288 | 9.67 | 28 | 08 | 2.77 |
| 9 | 1999 | 288 | 9.67 | 28 | 13 | 4.86 |
| 10 | 2004 | 288 | 10.60 | 32 | 11 | 3.81 |
| 11 | 2009 | 288 | 10.60 | 32 | 10 | 3.47 |
| | Total | 3108 | 11.03 | 286 | 119 | 3.82 |

Tamboli Jamir , 2011: 146

This table shows the election data of Maharashtra Legislative Assembly. From 1962 to 2009 in all 3108 members were elected in these elections. But the representation of Muslims is very paltry with only 119 Muslims representative elected in these elections. Their actual representation should have been 286 but it was 119 representations which means 167 members are not given the opportunity to represent the Muslim community. Only 3.82 % Muslims were elected, clearly indicating that Muslim community is politically excluded from Maharashtra politics. The process and the issue of political inclusion of Muslim community is not addressed

in Maharashtra.

Table: 4 Lok Sabha Election & Muslim in Maharashtra: 1962 -2009

| Sr. NO | Election year | Maharashtra : Lok sabha total seats | Muslim Population % | Muslim Population & actual representation | Elected Muslim representative | Elected Muslim representative % |
|--------|---------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------|---|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 | 1962 | 44 | 7.67 | 4 | 1 | 2.27 |
| 2 | 1967 | 45 | 7.67 | 4 | 2 | 4.44 |
| 3 | 1969 | 48 | 8.04 | 4 | 2 | 6.66 |
| 4 | 1977 | 48 | 8.04 | 4 | 00 | 00 |
| 5 | 1980 | 48 | 8.04 | 4 | 2 | 4.16 |
| 6 | 1984 | 48 | 9.25 | 4 | 2 | 4.16 |
| 7 | 1989 | 48 | 9.25 | 4 | 1 | 2.08 |
| 8 | 1991 | 48 | 9.67 | 4 | 1 | 2.08 |
| 9 | 1996 | 48 | 9.67 | 4 | 1 | 2.08 |
| 10 | 1998 | 48 | 9.67 | 4 | 00 | 00 |
| 11 | 1999 | 48 | 9.67 | 4 | 00 | 00 |
| 12 | 2004 | 48 | 10.60 | 4 | 1 | 2.08 |
| 13 | 2009 | 48 | 10.60 | 4 | 0 | 00 |
| | Total | 614 | 11.03 | 52 | 14 | 2.28 |

Tamboli Jamir , 2011

This table shows that Muslims are politically excluded from even from the national level politics in Maharashtra. From the thirteen Lok Sabha elections from 1962 to 2009 conducted so far, a total of 614 members were elected. Among these only 14 members were Muslims. Their actual representation should have actually been 52 but it was only 14 representations, which means 38 Muslim community members are not been represented. The average representations of the Muslims in the Loksabha is as meager as 2.28%. It clearly points out that Muslims have very less representation on Lok Sabha level and has a strong argument of being politically excluded. **Conclusion** In Post independent India, Religion is the one major base of politics The Nature of Muslim Community is not homogenous and hence the politics of Muslims in Maharashtra is regional and cannot be considered as national. The Muslim representation does not seem to actually represent the Muslim community, but rather it represents the secular politics as the community has been getting an opportunity through the Congress /Communist parties. Muslim Community is divided on the basis of Social and economic status and hence their political behavior is found to be different. Their identity being split and not homogenous has lead to the political exclusion of Muslims in Maharashtra. This could also be said about Muslim situation at National level too. This is a major finding of this paper which could be applied to all over India. Muslim Community is an important organ of Indian society; their political inclusion is the basic challenge before Indian Democracy.

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- Note:** The data Census of India used.& Election Commission of India has been