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# Muslim Representation in Indian Politics Since 1947

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Almost 60 % of the Muslims of the world live in countries where they form the majority of population with their own governments. Thus most of the academic works by and about Muslims have tended to concentrate on issues facing the Muslim majorities. A little academic attention, however, has been given to the Muslim minorities across the world living under various political systems. One such minority group is that of Indian Muslims, whose political problems have not yet been probed academically. The Indian Muslims' political problems need to be investigated scholarly.

## Introduction

Indian Muslims constitute the second largest religious group after the Hindus with the status of the largest minority amongst the minorities dwelling in Indian Union. They, however, are scattered across the country having majority only in Jammu & Kashmir and a Union Territory of Lakshadweep 78% and 96% respectively. It would be instructive to note here that prior to partition of India, Muslims constituted almost 24% of total Indian population. Of course, the creation of Pakistan separating the Muslim majority areas from India, the proportion of Muslim population decreased. Now, in accordance with the 2011 census report, the Muslims constituted nearly 14.1% officially, however certain unofficial sources maintain that the figures shown in 2011 census were not correct. They believe that the Muslims population was almost 20 to 25% of total Indian population. Despite, the Muslim political representation in Indian political institutions the Upper as well as the Lower Houses (Lok Sabha & Rajya Sabha) and State Assemblies is very low as compared to their population proportion. This study is an attempt to highlight the Muslim political deprivation in Indian decision making bodies and problems they are facing in Indian political process under five subheadings.

1. Muslim Politics in India \_pre-partition
2. Muslims in Indian political process \_post partition
3. Muslims' expectations with the Congress
4. Indian Muslims under Hindutva Politics
5. Political Deprivation of the Indian Muslims since 1947

### ***Muslim Politics----- Pre- Partition***

Following the failure of the war of independence 1857, a constitutional movement had initiated by the British Indian government introducing Council's Act 1961. Therefore, limited political activities were allowed to the natives. In this regard Mr A.O Hume a retired bureaucrat, after hectic task formed the Indian National Congress (INC) in 1885, in order to take local (Hindu and Muslim) political leadership in confidence. But Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan, a Muslim reformist advised the Muslims not to join the Congress, thinking that time was not ripe for them to take part in politics as British rulers had annoyed against the Muslims holding them sole responsible for mutiny of 1857 (Mirza, 1997, 25).

As the Muslim rule in India witnessed a state of decline that coupled with a crisis of leadership. During the period of decline, it seems that the Muslim mothers had ceased to born babies with the quality of leadership with some exemptions. Particularly, while the British were ruling, the Muslims were completely a mob without any leader. On the contrary, the Hindu community was, however, enjoying with sane and capable leadership getting developed politically in the same period. The Hindu leaders like Raja Ram Mohan Roy founder of Brahmo Samaj (1828), Sawami Dayanand Saraswati the founder of Arya Samaj (1875), Keshab Chander Sen the founding father of Prathana Samaj (1867) and Dr. Keshave Baliram Hedgewer the founder of Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (1925) rife with the sense of Hindu Nationalism (Mallick, chapter, 1). However, ironically in Muslim fold not a single person was there with such stature except Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan (1817\_1898). In the mid of nineteenth century Sir Sayed came forward in this age of darkness taking the responsibility to lead the Muslims of Subcontinent politically as well as educationally (Mirza, 1997, 31). This was the time the Muslims were under the British oppression considering them the rebels and responsible of mutiny of 1857 (Riaz, 1982, 30). Therefore, Sir Sayed devised a strategy of reconciliation with the British and uplift of the Muslims in the fields of politics and education so as to they could be able to stand their own feet and face hardships. In this regard Sir Sayed strived hard to bridge the gap between the rulers and the Muslims, convincing both the sides for co-existence.

Sir Sayed's services, he rendered for political uplift of the Muslims of Subcontinent never be forgotten. He led the Muslim community dexterously whether it be the issue of Urdu-Hindi (1867) or the establishment of the I.N.C (1885). When he was appointed as the member of the Imperial Legislative Council he strived his best to save the political interests of the Muslims. While addressing the annual session of Muhammadan Educational Conference at Lucknow he demanded separate electorate for the Muslims and prior to that at the time of Urdu-Hindi conflict he also expressed his views maintaining that it seems both the nations (Hindus and Muslims) would never join wholeheartedly in anything (Mirza, 1997, 32). Therefore he was rightly entitled as the founding father of Two

## Nation Theory.

After the death of Sir Sayed (1898), the Muslims were forced to take part in Indian politics under certain political measures taken by the British Indian Government. i.e the division of Bengal(1905)and the Hindus' reaction against it .In the same year the British govt demonstrated its resolve to have certain political reforms to make the political system even more affective and beneficial to the people of India. In these circumstances the Muslims had decided to shun their political inactiveness as Hasan Riaz rightly portrayed the Muslims' political situation in these words,

Therefore, the Muslim leaders decided to meet the Viceroy to safeguard Muslim political interests. In this regard the Muslims constituted a delegation in 1905 under the leadership of Sir Agha Khan. The Muslim delegation met with Lord Minto at Simla with their demands, the principal of them was the separate electorate for Muslims. As for as Viceroy's reply is concerned, responding affirmatively, encouraged the delegation to have their own political party and such demands ought to be presented through its platform.(Riaz,1987,52-53)

"مسلمان دیکھ رہے تھے کہ وہ لاکھ سیاست سے الگ رہے مگر سیاست نے ان کا پیچھا نہ چھوڑا۔ ملک کی ہر تحریک اور حکومت کا ہر اقدام ان پر اسی طرح اثر انداز ہے جس طرح زمین کی چیزوں پر بارش، دھوپ اور ہوائیں مسلمانوں کے حق میں ضرر کے ساتھ"

The success of Simla Deputation encouraged the Muslims to frame their own political party, hence, All India Muslim League came into being in 1906.Both the events proved to be a turning point towards the Muslim politics in India.(Qureshi,1987,29-30)In upcoming years the All India Muslim League became the sole political representative party of Muslims. From the very inception of its establishment it succeeded to have acceptance of separate electorate from the British government in 1909 and then from the Congress in 1916 under Lucknow Pact.It can be said, that upcoming years witnessed the separate electorate provided the basis of Two Nation Theory the very foundations to create Pakistan in 1947.(Riaz,1987,56)

Lucknow Pact and Khilafat Movement caused to bring close the Hindus and the Muslims however, following the end of Khilafat Movement, cleavage of distrust between both the communities emerged once again. Thus, the communal riots erupted in different areas claiming innocent lives.(Riaz,1987,150-151) Henceforth, the Hindus and the Muslims split their political paths for ever emerging a situation of action and re-action. As one political party presented a formula to settle the political differences the other rejected it forthwith. In this regard ,Nehru Report 1928, Jinnah's Fourteen Points 1929 were the principal precedents. Other political incidents of great significance were Alama Iqbal's(a great philosopher and poet) annual address to the Muslim League at Allahabad in 1930 with outlines of a separate homeland for the Muslims of Subcontinent, the

Round Tables Conferences held in London(1930-1932)with no solution of India's political problems.(Qureshi,1987,378-379)

It would be worthwhile to describe here that from the mid of nineteenth century to his death, Sir Syed with leadership qualities and dynamic personality ,successfully led Muslim Community for almost 40 years. However, with the start of 20th century, the Muslim India witnessed another dynamic as well as energetic political personality of Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Mr Jinnah emerged on the Indian political scenario in 1906 joining the Congress, however, he came into the fold of the Muslim League in 1913. He was then a great proponent of Hindu- Muslim unity, therefore , he succeeded to have Lucknow Pact in 1916 under which the Congress agreed with Muslim demand of separate electorate. It was a great political success, Mr Jinnah, so far achieved. With the acceptance of the right of separate electorate, the Two Nation Theory, strongly got embed in Indian Muslim politics. With the passage of time the very tow nation theory provided the foundations of Pakistan. Finally, it could be said that the Hindu and Muslim politics with the end of Khilafat Movement(1922) became poles apart and parallel. The Muslim leadership, under the fear of Hindu majority was demanding certain Constitutional political safeguards in order to keep intact Muslim political interests as well as Muslim identity. On the other hand, the majority community, the Hindus, denying the Muslim demands obstinately ,was of the view that special political rights to a specific political group were out of question. Political analysts analyse that it was the principal bottleneck, caused to enhance the cleavage of political distrust between both the communities leading to the partition of Subcontinent eventually.

### ***Muslims in Indian Political Process\_\_\_ Post -partition***

Following the partition of India a reasonable Muslim population had to remain in India under various circumstances , specially the Muslims belonging to provinces with Muslim minority as Muslims majority provinces became Pakistan. The Muslims remained in India had to re-adjust themselves politically as well as socially under new environment. However, the circumstances were not conducive at large as they were seen responsible of the division of motherland, therefore not enough trustworthy. (Ausaf,1993,40)

After independence, the Muslims were kept deprive of their right to separate electorate constitutionally for which they had fought for long wholeheartedly before partition and eventually attained it in 1909. Notwithstanding, the Congress, too accepted it under Lucknow Pact(1916)with weightage/Passing formula. According to which the Muslims in Punjab and Bengal became majority to minority causing unrest in certain Muslim political circles.(Khalique-ul-zaman,1961,37)Amazingly ,the number of Muslim members were 31 out of a total 235 in Indian constituent assembly ,did not raise their voice forcefully in favour of separate electorate except tow Muslim members, Muhammad Ismail and B.Pokar Sahib stanchly opposed the move tabled to abolish the separate electorate, however the motion was approved by overwhelming

majority of 53 to 2 .(Muslim India July 1994)The representation in Indian democratic institutions witnessed a gradual decline in Independent India thanks to abolishing of their right to separate franchise. In this regard only fragile and meagre protest was exhibited by the Muslim members ,ironically, a Muslim female member of constituent assembly gave her favour to joint electorate ,regretfully, Abu-ul- Kalam Azad and Maulana Hafiz-ul-Rehman kept mum without giving their opinion for or against the reservation of seats for Muslims in Assemblies (central or States Assemblies)as had been reserved for under-privileged Classes within Hindus on the basis of economic as well as educational backwardness. While the Indian Muslims were even more backward than that of Hindu backward classes. This was the political havoc the Hindu political leaders played with the Indian Muslims politically marginalizing ,however having in a position of Kingmaker.( Muslim India ,July,199

Regretfully, Hindu scheduled castes and backward tribes were awarded with reserved 116 parliamentary seats in Lok Sabah and 485 seats in State Assemblies not considering for such political concession to Indian Muslims being even more deserving. Therefore a sharp decline in Muslims' representation in Indian decision making bodies can be witnessed after independence. The table below shows the Muslim representation in Indian lower house (Lok Sabah) 1947to 2004.

Year	Total Seats	No of Muslim Members
1947	235	31
1952	489	21
1957	494	24
1962	494	23
1967	520	29
1971	518	30
1977	542	34
1980	529	49
1984	542	46
1989	529	33
1991	534	28
1996	543	28
1998	543	29
1999	543	32
2004	543	36

(Ansari,2006,64)

Owing to repeal of separate electorate or the introduction of joint electorate, the Muslims have to undergo a decline in political representation in State Assemblies as well. Certain State Assemblies with reasonable Muslim population demonstrate even further bleak and dreary picture, for instance , Assam,

Behar, Kairala, Karanataka, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, UP and West Bengal had large population according to the census held in 1991 but representation was low.

Table showing Indian States with reasonable Muslim population(1991)

Name of States	Muslim population(Percent)
Assam	28.43
Behar	14.81
Kairla	23.23
Karnatka	11.64
Maharashtra	9.67
Rajasthan	8.01
UP	17.33
West Bengal	33.61

(Muslim India ,New Delhi, 1995,344-345)

Despite having been a substantial part of population of above said States the Muslim proportion of elected members was very low, for example, out of 3487 States Assemblies seats of various States, the elected Muslim members were only 182 in 1967 Assemblies elections.(Gaub,1976,236) The causes and reasons of Muslims' exclusion from the Indian politics and Muslims' dropout in general elections of Lok Sabah and State Assemblies are numerous in nature. As Prof. Javaid Alam says that" Muslim politics has disappeared from India after independence". He, further called Muslim a single community in terms of religion, however, Muslim in India are not a single entity, language and religion are their separate features. Explaining, he describes that the Muslim politics in UP is different from Bengal. (EPW,january,2008) Asghar Ali Engineer analyses the Muslim under representation in Indian politics with these words that" exclusion of Muslims from Indian politics was a result of the religious prejudices. Muslims and Christians have been doubly excluded from Socio-economic and political process."(Engineer,Oct15,2007)

### ***Muslims' Expectations with the Congress***

Immediately following the partition of India the Muslims who had decided to remain in India had to victimize unexpected political as well as social hostile situation. Their political party during pre-partition era, the Muslim League

with its political leaders claimant of guardian of their interests had fled to Pakistan disappearing from the scene. They, While leaving them on the mercy of majority, the Hindus, advised them to remain faithful to their government. Some Muslim leaders who had decided to make India as their home found busy in reparation for their old sins, showing their political loyalties to their new political masters i.e. the Congress leadership. The principal hardships and bottlenecks the Indian Muslims were encountering during that period were mass bloodshed, massacre and mass immigration. The Muslims were actually in a state of great shock, unable to forge their future political plan.(Asari,1989:67)

The Muslims' political leadership did believe that after partition their political future was linked with the Congress having a secular character. In this regard Maulana Abu -ul Kalam Azad had presented guidelines while speaking in a convention at Lucknow. Smelling the gravity of the situation they decided to extend their political support to Congress and refrain to have any exclusive Muslim political party on that critical juncture. Hence , they were of the view that the Muslim should vote to Congress and did the same in 1952,1957 and 1962 elections. Jawaharlal Nehru, a versatile personality with robust faith upon socialism and secularism had great attraction for the Muslims. It would be pertinent to note here that the Muslims had no other alternative except to depend upon the Congress with the Muslim League dissolved after partition and its leaders drained off to Pakistan, the Jama'yat Ulemai Hind the proponent of nationalist Muslim politics in the pre-partition era, too had to withdraw the Indian politics and decided to work in future, mainly in cultural as well as religious arenas. Similarly, Jamat-e-Islami exhibited its indifference to politics as well.(EPW, Jan ,2-9, 1993:43) Thus, the Muslims had no alternative, except to join the Congress.

In the first three elections held in 1952, 1957 and in 1962, Indian Muslims wholeheartedly supported and voted to Congress. In the first general elections held in 1952, of the total Muslim legislators 145 belonged to the Indian National Congress(INC). While during the second elections the Muslims obtained 131 seats using platform of the Congress, the majority of the Muslim members came from UP. The Muslim support to the Congress was evident from the number of votes polled in the first three elections in three states with reasonable Muslim population. See table below:

State	1952	1957	1962
UP	72.09	57.97	42.27
W/Bengal	56.10	50.63	51.73

Source: Gopal krishna, Framework of Politics in Minority Crises, a Symposium published in seminar 106 June 1968:34.

A gradual decline in Muslims' vote to the Congress could be observed in above stated data. with the passage of time the Indian Muslims had lost their faith in this political party as it did nothing to meet the Muslims' expectations they had.

Their principal expectations were: safety and security of their lives and properties and a proportional share in govt jobs, education, economics and representation in political institutions, however were shattered. They, therefore initiated to ponder upon the other alternatives.(Khalidu,1995:177)

In 1959 certain measures were taken to revive the Indian Muslim League but proved fruitless, however prior to this ,Indian Union Muslim League managed to elect one Muslim member to the Lok Sabah in 1957 and in 1962. It was the first ever Muslim endeavour proved to be succeeded exclusively. Some regional political organizations like Ittehad-ul-Muslimeem did attain some successes in State elections, but could not extend its influence outside of Hyderabad city.(Akhter,1996:28)

The Indian Muslims' disillusionment with the Congress emerged during communal riots erupted in 1963 caused great lose to the Muslims in terms of life and property. Therefore, the Muslims did consider that the Congress had betrayed their trust doing nothing to protect their lives and properties having political dominance at national level despite unconditional political support to the Congress. They were also of the view that the Congress had failed to address their grievances in terms of low representation in central as well as in state assemblies, education backwardness as compared to other communities discrimination in govt jobs i.e. administrative services, police and army.(Kalidi,1995:176)

Under above stated grievances, the Congress had deliberately ignored, the Muslim leadership was compelled to review its continuing dependence on it, therefore they decided to take apart to the Congress. It was evident from results came out in 1967 elections, most of the Muslims in these elections did not vote to Congress in West Bengal, UP and Bihar. The Muslim leaders felt that it was the need of the day to have their own separate and exclusive political party which could provide a political platform, so that they could elect their own political representatives to safeguard not only their political interests but prove to be a tool to address their other socio- economic and educational problems.(Khalidi,1995:177)

In this regard, the Muslim Majlis-i-Mushawarat(Muslim Consultative Committee or MMM) a band of different Muslim Organizations was set up in 1964 in Lucknow, devising a new strategy to articulate Muslim hardships, in 1967 published a people's manifesto under which Muslim demands and grievances were outlined.(Khalidi, 1995:177) Despite mass expectations the MMM failed to deliver in 1967 elections at national level ,notwithstanding, it succeeded to some extent in UP and Bihar, successfully raising the political awareness among Muslim masses. The failure of MMM led to revival of Majlis -i- ittehad -al Muslimeen(MIM) founded in 1927 in Andhra Pradesh. The MIM's performance was satisfactory as compared to MMM, as it won three assembly seats in 1967.Since then it improved its performance winning one Lok Sabah seat in 1984, in 1989 and then 1991. However, despite better output till 1991,it had to undergo humiliating defeat in 1994 general elections thanks to split in party folds and Majlis-Bachao-Tehreek (MBT) a move to save the Majlis was set up by Amanullah Khan.(Muslim India,1995:7) It would be safe to say, although the Muslims had politically split



themselves from the Congress's bandwagon, however they could not do anything of significance politically, while economic and educational problems of the Muslims remained stand still as yet, Himalaya like task has yet to be done to bring the Indian Muslims at par with other communities residing in India, in every sphere of life.

### ***Indian Muslims Under Hindutva Politics***

Since independence, the Indian Muslims are living in a state of fear of assimilation by majority community, particularly its revivalist and fundamentalist elements. With the passage of time the Muslim dread of absorption became all the more real with communalizing both the Indian society and politics. In this respect Hindus' religio-political organizations such as RSS, BD, VHP, JS, Hindu Mahasabha, Bahartya Mazdoor Sangh and BJP are playing havoc with Muslims, socially they are scorned and politically they have marginalized under Hindutva doctrine. What is Hindutva?. Simply, it means Hinduness or Hinduizing the Indian society and politics replacing secularism and pluralism. Certain details, in this regard are as under;

According to Gowalkar, a supreme ideologue of Hinduism and chief of RSS until his death (1973) "India is a land of Hindus and in the land of Hindus lives and should live Hindu Nation." (India Today, New Delhi, Feb 15, 1993) Gowalkar was the founding father of "Hindutva Ideology" and set parameters for "Sangh Parivar" the (Hindu brotherhood) in 1951 following lifting of ban the Indian govt had imposed thanks to the assassination of M.K. Gandhi by a RSS activist in 1948. Sangh Parivar is an association of various Hindu revivalist bands, the names of these groups already have states above. All these Hindu militant organizations have one point agenda to have revive Hinduism (Hindutva) in India. BJP the currently ruling party in India essentially is a political wing of RSS strongly opponent of the partition of India, however following the partition, its leadership forged a strategy to establish Hindu Rashtra. In this regard M.S. Golwalkar devised a new concept of "nationlizing" the non-Hindus (Muslims) in independent India. He maintained that non-Hindus should "adopt the Hindu culture and language, in order to become a part of mainstream of Indian society, they must glorify the Hindu race and withdraw their separate identity to amalgamate themselves in Hindu society." (Graham, 1990:18) Hindutva philosophy is essentially a move to make India a Hindu Rashtra under the supremacy of Hinduism. According to Hindutva ideology a person cannot be a Hindu unless he declares with firm faith that India is a holy land. Similarly, Hindu philosophy does hold that the non-Hindus are internal threat to Indian (Hindu) society, particularly the Muslims.

During post-partition era, Hindutva ideology caused abhorrence among various communities living in India and the cleavage of distrust between the Hindus and the Muslims escalated as the Muslims were considered alien, unwanted element, were advised to total subordination to Hindus or should be expelled to the

areas from where they entered into India.(Candra,1984:348) In this regard Bal Thackeray, a prominent Hindu revivalist while interviewing in 1984 asked the Muslims to " prove their bona fide, their credibility, their spirit" he further questioned "whether they are Muslim in India or Muslim of India. If they are Muslim in India then their place in Pakistan". During the interview he further maintained that" if I came to power, I will give them 48 hours to prove that they belong to this country".(Illustrated Weekly of India,Bombay,Feb19,1984) This is the revivalist Hindu leadership with adverse mindset against their countrymen having divers faith, the Muslims. The first

demonstration of Hindutva belligerence appeared on the eve of partition of India in 1947,claiming almost one million innocent lives mostly the Muslims. In the upcoming years, the gravity of Hindutva belligerence even more intensified in the form of anti-Muslim riots. According to some reliable sources, almost 47000 communal(anti-Muslim) riots have took place so far, claiming hundred of thousand Muslim lives.(Spotlight, 1994:11)

Indian politics has steadily communalized as all political parties exploit communalism in order to muster political gains in one way or the other. The decade of 1980 witnessed a sharp communalization in Indian politics. Nearly 500 organizations having communal nature with militant wings had set up, working for different political parties to get political leverage. In this regard the Congress, champion of secularism, was not next to non, after the death of Nehru, contributed for the politicization of religion to accumulate the Hindu vote, Indra Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi, the former was daughter and the latter was grandson of Nehru,( the hero of Indian secularism) played with the Hindu religious sentiments to garner Hindu vote during 1980s'. Hindu communalism touched its heights in December 1992 with razing the historical Babri Mosque by Hindutva belligerents under the leadership of L.K Advani a BJP Leader latter became home minister of Vajpaie government(1998-2004). It was as open secret to the Indian Muslim that they as well as their places of worship under severe Hindutva threat.(Spotlight,1994:11) Babri Mosque episode proved to be first step for BJP's Political success as in 1998 it formed Union govt in India after winning the elections and then a landslide victory in 2014 elections under Modi.

### ***Political Deprivation of Muslims***

Indian democracy operates under multiparty system with dozens of political parties on national as well as regional level having varied manifestos, some have secular posture while some have communal agenda such as the Congress and BJP. The Indian National Congress, Indian Union Muslim League, BJP and Communist Party of India are national level parties while National Conference, Telegu Desham, DMK etc are regional level parties.

As for as Muslim political participation and voting trend is concerned a number of theories are there with analysis whether Indian Muslims vote en block

to assist any political party or vice versa. It is, observed that Indian Muslims always go with national mood as the election results in 1967,1971 and 1977 confirm the statement. A bitter reality, notwithstanding regarding Muslims' winning of parliamentary seats is, in every election very few Muslim candidates get elected themselves under existing political process as the separate electorate had withdrawn from the very inception and reserved seats were not granted to the Muslims as have been specified for scheduled casts and other backward classes. Therefore, the Muslims have deliberately been kept under represented since independence. In 1984 elections the total Lok Sabha seats were 544 the Muslims captured only 46 seats while it must be 62 proportionally. See table below;  
State wise Muslim members of Parliament,1984

Name of state	Lok Sabha	Rajya Sabha	Total
AP	1/42	2/18	3/60
Bihar	4/54	2/22	6/76
Gujarat	1/26	1/11	3/37
J&K	2/6	3/4	5/10
Kerala	3/20	2/9	5/29
Maharashtra	3/47	3/19	6/66
Rajasthan	0/25	2/10	2/35
Tamil Nadu	1/39	1/18	2/57
UP	17/85	6/34	23/119
W/Bengal	7/42	1/16	8/58
Lakshadweep	1/1	-	1/1
Assam	0/7	0/2	0/9
Himachal Pradesh	0/4	0/3	0/7
Manipur	0/4	0/1	0/5
Nagaland	0/1	0/1	0/2
Meghalaya	0/2	0/1	0/3
Orissa	0/21	0/10	0/31
Punjab	0/13	0/7	0/20
Sikkim	0/1	0/1	0/2
Tripura	0/2	0/1	0/3
Other Union Territories	0/17	0/6	0/27

(Ausaf,1993:28) Table above manifests that Muslim representation in parliament abysmally low as compared to their population, owing to communalization of Indian society. So much so ,almost thirteen States with no Muslim representation. In 1994,Muslim political deprivation even more aggrandized. Table below portrays the real situation;

## State wise Muslim representation, June, 1994

Lok Sabha			Rajya Sabha			
Total	Muslim	%age		Total	Muslim	%age
AP(8.75)		18	02	11.11	42	7.14
Assam		07	-	-	14	01
7.14						
Bihar(14.13)		22	02		9.09	54
06	11.11					
Gujarat(8.53)		11	01		9.09	26
Haryana(4.05)		05	-		-	10
J&K(64.19)		04	-		-	NA
NA	-					
Karnataka(11.05)		12	01		8.33	28
03	10.71					
Kerala(21.25)		09	01		11.11	20
01	05					
MP(4.80)		16	01		6.25	40
-						-
Maharashtra(9.25)	19	19	02		10.52	48
01	2.08					
Manipur(6.99)		01	-		-	-
NA	NA					
Orissa		10	-		-	21
-						-
Rajasthan(7.28)		10	-		-	25
01	4.00					
Tamil Nadu(5.21)		18	01		5.56	39
01	2.56					
Tripura(6.75)		01	-		-	NA
NA	-					
UP(15.53)		34	06		17.65	85
03	3.52					
W/Bengal(21.51)		16	01		06.25	42
05	11.90					
Delhi(7.75)		03	02		66.67	07
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Source: Muslim India ,New Delhi July 1994:294.

State wise Muslim representation had suffered a blow of communalism during the decades of 1980 and 1990 with Masjid -Minder controversy, caused a gulf between Hindus and Muslims, resultantly Muslims could win only 27/544 Lok Sabha seats in 1994 elections as compared to 46/544 seats in 1984 elections.

Under communal influence all the political parties do not extend their political support to Muslim candidates to get elected. Let alone other political parties, the Congress, having secular stance never wholeheartedly supported Muslim candidates in elections ,even party tickets to contest election, are not issued to Muslims in accordance with their population proportion under growing extremism.(Ausaf,1993:29)

Table below elaborates the situation;

Name of Party	Average Nomination	Ratio	Elected	to
INC	6.72		1:2	
BJP	0.82		1:10	
CPI	4.24		1:9	
CPI(M)	9.34		1:2	
Janta Party	6.8		1:5	
Janta Dal	9.04		1:4	
Samajwadi Party	18.02		1:7	
BSP	10.53		1:7	

(Ansari,2006:99-102) Table above exhibits that Muslim nomination for contesting election by large political parties is very low as against the small parties. Almost 17 general elections have been held in India over the last 67 years of independence, however Muslim political deprivation has gradually widened with 31 Muslim members of parliament in 1947 out of 235 while in 2004 elections the Muslim parliamentarians were only 36 out of 543 (13.1%to6.6%respectivlly).See table below;

Year	Total Members	Muslims	Expected	Deprivation in %
1947	235	31		
1952	489	21	49	57.14
1957	494	24	49	51.02
1962	494	23	53	56.60
1967	520	29	56	48.21
1971	518	30	58	48.28
1977	542	34	61	44.26
1980	529	49	59	16.95
1984	542	46	62	25.81

1989	529	33	60	45.00
1991	534	28	65	56.00
1996	543	28	66	57.56
1998	543	29	66	56.06
1999	543	32	66	51.52
2004	543	36	66	45.45

(Ansari,2006:64)

Muslim representation in Indian parliament even more reduced in 2009 and 2014 elections particularly in 2014 general elections only 22 Lok Sabha seats won by Muslims as communal extremism, bigotry and prejudiced behaviour of majority community towards Muslims was on full swing during election campaign the BJP leadership had initiated.

## Conclusion

John Stuart Mill, a great political philosopher had once said that " the first principle of democracy is representation in proportion to members". In Indian political process, Muslims are facing political deprivation with low political representation to their population proportion since independence. It is widely believed, however that India is a biggest and largest democracy in the world with second largest population after China. In this regard Indians are proud of being worlds' biggest democratic secular state gaining political as well as economic fruits globally. But democracy and secularism do not bring any fundamental change in every walk of life of Indian Muslims be it education ,economy or politics. Their miserable plight speaks the volume against political leadership, repeatedly harping and claiming that all segments of the Indian society including Muslims are getting developed alike. However, conversely, with figures of various studies(Gopal Singh Report,1983,Sachar Report,2006, Ranganath Report, 2007, NSSOs) tell other side of the story. For instance, Indian Muslims constitute almost 15% of the total Indian population according to 2011 census report, however unofficial sources do believe that the actual Muslim population in India is in between 20% to 25% but their share in education and in economy is hardly 3% while the political participation was only 4.94% in 1994.While their participation was only 4.04% with 22 Lok Sabha seats in 2014 elections.

Omer Khalidi, a well known Indian writer, suggesting to overcome the political deprivation advised the Muslims;

- a) they can join one of the parties sympathetic to them with secular orientation,
- b)they can work as pressure group with non-partisan posture and party affiliation, or
- c)they can set up their own political party and try to be a part of coalition

government to take political advantages.

Indian Muslims have tried all these approaches with no desired results. This is largely owing to their scattered population throughout India, and abolishing of separate electorate in 1950 without reserving of parliamentary seats for Muslims leaving them on the mercy of majority community. Under the presence of politics of hate, pseudo democracy and communalized political system, Muslim political deprivation could never be addressed, unless or until meaningful electoral reforms are not introduced in electoral system and Indian society is not purged of communalism. At least either proportional electorate or parliamentary seats to be reserved for Muslims as have been reserved for scheduled casts and other backward classes(OBCs).

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