SHRINKING MUSLIMS FROM THE LANDSCAPE OF INDIAN DEMOCRACY

SabaHussain

Research Scholar, Department of Political Science, A.M.U, Aligarh, India

ABSTRACT

At one hand, Muslim population is increasing in India on the other hand their political presence is decreasing in Indian Parliament. Muslims have always been underrepresented here, but they are now at a 50-year low. In modern days, democracy means majority rule with minority rights. Right of equal representation is one of the most important political rights for any democracy in the world. When it comes to Indian democracy, equal political participation of Indian Muslims has always been a matter of debate. In this paper, I tried to find out what are the root causes of declining the political representation of Muslims from Indian Parliament and Assemblies. I also include various impacts of poor political participation on Muslim community as well as on Indian democratic society. I have used comparative study method for my research paper which not only help me to find causes and impacts of poor political representation but also throw a light to take corrective measures. I concluded my study on a note that how Indian government can increase their political representation in order to create a successful democratic society.

INTRODUCTION

The core of democracy is majority rule, making compulsory choices by a poll of over half of all electors. In moment, though, constitutional democracy needs majority rule with minority rights. In his First Opening Address, Thomas Jefferson, the United States ' third president, articulated this notion of democracy in 1801. He said,

"All will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will to be rightful must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal law must protect and to violate would be oppression."

Democracy is described by the individuals and the individuals as a state of the individuals. Democracy is a type of government that governs individuals through their own elected officials. Democracy ensures people and their voters some fundamental rights and freedoms. These rights are referred to as the basic rights.

India is the biggest democratic country in the world, along over a billion inhabitants. India, a union of nations, is a republic with a parliamentary system of government, a sovereign socialist, and secular, democratic. The republic is governed by the Constitution adopted on November 26, 1949 and entered into force on January 26, 1950.

Participating in the state is not feasible for all the individuals in a very huge country like Republic of India. That is why they are needed to use their referendum and at periodic intervals choose their officials. These parliamentary officials legislate and form an honest government

Through trial on democracy by India the world learn a number of lessons: the effective functioning of coalition governments, volatility of voting behaviour, significance of an independent and alert electoral commission, and, most of all, the potential for political culture amongst the underprivileged. In every real democracy today, the rule of the majority is both supported and restricted by the constitution's highest law that safeguards individual rights. Minority domination over majority is prohibited, but majority domination against minorities is also prohibited.

In order to safeguard minority rights, the law of majority is restricted, for the reason that if it were unrestrained it may probably be utilize to subjugate people with ostracized opinions. In a democracy, unlimited majority rule is possibly as dictatorial as the unrestrained reign of a despot or an elitist political minority party.

The Indian Constitution did not define the word "minority." India has different identities. It relies on our consciousness or sometimes on our surroundings to weigh one identity over the other. Religion is undoubtedly one of the main identities linked to politics all over the globe. BJP's founding, a right-wing party, has been connected with vehemently raising Hindus ' problems. Democracy offers equal room for minority opinions. Independent India's history offers sufficient proof to confirm the democracy's secular values.

INDIAN MUSLIM POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

Muslims make up 14.2 per cent of India's inhabitants (Census 2011). Figure 1 shows the proportion of Muslim MPs in the Indian Parliament has declined over the last 30 years.

Figure 1 shows Muslim MPs have averaged around 6% of each LokSabha Assembly since 1952, but the amount of Muslim MPs in the 16th LokSabha has dropped to a historic low of 4%.

The demand for reservations for Muslims at all levels of legislative bodies was rejected during the deliberations at the Indian Constituent Assembly. However, depiction of minorities continues essential, as evocatively expressed in Datta's arguments:

"For formal political democracy to be meaningful, it is important that the political discourse be representative of the diversity of voters' viewpoints. Because voters do not participate directly in the debates that inform the framing of policy, the functioning of the institutions through which elected officials represent voters' views and concerns to policymakers crucially affects voters' political voice and thus the potential for government to be accountable to the electorate." (Datta 2007, 11).
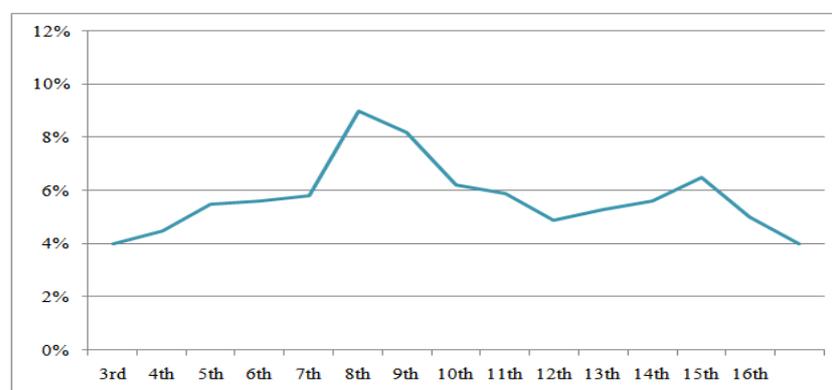
Figure 1: Percentage of Muslim MPs Elected to the LokSabha Since 1952.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Studying its representativeness is an indispensable way of knowing the Indian Parliament. While it may be helpful to point out instances of under-representation to the descriptive representation strategy, it is insufficient to comprehend how representation is manifested through the behaviour of elected officials. The Indian Parliament has also been struggling with this tension between descriptive and substantive representation, especially in the case of the Indian Parliament representation of Muslims. The problem of religious representation and distinct electorates has been a controversial problem within the Constituent Assembly since the beginning of the demand for Indian independence from British rule.

However, when the violence that followed during the partition was witnessed, the representatives of the Constituent Assembly were not in favour of any further divisions on community basis and therefore dismissed the requirements of minorities for reservations (Ansari 2006). As Granville Austin clarified, this had placed Indian Muslims in a precarious post partition situation:

"Partition had made them (the Indian Muslims) a smaller - and hence less powerful - and a highly suspect group. Should they, therefore, give up all special protection and throw them on the mercy of the Congress? Or did they need the protection of separate electorates and reservation even more than previously?" (Austin 2000)

As a consequence of their identification with the Muslim League after independence, the articulation of grievances experienced by Indian Muslims became restricted. Elections were also thought to place ' docile ' Muslims in office that feared denial of nomination in subsequent elections, making them less likely to take more radical positions in the interest of the community.

Problem with Muslim Representation

The under-representation of Muslims in Indian Democracy is one of the problems I would like to increase. There are 17.22 crores (172.2 million) Muslims in India, 14.2 per cent of India's population, according to the 2011 census.

They are behind Hindus ' second biggest religious group by percentage (96.63 crores, 79.8%). India is home to the second biggest adherents of Islam, according to Pew Research in 2011. Nevertheless, Muslims ' representation in 16th LokSabha Elections was an all-time low with only 22 Muslim MPs. This is Indian Parliament's worst hit in history, with the prior low at 23 in 1957. In the history of independent India, BJP became the first ruling party without a sole chosen "Muslim" member of the "LokSabha". The three Muslims who served or served in their ministerial council are all from the upper house, RajyaSabha. With Muslims accounting for about 14 per cent of the population of India, this is a blot on representative democracy practice. We have to face the following scary reality that there are only four Muslims out of the 1386 BJP MLAs now in the nation.

I am not in favour of only an elected Muslim member being able to reflect the opinions or articulate their community's aspiration. The larger issue is that Muslim youth's aspirations have not been met either by Muslim elected representatives or by others. They must be taken into account and reflected in the policies, a great deal of work must be done to provide them with higher education. The dropout rate among Muslim community learners is greater, particularly among women but boys in particular. Family planning systems do not seem to work efficiently and require more community promotion. India is one of the fastest growing economies, and these findings are horrific despite a high-level public probe in its historic policy behavior. In the police forces of the nation, Muslims are underrepresented and over-represented in their prisons.

It is not reasonable to place all the burden of this on the conundrum of under-representation; representatives elected by Muslims have not paid attention to their problems either. But one of the factors behind all this is their under-representation, specifically of trained liberal intellectuals. Among many others, religious fanatics from their society as well as some other fundamentalists have diverted their primary problems of education, family planning, insecurity, and discrimination. Recognizing their problems is the big step in fixing their problems.

To fulfill their ambitions becomes political as well as moral obligations. At the same moment, because they make up a big percentage of electors, their community requires to place value on their votes.

They should not be treated to a particular party as traditional electors, nor should another party discard them. They should retain pressure to pay attention to their issues on the incumbent government. In this situation too, the majority, Hindus, must verify one of the most incredible features of democracy. In democracy, the majority could tackle the minority's plight. Whenever they think minority problems and their identities are being ignored or endangered, change of government could solve them.

The BJP went to power in the 2014 elections without a single elected Muslim Member of Parliament –in any event, out of a total of 482 applicants, BJP given tickets to seven Muslims only, 5 in Jammu & Kashmir and 2 in Bengal respectively. Since 1957, Parliament's total Muslim representation dropped to the lowest that is 4%.

"Muslims" make up 19.2 per cent of the population of Uttar Pradesh, nearly 4.3 Crore people, equally large as population of Argentina. However, in 2017 assembly elections, the BJP did not run for a single Muslim candidate, which bag 312 seats out of 403. Muslim representation in the up assembly dropped dramatically from 17.1 per cent to 5.9 per cent.

Out of 61 MLAs, BJP has only one Muslim MLA in Assam which has 34.2% per cent of Muslim population. There is no Muslim MLAs of BJP in Bihar and Jharkhand where Muslim population is 16.9% and 14.5% respectively. The BJP won with 122 MLAs in Maharashtra (11.54 percent of the Muslim population) and fielded one Muslim who lost.

From 2002, when NarendraModi took oath as CM of Gujarat, either in the LokSabha or Assembly Elections, BJP never nominated a sole Muslim nominee. In 1980, when the Muslim population was 9.67%, "the Muslim representation" in the Assembly of Gujarat was 6.6% but the political purification makes sure that it is only 1.6% now.

All this leads to the subsequent scary reality: there are only four Muslims out of the 1418 BJP MLAs now in the nation. That is 0.28% of the workforce if the Muslim population is 14.2%. Marginalization is just stunning. In November 2014, there were 300 Muslim MLAs in non-BJP ruled states, representing 13% of the total MLA population, from a comparative view.

In UP, in the era 1951-1977, "Muslim representation" in Assembly fluctuated from 5.8 per cent to 9.5 per cent, much less than its population. It only touched 17.1 per cent as late as 2012, but again lacked of its general share of the population. In Bihar even, where the alleged "secular" Congress and JDU and RJD (Janata Dal United/RashtriyaJanata Dal) parties were blamed of politicized to Muslims; the greatest figure in 1985 was only 10.46%, when the Muslim population of the state was 16.9%.

It is essential for the most marginalized and oppressed to be represented in order to deepen democracy. The first stage would then be to acknowledge that monolithic majorities and minorities do not exist.

Muslim Representation in India since Independence

Table 1 shows Muslims in India account for 13.4 percent of the total population, according to Census 2001. The ideal number of MPs in LokSabha should therefore be 73.

Table 1

S No.	Years of Polls	Number of MPs	Total no. % Approx.
1.	1952	11	2%
2.	1957	19	4%
3.	1962	20	4%
4.	1967	25	5%
5.	1971	28	6%
6.	1977	34	7%
7.	1980	49	10%
8.	1984	42	8%
9.	1989	27	6%
10.	1991	25	5%
11.	1996	29	6%
12.	1998	28	6%
13.	1999	31	6%
14.	2004	34	7%
15.	2009	30	6%
16.	2014	23	4%
17.	2019	27	5%

Source: Numbers are calculated on the basis of the information provided on the LokSabha website. http://loksabha.nic.in/

Muslim Representation in 15th Loksabha (States with At Least 5% Muslim Population and 5 Loksabha Seats)

Table 2

State	Muslim Population	Total MPs	Muslim MPs	% of Muslim MPs
Assam	30.9 %	14	2	14.23 %
Andhra Pradesh	9.17 %	42	1	2.38 %
Bihar	16.5 %	40	3	7.5 %
Gujarat	9.06 %	26	0	0 %
Jammu & Kashmir	66.97 %	6	4	66.67 %
Jharkhand	14.00 %	14	0	0 %
Karnataka	12.23 %	28	0	0 %
Kerala	24.7 %	20	3	15 %
Madhya Pradesh	6.36 %	29	0	0 %
Maharashtra	10.6 %	48	0	0 %
NCT of Territory	10.3 %	7	0	0 %
Rajasthan	10.5 %	25	0	0 %
Tamil Nadu	5.56 %	39	2	5.13 %
Uttar Pradesh	18.25 %	80	7	8.75 %
Uttarakhand	11.92 %	5	0	0 %
West Bengal	25.25 %	42	7	16.67 %
All India	**13.43 %**	**543**	**30**	**5.52 %**

Muslim Representation in 16th LokSabha (States with at least 5% Muslim Population and 5 LokSabha Seats)

Table 3: Number of Seats and Population Calculated From the Data Available on Loksabha and Census Website

State	Muslim Population	Total MPs	Muslim MPs	% of Muslim MPs
Assam	30.9 %	14	2	14.23 %
Andhra Pradesh	9.17 %	42	1	2.38 %
Bihar	16.5 %	40	3	7.5 %
Gujarat	9.06 %	26	0	0 %
Jammu & Kashmir	66.97 %	6	4	66.67 %
Jharkhand	14.00 %	14	0	0 %
Karnataka	12.23 %	28	0	0 %
Kerala	24.7 %	20	3	15 %
Madhya Pradesh	6.36 %	29	0	0 %
Maharashtra	10.6 %	48	0	0 %
NCT of Territory	10.3 %	7	0	0 %
Rajasthan	10.5 %	25	0	0 %
Tamil Nadu	5.56 %	39	2	5.13 %
Uttar Pradesh	18.25 %	80	0	8.75 %
Uttarakhand	11.92 %	5	0	0 %
West Bengal	27.1 %	42	7	16.67 %
Lakshadweep	96.58 %	1	1	100 %
All India	**14.2 %**	**545**	**23**	**4.2 %**

Muslim Representation in 17th Loksabha (States with At Least 5% Muslim Population and 5 Loksabha Seats)

Table 4: Numbers of Seats and Population Calculated From the Data Available on Loksabha and Census Website

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Jharkhand	14.5 %	14	0	0 %
Karnataka	12.91 %	28	0	0 %
Kerala	26.56 %	20	3	15 %
Madhya Pradesh	6.7 %	29	0	0 %
Maharashtra	13.4 %	48	1	0 %
NCT of Territory	12.86 %	7	0	0 %
Rajasthan	10 %	25	0	0 %
Tamil Nadu	6 %	39	2	5.13 %
Uttar Pradesh	19.3 %	80	6	8.75 %
Uttarakhand	11.92 %	5	0	0 %
West Bengal	27.1 %	42	6	16.67 %
Punjab*	1.6 %	13	1	7.6 %
All India	**14.2 %**	**543**	**27**	**4.97 %**

*Punjab also had one Muslim MP in 2019 but Muslim Population is below 5%

SUGGESTIONS & CAUSES

Muslims ' decreasing political representation in legislatures is obvious both in the domestic and state legislatures. Muslims are therefore finding fresh methods of countering under-representation through advocacy organizations in state-level minority welfare agencies, but these nominations are tailored to the limited interests of sub-groups rather

than to a substantial representation of wide Muslim community interests. Low political representation of Muslims also effects in other sphere of life.

The 2006 commissioned Sachar Report discovered that the Muslim population was growing at a greater pace than other religious communities as per the 2001 Census. Despite a big segment of the population, their performance across all development and representation parameters at different rates was poor.

The primary suggestions of this report focused on addressing the developmental gaps, discrimination and under-representation issues experienced by Indian Muslims. The study also showed that, across a number of growth indices, Muslims were behind all other Social and Religious Groups (SRCs), including SCs and STs.

CSDS-Lokniti performed a national survey on Indian Muslims to recognize problems related to the under-representation of the Muslim minority, according to these results. Approximately 72% said they would endorse some sort of representation of Muslims in academic organizations, while 69% thought that poverty and unemployment were the primary problem facing Muslims.

Using such information, it becomes feasible to begin investigating whether the Parliament is efficient in representing citizens ' normal discourse and particular issues that come straight from the electorate.

There are many explanations for this low depiction. There might be one absence of efficient Muslim governance.

It is worth noting here that in 1947 Partition of country, when India-Pakistan gained independence from the British, a majority of Muslims decided either to remain in or migrate to the newly created Pakistan together with their management. This resulted to unfulfilled governance for the remaining Indian Muslims.

Influential politician's nepotism perpetuates a specific family or clan's hegemony. Since majority politicians of India have been non-Muslims, their favouritism certainly leads to a greater non-Muslims existence and a reduced Muslim politician's representation.

One more reason for low representation probably, many Indian political parties think that Muslims ' electability is way lesser to be chosen as feasible applicants. Due to their religious identity, the non-Muslim electorate, parties believe, will not vote for them.

There were more considerations like positive actions in support of Scheduled Castes and Tribes which grasps off approximately 22 per cent of legislative seats and more than 27 per cent of Muslim claimants for the seats of state legislature. The Muslims, almost omitted from SC / STs, are unable even to contest in the reserved seats in the election.

Furthermore, it was noted that many constituencies are not reserved for them, on the one side, where SC / STs constitute the majority of electors. On the other side, there is abundance of constituencies where a majority or a substantial portion of the voters belongs to the Muslim community and minor SC residents but the seats were reserved for SCs.

This appears to be a measured effort to deprive its management of the Muslim community. Such movements, unintentional or intentional, more diminished Muslim leadership's chances of growing.

There have been many confused efforts to create political parties of Muslims with regard to the growth of Muslim governance. However, certain gather some power at the state level but none among them at the domestic level was

effective. The principal reason of their catastrophe is the diverse character of the Indian Muslim society, sub-sectioned into many other cultural, religious, and regional communities.

These variables together have resulted to a situation in which the Muslim community, the country's biggest minority group, is poorly represented in the politics of the nation. There is no doubt that this is not the indication of a good democracy. India requires guaranteeing a reasonable representation of the Muslim community as the biggest egalitarian country holding one of the world biggest Muslim communities.

It was also generally believed that an awful political depiction of Muslims is one of the main factors for Indian Muslims ' complete disempowerment, an opinion that the Muslim community also shares with the country's secular voices.

Suggestions

The government of India also assigned a committee to formulate a report on the socio-economic and educational circumstances of "Indian Muslims" led by "former Delhi High Court Chief Justice Rajinder Kumar Sachar". The committee, recognized as "Sachar Committee Report", presented its results that established formally that the "backwardness" of Muslims is a truth and needs unique attempts. The study demonstrated that there are some systematic issues with the exclusion of Indian Muslims from mainstream growth and needs comparable efficient interventions.

Indian Muslims ' present state can be described in two main topics: impotence and absence of socio-political reform. Indian leaders, activists and academia discussed actions for their economic and political empowerment. The chance of a better future relies on how particular policy measures result from these discussions and how "Indian Muslims" demonstrate their desire to commence courageous socio-political reforms.

Many commissioned studies by governments, the utmost noticeable of which are the "Sachar Committee Report and the Justice Ranganath Mishra Report", highlighted the systematic nature of Indian Muslims ' impotence. As per the constitution ratified an affirmative structure with a quota of "15 per cent for Scheduled Castes and a quota of 7.5 percent for Scheduled Tribes" for all public posts, college schooling, jobs and election districts, these groups have gradually evolved and evolved in all sphere of life.

Muslims at Workplace

Table 5 shows financially, according to per capita spending, Muslims of India comes under the country's poorest group.

Table 5: Data Collected from the Website of National Sample Survey

S. No.	Job Sector	No. of Muslims
1.	Civil Services	3 %
2.	Police Services	4 %
3.	Foreign Services	1.8 %
4.	Education	6.5 %
5.	Railways	4.5 %
6.	Home Department	7.3 %
7.	Inconsistent Workforce	60 %
8.	Consistent Employee (work as wages employee)	28 %

Average Expenditure of Muslim and other Communities of India

Table 6 shows "The scenario is probable to alter gradually as most Muslims (60%) work as the inconsistent workforce; only 28% of Muslims are consistent employees that mean they work as wage employees."

"The cause that the bulk of Muslim workers are self-employed is that higher-educated

Table 7 shows Political organizations, parliament, government assemblies and local bodies must be responsive and address these problems. It is expected in populist political discourse that Muslims will benefit more from the political scheme and that political parties will consider them a voting group and hence mollify them.

Table 6: Data Collected From the Website of National Sample Survey

Indian Community	NSS Per Day Expenditure Per Person	Working-Class Proportion of Total Community Population
Muslims	Rs. 32.7 ($0.52)	33%
Sikhs	Rs. 55.3	43%
Christians	Rs. 51.4	41.9%
Hindus	Rs. 37.5	41%

Literacy Rate among Muslims of India

Table 7:

S. No.	Literacy Level	Age Group with Percentage
1.	Analphabetic**	17-29 (22.3%)
2.	Secondary or lower secondary schooling	64%
3.	Greater secondary schooling	9.8%
4.	Graduate *	4.1%

*domestic average of graduate degree15.5%

**domestic analphabetic 17%

2012 UP State Assembly Elections

Many Muslim politicians were unable to withstand the temptation of creating a "Muslim political party" alone to tackle the issue. Assumed that the population of Muslim is spread throughout the nation and that politics of India is more concerned with establishing a winnable social engineering, not a single "Muslim political party" could have accomplished much achievement. A news survey disclosed "In a 2012 assembly election in Uttar Pradesh, four Muslim political parties dared for 333 seats but only 7 seats won, while 58 Muslim candidates from other political parties won." Experts discovered that mainly a myth is the concept of "Muslim voting" that can be used in bloc.

In an association of other groups like Dalits, backward, or even higher caste Hindus, they vote rather. There is also an increasing demand for "a proportional representation system" to allow to the minority community to grasp elected offices following the 2014 general election.

In debating the socio-economic deprivation of Indian Muslims, powerlessness and absence of social reform, though not a particular Muslim issue, dominate. Indian politics works through various and complicated communal, regional, caste, language, ethnic, cultural and class concessions. "Indian Muslims" can be observing in their political, communal, or private positions through these procedures. The greater their commitment to all segments of society, the greater Indian Muslims partnership has been accomplished.

In the midst of India's evolving economic and political outline and commitment to the worldwide globe, "Indian Muslims", especially its younger generation, have grown determined and spoken about their constitutional rights, civil liberties, and role in shaping their mutual tomorrow.

Table 8

S.No.	Party	Total No. of Muslims Win in Election
1.	Muslims Political Parties	7
2.	Other Political Parties	54

Sources: data tally from the website of Election Commission of India

CONCLUSIONS

India is the home of the world's second largest populous nation with above 1.2 billion individuals and the "biggest democracy" in the world. It is home to a bewildering amount of distinct religious, ethnic, linguistic, cultural, and caste organizations whose community limits are hard to identify due to cross-cutting cleavages and predominant identities. Hindi is the formal public language of the country, English has the status of "subsidiary official language," and more than a dozen other languages have been formally acknowledged; hundreds of Indian dialects are numbered. India is also a federated politics with 28 countries and seven territories of the Union, a parliamentary democracy with a competitive scheme of political parties.

Political competition therefore takes place not only at the domestic front but also, perhaps more importantly, at the regional front, where every state (majority of them were formed on a linguistic basis) has a distinctive system of political parties. Native political competition — habitually based on provincial idiosyncrasies, identities, and interests — adds additional complexity to Indian democracy's varied nature.

Ansari points out that the main responsibility for Muslim political deprivation lies with political parties. He demonstrates that nearly all significant political parties have unsuccessful to put forward name from the people from community for elections to LokSabha. Considering these inclinations, Ansari sum up that the current scheme of electoral mechanisms is insufficient as it does not provide Muslims with proportional representation. Consequently, it is necessary to work out some kind of option.

Ansari indicates few primary ways to increase Muslim representation:

"All political parties nominate a fair share of minority candidates under the People's Representation Act …at least making parties accountable for any persistent underrepresentation of minorities. (b) De-reserving those constituencies reserved for SC which have a good percentage of Muslim voters. Alternately, the category of SC should be defined in terms of social origin, irrespective of faith, allowing Muslims and Christian Dalits to seek election from seats reserved for SC. (c) Redrawing constituencies with a view to enabling under-represented groups like Muslims…" **"(Ansari, 400-401)"**.

The significance of a sensible legislative constitutional suggestion cannot be overlooked. In the exiting institutional set-up, it compelled us to reconsider the issue of "Muslim under-representation". More generally, Ansari provides a substitute understanding of the Indian political system that, he believes, has not accommodated Indian communities ' cultural, and sociological, religious diversity.

It is correct that India's political parties are not correctly structured, and a significant problem remains the lack of internal democracy. But this does not imply that political ideologies are totally ineffective and have no analytical significance at all. On ideological lines, political parties are divided, that provide them with theoretical tackles to hold a stand on different political subjects. Specifically for this cause, on Muslim representation, we cannot have one ' politically accurate ' stance.

This line of reasoning has another issue. It can also be concluded after Ansari that since all communal/secular groups have constantly deceived the community, they should create their specific "Muslim" political party. Ansari, obviously, doesn't endorse this assumption, and obviously indicates that the under-representation of Muslims is inseparably related to the scheme of law and constitution.Despite this reasoning, however, the key separating point among community exclusivity, which is obviously clear by "Muslim under-representation" in this context, and a lesser amount of apparent political path called Muslim separatism, is not completely evident.

The reservation discussion is inseparably related to the issue of unity with Muslims. Ashfak Hussain Ansaari, ex-MP and an "OBC reservation" advocate, claims that backward Muslims should have a distinct quota because these Muslims are marginalized both socially and politically. Furthermore, Ansari held the concern of political representation of deprived Muslims. He notes, "I have never rejected the idea of Muslim unity, but certainly I am not for any unity at the cost of present benefits provided to the backward Muslims through OBC reservation." (Ansari, 2004a).

However, "Syed Shahabuddin" believed on another line. He believes that Muslims can also be identified as a ' backward class ' as a constitutionally acknowledged religious minority. He does not favour Muslim Backward Castes ' distinct OBC quota. Instead, he claims that priority should be given to Muslim OBCs as a backward class in the overall general reservation for Muslims. In addition, he supports a reviewed universal reservation scheme created on a proportionate allocation of government advantages in India.

The second suggestion– Muslims and Dalits's inclusion in the Schedule Caste list, is another enduring problem needing a couple of technical adjustments in the context of the legitimate constitution. Finally, the study addresses the issue of delimiting those districts reserved for SCs / STs with a large Muslim population.

Indeed, Iqbaal Ansaari recognized 18 general seats and 32 earmarked seats and with more than 10 percent Muslim inhabitants (Ansari, 393). The issue is that if a few of districts are formed for Muslims, will it be feasible for the "backward Muslims" to choose their own representative? These problems have not been addressed in the discussion on Muslim reservation. The latest debate on Muslim representation may not have shifted elsewhere the Sachar report for that purpose.

Political representation of Muslim is often associated with democracy's achievement. It is understandable because, on the one side, the whole discussion on minority freedoms and, on the other,' Muslim appeasement or Muslim voting bank' has developed a direct link between Muslim representation and Indian democracy's political health. As mentioned previously, the legal-constitutional notion also highlights the fact that appropriate "representation of Muslims" in law-making organisations will aid democratize the political institutions ' real behaviour. However, in order to comprehend the complexities of this discussion, we have to create a vital difference between the concept of representation and democracy of India.

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