

**Multiple Muslim Identities:  
Mapping the Progressive Voices of Muslims of Hyderabad**

A Thesis Submitted to the University of Hyderabad in Partial Fulfillment of  
the Requirement for the Award of

**Doctor of Philosophy**

**In**

**Sociology**

**By**

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### Certificate

This is to certify that the thesis entitled “**Multiple Muslim Identities: Mapping the Progressive Voices of Muslims of Hyderabad**” submitted by Abbas Mohammad for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology is record of bonafide and independent work carried out by him under my supervision and guidance.

This thesis has not been submitted either in part or in full to any other university or institution of learning for award of any other degree.

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## DECLARATION

Abbas Mohammad hereby declare that this thesis entitled “**Multiple Muslim Identities: Mapping the Progressive Voices of Muslims of Hyderabad**” submitted by me under the supervision of **Dr. V. Janardhan**, is a bonafide research work which is also free from plagiarism. I also declare that it has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this university or any other university or institution for the award of any degree or diploma. I hereby agree that my thesis can be deposited in Shodhganga/ INFLIBNET.

(Abbas Mohammad)

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## CONTENTS

	Page No
Chapter – I	
<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1-14</b>
1. Problem of the Study	
2. The Cultural Aspects: Ganga JamunaTehajib	
3. Muslim Identity: Deccani Urdu	
4. Muslim Identity Politics	
5. Muslim Identity Through lenses of Hollywood Cinema	
6. The Singular Identity Approach	
7. The Conflict Approach	
8. The Historical Approach	
9. The Composite Identity Approach	
10. Multiple Group Identity	
11. Objectives of the Study	
12. Research Methodology	
13. Primary Data	
14. Secondary Data	
Chapter –II	
<b>REVIEW OF LITERATURE</b>	<b>15-64</b>
1. World Literature	
2. Modernity Project-the Response of Muslim Society:	
3. GlobalPop Culture/Modernity/Post Modernity Discourse and Muslims	
4. Post Modernism and Muslims	
5. Grappling with Post-Modernism	
6. Indian Literature: Modernity and Indian Muslims: Early Phase	
7. Islam in South Asia: India, Pakistan and Bangladesh	
8. Muslim Anguish	
9. The Structure of the Argument	
10. Understanding Muslims in India	
11. A Study of Gujarat Muslims	
12. Agha Khan Foundation	
13. Interaction with Muslim and non-Muslims	
14. The Reform Movement	
15. Political Participation	
16. Hyderabad Literature	
17. Literature on Hyderabad	
18. Hyderabad a Study	
19. Composite Culture as Tradition: its Limit	

Chapter –III	
<b>HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF MULTI-MUSLIM IDENTITY IN HYDERABAD OLD-CITY</b>	<b>65-123</b>
1. Historical Sketch of Hyderabad	
2. Growth of the City:	
3. Socio-Economic Structure:	
4. Table (1) Growth of Hyderabad City	
5. Table (2) Hyderabad City Growth of Area and Density	
6. Table (3) Hyderabad City Sex Ratio & Literacy	
7. Table (4) Hyderabad City in Migration	
8. Table (5) Selected Indicators of Socio Economic Development in Five Major Metropolitan Cities of India: 1961-1981	
9. Table (6) Hyderabad Metropolitan Area Growth of Medium and Large Industries	
10. Table (7) Metropolitan Hyderabad Capital Investment and Employment Structure of Large and Medium Scale Industries (1983)	
11. Hyderabad City	
12. Fact Sheet (1) Population (1981 Census);	
13. Fact Sheet (2) Land Use (Hyderabad Urban District): (1981)	
14. Political History of Hyderabad City	
15. Context; Memory, Power and Consciousness	
16. Conclusion	
Chapter –IV	
<b>MAPPING THE PROGRESSIVE VOICES OF THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY</b>	<b>124-193</b>
1. Case Study No -1 JameelaNishat---Shaheen NGO: Women’s Resource Centre	
2. About the Founder of Shaheen NGO	
3. Profile of JameelaNishat	
4. The Annual Report of the Shaheen	
5. Activities of Shaheen NGO	
6. Stopping Child Marriage of Shaheen NGO	
7. Public Meetings	
8. Religion & Politics in Hyderabad Old-City	
9. Training and Filing of RTI	
10. Problems and Challenges of Sexual Harassment	
11. About the Shaheen NGO	
12. Results and Lessons	
13. Successful Stories of Shaheen NGO	
14. Achievements of Shaheen NGO During: 2014- 2015	
15. Future Activities of Shaheen: Strategies	
16. Concluding Remarks	
17. Case Study No: 2 - Akbar Painter: Art Editor Andhra Jyothi ABN	

18. Case Study No: 3 – Noorjahan, Social Activist	
19. In Response to Media Exploitation	
20. Reflections on Politics	
21. On Responds to the Current Status	
22. 9/11 Attacks Impact	
23. On Responding to the Freedom of Speech	
24. What are Future Plans?	
25. On Responding Message to Youth.	
26. Case Study No: 4 - KhalidaParveen, Pharmacist	
27. Case Study No: 5 – Shahajan, Poet	
28. Case Study No: 6 - Sogara Begum	
29. Case Study No: 7 - Nissar (State Government Employee) Ballad Singer	
30. Case Study No: 8 - <u>KaneezFathima, Civil Rights Activist</u>	
31. Case Study No: 9 - Sky Baba, Poet, Writer, Thinker and Social Activist.	
<b>Chapter – V</b>	
<b>Interpretation and Analysis</b>	<b>193-203</b>
Case Study No -1 JameelaNishat---Shaheen NGO	
Case Study No: 2 - Akbar Painter: Art Editor, Andhra Jyothi ABN	
Case Study No: 3 – Noorjahan, Social Activist	
Case Study No: 4 - KhalidaParveen, Pharmacist	
Case Study No: 5 – Shahajan, Poet	
Case Study No: 6 - Sogara Begum	
Case Study No: 7 - Nissar (State Government Employee) Ballad Singer	
Case Study No: 8 - <u>KaneezFathima, Civil Rights Activist</u>	
Case Study No: 9 - Sky Baba, Poet, Writer, Thinker and Social Activist.	
<b>Chapter – VI</b>	
Findings of the Study	
Suggestions	
<b>Conclusion</b>	
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	
<b>Appendix No – 1 Questionnaire</b>	
<b>Appendix No – 2</b>	

Dedicated  
To  
My beloved parents  
  
Ameena Mohammad  
Usman Mohammad (late)

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## ABBREVIATIONS

AIMIM-All India Majilis Itehedul Teharic

MBT -Majilis Taheric Bacho

**ISIS**-Islamic state of Iraq and Syria

*Darga*” – holy Grave

BJP -Bharatiya Janata Party

ATS-anti Terrorist squad

Mukhiis -The local Jamat heads

CPI-communist party of India

SWRWA -Shaheen Women’s Res Shaheen Women’s Resource and Welfare Association

OBC -Other Backward Castes

NCRB -National Crime Records Bureau

MEPMA -Mission for Elimination of Poverty in Municipal Areas

LGBT-Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender

TIB -Tata Institute of Business

PCPNDT act-Pre-Conception and Pre-Natal Diagnostic Techniques (PCPNDT)

TRS-Telangana Rastriya samithi

TDP-Telugu Desam Party

LPP -Lok Satta Party

CLMC-Civil Liberties Monitoring Committee

## CHAPTER – I

### INTRODUCTION

*“What we need is non-sectarian history of sectarian strife” - Sahid Amin<sup>1</sup>*

The Muslim community is the second largest religion at the global level and there are multiple Muslim identities across various countries. At the global level, the Muslim population constitutes 1.6 Billion (22.32%), whereas in India, the population of Muslim communities constitutes 172 million (14.2%). Within the Muslim community, there are number of ethnic groups such as ‘Shies’, ‘Sunnies’, ‘Bhars’, ‘Sufis’ etc. Multiple Muslim identities have been getting sidelined in recent years.

#### **Problem of the Study**

From the last one and half decades, there is a serious misconception about the Muslim community across the globe. There is a stereotyped picturization of Muslim community aftermath of 9/11 attack on World Trade Centre (WTC), USA. The propagation of Muslim communities as terrorist groups is extensively done by the western countries. In India also, the same kind of stereotypic images have been prevailing on Muslims. The Sachar Committee Report highlights the reality of Muslim community in contradiction to its popular image.<sup>2</sup>

In this context, the study is undertaken to enquire into various aspects and dimensions of Muslim community. Hyderabad, being a historical city, provides ample scope for the study. Hyderabad is known for the Shia and Sunni groups and Sufi trends. The Hyderabad Urdu also holds unique importance in the subcontinent. Hyderabad, being a poetic city ever since Mir Ali Osman Ali,

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<sup>1</sup>Shahid Amin, (1997), *Shouldering Identities: Muslim Festivals in India and Other Essays* by Garlin De Tassy. Translated and edited by Wasin. M Oxford University Press

<sup>2</sup> Mohammad Talib, (1998), The Taglighs in the making of Muslim identity. In *Islamic communities and the nation, Muslim identities in south Asia and beyond*, MusrulHasan, (ed.), New Delhi, Manohar publications, p.307

continues to enthrall with its poetry tradition and poetry has become the soul of the city. Deccani Urdu has unique style and way of expression. For example the term *nahi* (literal meaning is - no) in north India pronounced in the Deccan as the *nakko*. The lexicon of Deccani Urdu is different from that of the north Indian Urdu. With success of certain films like *Hyderabad Nawab* and *Angrez*, Deccani Urdu has become a famous language in popular culture. It stands unique when compared with the Urdu spoken in rest of India. Sufi trends also influenced Hyderabad city. The Darga and saints are the important features of Hyderabad city. Most of the rulers have patronized the Sufi tradition in Hyderabad.

The raw deal Urdu got under the united Andhra Pradesh is also one of the reasons for the agitation for a separate Telangana State. The Urdu is lingua franca of the Telangana districts and of Hyderabad. It has developed into a street language. This rich diversity has been shadowed over a period of time. Especially the 9/11 attack on twin towers and global rise of terrorism by Muslim fundamental groups gave impetus to this process. The political and media representation of the stereotypical image of the Muslim identity has shadowed the rich diversity in Islam. An attempt has been made to retrieve the liberal aspects of Islam, composite culture, Sufi tradition, artists and painters who created the ambiance of secular and cosmopolitan culture.

The Mir Ali Osman, the last Nizam of Hyderabad has laid foundation for various institutions and established electricity, road and transport system. He also introduced railways and airways in the princely state of Hyderabad. Now, the majority of the Muslim community is in working class as petty shop owners and rickshaw pullers and doing menial jobs. Javed Alam has pointed, categorically out that the considerable portion of the beggars and prostitutes in Hyderabad city are Muslims, to which the so-called media has never touched upon.

The, All India MajilisItehedulTeharic (AIMIM) in Hyderabad is posed as a single party which works for the welfare of the Muslim community. But if we see clearly, we can see other parties. MajilisTahericBacho (MBT) has come out from the MajilisIthedul Muslim Party as protest against not taking strong stand on the demolition of BabriMasid. It formed a party and contested for few seats and won by it. Muslim community in Hyderabad has various stands, parties and class structure.

The AIMIM is predominantly represented by the Sunni group and MBT by the Shia. There is discontent within the Muslims that only Sunni Muslims garner most political dividends and Shia are getting raw deal. There is political division between Shia and Sunni Muslims as AIMIM and MBT. In contrast to such diversity of the Hyderabad Muslims, it is often projected in a monolithic manner.

### **Significance of the Study**

The present study gets significance because post 9/11 attacks give Muslims the image of a terrorist, and the recent formation of Islamic state of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) also gave boost to the image. This situation equated that Islam and Democracy are incompatible. The everyday life of the Muslim has been problemtised by the state and civil society.

The shift is quite evident, ever since India got independence there is symbolic representation of the Muslim community as president of India, people like Jakir Hussein, Fakruddin Ali Ahmed and recently A.P.J Abdul Kalam. But not in real terms, like health, education and community overall development. The Gujarat genocide of the Muslim community, the recent Mujafarnagar riots in Uttar Pradesh and the rise of the Hindutva politics ever since 1982 onwards. The demolition of the BabriMasid in 1992 by the Hindu fundamentalists and the subsequent

polarization of Hindu Muslim community is evident. K BalaGopal, human rights activist, explains that the popular image of the Muslim in India is dominated by the South Asian Islam but in reality Islam and Muslim community are as diversified as any other religion. The Indonesian and Malaysian Muslim community are different from the other Muslim communities compared to the Muslim communities in other parts of the world.

Professor G. Hara Gopal, human rights activist, explains that Kashmiri Muslim community women do not wear Hijab (Burka), this shows that the Muslim within India are different from the one region to another. RamPuniyani explains that saffranisation of education is going on in NCERT books and National Curriculum Framework. For example Ram wakes up, takes bath and goes to school and Rahim gets up and goes to school. There is subtle attempt to saffronize the education curriculum. Teesta Setalvad, explains in her magazine that communalism has come back. She further explains that civil society in Gujarat got communalized in the BJP ruled states and became a laboratory of the Hindutava experiments. The large scale human rights violation, the state involving in killing of the Muslim community, the ATS (Anti-Terrorist Squad) killing the innocent Muslim without enquiry are few examples of how the Muslim community is undergoing suffocation under the present regime of the BJP government. The recent false encounter of under trailer is latest thing to add to mirror to the Muslims situation in India.

Thus my study of multiple Muslim identities mapping the progressive voices will try to retrieve diversity among the Muslim community and also to map the progressive voices within the Muslim community. For this the field work was done in Hyderabad.

### **The Cultural Aspects: Ganga Jamuna Tehajib**

The culture of the Ganga and Jamuna river cities flourished with Hindu-Muslim composite culture. It covers Lucknow of Uttar Pradesh and extends upto the capital city of Hyderabad, Telangna. Both river flow in central India and the Muslim and Hindu culture is termed as the Ganga Jamuna culture. The Nawabas of the respective regions encouraged it. The Deccan poetry, Urdu poetry has unique place in the Urdu world. With the rise of the majoritarian politics, the hate speeches by the Hinduthva forces and minority communalists are making the case of the Muslim community much worst. The hate speeches on Muslims community are increasing day by day across the globe.

### **Muslim Identity: Deccani Urdu**

How does one make sense of ‘Muslim identity’, an expression widely used in vague without any clear intellectual underpinning? It is doubtlessly true that economic discontent, couple escalating violence, are lending weight to notions of identity and act as catalyst to community based strategies. Yet Muslim scholars and activists, both before and after independence have taken recourse to a definition that has rested uneasily on the Islamic concept of a unified “*millat*” (community). Such definition will always be problematic. So, too its projection in the political arena is more so after backed and sustained by political parties for electoral reasons. It may yield short term gains, but in long term it is not likely to produce any tangible benefits to the majority of the poor, backward and impoverished Muslims. Hence, there is importance in drawing sharp distinctions between political polemics and the actual realities on the ground.

In reality, there are numerous sects and groups in Muslim community. At the level of doctrine, the Koran professes egalitarianism. In practice, Muslim has Shia and Sunni groups and various sub sects within them. Sufism and “*Darga*” (Grave) culture is prevalent in Hyderabad. There are theoretical and practical differences in the Muslim community. Each sect has its unique features in the respective countries. The Sufi culture is prevalent in South Asia, whereas other forms of Islam are there in other parts of the globe. Apart from that, there is also a linguist difference within the Muslim community. Majority Muslims speak Urdu language in north and south India. But, in Bengal, Kerala and Tamil Nadu, Muslims speak in their respective native Bengali, Malayalam and Tamil languages.

In South India especially, Daccani Muslims speak Deccan Urdu; whereas north Indian Muslims speak the *lucknowi Urdu*, Deccani Urdu has special significance in the history of Urdu language. The Urdu language has taken birth in the Deccan region of India. Most of these rich sociological diversity in Muslim community got subsided, after the 9/11 attack on twin towers in United States. The collapse of the Soviet Union added to this<sup>3</sup>. The monolithic and stereo-typical images of the Muslim community have been constructed by media; individuals with Muslim names are seen as terrorist. The production and reproduction of the same has been continuing globally. The global capital found a new enemy in the form of Muslim terrorism. The series of terrorist blasts in the various countries has given boost to these stereotypes of the Muslim community as homogeneous community.

In India there were terrorist blasts in Delhi, Mumbai, Calcutta, Ahmadabad and other major cities of India. The Print and electronic media have been showing stereotypical images of the

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<sup>3</sup>Noorani. A.G, (2002), *Islam and Jihad*, New Delhi: Left World Publications.



Muslim community as homogeneous and singular, while neglecting the progressive Muslims and liberal Muslims within the community.

### **Muslim Identity Politics:**

The rise of the majoritarian politics in India and global level has increased the persecution of the Muslim community. In India, the majoritarian politics has taken clear-cut shape with demolition of Babri-Masjid. The rise of Hindutva politics has aggravated the marginalization and stereotyping the image of Muslim community. The communal riots and communal tensions built across the nation in terms of Mandir and Masjid issue. The BharatiyaJanata Party (BJP) got clear majority in 1999 elections. In reaction to this, the Muslim fundamentalism is causing blasts across the nation. Karl Marx says, society is stratified as capitalist and working class, Muslim community has the class stratification within it. There are upper class Muslims, middle class and the working class. There is a well-developed Muslim middle class in the Muslim community as business people, doctors and lawyers.

### **Muslim Identity through Lenses of Hollywood Cinema**

The Hindi cinema originated from Mumbai; popularly known as Bollywood cinema. It has more often misrepresented the Indian Muslims in terms of character and protagonist. A Hindi film portrays Muslims as anti-national, terrorist, violent, or as an anti-social character among others with their own mythical construction. A handful films have shown every day livelihood issues and problems of poverty, deprivation, exclusion, unemployment, illiteracy noted by several empirical studies. In English cinemas, produced in California, USA, popularly known as Hollywood, Muslims are portrayed as villain and terrorist.

There are various theoretical approaches to study the Muslim community.

### **Theoretical Approach:**

#### **1. The Singular Identity Approach:**

This way of studying religious identity in south Asia can be found among scholars who wish to restrict their studies to a particular tradition. In doing so, they often imagine the “tradition” as something akin to a self-contained river that originates in some source that imparts a particular character to the water, winds its way across the historical landscape, and remains fairly self-contained despite occasional influences or impediments of significant religious and political movements. In this view Hinduism and Islam derive from quite different sources, which have origins in Aryans, Dravidians, Sanskrit, and Vedas on one hand and in Arabs, Arabic the prophet Muhammad, and Quran on the other. The singular identity view portrays the two traditions as having had quite different histories in south Asia, as Hinduism imparted its qualities to the ancient period until the flood waters of an expanding Islam washed across the landscape away this Hindu.<sup>4</sup>

Civilization with a Muslim one and ushering in a new period.<sup>5</sup> This exclusive approach divides the Hindus and Muslims along the religious lines temporally, spatially politically and socially.

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<sup>4</sup>(*Indian Journal of Human Development* Vol-1, Vol-2 2007), by Midal Islam.

<sup>5</sup>(*Indian Journal of Human Development* Vol-1, Vol-2 2007), by Midal Islam p.36

## **2. The Conflict Approach**

The last twelve years have witnessed a frightening increase in the public rhetoric and violence of communal hatred in India. This began with the 1984 communal slaughter resulting the assassination of Indira Gandhi, followed by 1992 destruction of Babri mosque and subsequent riot and meteoric ascent of Hindu chauvinistic parties (principally BJP, Shiva Sena) to political power. In response, much recent scholarship has turned to the issue of Hindu and Muslim identity as formulated and expressed in periods of conflict. Among the most important authors of these perspectives are Asghar Ali Engineer<sup>6</sup>, SudhirKakkar, and AshisNandy.<sup>7</sup>

## **3. The Historical Approach**

In contrast with the conflict approach, the historical approach attempts to examine Muslim community with an emphasis in the long view. Authors such as Bipan Chandra,<sup>8</sup>Gyanendra Pandey, Sandra Freitag and Peter Van der Veer. They locate the roots of current religious conflict in the colonial or post-colonial past.

## **4. The Composite Identity Approach**

Finally, some scholars portray religious identity as one component of some broader group identity. Susana Devlle and Nita Kumar typify this approach in their work. Devalle argues for an awareness of what she calls “composite identities”. The composite approach attempts to set religious identity with in larger social context. Kumar argues that a particular group of weaver in Banaras, who identify themselves as a specific caste, as artisans, as Muslims, and Banaras’s.

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<sup>6</sup> See Asghar Ali Engineer, (1984), *Lifting the Veil: Communal Violence and Communal Harmony in contemporary India*. India .New Delhi: Sangam Publications,

<sup>7</sup> SudhirKakar, (1996), *The Colors of Violence - Cultural Identities, Religion, & Conflict*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, pp. 9-10.

<sup>8</sup>Bipan Chandra, (1994), *Communalism in Modern India*. New Delhi: Vikas Publication, p-

## **5. Multiple Group Identity**

Individuals seldom belong to just one group, they must somehow integrate multiple group identities that form their personal identity like the atoms of a molecule. Like molecules, individual adapt to changing environment by changing their internal arrangement, allowing them to bond with one set of molecules at one moment and another set at another moment without ever losing their internal consistency. The pattern reveals a weakness in the notion of communal identity, Hindus and Muslims. Although some Indians may embrace and propagate such an identity, few Indians live with such a singular self-understanding. Over reliance on the communal notion is akin to examining identity with a narrow view recognizing the importance of one aspect of individual's identity but ignoring many other possible social bonds. At the same time, the term religious identity also has its shortcoming because, in a secular perspective, it is suggestive of an identity that develops in a community of common practices and beliefs devoted to one or more superhuman agents.

However, as we shall see, many Hindu and Muslims do not live within discrete and distinct religious worlds, rather their practices faith transcends the boundaries of religious identity. Furthermore, many Hindus and Muslim [and Jews and Christians] associate themselves with those labels because they perceive clear a community of people who not only worship in the same way but also draw from similar, broad cultural traditions. Even if they do not believe in any god, many Hindus and Muslims identify themselves as such, based on their self-awareness of sharing sometime, that may be part of their family identity, and/ or cultural identity. Lacking any better terminology, we use here the terms communal and religious identity hesitantly, reluctantly

and with due caution.<sup>9</sup> Given such political, economic and theoretical understanding of the Muslim community.

My doctoral thesis explores the various strands, cultures in Muslim community. The recent incidents and debates show that there is a growing intolerance towards the minority community. The attacks on rationalists, artists, and free thinkers show how the state is curbing the freedom of speech. The attacks on Dalit and marginal sections, writers and poets, the killing of Kalburgi in Karnataka, the killing of rationalists in Maharashtra state and banning of beef are few example of intolerance and monolithic understanding of the Muslims community.

### **Research Hypotheses**

1. Muslim identity is multiple
2. Both Sufis and Darga have emerged for the spiritual emancipation of the Muslim communities.
3. Both the print and electronic media has been biased towards Muslim community

### **Research Questions**

1. Why the media has been painting the Muslim community as monolithic?
2. Is there really a diversity existing among the Muslim communities?
3. Why there have been communal attacks targeting only the Muslims?
4. What is the role of Sufis and Darga in empowering the Muslim communities?

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<sup>9</sup> Peter Gottschalk, (2001), *Beyond Hindu and Muslim Identity Multiple Narratives from Village India*, New Delhi. Oxford University Publication, p.40.

## **Objectives of the Study**

1. To enquire into Muslim identity that is not monolithic but multiple.
2. To explore multiple identities of Muslim communities in India and Hyderabad in specific.
3. To explore the feminist and Sufi aspects of Islam.
4. To map the progressive voices of the Muslim community.
5. To study the role of Shaheen NGO for the empowerment of Muslim Women.

## **Research method**

Having carefully considered the importance and shortcomings of the quantitative research method, this study adopts the qualitative research method in order to present the experiences, reflections, worldviews of the Muslims Intellectuals and activists in Hyderabad city. The qualitative research method is used because it enables the respondents in this study to reflect their reading of everyday life of Muslim community which is caught in between the global Islamic essentialist ideologies developed by Non-Muslims on Muslims and Muslims on Muslims.

## **A Note on the Research Methodology**

The present study had a structured questionnaire consisting of 10 questions. Most of the questions are open ended and have scope for the elaboration of respondent's views. The selection of the sample is based on the respondent's work in public life, activism, and publication of books. It was carefully seen that no imposition of any kind of strict instructions have been imposed on the respondents while responding to the questions.

The questionnaire was administered in different ways, through the mails, through the cell phone interviews and transcribed later. Most of the questions are open ended. The respondents have

freedom to express his/her views in full length. Most of sample selection is based on the basis of respondents fought the traditions, social evils and hegemonies with in their community and outside of their community.

Being insider of the community, it gave me critical advantage to communicate with respondents and gather necessary data. Accessing and communication became easy. The researchers own poetical skills helped in gathering data. The researcher saw to it that the respondent was not exploited but also provide them with sufficient information about the research carried out. Both ways of corresponding exchange gave a free flow of data, emotions, love and friendship.

### **Primary Data**

As already stated the methodological agenda of the study is worked out within the framework of qualitative research school of thought. The sample consists of ten leading intellectuals, artists, feminists, poets and social activists from Muslim community of Hyderabad.

Semi structured questionnaire and interview schedules were used to elicit the basic details and background of the respondents. However, the study primarily relied on an in-depth interview method technique as primary tool of data collection. A cursory observation over the respondent's data revealed that all the respondents in the present study are engaged in different occupations with diverse cultural backgrounds. I have also noticed that a, perceptions are determined by religious diversification on the lines of sects, cultural traits and beliefs and values based ethnic identity and ideologies.

### **Secondary Data**

I have collected the data pertaining to Muslim community from the Government reports. Non-Government Organization, Islamic religious institutions, scholarly journals, and E –journals and

Internet in addition to the local, national and International print media. The secondary data sources enabled me in understanding the socio-economic, educational and political status of Muslims in different parts of the world in general and India and Hyderabad in particular.

### **Chapter schema:**

The thesis is broadly divided into six chapters. First chapter provides a context and rationale of the study. The methodological agenda and the tools and techniques used for data collection have been outlined. Second chapter primarily deals with the review of literature. As part of this, the major school of thought in conception of Muslims identity has been presented in a critical perspective. It also reviewed number of sociological and anthropological studies conducted in different geographical settings. Third chapter examines Historical Background of Multi-Muslim Identity in Hyderabad Old-City, fourth chapter presents the making of mapping the Progressive Voices of the Muslim Community, fifth chapter Interpretation and Analysis of key Muslim intellectuals and people representing shaping the public opinion of Muslim community of Hyderabad and the six chapter presents the findings of the study.



## Chapter - II

### **Review of Literature**

Though there has been substantial research on the identities in India but no significant work has been done on multiple identities of the Muslims in India more so of the Hyderabad Muslims. However, there has not been much intense research works on the growth of multiple identities of the Muslims. Different scholastic works are reviewed for the understanding of the multifarious identities of Muslims. This chapter also explained some case studies for the better understanding of multiple identities of Muslims.

#### **General Understanding on Multiple Identities of Muslims**

In his article ‘Identity and Social Exclusion-Inclusion: A Muslim Perspective’, Asghar Ali Engineer, had pointed out the problems associated with minority communities especially Muslims. He stated that in multi-religious, multi-cultural democracies problem of identity and social exclusion-inclusion become extremely important. Under authoritarian societies due to suppression problem of exclusion remains hidden and does not surface until it is gravely aggravated. But a democratic society, being open and based on rights, question of identity and social exclusion and inclusion becomes very important and even determines its very dynamics. A vibrant democratic society always remains sensitive to the question of exclusion of any section of society.

Several factors play their role for social exclusion. A caste hierarchy can account for neglect of those at the bottom; a class society may ignore those who belong to lower classes. A multi-religious society may work against those belonging to religious minorities and multi-ethnic or multi-cultural societies may marginalize ethnicities which do not constitute core culture or

ethnicity. He argued that, in India Christians are a small minority whereas Muslims are a very large minority and hence their exclusion from social, cultural, economic and political processes poses much greater problems. Muslims were very backward, falling behind Dalits, who at least benefited to some extent from reservation policy; Muslims could not even avail of reservation. They did avail of reservation in educational institution in some southern states like Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Karnataka and that is why educational status of Muslims in these states is far better than that of Muslims in north. He has further argued that, it is because of this exclusion of certain castes and communities that identity becomes such an important player in democratic politics. Identities can play constructive and creative as well destructive role in democratic society.<sup>10</sup>

In this paper Malika B. Mistry (2005) presents a demographic and socio-economic profile of the Muslims in India, who form the largest minority in the country. At 120 million strong, Muslims constitute 12% of the population of India. Malika tracing the origin and ethnicity of Muslims in India, the findings suggest that most Indian Muslims are ethnically Indian since they are the descendants of the early converts to Islam. Many Indians who belonged to the lower castes embraced Islam for its egalitarianism which was practiced by the local Sufi saints. The paper provides a demographic history of Indian Muslims, including the growth and distribution of the Muslim population across Indian states over the past century. Comparative fertility and mortality rates are presented for various religious communities to explain the differential growth of the Muslim population. The relative backwardness of the Muslim community, and particularly of Muslim women, is noted as a factor in the comparatively high fertility rates observed among the Muslim population. The paper also reviews the contribution of Muslims to the politics, arts and

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<sup>10</sup>Asghar Ali Engineer (2007) 'Identity and Social Exclusion-Inclusion: A Muslim Perspective', *Indian Muslims: A Window Into The Indian Muslim Life*, October 3.

culture of India, and then goes on to examine the problem of communalism and communal violence that has characterized the Indian political scene. The paper concludes with arguments in favor of ensuring justice and human rights for Muslims, emphasizing the importance of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the positive role they could play in enhancing the condition of the Muslim community in India.<sup>11</sup>

Rajeev Bhargava divided this Paper into three sections. In the first section he provides a brief historical overview of Hindu-Muslim relations in India and of the condition of Indian Muslims today. He concludes by claiming that Indian Muslims are marginalized minorities who have been persistently underrepresented in political institutions, particularly in the Indian Parliament. This section is important for those who are less informed about these issues-and he assumes that most readers fall in this category. In the second section, he examines the case for political representation for Muslims. This was a much debated issue in pre-independent India. It was debated with subtlety and in considerable detail in the Constituent Assembly debates on the Indian constitution. However, with the partition of the country and the formation of the separate state of Pakistan, all debate on the political representation of Muslims ceased. He examines the merits and demerits of the case for the political representation of Indian Muslims. He also attempts a brief explanation of why this issue has virtually disappeared from the public arena in India. He concludes in the section that although political representation of Muslims qua Muslims is desirable, it is still unfeasible in the prevailing situation in India. In other words, he would support the recommendation to the Indian State that political rights not to be granted to any religious community. If political theory was to remain a handmaiden of state policy, then the matter ends right here. However, since he believe that political theory must think for the long run

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<sup>11</sup>Malika B. Mistry(2005) 'Muslims in India: A demographic and socio-economic profile,' *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Volume 25, Issue 3, pp.399-422.

and design just institutions and policies for the future, and since, there is, he claim, no principled objection to the political representation of Muslims, in the third and final section he briefly outline which of the several electoral mechanisms are best suited to ensure fair political representation for Muslims in the future. Bargha vision is that, the principle of fair political representation for Indian Muslims is best fulfilled by a complex mechanism consisting of preferential voting in multi-member constituencies with intra-party quotas in proportion to the overall population of Muslims in the country.<sup>12</sup>

In his paper 'Indian Muslims: Political Leadership and Ideology', Iran Engineer said that Islam has been a significant presence in India for longer than a millennium. According to the latest census, carried out in 2001, Muslims were the largest minority in India: 13.4% of the population and numbering close to 140 million. It is estimated that there are now 150 million Muslims in India. Muslim populations are significant in almost all geographical quarters, in many rural areas, and in all the principal metropolitan areas of India, including all the principal locations of rapid economic growth. However, Muslims in India wonder about their future role and security in the Indian culture and polity. Their detractors raise pointed questions about their loyalty and the authentically Indian character of Indian Islam. Secular Indians of all religious identities worry about the future of Indian secularism, multiculturalism, and tolerance.<sup>13</sup>

Mondal (2000) in his paper 'Muslim Population in India: Some Demographic and Socio-economic Features', illustrated that India is a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-linguistic country. People belonging to many religious faiths live side by side. Muslims are one of them

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<sup>12</sup> Rajeev Bhargava(2007). 'On the Persistent Political Under-Representation of Muslims in India,' Law and Ethics of Human Rights 1 (1):76-133.

<sup>13</sup> Irfan Engineer (2008), 'Indian Muslims: Political Leadership and Ideology', (pp. 93-113) in in Transnational Trends: Middle Eastern and Asian Views, edited by Amit Pandya & Ellen Laipson. Washington, DC: The Henry L. Stimson Center

who constitute the largest minority of the country. This paper attempts to present a demographic and socio-economic profile of the Muslims in India. Islam entered India in the 7th century A. D. It is difficult to find out the exact date of growth of Muslim population before beginning of the census operation in 1881. He advocated three major factors, i.e., immigration of Muslims from other countries, conversion of people belonging to other religious groups into the fold of Islam and finally the natural increase of this population have contributed to their growth. India is now having second largest Muslim population in the world. The social structure of the Indian Muslims reveals that only a small section of the present day Muslims are the descendants of their earlier immigrants, while majority of their population are descendants of local converts or tile mixture of both the groups.<sup>14</sup>

Engineer (1985) in the 'Indian Muslims' highlighted that Muslims' problem began with the post-mutiny period by the British with the projection of ruling class conflicts as the masses conflicts, which brought about sharp differences and discrimination between the two major communities of India that is Hindus and Muslim. The Muslim leadership is also responsible for the problem of Muslims in the country.<sup>15</sup> Waheed (2000) made a study on Muslim 'Banjaras' in Baheri town. He explored the socio-historical heritage of Muslim Banjaras. He tried to establish a reciprocal connection between social structure and their economy. He also emphasized that social structure is not a 'thing' but a 'process' and social structure and economy are the dynamic entity. He used the case study method. Cases were constructed either with the help of life history documents or by making genealogical charts, personal interviewees, sharing experiences with individuals of the t community. Systematic random sampling method has been used. About 5% samples were

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<sup>14</sup>Mondal (2000) in his paper 'Muslim Population in India: Some Demographic and Socio-economic Features', International Journal of Anthropology, January 2000, Volume 15, Issue 1, pp 91-107

<sup>15</sup>Asghar Ali Engineer(1985), Indian Muslims: A Study of Minority Problems in India. New Delhi: Ajanta Publications.

taken through interview schedule. He found that most of the Banjaras were illiterate. Marriage was thought to be most essential for each and every individual. They were suppliers and traders of food grains, over all social structure remained the same among the Banjaras. Economic changes brought about transformation in many of their social practices and institutions. Out of 109 households 50 household were found complex and joint family, which is still considered most ideal and feasible for business growth. Economic changes led to acquire modern education.<sup>16</sup>

Safdar Imam in his article 'The Untold Story of Meersshikar Community' talks about as the Meersshikar community; this community is perhaps condemned to die unnoticed. Meersshikar means 'the chief of the hunters'. Meersshikars relate themselves with Bairam Khan, the Mughal army head. Their traditional profession has come to an end when in post-independent India; the government banned the buying, selling and hunting of birds and animals. According to Imam this community is a victim of continuous social, economic and cultural deprivation. According to him by this date, Meersshikar is on the margin of the social map of the Muslim community. Finally, in this paper Imam concludes by saying that how this community is struggling for survival and various kinds of crisis they undergo amidst the dual pressure of the state and community.<sup>17</sup>

MushirulHasan (2003) said that educational backwardness among the Muslims is the product of poverty and neglect by the state. Due to structural location in the economy and the perception of discrimination few Muslims can afford or aspire for the higher education. He stresses the need

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<sup>16</sup>Waheed, Abdul (2000). 'Social Structure and Economy in an Urban Muslim Community; A case study of Muslim Banjaras of Baheri, District Bareilly, Uttar Pradesh,' (Ph. D. Thesis, Department of Sociology), Aligarh: Aligarh Muslim University.

<sup>17</sup>Safdar Imam (2007) 'The Untold Story of Meersshikar Community,' in Waheed, Abdul (ed), Muslims of Uttar Pradesh, Aligarh: AMU, pp.132-39

for affirmative action.<sup>18</sup> Begum (1998) has paying attention on rural Bengali Muslim attitudes to Muslim women's education. Muslims account for more than 20% of the population of West Bengal and along with the Scheduled Castes they are the least educated community in the state. In 1991, she writes, only 25.9% of the Bengali-speaking Muslims of the state were literate, while the state literacy rate was 47.15%. The literacy rate of Muslim women is awfully low, owing, among other factors, to widespread poverty, the practice of women's seclusion and negative attitude towards their education. Begum has observed Muslim girls' education in two villages in the state, one in the Burdwan district and the other in the Howrah district.

Many women in the villages who are officially described as 'literate' actually only know how to write their names. Some of them had been to primary school, but very few had gone on to secondary school and beyond. Muslim villagers generally perceive that modern education for girls' is not an economic asset, since they believe that the proper place for women is the home. The lack of all-girls' schools and the poor quality of teaching and infrastructural facilities in state schools are also major factors for the distinct lack of enthusiasm for girls' education. The drop-out rate of Muslim girls from primary schools onwards is very high as after a certain age, girls are withdrawn by their parents from the schools to help in the household tasks. Yet, she notes, a growing number of young Muslims, males as well as females, feel that girls' education is important for the overall development of the community. The enthusiasm for modern education for girls is more evident among the economically better-off families, several of whom send their own daughters to school. If the state or Muslim organizations were to establish separate girls' schools, the author believes, many more Muslim families would be willing to educate their daughters.

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<sup>18</sup>Mushirul Hasan (2003), 'Muslims in Secular India: Problems and Prospects in Education,' Academy of Third World Studies, Jamia Milliyah Islamiah, New Delhi

On the other hand, the study finds that many Muslim families are in favor of religious education for girls. In the maktabas in the two villages a large proportion of the students are girls. More than 60% of the women in the villages had received or were receiving some sort of religious education from such institutions. Generally, this consists of basic Islamic knowledge, including the rules of prayer, ablutions and various supplications. Only 16% of these females could, however, read the Qur'an. Since the maktabas attract a sizeable number of Muslim girls, they could be encouraged to include basic secular subjects as well. Finally, Begum suggests the need for reforms in the management of the maktabas, given that, as she says, attendance is very irregular and that they have a high drop-out rate, owing partly to the fact that education imparted therein is in Arabic and not in Bengali, the mother tongue of the villagers.<sup>19</sup>

In 'Social exclusion, caste and health: A review based on the social determinants framework' K. R. Nayar, (2007) stated that Poverty and social exclusion are important socio-economic variables which are often taken for granted while considering ill-health effects. Social exclusion mainly refers to the inability of our society to keep all groups and individuals within reach of what we expect as society to realize their full potential. Marginalization of certain groups or classes occurs in most societies including developed countries and perhaps it is more pronounced in underdeveloped countries. In the Indian context, Nayar argues that caste may be considered broadly as a proxy for socio-economic status and poverty. In the identification of the poor, scheduled caste and scheduled tribes and in some cases the other backward castes are considered as socially disadvantaged groups and such groups have a higher probability of living under adverse conditions and poverty. The health status and utilization patterns of such groups give an

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<sup>19</sup> Begum, R. (1998). Education and Muslim women in rural West Bengal: A case study in two villages. In M. A. Siddiqui (Ed.), Muslims in free India: Their social profile and problems (98-109). New Delhi, India: Institute of Objective Studies



indication of their social exclusion as well as an idea of the linkages between poverty and health. In this review, He examined broad linkages between castes and some select health / health utilization indicators and also examined data on prevalence of anemia, treatment of diarrhea, infant mortality rate, utilization of maternal health care and childhood vaccinations among different caste groups in India. The data based on the National Family Health Survey II highlight considerable caste differentials in health.<sup>20</sup>

With this brief understanding of different identities and situations of Muslims now I am going to discuss focused multiple identities with some specific cases in world and India in specific.

## **World Literature**

Modernist's writers like James Joyce, "Ulysses" and DH Lawrence "sons and lovers" express doubts about modernism early. The critique of notions such as total "progress" and those which generated them, like the enlightenment, was already underway before the advent of "Post-Modernist Thinking"<sup>21</sup> indeed "Chaplin's Modern times" is indictment of the age of industrialization and belittling of humanity whether in Roosevelt's America or Stalin's Russia. 'Progressive', 'scientific rational'- in all this there were no room for religion. At best it was relegated to Christmas and christening, at worst's it was Mumbo Jumbo to be stamped out with energy.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> K. R. Nayar, (2007), 'Social exclusion, caste & health: a review based on the social determinants framework,' *Indian J Med Res*, Oct; 126(4):355-63.

<sup>21</sup> Adorno T and Horkheimer, M (1979) *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, London: Verso, pp.120-4.

<sup>22</sup> Akbar, S Ahmad, (1992), *Post Modernism and Islam: Predicament and Promise*, London, Rutledge, p.7

Anthony Giddens poses a central, though little raised, question in relation to modernism: is a western project of the concept of the nation state, one of the central feature of modernity.<sup>23</sup> The fact that until the middle of the twentieth century western imperialism was a vehicle for the project of modernism further underlies the point. It is in this context, that we may see Charles Jencks useful distinction between modern cultures as elitist and inaccessible and post modernism as popular and accessible to Non-western people can more readily identify with later. The contemporary formulation of post modernism as a distinct phase succeeding modernism is rooted in and explained by the recent history of the west, which is the core of dominant global civilization of our times.

Our definition of this civilization is cultural, political and not geographical. At the core are the United States and Western Europe but included are the other nations like Australia. There is a general consensus on how to order the economic and, increasingly political terms, one, which presupposes a cultural way of looking at the world. For this civilization much of the last half-century has been a period of prosperity and tranquility unmatched in history. It includes large parts of the population and is characterized by a strong and widening economic base, unassailable democracy and an increasing sense of possibilities. Plague, starvation and large-scale war at home seem features of a distant, almost medieval past the present period have been coincided with indeed, is made possible by the most sophisticated technological advance such as satellite dishes and fax machines which connect the people everywhere.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid, p.7

<sup>24</sup> Akbar, S Ahmad, (1992), *Post Modernism and Islam: Predicament and Promise*, London, Routledge, p.8

### **Modernity project-the response of Muslim society:**

Modernity changes the Muslims identities and their society for example; Ataturk in Turkey, Amanullah in Afghanistan, the Shah in Iran (both father and son), and Jinnah in Pakistan-leaders looked to the west for inspiration in moulding their societies, in projecting modernity. Their actions expressed their position. Ataturk ordering of the shaving of beards as symbol of tradition; Amanullah encouraging the removal of veils that women wore; the Shah suppressing the clergy and Jinnah rebuking admirers for calling him a “Moulana” a religious leader. In turn the orthodox would oppose these leaders the pressure of the Muslim brotherhood would be felt by Nasser: Sadat would lose his life to them.

Ordinary, everyday average Muslims may not agree with the fatwa, they may despise the military dictator in Iraq, they may loathe the fraud and corruption at the bank, but they also resent the cavalier way in which they are treated by association in the media. They are still anxious to point out that the reality in each case is more complex than meets the eye; they will not have liked “Rushdie” book, they will be vicariously thrilled that Saddam Stood up to the west and spoke up For Palestinians, even that the Islamic Banking may be the target of western wrath because it was the first major international Muslim bank.

There is no way an ordinary Muslim can make his views known in the media, which floods hostile words and images over and around him. He is portrayed as a fanatic over the book, politically unstable through the dictator and corrupts by the actions of the bank. In the end, unable to convey his arguments, Helpless and impotent, he is as cynical of western motives as

those of the military dictator and the corrupt bankers. They are all the same. But other lives also, as I will illustrate citing these experiences, therefore, become legitimate methodology.<sup>25</sup>

Akbar S. Ahmed argues that Muslims are impressionistic and thematic rather than sequential, exhaustive and chronological- the jumble of ideas and names, mingling and inter mingling the images piling upon images, the vast scope and dissolution of cultural boundaries suggest post-modernist methodology. In building my case there will be at times apparent contradictions and obvious circularity in the argument: there will be strange juxtaposition of people and places and even what seems deliberate provocation; this too reflects post-modernist method.<sup>26</sup>

The contemporary crises were different yet in some ways similar: they forced us to ask questions: to challenge common assumption: to look at the familiar in a different light, the kinetic energy. This was created in turn sparked ideas and prejudices, controversy and argument. The crossing of cultural boundaries created the misinterpretation of foreign idiom causing great misunderstanding, on all sides.

The crisis brought together a bewildering collage of historical and popular images that, through communication technology, bonded the entire globe the audiovisual media allowed as never before in history, as instant access to news, an unsettling, dazzling juxtaposition of diverse pictures, a variety of discourse of discourses, high philosophy and comic-book ideas, historical facts and pop sociology jostled and mingled.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Akbar, S Ahmad, (1992), *Post Modernism and Islam: Predicament and Promise*, London, Rutledge, p.8-9

<sup>26</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> *ibid.*

## **Global Pop Culture/Modernity/Post Modernity Discourse and Muslims**

All this was made possible by other recent developments such as mass transport, the electronic and printing media and the development of global economy. It was the media that juxtaposed us images of people like Hitler and Saddam, Bush and Lockwood, Rambo and the Pakistani soldier, Saladin and Nebuchadnezzar, Khomeini and Rushdie, Voltaire and the Iranians, the pope and Madonna, and places like Masada and Makkha, Babylon and Jerusalem, the Rushdie affair, the Madonna controversy, the manner of Gulf confrontation were harbingers of things to come-not subsidiary but central to our understanding.

The exploration of this theme will be my concern. It is the characteristic of the times we live in.<sup>28</sup> we are living in a period of dramatic change: structures what have helped for generations are being pulled down. Changing there are notions of the self and of the other, of class, of ethnicity and of nation, although the nature and depth of these are still debatable. A perception is forming that may be entering a distinct phase of human history, one following modernism and, therefore, tentatively called “post-Modernist”. However, the rupture with the previous period is not complete. For, if recent events in the disintegrated Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and South Africa represent post-modernist impulses, those round events connected with the coup which almost ousted Gorbachev in August 1991 and those surrounding the Salman Rushdie affair suggest the strength of tradition and authority.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>(p.4)

<sup>29</sup>Akbar, S Ahmad, (1998), *Islam Today: A Short Introduction to The Muslim World*; London, Rutledge, p

A host of questions, many of them of urgency for the immediate future, are thus thrown for the immediate, future, are thus thrown up for our consideration: is there truth in the widely held assumption in the west that after the collapse of communism the next enemy is Islam? What does it make of the influential civilization of Europe formed by the Greeks? How does Europe imperialism continue to affect Muslim culture and thinking? These are important questions and need to be asked of our age.

There are many processes afford and many explanations at work. Faith verses skepticism, tradition verses iconoclasm, purity verses eclecticism it is difficult to relate Islamic post modernism in any coherent direct manner, or even to establish a causal relationship between the two although Muslim may employ some of the conceptual tool of Francois Leotard or Jean Baudrillard for analysis. There must be a parting of company on certain crucial issues. While Muslims appropriate the spirit of tolerance, optimism and the drive for self-knowledge in post-modernism, they also recognize the threat it poses them with its cynicism and irony. This is a challenge to the faith and piety, which lies at the core of their worldview.<sup>30</sup>

It the end, Islamic and western post modernism may have little more in common than that they are coetaneous, running concurrently. What we can state is that they may be entering this particular phase of their respective histories through different causes, still unsure of certain features, like the nature of their responses to it, and even with a different understanding of very nature of the age.

### **Post Modernism and Muslims**

As we intend to borrow the concept of post modernism from one culture to another, its definition becomes even more important. However, at it is clearest it lacks clarity and its provenance is uncertain. It is a historical period (post modernity) or an up-to-date style (post-modernism)? Is it

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<sup>30</sup> Akbar, S Ahmad, (1998), *Islam Today: A Short Introduction to The Muslim World*; London, Rutledge, p p.6

a literary conceit, a philosophic concept or an architectural notion? It is an aesthetic variation, a response to the globalizing tendency, an arts style or social phenomenon? Is it an exclusively European phenomenon or can it be applied plausible elsewhere; the tone of the question is appropriate, for the term represent an age of ambiguity and irony; they warn us to remain circumspect in using it but before attempting to define post-modernism we must consider modernism, that which allow us to measure post-modernism.<sup>31</sup>

Books containing ideas on modernism occupy a large space in any well stocked library, but it is in the general sense of the oxford English dictionary definition that the term it used: modern view (s) or method (s), especially tendency in matters of religious belief to subordinate tradition to, harmony with modern thought; modernism has come to mean the most recent phase of the world history marked by belief in science, planning secularism and progress. The desire for symmetry and order balance and authority has also characterized it. The period is noted for its confidence in the future a conviction that utopia is attainable, that there is a natural world order which is possible. The machine, gigantic industrial projects, steel, Iron and electricity—all were thought to be at the disposal of humanity to achieve this objective. The drive towards industrialization and reliance on the physical created an ideology, which emphasized materialism as a way of life.<sup>32</sup>

Characterizing post-modernism, essentially concerned with ambiguity, the term post-modernism is difficult to define unambiguously. “We do not live in a world of clear images”.<sup>33</sup>

For Muslims, then, the definition applies to a wide range of activity from Islamic thought to political action, from architecture to modes of dress (see below). But there is a caveat to note: it

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<sup>31</sup>Akbar, S Ahmad, (1998), *Islam Today: A Short Introduction to The Muslim World*; London, Rutledge, p7

<sup>32</sup> ibid

<sup>33</sup>Ian McEwan expressed his views on post modernism on the late show BBCZ TV, 7 February 1990. P.10

is the subtle shift in the definition of the earlier modernists. The former were actually aware of and underlined their religious cultures and tradition; the latest tend to be dubious about the past.<sup>34</sup>

### **Indian Literature: Modernity and Indian Muslims: Early Phase**

The Muslim modernist phase was engendered by Europeans indeed many resisted them through armed struggle with the modernists wished to come to terms with and even incorporate elements of their civilization. Most sought synthesis and ideally looked for harmony between their own position and that of the Europeans. One of the earliest and most influential modernist figures is Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan, who lived in India in the last century. The college he established in 1875 in Aligarh, near Delhi, laid the foundations for what was to become a symbol of Muslim identity and lead to the Pakistani movement.<sup>35</sup>

Some problems of Muslim society, I wish to avoid what I see as sterile sexiest and religious polemics about 'Muslims women', in Ahmed 1988. But I feel it. Necessary to point out in passing the wholly incorrect, negative media stereotype of women as inanimate objects, submissively attending to the needs of their lord and master, locked away in darkened homes.<sup>36</sup> The potential of women in Islam is far superior to anything offered by Confucius in china or Aristotle in Greece, or to what Hindu or Christian civilizations offered. Muslim women are central to family affairs from domestic decision-making to rituals. Where their lot is miserable and they have virtually no rights, as in central tribal areas, is to be attributed to Muslim male tyranny, not Islamic advice and is need of urgent redress.

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<sup>34</sup> ibid

<sup>35</sup> Asghar Ali Engineer (1990), *Muslims in South Asia*, New Delhi: Agantha Publication, p. 30

<sup>36</sup> Jalal Ayesha, (2001), *Self and Sovereignty, Individual and Community in South Asian Islam since 1850*, New Delhi: Oxford University Publication, p. 43



## **Islam in South Asia: India, Pakistan and Bangladesh**

We know that the modern political life of many Muslim nations has been enriched by the contribution of women. Miss Fatima Jinnah, the sister of the founder of the Pakistan, was one. She mounted the most severe political challenge to the military dictatorship of Ayub Khan in the 1960s. Two decades later Benazir Bhutto followed the same pattern, challenging General Zia and succeeding in becoming the first female Muslim prime minister, one of just handful of women premiers in the world until that time. Begum Khalid Zia in 1991 continued the trend by becoming the first prime Minister of Bangladesh.<sup>37</sup>

Muslim leaders are failing in another crucial area. Those Muslims living in the west and complaining about racism would do well to turn their gaze on their own societies, Pakistanis have been killing Pakistanis, on the basis of race, in most brutal manner possible for years in Sind province; political messages are curved into the buttocks of ethnic opponents. Kurds have been gassed and bombed in Iraq by fellow Muslims for decades. The sordid and all-but-Forgotten matter of the future of almost Half a million Biharis living in the most wretched camps in Dhaka remains unresolved, the Biharies, discarded to the status of alien creatures, maintain they are legitimate citizens of Pakistan.

Their sin was the belief in an Islamic united Pakistan. After 1971, in Bangladesh, they were seemed as a fifth column. Islamic Pakistan was reluctant to own them; so their lives remain suspended in the squalor and filth of the refugee camps, the concepts of *UMMAH*, the Muslim

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<sup>37</sup>Jalal Ayesha, (1984), 'The Soul Spokesman, Jinna the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan,' in Mushirul Hasan, *Legacy of Divided Nation: India's Muslims since Independence*, London: Cambridge, p.32

brotherhood, is an excellent one; but it remains inchoate and needs to be pursued with more vigor than that presently exhibited by Muslims.<sup>38</sup>

### **Muslim Anguish**

Because orthodox Muslims claim that Islam is an all-pervasive, all embracing system, this affects the way in which Muslim writers and academics think the increasing stridency in their tone is thus linked to the larger Muslim sense of anger and powerlessness. They advocate confrontation and violence, an eye for an eye, a tooth for tooth; this attitude confirms the stereotypes of Muslims in the west. They argue that moderation has failed and that extremism will draw attention to their problems, perhaps in the atmosphere of violence and blind hatred, of injustice and inequality, they have certain logic in their position. At least they will be heard.

They will force Muslim problems on to the agenda where more sober voices have failed and because we live in an interconnected world, no country can isolate itself from---or immunize itself against-Muslim wrath, nevertheless, violence and cruelty are not in the spirit of the Quran, nor are they found in the life of the Prophet, nor in the lives of saintly Muslims.<sup>39</sup> The Muslim voices of learning and balance in politics in academics-are being drowned by those advocating violence and hatred. Two vital questions arise with wide ranging short term, has one of the world's greatest civilization Lost its ability to deal with problems except through violent force? In the long term, would Muslims replace the central Quranic concept of *adl* and *assan*, balance and compassion, of *ilm* knowledge, and sober and patience, with the bullet or bomb? Balance is

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<sup>38</sup>Jalal, Ayesha (1997), 'Exploding Communalism: The Politics of Muslim Identities in South Asia,' In Sugata Bose and Ayesha Jalal (ed). *Nationalism, Democracy and Development: State and Politics in India*, Delhi: Oxford University Press. p.46

<sup>39</sup>Jalal, Ayesha (1955), *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia: A Comparative Historical Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press, p.47

essential to Islam and more so than in society; and the crucial balance is between *din* (religion), and *dunya* (world); it is a balance, not a separation, between the two. The Muslims lives in the now, in the real world, but within the frame of his religion, with a mind to the future. So, whether he is a businessman, an academic or a politician, he must not forget the moral laws of Islam.

In the postmodern world “*duniya*” (world) is upsetting the balance, invading and appropriating *din*. Islam is essentially the religion of equilibrium and tolerance suggesting and encouraging breadth of vision, global and the fulfillment of human destiny in the universe. The non-Muslim media, by their consistently hammer headed onslaught; they have succeeded in portraying a negative image of it. They are in danger of rejecting features central to Islam – such as love of knowledge, egalitarianism, and tolerance – because they are visibly associated with the west in locating anti-Islamic animosity family in the west.<sup>40</sup>

They also implicitly reject the universalism of human nature is the main topic in the Quran. God’s purview and compassion take in every one, “The world is not divided into an east and West: wither so ever yeturn, there is Allah’s countenance (surah 2; 155). Again and again God points to the wonders of creation, the diversity of races and languages in the world. Such a God points to the wonders of creation, the diversity of races and languages in the world. Such a God cannot be parochial or xenophobic; neither can a religion which acknowledges has wisdom and piety of over 1,24,000 “Prophets” in its folklore be isolationist or intolerant, with its reference to the “heavens” above, the Quran encouraging us to lift up our heads and look beyond our planet, to the stars.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> *ibid*

<sup>41</sup> Jalal Ayesha (2001), *Self and Sovereignty Individual and Community in South Asian Islam since 1850*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

The divine presence is all around; it can be glimpsed in the eyes of a mother beholding her infant, the rising of the sun, a bird in flight, the first flowers of spring, the wonders and mystery of creation cannot be the monopoly of any one people. The Sufis Like Iqbal – see God everywhere, even among the godless, not only in the Mosque. In their desire for knowledge, compassion and cleanliness many non-Muslims possess ideal Muslim virtues. We note goodness and humanity in people like Mother Teresa, Mandela. Islam has always shown the capacity to emerge in unexpected places and in unexpected times. The true understanding of Islam will therefore be critical in the coming years – and not only for Muslims.<sup>42</sup>

### **The Structure of the Argument**

Beneath the diverse images and different pieces of the of the Jigsaw puzzle, I had promised a structure, having outlined the frame and parameters of our discussion in this chapter, I will in the next go back to the beginning, back to the Greek Gods and semiotic prophets. This is logical, for the Greek and the semiotics have molded the civilization of which we are part and which underline our common humanity and inheritance as have on other people. Islam will be located in the architecture of the Semitic religious while looking for its interaction with the two other great religions, Judaism and Christianity, the influences on all three of the Greeks, who provide the matrix of European culture and thought will then be investigated.

More than any other people the Greeks are the fountain head, the base of western civilization; to revert to the Greeks is to seek purity, is to abolish roots so, although the Hellenic path may appear like an unnecessary detour, I believe that we will be rewarded by the journey. For our purposes, this exercise will allow us to trace how and where Islam become increasingly different from western civilization. The intellectual tension between and the different temperaments of the

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<sup>42</sup> ibid

two are thus the better grasped. Chapter three touches upon the confrontation between Islam and the west.<sup>43</sup>

Finally, the nature of western media and their implications for Muslims are discussed. A comment on western family life will also be made, for Muslims are discussed history is not “bunk”. It is alive, and its influences help explain Muslim behavior and thought. This is also true, although in different ways, for non-Muslims. Even those reject history and wish to live only in the present employ it in popular culture, albeit with irony and humors (as we see in the next chapter).<sup>44</sup>

We will raise numerical questions, not all of which will be answered what will become abundantly clear is that the most crucial battle of Islam, for its every spirit, has been joined in our age. I shall project an apocalyptic vision. Juxtapose many divergent discourses, indicate cultural schizophrenia in the web of ideas that envelop us, and nonetheless give grounds for optimism, while raising more questions than can possibly be answered and in doing all this I believe I shall suggest the spirit of postmodernism.<sup>45</sup>

### **Understanding Muslims in India: A study of Gujarat Muslims**

Asghar Ali engineer in his work in Gujarat explained that the study of three Muslim business communities of Gujarat proved extremely interesting: it has clearly brought out that all these three communities, i.e. the Bhoras, Khojas and Memons, are closely well nit and well-disciplined has its advantages as well as disadvantages. Both have been brought out through this study.

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<sup>43</sup> Akbar S Ahmed, (1999), *Post Modernity and Islam*, roulgedge publication, p. 50

<sup>44</sup> ibid

<sup>45</sup> Akbar S Ahmed, (1999), *Post Modernity and Islam*, roulgedge publication, p.

The study of these communities was chosen for a number of reasons. All the three are petty-business communities from Gujarat: they have similar and almost contemporaneous origin: they are well structured and have identities of their own which they jealously guard; and two of them, i.e. the Bhoras and Khojas, are tightly controlled from above, whereas the third, i.e. the Memons, though not tightly controlled from above, are nevertheless a well-structured community with internal cohesion of its own. What is more interesting is about them is that they have played a similar role politics. Two of them, i.e. the Khojas and Bohars, are Shias whereas the Memons are HansafitesSunnies. The Khojas are tightly controlled from above: the Memons are not: among the three, the Bhoras are the most highly controlled groups. The priestly hierarchy, headed by dia-al-mutlaq like the pope retains all members of the community. The degree of control further increased with the increasing challenge of reform movement which primarily aimed at democratizing the functioning of the community and liberating it from the tight control of the priesthood.<sup>46</sup>

The Bhoras are further subdivided in to various groups: the Dawwodis, sulemanies, Alavis and the Atba-e-malik. The first one is the biggest, whereas the last one is the smallest group. All these four groups are tightly controlled by their respective religious heads, but among the four, Alavies are relatively less controlled, whereas the Dawwodies and Atba-e- maliks are relatively less controlled. The Khojas have also been subdivided into many sects. There we have studied the ismailies (Agha Khani) and isna \_ Asharies, leaving out the sunnies, whereas the ismailies

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<sup>46</sup>Asghar Ali Engineer (1990), *Muslims in South Asia*, New Delhi: Agantha Publication, p 4

are tightly controlled and have priesthood at the apex, the Isna – A shari, Khojas maintain their separate identity.<sup>47</sup>

### **Agha Khan Foundation**

The present Agha Khan unlike the Dawoodi religious head. He has allowed considerable autonomy to the local Jamat and has given considerable powers to the Mukhiis (The local Jamat heads). He has also initiated a number of welfare schemes for the jamt members. The Agh Khan has undertaken some welfare activities for other communities as well.<sup>48</sup> Unlike the Bohara priesthood, there is no well-structured hierarchy among the ismailies. The Agh Khan is the only head priest, and his religious designation is Imam. There is no other priest either in the family or outside the family.

Among the Bohras (All sects except the Atba-e-maliks) there is a well-structured priestly hierarchy with the daiiat the top and ordinary priest, (called Mullahs) at the bottom. In between there is mason, Makassar and Sheikh. Among the Dawwodies all higher religious posts as Amils. The Isna – AshariKhojes have no separate priesthood of their own. Their religious affairs are governed, as pointed out earlier, by the ayatollahs of Iran or their representatives in India. However unlike the Bhoras and Ismailia's, no single monopolizes religious governance of the community. The memons, on the other hand, have no concept of priesthood like other Sunni Muslims. However, it must be said that a sizeable section of the memon community resents the

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<sup>47</sup>Asghar Ali, Engineer(1999), 'Essays in Contemporary Politics of Identity, Religion and Secularism,' Compiled by, Uday Mehta, Ajanta Publication, New Delhi, 1999, p.63.

<sup>48</sup>Asghar Ali, Engineer(1998), 'Secularism in India: Theory and Practice,' in Asghar Ali Engineer, Uday Mehta (ed.), *State Secularism and Religion: Western and Indian Experience*, Ajanta Publications, New Delhi, p.197.

Tabligha movements like other Sunni Muslim. They follow the general Sunni ulemma by the tabliqhi movement like Sunni Muslim.

The memons are sub divided into two major groups: Halais and Kutchi. There are no doctrinal differences between the two. These differences are regional and cultural rather than doctrinal. Both the group follows Sunni Hanafi Islam but maintain separate identities. They do not inter marry though there is no ban as such. Many efforts to unite the two groups have not met with success, though at international level a united body exists. Both the groups have separate Jamat set-ups in different towns.

All the above communities are business communities and they, particularly the Bohras, memons and Khojas. The charitable institutions are democratically. The Agh Khan, who is in control of all charitable institutions in his community as a whole. Among the Dawoodis the charitable institutions only tightly controlled from the above but are also grossly misused by the priestly family. The community as such hardly benefits from these charities. What is more perturbing is that the founding trustees of various trusts themselves have no say in the affairs of these trusts. Most of them have been made to declare the high priest as the sole trustee. This has greatly discouraged the Dawoodis from starting fresh charitable institutions.<sup>49</sup>

Among Alavis there is only one predominantly rich family. It is not only wealthy but has also produces many illustrious figures in social, political, and cultural fields. This family has a special status in the community, and unites other members of charitable work. It has also set up a model

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<sup>49</sup>Asghar Ali, Engineer(1998), 'Secularism in India: Theory and Practice,' in Asghar Ali Engineer, Uday Mehta (ed.), *State Secularism and Religion: Western and Indian Experience*, Ajanta Publications, New Delhi, p.197.



school in Baroda. The alvi da' is also not very powerful like the Dawoodi. Moreover, the zenith family belongs to the reformist group among the Alavis. The zenith charities are well managed, and both Alavis as well as non-Alavis. The zenith charities are well managed, and both Alavis as well as non-Alavis benefit from them.<sup>50</sup>

Among the Sulemanis the most powerful family is the Tyebjis. It is not only wealthy but has also produces many illustrious figures in social, political, and cultural fields. This family has a special status in the community, and unlike other members of the community enjoys more freedom. Na'ibda'I (deputy religious head) has given this family considerable latitude in social, political and religious control exercised by the Na' ibda'I.

The IsnaAshariKhojas and Memons also have considerable charities. In both these groups there is no priestly control over the charities. In both these groups there is no priestly control over the charities. There are a few rich families among the Isna\_AshhariKhojas who have set up educational institutional institutions as well as educational trusts helping the poor and needy. They also help the Non –Isna-Ashari group, and it helps Muslim students from all over India, weather IsnaAsharis or Non –IsnaAshries. They have also set up high school for all.

The Memons have a number of charitable institutions. The Memon Educational society and welfare society, Bombay, is one among them, according to its Golden Jubilee souvenir (1933-83), it has already spent a sum 15,000 students. There is also world Memon foundation. Its head office is in London. A pamphlet issued by the foundation claims that; The Memon community is well-known for its philanthropic activities. For many generations, Memons have spent a

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<sup>50</sup> ibid, p.6

substantial part of their earnings on such charitable causes in various part of their world and the benefits of this charity have not been accessible to non-memons without discrimination.

Among the Dagwood's, as pointed out earlier charities are not only tightly controlled from above but are also unavailable to any one from outside the community. Even wit in the community is not generally available on a desirable scale. Also unlike the Ismailies, there are no welfare projects for other or adoption of villages as done by the Agh Khan has adopted a village in Gujarat. He undertaken general development works in it, and has also brought aid from the UNO for the purpose. There is no approach amongst the Dawwodis. The Agh Khan has also donated a large sum to Harvad for established the institute of Ismaili studies in London in 1977.

So the communities under study, the Dawwoodi are not regimented community. Its members do not have access to religious education. The Madras as and theological seminars in surat and Karachi are strictly disciplined and are not allowed to question, let alone do free research. The priesthood is in possession of very rich works on philosophy and theology. But it does not permit any publication, annotation, editing or research. It is in a highly sorry state of affairs. No one is even allowed to have access to these source books. The great heritage of the Ismailies has been hailed worldwide. These epistles have neither been edited, translated, though none has as yet been published.<sup>51</sup>

### **Interaction with Muslim and non-Muslims**

As pointed out above, all the three communities under study maintain their separate identities and guard them very jealously; The Memons being Sunni are, however very close to the mainstream Sunnis. The Bhoras—all their subjects, i.e. Dawwoodis, Sulemanies, Alavis and Atba-

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<sup>51</sup>Asghar Ali, Engineer(1998), 'Secularism in India: Theory and Practice,' in Asghar Ali Engineer, Uday Mehta (ed.), *State Secularism and Religion: Western and Indian Experience*, Ajanta Publications, New Delhi, p.7

e-maliks- and the Khojas, especially the Ismailies keep their distance from other communities. They remain strictly functional relations with others, though; presently there is a perceptible change in the behavior of many educated individual who freely mix with members of other communities.

The religious heads of the two communities, i.e. the Bohras and the Khojas (including the sub-sects of former). They are interested in keeping the interaction with other community to the minimum in order to retain their control over their communities.<sup>52</sup> They do not allow them to mix with other Muslims communities, which have no organized priesthood among them and are without any control from above. The Dawoodies are continuously exhorted that the Muslims are sheep without a shepherd, and have neither discipline nor establishment. The Bohras, on the other hand, are well disciplined because of the institution of Da'I and D'awat (the religious mission). This myth is widely prevalent among the Bohras due to its constant propagation.

Muslims are generally despised both by the Khojas, and they are referred to as "miyabhais". A word of contempt they are considered of lowly origin, backward and Aggressive. Even it emerges clearly in the depth interview of Khojas and Bohras from the case studies of Ali. The Muslims are even held responsible for riots, as they are aggressive and interested in politics. The Muslims, on the other hand, also think that the Bohras and Khojas keep themselves away from them and do not participate in their functions. Some Muslims from a town in Gujarat complained that when the Dawoodi Bohras observed a day's hartal to protest against a "bomb blast" in front of a Bohra mosque in Bombay, they joined them on their request to show their solidarity with them. But after a few days when a Muslim leader died, the Bohras refused to close their shops.

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<sup>52</sup> ibid

Until recently, the Bohras and Khojas used to consider themselves safe from communal violence. They were very peaceful communities and maintain good relations with the Hindus. However, it is no longer so; and increasing number of Bohras and Khojas are being affected. Many of them were recently killed in Gujarat riots; many families lost everything they had. In IsmailiKhoja from Amrelisaid during interview, that though he maintains very peaceful relations with other Hindus, his shop was looted during the communal riots in 1969, and he was given protection by the Ganchi Muslims of whom he did not think highly.<sup>53</sup>

Similarly, the Alavis and Sulemanies also suffered during riots in Baroda. Some of them are even killed. The Dawoodis also heavily suffered in Ahmadabad Riots. A of them are even killed. However, the Dawoodis from Ahmedabad complained that, despite the heavy losses suffered by them in the riots, Syedana did not help them financially of otherwise. Similarly, the Dawoodis in Panvel and Nasik greatly suffered during the riots in 1986 and they, too, bitterly complained of no help from their head. Despite this, it is no shift towards the Muslims among these communities.

The DawoodiSyednas has, however built strategic relations with the top leadership of the Sunni Muslims in order to protect his own interest. In his sermons he exhorts his followers to remain aloof from Sunni Muslims, but he builds relationships with the Sunni leader ship. His Brother Yusuf Najmuddin, who is no longer alive, even became treasurer of the Muslim personal law board and liberally financed in. The reason for this cultivation of relationship with the Sunni Leadership is to counter the fast spreading of the influence of the reform movement. The BohrasSydena cannot, on his own, mount much pressure on Government not to interfere with

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<sup>53</sup>Asghar Ali, Engineer(1998), 'Secularism in India: Theory and Practice,' in Asghar Ali Engineer, Uday Mehta (ed.), *State Secularism and Religion: Western and Indian Experience*, Ajanta Publications, New Delhi, p.197.

“religious affaires” of the bhoras).<sup>54</sup>The Muslim leaders were also made to oppose the appointment of the Nathawani commission to inquire into allegation of serious violation of human rights of the Bohras at the hands of the Dawwodis priesthood. A number of Muslim leaders: and organizations were financially “supported” by the DawoodisSydena and his family. The Bohras of all sects have never been seriously concerned with the question personal law as they consider it a matter pertaining to the Muslims.

The Bohras did not show much interest in the Shabanoo agitation. They did not, by and large, participate in it. Many of our Bhoras respondents, both in Bombay and Gujrat, said that they had no maintenance problems for their women as their Jamat took care of it, and hence agitation did not affect them. However, it is not good for the Government to interface in religious matters.

Thus, the Bohras kept out of agitation but the DawoodisSydena supported the movement for his own interests. He even hosted the personal law board conference held in Bombay in December 1986. Three of the Sydena’s nominees were taken on the Board.<sup>55</sup>The Khojas also, by and large keep themselves away from other Muslims. The Agha Khan has the same reasons to keep them away as the DawoodiSydena or other BohraSydenas. They want to maintain control over their respective “flock” that is what they consider them the Khojas too, show much interest in the Shabanoo agitation.

They have no representatives unlike the Bohras, on the Muslim personal law board. The Khojas, it is interesting to note, do not follow Shari’ah. They have their own Conventions to enforce by the Jamat. The women are properly taken care of. All Marital disputes are referred to the Jamat, which, in most of the cases effectively intervenes and protect women, s interests. The Jamat our

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid

<sup>55</sup> Asghar Ali Engineer(1998), ‘Secularism in India: Theory and Practice,’ in Asghar Ali Engineer, Uday Mehta (ed.), *State Secularism and Religion: Western and Indian Experience*, Ajanta Publications, New Delhi, p.197.

Khoja respondents indicate try to bring about reconciliation in cases of martial dispute. And if reconciliation efforts fail.<sup>56</sup>

The Jamat tries to protect women's interest in the event of divorce. The Khojas were not much enthused by the Shabanoo agitation. It did not pose any threat to them or their leadership. Moreover, the Agha Khan did not want to create any hostile impression on the Government. The DawoodiSydena also perhaps would have kept out of the agitation. This clearly proves our point about the Dawoodis.<sup>57</sup>

### **The Reform Movement**

Today there is an effective reform movement only between the Dawoodi and Alavis. There is no reform movement only among the Dawoodis and the Alavis. There is no reform movement among the memons, the Khojas, the Sulemanies or the Atbe-e-maliks.<sup>58</sup> There is a reform movement among the Alvis. There is reform movement among the Alavis though it is not a very large community. The reason is tighter control exercise by the AlavisSyedana. Moreover, the Zenith family is rich, owns industry and is quite influential. The AlaviSyedna is not as powerful as the zenith family.

The Zenith family does not submit itself to the dictates of the AlaviSyedna, and hence it supported the reform movement in the community. The reform movement among the AlaviSyedana, and hence it supports the reform movement among the Alavis also have similar objectives as among the Dawoodis. The Alavis also has similar objectives as among the

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<sup>56</sup> ibid

<sup>57</sup> Asghar Ali, Engineer(1998), 'Secularism in India: Theory and Practice,' in Asghar Ali Engineer, Uday Mehta (ed.), *State Secularism and Religion: Western and Indian Experience*, Ajanta Publications, New Delhi, p.180.

<sup>58</sup> ibid

Dawoodis. The Alavis also resent their Syedna's control and monetary exactions as indicated by our Alavi reformist respondents from Baroda.<sup>59</sup>

AlaviSydena position is weak both politically as well as economically, and this is why he does not possess much oppressive power. He cannot declare social boycott, nor can he prevent the reformist from entering from entering the Mosques. He had to accept Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's personal intervention when the Alavi reformists approached her through the Gaikward, the erstwhile ruler of Baroda and Cabinet minister in her cabinet. Many controversial issues were resolved through this intervention, the Alavi respondents pointed out to us.<sup>60</sup>

The situation with the DawoodiSydena is very powerful and politically highly influential and hence the Dawoodi reformists have a very a very tough battle to fight. Moreover, the Dawoodis form the largest section of the Bhora communities, and the Sydena must be addressed as quamaula (the master, the lord), and one must submit to his commands unquestioningly. The reformists are fighting against such authoritarianism within the community. The responses from the Dawoodis to our questionnaire show that there is strong resentment against the priestly authoritarianism but also a sense of helplessness in view of the Syedna's monetary and political influence.<sup>61</sup>

The Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, readily intervened on behalf of the reformist in the Alavi community, but she did not respond to the Dawoodi reformist's request for similar intervention as the DawoodiSydena gives money to the ruling party's election fund and also 'ensures' votes of the Dawoodis for the party in power. Moreover, the DawoodiSydena gives money to the

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<sup>59</sup> ibid

<sup>60</sup> Asghar Ali, Engineer(1999), 'Essays in Contemporary Politics of Identity, Religion and Secularism,' Compiled by, Uday Mehta, Ajanta Publication, New Delhi, 1999, p.12.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid, p12.

ruling party's election fund and also 'ensures' votes of the Dawoodis for the party in power. Moreover, the DawoodiSyedna makes them totally dependent on the community for their social existence. The Bhora women(Except a few educated in large urban areas) non-Bhora have very little social intercourse with and thus any move for their social ostracisation scares them out of their women folk to do likewise. The Bhora priesthood fully exploits this situation, and always strives to keep women isolated from other communities, Muslims or non-Muslim, even Non-Dawoodis. A large number of women, however clandestinely support the reform movement.<sup>62</sup>

### **Political participation**

Most of these three communities were business communities. They were business people and were not interested in politics. They minded their own business, they said, it is true that patty businessmen, --and that is what most of the members of the three Muslim communities of Gujarat are, -- do not take much interest in active politics. They normally tend to support the ruling party and maintain a politically neutral stance. SomeDawoodiBohra respondents maintain that it was Islamic duty of the Muslims that they should support the rules whatever party. They may be belongs to it.

Many individual members from these communities are members of different political parties. One of the Dawoodi respondents from Ahmadabad was a member of CPI (subsequently, he gained the ruling Congress) and from Dahod is a member of BJP. A member of the IsmailiKhojas is a left activist. The KhojaIsna \_ Asharis, on the other hand, supports the Muslim league politics. He was also as a congress (1) MP from Bombay.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>62</sup>Inid, p.13

<sup>63</sup>Asghar Ali, Engineer(1999), 'Essays in Contemporary Politics of Identity, Religion and Secularism,' Compiled by, Uday Mehta, Ajanta Publication, New Delhi, 1999, p.13.



As for as the Bohras and Khojas are concerned, one clearly gathers that their religious heads impose strictures enjoying on them either not to participate only on their own terms.<sup>64</sup>

There are few, if any small- scale industrialist from amongst these communities. Certain section of these communities (Khojas and Memons were poor and lived either in slums or in dilapidated structures in big cities. Some of them were vegetable venders, weavers or hawkers.

The Dawoodi religious head uses Muslim politics to the extent it suits his interests. He also does not want any conformation with Government. He supports Muslim agitation in a carefully controlled and calculate manner. The support for ensuring non-interference by the Government in the Bohra affairs, but does not allow the DawoodiBohramassesto participate in these agitations. The Dawoodis by and large kept themselves out of the Shabhanoo and Babri Masjid agitation.<sup>65</sup>

### **Literature on Hyderabad: Hyderabad a Study**

JavedAlam in his study of Hyderabad that the, “forty years after independence, the Gulf dividing the different religious communities is wider then over before. Communal violence and killings have increased both in numbers and killings and quality. If in 1962-64 Jabalpur, Calcutta and Rurkhela shocked the country, they no longer looked gruesome beside Ahmadabad in 1989, the slaughter in Bhagalpur was watched in silence by the state.”<sup>66</sup>

All of these targeted the Muslims in 1984; we were equally mute witnesses to the savage butchery of the Sikhs controlled, from above. Public opinion, then, displays a growing

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<sup>64</sup> ibid

<sup>65</sup>Asghar Ali, Engineer(1999), ‘Essays in Contemporary Politics of Identity, Religion and Secularism,’ Complied by, Uday Mehta, Ajanta Publication, New Delhi, 1999, p.14.

<sup>66</sup>Javedalam, (1999), Composite Culture and its Historiography, Centre for Study of Developing Societies, South Asia, VII XX, pp-29-37

insensitivity to, if not outright tolerance of, such violence. A small 'Minor' riot involving the killing of a few does not register any more in the public consciousness. It now requires large-scale death and destruction to invite public outrage.

Enigmatic but true is the fact that with regard to the different types of political violence in society, the authorities in India show the maximum tolerance towards violence involving communal (minority) and caste (low) killings. This is in sharp contrast to their reaction to class based violence to their reaction to class based violence, their Naxalites for ex; are chased and beaten to death. This in spite of the fact that Naxalites violence, unlike the communal variety, is more often directed against the property of the rich and less towards life.

This leads one to inevitable conclude that, for the state in India, private property is of greater value than the lives of ordinary people, a liberal conscience under conditions of backward capitalism does not seem to care much for the lives of minorities and other oppressed or vulnerable groups. The state in India, private property is of ordinary people: a liberal conscience under conditions of backward capitalism does not seem to care much for the lives of minorities and other oppressed or vulnerable groups. The state in India has managed to manipulate public opinion to the extent that the ethical consciousness of society is less agitated by such killing and vandalisms and articulates much more concern when the interest of the propertied classes is at stake. All this seems to be suggesting that the state in has abdicated its responsibility towards the vulnerable sections of society. This abdication now extends to the denial protection for life and

limb.<sup>67</sup> Javedalam, *Representing Hinduism: Nationalisation of religious tradition in peter De vandeer's. Composite culture as tradition: its limit*

I do not mean merely the failure to effect far-reaching reforms, structural changes, etc; I mean that organized power in backward capitalist society's works, inherently, in a conservation direction interested solely in preserving the status quo. This development is important in understanding the growing assertion of communal, political consciousness among the minorities and the organizations, which sustain and articulate it in present –day India society. Some of these organizations have filled up, to a large extent; the vacuum created by the retreat of the state, starting with this postulation this paper has the following aims.<sup>68</sup>

A discussion on the recent rise of communal consciousness in India by focusing on one communal formation –the MajlisittehadulMuslimeen in Hyderabad .The communal activities emanating from and centered around this organization will be used as a text analogue, which at first sight may seem contradictory and inexplicable. We will see if there is not, after all, some coherence this communal activity. Second, while trying to come to terms with this activity, an attempt will be made to understand what has been happening to that other traditions of tolerance, coexistence and common modes of living: what has also often been reformed to as the composite culture which is anti- thesis of community based hostilities or even exclusiveness.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>67</sup>JavedAlam, (1999), *Composite Culture and its Historiography*, Centre for Study of Developing Societies, South Asia, VII XX, pp-29-37

<sup>68</sup> ibid

<sup>69</sup>Javedalam, (1999), *Composite Culture and its Historiography*, Centre for Study of Developing Societies, South Asia, VII XX, pp-29-37

### **Composite culture as tradition: its limit**

A considerable body of literature, both in history and in the social sciences which have grown over the last 30 years or so, argue that the evolve, over centuries since the coming of the Muslims to the India subcontinent, modes of thinking and living which area a subtle synthesis of both world views and living habits of both Muslims and Hindus. In the words of Tara Chand it is a ‘co-mingling’ and a sense of larger allegiance’ (1963:141) or, according to HumayunKabir , a “fusion of mentalities” (1946:65) or, in the carefully weighed argument of MusrulHasan, there was the development of a composite culture.<sup>70</sup>

It is not my intention here to deny the existence of a composite culture: I stand by this view that something in the nature of composite or a common ground did evolves, affecting life at key points, and that of it still survives and influences our social life at many intersections. What, however seem to be questionable it the aggregated manner in which has been advanced and the way it has been validated as a living force in our social life. Philosophical thought because some features of composite culture can survive even after people belonging to different traditions from hostile relationships. If, instead, we concentrate on every day morals, attitude and interaction between people of different traditions, then we can analyses both the strength and weakness of what has been termed culture synthesis.

The moral world view of, let us say, the Bauls of Bengal or of the Bhakti saints: and the trends they gave rise to in daily living do suggest a very high degree of coming together over large areas, are ‘commingling’ or ‘Fusion’ of though and living. In many other ways as well, quite apart from these examples, people did develop common themes and interests and meaning

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<sup>70</sup>ibid

systems in their social life and they did share their religious festivals and ceremonies and auspicious occasions with each other and derive meaning and satisfaction from these.<sup>71</sup>

The curious feature of these syntheses and coming together was that they survived for as long as they were left alone; in other words as long as there was no intervention from above initiated either by spokesman or the dominant sections of the orthodoxy, by the elite or by the state as such ---the common features or compositeness began to dissolve in to the existing or parallel neo-orthodoxies propounded by these spokesmen, or, on the other hand, with modification, these features were re- assimilated in to the modes of life sanctioned by the orthodoxy. Composite culture or synthesis is fragile by nature precisely because it is unable to with stand intervention from above.

The historiography of this genre is based on slippery grounds. Historians as partisans in politicians in political battles have never asked: that was the foundation bases of this composite culture and on what kind of terrain did it stand?<sup>72</sup> The problem has been that the level of folk cultures what emerged as intermingling or fusion or synthesis was of a pre- reflective kind, that is, it was not deliberated and consciously appropriated by people belonging to different religious traditions or by the bearers of culture within them or, even, at the pre reflective levels, the compositeness that had existed was not aligned with attending orthodoxies in such a way as to be taken as necessarily acceptable when consciously deliberated.

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<sup>71</sup>Bradley J. Adams and John E. Byrd (2008), *Recovery, Analysis, and Identification of Commingled Human Remains*, New Jersey: Humana Press, p.371

<sup>72</sup> *ibid*

One this happened and the orthodoxy felt threatened and began intervening, by whatever modalities. From above, they more or less succeeded, and are still succeeding, in pushing back or defeating most of these trends. Some such things have also happened in Hyderabad.<sup>73</sup>

These interventions, starting roughly from the first half of the nineteenth century, did not have a uniform character. Seen from the perspective of Muslims in India, some of these represented a retreat in to traditional or fundamentalist Islam of rather primitive varieties. Such Waliullah or Sayyed Ahmed of Bareilly and their lesser known followers like Haji Shariatullah of Faraz in Bengal, the Maulvi of Faraiz in Bengal, and Maulvi Karamat Ali of Jaunpur, all in the first half of the nineteenth century, were influenced by the Wahabi movement and focused their attention on the 'un-Islamic' practices prevalent among the Muslims such as the folk practices of jointly celebrating festivals, the common customs and etiquette influenced by the surrounding Hindu Ethos, modes of salutations and greeting, but above all, the common worship of saints such as shirk (Associating other powers with Allah).<sup>74</sup>

They wanted to wean away the Muslims, especially the new converts, from residual Hindu beliefs and practices and replace these instead with purifies form of Islam unadulterated by 'foreign' influences. Another form of intervention which came later in the second half of the century is best represented by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> ibid

<sup>74</sup> ibid

<sup>75</sup> Gottschalk, Peter(2000). *Beyond Hindu and Muslim: Multiple Identity in Narratives from Village India*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Instead of retreating in to past and interpretation oriented to the times of prophet Mohammed and his close associates, his vision was one of a separate Muslim identity that was expected to rapidly modernize in accordance with a conception of Islam consonant with reason, science and technology. This trend had many regional echoes, but was especially pronounced in Bengal where it was personified by Sir Abdul Lateef.<sup>76</sup>

Whatever the difference with regard to historical time, internal thrust, intentions or motivations, there exists certain common features above. The more salient of the features are; First; a deliberate and planned move towards addressing the public directly instead of relying on or looking to the court or aristocracy to defend Islam, as, for example, when the orthodoxy intervened in the conflict between Aurangzeb and Dara Shikouh. This move comprises an effort to build bridge between the upper Muslim gentry and lower ranks of Muslims in order to provide enduring communication channels within the community.<sup>77</sup>

Second, these interventions seek to bring about a shift from the terrain of theological arguments addressed to the learned to political appeals and the mobilization of people on broader platforms. Third, they make consistent effort to reconstruct a ‘healthier’ version of Islam as the ground on which the newly sought identity of Muslims can be based it. It may perhaps be correct to suggest that the interventions crystallized initially in-to two typified by the Deoband School (traditionalist) which, while regarding the Muslims as a distinct cultural community, took opposite stands towards the nationalist movement.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> ibid

<sup>77</sup> ibid

<sup>78</sup> Hans Haferkamp and Neil J. Smelser (1992), *Social Change and Modernity*, Los Angeles: Oxford

While these developments were slowly drawing the Muslim community away from the rest of society. They were also bringing them, as a people, into the public arena as active participants, who insisted on being heard, seen in conjunction with the developments within wider India society, especially among the Hindus, we can understand more clearly the manner in which political contentions were taking shape in society as a whole. It is important, then, to the conditions imposed by colonialism. (ibid, p342). The striking feature of the Hindu response is its greater variety and range and the much higher degree of polemical exchange for such position was critically scrutinized and overall philosophical trends were closely contested. Crucial also was greater emancipator thrust, from Ram Mohan Roy onwards up to the contemporary period, though there were highly restrictive and divisive and divisive trends with in this move towards emancipation.

In a broad sense, even these trends can be seen a part of the “cultural counter affective” and that they represented an effort by people at many different levels of society to overcome the marks of subordination and humiliation that had come with colonial rule; the temporal frame extended backward to include the period of Muslim rule. In India as well as the ‘foreigners’ now were not only the British but also those who had decided to be as such Indians, the British and the Muslims were almost on par. The Muslims infact increasingly displaced the British in the category termed “foreigner” as nationalist thought took shape.<sup>79</sup>

Subordination was seen not as a result of colonial rule but also as something quite intrinsic to Hindus in that they had allowed themselves to be ruled by the Muslims. This point and its many

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid



implications here, including for ex, its impact on nationalism, but will not content myself with pointing out that it gave rise to the creation of the other, unfortunately, was to become necessary for one's own self-awareness.<sup>80</sup>

This other as a presence in India society was increasingly viewed as something bestial and malignant. I will restrict myself to two very powerful voices expressing ideas which had a wide range and powerful refractive effects on Indian society; Vivekananda, one of the radical of the Hindu social reformer, and Dayananda Saraswati, the more sectarian and conservative as regards long – term influences in structuring popular sentiment than novelists and other intellectuals.

First, let us look at Vivekananda; the more sober thought also the more radical of the reformer thinkers. For him, Muslim rule was a foreign presence in India; 'the final victory of royal power was echoed on the soil of India for several centuries in the name of foreign monarchs professing an entirely different religion from the faith of the land (1962,4: 448 emphases added). In contrast about British Rule is relatively benign: of course, we had to stop advancing during Mohammedan tyranny, for then it was not a question of progress but of life and death. Now that the pressure has gone, we must move forward (373 emphases added).<sup>81</sup>

The Muslim is an intolerable presence. This is how Vivekananda defines the Mohammedans and Islam: "Now the Mohammedans are the crudest in this respect, and the most sectarian. Their watchword is "There is one God and Mohammed is his prophet". Everything beyond that is not bad, but must be destroyed forthwith: at a movement's notice, every man or woman who does not

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<sup>80</sup> Gottschalk, Peter (2000). *Beyond Hindu and Muslim: Multiple Identity in Narratives from Village India*, New York: Oxford University Press.

<sup>81</sup> Dalmiya, Vasundha (1997), *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions: Bharatendu Harishandra and Nineteenth Century*, Calcutta: Oxford University Press, p.31

exactly believe in that does not belong to this worship must be immediately broken; every book that teaches anything else must be burnt. From the pacific to the Atlantic, for five hundred ears blood ran all over the world. That is Mohammedanism”.<sup>82</sup>

These presences become malignant because Hinduism is so different: “you know that Hindu religion persecutes. It is a land where all sects many live in peace and amity.<sup>83</sup> The Mohammedans brought murder and slaughter in their train, but until their allival peace prevailed” (5:190). Since the Muslims are bestial, they do not have to fear the Hindus. This theme of tolerance within the interpretative reworking of the Hindu tradition has, since then, become the basis of filling up the other negative features. Though Dayan and looks at Muslims and their tradition not every differently, his language is much more polemical, so, for instance; They has to their charge the greatest sin of killing innocent people. The non-acceptance of Moslem’s religion they call heresy and they hold slaughter the superior to heresy; that is, they say that their will put to death those persons who do not accept Islam. This they have been all along doing.<sup>84</sup>

This process of intervention from above within the religious communities in India has been an ongoing one with many valid ramifications. It has not come to end. The controversy meticulously built up over Ram Janmaboomi’ BabriMasid is the latest instance of it. Hindu

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<sup>82</sup>ZaheerBaberRace (2004), ‘Religion and Riots: The ‘Racialization’ of Communal Identity and Conflict in India,’ *Sociology*, October, vol. 38, pp. 4701-718

<sup>83</sup> Gottschalk, Peter (2000). *Beyond Hindu and Muslim: Multiple Identity in Narratives from Village India*, New York: Oxford University Press, 64

<sup>84</sup>Dalmiya, Vasundha 1997. *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions: BharateduHarishandra and Nineteenth Century- Banaras*. Cacutta: Oxford University Press, p343

communalist have funding this agitation a very potent symbol to mobilize the Hindu' the most popular God Ram becomes a rallying factor in a dispute over bricks and stones.

Muslim communalists, whatever their other concerns, revert more and more to the defense of their own history and the notion of the community as one with that history. The intervention from is invariable, unless as a part of the revolutionary struggle of the people, a ruling elite maneuvers. It leads to bifurcation of common concern and interests not only does it destroys the common heritage, the common history especially anti –colonial struggle, but also leads to further consequences.<sup>85</sup> First it destroys as a resource for people to renew themselves or to bring them to bring them together. Tradition in such a situation increasingly become a weapon with which the dominant exercise power, something by means of which people exercise power; something by means of which people become more instrumental for the ends of the power of the dominant. Tradition becomes a restrictive imposition, an authoritarian device even when not perceived as such by the people.

Second emancipatory concerns in the domain of economic and social relations, gender Instead a communal, narcissist self- contemplation gains in prominence, in other words, a disjuncture emerges between the socio-cultural life of the people which is being subjectively divided, on the one hand, and socio-economic process which produces, on objective plain, unified structures for existence and struggle on the other. People tend to increasingly to occupy the same space without becoming part of the same historical order of time.<sup>86</sup>

In the following I will examine in some detail how a particular communal formation of the IttehadulMuslimeen has come to occupy a central place in city of Hyderabad. The result of this

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid, p.344

<sup>86</sup> Ibid, p.344

formation has been that over the years, Hindus and Muslims have increasingly come to live in their social worlds.<sup>87</sup>

Although Hyderabad is a large city with an interesting history, Hyderabadi academics are still a small group. Here, I mention other academics who focus on Hyderabad and how my work adds to theirs. Karen Leonard has written a book on Hyderabadi identity in the Diaspora in her book *locating Home: India's Hyderabadis Abroad*. Leonard has also written books focused on the Kayasth caste of Hyderabad, focusing on how traditionally, economic opportunities determined social boundaries rather than ideas of “purity and pollution” which dominate social boundaries in other Indian cities. David Pinault, in his book *The Shiites: Ritual and Popular Piety in a Muslim Community* focuses on practices and what it means to be Shiite in Hyderabad, his work, while focusing on a small religious minority in Hyderabad, as the majority of Muslims in Hyderabad are Sunni.

Joyce Flueckiger, in *Amma's Healing Room: Gender and Vernacular Islam in South India*, observes different religious identities meeting and interacting in a Muslim healing room. Lucien Benichou, in *From Autocracy to Integration Political Developments in Hyderabad State (1938-1948)*, analyzes the changes in political structure leading up to Hyderabad's accession with India. In addition, many historical overviews of the city have been published, usually focusing on pre-Indian accession.

Syed Ali, in his 2001 dissertation *From Nobility and Caste to Ethnicity and Class in an Indian City* looks at how Muslims in Hyderabad negotiate various status-based identities. Ali looks at the different stratified identities within the Muslim group in Hyderabad, arguing that there has

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<sup>87</sup>Noorani, A.G. (ed), (2003). *The Muslims of India: A Documentary Record*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

been a shift from hierarchical based identities towards a more inclusive status of being Muslim, but at the same time increased stratification based on class. My research diverges from Ali's because I am interested only in the different aspects of the broader category of the being Muslim. Aware that there are an abundance of smaller identities Muslims in Hyderabad identify with, I argue that the broader category of Muslim often trumps other identities in Hyderabad today. Looking at this broader category, I argue that over the course of the twentieth century different aspects of the Muslim community become more important at different times.<sup>88</sup>

India today is confronted with the task of attempting to successfully modernize and retain cultural traditions. India is a country wrought with history, a country where one is reminded of the vast history every day. Walking down the Moti Bazaar towards the Charminar in the Old City today, within the span of a block one will pass a mosque from the 16<sup>th</sup> century and a roadside stall selling posters from the newest Bollywood flick. Traditional, conservative dress still dominates as people make their way to work in rickshaws equipped with booming radios. After a brief conversation with a pearl dealer, you will find out that he is the fifth generation to run the store in his family.<sup>89</sup>

Along with mention of the glorious days of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, the political history of the 20<sup>th</sup> century plays into residents' daily lives. A century molded by a series of drastic political changes, the Muslims of Hyderabad today are still trying to find their place after economic, linguistic and cultural displacement in the 1940's and 1950's.<sup>90</sup> Exacerbated by the rise of *Hindutva* ideology, communal identities become as salient as ever towards the end of the

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<sup>88</sup> Ali, Syed (2001), 'Re-membering Selves: From Nobility and Caste to Ethnicity and Class in an Indian City,' Diss. University of Virginia.

<sup>89</sup> Naidu, Ratna, (1990). *Old Cities, New Predicaments: A Study of Hyderabad*, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

<sup>90</sup> Jain, M.S (2005), *Muslim Political Identity*, New Delhi: Rawat Publications.

20<sup>th</sup> century. Neighborhoods are clearly demarcated either Hindu or Muslim and the possibility of a communal riot creates a subtle continual tension.<sup>91</sup>

Although the Muslims of Hyderabad victim to a largely communal ideology, the sense of nostalgia suggests that they would prefer relations to be different between Hindus and Muslims. Residents mostly speak nostalgically of a time when Hindus and Muslims could share neighborhoods and festivals. Most residents acknowledge that the communities have lost trust in each other, but lack optimism given the larger social problems that lie beneath the tension: illiteracy and economic deprivation. Muslims want to move forward, yet feel trapped by the lack of educational and economic mobility in the Old City today.<sup>92</sup>

Residents seem generally aware of the use of political manipulation, yet do not feel like they know how to counter the manipulation. Education and interfaith interaction seemed to work for the few interviewees who partook, and COVA's workshops have fared pretty successfully since the early 1990's.<sup>93</sup> The bottom line is that Muslims in Hyderabad need to feel better about their social position and overcome a community awareness of forced deprivation. The community looks backwards and reminisces about a time when they were valued in Hyderabad and has trouble integrating into 21<sup>st</sup> century Hyderabad. The rise of *Hindutva* ideology creates greater challenges for the integration and modernization of Muslims in Hyderabad, as it influences the Hindu majority to push for further social domination. Through this chapter I have shown how the introduction of *Hindutva* ideology affects the identity of Muslims in Hyderabad. Communal ideologies explicitly change the day-to-day interactions between Hindus and Muslims in Hyderabad and allowed violence to paralyze the city for weeks at a time. In response, Muslims

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<sup>91</sup> Kathryn Cook Zyskowski, (2008), 'Being and Becoming Muslim: Religious Identification in 20<sup>th</sup> Century Indian Hyderabad,' Wesleyan University, the Honors College, April, p.21

<sup>92</sup> Luther, Narendra(2006), *Hyderabad: A Biography*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

<sup>93</sup> Naidu, Ratna(1990). *Old Cities, New Predicaments: A Study of Hyderabad*, New Delhi: Sage Publications., p51

became defensive and fearful. Paralleling an already existent nostalgia for a time past, Hyderabad Muslim's deprivation now dominates their identity.<sup>94</sup>

Muslims in Hyderabad today grapple with who they are and the direction of the community into the future. Understanding how Muslims arrived at their current position in Hyderabad today is essential for understanding social interactions in Hyderabad.<sup>95</sup> The fact that the Andhra Pradesh government placed Muslims on the backward caste lists acknowledges the social realities, for a lot of people, of being Muslim in Hyderabad today.

Although each individual identifies with numerous different identities, I argue that the identity of being Muslim, rather than identifying their neighborhood or economic class, gained prominence over the twentieth century and became the most salient identifier for Muslims. Different aspects of the broader Muslim identity are more important than others in response to events. In the early twentieth century, as a political consciousness awoke in Hyderabad, different national ideologies emerge. At this time, Muslims in Hyderabad identify with their particular position in the Nizam's court, but begin to identify with the broader Muslim community.

The Muslim community in Hyderabad city becomes aware of their minority status in Hyderabad state and aligns with different ideas of the future of Hyderabad state. After Police Action, the Muslim community bands together, defending the prominence of the Urdu language in Hyderabad. Finally, this chapter covered different scholar's field realities on identities of

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<sup>94</sup> Kathryn Cook Zyskowski (2008), *Being and Becoming Muslim: Religious Identification in 20<sup>th</sup> Century Indian Hyderabad*, Wesleyan University, The Honors College, April., p12

<sup>95</sup> Noorani, A.G. (ed.), (2003). *The Muslims of India: A Documentary Record*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, p.34

Muslims. This views, gaps and observations made me to go deeper. With this background, in the next chapters I will focus on Old city of Hyderadi Muslims and record the progressive voices to draw field realities and multiple identities in Hyderabad and India in general.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Luther, Narendra(2006), *Hyderabad: A Biography*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, p. 23



## Chapter –III

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF MULTI-MUSLIM IDENTITY

#### IN HYDERABAD OLD-CITY

**Hyderabad historical sketch Introduction:** This chapter deals with Hyderabad city, its origin, growth socio-economic and demographic composition. It is quite important to have sketch of Hyderabad because it is city of 400 years old as history. The Hyderabad city a symbol of love of Baghmata and Hydershah Ali. It is also called as Bhagyanagar. The Charminar represents the Hyderabad. Salar Jung Museum, Falaknama palace, Kutub Shah Tombs represents its glory. Still today number of visitors come to see these historical places. The Hyderabad city has grown in its width and breadth as per the population growth. The city also represents divisive cultures, where all the people belong to the different states, religions, ethnic people like Tamilians, Gujarati, Keralites and Kannadigas are living in the Hyderabad city. During the Nizams rule Africans has settled down here. Their settlement is called African Guards; popularly known as AC Guards.

Presently Hyderabad made an image in the global cities with developments in IT sector, Flyovers, Rajiv Gandhi International airports, modern film cities etc.

*“Subha sum sham se shuru hoti hi  
Raat ko rangin ban thi hi. Ye Hyderabad shahar hi  
Garibonko chai roti, ameero ko dham ki biryani  
din raat chalthi hi. Ye Hyderabad shahar hi*

*Har din hazaroo mazdoor anthe hi  
Apni tharakki karneki koshish karthe hi ya. Ye Hyderabad share h.  
Kabhi to kavitha banke dheti hi to,  
Khabhi bamb hoke patthi hi ye. hyderabad shehar hi.  
Dosti dusmani, hare k chalthi hi yaha. Ye Hyderabad shaher hi.”  
----- (An Urdu poem on Hyderabad. by abbas mohammad)*

*It starts with calm morning,  
Night with full of lights. This is Hyderabad city.  
Tea biscuit for poor, dhum ki biryani for rich, runs day and night.  
This is Hyderabad city.  
Everyday thousands of workers flood the city and test their destiny.  
This Hyderabad city.  
It appears as poetic sometimes and sometime explodes with bombs.  
This is Hyderabad city.  
Friendship, enmity everything goes here, this Hyderabad city.  
----- (True translation of above Urdu poem on Hyderabad written by me)*

This poem, explains how Hyderabad has been maintaining multiple identities, in terms of their economic class. Further, it also explains the cosmopolitan, unique feature of the city in its culture, food and language, from a plebian point of view.

Hyderabad is the capital of the state Telangana in South India and has a unique Muslim history and culture. Today, Hyderabad is a booming metropolis of around more than 8 million people, India's fifth largest city. Until 1948, however, Hyderabad referred to Hyderabad state, a princely state ruled by a lineage of Muslim rulers, the Nizams. A Muslim-ruled state for centuries, Hyderabad is a city with a large Muslim minority of 40 percent of total population, while nationwide Muslims only comprise 13.4 percent of the population. Today the state Andhra Pradesh is only 8.9 percent Muslim, yet 48 percent of beggars and 28.2 percent of rickshaw drivers in Hyderabad are Muslim<sup>3</sup>. Thus, Muslims in the city of Hyderabad are struggling to

maintain their cultural heritage in Hyderabad.<sup>97</sup>

In the past few years, Hyderabad has received a lot of attention for being central to India's developing global economy with its HITECH City, a hub for outsourcing. IBM, Google and many other companies hold large offices in Hyderabad, and as a result, the city is sometimes referred to as 'Cyberabad'. As the new part of Hyderabad is burgeoning with new construction projects for seven star hotels, new highways, luxury condos and dance clubs. The Old City, the historical center of Hyderabad, has been left out of the development and remained in slums. Furthermore, in the past few decades the Old City has become a hotspot for communal violence between Hindus and Muslims, following a pattern nationwide.<sup>98</sup>

The all India Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen (hence forth Masjlis) is seen in relation to the national parties or the powerful regional party formed recently *Telangana Rastriya smithi*, which is the single most powerful force in the city of Hyderabad. It is no longer possible to ignore that it as something marginal to the life of the Muslims though it is an old organization with a questionable history and evokes strong memories in the Muslim community, we will concern our self at first, with the reincarnated Majlis, its formidable growth and the incredible range of its activities, which commenced in 1957. It is retaining the Hyderabad city parliamentary constituency in the November 1989. The Majlis won this seat for the first time in 1984. It had contested in the years 1962, 1967, 1971, 1977 and 1980 but had lost on all these occasions. Even

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<sup>97</sup> Kathryn Cook Zyskowski, (2008), *Being and Becoming Muslim: Religious Identification in 20<sup>th</sup> Century Indian Hyderabad*, Wesleyan University, the Honors College.

<sup>98</sup> Kathryn Cook Zyskowski, (2008), *Being and Becoming Muslim: Religious Identification in 20<sup>th</sup> Century Indian Hyderabad*, Wesleyan University, the Honors College.

as it was losing, its votes climbed steadily from 58,000 in 1962, 112,000 in 1980. From 1980 to 1984, its vote doubled and from 1984 to 1989. It once again almost doubled.

### **Historical Sketch of Hyderabad**

The area comprising the present Hyderabad (district) was for the first time identified in 1724 AD when the Asif Jahi Dynasty came into power under Nizam-ul-Mulk, Asif Jah I during that period, the Atraf-I-Balda District (city region) was included in Medak (Gulshanabad) subha. Later on, a tashil which was called Baghat and which consists of 17 villages with an area of 17 villages with an area 41.6 sq. km in the suburbs of the city was also included for administrative convenience in the Atraf-I-Balda and Bhagat districts. The Hyderabad district consisted of five Taluk viz., 1) Hyderabad 2) Ibrahim patnam; 3) Medchal; 4) Dharoor; and 5) Shamashabad. In 1950, these taluks were reconstituted, while the taluk of Dharoor was merged with the Vikarabad taluk of Medak district and a taluk viz., Hyderabad west was created.

In 1956, on the formation of Andhra Pradesh State, Hyderabad district gained three regions namely Pargi from Mahbubnagar, Vikarabad from Medak and Tundur from Gulbarga. During 1950 to 1965, Hyderabad west taluk was constituted which included the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secundrabad and 63 other villages. During 1971-81, Hyderabad Urban bank was created, containing mostly urban areas, and the remaining taluks of Hyderabad districts constituted new districts viz., Rangareddy, consisting of mainly rural areas. The Ranga Reddy district included portions of Hyderabad East and West Taluks, Ibrahim Patnam, Medchal. Chevella, Pargi, Tandur and Vikarabad taluks.

In the course of time, Hyderabad has rapidly expanded in all the dimensions, particularly from 1971 onwards, the city has grown far beyond the corporation limitations. In 1975, the Hyderabad Urban Development Authority (HUDA) was created. Its jurisdiction extends over an area of 1 sq. km. while the municipality area is only 169 sq. km. Further, Metropolitan Hyderabad (under HUDA) was created. Its Jurisdiction extends over an area of 1, 554 sq. km. while the municipal area is only 169 sq. km. metropolitan Hyderabad includes the entire Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad, Malakgiri Municipality, 13 villages of Hyderabad districts, and 270 villages of Rangareddy districts and 23 villages of Medak district.<sup>99</sup>

The core city (Municipal Corporation area) has become heavily congested and the state Government, as a policy measure, has decided not to permit the establishment of industries within the municipal limits, mostly on the peripheral areas. Another significant development was the master plan of HUDA, which proposed to develop the peripheral of the city, establishing ring towns at the north four corners of city: viz; Ramachandrapuram in the north and Shamshabad in the south, Ghatkesar in the East and Medchal in the west. Moreover, HUDA also started developing residential-cum-commercial complexes outside the municipal limits so as to the pressure of population on the core of city. As a result, Vanastalipuram, Sarornagar, Madhuban residential colonies, particularly the industrial establishments, have close functional linkages with the core city.<sup>100</sup>

### **Growth of the City:**

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<sup>99</sup> Seshan, K. S. S, (1992), *Hyderabad/400: Saga of a City*, Hyderabad: AP Chapters of Associations British Council of Scholars (ABCS)

<sup>100</sup> Ibid, p-86

Founded by Sultan Quli Qutub Shah in 1591 AD, on the south bank of the river Musi, this city was successor town of Golconda which was founded in 1510 AD on the northern bank of the river Musi about four miles west of the present site of the city. It has passed through several historical stages during the last 400 years, when it was ruled by Qutub Shahis, Moghals and Asif Jahis. From its inception, it was planned on a grid pattern, consisting of two main roads running E-W and N-S, intersecting at Charminar- the city center. It had been mentioned in the historical records that the thoroughfares were lined with 14,000 buildings including places, residential quarters, shops, mosques, rest houses and schools etc. each quarter was identified as a zone of specialized functions. The northeastern quarter contained the residential areas, shops, mosques, rest houses and houses and schools etc. The north-western quarter contained royal places and staff offices; the north-eastern quarter contained residence of nobles: the quarter south-east of Charminar was most thickly populated and served more as a suburb, where low-paid workers lived. The houses in this part were mostly constructed with mud and bricks and had thatched roofs.<sup>101</sup>

It was in 1740 AD that Asif Jah I completed the city wall and the limits of the city were precisely defined. The completion of the city wall gave a feeling of security to the people and thus not only the population started growing but the marketing activities also regained new life. By 1798 AD, there were three flourishing bazaars and one wholesale district in the Hyderabad city and then the population was over 50,000. The political developments which took place between 1798 and 1874, such as the Nizam's alliance with East India Company in 1798, resulted in the development of Hyderabad city beyond the city walls and across the river Musi. Once the city developed trends of expanding northwards and the British residency, which was established on

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid, p-83

the northern bank of the river Musi River acquired a strong hold on the function of development of the city, the walled city around Charminar gradually started losing its supremacy.

Due to the advent of the railways and the establishment of few industries near the Secunderabad area, the growth of Hyderabad particularly in southern part of the River Musi was practically halted. Despite the fact that the palace of the river Musi was practically halted, the palaces of Nizam and his nobles were still located within walled city. Furthermore, the British residency in the north continued to contribute significant changes in the growth pattern of the city and added new social values to city life.<sup>102</sup>

The incident which had a catastrophic effect on the walled city was the flooding over the river Musi in 1908 which led to the decision of shifting the affected population beyond the north bank of the river Musi and re-housing them at a farther distance. Several state offices were forced to shift to the north, which in due course reflected on the centrality of walled city. Subsequently the nobility was also attracted by the open lands of river, and, in no time, a good number of huge palaces and bungalows were constructed on the vacant northern lands.

Finally the shifting of Nizam's palace in 1911 from the walled city to the King Koti area in the northwestern part, across the river Musi, brought the most deadly blow to the walled city. This followed a period of large scale shifting central function from the walled city to the new city, developing in the north of river Musi. As the days passed by, the residential areas within the walled city completely neglected and most of them luxurious villas of the nobles were in ruins. The tradition bound society could not cope with the socio-economic dynamism of the new city developing at a rapid rate in the north. With the passage of time, the walls of old city

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<sup>102</sup>Ibid, p-91

disappearing and after the fall of the Nizam's state and its subsequent merger with the Indian union (1948), a new phase of urban development started in Hyderabad result of which the remnants of the historical wall also disappeared. Today even the traces of the wall are no longer visible. However, there are still four gigantic arch gates at the main roads leading east-west and north-south which only signify the entrances from Charminar to the respective functional zones during the earlier historical times.<sup>103</sup>

It is evidence from tables 1 & 2 that the city had a distinct demographic character till the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The area of the city was small (around 55 sq. km. existed from 1881 to 1901), the population varied from 3.5 to 4.5 lakhs and the average density was around 7,000 persons per sq. km. During the decade 1911-21, when the Nizam's palace was shifted to the northern part of the city, the royal family and other nobles started large-scale constructions of building in this part. Due to this situation, there was a distinct change both in population size and area of the city. In order to understand the comparative figures of other cities then prevailing in India, which demonstrate that Hyderabad has surpassed even Delhi and the largest city in the country at the time. During 1911-21, Hyderabad city had badly suffered from waves of the epidemics of plague and influenza, which cost losing of thousands of lives. The epidemic plague continued even in the succeeding years. During 1921-31, the city sustained further heavy loss of life to cholera, small pox and malaria. This explains a sudden decline in population incensement from 1911 and 1931. In order to cope up with these situations, the state government had made substantial efforts in improving the sanitary conditions of the city, which somehow, brought a significant increase in population particularly from 1931 onwards. These efforts led for a positive shades that the city has started expanding rapidly in different directions. However, the growth in area remained more

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<sup>103</sup> Ibid, p- 89



or less constant during 1941 to 1961, but the population increased by leaps and bounds. This is noticeable in the density, which rose from 3805 in 1941 to 5947 in 1961 (table 2). The decade 1961-71 is noted for significant changes in the area of the city. It was during this decade that a more strict definition of urban settlement was adopted by the census, due to which several smaller settlements, which were earlier declared as “urban”, were classified and became rural. Moreover the new concept of SUA also allowed the inclusion of the adjoining rural areas in the city.

During 1971-81, the concept of Urban Agglomeration (UA) was introduced by the census. Although there was no change in the area from 1971 onwards, the population increased by 1.5 times in 1981; and almost 2.5 times in 1991. This is reflected by the highly varying pattern of density, which was 6,018 persons per sq. km. in 1971 and almost double (11,890) in 1991, causing very high congestion and crowding in the city. Compared to other major metropolitan cities of India, Hyderabad is the second densest city, after Bombay.

Presently, the city of Hyderabad is broadly divided into 23 Municipal wards, of which 9 wards are located in south of the river Musi (Comprising the old city). The density of population of these wards, varies between 10,000 to 21,000 persons sq. km. The cantonment area is also a part of the metropolitan area, and has the lowest density, varying between 2000 to 5000 persons per sq. km.

### **Socio-economic Structure:**

Besides the historical facts mentioned above, the rapid growth of metropolitan city Hyderabad can also be attributed to several socio-economic factors such as large scale immigration of rural population from 1931 onwards, rapid expansion of administrative functions and services, growth

in the sector of trade and commerce and modality of the city etc. Table- 1 demonstrated that from 1881 to 1931, the growth of the city remained around 15 percent per annum. The population was more or less stable and no significant changes took place during those fifty years. However, there was a spurt in the growth of the city from 1941 onwards which continues even today.

It was during decade 1931-41 that the industrial trust fund was set up in Hyderabad due to which two large textile mills, two cigarettes factories, a number of button factories, a silk factory, a glass factory and a Hume pipe factory sprang up in the city. These industries attracted a large number of skilled and unskilled labourers from the neighboring areas, which contributed to a rapid growth of the Hyderabad city. The old records of industry development indicate that the number of factories located in and around Hyderabad city rose from 91 in 1931 to 178 in 1939-40.<sup>104</sup>

The Nizam's state Department of Public Works launched a programme of improving the means of transport and communications. Subsequently several district roads were reconstructed which provided easier access to market in the rural areas and also enabled raw material as well as agricultural products to the market system of Hyderabad city. It can also be noticed through table -2 that the area of Hyderabad city remained more or less constant between 1911 and 1931. The addition of the area under British Administration and Railways (26. sq. km.) to the city limits in 1941 was an important factor, which contributed to the socio-economic development of the city. The decade 1941-51 saw several historic events taking place, which had far reaching effects on the socio-economic structures of Hyderabad city. The termination of World War- II had its deep impact on the economy during 1942-45; the rise of the Razakars movement during 1946-48, and the fall of Hyderabad state and its merger with the Indian union in 1948 were some of the events which also had deep impact on the socio-economic development of the state in general and the

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<sup>104</sup> Narender Luther, (1995), *Memoirs of City*, Hyderabad. Orient Long Man,

city in particular.<sup>105</sup> In March 1951, Secunderabad municipality and Secunderabad cantonment were merged with Hyderabad.

It was for this reason that in the 1951 census, the area of Hyderabad recorded 1-5 times more than what it was in 1941. After 1951, although the population of Hyderabad city has been growing steadily, but in its area it remained more or less constant and did not proportionately increase. However, it may be noticed that an unusually large area of the city was reported in the 1971 census. This was mainly due to the adoption of a new concept of standard urban area and inclusion of several adjoining rural areas within the standard urban area of the city. After the establishment of Hyderabad Urban Development Authority in 1975, the limits of Hyderabad Metropolitan city were re-defined and as such the area reported in the 1981 census smaller than what it was in 1971<sup>106</sup>.

When compared with several other Metropolitan cities, Hyderabad exhibits a trend of high increase in density population. Table (2) brings out that between 1881 and 1901, the density remained higher than in later decades and this was due to the smaller city area. The pattern of density of the city exhibits significant variations if analyzed at ward-level. For instance, the central wards of the city (north of the river Musi), which enjoyed a similar position before 1951. The high density and growing pressure of population on land to the north of the river has had grave socio-economic consequences.<sup>107</sup>

As stated in the proceeding paragraphs, migration has played an effective role in the growth of the city and changing patterns of socio-economic structures. The city has been receiving immigrants at a rate of about 25 percent on an average from 1951 onwards (see table 4). It has been estimated that during 1941 and 1951, the rate of migration was very high (about 40

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid

<sup>106</sup> Ibid, p-91

<sup>107</sup> Ibid, p-92

percent). The formation of Andhra Pradesh State in 1956 had a significant impact on immigration and due to large scale migration of people from coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema as well, the percentage of migration recorded as 16 percent during 1952-56 rose to 46 percent 1957-61. 1961-71 showed more or less stable migration which was on an average about 25 percent, and which continues even today.<sup>108</sup>

It is interesting to note that the migrant population in the city lives mostly in the northern part including Secunderabad, and only 24.5 percent migrants live in the southern part (old city) which shows the lack of interest of the migrants in the historic core of the city but also explains that the civic amenities and services are of a comparatively lower level.

The higher rate of immigration has also considerably contributed to the growth and expansion of an informal sector of the economy in the city. The formal sector consisting mainly of manufacturing trade and commerce and highly skilled services cannot absorb the migrant population, as its employment generating capacity is rather low. Consequently, the immigrants are mostly engaged in the informal activities such as petty trade, artisan type of household industries, street vending, hawking, repairs and several self-employed personal services etc. Although the informal sector has a larger employment generation capacity, its productivity is low as compared to the formal sector. An analysis of working population in the city reveals that for over three decades, about 8 percent of the working class has been engaged in household industry in the city. When compared to other metropolitan cities of India, except Madras (now called as Chennai), this is unusually higher percentage (table - 5). The household industry category in Hyderabad city (which contains more than 80 percent informal worker) includes such

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid, p- 92

occupations as cloth printing and weaving, bangle making food processing and preparations, leather works, plastic work, lacquer work, cardboard and paper work etc.<sup>109</sup>

The census of 1961-71 does not exhibit any change in the occupational structure of the city; but the 1981 census shows a considerable decline (from 40 percent to 31 percent) in the proportion of working population. The decline may be explained mainly to the fact that employment has not kept pace with the growing population. However, the small scale and large scale enterprises and manufacturing industries also had a very slow growth. Table (6) brings out that during 1960-83, the yearly increase in the number of new industrial establishments in Hyderabad metropolitan area was only 3-5.

Looking at the size of the employment, only in 1966 the annual growth of industrial employment was about 25 percent and, excepting for 1961, 1962, 1965 and 1968, it was below 10 percent in the rest of the period. It may particularly be noticed during the six year period (1971-77), the growth was mostly below 1 percent. It may also be noted that whenever the percentage of employment has been higher, it was due to the establishment of new industries in the public sector. This also reflected in the pattern of capital investment.<sup>110</sup>

A glance at table (6), depicting the capital investments and employment structure of large and medium scale industries of metropolitan Hyderabad in 1983, reveals that food and agro based chemical and engineering industries had the main potential for employment; these industries together provided more than 2/3 of the total industrial employment. Apart from a weak economic base in relation to population growth, there is a distinct imbalance in the location of functional areas and pattern of distribution of population in Hyderabad city. All the tertiary

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<sup>109</sup> G Ram Reddy

<sup>110</sup> Ibid,

functions are highly concentrated in the city core (north of river Musi), and the old city (south of the river Musi), suffers for lack of opportunities. This is of the reasons why the residents of old city have to travel for about 75 to 100 minutes to reach their work place.

The character feature of Hyderabad city is that it is mainly composed of administrative and service functions; commercial functions take second place and the industrial functions take third place in the city economy. As a result of this, the per capita income is quite low.<sup>111</sup>

According to a survey conducted by Hyderabad Metropolitan Research project, Osmania University, the average monthly income of a worker in Hyderabad city in 1965-66 was Rs. 311 and more than 67 percent of sample household were in that range. Interestingly yet another sample survey conducted in 1983-84 brought out that more than 55 percent of the working population in the city was earning between Rs. 200-400 per month, which shows a significant decline in the per capita income.

The low-income level reflects low occupational levels and confirms that the poverty level is quite high in the city. The picture looks more complete when related to the household size. The average household size for the old city is 7. Such low income levels are insufficient to support even a standard of 5 members. This makes out a case for the need to reorganize and support the informal sector activities in the city which have greater employment generating potential.

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid, p. - 94

**Table (1)**  
**Growth of Hyderabad city**  
**(1881-1991)**

Year	Hyderabad urban agglomeration population	Growth rate (percent)
1881	354,962	
1891	415,039	16.92
1901	448,466	8.05
1911	502,104	8.26
1921	404,187	19.41
1931	466,894	15.10
1941	739,159	58.31
1951	1,129,467	52.55
1961	1,251,119	10.78
1971	1,796,339	43.80
1981	2,545,836	41.72
1991	4,273,498	67.86

Source: census of India, Andhra Pradesh, District handbook, 1971, 1981 and Provisional  
Tables, 1991.

**Table (2)**  
**Hyderabad city**  
**Growth of Area and Density**  
**(1881-1991)**

Year	Area (Sq. Km.)	Population	Density per (Sq. Km.)
1881	55.47	354,962	6399
1891	55.47	415,039	7482
1901	56.76	448,466	7901
1911	129.45	502,104	3879
1921	131.52	405,630	3084
1931	138.21	466,894	3378
1941	147.22	739,159	3805
1951	206.00	1,129,467	5483
1961	210.38	1,251,119	5947
1971	298.51	1,796,339	6018
1981	217.00	2,545,836	7089
1991	217.00	4,273,498	11900

Source; census of India, Andhra Pradesh, special Report on Hyderabad City, 1990 and District Handbook, 1961, 1971, 1981 and provision Table. 1991.



**Table (3)**  
**HYDERABAD CITY**  
**SEX RATIO & LITERACY**

Year	Females/1000 males	Literacy (percent to total population)
1951	988	NA
1961	929	47.88
1971	917	52.21
1981	920	55.66
1991	931	56.93

**Table (4)**  
**Hyderabad city I-migration**

Period of in- migration	As per Census of India (percent)	As per other Survey (percent)
Prior to 1951	38.0	46.5
1952-56	16.0	17.0
1957-61	46.0	17.0
1961-70	22.0	19.5
Since 1971	28.0	24.5

Source: census of India and Hyderabad Metropolitan research Project, OU, 1978  
HMRT, Technical Bulletin No.4.1978.

**Table (5)**  
**SELECTED INDICATORS OF SOCIO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN FIVE**  
**MAJOR METROPOLITAN CITIES OF INDIA: 1961-1981**

City	Percentage of total 1961	Male 1971	Workers 1981
Calcutta	47.75	47.53	40.69
Bombay	50.47	48.42	49.92
Delhi	51.20	47.31	47.70
Madras	52.79	49.54	49.00
Hyderabad	53.18	48.53	46.36

Sources: Census of Indi, 1961, 1971, 1981

**Table (6)**  
**HYDERABAD METROPOLITAN AREA GROWTH OF MEDIUM AND LARGE**  
**INDUSTRIES**

Year	Units	Employment persons	Annual growth	Rs. in Crores	Annual growth
Up to	13	13760	58.55	8.16	16.18*
1960	3	8056	18.56	1.32	80.08*
1961	6	4050	5.01	7.66	22.70*
1962	5	1295	1.01	3.89	2.19
1963	3	277	13.54	0.46	185.67
1964	6	3715	24.96	0.46	1.66
1965	5	7776	1.06	57.78	11.41
1966	2	411	10.32	1.48	8.29
1967	8	4059	7.87	10.31	6.14
1968	6	3415	5.30	8.35	0.65
1969	6	2483	0.44	6.70	2.21
1970	3	216	2.17	0.75	2.90
1971	5	1075	0.63	2.58	7.51
1972	2	318	3.79	9.20	1.33
1973	7	1927	0.97	1.75	10.79*
1974	5	510	2.99	14.40	4.21
1975	9	1596	0.86	6.23	209.72
1976	6	470	42.12	317.02	
1977	43	23343			
1978 to 1983					

Source: 1. Directorial of Industries, Govt. of Andhra Pradesh.

2. Andhra Pradesh Industrial Handbook -1984, Data New Feature Publication, AP, 1984 (quoted in the unpublished Thesis of Dr. V. N. Rao, S.P.A., and New Delhi, entitled “industrial Growth and Urban Fringe: A case Study of Hyderabad City”).

- These unusual rates of increase due to the establishment of new industries in Public Sector.

**Table (7)**

**METROPOLITAN HYDERABAD CAPITAL INVESTMENT AND EMPLOYMENT  
STRUCTURE OF LARGE AND MEDIUM SCALE INDUSTRIES (1983)**

Industries	No of Units	Capita l invest ment	Employ ment	No of units	Capital investme nt	Employm ent
1. Food & Agro-based	5	1311	3522	21	1884	7797
2. Leather;	--	---	-----	---	91	382
3. Chemical;	5	658	269	29	3767	6473
4. Drug &	1	210	451	7	3985	5516
Pharmaceuticals;	--		--	5	1071	544
5. Pulp-paper Etc.	2	478	3445	5	846	4264
6. Textiles:	--	-		2	163	310
7. Cement:	2	170	1117	11	2241	4321
8. Electrical:	1	45	92	7	3727	10015
9. Electronics	1	161	2000	2	818	3200
10. Mineral based:	5	1956	8531	52	27517	36076
11. Engineering						
All Industries	22	4989	19425	143	47112	78892

**Source:** Rao, V.N—unpublished thesis “industrial growth and Urban Fringe, A case study of Hyderabad”- SPA, New Delhi.

**HYDERABAD CITY  
FACT SHEET (1)**

**POPULATION (1981 CENSUS);**

--Hyderabad urban	
I. Hyderabad Municipality Corporation	2,187,262
II. Secunderabad Cantonment	135,994
III. Non-municipal, Urban outgrowth,	22,580
Panchayats and rural areas	1,326,603
Total Male population, -	326,603
Total Female population-	1,219,233
Total main workers-	715,580
i. Male main workers	633,064
ii. Female main workers	82,516
Main workers as:	
I. Cultivators	4,449
II. Agricultural Laborers	8,167
III. Household industry, Servicing, Repairs etc.	7,919
IV. Other (including construction, manufacturing	
Industry, transport, trade & Commerce, Service)	616,149
---Total Marginal Workers	4,204
---Non-Workers	1,826,052
---S.C Population	259,184
--S.T Population	18,848
Area (1981 census):	217 sq. Km
Total No. of Occupied Residential Houses (1981 Census)	33,640
Total No, of Occupied Residential Houses (1981 Census)	412,804
Literate (percent to total population)	57.79percent
-Males (percent to total literates)	66.03percent
-Females (--do--)	48.95percent
Total population: 1991 (provision)	4,273,498

<b>FACT SHEET (2)</b>	
<b>Land use (Hyderabad Urban District): (1981)</b>	
--Non-Agricultural	84.40
--Net Area Sown	3.04
--Area Sown more than once	0.90
--Current Fallows	6.06
--Other Fallows	1.30
--Barren and uncultivated	1.19
--Perment Pasture and grazing lands	0.11
--Miscellaneous tree crops	Nil
--Cultural wastes	Nil
--Forests	Nil
--Vacant Land in the City	26.55percent
--Vacant land in the city	41.52percent
--Residential land use in the city	34.70percent
--Residential land use in the periphery	1.65percent
--Commercial Land use in the city	3.90percent
--Industrial land use in the city	6.22percent
--Agricultural land use in the city	9.20percent
--Agricultural land use in periphery	42.05percent
--Public Utility	1.1percent
--Open Spaces in the city	6.2percent 110

## **Political History of Hyderabad City**

Although the Majlis was steadily growing since its revival in 1957, the time around the 1980s represented a single break, a rapid leap in its acceptability and popularity among the Muslims contesting 11 out of 13 seats in the city in the 1989 assemble elections (elections for the assembly in Andhra Pradesh) It received 32.4 percent of the vote compared to the ruling Telugu Desam Party that got 28.5 and congress (I) which received 34.7 percent, both the parties contested all the 13 seats.

The Majlis consistently own three to five of the assembly seats between 1967 and 1998. In the election for the Municipal corporation of Hyderabad, held in 1986 after a very long gap, the Majlis emerged as the single largest party with 38 out of 100 seats having contested only 62 seats; eight of its elected members have been Harijans. In the state, 260 municipal councilors from various towns in Andhra Pradesh belonged to the Majlis. In terms of its rapid growth and new found acceptability 1978-79 was an important year in many ways, as important as 1938 was for the old Majlis was revived in 1957 (I believe as a strategic decision of the ruling class to counter the pull of the communist party of India (CPI)). Among the Muslims of the Telangana region till 1979, there was no communal riot in Hyderabad.

In 1977 when the Janata Party came to power at the center, it relaxed passport rules. Muslim called it open passport policy and hundreds of thousands of Muslims began to migrate to west Asia. Within a short span of time millions of rupees started flowing into Hyderabad, all into Muslim families which had lost heavily in material position and status after 1984 and were either destitute or on the verge of destitution. The first major economic offensive on the part of some

Muslims was to try to recapture the Subzi Mandi (central vegetable Market) from the Hindu traders to whom they had lost it after 1948 and quite a few also extended business. All this became a source of tension between the Muslims and the established Hindu traders. The first major riot in 1879 was centered on this area and saw the Muslims often were on the offence as well. The loss of life was not heavy but the destruction of property was on a large scale. The Majlis insisted, openly, that Muslims should fight back and not look to the state for protection or for relief and rehabilitation.

This turned out to be an important political decision, to which the Majlis made an appeal for religious funds. The leaders of the Majlis claimed that the response was overwhelming and that people with newfound 'prosperity' waited in queues for hours to donate money. Nobody knew how much was collected but a huge amount was collected but a huge amount was spent on rehabilitation. The Majlis leaders further claimed and many conformed (but its opponents charged the leadership with embezzlement) that they had constructed and given houses with doors in the place of the huts, which had been destroyed. Many also confirmed that a large number of people were given financial assistance to restart their business and that they were provided with physical protection by the Majlis volunteers.

Many who were provided not in business were keen to start one, were, it is further claimed that the Majlis incited the Muslims to kill more Hindus in retaliation. The Majlis defended itself on the ground that, in view of the state turning a blind eye, they gave confidence to the community (quam), whatever the truth, aftermath of all this is very important.<sup>112</sup> Though it is important to note that the Muslims in business retained and increased their control over the market in vegetables, what turned out to be even more significant was that this was accompanied by the

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<sup>112</sup> Ibid, p. 346

beginning of the propagation of new themes in the politics of community- mobilization in Hyderabad.

The Majlis now insistently argued that all ideology is nonsense, ‘empty talk. What can they hold ideologies, as for instance, the communists, give to the Muslims? They could neither provide protection nor rebuild shattered houses. The Majlis also pressed the point that state did not existed for Muslims any more, if they wanted to survive and prosper they were not to look to anybody else but learnt to stand on their own feet by standing shoulder to shoulder with one another, strength is unity and organization (Owaisi interview 1990), later, the Majlis leaders also began to emphasize that the Muslims could prosper, in a competitive world only through the acquisition of knowledge. (Knowledge, organization and Unity) (K.O.U).

In their campaign to educate Muslim masses politically, the leaders consistently did not harp on the theme that the Majlis was a different kind of political party, which believed in any ideology, nor was it after power in the way other parties were. “All say we will form government and bring great transformation whereas “we” say that we will never able to form the government, so the question is what can the Majlis give to the Muslims? The leader asked rhetorically and they answered their own question thus; strengthen our organization and we will give you the means to solve your problems and neutralize all opposition to the Muslims, the calculation went like this: there are over a hundred constituencies in (Andhra Pradesh) presently Telangana where the Muslims are between 25,000 to 50,000 and we can make anybody win or lose election if we unite and then nobody can dare to confront us (Owaisi interview 1990)<sup>113</sup>

Around this time the Majlis also took some tactical steps to create a base outside the Muslim community. Over the years, the Harijans were increasingly being used by the Bharathiya Janatha Party (BJP) as the fighting force in the riots. The Majlis started making the concentrated efforts,

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<sup>113</sup> Ibid, p-347



backed by the material help and promise of share in power to win over the Harijans. In the 1980s, this started bearing fruit and in the 1985 election to the corporation and because of the Harijans support for the Majlis, the BJP lost a substantial number of seats, more importantly, they did choose Prakash Rao, a Harijans councilor, as the first Mayor of the city of Hyderabad and further promised that every alternative Mayor would be a Harijans. The Majlis has been trying to convey to the Harijans that nobody, not even the state with its policy of reservation, can give as much to them as the Majlis, the organized Muslim power, can and that Majlis will never use against the 'Oppressed'.<sup>114</sup>

In the 1970s, a fortuitous circumstance helped the Majlis to take up the slogan of "competition through knowledge" seriously. Dar-us Salam a compound of buildings spread over 4.5 acres of land in the heart of the old city came back to the Majlis after a prolonged judicial battle (write 1966;675-82). Earlier, before the Majlis was banned in 1984, this used to be its headquarters. It had later been taken over by the government and used as the state fire service station. The rental income from it alone together with the considerable remittances coming from the Gulf were used to start an industrial training institute in 1976 to train Muslims boys in modern industrial skills. Those who graduated from this institute were helped to migrate to west Asia where there was a job boom following the 1973 oil price hike. By the 1980, the Majlis had started a junior college for girls in the district town of Nizamabad. This was a development which was viewed positively even by those Muslims who were not communally inclined. In the meantime, the Majis was collecting large sums of money as donations from those Muslims who were becoming prosperous (there were, of course, charges of large scale corruption against Owaisi).<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Ibid, p. 347

<sup>115</sup> Ibid, p 347

In 1983-84 the Majlis, using this money and the properties it had acquired in Dar-us-Salam, started an engineering college located within this building the Daccan Engineering College with 280 seats to be allotted to candidates in the proportion of 80 percent for Muslims and 20 percent for non-Muslims. In 1984-85 the Majlis started a medical college i.e., the Daccan Medical College with 100 seats out of which 88 percent were reserved for Muslims and the remaining for the non-Muslims. One batch of students has already graduated and most of them have opted to go abroad rather than living in India. At present, every year in Andhra Pradesh about 1,100 medical students are admitted through entrance tests to the 11 medical colleges. The number of Muslim candidates who have succeeded in qualifying has often been below 10 percent. The same situation exists in the engineering college, except that a few more Muslim students about 25 odd have succeed in securing admission into these institutions.

At present efforts are on to establish a diploma institute in computer science and also a center for training Muslims for the Indian Administrative Service (IAS) and center for training Muslims for the Indian Police Service (IPS) and other central services exams. Though the Muslim boys and girls who gained the college included those who were quite low on the state merit list. This, it is felt, has boosted confidence among the Muslims who have otherwise been in a state of steady material decline accompanied by a loss of self-esteem because of the rapid swindling of their middle class divided societies.<sup>116</sup>

The Majlis is now arguing that there is a silent acceptance of this argument among the large number of Muslims, that it was sheer nonsense on the part of the state to have reiterated the Muslims do not go for education or they lack the motivation to complete. A systematic bias was created against Muslims, arguing that the Majlis leadership “that is communalism and not what we are doing” (Owaisi interview 1990) and that the Majlis by its efforts and the cooperation of

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<sup>116</sup>Ibid, p-348

the Muslims has proved this to be wrong; Muslims now cannot be left behind. A strong rapport of some kind seem to have developed between Muslim masses and the Majlis politics around the position that everything that the Muslims needed for 'worldly existence' and something that the 'secular state' should' but did not, provide is being made possible through the determined efforts of Majlis leadership. In the early 1970s, Rasheduddin Khan wrote about the Majlis that 'It remained a sort of political fixation for the angry Muslim voters who use elections for their vicarious pleasure of mud-slinging at the authorities that be, (1971:786) or, that it has been "playing passim politics, fostering myths and illusions about the "glorious" Muslim rule and the superiority of Muslims per se (785). Ram Reddy (1979) in concluding his study of Ittehadul Muslimeen writes "the rhetoric employed....Appeals to the masses. Their tactics also have paid dividends because they have been able to get a few concessions from the Government e.g. Dar-us-Salam, the headquarters of the Majlis has been given back to them" and that the Majlis works 'by appealing to the exclusivist or fear-psychology of the Muslims'.

The features mentioned by these writers are entirely absent from the Majlis; postures or that they are of no consequence for the understanding of the Muslim psychology. But it is simplistic to locate the explanation for the exercise of influence on such grounds. The explanation in these writings, in the final analysis, is just another version of the manipulation hypothesis regarding the politics; that any political leadership, including the communal one, by playing upon the passion and inciting the masses can herd them like sheep to follow their leaders wherever they want to take them. This implies that people, whatever their conceded shortcomings.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid, p. 340

### **Context; Memory, Power and Consciousness**

Muslim in Hyderabad, which was a Muslim ruled state till September 1948, suffered a rapid and visible decline within a decade or so, in 1985 in the IAS cadre in Andhra Pradesh. There were only 4.4 percent Muslims out of a total 294 and in the IPS, there were 2 percent out of total of 143.<sup>118</sup> In a survey of rickshaw puller in the city was Muslims. Significantly, most of them had not been in this employment. Among them 28.2 percent of rickshaw pullers in the city were ex-employees of the Nizam's state, 10.2 were skill workers who had lost their job during the 1950s, 8.7 percent were unskilled workers, 5.9 percent were retail traders and another 14.5 percent were workers; i.e. total 67.5 percent of these Muslim rickshaw pullers had been otherwise gainfully employed only a few years earlier, this is reflected in the fact that 47 of them were found to be literate (the Indian Institute of Economy, 1962).

The abolition of Jagirs had a deleterious effect on the Muslim Masses, for no effort was made while distributing land to consider the claims of these people and no further effort was made to rehabilitate them. Before 1984, a little over 30 percent of about 30,000,000 acres of land was under Jagirdari System and another 10 percent was part of the Nizam's direct estate known as the serf-e-khas.<sup>119</sup> (the rest of the land, i.e. 60 percent was Diwani land directly by the peasants) in the serf-e-khas and under 13percent of Jagirdhars of the Jagirdhars who were Muslims.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> Muslim India, May 1985; p. 204

<sup>119</sup> Sundaraiah, 1972

<sup>120</sup> Census of India 1931: 23:2

After the abolition of the Jagirs, all these lands were merged in the Diwani system and those who were earlier gainfully employed were suddenly thrown out of the work. This was also seen in the regular and irregular forces or other services maintained by the Nizam and other feudal lords. (In the Diwani lands most of the big land lords were non-Muslims, very large number being Reddis.<sup>121</sup> The 1931 census showed that in a state with an 88 percent of Hindu population, Muslims held two third of all the jobs<sup>122</sup> and in some department their percentage was as high as 90 percent only in one area of employment did the Hindus predominant; out of 99, 184 village offices 96,670 were held by Hindus. And of these 138 were held by Brahmins and only 26 by the Reddis (Eliot 1974), the latter being the most numerous of the landed caste in the Telangana region of Hyderabad state. According to establishment of industrial trust fund to help in the growth of modern industry, very few Muslim families were benefited.<sup>123</sup>

Given the highly agrarian nature of the economy and the fact that over 80 percent of the rentier land owners were Hindus, the composition of the ruling classes was, as regards the community, obviously of a mixed nature, but also given the fact that key decision- making positions were held by Muslims in overwhelming numbers, a situation was created which was predominantly in favour of Muslims, in the exercise of state power. This fact is of considerable importance in spite of the visible presence of Hindus –both North Indian and Indigenous among the ruling elite, for example, in the high office held by Maharaja Kishen Prasad, a doyen of aristocracy, as the Prime Minister of the state over a decade.

There was, however, one very important disability suffered by the ruling classes, which has often not been noticed due to overemphasis on the eclectic nature of the ruling classes and the composite basis of the culture. This disability later acquired significance in the backlash against

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<sup>121</sup> Ibid, p-350

<sup>122</sup> Census of India 1931: 23.2

<sup>123</sup> Ibid, p 350

the Muslim dominance. Most of the estates had been from local military families who had won their land rights from earlier rulers, some from as early as the Kakathiya a period, and, as such, were not indebted to the Nizam with whom they had more of tributary relationship. These feudal families kept themselves away from the city and the court and held their own feudal celebrations in the district town. These lords (Doras) were closely tied up with the Telugu language and culture and patronized the traditions built around these. They were not very proficient in the Urdu language and culture: a culture which enjoyed an overpowering presence and which endowed privileges on a minority of the population.

The court culture with its eclectic nature, synthetic character and compositeness was built around the narrow base provided by the Urdu-speaking gentry, compared to the relatively few court related city Hindus, those numerically large and culturally influential big land owning Hindu families with vast local influence kept themselves away or left out of court life; in fact they had a very minimal presence in the administration. In talking to them, one gets the feeling they had deeply resented the disabilities, which they had to suffer; all this becomes important later in the generation of communal politics.

Important changes which taking place in Hyderabad before the First World War began to crystallize around the 1920s. In fact, their beginning can be traced to the 'reform' of 1870 under the Prime Minister ship of Salar Jang I. These lead to significant changes within the ruling classes, especially its elite segment, for understanding the later breakdown of the "composite culture" in Hyderabad when systematic interventions occurred. The first was the abolitions of awarding land revenues collections to moneylenders. Instead, this power was vested in the state bureaucracy. The second was the placing of all government servants on fixed salaries (Eliot 1974) including the highest ones who recover the equivalent of their salary from the land. To

handle this tasks, for which the old bureaucrats were not consider fully equipped, a large number of trained administrators were brought in from north India; in a later period most of them had been educated at Aligarh.

This created for the time, a centralized bureaucracy and, further, one who size and power greatly appended, and finally, in which the number of Muslims enormously increased, of equal importance was the fact that new entrants brought with them North Indian communal consciousness and community centered views about politics.

Among the Hindus, both among the Reddy's and Maharatrians, a new modern middle class had also started taking shape around the same time. How this came as important, both these linguistic and cultural groups, to avoid the disadvantage of the exclusive use of Urdu, and perhaps aware of its future decline turned more towards the presidency town of Madras, Bombay-Pune, respectively for education. Large number from these linguistic – cultural groups joined the professional strata and found the growing North Indian Urdu centered communal consciousness overbearing and intolerable. As was to be expected, their tone become shrill because they had suffered a loss of position as well as opportunity, after the reform under the Nizam's autocracy with its prohibition of political activity and extreme suspicion of dissent, these simple demands acquired overtones of a communal nature.

With these insensitivities towards his "Hindu subjects" and through his failure to allow them to avail the new institutional opportunities that were emerging, the Nizam was systematically isolating his Hindu subjects and they were, therefore, looking for avenues to make their claims and assertions heard.

This was also creating a feeling of unease among the Muslim gentry whose domination was hitherto unchallenged. The Muslims, for the first time, began to feel a threat to their power. A power which with minimal accommodations, they had assumed to be their natural right, by the end of First World War, Hyderabad was no longer a place with any kind of political forces and trends. In 1898 Clade Campbell in his glimpses of Nizam Dominions had written.

There is probably no other city in India where so many varieties of human races mingle, Arabs, Marathas, turks, Sikhs, Punjabis, Persians, Madrasis, Bangalees, Europeans in fact, the Hyderabad street present a regular cosmopolitan panorama. But in spite of the inter-mixture of men whose creed are as distinct as their tongue, the heterogeneous committee in peace and amity.<sup>124</sup>

In 1920, if he had observed the same city, he would rather have written about the criss-crossing communal antagonisms. The late 1920 represented a watershed in Hyderabad polity. All the trends, which were floating in the political atmosphere. In 1927 the Majlis-e-ittihadul Muslimeen was formed with the aim of uniting the various sects of Muslims and protecting their economic, political and educational interests.<sup>125</sup>

It was ostensibly a non-political organization but the unease about the growing stir among the Hindus were reflected in the aim of the Majlis to ensure loyalty to the Nizam and the obvious that the Muslim masses could not left to fend for their own interests as earlier; the intervention of the elite was to protect their 'interest'.<sup>126</sup>

The Arya Samaj, having made a nominal entry at the end of the nineteenth century, started getting a foothold in the 1920 after the Mopillah rebellion. It began giving systematic attention to

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<sup>124</sup> Quoted in Hindu 1989

<sup>125</sup> Khan 1971

<sup>126</sup> Ibid, p. 353



affairs in Hyderabad only after its second Sammelan its focus shifted to Hyderabad and other Muslim states, as this also a period of the relative decline of religious conflicts in North India.

The 1930 saw aggressive campaign of religious preaching. By 1932 the first serious clashes between Arya Samaj and Government of Hyderabad took place. Relations deteriorated and a series of minor clashes occurred between the government and the Samaj activists. By 1935, the Arya Prathinidhi Sabha of Hyderabad was organized as the number of branches grown substantially to require a central organization. By 1938, the communal situation was very grim. In December 1938 the Arya Samaj held an Arya Conference at Sholapur just across the Hyderabad border in Bombay.

Sometimes, earlier in October 1938. A Satyagraha campaign, also known as Vande Mataram struggle, had already been launched, in allegiance with the newly formed and banned Hyderabad state congress (which was later would up on Gandhi's advice). At the Sholapur conference, it was decided that 21 January would be observed as "Hyderabad day, on 31 January 1939 a massive satyagraha was organized in Hyderabad with the backing of, as well as volunteers from other Hindu organizations such as Hindu Mahasabha and Gurukula together with the active participation of the front organizations of the Arya Samaj like the Arya vir Dal and the Arya Raksha committee. As a result some 8,000 Hindus were arrested.

The Satyagraha ended on 17<sup>th</sup> July 1939 when the Nizam agreed to a series of reforms (which, however, were never to be implemented due to the excuse of power) and also agreed to release unconditionally all those who had jailed (Jones 1981).

The year 1938 also saw the first major communal riot in Hyderabad; "genocide" vandalism and destruction of property took place on a largescale and large number of Muslims was killed in Hindu localities. From this point onwards Hyderabad politics turned into open communal

antagonism.<sup>127</sup> The secular, no communal and progressive forces organized the Mahasabha in 1982 (Sundarayya 1972). The rural areas of the Telangana region of Nizam's state became the focus of a secular stir for radical reforms and with the comrades association later taking up the same demands in Hyderabad city with a large number of young Muslim in the forefront, radical politics took a definitive shape in Hyderabad (Khan 1980) by 1940,42, the Andhra Mahasabha was transformed in to militant, anti-Nizam mass organization with its leading lights together with those of the comrades associations having become members of the communist party of India. They were later to lead the great Telangana partisan. By late 1930s Hyderabad politics and its society had split three ways, though the tone in the city and large towns were being set by the communal confrontation.<sup>128</sup>

As a result of the riots in 1938 the Majlis had become a vocal, aggressive political party, being up till then a platform of Muslims under the charismatic Bahadur Yar Jung (whose two nephews were murdered in communal riots). The constitution of the Majlis now declared.

The ruler and thrown are the symbols of the political and cultural rights of Muslim community in the state. This status of the Muslims must continue forever. It is, therefore, for this that the maintenance of prestige of ruler must attain first importance whatever a change in the constitution has to affect.<sup>129</sup>

The two way communal intervention had created a war-like atmosphere in Hyderabad, with the growing influence of the Andhra Mahasabha and the comrades associations could not stem in the cities and towns, although they were building up a powerful movement in the village of the Telangana region of Hyderabad state.

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<sup>127</sup> Khan 1971, p-353

<sup>128</sup> Ibid, p. 354

<sup>129</sup> Ibid, p. 354

In this situation of growing communal hostility, the Muslims were also getting alarmed by the prospects of Indian independence. Bhadur Yar Jung died suddenly in 1944 (suspected of being poisoned by the Nizam according to his relatives). The Majlis politics remained in a state of uncertainty, lasting a year or so under the leadership of Mulana Maghar Ali Kamil and Abdul Hasan.

Syed Ali, the brief interregnum was eventful and is, therefore, generally ignored in account of communal politics in Hyderabad. But it is revealing in another sense.

It shows the extent to which the situation had reached a point of no return in the confrontation list politics through the Hindu leadership in Hyderabad. Between 8 and 11 November 1945, an agreement was reached where by Muslim would enjoy certain privileges (50 percent) in jobs and service, and institutions of power during the period of transition to full democratic rule.

From another perspective, for the Hindus suffering acute, institutionalized discrimination, one of the sky features the agreement was the reduction in the overwhelming preponderance of Muslims even in ministries, legislatures etc. Other important stipulations in the accord were that the elections and voting rights should be in accordance with those prevailing in the adjoin provinces of Bombay and Madras presidencies and the withdrawal of restrictions on freedom of speech and press.

The accord was aborted and Abdul Hasan Syed Ali was out voted in the Shura (Executive Council) of the Majlis on charges of selling out to Hindus and was forced to resign. Tensions were whipped up; a Hindu phobia gripped the Muslim elites and Majlis leadership passed, in early 1946, into the hands of Kasim Rizvi, a small town Lawyer and a graduate of the Aligarh Muslim University who gained initial popularity by donating his fairly sizable property to the

Majlis. He earned the title of Siddiq-i-Daccan (the generous of the Deccan) for the promise to restore the glory of Muslim rule and extended it beyond Hyderabad.<sup>130</sup>

The Majlis now become a rapidly anti-Hindu organization, a terrorist outfit. To terrorize the Hindus, it created a military wing called the Rajakars (volunteers). By late 1946 the Rajakars had grown to the size of 1, 50,000 and had made the Nizam a political prisoner in their lands. They roamed around the state looting plundering and killing Hindus and communists by 1947 every police station in Hyderabad become a Rajakar post and all Hindus were at its mercy. The poor had no way but the middle and upper classes a boned their homes and about 30.000 of them sought shelter in the army headquarters at Secundrabad.<sup>131</sup>

At the time of Independence, Hyderabad was a mad house of communal terror and plain murder, the worst of it witnessed in the Bibinagar area of Bhongir, some 30 miles from Hyderabad where Razakars surrounded entire to escape, after police action in September 1948, the Majli-e-ittihadul Muslimeen was banned and Kasim Rizvi, after brief trail, imprisoned on charges of dacoit.

It was against this background of perpetual bloody letter, defeat and surrender that the decline of Muslims began; we have already seen the state to which they were reduced by the 1960s between 1949 and 1957 in a state of uncertainty, lacking confidence and self-esteem, harboring an inarticulate defiance and anger they turned to the communist party of India to fight the battle for democratic rights and economic security, but the slide continued.

Kasim Rizvi was released in 1957 on the condition that he would move to Pakistan. In the short time at his disposal, he received the Majlis under the leadership of Abdul Wahib Owaisi (Wright

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<sup>130</sup> Ibid, p. 355

<sup>131</sup> Eliot 1974

1963; 234-43), the father of the president sultan Saluddin Owaisi, the sitting MP of the Hyderabad city constituency for two terms.<sup>132</sup>

## **Conclusion**

The reincarnated Majlis no doubt received old memories, though Muslims in the beginning turned hesitantly and halting to it. It is interesting to note, in the entail period after its revival in 1957, the theme of the speeches of its first president. The continuously harped on the defeat or decline and the subsequent rise to glory of the Muslims in their history. From the time of Prophet Mohammed and his humiliation and ‘migration’ to the defeat of the ottomans and the rise of “Ataturk” in Turkey after the First World War, innumerable tales around this theme were woven and repeated.

This is what had many writers infer that Muslim communalism thrives by playing on the glorious past of the Muslims and generating illusions about the future; that is, these writers seem to suggest that communalism occupies a false psychological space that cannot be a basis for future. But, in fact, once the Muslims started rallying around the Majlis and asserting themselves under its leadership, these themes of “Glory and power” started receding into the background so much so that by 1970, they became almost absent as recurrent references and could only occasionally come up for rhetorical purposes. By 1975 its political platform took an entirely new form around themes of cultural identity, but identity built mainly around the status of Urdu and secular gains for the community in the modern life.<sup>133</sup>

On examining these two patterns, it seems to me that playing on themes of “Glory and Power” was a deliberate strategic move to overcome the difference of the community and to channel its

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<sup>132</sup>Narendra Luther, (2006), *Hyderabad: A Biography*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press

<sup>133</sup>Ibid, p- 356

anger in to the politics of communal confrontation. To read a propensity among people as entirely rooted in the past is not-only simplistic and based on half-backed knowledge but it also degraded the people as human subjects. Such a reading of human beings does not provide us with a ground for interventions in favor of emancipator politics when we position ourselves in uncompromising opposition to communalism. However, the support for the Majlis took root as its activities slowly acquired an increasing concrete form. The real breakthrough came with its ability to provide, even if it a minimal level.

Muslims with things for which, in a society like India's looks towards the state for fulfillment of their needs. Decline of the Muslims in Hyderabad is inevitable if they were not given their democratic rights. The vacuum left by the withdrawal of the Nizam state could have been somewhat filled up if the state in India had moved in to rehabilitation the Muslims being thrown out of feudal estates, Serf-e-Khas, the army and other institutions.

It could have made for a degree of stabilization of the middle classes among the Muslims at some reasonable level of prosperity. This did not happen, this where Majlis stepped in and succeeded in filling up the vacuums in a manner, which went beyond what was expected of it. Its success in this respect means also the stabilization of the communal divide in Hyderabad. In my estimate, there does not, in the short-term, seem to be a way out of this situation.

## CHAPTER –IV

### Mapping the Progressive Voices of the Muslim Community

This chapter deals with individual who wrote critically of their own community and also critically engage with other communities. Most of the individuals who are part of this are writers, poets, singers, voluntary activists, public activist, thinkers etc. These voices have broke the stereotypical understanding of Muslim community i.e. bearded cap and mass image of the Muslim community, in that process they faced challenges from their own community and outside community. The political representation of the Muslim community and mass media representations of Muslims community differs from their representation of Islam and Muslim community. These voices questions inequality with in the communities and questions the hegemony of mainstream understanding

In globalization, the emergence of the Muslim feminism is a new dimension. The Glaring example is “*Shaheen*,” a women’s resource organization run by Jameela Nishath.

#### **Case Study No -1 Jameela Nishath-Shaheen NGO: Women’s Resource Centre:**

##### **ABOUT THE FOUNDER OF SHAHEEN NGO**

Jamila Nishath is the founder of Shaheen NGO organization Shaheen Women’s Resources and Welfare Association (SWRWA) in 2002. She was a social activist, poet, writer, social thinkers, human rights activists and importantly, the leader of Muslim women and girls in Old-City of Hyderabad. Jameela Nishat, a middle-aged woman from the Indian city of pearls, gave up a secure Central government job twelve years ago to improve the status of voiceless Muslim women in India. Jameela completed her post-graduate degree in English literature from

Hyderabad's prestigious Osmania University. She grew up imbibing the best from the world of art and literature. But she was saddened by the helpless women in her community where they had no part in decision making. "Take my own case. I wanted to paint but I was not allowed to paint as family elders would say that sending a woman to an art school entailed drawing a nude model and they found that revolting". Jameela is in the news nowadays. A group of women's organizations recently honored her. Organizations such as Sangat, Jagori, Asmita and Kriti honored Jameela during the 100th International Women's Day celebration for her courageous work in promoting community service and challenging patriarchy.



Jameela Founder of NGO



## PROFILE OF JAMEELANISHAT

Currently working	Urdu Poet, Feminist Jameela Nishat at HLF
Born	1955 <u>Hyderabad, Telangana, India.</u>
Occupation	<u>Poet</u> , Editor, Educationalist, <u>Feminist</u>
Nationality	Indian
Ethnicity	Urdu
Genre	Ghazal, Nazm,
Subject	Literature
Works	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Butterfly Caresses</i> (Published by Patridge India, 2015)<sup>134</sup></li> <li>2. <i>Lams Ki Sawghat</i> (Educational Publishing House, New Delhi, 2006)</li> <li>3. <i>Lamhey Ki Ankh</i> (Published by Asmita Resource Centre for Women, Secunderabad, 2002)</li> <li>4. <i>Lava</i> (2000)</li> <li>5. Edited <i>Inkeshaf</i>, Anthology of Deccan Women Writers, Published by Asmita Resource Centre for Women, Secunderabad, 2000).</li> </ol>
Awards	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Maqdoom Award</li> <li>2. Devi Award by the New Indian Express.<sup>135</sup></li> </ol>

<sup>134</sup>Amazon. "Butterfly Caresses by Jameela Nishat". Patridge India.

<sup>135</sup>The Hindu. "Devi Award". The New Indian Express

She worked for five years with Asmita in Hyderabad and then registered her own organization called the Shaheen Women Resource and Welfare Association in 2002. In Iqbal's poetry, "Shaheen" is a bird that flies very high in the sky. Jameela's main office is in Sultan Shahi. It has branches also in the poverty stricken Hasan Nagar in Ranga Reddy district and in Mehboob Nagar district. Over the years, Jameela has empowered young girls to assert their rights and resist injustice. On Women's Day this year, they even staged an unusual public demonstration. The girls along with Jameela held hands. They ringed Hyderabad's most famous monument, the Charminar, in support of women's rights. With a sense of pride, Jameela narrated the success stories of Shaheen Women Resource and Welfare Association. She began her work in Sultan Shahi where beating women was equated with masculinity.

The girls begun to question the stifling system. Jameela recalls how the girl was under tremendous pressure from her mother to give in to their wishes and marry the man. Her mother would try to convince her by saying that the marriage would serve to improve their lifestyle. We found that in 100 households, 33 girls had been given away to old Arabs in muttah marriages. This is an organized racket in Hyderabad where the police is reluctant to help. Married wealthy sheikhs from Gulf nations come to the city to escape the oppressive heat in their own country and stay in hotels. They contact middlemen who then fix a safe place to introduce them to girls from poor families. In most cases, the middlemen take half of the bride price given during Islamic marriage ceremony.

Jameela's NGO helped a young girl from Jhirra, a slum area in Hyderabad. The young victim had been given a "talaq" (divorce) over the phone by her husband just a month after their marriage.

Jameela narrated the story where she questioned the request for a divorce. The man got a "fatwa" (ruling from a cleric) from Jame-Nizamia. He had no choice but to take his wife back home. Jameela is a social activist that hopes to empower the dalit (downtrodden) women to enable them to have an equal say in all matters. There is a "biradri" system in many dalit communities where women have no say in decision making. They also have no education. Jameela today looks back with a sense of fulfillment. She has succeeded in building a cadre of young women who fight discrimination and oppression within the family and community. Some of Jameela's concerns are cultural. The neglect of the Urdu language in Hyderabad is one of them.

There seems to be a deliberate effort to sideline Urdu. Jameela stressed this rich language is now looked upon exclusively as a language of Muslims. Jameela's husband, Rehman, a retired deputy registrar of JNTU, and her two sons, Suhel and Ubaid, have all along encouraged her to work in territories that few would dare to enter. They obviously recognized their mother's grit. It was this extraordinary courage and determination that enabled her to resist opposition to her work from men of her own community. Jameela distinctly remembered that day in 2002 where a group of 25 men came to their center after the Friday prayer. They have accused Jameela of liberating women. The arguments lasted three hours but Jameela succeed in convincing the men for retreat.

Jameela Nishat was born in Hyderabad in a middle-class family. Her father, Syed Bin Mohammad, was a portrait artist. He was also a close friend of artist M F Hussain.<sup>136</sup> She started writing at an early age. She got published her first poem in the year 1970. For some time, she wrote in Kitab Numa, a journal published in Jamia Millia University in Delhi and in various other poetry magazines. Her first book, Lava - a collection of poems, was published in the year 2000. Hoshang Merchant, translated some of her poems from the book Lava and the translated

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<sup>136</sup>The Sunday Tribune. "Pioneer of Change". The Tribune - Tribune India.

poems were published by Sahitya Academy in the year 2008.<sup>137</sup> She has published three collections of poetry. Her work has also been featured in various other anthologies.<sup>138</sup> SPARROW published a booklet on her life and work in 1999.<sup>139</sup> She is also one of the speakers at HLF - Hyderabad Literary Festival.<sup>140</sup> She was one of the feminist poets at 100 Thousand Poets for Change Conference held from 3 June to 8 June 2015 in Salerno, Italy.<sup>141</sup> In 2012, she founded the "Shaheen Collective - Shaheen's Women Resource and Welfare Association" to serve the cause of muslim women.<sup>142</sup> The organization works for the welfare of women and elimination of domestic and social violence.<sup>143</sup>

Formerly housed within Asmita Resource Center, Shaheen became an independent organization in 2002 to address the specific needs of minority women in Andhra Pradesh (AP), India. Shaheen's main goal is "to work towards a gender-just society." The group reports that it is possibly the only NGO in AP to conduct home visits to discuss the issues of domestic violence, dowry harassment and post divorce maintenance. Shaheen organizes public meetings and other gatherings to address "sensitive" subjects such as the curtailment of freedom of expression and the issue of terror. Shaheen's goals and strategies include educational empowerment for women and girls, awareness programs on oppressive societal structures, legal advocacy and counseling for domestic violence, campaigns for girls' education, and bridging the urban-rural divide towards the empowerment of women.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>137</sup>*The Hindu*. "A universe of verse". *The Hindu Newspaper*.

<sup>138</sup> Ammu Joseph. *Storylines: Conversations with Women Writers*, Pages, 233-237. *Women's World India and Asmita Resource Centre for Women*, 2003.

<sup>139</sup>Sparrow. "Jameela Nishat A Poem Slumbers In My Heart". Sparrow, January, 1999.

<sup>140</sup>MuseIndia. "Hyderabad Literary Festival". *Muse India*.

<sup>141</sup>succedeoggi.it. "Alla Fondazione Alfonso Gatto di Salerno, Poesia senza bavaglio". *succedeoggi.it*.

<sup>142</sup>*Journeys For Change*. "Journeys for Change - Alice Chou on Shaheen, bringing Muslim and Hindu women to empower themselves". *Journeys for Change*.

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<sup>144</sup> Website : <https://grants.globalfundforwomen.org/GFWSearch/index.php?id=16168>

The **‘Shaheen NGO’** (Shaheen Women’s Resource and Welfare Association (SWRWA)) was mainly focused on the issues of Muslim women and girls related development activities in the Hyderabad Old-City. The Shaheen also works in the Old City of Hyderabad, primarily with grassroots women, on communal harmony, gender issues, education, and health and legal advocacy. Shaheen seeks to create the space and resources for women to develop their own livelihoods so that they can lead reform efforts in the community. Shaheen is unique in its initiative to address gender issues in a communal conflict situation.

However, Shaheen women’s Resource and Welfare Association (SWRWA) has been conceptualized in 2002 in response to and in opposition to various aspects of gender based violence, whether physical, intellectual, cultural or structural among the women and girls of the cut off communities of Muslims, Dalits and Other Backward Castes (OBC) in the Old City of Hyderabad. Minority women in Old City experience a triple discrimination in the forms of patriarchal control and attitudes, marginalization of minorities and political helplessness. Women of the Old City constantly at risk when communal conflicts flare up and there is state of utter disharmony and tension.

The Shaheen Women’s Resource and Welfare Association (SWRWA) has been conceptualized in 2002, in response to and in opposition to various aspect of gender based violence, whether physical, intellectual, cultural or structural among the women and girls of the cut off communities of Muslims, Dalits and Other Backward Castes (OBC) in the Old City experience a triple discrimination in the form of patriarchal control and attitudes, marginalization of minorities and political helplessness. Women of the Old City constantly at risks when a communal conflict flares up and there is a state of utter disharmony and tension.

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The Shaheen NGO has focused on extremely encouraging for the volunteer and staff of the Shaheen due to the extensive visibility of their intervention in these 20 slum communities of Old city area. Community mobilization, being its strength and strategy, has been instrumental in gaining momentum in their work. Men were active participants along with the women of their community awareness and sensitization programs in the ‘*Bastis*’ (Juggis). Participation has been further enriched. Women in the distress are coming out of their cocoon and experiencing their issues and concerns without having any apprehensions. This has resulted in expansion of other related activities in the operational areas.

Under this Shaheen NGO, several social activities has been included and supported such as Vision, Mission, Goals, objectives and key strategies are given below.

Vision	Shaheen envisages a society in which gender, class, or religious status does not impinge upon one’s resources, rights or freedom-whether inside the home or public spaces.
Mission	Shaheen’s mission lies in creating an enabling environment for women to regain control over their minds, bodies and resources.
Goal	Women and girls in the old city of Hyderabad have increased access to their livelihood options, participation, exercise leadership and control over bodies and resources.
Objectives	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Girls in the old city of the Hyderabad have increased access to Education.</li> <li>2. Women and girls in the old city have increased the legal literacy and support.</li> <li>3. Implementation of the domestic violence act in the old city.</li> <li>4. Setting up Shaheen enterprising for women to make self reliant economically and ensuring the benefits of various schemes and facilities provided by the state.</li> </ol>

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>5. Implementation of the domestic women workers act.</li> <li>6. Women and girl in the old city are organized to identify and address the issues.</li> <li>7. Creating violence free life for women in public spaces.</li> <li>8. Women and girls in the old city of Hyderabad have improved health and hygiene.</li> <li>9. Ensure access to materials and the systems that promotes sexual and reproductive health rights,</li> </ol>
Key Strategies	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Organizing the capacity building workshops, seminars, trainings and public forums of discussion and debates in community spaces for awareness and sensitization.</li> <li>2. Community mobilization</li> <li>3. Providing the legal counseling, medical aid, educational and vocational services for the needy.</li> </ol>

### **The Annual Report of the Shaeen:**

Now, our present study is focused with Old-City of Hyderabad and Multi-Muslim identity among Muslim women and girls. In this connection, Sultan Shahi Mohall was one of the study area of research work. The majority of sample research work was done in this area only. In this connection, the Greater Hyderabad Metropolitan Area contains approximately eight million people, making it the fourth largest urban area in India. Sexual assaults and harassment against women is wide spread. In 2012, 3,584 crimes were reported, including 141 rape cases. As per National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) statistics, Hyderabad stood at third place after Delhi and Bangalore among the list of 52 cities in the country for recording maximum cases pertaining to violence against women (excluding Cyberabad data) in 2011. But, if the crime figures from

Cyberabad were also taken into account, the city would be in second position.<sup>145</sup>

Including the, domestic violence, including dowry related harassment, are the major crimes committed against women in the city, followed by sexual harassment and rape. Despite the fact that the rate of crimes against women is very high in the city, it is alarming that the conviction rate remains very low. While on an average 140 rape cases are being recorded every year in the city, and the average conviction rate has not crossed 15. In the past three years, the average was below 10. In fact, according to police, majority of the rape cases actually do not get reported. Only about 5% of rape-victims approach the police and among them only 1% to 2% lodge an official complaint.<sup>146</sup>

Though over one-third of Hyderabad's population resides in poor settlements, the contribution provided by these sections to the city's economy has increased over the years. The area of Sultan Shahi Mohalla, one such settlement is a case in point. The absence of developed land and development policies for its social and economic problems has exacerbated the situation for individuals and families, particularly women. Families, which can barely take the strain of supporting two individuals but comprising eight to ten people, are crammed under one roof. In such situations, women bear the worst of hardships.

Poverty constitutes another crucial factor that, when coupled with patriarchy, plays a critical role in propagating physical violence and mental abuse that women in their homes are subjected. This situation has come to such a pass that the community has been a silent spectator of the violence that is being meted out towards women day in and day out. Religious fundamentalism, too, has had a say in promulgating the concept of a hegemonic power structure.

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<sup>145</sup>SHAHEEN WOMEN'S RESOURCE & WELFARE ASSOCIATION, ANNUAL REPORT 2013-14.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.



The area of Sultan Shahi in the Old City of Hyderabad has been extremely susceptible to widespread communal rioting. In some instances, rioting has exceeded to such extent that even government-based transport systems refused to ply their services in this area. This grim scenario has a telling effect on women, who feel the added pressure to accommodate the entire family's needs on a tight budget. All of the above factors jointly and severally contribute to the sufferings of women economically, socially and culturally.

### **ACTIVITIES OF SHAHEEN NGO**

The NGO of Shaheen with its thrust on empowering the deprived communities of the Old City neighborhoods has **a vision** to have a society in which gender, class, caste or religious status do not impinge upon one's resources, rights or freedom – whether inside the home or in public spaces and with a **mission** to creating an enabling environment for the women to regain control over their minds, bodies and resources.

### **STOPPING CHILD MARRIAGE OF SHAHEEN NGO**

Shaheda Unnisa is 19years old and her father is a rickshaw puller. Their economic condition is very deplorable and her father wanted to perform Shaheda's marriage with an old Arab sheikh to lead a better life at least for few months. In this regard he met a broker and the sheikh agreed to give Rs 35000/- cash to him. Shaheda was innocent in this matter. One day her father took her to sheikh's place and there she came to know about her marriage with that sheikh. She came back home and refused to marry the sheikh. Shaheda's father and brother abused her and forced her into marriage. One of her friend is regular participant in shaheen's program and she suggested shaheda to approach Shaheen for support so that she can marry a person of her choice. Shaheda then approached and explained her problem to Shaheen staff, Shaheen staff counselled her along

with Taquddin, who is interested to marry her. Shaheen staff supported them, took them to a friendly Qazi who was ready to help the girl in marrying a boy of her choice. The Qazi asked them to get some documents to fulfill the formalities and the marriage was performed. Finally Shaheda and Taquddin are married living happily now.

## **PUBLIC MEETINGS**

Monthly community meetings have been organised at Aman Nagar, Hassan Nagar, Sultan Shahi, and Jahangir Nagar (Cha Cha Gairage) with the aim of building awareness on gender inequality, awareness building on the specific needs and rights of the girl child and the status of women in society, in addition to its impact on the overall quality of life for all, with a specific focus on women. Ms. Jameela Nishat and Adv. Rehana Khanum have discussed basti related issues including the status of ration-shops (public distribution system PDS), schools, hospitals, importance of girls education and on ill-effects of early child marriage on the overall personality of children.



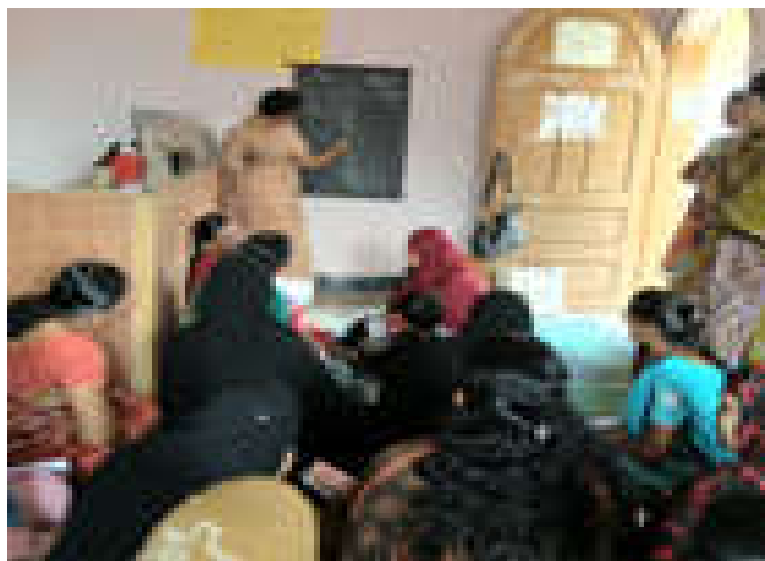
## **RELIGION & POLITICS IN HYDERABAD OLD-CITY**

On 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2013, a public meeting was organised by Shaheen in collaboration with Aman Manch at Moghal Pura Urdu Ghar, Charminar, on the topic of „Religion & Politics in

Contemporary India". Mr. Ram Punyani, a renowned writer and social activist was the key note speaker. Other speakers included advocate Ms. Rasheeda Mansoori (Rehnuma Project), Ms. Jasveen Jaireth (Social Activist) and Ms. Kalpana Kannabiran (ASMITA), who emphasised on the impact of post-Babri Masjid demolition and Gujarat carnage on minority communities, including Muslims and Christians. A total of 250 women, men and children participated in this event. In his concluding remarks, Prof. Ram Punyani said that the last two decades have witnessed not just the marginalisation and attacks on Muslim minorities but also Christians in the Adivasi areas. He has also pinpointed the current Indian politics and development agendas, which are played against minorities.

## **TRAINING AND FILING OF RTI**

On June 5, 2013, a training program was conducted in Valmikinagar to spread awareness about Right to Information (RTI) Act. This meeting was attended by 150 participants. Explaining about the Act, Mr. Saleem said that other than Intelligence Bureau, Security Establishments and Limited Organisations, the RTI Act is applicable across the country, except for Jammu and Kashmir. According to Section 3 of RTI Act, anybody can take recourse to the provisions of this government stipulation. Sec. 4 further says that every government department has been mandated to maintain the requisite documents to ensure accessibility for the common man and Sec 4 (1) (b) comprises a handbook that lays down details about rules, norms and regulations, person-in-charge (Public Information Officer - PIO) and transparency about financial transactions involved. The resource person has also mentioned about the easy process of applying for information under the RTI Act with nominal fees.



Anyway, the creating an environment and building capacities through which women and young girls can become self-reliant and economically empowered is Shaheen's main aim. Shaheen not only teaches vocational skills but also prepares the girls in computer usage and provides them education in latest IT and computer programming etc. In recent times Shaheen has started working with MEPMA (Mission for Elimination of Poverty in Municipal Areas) project of GHMC and expecting guaranteed employment for more than 200 girls. Building a relationship of faith and confidentiality that provides space for marginalized women has been the key to social empowerment. One of the key initiatives undertaken is that of training in self-defense. Shaheen will continue doing so in the next ten years. Under skill development program, Shaheen has been organizing regular skill development programs for economic empowerment of women by imparting training in the field of tailoring, mahendi designing, karchob and computers at Sultan Shahi, Valmiki Nagar and Hassan Nagar. This platform is also used to create awareness about women's rights and other relevant issues to the trainees.

To Creating opportunities for economic empowerment of women and Skill development programs as a grass root women organization, Shaheen recognizes the importance of economic empowerment of women at grass root level. It has worked towards these goals building through technical education and skill building amongst women. Due to high levels of illiteracy, building economic independence has remained a challenge, as women continue to be engaged in underpaid, low skilled, treacherous jobs, making them susceptible to exploitation. Given these constraints, Shaheen has organized various programs to enable women acquire skills in fields such as tailoring, karchob (zari work), mehendi, knitting, fabric painting and bangle making etc. The aim of these programs is essentially to make women economically independent, so that they can support themselves. Shaheen has also helped women in establishing various market linkages to their products, so that they have access to markets. Shaheen also arranged stalls at various *mela's* for selling the products made by these women collectives.

In this connection, the Shaheen conducted various educational and skill development programs to women and children belong to the marginalized section of the society to improve the standards of their lives. These skill development programs provides women a space in the public sphere and such activities act as a platform for women to interact with each other, share their thoughts, emotions and achieve confidence. By creating opportunities for women from the lower strata to earn income Shaheen visualized economic empowerment as the backbone of fighting inequality. Apart from this, Shaheen conducted training on career opportunity for girls to help choose their career.



Shaheen also conducts computer classes for women with basic literacy, so they can build capacities in technical fields. Two eighty women attending the skill training programs found jobs and are able to support themselves. In an innovative partnership, an interactive session was organized with Andhra Pradesh Industrial Training Cooperation. For building economic empowerment of women tailors, this discussion saw participation of 70 women. APITC has pledged its support towards Shaheen and women from the community, it intends to provide professional sewing machines to women.

For economic empowerment, Shaheen was also instrumental in facilitating bank linkages for women. 22 women have availed loan from SBI Bank and utilize this money for enhancing their income through the self-employment scheme. Shaheen understands that there is a huge gap of knowledge amongst women especially pertaining to their sexual, reproductive health and rights. Most of them have some issues regarding their sexual and reproductive health which they are unable to share with anyone. Moreover, women belonging to minorities and Dalits also report high maternal mortality rates and unsafe abortions.

To address these pressing issues, Shaheen organized several training programs to create

awareness among women about their sexual and reproductive rights. Such that women are able to make decisions regarding reproduction, have control over their bodies, have safe sex, plan their pregnancies and also experience a life free from sexual violence. In these trainings, participants were encouraged to share their experiences and also given medical consultation. Through these interactions Shaheen was able to identify various reasons behind poor reproductive health of these women. Apart from giving trainings at the community level, Shaheen also understands the lack of awareness amongst Government workers. Along with Aanganwadi workers who are at the interface of various services for mother and children, Shaheen organised awareness program on menstruation cycle, and personal hygiene at Siddique Nagar. 25 Aanganwadi workers (AWW) participated in this training. They shared that attending this program had changed their long held superstitious beliefs regarding menstruation and helped them understand the importance of keeping their body neat and clean.



The regular awareness programs on SRHR were organized in the resource centers with an emphasis on nutritious food and its importance for healthy reproductive health. 168 women have benefited from these awareness programs and the diet chart discussed in these sessions, emphasizes on cheap and affordable food items having immense nutritive value for young girls. Shaheen staff members provided detailed training about the needs of the body through body

mapping activities.



Another workshop was organized at Urdu Ghar, Charminar on SRHR among 35 women. Mirror activities were used for women participants to articulate positive and negative behavior regarding their health and food intake. This was then developed into a larger discussion on gendered nature of households and the sexual division of labor. Through this training, the importance of eating healthy food was emphasized and various myths around menstruation were clarified.

## **PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT**

The Muslim women and girls are facing sexual harassment by other community people at old-city of Hyderabad. There are socially rejected for free access of public, economically poor and physically harassed by the various places. Anyway, this is the one of the study on sexual harassment on Muslim women and Girls. The rape of a Muslim girl by a Hindu man in Sultan Shahi had potential to create communal violence. Due to Shaheen's intervention it could be avoided. In September, a peaceful Silent March took place which attracted a number of people and media. Shaheen has written to the Office of the Metropolitan Sessions Judge in Hyderabad to request further information regarding this case. Shaheen submitted this request at the beginning of October 2013 but a detailed response by the authority is still pending.

A recent letter by the Office of the Metropolitan Sessions Judge stated that information would



only be given in a month's time, as the furnishing of the same requires more time. This case is a case in point but stands for a number of cases, which Shaheen has faced in the previous years. The Right to Information Act 2005 needs to be implemented further and faster to allow us to effectively track the progress of the justice delivery system.

Shaheen staff members had intense focused group discussions with the Madarasa Maulvis who are keen in modernising the Madrasa education. However, the political party leaders oppose this plan for their own political advantage. Despite the political pressure, we have been able to initiate an engagement with these institutions and expect that our perseverance will allow us to attain a compromise on modernization of Madrasas which will make them an important point of dispensing literacy. Filing RTIs and the follow-ups has been a challenge to Shaheen staff members at times either because the RTI letters are sometimes sent back due to a wrong address or because they were refused to be accepted. Therefore, staff members have taken them to the RTI offices in person and have tried their best to build up a rapport.

In 2010, a big scam of SHG groups created problems and all private and national banks refused to give loans to *basti* women henceforth. Becoming a self-sustaining entrepreneur has become much harder since. We have been trying to engage with these institutions and help interested women however; the task of availing any financial assistance remains a cumbersome process. The Chief Secretary of Metropolitan Legal Authorities is given double the burden officially. She is a magistrate and has to deal with the criminal cases in day today life. Working on justice at the doorstep of every citizen is an extra burden on the secretary which is difficult to accomplish. Hence, Shaheen is asking the authorities to provide more professional staff members. The Shaheen center has faced constant resistance from the community in which it is situated. Our

presence in the area despite the attempts to dislodge us there from has contributed critically towards instilling confidence in the women in the area. It will be our steady attempt to take forward the cause we have stood for and gaining acceptability within the community. This acceptance will be the harbinger of an ideological change therein.

A campaign on girl's sexual and reproductive rights was organized in Sultan Shahi. Dr. Janaki Srinath, Gynaecologist, Ms. Kamalak Shetty from Child Welfare committee and Ms. Rafia from ICDS department attended the meeting. They contributed to the discussion by raising discussion on issues such as nutrition, discrimination of girls etc. The importance of girl child was stressed throughout the discussion. Shaheen is committed to supporting the marginalized, and participated in a protest to express our solidarity with the sexual minorities and LGBT community. It further argued for justice for these minorities and their rights to be recognized as respect worthy civilians. Trainings were also conducted by Shaheen and seventy-nine participants benefited from these. These trainings/ programs engaged deeply with the subjects of gender and sexuality. They further emphasized the importance of sexual rights of individuals, their right to decide their sexuality and sexual orientations. It further pressed for equitable rights of lesbians, gay and transgender community.



Shaheen conducted a workshop for women on the importance of education. Fifty two women participated in this workshop with Prof. Shareef as the resource person. He encouraged women to form groups, educate each other and work together. He also emphasized on the linkage between education and empowerment and how good education can translate into lucrative career opportunities. Summer camps for children- During the camp children were given classes in drawing, and training in Mehendi and Qawwali. This was a unique experience for children to develop their aesthetic and artistic qualities and also have fun during holidays.

Tenth class coaching- Majority of lower caste and minority women fails to complete formal education due to poor socio-economic condition and cultural constraints. Committed to the goal of education, Shaheen acts as a platform to facilitate these girls to pass the Tenth Standard examination by conducting free tuition classes. 22 young girls were supported in this effort, and necessary approvals sought from the Director/ Joint director open school education department. All the girls have been permitted to appear for class tenth examination in the Government high school at Sultan Shahi. Awareness programmes in schools- discussions on topics such as patriarchy, importance of education, unfair sex ratio, importance of RTI and child labor were conducted at Government high school. Eighty five children participated in the discussion meeting.

## **ABOUT THE SHAHEEN NGO**

The NGO have been working in the field of Women empowerment as well as community peace issues since then the primary focus of the work is on ground interventions for the women and girls of the isolated communities of Muslims, Dalits and Other Backward Castes (OBC).<sup>147</sup> As the center became more established, we began focusing on issues like domestic violence,

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<sup>147</sup><https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BIVRymBPdSM>

sexuality, reproductive rights, and communal violence. We started counseling individual women who approached us for assistance in dealing with domestic violence. The center provided a space for people especially women and adolescent girls of all communities, a space to mingle freely with one another. We feel a sense of achievement to see girls gaining confidence. What remains to be done looms ahead. Changing mindsets, dealing with patriarchal values, issues of mobility, communalization, insecurity, unemployment and poverty.

Shaheen is keen to enable women gain control over their resources, livelihoods, and community-level decision-making processes. In the course of work, Shaheen has enabled a number of women to be assertive about their rights and be politically active in the community. It has motivated young women to join education programs. The physical location of Shaheen is the bedrock that gives meaning, purpose and credibility to our work of the organization. Baqshi Bazar, Sultan Shahi, Old City, Hyderabad where Shaheen began working was the center of violent communal conflicts in the past decades. When Shaheen stepped in, the neighborhood was empty and desolate, with shells of burnt homes. The owner of the house in which Shaheen stepped in had fled to escape danger and death. Shaheen picked up the pieces and put them together bit by bit to nurture work and friendship. The point and period of initiation and generation happened subsequent to the pogrom in Gujarat in the year 2002.

Shaheen is located at the cross point of three distinct Old City communities. The Muslims, the Dalits and Other Backward Caste Hindus. Shaheen's location is the point of integration and contact, of interaction and participation, of visibility and articulation, an open space that women and children can claim as their own. Unfortunately in this ideal location, we are now faced with a

financial crunch. The owner of the house had informed us many times that they were keen to sell the premises which we were not able to do due to lack of resources.<sup>148</sup>

Unfortunately the house owner expired recently on 10th August 2012 due to cancer and his only daughter who stays in Australia came to Hyderabad to perform the last rites of her father. She visited us and gave the sad news and also informed that they want to wind up all the connections from the city and take her mother back to Australia. She wants to dispose the house as early as possible and requested us to hand over the premises. Sultan Shahi is prone to communal riots from the time of India's independence. Shaheen is the only women's organization in the Old City. Our ten years' experience has strengthened us to stand against all kinds of communal forces. We would certainly like to continue our work with the community to maintain the continuity of our valuable work. We feel that changing the location will not have the same impact of our work as we have now. Shaheen has moved forward and has created our space in public sphere.<sup>149</sup>

The Shaheen NGO is keen to enable women gain control over their resources, livelihoods, and community-level decision-making processes. The processes include:

- Elimination of domestic and social violence
- Enable women to pursue education and control financial futures
- Create more comprehensive health care and address HIV & AIDS
- Work against Trafficking more systematically
- Allow women to express themselves creatively

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<sup>148</sup><https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BIVRymBPdSM>

<sup>149</sup><http://socialworkmemories.blogspot.in/2013/04/shaheen-womens-resource-and-welfare.html>

- Ensure the knowledge of rights as a democratic citizen and the right to exercise them

Shaheen Women Resource & Welfare's main objective is to empower the women & girls. Shaheen enables women, sexual and socio-religious minorities to gain control over their resources, livelihoods and community - level decision making process. Shaheen conduct many activities create awareness program in 20 communities, public meeting, workshops, legal advocacy and counselling on domestic violence, health camps, provide free vocational skills, campaign for gender justice society in which we conduct rallies and workshops fo school teachers and others to promote girl child education.<sup>150</sup>

## **RESULTS AND LESSONS**

- Shaheen has been able to publish and issue a comprehensive booklet on girls' rights and SRHR in the areas of its functioning in Urdu language.
- Shaheen's networking with Maulana Azad University, Hyderabad, has enabled in broadening the organization's activities, as well as garnering it several recognitions.
- Basti Vikas Munch - Shaheen has identified 20 women and girls from the bastis who started organizing basti meetings where men and women participate and interact on the issues of basic amenities, girl child education and on Domestic Violence.
- Providing legal counseling, education and on sexual & reproductive health.
- There has been a major shift in the work of Shaheen. The girl children have become our focus of attention.
- Shaheen has created its space in the isolated and ghettoized area of Makkah Masjid where the Dalit Muslims live.

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<sup>150</sup><http://www.copasah.net/shaheen-womens-resource--welfare-association.html>

- Children are encouraged to participate in bringing about more holistic changes in family and society.
- The basti leaders and other men are motivated to rethink the power structures that exist now - that are so corrosive and stifling.
- Children participation brought focus on the issue of the sexual assault of girl children. The act is Protection of Children against sexual offenses.

Shaheen Women's Resource and Welfare Association, set up in 2002 to work in the riot-hit communities in the old city area of Hyderabad focuses women and girls from isolated and marginalised communities of minorities and Dalit's. It addresses issues such as communal harmony, anti-trafficking, health awareness, gender sensitization and legal counseling. It develops confidence in women through its counseling services and enables them to help themselves and the communities and societies they come from. To know more, go to Shaheen Women's Resource and Welfare Association was set up in the year 2002 to work among rioting communities in the Old City area of Hyderabad. The primary focus of the work was on ground interventions for the women and girls.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>151</sup><http://shaheencollective.org/>



### **SUCCESSFULLY STORIES OF SHAHEEN NGO**

The one-third of Hyderabad's population resides in poor settlements, the area of Sultan Shahi mohalla, one such settlement, is a case in point. Lack of public amenities and livelihood opportunities, has kept this particular region of Hyderabad city bereft of the 'modern' new industries, where people continue to be engaged in manufacturing sector, carrying out informal work. Over population, illiteracy, poverty lack of public amenities all compound the problems faced by women. The area of Sultan Shahi has also been susceptible to widespread communal rioting. In some instances, rioting has exceeded to such extent that even government run transport system refused to ply their services in this area. All of the above factors jointly contribute to the sufferings of women economically, socially and culturally. It is in this context that Shaheen has attempted to establish itself as a pioneering organization working on women's rights.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> <http://socialworkmemories.blogspot.in/2013/04/shaheen-womens-resource-and-welfare.html>



Over the last decade Shaheen has worked on various aspects of gender-based violence (physical, emotional, cultural and structural) among women and girls of marginalized communities of the Old City of Hyderabad. Women belonging to the minority and Dalit communities need to be viewed with the lens of intersectionality, where they experience structural violence as embedded in Institutions of the state and religion/ caste status, within communities owing to their patriarchal nature and thirdly at the household level where gender based discrimination manifests at multiple levels. The communally charged environment of the Old city area, further feeds into more control on women, creating it all the more difficult for them to exercise freedom. Shaheen has attempted to engage at all these levels by creating dialogues with various stakeholders.<sup>153</sup>

Shaheen with a focus on creating spaces and resources for young girls and women has initiated unique educational and vocational training centers in Sultan Shahi. These resource centers have been able to create spaces for women to learn and acquire new skills, knowledge, they have also been able to create platform for women to articulate themselves. As a consequence of this engagement, women have started to understand and assert their rights both at a household and community level.

Over the course of time, Shaheen has been able to evolve its strategies to work with women, in its initial days Shaheen focused on creating awareness and building knowledge among women and girls. In the course of time, group discussions and individual counseling sessions on domestic violence, sexual and reproductive rights as well as communal violence have enabled women and girls, who seek support at Shaheen, to assert their identity as a woman and to stand up for their rights.

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<sup>153</sup> Ibid.

## **ACHIEVEMENTS OF SHAHEEN NGO DURING: 2014- 2015**

Shaheen identified 900 young women belonging to the age group of 15- 25 years for a programme aimed at building awareness and empowerment. These women were divided into multiple groups and are undergoing various training for vocational courses based on their areas of interest. About 491 girls have found jobs in various domains and started to earn their livelihoods and lead independent lives. The counseling center at Shaheen reported 132 cases of domestic violence and among them 114 cases were settled through counseling. Shaheen filed twenty-six RTIs in order to obtain basic information regarding the cases of child marriages reported in 17 police stations in South Zone. Awareness programs on life choice: Many women were able to share about the positive impact of life choices trainings in their lives as it has helped them make informed decisions in their lives. Vocational training has enabled women to eke out a living for themselves and become economically independent.

One Woman from Valmiki Nagar (scavenging community) were able to challenge the centuries old oppression based on the hierarchy of caste system to enter ‘new’ professions such as tailors and receptionists etc. Shaheen has effectively contributed towards a ‘safety audit’ which maps safety of women in the Old city. The report has been able to identify different streets, spots and unsafe places in the old city. Shaheen celebrated the “International Domestic Workers Day” and the event saw participation of 115 women who are domestic workers. Shaheen has fought against child marriage vigorously and managed to stop 18 forced marriages of minor girls. It was able to do so by engaging multiple stakeholders including religious leaders, families as well as Sheiks.

Shaheen collaborated with Tata Institute of Business (TIB) to put up an exhibition on the

products made by Young Urban Women. Another exhibition was held at Maulana Azad National Urdu University, Hyderabad. The confidence among the young girls has experienced significant changes and they have been able to change their attitude towards sexual harassment and eve teasing. With the help of Shaheen, the bankers approved the loans to 20 young girls as part of the self-employment scheme. Shaheda received 'Naveena award' in the bravery section. She played a crucial role in Sting operation to identify a Sheikh who was trying to marry a young girl. For enhancement of educational goals, Shaheen took the initiatives to help for enrollment of 35 girls in the open education system. Girls Hostel for orphans was opened in Siddiq Nagar by Shaheen's intervention along with the help of Madarsa and the State Government. Eight new ICDS centres were opened by the efforts of Shaheen. 1074 women and children have benefited by the health camps conducted by Shaheen. Shaheen staff visited *waqf* board to enquire about schemes in the Minority Board for women and young girls. Awareness programs were conducted on relevant schemes and entitlements provided for girls by the Government.

## **FUTURE ACTIVITIES OF SHAHEEN: STRATEGIES**

- Sensitization on RTI , RTE and Protection of Girls Against Sexual Offense Act
- Advocacy with bureaucrats and State Government Officers to prohibit child marriages
- 15 days activism on violence against women and girls (VAWG)
- Workshop with school students on girls' rights and POCSO
- Vocational training to girls
- campaign on SRHR and PCPNDT Act
- Advocacy with Labour department and enrolling basti Domestic Workers and informal workers, get them ID cards and entitlements. (A large number of unorganized sector

workers having access to space and other social security benefits)

- Workshops on Provision of health services and create awareness on Sexual Reproductive Health Rights.

## **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

Finally, the Shaheen NGO has been playing very important role to empowering the Muslim and Girls in Old-City of Hyderabad. This NGO was one of the most significant social activities done by the in various ways to upliftment of the disadvantage people such as SC/ST and Minorities. In conclusion, the study shows the effects for domestic violence. What is most striking is that most women do not go to the police to file a complaint. They have experienced domestic violence so often that they have come to believe that it is a common reality in a marriage life. Apart from being economically dependent on their husband and in-laws, they stay in the abusive relationship because of their children.

The processes of women's safety audit have been endeavored to identify unsafe zones in the Old City of Hyderabad in order that preventive and corrective measures are taken to alleviate the situation. This exercise has enabled the research team to understand the gaps and loopholes within the system that have curtailed the mobility of women and denied them their right to freedom. The recommendations put forward in the report have been reflective of a breakdown in the government machinery to safeguard rights of women, in addition to pointing out deficiencies among the aggrieved parties themselves in upholding their rights.

The process of safety audit has been self-exploratory not only for the communities involved but also for the team engaged in carrying out the research. This pilot study has also challenged the system of patriarchy and male domination that has been found to be rampant in the target interventional area. The concept of this study makes it a highly replicable model, which can be

adapted for its wider scaling-up. Going forwards, we anticipate that this piece of research would be transformed into a wide enough platform to implement the stated recommendations for the betterment of women in terms of their safety and security in the society. Shaheen has been very active in upholding peace and harmony in the 20 select basties of Old City of Hyderabad since its inception. As the Old City area being very sensitive to communal conflicts, it ensues in disharmony and hostility and destroys the fabric of relationships. In order to promote the cause of secularism among the populace, Shaheen has celebrated all the national and religious festivals in the operational communities. These events have been very joyful for the attendees with a sense of unity among the caste and neighborhoods communities.

Muslim identity in India has been expressed in several modes, be it in scholarly works or in political articulations. This identity has invariably been a complex of social and cultural referents, it crisis a lament, and the strategies of its reproduction proof of allegiance to the community. However, the objective of reference, the target at which the lament of the community is directed and the site where in the strategies of production and reproduction are deployed, have varied among Muslims from one perception to another.

### **Case Study No: 2 - Akbar Painter: Art editor Andhra Jyothi ABN**

Akbar came to city as painter, his self-trained artist, first painting done for the poetry books. In 1984, he started his carrier for 200 Rupees. He had worked as signboard for two wheeler, Movies and TV serials. Now he himself sees that, he got more name then he deserves. He achieved the highest positions as an art editor in newspaper. He exhibited his paintings in various cities of India. In one of his exhibitions in Mumbai Amitab Bachan, Shoba De and other prominent person visited and bought his paintings. The happiest occasion came, when the former president

of India, K.R Narayanan asked the editor of the ABN Andhra Jyothi to send the portrait painted by him to the Rastrapathi Bhavan. He kept his paintings in his house. He painted for the Women's movement, Communist movement.

On asking what motivates him to do such tremendous work. He responds that "My father is teacher; poverty was the biggest teacher for us, having more children in home have motivated me to do such kind of work. I have painted 27,000 paintings. One third of it, I made it free of cost. In Karam Chedu, Chunduru incidents I have painted the Dalit life. No artist have done such kind of work, now a day's artist and painters are working for money, per hour they are charging 5000 Rupees. This has killed the young generation capability to paint. Most of the contemporary became reach and professional achievements. To a question on political maneuvering of the Muslim community by the elite class, he says that the demolition of Babri Masjid has brought the line between Hindus and Muslims. In villages we used call ourselves as brother, sisters, uncles by the neighbors".

But those kinds of relations between /Hindus and Muslims have gone because of the Bharatiya Janata Party's power politics. A.B Vajpayee, Advani and the BJP political elites have created this animosity. Even the ordinary people carried bricks to construct the Ram Temple. In the movement of "*Kara Seva*". This is the biggest phenomena in Indian politics. He further explained that the middle class intellectuals who are working in the newspaper did not respond. In private sector the hegemony of upper caste, especially the Brahmins will suppress the marginal sections voices. For example, if you see the India's greatest painter M.F Hussein, he worked thrice higher than the other people. This immense work brought him the name. The situation came in such a way that nobody can deny his work. The upper caste accepted him in that kind of situations, not because they want to help a painter.

Media generated images of the community also makes it vulnerable. Media is the only culprit in branding the Muslims as terrorist. The recent attack on Sharukh Khan and Amir Khan shows the intolerance of the Media. In Amir Khan Interview, he said about his wife's view "she is getting insecurity feeling, because of the attacks on the artist, shall we leave to other countries". This specific statement manipulated in such a way that Amir Khan himself wants to leave the country. This misrepresentation has caused mob belongs to the BJP and RSS attacks on him and his Movies at the shooting locations.

Even the release of the latest flicks like the '*Dilwale*' is getting attacks by same kind of people.

Responding to the question on the situation of the Muslim women, he explained that their situation is much more backward. There are no single Muslim women in journalism. He further explains that even a Muslim speaks the Polish language they cannot tolerate. Responding to the question of recent attacks on the artist, he explains that in history of the world that this is the first time that such amount of artists have given away their awards. Instead of sensitizing the government, it doesn't evoke any response from the government. On the other hand they are celebrating it and want to come again in the power.

In a reply to freedom of speech, he explained in his own words that when I started, I do not have any restriction on my paintings but the space is decreasing. In recent painting exhibitions in Pondicherry two famous artists hanged a Balloon cow portrait down. These two painters were arrested and then later released. The elite Brahmanical class does not understand the value of artistic expressions. On responding to how to face the challenge of fascism, he explains the community solidarity and alliance with fellow artist. Even I have questioned the state through surrealist paintings. I did most my paintings out passion. As a part of Job I never did for profit or self-interest.

Explain on the present Islamic state, he explains that majority of the people feeling that the ISIS (Islamic State in Iraq and Syria) may come the footages of the ISIS shows that they are using satellite technology to propagate their ideology. In responding to how do you in the future, he says that society is running backward. Current generation is more preoccupied with electronic gadgets. The society is feticides. Even the poets, journalists are not attending the meetings or protest and becoming self-centric. The future is posing worse than the present situation

### **Case Study No: 3– Noorjahan, Social Activist:**

She is Noorjahan, has been working since 35 years on communal harmony. Women reservation, Arab sheik marriage which prevalent in old city and 13 years worked on adult literacy.

As of now, she works in My Choices Foundation is established by Australian lady who works focusing on the domestic violence. What motivates you: Muslim women in south Indian Network (MWSI) it focus on Talaq, Arab Sheik marriages, domestic violence. Babri Majid demolition has motivates most of youth arrested in to riots 29 youth got arrested and most of the m are innocent. Most of them got jailed doing dharnas. Since, parents are culminated with the fear of police they are not coming out of houses. They were catch in while coming out mosque from homes and everywhere they got arrested. Police arresting the Muslim youth: if you seat in home, people do not know the truth. We made their voices herd to the police and media.

With that, government gave them some money and certificate but we said we do not need certificate and money but we need “justice”. What happens to the labels that tags ISI, the marriage in their families. Who will remove that tags? Where is the justice? Police should get the punishment. When we warning on Arab marriages they said that bringing Muslim women outside the home “UNISLAMIC”. We explained that is education quite important; asking girls



to come out is not to spoil, but to make them good educated and have good career. Having the special interest in the girl child, youth and providing them good opportunities and the making their families happy. To we have good family, go to street leads to good city and good nation. A parent says that of you educated you will not do the job. If you send the children school for education, you can stop the exploitation of the intermediaries.

The Intermediary is exploiting child by paying onlyRs.100 in place of Rs1000.Apart from this there is no *Hunar*, they are treated as slaves. Education alone canmake the difference.It helps in gaining respect in society and awareness about their rights in Kharkhans. A person able to maintain respect can find work themselves. They can open “karkhan” (repairing shop) on your own in a way we have educated them. In case of girls situation is much worse after 13 years of age girls are not allowed to go out for work and even married. Noorjahan points out the injustice where girls takes out plates of males after dinner despite the fact that both work equally and contribute to the family. If you calculate the domestic work production, you have to pay more salary to women then what males earn outside. And when it comes to health: women health is as important as men. With Noorjahans intervention and motivation given, girls are going out both education and work.

In response to media exploitation, she explains that of any news comes suddenly as ISI bomb blasts. Every time, they show that news and create fear psychosis among the people. They create direct effect on people. Media do not show LTTE blasts and killing in less news or as a small item. Does not killers of the Rajiv Gandhi and Indira Gandhi is terrorist? She poses these questions to the media. None of the above said shown as a terrorist. Only Muslim doing comes out as terrorist.

Reflections on Politics -Any government we know that opposite is going to kill us. We generally people make ourselves to make protection our self. Even the secular government under the P.V Narshima Rao, which did not stop the demolition of Babri Masjid and even the communal fellows turning themselves as secular. Even congress wants that kind “karasevas” should happen there. It was under court purview. If same case is done by the Muslim youth (Karaseva), the issue will be of different magnitude. Congress keeps hands in both ways. I will tell one example: like Ranganath Mishra Commission. It showed the poverty of Muslims what congress wants to do. The Sachhar Committee showed the worsening of the Muslim situation. It is worse than the Dalits. Congress government did not work for the implementation of Ranganath Commission. If it would have implemented, the Muslims condition would have better condition. Then there is as no need of Sachhar Committee. It means government does not have the intention to implement committee reports. We do not know which government is good for us. There is no unity in Muslims community. There is no voice from the Muslim community.

Responding on 9/11 Attacks she explains that the impact as per the Islam “*Amaan*” (Peace) it is for the peace. They want to tarnish Muslim image. Who have encourage Iraq it is America and Britain who encourages the Saddam Hussein. They create such situation, Muslim countries should among themselves. Even Muslims hailing from the Muslims the aim of the “*Jihad*”(Sacred war) is different and it is taken differently, that have created problems across the globe, even in USA, U.K. and India. It is branded Muslims community as terrorist. Because of the not having the unity among the Muslims it is causing all the problems.

On Responding to the Freedom of Speech: She has responding about the constitutional rights when majority speaks it is granted, but when Muslims minorities it is anti-national.” Gaddar” it

Muslims use the freedom of expression, this government wants will the voices raising by continue the government. They are terrorizing the individuals who are questioning them. Terrorizing is one of the technique to keep the protesters as silent. They created this situation throughout India. Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Sikhs, they should protest together. The unified voice will really make us to get our basic human and constitutional guaranteed rights. Individual's voice make does not effect on the government.

Only collective voices can impact the government much more. The united voice will have strength rather than individuals voices. This should reach the central government. What are Future Plans, responding to this question, if the woman lives peacefully and the whole family will be peacefully. Violence will continue, women should educationally, economically 60%. We have achieved I want to make 100% this is my future plans. The mindset of the men should change towards the women. Sometimes, change towards men bringing egalitarian between them. It is one of the main aims of me.

On Responding Message to Youth. Think future; overcome the dowry system, educational progress. She further explained that if family develops, the street will develop, if street will develop city will develop, if city is developed nation will develop. Nation will be clean and can make the progress; she is inspired by the Rameja Bee incident, 1978 onwards working. That "I am delivering the 3<sup>rd</sup> child. I have imagined Ramaje Bee is a beautiful woman. Her husband killed down by the police. Even I have worked for the arrest who raped his own daughter". Jessica a U.S.A. research scholar has completed her PhD on Muslim women.

**Case Study No: 4- Khalida Parveen, Pharmacist:**

Khalida Parveen is pharmacist; a Keralite married to Warangal Muslim, she is resigned to government job. Raise voice against gender injustices, husband and family helped her. I resigned from the government job and I have three children. She has been in the activism since 30 years. She has been the role model and inspiring to young and upcoming Muslim activities others. Now to answering the question to come to activism; she explains that once beggar came to their home as a child that incident made her come to activism. She says that she is Brahmin converted Muslim, her father came to Hyderabad as a jobholder. She has been since 30 years in activism.

Rapes on women, harassment of girls' students have forced environment, I was working in the activism, and I do not need the job I do not feel to do the job. She organizes people Ayesha Meera murder case. She protested in Vijayawada. She took few women from here to protest this and succeeded in bring the public awareness. Though everybody know who is culprit nobody was convicted. She also fought on behalf of two girls who got raped in Nalgonda district and fought the case when a father raped his own daughter and the culprit in jail now. She is also Telugu writer. She worked for the release of innocent Muslims youth, there no confidence on the media, media is against the Muslim community. Why it is happening as there is no concept of inequality in Islam. Media does not like the Islam.

**Case Study No: 5 – Shajahana, Poet:**

She represents the literary family in Muslim community. Hailing from such background helped her to establish quickly in city literary circles. Without her father's name and fame would not have given self-recognition apart from her brilliant poetry. Marring fellow poet shows that tread of middle class people marring themselves. She explains and given the answer on her own words

that I came to 1988 year; I came to activism because of society around, Burka, Talaq System and Talaq system inspired me to come to activism.

In my family, myself got Talaq that have inspired me “*Parade Hatake Deko*”(Look Behind the Coutaian) is the first time on the Talaq system, She is 3<sup>rd</sup> generation poet in her family, her grandfather is used to recite Ramayana, Mahabharata. My father is Dilwar is famous is a poet. He has done his PhD in Telugu literature. I was inspired by “*Katha*” (Story), poetry—embers the poetry,, even religion is one of the reason, my first poem was torn ways by fellow teacher while I am working in the school, even my marriage is through the poetry. I got marriage because of Sky Baba poetry. Sky Baba’s poetry made me to come in the field of poetry.

In Nalgonda, Muslim Wada Rallaitrala Sangam, one Muslim man boycotted because her poetry. O.C Muslim does not make OBC Dudikula caste. On responding to the question media- Media is following the Brahminical value and imbibing the Hindutva Politics value. Neither the media nor government is not responding to the global terrorism. Only one percentage of the Muslim are original and real rest of the Muslims are converted Muslims. Majoritarian politics see Indian Muslims as second grade citizens; universities should teach equality of all religions. Responding to the question of current status of the Muslim women, she says there is need to improve the women education. She further explained that in the Muslim community only 3 percentage of the Muslim women degree holder. Muslim men do not have education.

Do you face triple burden? She says like Dalit women, she is also facing the triple burden three kind of pressure she is facing. They are related to the toys making, tailoring and other Muslim jobs Muslim women unable to draw salary, the way the other women. They faraway access to justice if a Muslim wants to file the case. She is unable to do justice system is far away from them. On recent attacks on freedom of speech---as long as we are silent we will get these

attacks, poets, thinkers and other social responsible people should respond to it. She supports “Award Wapsi” as a form of protest. Reflection on ISIS: One women writer says that not having love from the community that makes the kind ISIS, Dominant imperialist countries we have to Muslim men should allow their women to go free and well with other society. They have good behavior; if they travel in goo was it will become fruitful.

She explains that in her child hood her elder’s sister got Talaq that is most disturbing throughout her life. At that time one of her favorite writer gave Talaq to his wife. At the same time, famous cricketer Mohammed Azharuddin, gave Talaq to his wife, this is adding salt to the injury. This all incident made her to write about the injustices the religious atmosphere also contributed to write more and more. Responding on the Muslim women status, she says that only the 3 percentages of the Muslim girls are getting the degree level education, rest of the Muslims girls are not reaching to the education system. The higher education among the Muslim women is minimal, only the few women are reaching to the higher education. In summing up, she says that Muslim community has to change on par with the other communities. Muslim women have to get freedom from her won community men. There needs to be a transparency in the community, only the open community learns the knowledge. Knowledge grows in openness and freedom. Shajahana also represents young women’s dreams of freedom equality and liberty.

To sum up. Shajahana is poet with a difference; she questions the Talq Systm and gender injustices within the Islam.

### **Case Study No: 6 - Saraga Begun**

Saraga Begun is presently working as a Vote for Need Organization. She graduated from the Osmania University in the field of science. She belongs to the “*Noor bhasha*” (Lower class in Muslims) community which part of OBC community. She does not wear “Hijab” (Burka).

Saraga Begun offered MLA ticket to contest in the election in 2014 state assembly election of Telangana State by the various political parties. Though she worked for Praja Rajyam Party (PRP), because of upper caste hegemony, she has come out from there. They used her as stepping stone for their party development. From 2009 onwards, she joined the Telangana movement and worked with Professor Kodandaram Osmanic University and worked with the progressive women organization. She further explained that Telangana movement gave her to establish herself.

Responding on current status of Muslim women, she says that the situation is much more worse than SC/ST and somehow SC/ST are getting Constitutional provisions, but in case of Muslim women, in the course of time, it has been worsen further. Not a single Muslim woman is here as MLA or MP in respective Andhra and Telangana Legislative bodies. She revealed that she was born to her parents after 10 years of gap. They have been co-operating for the effective running of progressive women organization. She is still bachelor; she did not proposed any man in Muslim community to get her marriage. She explains further, how Muslim elites have discriminated her.

She further explains that most Muslim men are henchmen to the established political parties and doing slavery. Her fellow activists called her as a Telangana firebrand on numerous occasions. She explains party positions before media. She is an official spoke person for the Telangana United Federation TUFF. She says that Muslim men should come forward to make their women educated and encourage them in politics.

Most of the present government MLAs and MPs are the contemporaries in both Telangana and AP. The Deputy Chief Minister of present Telangana state Mahammud Ali is colleague in several protests. Whenever she visits, he pays respects to her and invites her to join in his

political party, offered some position in the present Telangana government, but she refuses any kind of position because she is not interested in sub serving her freedom and dignity to the political class. She is happier to stay independent and work for the people. Whenever she was called for meeting, she was not allowed to speak. Some Muslim objected her, insisted on her wear “Hijab” (Burka) and other religious symbols.

On responding to the media- She hates media is Mamuvadi. It covers only elite and upper caste women. Media is Brahminical and biased. They misrepresented and misquoted her. There is lot of misrepresentation of marginalized section voices. Few media friends asked her for money for her coverage but she strongly said that you are doing your duty and I am doing my duty, where is question of money?

On responding to the legal system of India, Yakub Memon got hanged just because of he is Muslim. It is raw deal for the Muslim community. It clearly shows that how legal system is biased towards Muslim system. Naredra Modi who is Prime Minister of India now, is involved in Gujarat genocide. When Gujarat genocide happened, the situation was that nobody allowed interacting with victims. The murders get free. There is less hope but still continuing to fight.

On responding to the 9/11 attacks and media, she explained that today Muslim world is earlier used by the imperialist countries and it became a Frankenstein. The America and western countries are responsible to their own mistakes. They are the people who initially encouraged trends and now they are responsible for it.

Western countries for their interest created. She narrated more local problems she faced her how, as a woman what kind of situation she faced. Similarly, used to sit on tea shops, under trees and some generous people doubled office space in their apartment. Earlier, politics for the welfare of the society and now politics became self-centered because “Me’ and ‘Myself’ greater than



anything else. The power of money and muscle has taken centre stage. She vehemently criticized on Telangana Rastra Samithi (TRS) government for not having a single woman in his cabinet and less representation. She vehemently criticized the '*Ayuta Chandi Yagam*' which is prestigious conducted by the state government.

She also criticizes the authenticity of Kalvakuntla Kavitha, Kalvakuntla Taraka Rama Rao, and their continuation to the movement. She further explains that Telangana movement is hijacked by the elite people. She supported the "Inkellu" movies director Shafi. Telangana government itself is subjugating the young director Shafi and creating the hurdles in realizing the book. Being Muslim, she struggled a lot to come up to this level. She says that only political power solves to the exiting problems. Only Dalits supporting Muslims lowest is quite important in politics. I left the software job to change the political system in India. Vote needs guarantee organs for the protection of voters' rights. She argues that election manifesto which was promised by respective parties should have legality. We can make accountable all political parties only when election manifesto is legal entity. Since one year onwards, she is running her organization. Now, most of social activists respect her,

She is critical of academic intellectuals, just reading books and writing poetry do not sufficient for change the society. We need to speak to people. People are biggest leaders.

On responding to Muslim youth, she says that Muslim youth support to their leaders who striving for civil society. For a moment, she has broken into tears, when Yakub Menan "Capital Punishment" issues came for discussion. Though he believed in legal system, he did not meet with justice, it is miscarriage of Indian legal system, and there raw injustice is meted to Indian Muslims.

**Case Study No: 7 - Nissar (State Government Employee) Ballad Singer,**

He hails from the Nalgondada district of Telangana. He last son of his family. He had his education till 10<sup>th</sup> class. Worked as the lorry driver for the 15 years. He hails from the village Suddala, from where 2 times national award winner Suddala Ashok Teja, Telugu film lyricist came. Initially he used to listen to the Suddala Hanumanthu, revolutionary writer who participated in the anti Nizam struggle. His son Suddala Ashok Teja has got two national awards for writing Telugu film lyrics. In his village, he is the only Muslim family in the entire village. He proficient in Telugu language because of the neighborhood.

His childhood is influenced by two personalities. He started writing from the childhood. His first wrote poem on different issues, then on the he wrote Telugu songs. On responding to the question what motivated him to come in to activism he says that left parties influence. He initially wrote for the revolutionary writers association. He wrote on the false encounters. He boycotted the CPI (M) politics when they are unable to respond to the attack on the Gaddar. He joined the protest marches to highlight the gruesome attack on the Gaddar. He now is heading the Praja Kala Mandali cultural group of the CPI.

He is member of the Indian people theater. Few of his works are translated in the Urdu and Hindi. Major influence came when he came to Hyderabad as child; he observed the richness of the Marwari community and the labor who are working in their shops. He also worked as laborer in their shops. This kind of inequality motivated him to write. Being poor Dudiekula community (weaving community) within the Muslim community, he came to city in search of the job. When NT Rama Rao is the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, widened the Hussain Sagar road, for that road construction he worked as lorry driver. He also worked for several construction works as a driver in bring material other necessary goods. He worked as a lorry driver for the period of 10

years. After that, he joined as driver in the Andhra Pradesh state Road transport system, now he is a conductor by profession. He wrote around 100 songs on various social, cultural and economic issues of the communities. Few of them for movies, two of his songs came in movies and some of them are in recording studies. He got fame when he wrote the song on his village. In that prominent literary people also presented. Then he wrote other song based on the various communities and their voices in globalization. That song also got him name.

He wrote a song in critique of the then CM Chandrababu Naidu, CPIM Party members objected to it, because they are in alliance with the Telugu Desam Party (TDP) then. That made him irritated. He further says that restriction on artists will kill the enthusiasm of the artists. He then joined the CPI party. He initially wants join the Virasam (revolutionary writers association). Then Virasam used to have the big poets and writers like Cherabandda Raju, Jwala Mukhi and various other revolutionary writers. These revolutionary poets influenced him a lot. On responding to the contemporary Muslim community, he says that Muslim writers are facing two problems. They are categorized either as the religious people if they go the mosque or as a religious people if they do not go the mask.

The Muslim writers and intellectuals face this quite peculiar situation. Only Dalits are supporting to the Muslim intellectuals. There is no support from community fellow. The way Dalits and upper caste organize themselves, Muslims are unable organize themselves. This is quite pathetic situation in Muslim community. Initially he only wrote on several problems faced by the civil society. After working with Sky Baba, fellow Muslim writer, he started thinking of the Muslim community. Then he wrote a song on the Muslim community. He explains in that song the conditions of poor Muslims. Puncture shops, Pan Shops and Auto rickshaw pullers and Petty peasants. His songs were representing their livelihood with lot of hard work.

Then in Telangana movement, he wrote a song Telangana movement. In that song he explains how Seemandhra capitalist have taken away all the lands in the city and especially lands surrounding the newly developing city Gachhi Bowli, Hi-tech City and suburbs of the city. How the native people become the destitute in their own lands. He touched most untouched are in the literary areas, so far nobody has written any song on the Toddy Topping community. He elaborately wrote a song on them. There no count on working class songs.

He composed few songs for the Lok Satta Party (LPP). They used to give 3000- to 5000 Rupees' as honorariumfor every song. Most of his songs are played by the various political parties. He says that one of his celebrated song "Padduvennalalona" has the potential of getting national award. He cannot understand why Telugu film makers' showing disinterest in it. On responding to the current situation of Muslims, he says that, Muslims wherever you go in India. Their situation is same. Most of the Muslim families are surrounded by the garbage and unclean circumstances and by evident poor living conditions.

No political party has changed their lives ever since independence. It a quite pathetic situation of the Muslim community in India. Once he visited the famous Khaja Moinoddin Chisti Darga, in the Rajasthan. There is no proper drainage system. If a famous Darga situation is like that, what about the other Dargas? The Muslim conditions there are quite pathetic situation. Nobody bothers about them. While responding to the question about the inequalities within the Islam, he says that he never faced much problem from the community. Though he does not know much Urdu language, he slowly picked up the Urdu language. His other progressive friends are assisting him in that. He cannot write in Urdu language. Whatever he wants write, he writes in Telugu then it gets translated in Urdu. He further explains that since he is from village, he is able write with grass root realities.

While replying popular criticism on left politics that they use Muslim and marginal sections people but do not give them proper positions in the parties, he says that there nothing like that left parties only gave good support to the Mukdoom Moiddin, famous revolutionary writer. He is famous because of the left parties. CPI party kept his name to the party office in Hyderabad. He got due recognition. No other party has given such priority as left parties gave to the progressive writer and intellectuals. On responding to the status Muslim community as terrorist and anti-nationals. He says that it is media and upper caste power politics that responsible in India. And imperialist countries as equal responsible for the present conditions of the Muslim community. He started writing short stories.

He came to know the difficulties of writing short stories. Whenever he writes he get tears while remembering the father and mothers wards. He completed his own story and published by the fellow writer SkyBaba short stories. He published all his songs and poems as a book. Wherever he goes he goes with that book and sings songs as situation demands. On responding media response to the Muslim community, he says that most of the media is brahminical. They represent the Muslim community in negative manner. What Amir Khan says that what his wife feels? That statement of the Amir Khan, disproportionately represented in the media. And negatively reviewed.

This is glaring example how media is misbehaving the Muslim community. On responding to the recent attacks on the poet's writers and intellectuals, he says that most of the intellectual have to come together and fight the fascist trends in the society. Then only we can stop the attacks on writers. He says he never got any threat calls or attacks on him. On responding global terrorism, he explains that present imperialist countries are responsible for the current status of the Muslim community. They projected Muslims as terrorist.

He is only one ballad singer in the Muslim community. For every question he responds with the song. He says that writing, singingsong, and dancing is the most difficult task. At a time performing all the three tasks quite heavy. Though he working in the government transport system, nobody has objected to his literary writings, most of them have encouraged his writings.

On responding to the message to youth, he says that urban school going children does not have the experience the way rural public school going children. Only government school going children can really represent the realities of the India. Urban school going children do not have understanding of the rural issues.

He further says that Muslim community has to come up in education. Family planning is taking place slowly in Muslim community. Change is coming slowly. Muslim community is realizing the importance of the education. He himself has two sons and one daughter. Three of them studies technical courses. One son is working in the Arab countries. One son is working in the private software company and daughter about to finish her graduation. He says his life exemplifies the rural Muslim who came to city and settled here as employee.

He ended up with a note that being progressive Muslim one need not forgo his or her religious identity. It is unfortunate that going for prayer not taken well in literary circles. This has to change. He goes to the Friday “*Namazs*” (prayer), if not 5 times prescribed by the religious texts. One should not contradict the religious identity with the progressiveness. Both go hand in hand.

### **Case Study No: 8 Kaniz Fathima**

My name is Kaneez Fathima. As of now, I am working at EFL University as Library Assistant. I am a Civil Rights activist associated with Civil Liberties Monitoring Committee and the EC

member of Anveshi Research Centre for Women's Studies. Founder member of Nisa Research and Resource Centre for Women.

On motivating factors of her in joining progressive movements, she explains that "From the time I started working, (my first job was as Librarian in Azad Institute of Management), and a kind of passion developed in me to serve the community in whatever possible ways I can. And I was looking for ways and methods to carry my enthusiasm. (My second job was as librarian at 'Anveshi', joined in the year 2002). While working at 'Anveshi', in the year 2007 when the Muslim youth were picked up, illegally detained and tortured, an organization named Civil Liberties Monitoring Committee was working relentlessly in bringing out the facts of police harassment against Muslim youth in Hyderabad. During that time as I was already looking for a right platform to work, I started attending their seminars, press conferences, public meetings, demonstrations etc. against the police atrocities. And then I joined the organization as well.

Since then I have been associated with CLMC work and I am presently Joint Secretary of Civil Liberties Monitoring Committee (CLMC). In these eight years of my activism I have grown tremendously in carrying out the work for human and civil rights of marginalized, oppressed and depressed communities. If you want to put it point wise, here it is:

Reasons.

1. While working at a PG college which was Muslim Minority College, huge amounts were being collected for seats in management quota. That actually upset me a lot and I used to think that Allah has given so much to these people who are running this college, why can't they take reasonable fee and help the poor Muslim children in carrying out higher studies.

2. The above feeling in course of time developed into passion to work for the poor, marginalized sections of the society.
3. I was in search of a right platform to carry forward my work.
4. In due course, police atrocities on Muslim community increased in the year 2007, when hundreds of Muslim youth were illegally detained and tortured by the police and later shown and arrested in false charges.
5. An organization named Civil Liberties Monitoring Committee was already working relentlessly against police atrocities, and I joined in their efforts in bringing out the facts before people. Since then I am working against the police atrocities and for the civil and human rights of the marginalized, oppressed and suppressed communities.

On responding to media and imperialism, she pronounces that “Imperialist countries of course are responsible for the wrong image now the Muslim community is facing. The imperialists’ states/countries stamp the Muslim community as terrorists and the media make false stories and propagate it. So in a way, both go hand in hand in labeling Muslims as terrorists”.

On responding on majoritarian politics, she says that “I would say the communal politics of the majoritarian has definitely affected the Muslim community. Hindutva minded people are found among all the political parties right from the congress to the left political parties. Hindutva minded people are not only found in political spheres but also among all the other areas such as administrative, police personnel, government sectors, non-government sectors, private institutions, educational institutions both private and public, medical institutions etc. And if any Muslim political leader talks against this, he/she is labeled as either communal or anti-national, such is the condition of Muslims at political level”.



She says on Muslim community present status, the present status of Muslim community is very bad. If you see at the international level, they are facing the charges of terrorism and the innocents are killed as insects. At the national level you see the communalism has raised to such an extent that just on suspect basis Muslims are killed by the Hindutva mob, example is Dadri incident and other similar incidents in the country. The hindutva mob is given free hands by the government and the police agencies to carry out the atrocities against the Muslim community.

On responding 9/11 attacks, she explains, “I have read news reports that the 9/11 attacks were not done by Muslim community as blamed by the western countries and biased media. But after the 9/11 attacks, the imperialists countries under the guise of revenge have destroyed the Muslim countries such as Iraq, Iran, Syria, Palestine etc. There is complete political instability in these countries and with no doubt that the imperialist countries are responsible for this disturbance”.

(Do you want to ask whether the Muslims have changed their perception or the other communities have changed their perception towards Muslims? Please clarify)

Empathizing with the Muslim women, she said, “In the context of Hyderabad, I would like to say that Muslim women status is much better than before. The percentage of Muslim women education is higher than the Muslim men in Hyderabad. More and more women are getting educated and reaching to higher education as well. For example, when you visit Maulana Azad National Urdu University, you find lot of Muslim women on the campus; sometimes I get a feeling that this is women’s university. More and more women are financially independent now, are more politically aware and so on”.

Responding to the attacks on Muslim community in recent years, she answered, “Yes, not only the attacks on progressive voices of Muslim community, but also attacks on other community progressive voices have increased. When the state becomes communal in nature, and the Hindutva ideology is implemented in a democratic state, there will be rise in attacks on democratic, secular and progressive voices which is clearly visible presently. The democratic and secular fabric of the nation and the constitutional values has to be safeguarded”.

Viewing on the freedom of speech, she elaborates that, how does one measure freedom of speech? To what extent does, the freedom of speech is utilized. Freedom of speech may be different for different kinds of people. But in my opinion, in the name of freedom of speech, one should not ridicule others beliefs, gods, faith etc. Freedom of speech should be used within the context and framework of the constitution. The Indian constitution has clearly mentioned it in detail. Everyone should respect each other. The recent attacks are clear violation of freedom of speech.

Reflecting on the state repression, she responds that, the marginalized sections which include Muslims as well, first of all need to get united, leave their religious and personal differences apart. They need to get proper share and representation in politics, in government administration etc. Need to build strong leadership to counter the repression. Not only this, a strong peoples’ movement should be built to achieve their goals, socially, economically, and politically. Responding on the threats to her, she responded “I have not faced any physical attacks, but two or three times, the intelligence department people have tried to threaten me over phone”. On explaining, ISIS, she says, any extremism is bad I would say. Coming to ISIS, it is one more creation by the imperialist state, ISIS is anti-Islam, anti-Muslim. This instability is created by the imperialist state as I said earlier.

### **Case Study No: 9 - Sky Baba, Poet, Writer, Thinker and Social Activist.**

He is one of the prominent leader scholars among the Muslim community now. He has been working on the community since long on the Muslim community. He initially worked in Andhra Jyothi as staff reporter and changed to other newspapers because his views are not reflection in the media. He came out that and he established Muslim Reservation Porata Samithi (MARPHA) and agitated for the Muslim community. He held various seminars and agitations for support of the Muslim reservation. He argues that most of the Muslim community in India is local converts and any branding of them as foreigners is foolish. His poem “*kafir*” (rationalist) got prominence because it questions the authority of the mullah community with in the Islam. And subsequently published numerous story book and short stories on the Muslim community.

His story books “*Vatan*” (nativity) elaborately explains the various stories of the Muslim community and real life stories. It got good reviews and media coverage. It narrates the how the Muslim community is undergoing the and its challenges. In another book he explains, “*alava*” (*rural* festival of pirs). How in villages Muslims celebrates the Pirs, Moharram festival. In Moharam festival, all communities of the village participate. It exemplifies the composite culture the India. He elaborated with good examples.

In other book “*adure*” (failure) he explains that how the young Muslim boys and girls fall in love and how it will ends in failure in most of the cases. In 21 century, love stories often ending on bad note, and especially Muslim girls and boys, it is hard to success in their love story. This is the celebrated one of Sky Baba. His vegetarian only story got the wide recognition to him and subsequently got publication of international reputed publishers.

Sky Baba says that in Rajasekhar Reddy regime, he faced the lot of threats from the cross section of the people in arguing for the Muslim rights and reservation. There are number of occasion, he

escaped from the grave situation. On responding to the media image of Muslim community, he says that just because he is Muslim and his views are not in tune with management of the newspapers. He forced to resign as journalist from the prominent newspaper. He further says “he did not realize the media does not represent the truths, gradually he realized that media carries the hegemonic ideology. Responding to the present women status, he says that women should fight for their rights. On explaining the post 9/11 attacks in US and present terrorist attack in the various countries, he says that this situation arises because of the imperialism.

On responding to the recent attacks on writers, he says that in globalization freedom of expression is shrinking, the recent attacks on the Sharu Khan movies and misrepresentation of Amir Khan remarks, shows the growing intolerance and killing of the KalBurgi and killing Aklaq in Uttar Pradesh, on the pretext of eating Beef is shows how India is heading.

He sums up that all progressive and Dalit Bahujan forces have united to face the challenges of fascism in India

## **Chapter - V**

### **Interpretation and Analysis**

My sample is based on the amount work done by the respondent. Most of whom I interviewed are public intellectuals, writers, poets and activists. In addition, I faced several problems in their respective fields, due to state repression and human rights violation. In mapping the voices various issue cropped up, apart from answering administered questionnaire, they came up with unimaginable incidents that made them to be part of progressive movements and social activism.

Most of the fieldwork is done in Old city of Hyderabad. Mapping of its Physical structure, interacting with people, undersigning depth and life of old city, its history determined progressive poet can bring the change in the lives of people and especially most neglected communal strife areas like old city

#### **Case Study No – 1: Jameela Nishath**

My first respondent Jameela Nishath is NGO activist, who committed to communal Harmony, girl safety, women education and financial aid to poor suffering Muslims. Working in the old city conditions in very challenging on small issue. There may be communal riots. There will be “flashing point”(places like tea shops , cinema theater) where there is possibility of arising communal clashes. Jameela Nishath worked extensively on this kind of places and all people together and educated them through the public meetings, seminars and leaders by the prominent possibilities in various streets. It shows that Jameela Nishath has taken progressive women’s movement experiences and worked for the upliftment of Muslim community in the old city.

To sum up: to sum up about her and her organization, it is a shining example how a determined progressive poet can bring the change in the lives of people and especially most neglected communal strife areas like old city.

### **Case Study No – 2: Akbar**

This case shows how passionate painters can revolutionize society being a teacher as having the interesting in painting. Painting brought him to city. Like many painter who does not have any background stated his careers for bare needs and existence. His case show, the conflict between passion for art and commercialization of art, he balance between both of them; he is an example of the middle class Muslim family who has dreams, desires, fears or public and personnel. Though he achieved peak of his carrier, he is not happy. Recognition, appreciation, of his art make him happy, it shows middle class perceiving the happiness and social concern towards the society.

To sum up: Akbar represents few left over people of his generation, who grown up in secular environment and village atmosphere.

### **Case study No - 3: Noorjahan:**

Noorjahan can be understood as Hydrabadi women, who witnessed communal riots since her childhood appetite for the peace. Amman (peace) is backbone of Muslim middle class.

Her life exemplifies the large number of Muslim women's desire for peace and progress of the family. She also can be considered as middle class intelligence of Hyderabad Muslim community her consistent stress on peace in home shoe hoe middle class is fed up with violence. Her working in my thesis organization show how well educated middle class women has control over choices in her life occupation, education and sexuality.

To Sum up: Her case study that well educated middle class has control over their choices and freedom.

#### **Case Study No – 4 Khalida Praveen:**

On responding the media question; she blames the media that they are showing the Muslim in negative manner. Media is playing the damaging role by portraying the Muslim community. She also further says that media is not playing the progressive role.

On reacting the 9/11 attacks, bomb blast across the globe, she says that there is no vindication for any kind of violence, Islam by definition is peace seeking. In Mecca and Saudi Arabia, there are mental hospitals because they follow the 'Khuran' and Prophets saying. Most of the western countries suffer from the spiritual poverty and excessive materialism. If the human being follows the Khuran there will not be any problem. On responding the women status: she says that earlier Muslim used to be in the four walls of the home. Changes are coming gradually, they are also educating the girls on par with the boys and they are also joining the government and as well as private jobs. As women progressing there is correlative increase of the violence on the women community. She further explains that Khuran gives equal rights to men and women.

In further response she says that the world is fearful of Islam, because of the Islamic value of equality between the rulers and ruled. She gave an example of the king, the king who has vast kingdom under his dispensation. The king one day toured his country in another getup to know the real pulse of the country situation. He approaches the old woman and asked about the impression of the ruling of the present regime. The old woman said that the administration is not reaching to the villages and food is not sufficient. The king who is unable to reach the villages and not providing the food fails to rule the country. The king realized his mistake of having the large territory as his kingdom. Therefore, he stopped the expansionist plans of the kingdom. The same western countries want to rule the globe but that does not deliver definitely justice to the people.

On responding to the hate speeches and killing of poets and writers, she says that poet and thinkers and writers should come together to condemn such kind of atrocities. The recent attack on the Bollywood stars Ameer Kahan and Sharu Khan shows the growing intolerance towards the Muslim community or responding to the Sufism. She says that Sufism is not Islam; she refuses to accept the Sufi Islam. She further opposes the 'Daraga' culture, worshipping the Red people graves UnIslamic. She squashed down Sufism. She further explains that praying for the dead persons spirits does not represent the prayers. Only prayer for Allah and his messenger is true prayer.

On responding the A.R Rahman and his Sufism and his music she explains that art is god given. They should put them in service of almighty. She works for the Islamic Student Organization (ISO) and Zamati Islamic. Both organization works for the true implementation of the God word.

On responding on the youth, she said that politicians are becoming the day by day self centric, selfishness is dominating. Honest people and the youth come to politics, then only justice will be met and society will be happy.

#### **Case Study No - 5: Shajahan:**

Shajahan: She represents the literary family in Muslim community. Hailing from such background helped her to establish quickly in city literary circles. Without her father's name and fame would not have given self-recognition apart from her brilliant poetry. Marring fellow poet shows that tread of middle class people marring themselves.

She is young Muslim women poet; she published several books to her credit. On responding to the media, she says that media represent the Brahminical values, there is no space for the minority voices, the recent attacks on the poets and writers and actors shows the intolerance.



Responding to the majoritarian politics, she says that demolition of the Babri Masjid, the Ayodhya movement for construction of the Ram temple has initiated the communal environment in India. Hindutva politics have made the Muslims as second grade citizens in India.

Talaq System: she explains that in her childhood her elder's sister got Talaq that is most disturbing throughout her life. At that time one of her favorite writer gave Talaq to his wife. At the same time, famous cricketer Azaruddin gave Talaq to his wife, this is adding salt to the injury. This all incident made her to write about the injustices the religious atmosphere also contributed to write more and more. Responding on the Muslim women status, she says that only the 3 percentages of the Muslim girls are getting the degree level education, rest of the Muslims girls are not reaching to the education system.

The higher education among the Muslim women is minimal, only the few women are reaching to the higher education. In summing up, she says that Muslim community has to change on par with the other communities. Muslim women have to get freedom from her own community men. There needs to be open in the community, only the open community learns the knowledge. Knowledge grows in openness and freedom. Shajahana also represents young women's dreams of freedom equality and liberty.

To sum up: Shajahana is poet with a difference; she questions the Talq System and gender injustices within the Islam.

#### **Case study No - 6: Saroga Begam'**

This case study shows how well educated, university graduated will think about themselves, community and society. She is firebrand politician who criticizes political system loopholes. Her

vote need guarantee is a baby step towards the reformation Indian political system. She also exemplify the how the globalization has shaping the political scenario. Young generation like her wants radical reforms in politics. The letting down of her in various political daises show that how majoritarian politics do not allow the upcoming religious minority voiceless; her concern for legal reform is because of the recent hanging of Yakub Memon by the Indian courts.

To sum up: she is the voice of the Telangana Muslim women who is seeking political, cultural and social reforms. Her study reveals how Muslim elites look down the subalterns upon within the community.

#### **Case Study No -7: Nissar Ahmad**

Represents a typical Muslim working class, coming from the village to the city and inspired by the inequalities, it poses to the under-privileged rural person who comes to the city. Working as a lorry driver for ten years, is another dimension that rural Muslims struggle in urban set-up.

From that anguish like many he inspired by revolutionary of that time. With the influence of his colleague writer, he started writing. Existentialist Kind of personality with changing times and environment: His shift from one party to other Communist parties reveals hollowness of the Communist parties.

To sum up: Nissar is live example of balladeer, which composes songs which he likes or feels. He can be seen as most progressive within the Muslim community.

#### **Case Study No – 8 Kaniz Fathima**

Campaigning, her visibility in the rights' campaign fulfilled the community's needs and social movements' necessities. Being a central Government employee, she can be understood as an educated, progressive woman. Her recent book on Hindutva and hate-speeches shows that she is

a gritty fighter for human rights' cause. To sum up, Kaniz Fatima is a staunch human rights' activist and being part of PUCL explains her commitment to the universal human rights.

#### **Case Study No – 9 Sky Baba:**

There are multiple perceptions on the Sky Baba. Since he is a multi-faceted personality, many intellectual communities and groups own him. His intensive work with Dalit-Bahujans and his argument that all Muslims are natives is seeking the redefinition of Muslim community and arguing for reservations for Muslim community. His changing of journalistic activities from one Telugu daily newspaper to another Telugu daily newspaper shows the Muslim anguish.

To sum up, Sky Baba is a twentieth century poet. He really uses all the technologies available for communication: Facebook, Twitter, Internet, Newspapers, Whatsapp and cell phones.

## **Chapter – VI**

### **Conclusion**

The globalization and neo-liberalization has shown tremendous impact on various communities. The communities which are unable to change are extinguishing themselves. Here the Muslims community, which also undergone severe impact of globalization has sparkling most of the progressive voices to undo the regressive voices and also undo the regressive aspects of globalization. Its agenda of stereotyping communities and caste to suits its economic purpose got challenge from progressive voices of various communities.

My attempt to bring the progressive voices in Muslim community has given mixed results at end of my study. To start with, in introduction I gave brief sketch of various diversities in Muslim community and Sufi strands. Explained media representation and current trends and set explore Muslim communities, diversities and progressive voices of against hegemonies of various kinds. The thesis equally carries importance to methodology in studying these trends.

In review of literature, the study categorized global literature on Islam, Indian literature on Islam and literature on Hyderabad. In third chapter, Hyderabad a Historical Sketch is elaborately explain how Hyderabad laid foundation, origin, growth, population and language and various regions and religions it has witnessed.

In the fourth Chapter; progressive voices of the Muslim community in Hyderabad. The study has 10 voices and analyzed them. All these 10 voices are public intellectual poets, writers, academicians. After mapping these voices, it is understood that Muslim community is facing ostracisation from within and outside. Epically, progressive voices being muffled in the

dominant and hegemonic politics. The women voices are further getting marginalized by patriarchy, domestic violence and dowry harassment and other social evils. Most of them are surviving on their bravery works and talents as poet, singer and writer. These progressive voices get much support from neither from families, community nor society.

The fifth Chapter: the thesis analyzed the sociological aspects of these progressive voices; they have been analyzed case by case and summed up. In concluding remarks, my study came up with satisfying my hunch that Muslim community is not monolithic but it is multiple. The progressive voices of the community either marginalize or ignored. My field work in Old city has revealed that there are various intellectuals who got beaten up because of their progressive work. My respondents view further confirmed my hunch and questions that Muslim community is not monolithic but plural and progressive.

Most of the respondents whom I interviewed say that, globalization, market interest, media is creating stereotypical images of Muslim community and branding them as terrorist. The Hindutva politics for the sake of political power playing divide and rule politics. They virtually polarized the society with hate speech, intolerance and creating the communal disharmony by creating the riots, numerous and lies.

Media is playing the damaging role by repeatedly showing Muslims as terrorist, wherever there is a bomb blast. Most of the Muslim youth is fabricated under false cases of sedition and links to the terrorism. In Old city, my fieldwork shows women being the most subjected among all are fighting for their children, who are in jails and police station for suspicion having links with terrorist for years together.

The Shaheen a voluntary organization, poet and human rights activist like Kaniz Fathima, Khalida Praveen, Sagora Begum talked about breaking these stereotypical imaginations of

Muslim community. They got success tremendously in their works. The numerous young voices following them were creating a sense of hope among the Muslim community and in public.

To conclude and sum up, my study multiple Muslim identity's mapping the progressive voice of the Muslim community a study of Hyderabad clearly vindicated my hunch that stereotypical construction of the Muslim identities is for political purpose, it does not measure the real Muslim community. The real Muslim community is multiple, and progressives' voices are leading them. However, progressive voices are not louder like communal voices. They definitely heard by the academicians and commoners and concern citizens.

### **Findings of the Study:**

- ✓ After doing such exhaustive fieldwork and interviews and going through the review of literature, witnessing real time incidents and cases:
- ✓ The Muslim community, the largest of the minorities in India, second largest religion in world undergoing different turmoil's, disappointments and hopes. 9/11 attacks in 2001 in United States of America and Islamic terrorism in the worldwide completed altered the image of the Muslim community. In India the demolition of Babri Masjid, the Shabano issue, rise of Hindutva politics has altered the way Muslim community see themselves and other communities.
- ✓ Globalization and rise of Hindutva politics have brought the structural changes in the Muslim community. The Gujarat genocide in 2002 and communal riots in Uttara Pradesh and attacks on minority community across the India and globe level has severe impact on the Muslim community.

- ✓ The one dimensional view of global capitalist foresees has destroyed the pluralities of the communities and created one dimensional view of the communities in general and Muslim community in particular. The harassment of Muslim youth by police, dowry system, and talk system is looking as key issues bothering Muslim community.
- ✓ Aspiring youth, unmarried girls breaking the stereotypical imagination of the Muslim community. Poverty, joblessness, not having education forcing working class Muslim families to the menial jobs, mechanics shops tea venders and vegetable and fruit sellers. Most responds blames the media excesses creating the problems. The Urdu language is taking the back seat. The Old city now is having private schools and colleges.
- ✓ There is a growing desperation in Muslim community because they are not getting jobs, benefits. On the other hand, they are being stigmatized as terrorists. The malaise lies in lack of resources, means of livelihood. Those, who expose these problems through activism and voluntarism, are attacked by traditionalists and fundamentalists of both the communities. The social support for these activists is less.
- ✓ Charminar, a symbol of Hyderabad, has remained a mute spectator for all these developments. The grandeur of Charminar is turned into the place of cacophony. With the formation of new state, it can retrieve its grandeur and glamour so as with the Muslim community.

### **Suggestions:**

It is high time government should look in to breaking the myths prevailing in the society about Muslims viz, polygamy, terrorism, unfriendly, rigidity etc. Muslim are like any other religious people following a belief system.

Government should look in to documenting the cultures evolved over a period of time. For instance Sufism gave a new look in to liberal thought process. Apart from this Dargha culture, folk songs, poetry, distinct music systems, spiritual ethos...etc. speak a lot about the society and social reality. This documentation would enrich future generation for a better way of life. All in all this ultimately ensures respect to Muslim community/religion.

Media should play a responsible and constructive role in projecting the Muslim community. It should also give enough space for self-evaluation and self-development of community as a whole

There is a need to implement Raganath Mishra committee report and Sachar committee reports to remake the Muslim community. Government has to evolve mechanisms to address the specific problems faced by the Muslim community. Apart from that, a sense of belongingness to one another and love and affection is required.



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**Multiple Muslim Identities:  
Mapping the Progressive Voices of Muslims of Hyderabad**

Ph D. Interview schedule

Information gathered through this interview schedule is use only for academic purpose. Anonymity will be maintained.

Interviewer: Abbas Mohammad, Ph.D research Scholar, Department of Sociology,  
University of Hyderabad p.no 9490337287  
Email. Abbas\_hcu@yahoo.com

1. Basic information

Name

Age and sex

Nativity

Education

2. Brief introduction of yourself.

3. What motivated you to come in the activism?

Reasons.

- 1.
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5

1. Do you think that media and imperialist countries are responsible for current state of Muslim community and their popular image?
2. Is majoritarian politics has affected the Muslim community?
3. How do you see the present status of the Muslim community?
4. Do you think 9/11 attacks in USA, has changed the perception on Muslim community?
5. How do see you see Muslim women status in current situation?
6. Do you think that there is increasing attacks on progressive voices of Muslim community?
7. How do reflect on freedom of speech, keeping in view recent attacks on them?
8. How can we counter the state repression on marginal section and Muslims?
9. Have you faced any attacks on you, if so, kindly explain it?
10. Comment on Islamic state in Iraq and Syria (ISIS)?
11. Briefly explain the future plans.

Thank you

Kindly fill the questionnaire.

Thanking you.

Abbas Mohammad

University of Hyderabad

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SIMILARITY INDEX

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