India's Muslim Exclusion: Need for an Inclusive Policy

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Abstract*: India has made a pledge six decades ago to build an inclusive, plural and secular society which would equitably integrate its religious minorities while respecting their distinct identities and honoring difference. This is particularly true of sour largest minority community, Muslims, who constitute 18.4 per cent of the population and also socially economically and educationally backward. Muslim exclusion can be seen in the form of segregation socially, politically, economically, culturally, educationally in Indian society. The main objective of this article is to study the complexities and nuances of exclusion of Muslims, a dominant minority group in India. It is an exploration of how Muslims, a religious minority in India, are facing exclusion in different spheres of life, namely socio-economic and physical spaces. It offers an account of the fact that Muslims stand on the periphery in social and secular spheres of life and how this is closely related to their identity. Finally suggests for the inclusiveness of the Muslim minorities in the development agenda of the Government.*

Keywords: Religion, Identity, Exclusion and Muslims

I. INTRODUCTION

The welfare of minorities has been high on the agenda of the government ever since it adopted "inclusive growth" as its guiding principle of governance in democratic countries like India. It is the responsibility of the state, and as a result, the responsibility of the majority community, to protect the welfare of the minorities so that all the members of society are happy to be a part of the democratic system and give their best for the progress of the country. The notion of "inclusive development" becomes an essential condition for the roadmap of development and progress, especially in our historical background, where all communities and sections of the population marched shoulder to shoulder and laid down their lives in the freedom struggle.

In this context the Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh, had appointed high-level committeein march 2005, under the leadership of justices Rajindar Sachar to prepare a report on social, economic and educational status of the Muslim community of India. These 7 members of High-Level Committee, gave its report in November 2006 and it clearly found that the Muslim community was really "seriously lagging. In 1980, under the chairmanship of Dr. Gopal Singh, a High-Level Committee was formed to investigate their condition. The Committee, also indicate that poor among the Muslims could not avail the opportunities in education, employment and economic activities because of isolation and various historical factors. In light of this report in 1983, the Prime Minister's 15 Point Programme was launched to provide a sense of security to minority communities and ensure their rapid socio-economic development. This Programme was based on a three-pronged approach, (i) to tackle the situation arising out of communal riots; (ii) to ensure adequate representation of the minority communities in employment under the Central and State Governments as well as Public Sector Undertakings; and (iii) other measures, such as, ensuring flow of benefits to the minority communities under various development programs, maintenance and development of religious places, Wakf properties and redressal of grievances of the Minorities. A social group is kept out of power centers and resources via social exclusion. It manifests itself in the social, political, economic, cultural, educational, and religious sectors of society.

The purpose of this study is to examine the process and dynamics of Muslim exclusion in India. It examines how Muslims, a religious minority in India, are marginalized in several aspects of life, including socioeconomic and physical space. Moreover, also explores the process of 'othering' which further excludes Muslims. The aspect of

exclusion assumes importance as a number of studies have already made it clear that the exclusion which Muslim's face emanates from their religious identity (Ali, 2015; Bhargava, 2004; Hellyer, 2009; Hopkins & Gale, 2009; Gayer &Jaffrelot, 2012 Modood, 2009; Oommen, 2014; Robinson, 2008; Sachar Committee Report, 2006; Shaban, 2016; Thorat & Attewell, 2007; Weller, 2011). The significant aspect about their identity is the fact that it has been stigmatized in India (Allen, 2010; Jaffrelot, 1996; Runnymede Trust, 1997; Shaban, 2016; Sirnate, 2007).

The definition of a stigmatized Muslim identity in India is when Muslims are seen as the "other," as cultural outsiders, as invaders, as fifth columnists, or as a threat to other people.It can also be observed in relation to suspicion, overbreeding and Muslim men being considered as womanizers, that is, luring Hindu women through 'love jihad' (Shaban, 2016). This stems from the historical presence of Muslims in India as well as Hindutva rhetoric. They were viewed as an untrustworthy fifth column that threatened the power and unity of the Hindu nation. They continue to be disenfranchised and to be on the margins of society, politics, and the economy. The denial of housing to Muslims, harassment, fake encounters, go to Pakistan, incarceration of Muslims, violence, and the *GharWapsi* Program are all examples of issues that people endure because of their religious identity.

II. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study is based on secondary sources of information. It made use of various sources ranging from books to journals, newspaper, media reports and working papers. It also makes use of Census data in India, Commission and government reports such as Sachar Committee Report (SCR), Post Sachar Evaluation Committee Report and reports by Home Office.

Defining Social Exclusion

The term social exclusion was coined in 1974 in France(khan;2020).The term social exclusion has been used differently by several scholars. The concept of 'social exclusion' refers to a complex and multi-dimensional process and encompasses a wide field. However, in a broader sense, it is used to mean the processes involving the lack of denial of resources, rights, goods and services and the inability to participate in the normal relationship and activities available to the majority of people in society (Levitas et al., 2007). These activities may pertain to economic, social, cultural or political arenas. Thus, individuals or groups could be considered as socially excluded if they are geographically resident in a society, but for reasons beyond their control they cannot participate in the normal activities of citizens, though they would like to participate (Burchardt, Le Grand and Piachand, 1999).

'Social exclusion' was seen, as the following definition offered by the European Foundation suggests, to represent the other end of the spectrum to 'full participation':

"[Social exclusion is] the process through which individuals or groups are wholly or partially excluded from full participation in the society in which they live."

Social exclusion has been defined as the process through which individuals or groups are wholly or partially excluded from full participation in the society within which they live' (Deakin et al., 1995).

Most discussion about social exclusion begin with questioning the difference between poverty and social exclusion. Some see it as merely a synonym of poverty while many argue that the notion of exclusion is much broader and goes beyond the idea of poverty to encompass factors other than the economic ones. Brian Barry (2001) has addressed some of these questions in his study of social exclusion. Barry used the definition of social exclusion to refer to those who are geographically resident in a society and willing to participate in society but they are not able to do so due to external factors. He offered two reasons why social exclusion is wrong: first. exclusion dilutes solidarity, in other words it prevents all those excluded from sharing a commonality of experience and secondly, it creates inequality of opportunity in different spheres (Le Grand. 2003).

Gore and Figueiredo (1997) argued that social exclusion can be understood as a 'second tier' concept that expresses the cumulation of social risk factors such as unemployment, lack of access to social services and family breakdown for certain social categories. Social exclusion is multidimensional not simply in the sense that it includes different social risk factors, but more specifically because it identifies the cumulative effects of risk factors that creates a new phenomenon.

In multicultural societies, there is no one particular set of beliefs rather there are various values and beliefs and therefore exclusion in such societies can be understood in terms of participation as an individual and social goal. Several definitions of social exclusion highlight the inability of people to participate, which implies that there are several dimensions to it, including not only the material but also the social and political (Millar, 2007).

According to Bhalla and Lapeyre (1997), 'the different dimensions of exclusion can be grouped into two main categories of (a) distribution, pertaining to economic exclusion, poverty and deprivation and (b) relations, pertaining to its social and political aspects' (cited in Bhalla & Luo, 2013). The interaction between these two aspects creates a distinctive concept of exclusion going beyond that of poverty. From the several studies on social exclusion, it is evident that exclusion is not merely a synonym of poverty, but it is multidimensional, relative and structural. Andrew Martin Fischer proposed a definition of exclusion, that is, exclusion is structural, institutional or agentive processes of repulsion or obstruction (Fischer, 2011). The present research would borrow from this definition and explore if Muslims are subjected to such social exclusion. It would attempt to comprehend how exclusion is multidimensional and operates through an agency and structural mechanisms.

It is possible to understand exclusion on the levels of the individual, the community, and society. The dynamics of exclusion at the communal level are examined in this study. Communities that are excluded might be seen of as having their identities stigmatized, which can be due to caste, ethnicity, or religion. Kabeer (2006) argued that social exclusion perspective, in addition to poverty takes account of the fact how certain groups in society are 'locked out' or left behind in several dimensions on the account of their identity. She pointed to the fact that social identity can act as a central axis of exclusion and the concept of social exclusion captures the overlapping nature of disadvantages experienced by groups. One needs to lay emphasis on the process of cultural devaluation and how such mechanisms lead to social exclusion of groups by societal structures. The processes of cultural devaluation draw on beliefs, norms to ridicule. demean groups and justify exclusion or denial of rights in different spheres of society (Kabeer,2006 cited in Khan;2020).

There are different causes and forms of social exclusion ranging from being based on caste, race. gender, religion, etc. This particular study would take account of exclusion based on religion and identity, precisely one's religious identity.

Islamophobia

Islamophobia has taken much root in the Western context, and to deal with the dangerous 'Muslim other' there is a 'war on terror', increased securitization, etc. (Cesari, 2010). To say that this fear of Islam or Islamophobia exists only in the West and has not crept in India would be wrong. Sayyid &Vakil;2010have argued that 'this problematization of Muslim identity is not something that is restricted only to western plutocracies and the focus on the way in which the dynamic of Islamophobia is played out in these countries should not blind us to the global range of its performance'. Hindutva forces are generating their own Islamophobia in India in the name of violence propagated by Islam and love jihad, etc. (Anand, 2010). Muslims face much incarceration. There is a large proportion of Muslims in prisons, which holds true for both the societies. This religious profiling has aggravated in the aftermath of 9/11 attacks and influenced the conditions of Muslims world over.

Muslims: Socioeconomic Exclusion

Many research studies and studies have frequently verified that Muslims in India experience discrimination and disadvantage in a variety of spheres of life. We must recognize that Muslims' challenges are multifaceted since they face issues of security, identity, and equity at the same time. And the interplay of these dimensions is at the core of the socio-economic and political processes that the community is exposed to on a daily basis (Basant & Sheriff, 2009,). The following sections would provide data from different surveys and reports and other studies to explore the ways in which Muslims are excluded.

Muslims Economic Status

The economic problems of Muslims are often traced back to the fall of Muslim Empire when they turned from rulers to subjects. However, one needs to note that it dates back to the period much before that, when lower castes in Hindu converted to Islam (Khan;2020).A large proportion of Indian Muslims are converted lower castes who converted to

Islam in the hope of improving their socioeconomic status, but their efforts were in vain. The second blow on the economic conditions of Muslim came with partition, when a large section of Muslim middle class and landowners migrated to Pakistan (Hasan, 2007). Omar Khalidi (2006) provided three major explanations for absence of Muslims in government employment: *migration to Pakistan, discrimination and educational lag*. He also pointed out that those most negatively affected in the aftermath of 1947-1948 were the propertied classes, who saw their immovable assets frozen by the dreaded Custodian of Evacuee Property, until 1956 (Khalidi;2006).This regulation stated that no intended Muslim evacuee would be permitted to sell his property in India. This put Muslims in a tough position because it became impossible for them to borrow money when they needed it because banks did not consider Muslims creditworthy.

W. W. Hunter (1969) in his work, *The Indian Musalmans*, brought to light that Indian Muslims faced exclusion in employment. They were not part of the officer ranks in the army; they did not hold Revenue Department posts and they were also excluded from civil employment (Khalidi, 2006). This discrimination against Muslims in employment has persisted in Independent India as well. Thorat and Attewell (2007) attempted to explore job discrimination in India through a correspondence study. In that, they used fictitious identities of upper-caste Hindu, Muslim and Dalit names to respond via mail to job advertisements in the newspaper. All the fictitious applicants had equal educational qualifications. however, it was noted that there was discrimination based on caste and religion. The applicants with lower caste and Muslim names fared less well compared with the high castes in private enterprise sector. This was but one example of the much prevalent social exclusion of Dalits and Muslims which is practiced even in the modern sector of Indian economy (in Bhalla & Luo, 2013,). One needs to explore the Muslim participation in workforce from an intersectional perspective. There are intergroup, regional and gender differentials noticed in participation of Muslims in employment. The participation rate for Muslims is lower than other religious communities. Furthermore, it is lower for Muslims in rural areas compared with those in urban areas. Gender dimension is vital as the lower rate of economic activity of Muslim women affects the overall economic condition of the community

Table: 1 Work Participation Rate Among Religious Communities in India: 2011

Religious Communities	Total	Male	Female	Male-Female Gap
Hindus	41	53.9	27.3	26.6
Muslims	**32.5**	**49.5**	**14.8**	**34.7**
Christians	41.9	52.9	31.2	21.7
Sikhs	36.3	55.4	15.2	40.3
Buddhists	43.1	53.4	32.5	20.8
Jain	35.5	57.7	12.3	45.4
Total	**39.7**	**53.3**	**25.5**	**27.7**

Source: Calculated from Census of India, Religion Table 2011.

From the data presented in Table1, it reveals that WPR among the Muslims (32.5 per cent) remained lower than national average (39.7 per cent) as well as majority community i.e., Hindus. The work participation among the Muslim males was 49.5, which was lowest among all the denominations; this indicates that half of the Muslim population of the country was not contributing in economy. The overall lowest WPR among the Muslims was due to the low female WPR (14.8 per cent), which is also indicative of low status of women in the community. This may be due to the observance of *'purdah system'* by Muslim womenfolk (Jawaid 2007). The Muslim women may be restricted from going out due to seclusion norms so their education attainment and work participation rate suffers (Kaur 2010).

If we consider the distribution of workers by occupational category, it is seen that a minuscule section of Muslims is involved, constituting about 8 per cent in the industrial sector and about 21 per cent in agriculture while the majority falls in the category of the other workers. The SCR revealed that there are about 61 per cent of Muslims who come under the category of self-employed compared with 55 per cent of the Hindu workers (Sachar Committee Report, 2006). Muslim workers are mostly casual workers and their share in regular jobs is as low as 27 per cent in urban areas, while their share in street-vending activities is12 per cent higher than other groups compared with the national average that happens to be less than 8 per cent (ibid.). The SCR was published in 2006, which was followed by *Kundu Committee Report* to check on the conditions of Muslims since SCR. The findings of Kundu Report show not much

difference as during 2011-2012, 'in urban areas 50% of the Muslim households were self-employed against 33% among Hindus. Only about 28% of Muslim households have earnings from regular wage versus 43%. It confirms that relative employment situation, poverty, etc. of the Muslims has not undergone much change since the adoption of Sachar Committee Report (Post Sachar Evaluation Report, 2014).

Muslims in India face discrimination not only in regular employment but also in government jobs, which presents much more disturbing statistics. It is seen that religious identity is an important factor as far as the deprivation of Muslims in India is concerned (Shaban, 2016). The proportion of Muslims in government employment was higher than that of post-partition phase. The percentage of Muslims in defense also suffered a decline as the representation of Muslims at the time of partition was 32 per cent and had now gone down to 2 per cent' (Sonalkar;1993).

If we look at the statistics of Indian Muslims in Indian Administrative Services as presented in the Gopal Singh Committee Report, it shows that percentage of Muslims in Indian Administrative Services was disturbingly low compared with other religious communities. While Muslims constituted only 2.86 per cent of Indian Administrative Services, Sikhs and Christians constituted 4.71 and 5.64 per cent, respectively.

The rationale behind this disturbingly low percentage of Muslims in government employment is often their religious identity. A lower caste Muslim is more likely to be identified as a Muslim than a Dalit by the majority community and the state administration (Shaban;2016). In states where Muslim population is high like those of Uttar Pradesh. West Bengal, Bihar, the share of Muslims in stateemployment is less than one-third of their population share. In West Bengal, the share of Muslims in government employment is well below in proportion to their population, with only 4.2 per cent being employed by the government as against 25.2 per cent of the population (Bidwai, 2016). In West Bengal and Assam, with a 25.2 and 30.9 per cent Muslim population share, respectively, the percentage of Muslim employees in key judicial positions is barely 5 and 9.4. This under representation clearly manifests the religious prejudice that prevails.

Table-2 Muslim Employees in Government sector

Department Reporting	Reported Number of Employees	Number of Muslim Employees	Muslims Employees Percentage
State level department	4452851	278385	6.3
Railways	1418747	64066	4.5
Banks and RBI	680833	15030	2.2
Security Agencies	1879134	60517	3.2
Postal Services	275841	13759	5.0
Universities	137263	6416	4.7
All Reported Government Employment (Exclude PSUs)	8844669	438173	4.9
Central PSUs	687512	22387	3.3
State PSUs	745271	80661	10.8
All PSUs	1432783	103048	7.2

Sources Sachar Committee Report; 2006

Table 2 provides details of the primary data collected by Sachar Committee. It pertains to 8.8 million employees from different departments and institutions. It reveals that only 5 per cent are reported to be Muslims, in which only 3.3 per cent were of central PSUs and 10.8 per cent of the state-level PSUs (Sachar Committee Report, 2006, p. 165). National level data on employment of Muslims in civil services reveal that Muslims constituted on 3 per cent in the IAS and 1.8 per cent in IFS (ibid.). A peculiar feature of Muslims recruited on high posts is that most fall under the category of 'promoted candidates' compared with recruits through direct competitive examination. Largely. Muslims are under-represented in government jobs in all departments and most confine to lower positions.It was only recently 2012 that India got its first Muslim Intelligence Bureau Chief after 125 years that it was set up (Hebbar, 2012). It implies that the idea of unpatriotic, anti-national Muslims holds the imagination of the wider society. If we look at the statistics of Muslims in jails and on trials, it is evident that Muslims are held more suspect. Although Islamophobia may not have such a strong hold in India, but it is certainly gaining ground.

Spatial Exclusion

There are several ghettos and segregated localities of Muslims in different cities of India. Nida Kirmani (2008) in her on Zakir Nagar, a segregated migrant locality of Delhi, which began developing in 1970s and now part of wider area of Okhla, provided insights on spatial segregation of Muslims. Kirmani's work in this Muslim neighborhood in Delhi shows how memories of historical events influence the construction of contemporary urban localities. It pointed out how in periods of conflict and backdrop of communal violence, there was heightened awareness of religious boundaries. Discussions with the residents about their preference for living in a 'Muslim area' revealed a strong effect of memories of violent events (ranging from the Partition riots to the Gujarat pogrom) in the construction of local urban space. By living in Zakir Nagar, its residents felt that they had built a barricade against the religion-based violence and discrimination that had become part of their collective memory. Babri destruction or Gujarat riots all made religious identity an important marker of identity. People want to stay in neighborhoods in which they feel safe (Kirmani, 2008). Communal violence or riot leads to a feeling of insecurity among the Muslims which eventually translates into ghettoization of the community. This ghettoization or self-segregation is reiterated in Laurent Gayer's study of Abul Fazal Enclave in Delhi. A Muslim dominated neighborhood, where not only middle classes and migrants from other areas resided but also with the rise of Hindu Muslim violence across North India, the destruction of the Babri Masjid, led to a number of wealthy Muslim industrialists to relocate here just to feel secure in numbers (Gayer &Jaffrelot, 2012).

The history of Hindu-Muslim co-habitation has not been as harmonious as it may seem. The majority community has long had inhibitions emanating from notions of purity and pollution to let the Muslims reside in the same neighborhood. The third factor that acts as a catalyst in spatial segregation of Muslims is communal riots that have developed a sense of fear among the Muslims. The acts of violence have led to believe that residing in segregated ethnic enclaves would offer them more security Segregated Muslim localities emerge from the fear of communal violence, however paradoxically these enclaves are seen as dangerous and breeding ground of crime. This dilemma is a source of serious concern for the Muslims.

As a result of above-mentioned factors, Muslims in India are found to be unevenly distributed in residential spaces that often emerge as ghettos and ethnic enclaves. The ghettos in which Muslims reside often lack a proper physical and social infrastructure. Muslim-concentrated areas often lack access to proper sanitation, health and transport facilities. If one looks at the presence of educational institutions, smaller villages with a high share of Muslim population have lesser number of primary and elementary schools. Similar is the case of medical facilities, areas with high proportions of Muslim population tends to lack in proper medical facilities and this happens especially in larger villages. The 55th and 61th NSSO data provided the status of electrification at the household level and drawing from this it was evident that in areas where a large number of Muslims and SCS/STs resided, those were categorized as the least electrified areas (Sachar Committee Report, 2006). Similarly, the 60th round NSSO provided data on household use of tap water. It was revealed that while urban areas were better served with tap water, the scenario in rural areas presented a different picture with only one-quarter of households having access and in that Muslims were worst served of the lot (SCR;2006).

Abdul Shaban's study in Mumbai shows an interesting case of spatial segregation. How Muslim ghettos such as Nagpada, Byculla, Dongri and so on are highly unplanned and congested, and lack civic and other urban amenities such as schools, colleges, banks, hospitals, etc. (Shaban, 2012). He said;

The politics of ethnicity and violence in Mumbai has alienated the Muslims from public spaces, except in their own ghettoes. Public spaces are now appropriated by regional and right-wing groups who dominate parks, streets, roads, etc. In the city. boundaries between neighborhoods of Muslims and Hindus are very pronounced by the use of symbols, flags, graffiti's [sic], banners. Where saffron flags can be seen hoisted on houses and slum tenements dominated by Hindus, Muslim neighborhoods can be recognized by green flags with crescent and star.

It is not merely the residential spaces of Muslims which are contested sites but also their places of worship which have often been the center of controversy. There are cases where there is a dispute over a mosque in the area. Williams (2012) presented the case of Madanpura, a traditional weaving neighborhood in the center of Varanasi which inhabits a vast majority of Muslims. This work brought to light the question of Muslim rights to the city by pointing to the shutting down of a mosque in Madanpura. Such an act on part of the majority community to refuse to recognize the

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legitimacy of a mosque points to a larger debate of citizenship of Muslims and their rights to representation in the urban landscape (Williams;2012).

The mosque's closure is only one example of the city's Muslim rights being questioned. There have been other instances where Muslims have been threatened in terms of religious minority' security. The insecurity of Muslims in the face of communal violence leads to the establishment of ethnic enclaves that provide a sense of protection to them, which leads to self-segregation or the formation of ghettos.

However, Muslims in South India are not as marginalized or excluded, which is apparent in Radhi Kakanchana's (2012) work in Kuttichira, Calicut. Here Muslims are 'not urban outcastes or seriously deprived groups. Oceanic trade and gulf migration has helped them better their economic conditions. Origin, economic activity and cultural practices continue to define the positive exclusivity of the locality's Muslim inhabitants (Gayer & Jaffrelot;2012). The explanation offered for this is that they have been spared the violence of partition and other communal violence unlike the Hindi-belt.Muslims may not be evenly marginalized, and exclusion may be more pronounced in some areas compared with others but that does not deny exclusion of Muslims in different spheres in complex ways.

Need For Affirmative Action

The current unsatisfactorily bad situation demands that something be done about it. Muslims are entitled to affirmative action, which must be extended to other marginalized groups such as Dalits and OBCs. Affirmative action does not have to take the shape of job or school quotas, while that is something that should be discussed. It just will not do to dismiss the reservations argument if its rejection leads to inaction and perpetuation and aggravation of Muslim exclusion, as happened with the Gopal Singh report. We simply cannot afford further exclusion and alienation of Muslims morally, politically, or in its implications for social disharmony, strife and violence. Eventually, one must move towards a proportional representation-based electoral system. This system is far superior to the first-past-the-post system. But in the immediate future, some steps are necessary: The most underprivileged and the OBCs among Muslims must be given a share in the overall Dalit and OBC job and education quotas. And 15 per cent of all Plan expenditure must be set aside for the religious minorities, who constitute 18.4 per cent of the population. The lion's share must go to Muslims. The MHRD has done well to start recording enrolment of Muslims in schools and to sanction 7,000 primary and upper primary schools in minority-dominated districts during 2006-07, and 32,250 centers under the Education Guarantee Scheme. It is focusing on the 93 districts that have more than a 20 per cent Muslims in the population. Much more must be done at all levels of education. Measures such as these will help empower Muslims. But the problem of exclusion will still remain. It will need other forms of affirmative action, such as aggressive recruitment to "sensitive" positions in police, military and intelligence agencies not through quotas, but as special, focused measures to be repeated until Muslim representation reaches an acceptable level. It goes without saying that the government must simultaneously de-communalize its counter-terrorism strategy and bring the culprits of recent communal violence to book. This is essential to restoring the Muslim community's confidence in the state and the possibility of getting justice. At the end of the day, exclusion spells social disintegration. India's democracy will only be as strong as its pluralism and ability to be inclusive.

III. CONCLUSION

Muslim communities around the world vary from one another in a number of ways, including organization, customs, and culture. That being said, transnationalism and the loyalty it entails to a global religious community have become more and more popular in recent years. The idea that pan-religious identity is on the increase because of anti-Muslim sentiments and their quest for acceptance is one argument in favor of it.It revealed how Muslims are marginalized in both societal and secular spheres. They risk incarceration, physical seclusion, and job discrimination based on their religion. It becomes evident how closely Muslims' identities are tied to their marginalization and exclusion. Not all Muslims experience the same level of exclusion within a single society, and in some areas it is more severe than in others. Given the complexity of Muslim exclusion in every domain, there are indications of both selective exclusion and inclusion. It would be facile to categories all experiencing exclusion in the same way and in one particular dimension and degree. The exclusionary process affects different classes, castes and ethnicities among Muslims in different ways, yet what unites them is the experience of exclusion on grounds of their religious identity.

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