

Working Paper 443

**Need for a Study of State
Policies towards the
Development of Religious
Minorities in Karnataka**

Azhar Khan C A

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NEED FOR A STUDY OF STATE POLICIES TOWARDS THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS MINORITIES IN KARNATAKA

Azhar Khan C A*

Abstract

The principal objective of the working paper is to present an academic proposition for studying state policies towards the development of religious minorities in Karnataka. It specifies a few demographic details concerning minorities at all India and Karnataka levels. The study discusses perspectives of prominent political scientists who have examined Karnataka as "comparatively cohesive society", "broadening and deepening democracy", and "increasing communalisation of society". The central argument of the working paper is that the state of Karnataka has witnessed a paradigm shift from being a cohesive society to communalisation of politics and society. The findings of various state-appointed committees and commissions are discussed which have identified a host of social, economic, and political challenges faced by minorities in Karnataka. Post reviewing the available literature, a set of research questions and objectives are identified for further in-depth research.

Keywords: Karnataka; Religious Minorities; State Policies; Public Policy; Development; Marginalisation; Awareness; Participation; Representation; Empowerment

Introduction

Karnataka has witnessed governments formed by different political parties, mostly national rather than regional parties. Governments of Karnataka since unification in 1956 have been more often stable, majoritarian, and completed full terms. Simultaneously, it has also witnessed political upheavals, governor's rule, incomplete tenures, hung legislative assemblies, coalition governments, political instability, identity politics, and communalism. Here we address the development issues that specifically relate to religious minorities consisting of individuals belonging to Islam, Christianity, Jainism, Buddhism, Sikhism and Zoroastrianism.

Karnataka has witnessed relatively few social, economic, and cultural conflicts. Social and political cohesion here has been relatively high compared to other states in India. Due to various social movements over the ages, people of Karnataka have accommodated various minorities and lived in a spirit of togetherness. Different regions – princely Mysore, Bombay Presidency, Madras Presidency, Hyderabad State, Coorg, and Sandur – administered by separate authorities were brought together as a unified state based on the language that is spoken widely, i.e., Kannada.

Karnataka's demography comprises upper castes, dominant castes, backward or intermediate castes, scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, and minorities. The demographic nature is such that none of these groups on its own enjoys a clear numerical majority. Each group has its relative strengths in comparison to others. However, there are limitations, as no single caste or community can claim a sole majority. It is a unique situation that has an impact on the spheres of state, government, and society.

* PhD Research Scholar, CPIGD, Institute for Social and Economic Change, Nagarabhavi, Bangalore - 560072. The author is grateful towards Dr V Anil Kumar, PhD Supervisor; Professor Supriya RoyChowdhury, Professor N Sivanna, and Dr Anand Inbanathan - Doctoral Committee Members; Professor Abdul Aziz and Professor D Jeevan Kumar - Panel Experts. He is also thankful to both the anonymous referees for their valuable comments and suggestions. The usual disclaimer, however, applies. E-mail: azharkhan@isec.ac.in

The political and social system has provided sufficient space for accommodation, cohesion, and coalition of social, economic, and political groupings. Instances of social and political accommodations or coalitions are reflected in groupings such as MOBD, AHINDA, LIVO, LIBR and 4B's¹. These political adjustments have occurred due to power-sharing, contesting elections, political representations, strengthening support base, coalition building, portfolio allotments, targeted programmes, and policies of state governments.

Demographic Details

Given the broad contours of Karnataka state and politics, the proposed study seeks to address the question of minorities. The National Minorities Commission Act of 1992 and 2014 has notified a total of six communities as religious minorities under section 2 (c) namely Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists, Parsis, and Jains. The following are some of the essential demographic details about the minorities at both all-India level and in Karnataka. The primary data taken from census reports show the broad social, economic, and political circumstances and situations in which minorities are leading their lives in India as well as Karnataka.

Table 1: Size of Minority Population in India and Karnataka

Census Years	Total Population in Lakhs		Minority Population in Lakhs		Proportion of Minority Population in percentage	
	India	Karnataka	India	Karnataka	India	Karnataka
2001	10286.1	528.5	2010.3	82.7	19.54	15.6
2011	12101.9	611.3	2445.9	97.7	20.20	16.0

Sources: Census Reports, 2001 and 2011, Government of India

The above Table 1 details the size of the minority population at both all-India and Karnataka levels. At the all-India level, the proportion of the minority population to that of the total population was 19.54 per cent in 2001 and 20.20 per cent in 2011. Similarly, in Karnataka, the percentage of the minority population to that of the total population was 15.6 per cent in 2001 and 16.0 per cent in 2011. In all-India and Karnataka, minorities constitute an essential segment in the country's human resources. Their protection, promotion, awareness, participation, representation and inclusion are a crucial aspect of the development of India.

Table 2: Size of Different Minority Populations in India

	Minority Population in Lakhs		Proportion of Minority Population in percentage	
	2001	2011	2001	2011
Muslims	1381.8	1722.4	13.43	14.23
Christians	240.8	278.1	2.34	2.29
Sikhs	192.1	208.3	1.87	1.72
Buddhists	79.5	84.4	0.77	0.69
Jains	42.2	44.5	0.41	0.36

Sources: Census Reports, 2001 and 2011, Government of India

¹ Muslims, Other Backward Classes, Dalits | Alpasankhyatha, Hindulida, Dalita | Lingayats, Vokkaligas | Lingayats, Brahmins | Bunts, Baniyas, Brahmins, Billavas |

Table 3: Size of Different Minority Populations in Karnataka

	Minority Population in Lakhs		Proportion of Minority Population in percentage	
	2001	2011	2001	2011
Muslims	64.4	78.9	12.23	12.90
Christians	10.1	11.4	1.91	1.91
Sikhs	0.15	0.28	0.03	0.04
Buddhists	3.93	0.95	0.74	0.15
Jains	4.12	4.40	0.78	0.71

Sources: Census Reports, 2001 and 2011, Government of India

Table 2 and 3 contain statistical information about the population and proportion of the population to that of the total population of different minorities. It can be noted that among all the minorities, Muslims are the most substantial minority regarding population and proportion at both all-India and Karnataka levels. At the national level, they are followed by Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists, and Jains, while in Karnataka they are followed by Christians, Jains, Buddhists, and Sikhs. Nationally, Christians constitute 2.29 per cent of the total population, while in Karnataka, they comprised 1.91 per cent of the entire state's population in 2011. At the national level, Sikhs, Buddhists and Jains put together form 2.77 per cent of the national population in 2011. In Karnataka, Sikhs, Buddhists, and Jains put together to consist of only 0.9 per cent of the state's population in 2011.

Table 4: Religion-wise Percentage of Male and Female in India

	Male in percentage		Female in percentage	
	2001	2011	2001	2011
Muslims	51.6	51.2	48.4	48.7
Christians	49.8	49.4	50.2	50.5
Sikhs	52.8	52.6	47.2	47.4
Buddhists	51.2	50.9	48.8	49.1
Jains	51.5	51.2	48.5	48.8

Sources: Census Reports, 2001 and 2011, Government of India

Table 4 points to the statistical data concerning the percentage of males and females belonging to minorities at the all-India level. Except for Christians, all other minorities have less than 50 per cent female population. The percentage of male population among Muslims, Sikhs, Buddhists, and Jains are higher compared to the percentage of the female population. Moreover, the alarming point is that the percentage of female population among Sikhs in 2011 is 47.4 per cent, which is the lowest among all other minorities. It indicates the unbalanced percentage of male and female populations belonging to the minorities. It is also an indicator of human development, which affects the minority population due to their given socio-economic and political circumstances.

Table 5: Religion-wise Literacy Rates in India and Karnataka

	India in Percentage		Karnataka in Percentage	
	2001	2011	2001	2011
Muslims	59.1	57.28	70.1	67.65
Christians	80.3	74.34	87.4	82.16
Sikhs	69.4	67.51	83.7	75.86
Buddhists	73.7	71.83	54.8	68.00
Jains	94.1	86.43	84.3	79.46

Sources: Census Reports, 2001 and 2011, Government of India

Table 5 draws attention to the religion-wise literacy rates, i.e., literate individuals above the age of seven for both 2001 and 2011 years. Accordingly, we can note that in 2011 at the national level, the lowest percentage of literates are Muslims with only 57.28 per cent, while the highest among the minorities are Jains. Similarly, in Karnataka, the lowest percentages of literates are Muslims with 67.65 per cent, and the highest among the minorities are Christians with 82.16 per cent literates.

These essential demographic details inform us that a substantial percentage of the population in Karnataka belongs to minorities. In this regard, it would be significant to access and analyse the operations of Karnataka politics towards the protection and promotion of minority interests. Consequently, it is crucial to understand the process of inclusion and accommodation of minorities in the government and politics of Karnataka.

Democratic states and government are expected to provide certain privileges, entitlements, and special considerations towards the minorities. Further, the rights, liberties, freedoms, practices, and customs of minorities need to be respected, promoted and protected by the state. The state is bound to include and accommodate the minorities through articulating, devising and implementing various policies and programmes for safeguarding their identities as well as group rights. In light of this, it is crucial to comprehend the various such programmes and policies enunciated by the state governments for the empowerment of minorities.

Likewise, political participation and representation of minorities in government and politics are vital. Upliftment, welfare, and development of minorities to a large extent depend upon various aspects which either promote or hinder their growth and progress. Moreover, the governments that engage in specific steps and actions towards the development of minorities mostly have their reflections and motives which are met with consequences accordingly. It is critical to understand the interests and benefits which governments or political parties are likely to secure by engaging in actions towards the empowerment of minorities. It would likewise be interesting to examine whether or not greater representation and participation of minorities in government and politics will result in significant benefits for the minorities.

The Political Argument

A political argument has been put forth by Manor (1989) that Karnataka state within the Indian context is perceived as a "comparatively cohesive society." He is of the view that historically in Karnataka, it is difficult to locate evidence of "group feeling" or a sense of severe "alienation from the social order."

According to him, the state had witnessed “relatively equitable distribution of land,” and most of the population had secured “greater quantities of certain key resources.” Moreover, it is further argued that the dominant caste members of the state had behaved with “much more restraint” in the spheres of land and politics which resulted in not just making it a “comparatively cohesive society” but also “comparatively cohesive polity” as well (Manor, 1989).

Further Manor (1989) argues that the characteristics of Karnataka included a “relatively stable” as well as “well-integrated” society. He makes a note of two crucial underpinnings, i.e. first the moderate pace of change prevented “extreme stresses developing” in society which can also be seen through the moderate growth rate of agricultural production; second, the change in the character of the Karnataka society has changed in such a manner whereby “social order has faced only limited disruptions”. Therefore, the critical point highlighted by him was that the society’s “relatively cohesive character” in Karnataka offered a “relatively congenial setting” to politicians and political parties “to redirect resources to less prosperous groups” (Manor, 1989).

Correspondingly, Raghavan and Manor (2009) stated that through different political innovations, leadership in Karnataka had exhibited propensities of “broadening and deepening democracy.” They articulated that in the first two decades of post-Independence itself, democracy had long flourished in Karnataka. Prominent reasons for such a situation to emerge were free and fair elections for a legislative assembly and local bodies, political awakening among the masses and politicians responding to the needs of interest groups. Moreover, they examined how major factors of changing power equations, emerging competitive party system, and a decentralised political system resulted in a “political transformation.” Importantly, they identified that Karnataka had experienced “enlightened governments” which historically have undertaken measures such as “political accommodation,” “political openness and inclusion,” and “anticipatory action” (Raghavan and Manor, 2009).

Further Raghavan and Manor (2009) in their work examined various political and social changes that occurred during the early 1970s and late 1980s, which had all resulted in the strengthening of democracy in the state. They brought together the role and importance of politicians or political leaders in shaping the government character, state-society relations, and public policy. They argued that three successive chief ministers of Karnataka – D Devaraj Urs (1972-1980), R Gundu Rao (1980-1983), and Ramakrishna Hegde (1983-1988) – had played a vital role in state politics which resulted in Karnataka politics becoming more “accommodative, enlightened, and more democratic” (Raghavan and Manor, 2009).

Juxtaposed with the studies of Manor (1989) and Raghavan and Manor (2009), Assadi (2017) discusses and narrates an altogether different scenario of Karnataka politics and society. In his paper, the author has held that the relationships among state, society, and politics in Karnataka are undergoing massive changes, transformations, and shifts. First is the emergence and rise of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) as a dominant party in recent years. Second is the politics of Karnataka being mostly associated with the growth of identity politics. Third, Karnataka becoming no longer a model state due to increasing communalisation of politics and increasing intolerance; and fourth, identity politics due to both state policies and social movements (Assadi, 2017).

Assadi (2017) asserts that Karnataka is witnessing a paradox of democratic politics wherein its “tolerant society” is giving way to “increasing communalisation of society”, and a paradigm shift is occurring in the realm of identity politics. “Communalisation of politics” is happening even though the state has witnessed some social movements in the twentieth century. Constant shifts in the state governments and politics have provided scope for many turning points such as coalition governments, non-Congress coalitions, and non-Congress governments. All these trends, patterns, and shifts have resulted in a growing intolerance and communalism (Assadi, 2017).

Given the above arguments situated from the 1980s to 2000s to 2010s, it can be observed that indeed a lot of political and social transformations have occurred in Karnataka state, society, and politics. It can be noted how various purposes have led to the paradigm shift from being a cohesive society to communalisation of politics. It also narrates the journey wherein Karnataka politics has witnessed a broadening and deepening of democracy during the 1970s and 1980s, but the scenario has altered with the increasing communalisation of politics.

State Appointed Committees and Commissions

Karnataka is one of the first states to implement an affirmative action policy, way back during the period of the old princely state of Mysore. The implementation of the reservation policy is attributed to the early non-Brahmin or anti-Brahmin movements led by OBCs. The journey of identifying castes and communities as backwards to secure benefits of reservations is a long, exhausting, complicated process mired in the politics of identity. Since the pre-Independence period, each caste and community wanted itself to be considered as backward, excluded, neglected, and discriminated. For securing a place on the lists of backward classes, different castes and communities have represented their cases at the highest level of state politics. Following is a brief description of various committees and commissions appointed by the Karnataka state governments to delve into the subject matter of identifying backward classes. Amidst this struggle, minorities in Karnataka had to face the consequences and repercussions.

The Miller Committee was constituted on August 23, 1918, under the chairpersonship of Sir Lesley Miller, then Chief Justice of the Mysore princely state. The backward communities leading anti-caste movement under the banner of Praja Mitra Mandali argued for affirmative action in the fields of education and recruitment. It was Krishnaraja Wadiyar IV, the then Maharaja of Mysore, who constituted the Miller Committee and sought a fact-based report on adequate representation for communities in public services. The committee recommended reservations, scholarships and relaxation of age limit for backward classes in public service appointments. Moreover, Muslims too, were considered as backward classes.

The Mysore Backward Class Committee, also known as R Nagan Gowda Committee, was constituted in 1960 and submitted its report in 1961. The committee employed three essential criteria to identify educationally and socially backward people who deserve representation in government services. They are Social backwardness of castes, educational backwardness, and proportion of representation in public service. It also identified the causes of underdevelopment and noted the presence of castes among minorities such as Muslims and Christians. The committee recommended that Muslims be placed

under the backward classes list and also identified more than ten castes within Muslims as most backward.

The first Karnataka Backward Class Commission is also known as L G Havanur Commission was appointed in 1975 by the then chief minister Devraj Urs. The commission ensured the adoption of a comprehensive framework for designing a suitable methodology and using appropriate criteria to determine the educational backwardness of communities and castes. The commission carried a socio-economic survey to obtain the economic and social status of castes and communities found in the state. After that, the commission took steps for identifying the Socially Economically Backward Classes (SEBCs) using multiple indicators. Further, the commission identified castes and communities which are educationally backward from among the socially backward.

The commission suggested classifying backward classes into Backward Communities, Backward Castes, and Backward Tribes. However, it also observed that backwardness due to caste was peculiar to Hindus. Therefore Christians and Muslims need not be considered as backward classes for reservation purposes. Instead, the commission maintained that both Muslims and Christians enjoy the status of minorities under the Constitution. However, it also noted the sparse representation of Muslims in public services and recommended that they are treated as a distinct and separate category belonging to the minority groups with reservations not more than 6 per cent. In 1977, the Devaraj Urs government passed an order which provided reservations to Muslims under other backward classes.

The second Karnataka Backward Class Commission, also is known as T Venkataswamy Commission, was constituted in 1983 and submitted its report in 1986. The commission employed seventeen criteria to determine social, economic and educational backwardness. It identified thirty-five castes as backwards and recommended reservations in education and employment. It also fixed an upper-income ceiling so that those who are economically strong need not get the facilities. It also suggested having a generation limit wherein if parents and grandparents have availed the benefits of reservations; then such candidates need not be benefitted. Interestingly, the commission recommended the continuation of reservation for Muslims. Nonetheless, due to various reasons, the T Venkataswamy Commission report was rejected by the government and instead backward classes were reclassified into five groups, i.e., A, B, C, D, and E categories under an interim agreement.

The third Karnataka Backward Class Commission, also known as Justice O Chinnappa Reddy Commission, was constituted in 1988 and submitted its report in 1990. It was a one-person commission, and for non-partial evaluation, the chairperson was selected as he was a native of Andhra Pradesh. The commission recommended the classification of backward classes into three categories, i.e., Category I, II, and III. Category I included 52 castes, Category II included 14 castes and religious minorities, and Category III was an economical category. Simultaneously, the commission excluded those backward classes who were children of serving Class I and Class II officers or were professionals such as lawyers, chartered accountants, doctors, dentists, architects, and engineers.

Further, this commission considered Muslims as a backward community, on whose basis the government issued an order in 1994 which included Muslims under Category II. Subsequently, another order was released, which determined the Muslim quota for reservation at 6 per cent under Category II (B) along with other minorities such as Christians and Buddhists. However, the recommendations of

Justice O Chinnappa Reddy Commission were not implemented. Instead, the government in 1994 decided to bring out an official list of backward classes grouped into four broad categories, i.e., Category I, II, III, and IV.

It is to be specially noted that all the committees and commissions appointed by the government of Karnataka have explicitly considered minorities to classify them as backward communities. They have documented the desolate social, economic, and political conditions of minorities over a long period. With these background of findings and recommendations of various state-appointed committees and commissions, it would be pertinent to study the relationships and interactions among the minorities and political institutions and governance for their overall development. Moreover, it will make an academic case for the necessity of researching the state policies towards the development of minorities in Karnataka. The following section details the review of the literature concerning the religious minorities at the state level in Karnataka.

Review of Literature

There is abundant literature available for understanding the broad themes of Karnataka state and politics. Various renowned social scientists have dwelled upon this research area to build theoretical frameworks and bring out the analysis in the context of state politics in Karnataka. Several seminal social scientists are associated with this area of research and have contributed widely to understanding the political process in Karnataka.

Significant subthemes include studies on modern Karnataka, state formation, political culture, political leadership, public service commission, secretariat, urban local bodies, panchayats, district administration, party system, assembly elections, electoral politics, political parties, factionalism, regions within the regions, social movements, language politics, communal issues, statehood movements, backward classes, land reforms, and vernacular press.

Indeed this list is not exhaustive, as there are many other themes and subthemes which academicians and researchers have dwelled. However, papers with a particular focus on Karnataka state politics and minorities are decidedly less in number. A few researchers, academicians, and scholars have shown interest and have come out with works contributing to the understanding of the relationship between the state government and minorities in Karnataka.

Ahmed (1980) has argued the need for increased representation of minorities in the political system to uphold the secular nature of India's Constitution as well as for the modernisation programme. He has attempted to understand the Muslims' role in the politics of Karnataka through contesting elections and representing in the Karnataka Vidhan Sabha (Ahmed, 1980). Higde (2010) has conducted a study on the interface between minorities and the backward class constituency in Karnataka. He has dwelled upon the question of identification of backward classes among the minorities as many of them are socially and educationally backwards. He has explicitly brought out certain perceptions of two significant minorities, namely Muslims and Christians (Higde, 2010).

Natraj (2007) in a study on Backward Classes and Minorities in Karnataka politics has attempted to examine the "relative electoral gains and losses" of various caste groups. In this regard, he has outlined different caste groups as well as portrayed the nature of affirmative action. Further, the

author has analysed the representation of these caste groups in the state legislative assembly from 1952 onwards. However, the primary focus is devoted to understanding the backward classes themselves, and a minimal attempt is made for highlighting the status of minorities in Karnataka (Natraj, 2007).

Assadi in various writings has thrown light upon issues, concerns and challenges faced by the minority population in Karnataka and examined the way forward. In numerous studies, the focus is to highlight various aspects and factors that have led to the marginalisation, exclusion, and threats towards the minorities in multiple ways. He has drawn attention to growing incidents of communal violence, especially in the coastal region, and Hindutva policies, Minority voters in 2008 and the 2013 legislative assembly elections, new political alignments of social groups, and threats to the syncretic culture of Karnataka (Assadi, 1998, 1999, 2002, 2003, 2009, 2013).

Assadi (2017) also highlights the ambiguities while defining the backward castes or other backward classes since the early 1900s as they are "conglomerations of more than one hundred amorphous groups of various castes and communities." Further, he notes, the authorities are very uncertain about defining "otherness" in "other backward classes," what it constitutes and whom they represent. Moreover, there is a healthy relationship between various social categories and state politics wherein different social groups pressurise the state governments for securing political, social and economic benefits.

Assadi says that castes and communities identified as backward would not like themselves to be excluded from the benefits of affirmative action. State regimes have acceded to caste politics as they do not want to lose their social bases. Despite reservation policy, the strength of dominant castes in state politics has strengthened throughout the years. Finally, these sorts of the political arrangement have resulted in political, social coalitions such as MOBD, LIBR, and 4Bs (Assadi, 2017).

The Chair on Religious Minorities, NLSIU, Bangalore in 2017 has published research papers centring on the theme of social, economic, and educational aspects of minorities in Karnataka. The papers have concentrated on facets such as the constitutional rights of minorities; budget analysis of Karnataka government; and the role of non-governmental and community-based organisations in the development of minorities. They also include research papers on Christians in Karnataka with a particular focus on Dalit Christians, Jains, and their socio-economic conditions; Urdu medium schools in Karnataka; Madrasa education and its mainstreaming; and study of Muslim and Christian entrepreneurs in informal business enterprises (Aziz, 2017).

A significant and substantial study has been conducted by Japhet (2015), and a comprehensive report has been submitted to the government of Karnataka titled "Socio-Economic Conditions of Religious Minorities in Karnataka: A Study Towards Their Inclusive Development." Various vital aspects and core spheres relating to everyday life have been discussed and deliberated with an exclusive focus on the minorities. A detailed sketch is made available concerning the constitutional provisions and government programmes followed by their detailed demographic profile.

Subsequently, matters such as literacy and educational levels, health status and facilities, access to land and credit, labour force and employment status, the standard of living and poverty levels, and access to civic amenities are explored with the help of both primary and secondary data.

Finally, the report has also provided space for a chapter titled Political Representation which has a detailed outline of affirmative action, list of ministers belonging to minorities, access to political power, political exclusion, and some members in District Panchayat, urban local bodies, and taluk panchayats from minorities. This extensive reporting also sums up that minority community is not just under- or inadequately represented, but in most of the institutions, they are absent (Japhet, 2015).

Given the above review of the literature, we see that there is a requirement for studying and understanding the state policies towards the development of minorities at the state level. They are very much part and parcel of the state and are found in considerable numbers. It becomes the responsibility of successive state governments to devise such means, measures, and strategies that specially address the concerns and challenges faced by the minorities. Indeed, various state policies have been designed by the state governments with a particular focus on minorities in Karnataka. However, to what extent these policies have effectively implemented and resulted in the progress and development of minorities is a matter of concern. Hence, in light of this significance, the proposed study would like to conduct an enquiry on the below-mentioned research questions and objectives.

Research Questions and Objectives

The proposed research questions are, how the political interests of minorities are included and protected by different political regimes in Karnataka?; what is the level of political awareness, political participation, and political representation of minorities in the state-level political institutions?; what are the welfare programmes enunciated by different political regimes for the empowerment and development of minorities in Karnataka?; and what are the broader issues, challenges, and way forward for the minorities in Karnataka such as identity questions, communalism, and development issues.

Consequently, the identified research objectives are, first to study the political initiatives of different political regimes towards the inclusion and protection of Muslims and Christians in the state of Karnataka; second to examine the interaction and relationship between the above minorities and different political regimes. Third to critically analyse the welfare programmes of different political regimes directed towards empowerment and development of Muslims and Christians in Karnataka; and lastly to study the broader issues and challenges concerning the minorities and to determine their way forward about identity questions, communalism, and development issues.

The proposed study would incorporate a mix of both qualitative and quantitative research methods. As the study is about studying and examining the state policies toward minorities, i.e., Muslims and Christians, it would first delve into an overarching historical and descriptive analysis. The study shall document the political initiatives of different political regimes of Karnataka about the inclusion and protection of minorities.

The study shall then examine the political processes at the state level through which interactions and relationships have been developed between different political regimes and minorities. Some political indicators such as political awareness, political participation, and political representation of Muslims and Christians will be examined.

Welfare programmes of the state targeted explicitly towards minorities for their empowerment and development would be critically analysed with the help of available data sources. The study seeks

to propose employing data emanated from both primary and secondary sources. An appropriate sample of the beneficiaries will be identified with whom face-to-face interviews will be carried out with the help of a questionnaire.

Correspondingly, to understand the broader issues and challenges faced by Muslims and Christians, discussions and interviews will be carried with academicians, researchers, policy analysts, politicians, state-level leaders, community leaders, government officials, and institutions and organisations run by minorities. The study would also rely on secondary sources such as published documents, government reports, non-government reports, fact-finding reports, commissions and committee reports, journals, books, and newspaper articles.

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Dr V K R V Rao Road, Nagarabhavi P.O., Bangalore - 560 072, India

Phone: 0091-80-23215468, 23215519, 23215592; Fax: 0091-80-23217008

E-mail: manjunath@isec.ac.in; Web: www.isec.ac.in