

CHAPTER - I

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1. Relevance of the Proposed Study

Peter Hardy, a renowned British Historian of modern Indo-Muslim history, summed up in his 'The Muslims of British India', that "history has not provided Indian Muslims a definitive answer to the question of how god is to be obeyed in the modern world through his social life of a world community of believers and that it has not provided them the political unity and the exclusive political power which most religious Muslims take to be the essential precondition for obedience to god in the most widely agreed Islamic idiom". In Hardy's opinion this raised a very tricky question for the post independence Indian Muslims, "whether in wanting to be accepted as a fellow citizen on equal terms with his non-Muslim compatriots, he is obeying or disobeying the Divine Commands". While this question remain unanswered in his view, Hardy hoped that "perhaps as has happened before in Muslim History, the Muslims of the Republic of India will show forth the answer in their political lives, doubtless for a considerable time before the answer is registered as such". The answer Muslims of India have given or are given to the above question is important because as an active constituent of Indian politics and society Gopal Krishna pointed out, "with the passage of time partition has not seemed to be such a good thing for Indian Muslims". And this is not simple because of the fact that many of the pre-independence Muslim minorities of different provinces of northern India who were the most vociferous supporters of the two nation theory and the real creators of Pakistan were forced to stay back in India even after the creation of Pakistan. Jaya Chatterjee has rightly pointed out that 'staying in India or crossing over to Pakistan is in no way safe indicators of secularism of Muslims in India or of their nationalistic and other progressive political views'.

It is in this context that the present research chooses the district of Murshidabad in West Bengal as its site for studying Muslim political attitudes and political participation to the Indian state and politics. Murshidabad was the political capital of Bengal and also its commercial hub. During 18th and 19th century the East India Company established its commercial centers in Kasimbazar the one of the oldest and most splendid city in the district. After partition Murshidabad was expected to go to Pakistan, if the two nation theory was applied when determining its position. However, the Radcliff Award gave Murshidabad, with its Muslim majority of 56% somewhat unexpectedly for the inhabitants of the districts to India. The national political leaders of the time like Syed Ahmed Khan of Aligarh movement had a liberal attitude towards educating the Muslim women but latter showed a hostile attitude towards Hindu-Muslim unity. Similarly Md. Ali Zinnah sprang up

with his two nation theory which again create a distance between the two religious community and latter on the hostile demand for separate nation. Jinnah has mobilized the Indian Muslims for creation of Pakistan on the basis of two-nation theory. But he did not explain as to how the Muslims who were responsible for truncation of united India could co-exist with another nation under a Hindu majority secular and democratic state. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (1888-1958) was the most prominent leader to support Hindu-Muslim unity opposing the partition of India on communal lines. With deprivation of separate electorates and reserved seats, Maulana Azad and some of his co-religionists preferred to share power in Nehru led Congress Government and left the Muslim masses completely leaderless. Had the then Muslim leadership taken up Hindu-Muslim unity as a prime focus of their agenda and made sincere efforts to unload the mental burden of their community that was carrying the psyche of two-nation theory they would have done a well appreciated national service in general and positive service to their community in particular.

2. Significance of the Proposed Study

Given this broad theoretical framework, the present study is a modest attempt to find out the significance of our study of the Bengali Muslims of Murshidabad district in tracing out their political participation and attitudes in the context of democracy and secular polity in India.

The idea of democracy as it developed in India remained contextual in many ways as democracy preferred to secure the group rights and to establish an egalitarian liberal society. Rajeev Bhargav argued that India developed a distinctively Indian and differently modern variant of secularism. Indian secularism proposed principled distance between religion and state but did not erect a strict wall of separation. India maintained a balance between the claims of individual and various religious communities. India never intended strict privatization of religion but it gave importance to reasoning and morality of individual which Bhargav defined as contextual secularism. Hence the researcher tried to study the political participation of the Bengali Muslims of Murshidabad, their integration with secular society. The researcher also studied the extent of political participation of the Bengali Muslims in India's democratic governance along with their acceptance of plural culture of our society. The distinctiveness of Indian secularism lies in its explicit multi-value character; it maintains strict neutrality, given importance to moral reasoning and deals with intra-religious oppression and inter-religious domination.

The researcher tried to study the political participation and attitudinal perception of the Bengali Muslims in Murshidabad. In Bengal there exist class stratification between ashrafs (Urdu speaking non-Bengali Muslims) and atraps (Bengali speaking poor class Muslims). Ashrafs are noble class Muslims, educated, propertied landowning class and atraps are landless poor peasants with very less or with no educational background. Hence the Muslims lived under social disabilities and the upper class Muslims did not involve in any social interaction with the Bengali atraps Muslim community in Bengal. The partition made the identity of the Muslims of West Bengal (as well as Muslims of whole India), very problematic. The Bengali Muslims were not against partition of the country like the ML but they stood for united Bengal plan and discriminations existed between ML and Bengali Muslim leaders on several issues like demand for separate electorate for Muslims. Partition did not determine the status of the Muslims in the newly created nation which had been formed on the basis of religious identity. Even there had been an age old dichotomy between the Muslim identity and the Bengali identity. The identity of the Muslims of Bengal had been partitioned long before the actual partition happened. The fragmented identity of the Muslims of Bengal haunted them very much. The non-Bengali Muslims of Bengal and rest of India in general believed that the Muslims of Bengal were not true Muslims. Primarily, two factors were at play behind this misconception about the Muslims. The majority of the Muslims of Kolkata were non-Bengali origin. They used to speak Urdu or Arabic or Persian or Hindi language and they were classified them as upper class Muslims stressed their foreign origin publicly to enhance their social status. During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the Muslim writers or the intellectuals of Bengal developed a distinct style of Bengali language termed as ‘puthi’ literature a translated work from Islamic religious texts which were in Arabic or in Persian language but contains some Arabic or Persian terms. However at the subaltern level, both Hindus and Muslims in Murshidabad district shared almost the same language (Bengali) and culture. Yet the Muslims of Bengal often faced embarrassing questions, “Oh are you a Muslim or a Hindu”? But interestingly the Bengali Muslims of Bengal opted for a dual identity and termed as Bengali Muslim.

3. Statement of the Research Problem

After partition the Muslims of Murshidabad were in no better position than the North Indian Muslims who had to stay back and adjust their lives with the emerging new nation. The socio-political attitudes of the Muslims in Murshidabad have not been adequately researched. The lacuna is quite serious. While it is known that some Muslims in

Murshidabad who had before partition, vociferously backed the Muslim League and the demand for Pakistan, were not eager to cross over the boundary after partition of the subcontinent. Hence staying in India and adjusting their life with their Hindu compatriots or crossing the border, both the cases pointed out the intensions of the Muslim – whether the community possesses anti-national feelings or a pro-secular character. Due to lack of written sources the intentions of the ordinary people cannot be inferred. It is a serious handicap to discovering what Muslim expectations were at the time of partition. The social divisions among the Bengali and non-Bengali Muslims (ashraf and atrap) led to an identity crisis among the community (that is they were questioned by the Urdu speaking Muslims whether they are Bengali or Muslims). The partition made the identity issue of the Muslims more problematic than before. As a section of the Muslims like Kazem Ali Mirza, Farhad Murtuza Reza Chowdhury, Imajuddin Biswas, Abdul Hamid, Shawakat Hossain all were in favor of partition and the supporters of Muslim League and demanded Pakistan, the loyalty of the Muslims as a whole was questioned. In this context the question becomes more important what is their attitude towards Indian state and secularism. Thus the research problem lies in finding the dilemma of the Muslims in the district of Murshidabad.

The Muslim League leaders in post partition days like Khondokar Nazrual Hoque from Murshidabad wined the seat from Baharampore constituency in 1971 and from 1972-1977 in West Bengal Legislative Assembly election. The leader remains successful in mobilizing the masses of the district in their favor to secure a favorable position in politics. Even there sprang up many political parties from 2008 election onwards like AIUDF (All India United Democratic Front), WPI (Welfare Party of India), and SDPI (Social Democratic Party of India) though secular in nature but have a minority overtone. They try to limit the cultural interaction which lead to homogenization of the community and make the gulf of majority and minority more prominent. The ML leaders used secular India only to shield Islam from its secularization and to promote religious bigotry and undermining Sufism – the liberal face of lived Islam in India. For them secularism was not a creed but an expedient philosophy which was convenient for propagation of their Islamic creed of exclusivism. Due to lack of modern education common Muslims failed to develop a clear vision about the secular and democratic path of the country. In the absence of any viable programme to secularize Indian (Bengal) Muslims against their obsession to conservative Islam the concept of multi-culturalism or composite culture lost its sharpness for emotional integration of the Muslims with rest of India. Had the Muslim leadership tried to understand

the psychology of the majority which emerged stronger numerically after partition – they could have strengthened the democratic spirit in the community. There are differences of opinion between the Muslim League leaders and the Bengali Muslim leaders, where the ML leaders like Zinnah stood for partition of the subcontinent and the Bengali Muslim leaders like Fazlul Hoq and Surhawardy stood for the united Bengal plan to achieve the common interest of the underdeveloped Bengali Muslim community who were caste stratified within their own community. The Muslim political leaders like Kazem Ali Mirza, Abdul Bari, Khuda Baksh (who was once the supporter of Muslim League), Syed Baddrudoza, Lutfal Hoque, Abdus Sattar in post partition era raised their voice in Bengal Assembly in various debates is an excellent example of political participation from the district. They demanded an overall development of the district to ensure economic betterment of the district people irrespective of any community. This encouraged the researcher to study the political participation and attitudes of the Muslims in the context of Indian secularism and when successful democratic institutions can only work with the active participation of its citizens.

4. Objective of the Proposed Study

Much work has been done on Indian Muslims in the context of secularism in western and Indian context but no significant attempts were taken on studying the political attitudes and political participation of Muslims of Bengal particularly Muslims of Bengali origin. The present work is an attempt to make an intensive study of political attitudes and participation of the Muslim community in West Bengal in Murshidabad district in post independent era especially in the context of Indian secularism and democracy. The researcher wants to assess the attitude of Bengali Muslims of Murshidabad district towards Indian secular democratic polity. Murshidabad is an area where no such communal violence had taken place after partition but prior to partition the North Indian Muslims backed by Muslim League have raised voice for the partition of the continent where we find a distinguished differences with the Muslim leaders of Bengal and ordinary Bengali Muslims. There are differences of opinion between the Muslim League leaders and the Bengali Muslim leaders, where the ML leaders like Zinnah stood for partition of the subcontinent and the Bengali Muslim leaders like Fazlul Hoq and Surhawardy stood for the united Bengal plan to achieve the common interest of the underdeveloped Bengali Muslim community who were caste stratified within their own community. At the backdrop of these developments the researcher has chosen the district having Muslim population of Bengali origin where differentiations exist between Muslims of different category like ashrafs and atraps, having

poor socio-economic condition. Hence the researcher made an attempt to assess the nature of political attitude and participation of the Bengali Muslims and their orientation towards secular and democratic society.

5. Research Questions

1. What is the role of the Muslims in the decision making process?
2. What is the rate of participation of the Bengali Muslims of the district at the local and state level?
3. What is the perception of the Bengali Muslims towards their religious leaders and organizations?
4. What is the perception of the Bengali Muslims towards Indian State and secular principles?
5. What is their nature of political belief?
6. Did the religious belief determine their political decision and social lifestyle?
7. In which way did the voting decision of the Muslims varies?
8. What are the reasons of political apathy?
9. Whom they show their loyalty to religious institution or to Indian state?
10. Does the political attitude of the Muslims reflect any change in response to socio-political changes in the society?
11. How do the Muslims of Bengal reconcile the idea of a nation?
12. To what extent the Muslims of Murshidabad district are politically integrated with India's plural society?

6. Hypothesis

1. Muslims had been the victims of the process of invidious discrimination and alienation. (Muslims who are handpicked to represent Muslims and other Muslim beneficiaries of the official patronage system are those are alienated from the community and some of them are ashamed of their Muslimness). The state government did not pay adequate attention to

economic problems of Muslims that led to such alienation from society – a process of marginalization of minority community. Social equality exists among Bengali Muslims and non-Bengali Muslims.

2. Role of religion in Muslim life and culture that politics is shaped by religious ideas.

3. The community's primary allegiance to Muslim organizations or to Indian state.

4. Political marginalization of Muslims participating in the national decision making process (Muslim's exclusion from the place of influence and power and West Bengal proved to have worst records for the representation of Muslims in the administration and bureaucracy).

5. Democratic politics has been a solvent of traditional religious attitudes and beliefs among the Muslims of the district.

6. Civil loyalty is a strong democratic necessity in a multicultural, plural society like India and Muslims in West Bengal are more oriented to it than the Muslims of some other provinces in India.

7. Theoretical Framework

In India democracy has taken root amidst a low income economy, widespread poverty, illiteracy and immense ethnic diversity. India is ethnically homogenous and India would probably rank low on a number of attributes of 'civic culture'¹. Civic culture is used to identify the political culture (orientation towards political system in both the political and governmental senses, expectation of fair treatment from government authorities, valuing of active participation in local governmental activities, civic cooperation and trust, to participate in politics, ability to talk freely and frequently about politics, an emotional involvement in election and tolerance towards opposition parties), that explains the stability of a democratic society. Proper combination of the various types of political culture will provide a culture that has a positive implication for the growth of democracy. Indian democracy is thus best understood by focusing not mainly on its socio-economic determinants, but on how power distribution of the society is negotiated and renegotiated. A concern with the process of power negotiation in turn, draws attention to such factors as leadership strategies, the design of political institutions and the political role of diverse social groups or in short to the interaction of the state and society². Indian state deals with a

variety of politicized social groups – ethnic, class, caste or regional that periodically demand a greater share of resources, autonomy and self government. India's democratic record suggests that two sets of political processes have guided the management of power conflicts in that country. First a delicate balance is struck and re-struck between forces of centralization and decentralization³. And second, the interests of the powerful in society have been served without fully excluding the weaker groups.

India after independence followed the path and ideals inherited from the British Raj with some modifications though purely India's own traditional concepts of democracy prevailed in Vedic era⁴. The relationship of the governed and governance followed the method of the Vedic age through which diversity is transformed into unity without sacrificing the distinctiveness of different categories of men. The Rajeev Bharghav⁵ analyses the democratic vision of a new republic that is Indian democracy is a unified concept. Democracy came to India as nationalism. The character of democracy in one significant sense just had to be liberal not only because of its commitment to civil liberties but because of its vision of equality and social justice. Indian democracy is challenged in the plural society. Various groups have pressed new and ever more diverse political demands in demonstrations that often have led to violence and challenges came from caste organization and their political parties, various linguistic groups, challenges came from the activities of new social moments, regional based parties possessing an idea of secession (separatism), religion and communal forces⁶ too challenges the very ideals of democratic nation. A concern for liberal justice⁷ is nowhere more evident than in constitutional provisions for affirmative action on the part of the government. To tackle the basic inequalities already existing in the Indian social structure and to make the formal political empowerment of severely disadvantaged groups more effective, the introduction of constitutionally protected preferential treatment of these groups was thought necessary.

India's democracy was strengthened by crafting a federal structure⁸ that gave political power to Indians who speak different languages. Federal structure was further strengthened when the demands of one region or another were partially accommodated rather than flagrantly resisted; the examples of the Punjab and Kashmir provide the most dramatic instances. The creation of local governments and the accommodation of lower castes and of a variety of grassroots movements similarly point towards the deepening and strengthening of democracy. Democracy means the rule of the people, which is inclusion of its entire citizen in the realm of governance. Today, every citizen not only caste vote to ensure their

political duties towards state but shares their opinion in the process of governance. Today all its citizen irrespective of caste, sects, religion were politically conscious and aware of their rights, duties and hence through active political participation they help the government to run the democratic governance in India – that is it is a two way process.

The historical foundation of Indian secularism, rooted in ancient Hindu dharma inculcates an idea of religious toleration and distinctiveness of building a composite culture⁹ in Indian society. Indian secularism according to our constitutional provision purely shows un-biasness towards other religious community but state intervenes in religious issues for the progress and betterment of the community for example – removal of devdashi pratha, entry of all individual including the harijans in the temple premise. In India religion is other name of tolerance and ensures equality for all¹⁰. To avoid the challenges it tries to follow a principle of neutrality and tolerance hence tried to adopt a uniform civil code to be applicable for all religious communities.

D.E.Smith defines secularism as contextual¹¹; it has explicit multi-value character, did not maintain strict neutrality, given importance to moral reasoning and rationality, uniquely combines some aspects of religion and respecting some aspect of religion and it is the only secularism that deals with intra-religious oppression and inter-religious domination. It is a unique combination of European tradition and India's ancient tradition. It is not the principle of separation of church and state but religion and politics is divorced from one another where different religious communities co-exist on a basis of equality having freedom of religion and both majority and minority religious communities acted as catalytic agent in the process of separating the respective jurisdictions of religion and the state and hence develops a true secular concept of citizenship which ensures true participatory democracy. India's secular state is not a state¹² which guarantees individual and corporate freedom of religion, deals with the individual as a citizen irrespective of his religious affiliations and neither promote or interfere with religion. Secularism in India vindicates the basic democratic rights of all religious communities to secure equality, justice and freedom of the individual. According to Panikkar¹³ the weakness of Indian secularism is it keeps religion in play and in turn enhances religiosity, it preserves and projects religious identities and thus increases the social distance between different religious communities. Achin Vanaik¹⁴ argues the Indian model of secularism is product of its specific history. In the context where the values associated with liberal democracy (mainly western which has

been shared in India) and secularism is conceived as the unifying principle mediating between different communities in order to forge a common struggle for national liberation.

To introduce the district, it should be mentioned that it is the Muslim dominated district which proved to be an ideal example in preserving Hindu-Muslim unity¹⁵ in post partition days. According to Jaya Chatterjee, partition of the country is a political surgery¹⁶ and it gave permanent pain to the people of both community in India and Pakistan followed by huge influx of refugees. But in the district inflow and outflow of population is less in compare to other parts of Bengal even there is no occurrences of any significant violence in the district in compare to other places of West Bengal. Paul Brass, Ashutosh Varshney categorized the people of Murshidabad district as subaltern class¹⁷ that they focused on the pattern of civil network and not vulgar in creating situations like riots. Suranjan Das, Rafiuddi Ahmed said the identity crisis¹⁸ among the Bengali Muslim middle class of the district creates a trend of unity within the society with the non-Muslims and help in communal solidarity and hence there are fewer occurrences of communal riots in post partition era in the district.

Role of the leaders remains an influential factor in bringing socio-political changes in the society. The leaders of the district like Wasif Ali Mirza and his son Kazem Ali Mirza, Rezaul Karim, Humayun Kabir tried to restore communal harmony in the district. After partition the influential leaders like Syed Badruddoza, Md. Khuda Baksh, Kazem Ali Mirza, Abdul Hamid, Abdul Latif, Lutfal Hoq, Abdus Satta tried to guide the community in right direction so that the community could get rid of minority complexity and could adjust with post partition Indian society. Most of the leaders focused on developmental issues and tried to bring agricultural development, development like improvement of educational institutions, development of health centers and medical facility, improvement of communication and well connected roads, improvement in irrigation facility and integrated farming technology, to generate scope for employment to make the district more advanced.

In the theoretical background of Indian secularism and democracy, the researcher tried to analyze the political participation and attitude of the Muslims in Murshidabad district from the period 1978-2008. The researcher made an empirical study of Suti II Block by selecting the two gram panchayat Umrapur and Aurangabad 2 and the sample size were 100 and 150 respectively from the two GPs. First the election result from 1978-2008 has been studied to analyze the result of participation by comparing the total number of

electorates and their voting turnout in the election. Similarly the researcher tried to assess the participatory rate of the respondents in elections by conducting empirical research and collection of both qualitative and quantitative data regarding electoral and other forms of political participation like joining election meeting, preparation of party slips, prospectus and distribute it among the people, take part in election campaign are the various types of political participation. The independent variables like respondent's income, occupational status, education and age is chosen by the researcher to find an association between independent and dependent variables in this research work. Hence the proposed study is a modest attempt to empirically explore political attitude and political participation of the Bengali Muslims of Murshidabad in order to theorize the data obtained from the empirical findings from the respondents in the district.

In Bengal the Muslims remain a divided community and hence it is not a homogenous well knit and consolidated community as its leaders wished to believe. So Engineer¹⁹ believes that there are attitudinal differences between the Bengali and Muslims of non-Bengali origin. When post-partition riots are prominent in several areas of Calcutta and other parts of India, communal harmony were restored in the district. Imtiaz Ahmed²⁰ argued that leadership among the Bengali Muslim community was not so strong and they did not inculcate any communal feelings within the Muslim community in Bengal. The Bengali Muslims were further tortured by Hindu zamindars, landlords, rich peasants and educated Muslims of privileged class. Hence they remain educationally backward due to their poor economic status whereas the propertied section received the benefits of good education. Due to the prolonged negligence and backwardness the Bengali Muslims develop a positive attitude towards Indian state and perceive the Indian state as their granter and protector of rights²¹ and ensuring their development in every sphere through reservation in education and governmental jobs.

Gopal Krishna²² opined that the Bengali Muslims of Murshidabad district is integrated with the process of democracy. The Muslim cast their vote for securing their rights, wants to act as a dominating force in politics or wants to determine politics. It must be opined that communal solidarity has been eroded and the Muslim community get integrated with secular politics. The electoral competition proves they have a desire to seek and acquire political power in the mainstream politics so that they would able to create an influence on democratic governance through which they could secure their good status in the society in compare to others. According to Imtiaz Ahmed²³ the Muslim community of

Murshidabad believes that state ensures freedom of religion and every individual has the right to profess and practice their own religion. State ensures educational and cultural rights and state adopt a contextual model which incorporates rights of the minorities also. The respondent does not support the incidence like Godhra or demolition of any religious institutions which shatters community sentiment. It is not Islam but a sense of discrimination which creates a sense of dis-unity within the community members. But in case of Muslims of Murshidabad, it is the feeling of insecurity, alienation from the community, sense of minority feeling which the Muslim community bears for a long time lead to integration with national culture and secular principles.

As our state comprise of multi-cultural class collectivities, it gives concessions to minority groups of the society to consolidate her political power in the society. The Bengali Muslim as they were alienated from their rest of the community comprising of non-Bengali Muslims did not have the self-confidence to raise their problem, their minority status, but it is their faith on the working of Indian state and democracy that state will ensure their development of the community. It is the Indian state which lend support to promote Muslims to unhesitatingly contribute to the solution of various national problems, make all out efforts to eradicate communal forces, promote goodwill and integrity among different communities and groups in India and to help the minority to come out from their minority complexity and hence the Bengali Muslims of Murshidabad district adopt national culture and integrated with secular democratic politics of the country. Our democracy ensures rights for its citizen without any discrimination. Thus Muslims cast their vote²⁴ in terms of material condition, employment and education and our state tried to remove all the disabilities. The Muslims in the district remains no doubt as a monolithic entity rather they have developed an integrative mentality towards Indian state and government. Our democracy is all inclusive and hence includes all groups within its purview; this multicultural democracy has helped to eradicate all communal and disintegrative forces and gradually helped the minority groups to accommodate within its structure. Political leaders tried to eradicate cultural separation and forged an vision of single collective unique culture within the minds of the Muslim community to the extent that the Muslims develops a integrative character and adopt plural culture of Indian society.

8. Review of Literature

BOOKS

Foreign Authors

In the book 'New Patterns of Democracy in India', written by Dean Vora Micheles²⁵, the author focuses on the cultural history of India, the ingredients of democracy, the fusion of Hindu-Muslim-Sikh-Buddhist culture, caste religious linguistic cleavages which shapes the edifice and roots of India's democracy and hence it adopts a multicultural democratic structure. The book 'The Political Thought of an Asian Democrat' written by Eugene Donald²⁶ gives an vivid account of the nature of India's secularism, western secularism and India as a secular state succeed against all odds or cleavages in a diversified society by adopting a contextual pattern. Samuel Huntington²⁷ in his book, 'Political Order in Changing Societies', focused that Indian democracy though follows western model of democracy can be identified with the Asian model, where democracy has to work in the background of poverty and illiteracy of multi racial and multi religious societies. Thus democracy honored all these diversities and adopts a multicultural model suited for India. The author Sten Widmalm,²⁸ in this book 'Democracy and Violent Separatism in India' tries to analyze the political order of third world countries with respect to the liberal democratic social order of the western countries and the changing nature of politics in third world countries. Calhoun Craig²⁹, in his book, 'Rethinking Secularism', provide an overview of the concept of secular, secularization and secularism and the inter relationship and difference between them. Harris Sam³⁰, in his book, 'The End of Faith', analyze the orthodox mentality of the British people and their views towards the Jews and the Muslims which later on creates the differences between 'us' and 'them'.

Eaton R.M, Eaton³¹, in his book, 'The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier (1204-1760)', narrates the advent and spread of Islam in India with special focus on Bengal and its culture under the Mughals, forced conversion of low caste Bengali Hindus to Muslims, and the rooting of Islam in Bengal, its adjustment with Hindu-Bengali culture throughout the period and as a result leads to cultural diffusion in Bengal and among the Bengali speaking Muslims. Cragg Kenneth³², in his book, 'The Pen and the Faith', focused on Quranic reading on the part of outstanding Islamic writers like Ali Shariati, Kamil Hussain, Maududi and others who visualize Quran not only as a holy text but as their guidance of life and to curtail the major disturbances of dogmatic confidence prevailed in Christian tradition. Lawrence Davidson³³, in his book, 'Islamic Fundamentalism- An Introduction', focused on the outlook of Islamic fundamentalism which is shaped by a deep reverence for history of the Muslim people. Marshall David³⁴, in his book 'God, Muhammad and the Unbelievers; A

Quranic Study', focused on the relevance and existence of God Mohammed and His teachings which stood against all the unbelievers and Islamic faiths and a true Muslim should follow all the teachings of Mohammed in their daily routine life.

Moududi Sayyid Abul A'la³⁵, in his book, 'Towards Understanding Islam', tries to interpret Quran and its verses in a right way in English version so that it could be read by all and to curb all kinds of misinterpretation. Gossman Patricia. A³⁶, in his book, 'Riots and Victims; Violence and the Construction of Communal Identity Among Bengali Muslims (1905-47)', focus on the construction of communal identity among Bengali Muslims throughout the pre-partition period in Bengal and the rise of communal tension and cases of riots and the role of civil society in fostering such communal tensions. Hardy Peter³⁷, in his book, 'The Muslims of British India', focused that partition of India and the Muslim community has therefore been made to appear a startling development of British supremacy, the outcomes of political; errors by the INC or by the British themselves. He shows that how Islamic religious aspirations and modern Muslim social and economic anxieties with the political needs of the alien ruling power gradually fostered a separate Muslim politics.

Hunter W.W³⁸, in his book, 'The Indian Musalmans', focused on the condition of the Muslims in pre-British era, the deteriorating condition of the Muslims and the wrongs done to the Muslim community under British rule resulting in their socio-economic and educational backwardness and their grievances in the society is depicted out in this literature. Vasta Ellie³⁹, in her book, 'Citizenship, Community and Democracy', trace out the relationship between citizenship community and democracy and the concept of multiculturalism which shapes the mentality of each citizen in a community which later on strengthens democracy in India. Gottschalk Peter⁴⁰, in his book 'Beyond Hindu and Muslim; Multiple Identities in Narratives from Village', focused that beyond the religious identity, all religious minded Indian Muslims adopt an plural culture and identity and identified them as Indian national or national identity, hence author says multiple identities merged to singular representations. Kymlicka Will⁴¹, in this book, 'Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights', focus that culturally diverse countries mostly gave rise to minorities and majorities clash over issues as language rights, regional autonomy, political representation, educational curriculum, land claims or public choice. But in India all cultural diversity merged to one multicultural concept and all citizens adopt this new culture.

Edited Books

Gutmann. A⁴², in this book, 'Multiculturalism: Explaining the Politics on Recognition', shows how in a multicultural society government pays attention to secure the minority rights and interests to make smooth running of democracy and recognizes various kinds of culture to flourish in the society. In Rudolph and Rudolph⁴³ ed. book, 'Explaining Indian Democracy. A Fifty Year Perspective; 1956', Vol.I, the authors explore how modes of inquiry, kinds of knowledge, construction of categories and historical context shape political analysis and explanations. It also criticizes key concepts such as political culture, modernization, civil society and orientalism and applies them to questions of social change. This book gives us an explanation why and how democracy has succeeded against the odds in India. Jakobson R.Janet⁴⁴ ed. Book, 'Secularism', focuses on secularism its origin, its main principles and a comparison of secularism in liberal democratic country. Jeffrelot Christophe⁴⁵ in the book, 'Hindu Nationalism', focused on the BJP's concept of nationalism based on Hindutwa or Hindu ideology and the origin of Hindu nationalism of the nationalistic vision of Tilak and Savarkar and Hindu nationalism of BJP with a distinctive idea of Indian secularism. The authors Cohn Ronald and Russell Jesse⁴⁶ in their book, 'Nawabs of Bengal and Murshidabad', traced out the nawabi culture of Bengal, its demography and rule of Bengali nawabs in Murshidabad district, its trade and commerce and the district's interaction with the British merchants.

Eaton.R.M⁴⁷ in 'India's Islamic Tradition – 711-1750', shows the relevance of rich Islamic tradition in India's culture and cultural contradiction between Hindu and Muslim culture in medieval era and the adjustment of the Muslims with India's culture and tradition by preserving their Islamic culture. Metcalf Barbara Dally⁴⁸ ed. Book, 'India's Muslims', focused on the India's Muslim communities comprising almost one hundred and forty million people have significant political, cultural and religious identities in contemporary times which had been researched by many scholars.

Indian Authors

Appadorai A⁴⁹, in 'Democracy in India', describes the meaning of the term democracy, the source of democracy and democratic governance, the assurances of fundamental rights to the people, ensuring justice, liberty, equality, maintaining structure of decentralization of power and rigid separation of power following both western concept but assuming multicultural form or India's own structure of democratic model suitable for India's

diversified society. Bhattacharjee Sukhendu⁵⁰, in 'Thoughts on Democracy Enquiry Concerning Majority Rule Versus Individual Freedom', focus on democracy, values of democracy and freedom its problems and concerns and how the two concepts democracy and freedom apparently incompatible and irreconcilably be met such that one can be adjusted to the other in a relation of mutual complementary is the main theme of this book. Chande M.B⁵¹, in his book 'Betrayal of India's Democracy', focus on the changing face of leadership leads to the distortion of entire democratic system in all these decades which has been once framed by Nehru with a vision to ensure rights to all the citizens. Datta Prabhat⁵², in his book 'India's Democracy, New Challenges', focus on the emerging crises of the Indian state and various insurgency in the northeast, crises in Jharkhand, Uttarakhand, the rise of regionalism in India. Jalal Ayesha⁵³, in her work 'Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia, A comparative and Historical Perspective', tries to analyze the nature of democracy, state structure, nature of politics in South Asian countries and the common dilemmas the democratic polity faced in post-independent period. Kishwar Madhu Purnima⁵⁴, in her work 'Deepening Democracy; Challenges of Governance and Globalization in India', traces out various kinds of threats towards democratic governance and the ways how Indian democracy has took deep roots in Indian soil.

Kohli Atul⁵⁵, in this book 'Democracy and Discontent; India's Growing Crisis of Governability', deals with India's problems of governability where various social groups have pressed new and ever more diverse political demands in demonstrations that often have led to violence. The author provides an answer to the question why the "world's largest democracy" has become difficult to govern. Kothari Rajini⁵⁶, in this book 'Rethinking Democracy', talks about de-bureaucratization of democracy and to give space to the civic society and on the changing nature of the state. State presumed the role of the liberator, equalizer, and modernizer and mobilizes all the static institutions. Mahajan Gurpreet⁵⁷, in his book 'Identities and Rights; Aspects of Liberal Democracy in India', shows that liberalism is best at dealing with individual differences. Here author focus on how liberal democracy has transformed its form from giving priority to individual autonomy to group equality by sanctioning religious freedom with state intervention and affirmative action of the state in preserving the minority rights and religious communities. Naqavi S, M⁵⁸, in his work 'Democracy in India', focused that democracy is a concept where the rule of the people was guaranteed and their rights were secured and preserved. Democracy ensured betterment of the people and is all inclusive in nature as it believes that

true people's participation paves the path for better governance and better functioning of democracy. Puniyani Ram⁵⁹, in his work 'Communal Threat to Secular Democracy', analyzed various kinds of challenges that India's democracy faced in contemporary era and seeks solution for it. Rajan Nalini⁶⁰, in this work 'Democracy and the Limits of Minority Rights', showed how the cultural boundaries of a people are believed to coincide with the national boundaries of the state and the minority rights, culture at the same time were preserved where the state resembles a homogenous nation and the bearer of 'human rights', protector and guarantor of minority individual and group rights.

Roy Ramashray⁶¹, in this work 'Democracy in India: Form and Substance', defined the nature of India's democracy which is dominated by bourgeoisie in decision making process which has also made democracy an object of excessive adulation and severe condemnation and become an imaginative idea in today's context. Sharma Shalendra⁶² in this book 'Development and Democracy in India' focused that democracy has adopted a multicultural model where all group rights were secured in order to ensure development for the citizens. Shiva Vandana⁶³; in this work 'India Divided, Diversity and Democracy under Attack', analyzed how democracy took multicultural model in a culturally diversified Indian society for maintaining its relevance. Vanaik Achin⁶⁴, in this book 'The Painful Transition; Bourgeois Democracy in India', focus on the nature of India's democracy which is authoritarian and of bourgeoisie nature on that basis, it discuss the centre-state relations and the cause of discontent regarding centralization and decentralization of power in the society. Varshney Ashutosh⁶⁵, in his book 'India and the Politics of a Developing Countries', focus on various political issues in a developing country like India like communalism, regional disparities, linguistic differences, caste and religious cleavages that creates problem in the path of democratic governance.

Bharghav Rajeev⁶⁶, in this book 'The Promise of India's Secular Democracy', opined that democracy is the crux of India's political structure, democracy came as nationalism and later adopt multicultural trend to adjust with diversified society. Bharucha Rustom⁶⁷, in this book 'In the Name of the Secular', tries to focus on the pseudo-secular elements in secular country which try to distort India's secular structure and seeks solution to get rid out of it by adopting a contextual model of secularism in Indian society. Bhattacharya Sibesh⁶⁸, in his work, 'Secular and Pluralistic Elements in the Idea of State in Early India', connotes an idea that secular and plural culture was not a new concept that were infused in Indian soil, but an expression which prevails from early times in Vedic era also. Asokan principle of Dharma

was based on unity of all religion and integrity of the country. Those ideas were transferred in post-colonial era by the founding fathers of our secularism and democratic state. Dhyani S.N⁶⁹, through this book ‘Secularism, Socio-Legal Issues’, throws light on contradictions in secular principles which has been shown in Shah Bano case and secularism fails to apply UCC (universal civil code), in the country to give privileges to the minority community and hence shows the legal issues of India’s secularism. Engineer Ashgar Ali⁷⁰, in his ‘Essays in Contemporary Politics of Identity, Religion and Secularism’, shows the reasons behind communal conflict in a secular country, he says that it is not religion but other socio-economic factors which lead to communal conflicts and religion can play a positive role in the society. His understanding of Islamic non-orthodox liberal ensures rights to deprived sections of the society. He further stressed on the reasons of ethnic conflicts, communal violence in a democratic state. Engineer Ashgar Ali⁷¹, in his ‘Communal Challenge and Secular Responses’; comment that the communal problem is the greatest challenge before our country by our politicians. By deepening of democracy secularism will become stronger by negotiating with sectarian, religious, linguistic and caste identities in the society. Gahrana Kanan⁷², in his book ‘Right to Freedom of Religion; A Study in Indian Secularism’, opines that religion is an integral part of civil societies and the present study is an attempt to examine the right to freedom of religion in India from the ideological perspective of Indian secularism and the author shows that in a multi religious country, to meet the civil needs of the state by securing right to freedom of religion, India’s secularism maintains a just balance between people’s claim of religious freedom and constitutional provisions regarding right to freedom of religion.

Ghosh S.K⁷³, in ‘Secularism in India; The Concept and Practice’, focus on various aspects of secularism, the problem of communalism as against secularism is a long term problem which requires intense and complex struggle on the political front and the ways to curb communalism. Jain Girilal⁷⁴, in ‘The Hindu Phenomenon’, shows the rise of Hindu fundamentalist forces which threatens secularism in India by portraying India as a Hindu state. Jigram Saral⁷⁵, in ‘Secularism in India, A Reappraisal’, opines that the recent rise in the level of communalization of Indian polity and society challenge the very notion of citizenship and nationhood, the author contest all communalist arguments regarding India’s secularism Khothari Rajni⁷⁶, in ‘Communalism in Indian Politics’, focus on the rise of communal forces and the challenges and impact to secular India. Kumar Sunil⁷⁷, in ‘Communalism and Secularism in Indian Politics’, tries to show the difference between

communalism and secularism and the contradictions between the two, the rise of communal forces and seeks solution to curb communal forces. Madan .T.N⁷⁸, in 'Modern Myths, Locked Minds; Secularism and Fundamentalism in India', opined that secularism and fundamentalism are presented here as modern ideologies that purvey images of the world as the only two options available to an individual. Though opposed by definition as it were, the author argues that they are also similar in significant ways such as in their concern with power and tolerance of alternatives.

Madan T.N⁷⁹, in 'Images of the World; Essays on Religion, Secularism and Culture,' shows an inter-relationship between religion and secularism and culture, whereas secularism respects all religion and people of all faith and culture and never interferes in each other's cultural sphere and lastly the book describes the nature of secularism in India. Nigam Aditya⁸⁰, in 'The Insurrection of Little Selves; the Crisis of Secular', said secularism leads to curtailment of self-interest and is subjected to debate since 1980s as the nationalist imaginary and the secularist discourse fashioned in the course of the national movement remained hegemonic and resulting in various movements which creates crisis in working of secularism in India. Panikkar K.N⁸¹, in 'Communal Threat, Secular Challenge', describes the cultural context of secularism, various principles of secularism; conceptualize the history and culture of communalism by focusing on Ayodhya issue and the significant relationship between secularism and communalism. Puniyani Ram⁸², in 'Communal Threat to Secular Democracy', shows various kinds of communal challenges to India's democracy and secularism in contemporary era. Roy. A.K⁸³, in 'Religion and the Secular Man', shows the differences between religion and the principles of secularism and there are no contradictions between the two concepts or they are two not synonymous rather they respect and enrich each other. Saran A.K⁸⁴, in 'On the Theories of Secularism and Modernization', focuses on the two contexts of secularism, western and Indian and the differences between the two, whereas India's secularism adopts a contextual model. Sen Ronojoy⁸⁵, in 'Articles of Faith; Religion, Secularism and the Indian Supreme Court', opines the role of religion in society and the effect of judicial intervention on a country's polity is vitally important today. It focuses on India's Supreme Court's interpretation of the constitutional right to freedom and its influence on the discourse of secularism and nationalism. Author says that Indian state had to balance the dual task of being even handed in the religious sphere and carrying out religious reforms. Indian approach to secular governance and how the judicial process in India mediates between the state and the ideology of secularism, whether by

redefining or narrowing the meaning of religion and expanding the meaning of democratic faith. Sharma Geetesh⁸⁶, in 'Wither Secularism'? focus on the relevance and importance of secularism in India and defines secularism as a renaissance movement because it is contextual in nature and based on the principle of 'sarva dharma samabhava', that is shows equal respect for all religion. Hence author says whether the western concept of secularism is withering away in Indian context. Sharma, B.N.A⁸⁷, in 'Hinduism Under Seige', portrays the various kinds of communal activities which threatens the secular edifice of our country, give rise to communal clashes like Godhra riots, Babari masjid incidence, hence our country adopts pseudo-secularism that is an idea which predicts 'sarva dharma sanmabhava', to curve all pseudo- secular forces and to save the nation from communal tension. Sharma, R.C⁸⁸, in 'Secular India and Communal Politics', focus on various kinds of communal politics, the nature and cause of communalism in India that led to partition of the country, and later Indo-Pak war and communal disturbances in Indian subcontinent in contemporary era. Vajpayi Ananya⁸⁹, in 'Righteous Republic, The Political Foundations of Modern India', throws light on traditional concept of India's secularism based on dharma and the modern concept of secularism as predicted by Jawaharlal Nehru through his duality of ideas that is by combining traditional Indian concept with western secular ideas and adopting a contextual model of secularism suited for Indian society. Vanaik Achin⁹⁰, in this work 'Communalism Contested; Religion, Modernity and Secularization', shows the contradiction between communalism and secularism and the former challenges the country's secular principles, the threat to religious ideas by modern culture and the rise of communal forces to challenge secular ideas.

Ahmed Rafiuddin⁹¹, in 'Understanding the Bengal Muslims', reflects the existing divisions between the Bengali speaking Muslims of Bengal as an ethno-linguistic category and those who, though living in Bengal have consistently refused to be identified as such that is the author differentiates between the ashrafs and the atraps category of Muslims and the respective social division within the Muslim community in Bengal which forge Bengali identity among the Muslim community. Ahmed Rafiuddin⁹², in 'The Bengali Muslims (1871-1906), A Quest for Identity', concentrates on the evolution of mass awareness among the Bengali Muslims of Bengal and analyses the vast puthi culture in Bengal an unusual but reliable source that reflected the minds of the rural Muslims. In tracing the origin of separatism in a key area to its social and cultural roots, the work raises doubts about the validity of any simple explanations that emphasizes either the historical conflict between

Hinduism and Islam or the doctrine of divide and rule or the central role of constitutional initiatives. Anam Mohammed Khairul⁹³, in 'Indian Freedom Movement and Murshidabad District (1905-1947)' provides valuable contribution of the people of the district in India's struggle for freedom, shows political consciousness of the people of this district and the district's pioneering role in the country's liberation movement which showed peoples participation in freedom movement from all level. Bandhyapadhyay Sekhar⁹⁴, in 'From Plassey to Partition, A History of Modern India', focus on the transition and political issues of Murshidabad district, the consolidation of political power of the British in Bengal and the consequences of battle of plassey which finally led to partition of Bengal and India. Brass Paul⁹⁵, in 'The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India', focus on the reasons for communal violence after partition and the role of civil society in the outbreak of such violence. Chatterjee Jaya⁹⁶, in 'The Spoils of Partition, Bengal and India'; opines that partition of India in 1947 was a seminal event of the 20th century. This book is a remarkable account of socio-political and economic consequences of Bengal. This book reveals how the spoils of partition which the congress of Bengal had expected from the new boundaries were squandered over the 20 years which followed. Chatterjee Jaya⁹⁷, in 'Bengal Divided, Hindu Communalism and Partition', provides a reevaluation of the events of 1946-47 focusing on the political and social processes that led to the demand for partition in a Muslim majority province Bengal and tracing the rise of Hindu communalism. In its most startling revelation, the author shows how the demand for a separate homeland for the Hindus, which was fuelled by a large and powerful section of Hindu society within Bengal, was seen as the only way to regain their influence. The picture which emerges is one of a stratified and fragmented society moving away from the mainstream of Indian nationalism and increasingly pre-occupied with narrower more parochial concerns.

Das Debasri⁹⁸; in 'Murshidabad, A Study of Cultural Diversity; From Early Eighteenth to Early Twentieth Century', focuses on the district's nawabi culture and on the social and cultural diversity among the people of the district and how the community people shares the rich Bengal's culture apart from communities cultural diversity. Das Suranjan⁹⁹, in 'Communal Riots in Bengal; 1905-1947', reflects that communalism in Indian politics was initially expressed in elite conflicts over education, jobs and political concessions. The author focused on the evaluation of communal politics in the subcontinent and the Bengali Muslims were among the first to be organized politically to voice their rights as Muslims. Ghosh S.K¹⁰⁰, in 'Muslims in Indian Democracy', focuses on the formation of Muslim

identity in India and the crisis they faced in the secular country. Gupta Bishan Kumar¹⁰¹, in ‘Political Movements in Murshidabad (1920-1947)’, focuses on political movements in Murshidabad from 1920-47 by focusing on the role of both communal and secular forces which is operative in the district like ML and Hindu Mahashaba activists with the nationalist Muslim and Hindu leaders who tried to restore communal harmony in the district during the period. Gupta Soumindra Kumar¹⁰², in ‘Paribartaner Sandhane Murshidabader Bangali Musalman’, focus on several problems of the Bengali Muslims of Murshidabad district, the social stratification and the caste division within the community and focusing on the socio-economic condition of the district. The book focuses on the present socio-economic status, the reasons of backwardness of the Bengali Muslims with especial emphasize on their day-today problems of educational and economic backwardness. Jalal Ayesha¹⁰³, in ‘Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia, A Comparative and Historical Perspective’, tries to analyse the nature of democracy, state structure, nature of politics in South Asian countries and the common dilemmas the democratic polity faced in post independent period.

Khan Mohammad Mohsin¹⁰⁴, in ‘A Bengal District in Transition, Murshidabad (1765-1793)’, trace out the history of the district, its demography with special emphasize on its culture and economic condition and political situations in the then time and its development in British period. Latif Sk.Abdul¹⁰⁵, in this book ‘The Muslim Mystic Movement in Bengal (1301-1550)’, opines that Religion is a part of culture, which is very difficult to place in its proper historical perspective. The precise way and the extent to which Muslim mysticism has contributed to the shaping of culture and thought in Bengal. Majumdar Prnna Chandra¹⁰⁶, in ‘The Musnud of Murshidabad, Murshidabad’, focus on the nawabi culture of the district of Murshidanbad, its social and political condition in the then time and the era of Murshid Quli Khan his reign and administration his interaction with the British and his destiny in the hands of t6he British and the final end of rule of Bengal’s nawab. Mukhopadhyay Prasad Kali¹⁰⁷, in ‘Partition, Bengal and After: The Great Tragedy of India’, trace out the tragic partition of Bengal in 1947 its causes and consequences and its impact on Bengal’s people and society. Rahaman Abdur¹⁰⁸, in ‘Migrations of Muslims from Eastern Bengal and Agrarian Change in Assam, Assam’, focuses on the reasons of migrations of Muslims from Bengal to other places and in Pakistan and the huge economic degradation of the community. Roy Ashim¹⁰⁹, in ‘The Islamic Syncretistic Tradition in Bengal’, focus on the sufi trend in Bengal the inter-mixture of culture and religious beliefs

and practices which shows the distinctiveness of Bengal. Sarkar Sumit¹¹⁰, in ‘The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal (1903-1908)’, focus on the swadeshi movement in Bengal and the reaction of the common people towards it. Sen Shila¹¹¹, in her ‘Muslim Politics in Bengal, 1937-1947’, portrait a systematic analysis of Muslim politics in Bengal evaluate Bengali Muslim aspirations behind the Pakistan movement and also the reasons for the emergence of a demand for an independent sovereign Bengal by a section of the Bengal Muslim leadership on the eve of partition.

Varshney Ashutosh¹¹², in ‘Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life; Hindus and Muslims in India’, opines that ethnic conflict in civic life is inevitable and the author has taken us a long way in understanding intra-Indian variations in communal violence and he had also sought out an comparison between conflict in rural and urban areas of India in post colonial era. He also focuses on the types of civil society, various organizations and activities help to contain religious conflict. Ahuwalia B.K¹¹³, in ‘Muslims and the India’s Freedom Movement’, portrays the role of Muslims in freedom movement with special reference to Murshidabad district, their nationalistic fervor and enthusiasm to free India from British Raj. Azad Maulana Abul Kalam¹¹⁴, in ‘India Wins Freedom’, deals with the birth of as nation and brings to life the hopes and sorrows of heroic personalities. With the passage of time its relevance to the deeper currents of Indian politics has grown rather than diminished. Karim Rejaul¹¹⁵, in his work ‘Prabandha Sangraha’, inculcates an idea that the leaders and the intellectuals of the district always tries to preserve communal harmony in the district and hence the Muslim develops a secular character. Khan Syed Ahmad¹¹⁶, in ‘The Man and his Works’, wrote an autobiography and his contribution to the Muslim society in general and his modern perceptions. Sen Jahor¹¹⁷, in ‘Purnamanab Rejaul Karim’, wrote about the contributions of Rejaul Karim who tried to preserve solidarity within the community members of Murshidabad. Singh Jaswant¹¹⁸, in ‘Jinnah: India’s Partition Independence’, portrays the character of Md. Ali Zinnah, his political mission, his nationalistic fervor, his contradictions with British government, his friendship with the British and the political reasons for partition of India.

Ahmed Ausaf¹¹⁹, in ‘Issues in Social and Economic Development; Indian Muslims’, focuses on the socio-economic status of Indian Muslims in compare to other communities and governmental measures to solve their problems. Ahmed Rafiuddin¹²⁰, in ‘Understanding the Bengal Muslims’, reflects the existing divisions between the Bengali speaking Muslims of Bengal as an ethno-linguistic category and those who though living in

Bengal have consistently refused to be identified as such that is the author differentiates between the ashrafs and the atrap category of Muslims and the respective social division within the Muslim community in Bengal which forge 'Bengali' identity among the Muslim community. Ahmed Sufia¹²¹, in 'Muslim Community in Bengal (1884-1912)', focuses on the historical cause of educational social and economic backwardness of the Bengali Muslim community and their grievances against the British government. Focus has also been made on the construction of new Bengali identity and the adaption of Bengali language as a medium of instruction in educational institutions, adoptions of Bengali culture and Bengali translated works to study which is termed as puthi literature or translated works to educate the low status group of Bengali Muslims rather than Urdu or in Persian or in Arabic languages. Ansari Iqbal¹²², in 'Political Representation of Muslims in India (1952-2004)', focus on the political representation of Muslims which proves democratic governance reassures the minorities especially the Muslims to secure their rights compare to the majority community which is guaranteed under constitutional provisions. Bhattacharya Atin¹²³, in 'The Muslims of Bengal: A Psycho-Ideological Study in the Light of Political Movement (1905-1916)', analyze the psychological and ideological action and reaction of the Muslims of Bengal from 1905-1911 regarding political movements of incidents namely 1905 Bengal partition. The book focus the on the nature of Muslim politics of Bengal from 1905-1916 in the light of its relation with the Hindus and the British government, Muslim's involvement in revolutionary movement against the British government. Brass Paul¹²⁴, in 'Ethnicity and Nationalism; Theory and Comparison', focus on the causes of ethnic conflicts and the production of violence in the society through possessing a feeling of nationalism and here the author draws a comparison between several such conflicts in South Asian countries. Chakroborty Ashoke Kumar¹²⁵, in 'Bengali Muslim Leterati and the Development of Muslim Community in Bengal', focused on the educational development among the Muslim community of Bengal, especially the role of educated Bengali Muslims who undertook several works of translation of Muslim religious texts in Bengali language and the political consciousness were roused among the community through these writings in easy Bengali languages.

Chatterjee Roma¹²⁶, in 'Living With Violence – A Anthropology of Events and Everyday Life', analyses the physiological status of the Bengali Muslims the trauma of partition riots in post independent period and their day-to-day struggle in society. De Dhurjati Prasad¹²⁷, in 'Bengal Muslims in Search of Social Identity (1905-47)', focus on the

social structure of Bengali Muslims, their cultural alienation from rest of the community the difference between the ashrafs and atrafs and the community is searching for their real identity that is the cultural exclusivism (Bengali Muslims) of Bengali Muslims and their preference for Bengali literature or translated works which have been termed as ‘puthi’ culture. Dutta Abhijit¹²⁸, in ‘Muslim Society in Transition’, focus on the caste conflict n Muslim society the contradiction between ML leaders and Bengali Muslim leaders towards their attitude for the demand of separate state and partition of the sub-continent is the major theme of this book. Ghosh Jayasri¹²⁹, in ‘Political Participation of Women in West Bengal – A Case Study’, shows that in all most all countries women have been given the tight to vote and to participate equally with men, but participation hampers due to inadequate education, lack of access to channels of influence and social role expectations and their socio-economic and political status. All these factors influence political participation or the other forms of political activities. Ghosh S.K¹³⁰, in ‘Muslims in Indian Democracy, Calcutta’, focuses on the formation of Muslim identity in India and the crisis they faced in the secular country. Lahiri Pradip Kumar¹³¹, in ‘Bengali Muslim Thought (1818-1947); Its Liberal and Rational Trends’, focused on the different features of the Bengali society in the 19th century, the differences between ashrafs and atraps among the Muslim community and the political thought of the educated Muslims expressed in Bengali literature which too forge a new identity consciousness among the Bengali Muslims. Maitra Jayanti¹³², in ‘Muslim Politics in Bengal – 1855-1906’, examined the nature of Muslim separatism in Bengal, a concomitant development of the confrontation of British imperialism with Indian nationalism. From the formulation of a separatist ideology to the organization of separatist politics, the Bengali Muslims played a significant part throughout the second half of the 19th century. The main foci of this work have been a growing awareness of a distinct Muslim identity and several forces which led to the gradual politicization of the Muslims of Bengal. Shah Mohammad¹³³, in ‘In Search of an Identity, Bengali Muslims (1880-1940)’), focuses on the position of Bengali Muslims in education, jobs and local government and the political changes which took place, the reasons why the Bengali Muslims lost their faith in joint electorates. The book also focuses on the position of Bengali Muslims compare to the Hindus in the society. Shail Mayaram¹³⁴, in ‘Muslims Dalits and the Fabrication of History; Subaltern Studies,’ traced out the socio-political and economic backwardness of the dalit people who were treated as subaltern and focus on the historical reasons for their backwardness.

Shakir Moin¹³⁵, in, 'Communalism in India', focused on the communal tension in post partition era and the mental trauma the Muslims faced in post partition era and hence losing hope on government and faced insecurity of their life and property. Siddiqui.M.K.A¹³⁶, in 'Muslims of Calcutta; A Study in Aspects of their Social Organizations', focuses on the social and political organizations and educational status of the Muslims of Calcutta and their behavioral pattern their differences with the uneducated class Muslims who reside in slum areas of Calcutta. Ahmed Aijazuddin¹³⁷, in 'Muslims in India', narrates the situation of Indian Muslims after independence, their psychological state, their fear and anxiety in respect to their life and property and their grievances against government to ensure their developments in respect to the other community members to remove their minority complexity. Ahmed Makki Mukhtar¹³⁸, in 'Educational Trends and Development among Muslims of India', focus on the educational backwardness of the Muslims and seeks measures to uplift socio-economic and educational status through governmental reservations and concrete governmental actions. Ansari. A. Iqbal¹³⁹, in 'Muslim Situations in India', traced out a behavioral introduction of the Indian Muslims and their adjustment with secular pretext is the central theme of the book. The socio-economic political conditions were curved out and demand democratic solution from the minority problem. Engineer Asghar Ali¹⁴⁰, in 'Indian Muslims; A Study of Minority Problems in India', focuses on the adjustment of Indian Muslims with secular democratic society, bearing the tensions of traditional thoughts and the necessity of accepting modernity. The socio-economic problems of the Muslims were traced out and various communal problems which disintegrate society and nation's integration.

Engineer Asghar Ali¹⁴¹, in 'Islam and Muslim in India: Problems of Identity and Existence; A Critical Reassessment', showed religious doctrines and practices undergo change when transplanted to a region other than that of its origin and hence Islam in India has undergone many changes while adjusting with India's multicultural society and hence differences occurs between Islam and Muslim. A sense of separate identity develops either religio-cultural or purely cultural and the literature also throws light on how the Muslims are integrating with mainstream Gandhi Rajmohon¹⁴², in 'Understanding the Muslim Mind', narrates about the Muslim psychology of Calcutta who called themselves as ashrafs and demand governmental reservations in educational and job to improve their economic condition but alienates themselves from atraps or poor class Muslims of the society. Gore. M.S¹⁴³, in 'Unity in Diversity, The Indian Experience in Nation Building', focus on

secularism in India, India's unity in diversity and the contextual nature of secularism in India. Hasan Mushirul¹⁴⁴, in, 'Legacy of a Divided Nation, India's Muslims since Independence' analyses India's polity and its relationship with Muslims. He deliberates on the secular platform on which to build bridges in times when positions have hardened and battle lines drawn. Hasan Qamar¹⁴⁵, in, 'Muslims in India; Attitudes Adjustments and Reactions', says the Muslims of India are struck between extra-territorial loyalties and communal aspirations and reactions of the Muslims as a minority groups and adjustments with India's state and politics. Jalal Ayesha¹⁴⁶, in 'Self and Sovereignty, Individual and Community in South Asian Islam since 1850', tries to show the dilemma of Muslims in South Asian countries where self-individualism of the community gets eroded through adapting plural culture in the society inculcate by the sovereign authority of the country. Madani Saeidi Mohsen¹⁴⁷, in, 'Impact of Hindu Culture on Muslims', focus that in India though the Muslims adopt various culture of other caste so the impact of Hindu culture rituals felt a deep impact on Muslim society on their language, food and dress pattern and in other social life as predicted by the author.

Roy Anupama¹⁴⁸, in 'Mapping Citizenship in India', opined that the multicultural plural society enframed all citizens within its democratic purview and ensuring all constitutional equality, liberty and justice for its citizens. Saberwal Satish¹⁴⁹, in, 'Spirals of Contention; Why India was Partitioned in 1947', focus on the influence of both Hindu and Muslim fundamentalist forces on secular society and that to hamper Hindu-Muslim unity in multicultural multi-religious plural Indian society. Salamatullah¹⁵⁰, in 'Education of Muslims in Secular India', shows that the Muslim community in secular India demand reservations in educational institutions and want to improve their economic condition through education in respect to others in the society. Saxena Vinod Kumar¹⁵¹, in his book, 'The Partition of Bengal (1905-1911)', throws light on causes and consequences of partition of Bengal in 1905, attitude of the Bengali Muslims of Murshidabad towards this partition, the rise of ML in 1906, its activities, demands till 1911 and its endeavor in mobilizing the Muslims all over Bengal for active participation in politics. Sheikh Rahim Mondal¹⁵², in 'Educational Status of Muslims: Problems Prospects and Priorities' focused on the main tenets of Islam and its principles were directed to follow as Muslims code of life genuinely in society. Shakir Moin¹⁵³, in 'Muslims in Free India', focus on the partition trauma the tragic culmination of the communal politics, absence of a strong secular context and tracing the socio-political, cultural, educational and economic condition were the central theme of

the book and the attitude of the Muslims towards Indian state and politics. Shakir Moin¹⁵⁴, in 'Islam in Indian Politics', shows Muslim position in India, the role of the Muslim political leaders in mobilization of the community, the outbreak of communal riots and the reasons behind it and the communal idiom which persists still today because of the wrong political manipulation is the major theme of this book. Srinivasan Nirmala¹⁵⁵, in 'Prisoners of Faith', argued that the ideology of any religion makes the individual a blind follower of that faith and ultimately it goes against the secular principles of the country is focused by the author in this literature.

Edited Books

In Basrur Rajesh. M¹⁵⁶ ed. 'Challenges to Democracy in India', the author focus on the survival of India's democracy for well over half a century is in many ways a remarkable achievement. However there are a number of serious challenges that need to meet in the years ahead. The book shows the major failings of Indian democracy and the critical issues facing India today. Chatterjee Aneek¹⁵⁷ ed. book 'Indian Parliamentary Democracy in Transition', stress that the parliamentary democracy has as its hallmark in rule of the majority, prefers decision of the majority and Nehruvian vision of Westminster style parliamentary government was preferred but it changes its form due to its non-functioning in the long run of democratic experiment it changes its ideal structure and adopts a multicultural model. Chakroborty Bidyut¹⁵⁸, ed. Book 'Wither India's Democracy', the author tries to say that Nehruvian model of successful and smooth functioning of democratic government loses its relevance in the recent century- a phenomenon which has been characterized here as de institutionalization that is suffers from structural crisis and gradually is eroding. In Chaube, S.K¹⁵⁹ ed. Book 'Indian Democracy At the Turn of Century', the author focus on the functioning and success of India's parliamentary democracy where true people's participation through adult franchise is seen and liberal tenets were preserved like political economic social and cultural rights of the people were given priority in contrast to authoritarian presidential model.

Frankel.R.Francine¹⁶⁰ ed. Book 'Social and Political Dynamics of Democracy', focused on the profound transformations brought about by the democratic forms of governance for its better survival. The essays discuss electoral upsurges of historically marginalized groups, autonomous mobilization of lower caste and dalits, corruption in government, tendencies towards regionalization's, fragmentation of political parties, Hindu-

Muslim tensions and the increase in inter-state disparities on account of economic reforms. Ganguly Sumit¹⁶¹ ed. Book 'The State of India's Democracy', focuses on the contradictions between democracy and ethnic conflicts in various forms in Indian political landscape. The theme also shows the reason that due to diversified society India's state is prone to ethnic conflicts. Hasan Zoya¹⁶² ed. book 'Transforming India Social and Political Dynamics of Democracy', focus on the political issues and social problems that a democratic government faced and the changing nature of working of a democratic government by adapting a new model of multiculturalism. Jayal Gopal Niraja¹⁶³ ed. book '1995, Democracy in India; Themes in Politics', discussed about India's experiment with the democratic form is unique and the contribution over its success and failure has found expression in a wide ranging and lively debate about states capacity to govern in democratic polity. Democracy faces particularly difficult challenges in plural societies and India's rather unique experience of negotiating cultural diversity through democratic institutional mechanisms. Social movements and public action emphasize the importance of civil society for the performance of democracy.

Kohli Atul¹⁶⁴ ed. book 'India's Democracy: An Analysis of Changing State-Society Relations', analyses state-society relations in India's democracy. The issues discussed concern the changing nature of India's political institutions and the role of organized social groups in Indian politics. The central theme of this book is how have India's democratic institutions altered while accommodating new demands for political participation and while solving serious socio-economic problems. Kohli Atul¹⁶⁵ ed. book 'The Success of India's Democracy', focuses on how democracy has taken its root in India in the face of a low income economy, widespread poverty, illiteracy and immense ethnic diversity. Democracy has struck a deliberate balance between the forces of centralization and decentralization and the interest of the powerful in society have been served without fully excluding those on the margins. Mitra Sharmila Deb and Manisha M¹⁶⁶ ed. book 'Indian Democracy; Problems and Prospects', focused that 20th century has witnessed a tremendous reinforcement of the concept of democracy and it becomes an all-inclusive criteria and in the recent century of democratization process, authoritarian and military regimes have been challenged by several movements (NSM, regionalism) and hence India's democracy tries to find solution to maintain its structure and function. Vora Rajendra and Palsikar Suhas¹⁶⁷ ed. book 'Indian Democracy ; Meaning and Practices', reveals the people's assessment of democracy which shapes democratic structure, the complexity within democracy, its authoritarian nature with

giving due respect to adult franchise now become a carnival of democracy a celebration of people's power.

Bhargava Rajeev¹⁶⁸ ed. book, 'Secularism and its critics', deals with the concept of secularism and answers the challenges posed to it by the recent resurgence in organized religion and religious faiths. It dwells on the need for a separation between religion and politics and grapples with the question whether modern secularism has the cultural and philosophical resources to enable people with differing faiths to live together. Engineer Ashgar Ali¹⁶⁹ ed. book 'State Secularism and Religion- West and Indian Experience', focuses on the differences and relevance between western and Indian concept of secularism, Indian secularism in theory and practice and the successful working of secularism in Indian context by combating all communal forces and lastly the criticism against India's secular model. Ghelot N.S¹⁷⁰ ed. book 'Politics of Communalism and Secularism', stress that in a multi-religious society like India, the concept of secularism has always been the most pressing need of our time hence the theme focus on the nature and meaning of secularism, its problems, Nehru's concept of secularism and the challenges of secularism and the rise of communal forces in Indian politics. Hasan Mushirul¹⁷¹ ed. book 'Will Secular India Survive', present the theme of democratic representation with the polarization of politics on religious and caste lines and the feelings of powerlessness expose the limits of the checks on the majoritarianism that fundamental rights and cultural and linguistic rights embody and a source of disadvantage for vulnerable populations among the minorities. The theme also discuss that secular India preserves both identity and equality in the society to preserve its democratic edifice and structure. Needham Anuradha D ingwaney and Rajan Rajeswari Sunder¹⁷² ed. book 'The Crisis of Secularism in India', focused on themes like historical background of secularism, the relevance and interdependence of secularism and democracy, contradictions in secularism or crisis in secularism. Padhi A.P¹⁷³ ed. book 'Socialism, Secularism and Democracy', discussed the themes like socialism, secularism and democracy were explained and the three terms are shown to be interdependent on each other and the smooth functioning of democratic setup depends on the interplay between the three concepts where true liberal democratic framework could work successfully and rights liberty and justice were ensured to the people.

Sankhdher.M.M¹⁷⁴, ed. book 'Secularism in India, Dilemmas and Challenges', provides an theoretical understanding of secularism, the difference between real and pseudo

secularism, and contradictions in Nehru's concept of secularism. The author Sharma Arvind¹⁷⁵ in his ed book. 'Hinduism and Secularism', shows the contradictions between Hindutwa forces and Indian secularism in the shadow of Ayodhya, its causes and consequences, doctrine of Hindu Rashtra and identify India as Hindu Rashtra and hence author says Indian political system now presents a paradox where the state broadly remains secular, but politics has become communal. Srinivasan T.N¹⁷⁶ ed., book 'The Future of Secularism', showed how Indian secularism has adopted a peculiar stance to avoid communal tensions. Chatterjee Rakhahari¹⁷⁷ ed. book 'Religion Politics and Communalism, the South Asian Experience', focus on the relations and contradictions between religion politics and communalism which shapes the civil society and the mentality of the people in South Asian countries which later on contribute to riots and communal disturbances in the society.

Hasan Mushirul¹⁷⁸ ed. work, 'India's Partition, Process, Strategy and Mobilization', portrays on the tragic events of Bengal and its impact including the Radcliff award and its impact on Murshidabad district to several consequences of partition. Roy Atul Chandra¹⁷⁹ ed. book 'Murshidabad Affairs (1821-50)', is the collection of district records the then history, cultural tradition, demography, socio-economic condition of the district and about its trade and commerce. Hasan Mushirul¹⁸⁰ ed. work 'Islam Communities and the Nation, Muslim Identities in South Asia and Beyond', perceived the construction of identity as Bengali among the Bengali speaking Muslims, the distinction between ashrafs and atrafs in respect to their culture is focused in this literature. Imam Zafar¹⁸¹ ed. work 'Muslims in India', focused on the advent of Muslims in India, their condition, their socio-economic and political status, their politicization by the British in pre-independence period, mobilization of the Muslim leaders against INC the attitude towards secular state in post independent era and accepting 'Indianness' as their preferred identity. Md. Noor¹⁸² ed. work 'Indian Muslims – Precepts and Practices', specifically focus on the identity problems of the Muslims due to the presence of caste system within the Muslim society and a critical appraisal is drawn from it in this book by the author. Siddiqui M.M and Faraidi F.R¹⁸³ ed. book 'The Social Structure of Indian Muslims', predicts an idea of social structure and culture of Indian Muslims which is functionally dependent on the beliefs and practices of Islam which have been elaborately defined in Quran and Sunnah. Ahmed Imtiaz¹⁸⁴ ed. work 'Modernization and Social Change Among Muslims of India', showed the adaptation of modern culture, western education by the Bengali Muslims of Calcutta gave birth to new

middle class defined as 'Bhadrolok community', who are well educated, civilized, high status ashraf class distinguished from low caste illiterate Muslims atracts class and hence there exist a distinction within the community as the focal theme of this literature. Ansari M.T.¹⁸⁵ ed. work 'Secularism, Islam and Modernity', focus on the adjustment of the Muslims in a democratic society, adoption of secular ideas and modern principles in India and their continuous adjustment with the plural culture. Baig. M.R.G¹⁸⁶ ed. book, 'The Muslim Dilemma in India', focused on the socio-economic problems, the problems of the community in adjustment with Indian society and the major challenges they faced as a minority is focused in this book.

Banerjee Binay¹⁸⁷ ed. book 'Towards Communal Harmony', shows various instances of communal harmony in India between the two communities in various ways like social and religious harmony and the success of India's secularism rests on this communal harmony. Chakroborty Bidyut¹⁸⁸ ed. book 'Communal Identity in India; Its Construction and Articulation in the 20th Century', focus on Hindu-Muslim relations in post-independent era, long term impact of partition, the growing fear and mistrust anxiety within the community members and reordering of the identity of the individual or the community. Dasgupta Abhijit¹⁸⁹ ed. work 'Minorities and the State; Changing Social and Political Landscape of Bengal', focus on the socio-economic status of the Muslims of West Bengal, their low rate of progress and growth and the measures taken to improve their position by the governmental initiative. Engineer Asghar Ali¹⁹⁰ ed. book 'Communal Violence in Post Independent India', focus on the reasons and causes and consequences of the outbreak of communal riots like Godhra, demolition of Babari-masjid in post independent period and the challenges of India's secularism. Engineer Asghar Ali¹⁹¹ ed. work 'Babri Masjid Ramjanambhoomi Controversy', focus on the incidence of major communal riots like the demolition of Babari masjid and Ramjanambhoomi issue, the growth of Hindu fundamentalist forces which shatters the secular image of the country is the main theme of this book.

Hasan Mushirul¹⁹² ed. work 'Living Together Separately, Cultural India in History and Politics', focus on the socio-economic condition of Bengali Muslims in post-partition West Bengal 1947-67, the rise of educated Bengali Muslim middle class termed as 'Bhadrolok' community, the sharp distinction within the community between educated and non-educated poor Muslims in several areas of West Bengal. Hasan Zoya and Menon Ritu¹⁹³ ed. work 'Unequal Citizens: A Study of Muslim Women in India', trace on the

position of Muslim women in Indian society and their treatment in unequal ways from the others and social and religious dictates were imposed on them in their personal life which motivates a Muslim women in taking several decisions in the society. Madan. T.N¹⁹⁴ ed. work 'Muslim Communities of South Asia, Culture and Power', focused on the role of Muslim communities of South Asia in politics and the deep concerned for power of the Muslim leaders and the hostility within the community (caste problem and cultural differences). Noorani.A.G¹⁹⁵ ed. work 'The Muslims of India; A Documentary Record', focused on the contradiction between law and MPL, the case of Shah Bano, political strategy adopted by the leaders to meet minority grievances through establishment of minority committees.

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Ahmad Imtiaz¹⁹⁶, in his article, 'The Ashraf and Ajlaf Categories in Indo-Muslim Society', showed that Muslims in India are divided into 'ashraf' and 'ajlaf' categories which are distinguished by ethnic origin and descent. An attempt is made here to answer some of the questions related to the understanding of the existing pattern of social relations among the diverse social groups among the community in Bengal and other parts of India. Ahmed Imtiaz¹⁹⁷, in his article, 'Indian Muslims and Electoral Politics', observes the increasing rate of electoral participation and political integration among the Muslims of India and the reasons behind it which implies that Muslims are becoming increasingly secularized politically in a secular country. Alam Anwar¹⁹⁸, in his 'Democratization of Indian Muslims: Some Reflections', showed that the upper caste Indian Muslim leadership has historically and consciously focused on the politics of identity, centered on a few cultural-emotive issues - a process that by its very nature has stymied attempts towards democratization within the community. Alam Javeed¹⁹⁹, in his article, 'The Contemporary Muslim Situation in India; A Long Term View', showed that though the Muslims are regarded as the 'other' of the nation, a new 'citizen politics' seems to be taking shape among Muslims in India today, articulating demands relating to jobs, income, education and so on. This new politics which is a part of the process of secularization - is radically different from the pre-independence separatist trends. Except at the surface, in the form of demands for reservations and quotas, there is nothing in common in the nature and content of Muslim politics then and now. Alam Zaveed²⁰⁰, in his article 'What Is Happening Inside Indian Democracy'? showed that the processes around democracy in India have detached

themselves from the infirmities surrounding democracy itself, whether these be of the leaders or the parties and have acquired an autonomy of their own.

Aleaz Bonita²⁰¹, in her 'Madrassa Education, State and Community Consciousness: Muslims in West Bengal', focus on how does education foster a sense of identity? This article looks at the madrassa system of education in West Bengal in an attempt to understand its role in shaping Muslim identity. Bharghav Rajeev²⁰², in his article 'Giving Secularism Its Due', shows political secularism has little or no conception of community. It is non-communitarian. From this it does not follow that there are no secular communitarians and that to live together well we must prepare a gingerly mix of political secularism and non-secular communitarianism. Bharucha Rustom²⁰³, in this article 'The Shifting Sites of Secularism: Cultural Politics and Activism in India Today' focus on the secular struggle in India today, on several issues like pressures of communalism, multiculturalism and globalization which threatens Indian secularism.

Chatterjee Jaya²⁰⁴, in her 'The Fashioning of a Frontier: The Radcliff Line and Bengal's Border Landscape, (1947-1952)', focused on the partition of India is customarily described in surgical metaphors, as an operation, an amputation, a vivisection or dismemberment. Partition also complements the anthropomorphic conception of the nation that was evoked so often in Indian nationalistic discourses and here the author analyses the border demarcation according to Radcliff award and its consequences on the subcontinent. Chatterjee Partha²⁰⁵, in his article, 'Bengal (1920-1947), The Land Question, The Journal of Peasant Studies', traced on the economic problem of the Muslims peasants where they are economically exploited by their zamindars and hence develop a subaltern character where they do not feel anything to protest against the oppression of the landlords. In this article, 'Towards an Understanding of Communal Violence in Twentieth Century Bengal', Das Suranjan²⁰⁶, focus on a historical study of communal riots in Bengal during 1905-47, the author attempts to understand why and how Hindu-Muslim communal violence occurred. Dasgupta Abhijit²⁰⁷, in his article, 'On the Margins: Muslims in West Bengal', focused on the marginalization of dalits and backward Muslims in West Bengal has brought into the forefront which required the affirmative action of the state. Dixit Prahat²⁰⁸, in his work, 'Secularism and Communalism: A Comment', focused that secularism can at best be termed as 'communal secularism', and it is not communal or religious awareness which constitutes a serious threat to national life or unity, but the danger lies in the transformation of this

awareness into a separatist demand and the author concentrates on the problem of secularism and communalism in India.

Engineer Ashgar Ali²⁰⁹, in his work 'Democracy and the Politics of Identity', focus that democracy provides space in which sections of society mobilize various identities to demand share in power and thus question the status quo. Engineer Ashgar Ali²¹⁰, in his work, 'Islam and Muslims in India; Problems of Identity and Existence', focus on the problems of the Muslim community in India, their adjustments with the state and society and the problem of identity they faced due to the social differentiation in the community. Engineer Irfan²¹¹, in his work 'Politics of Muslim Vote Bank', brings out the strong anti-congress sentiment prevailing in the community in Bombay. Irrespective of the Ulema council's directives, the majority of the Muslims prefer for an alliance with the minority parties.

Engineer Irfan²¹², in his work 'Religion, State and Secularism', focuses that secularism should not mean equal encouragement to fundamentalism of all communities. To reject this version of secularism, the ruling classes whose interests it serves need to be defeated. Gil Anidjar²¹³, in the work 'Secularism', writes that no one is free from the culture of hegemony and hence the problem of religion taken not in the confessional sense but in the secular sense of a unity of faith between a conception of the world and a corresponding norm of conduct and hence we say that it is the unity of faith of religion and not ideology or not even politics. Habib Irfan²¹⁴, in his work 'Muslims in India: Some Issues for State Action', stress that in a democratic setup state should ensure that no section of its citizenry remains backward because of discrimination and the author demands state action to be implemented to remove the backwardness of the Muslim community.

Hasan Mushirul²¹⁵, in his work 'In Search of Integration and Identity: Indian Muslims since Independence' shows that after 40 years of independence India's secular experiment needs to be reviewed as a pointer to other plural societies in Asia and Africa endeavoring to tackle their ethnic, regional and religious problems, and its results assessed in relation to Indian Muslims who form the largest minority segment in the country. Hasan Mushirul²¹⁶, in his work 'Adjustment and Accommodation; Indian Muslims after Partition', focus on the problems of adjustments of the Indian Muslims with secular India though the community look upon suspiciously by most of the Indian nationals as they are the creator and believer of two-nation theory and hence in post independent era there arose accommodation

problems among the community with other member of majority community in India. Heller Patrick²¹⁷, in his article, 'Degrees of Democracy; Some Comparative Lessons from India', showed that one of the most remarkable developments of the late 20th century has been the number of countries that have made the transition from authoritarian to democratic rule. Khalidi Omar²¹⁸, in his work, 'Muslims in Indian Political Process; Group Goals and Alternative Strategies', mention that to be represented to the state, minorities in India have three political choices:- they can join one of the parties sympathetic to minorities or secular in orientation, they can work through a non-partisan pressure group that would ensure the election of the sympathetic individuals regardless of any party affiliation, or they can form their own political party and try to extract benefits by holding the balance of power in a coalition government and Indian Muslims have tried all three approaches.

Krishna Gopal²¹⁹, in his work 'Electoral Participation and Political Integration', shows how voting patterns of minority communities on the one hand and castes on the other have affected a considerable process of integration and secularization. Although they had started with an emphasis on caste and communal appeals, electoral politics have generally eroded the solidarity of sectarian groups. Kumar Sanjay²²⁰, in his 'Muslims in Electoral Politics', wrote that Muslims have generally been regarded as a vote for the congress and have tended to vote en bloc. On the basis of a micro-level study of five constituencies in Madhya Pradesh during the 1993 assembly elections, this paper argues that the Muslim community is no longer an electoral monolith and there are differences in the voting behavior of its members in terms of socio-economic status, educational attainments, occupational structure and mobility patterns. Lijphart Arend²²¹, in 'The Puzzle of Indian Democracy: A Consociational Interpretation', wrote India has been the one major deviant case for being consociational (power sharing). A deeply divided society with, supposedly a mainly majoritarian type of democracy, India nevertheless has been able to maintain its democratic system. From the late 1960s on, although India has remained basically consociational, some of its power sharing elements has weakened under the pressure of greater mass mobilization. Therefore, India is not a deviant case for consociational theory but instead an impressive conforming case of being a true democratic state.

Metcalf. D. Barbara²²², in the work 'Too Little and Too Much: Reflections on Muslim in the History of India', focus that there exist social distinction between the ahsrafs and the atraps class of Muslims, the socio-economic backwardness of the community and educational backwardness and the reasons behind it in compare to the Hindus of the society

and hence remains marginalized section according to the author. Mohanty Monoranjan²²³, in this work 'Secularism: Hegemonic and Democratic', wrote that the fight for secularism in India has to be oriented against the hegemony of the state and the ruling forces. Politics of the hegemonic secularism has caused increasing alienation among identity groups and the oppressed and has given rise to authoritarianism in various forms. Only when secularism is a part of the overall process of democratic transformation only when it is a part of the movement against social domination can it maintain its essential character. Narain Iqbal²²⁴, in this work, 'Cultural Pluralism, National Integration and Democracy in India', showed that societies characterized by cultural pluralism have a built-in tendency for conflicts but are not necessarily prone to dis-integration from the society. Noronha Ernesto²²⁵, in this work 'BJP: Cow as a Political Symbol', shows that though cow as a political symbol lacks the potential to consolidate the Hindu voters, the BJP may continue to use it to enliven the attenuated Ram Janmabhoomi symbol. Pantham Thomas²²⁶, in this article 'Indian Secularism and its Critics' point out that secularism defined as the separation of politics or the state from religion is an intolerable, alien modernist imposition on the Indian society. This according to the author is the misreading of the Indian constitutional vision, which enjoins the state to steer clear of both theocracy or fundamentalism and the 'wall of separation', model of secularism. Regarding the dichotomy which the critics draw between Nehruvian secularism and Gandhian religiosity, the author suggests that what is distinctive to Indian secularism is the complementation or articulation between the democratic state and the politics of satya and ahimsa whereby the relative autonomy of religion and politics from each other can be used for the moral-political reconstruction of both religious traditions and the modern state. Parekh Bhikhu²²⁷, in his work 'Nehru and the National Philosophy of India', shows that every state needed a 'national philosophy' to sustain it, give it coherence and to direct it, Nehru devoted attention to the elaboration of a unifying national philosophy. For him 'modernization', was India's national philosophy and involved seven national goals – national unity, parliamentary democracy, industrialization, socialism, scientific temper, secularism and non-alignment. This paper comments on this philosophy and examines how he sought to obtain its public acceptance.

Puri Balraj²²⁸, in his work 'Indian Muslims Since Partition', showed that demolition of the Babri masjid and its aftermath have aroused genuine sympathy for the Muslims in a sizeable sections of enlightened Hindus who have accepted the challenge of the extremists in their community. What the Indian Muslims need, however, is not sympathy but

understanding based on a sociological study of their differentiated and plural society. Puri Balraj²²⁹, in his work ‘Autonomy and Participation: Dimensions of Indian Muslim identity’, deals with the role of Muslims in India, with the problems of their identity and autonomy as also the interconnection of their interest and that of the nation of which they form a vital part. India is a sort of multi federation, a federation of regions, cultures, communities, castes, classes, ideologies and so on – superimposed as well as cutting across one another. In such a complex polity Muslims must belong to a multiplicity of identities at vertical and horizontal levels, exclusive as well as in partnership with others, in order to maintain their identity and play an effective and constructive role, in peace with other communities of India, as also to satisfy their own multiple urges. Rowena Robinson²³⁰, in this work ‘Religion Socio-Economic Backwardness and Discrimination: The Caste of Indian Muslims’ showed the three crucial dimensions of social exclusion of Muslims are backwardness, marginalization and discrimination. More troublesome is the relationship between ethnic violence and socio-economic achievements. That a very high share of Muslim workers are engaged in self-employment activities, particularly in urban areas – street vending, small trades and related enterprises – ensures that the community is far more exposed to disruptions and damages by urban conflict and violence. The fragility of Muslim participation in the economy and the low level of asset accumulation further intensify their vulnerability to displacements caused by situations of continual communal strife argues the paper.

Roy Himanshu²³¹, in his work ‘Western Secularism and Colonial Legacy in India’ showed that in the west, secularism emerged as a protest movement of the oppressed against a theocratic state for individual freedom. With the expansion of capitalism and trade, it was largely the bourgeoisie and merchant capitalists who championed secularism, though minorities continued to live in a segregated that was ostensibly based on liberal political ideas derived from the west. In post-independent India, secularism means an idea that all religions shall be treated equally and state may intervene in religious matter to secure liberty and justice to its citizen. Ruparelia Sanjay²³², in this work ‘How the Politics of Recognition Enabled India’s Democratic Exceptionalism’, explores a significant puzzle: the persistence of modern representative democracy in post-independent India. It demonstrates how a politics of recognition based on identities of caste, language and religion is crucial for understanding the origins, character and trajectory of modern Indian democracy. These politics suffer various infirmities. The relative historical predominance of the politics of

recognition in post independent India, in contrast reflects its capacity to engage powerful social imaginaries that enabled the realization of democratic norms, institutions and practices. Sarkar Sumit²³³, in his work ‘The Bomb and Aspects of Nationalism’, explores what might lie behind the term hindutva used by the Sangh Paribar and BJP and the ambiguities in the term secularism and democracy and nationalism used by these political parties lead to the problematic aspects of nationalism.

Shah Ganasham²³⁴, in this article ‘The Condition of Muslims in India’, analyzes the Sachar Committee report from its perspective of equity which focused on the poor economic condition of the Muslims. Shahabuddin Syed²³⁵, in his work ‘Indian Muslims; Quest for Identity and Security’, analyses the contemporary Muslim Politics of India Muslim quest for identity and security their relative backwardness, demographic situation, social pattern and interaction with the secular experiment which has been increasingly distorted by the resurgence of communalism. Here the question of Muslim identity and security related issues are focused by the author in this article. Shakir Moin²³⁶, in this article ‘Electoral Participation of Minorities and Indian Political System’, showed that the minorities has contributed significantly to electoral participation, and their organization to some extent depends upon the leadership given to the community and here the author focus on the fact that the Muslims are organized on the basis of economic issues. Varshney Ashutosh²³⁷, in his work ‘India’s Democratic Challenge’, shows that India is attempting a transformation and has successfully managed liberalizing the economy within an established democratic order. Hence by accommodating plural elements of politics through negotiation with cultural, caste, religious, linguistic differences it tries to meet the challenges of democracy. Mohanty Monoranjan²³⁸, in his article “Secularism: Hegemonic and Democratic”, wrote that the fight for secularism in India has to be oriented against the hegemony of the state and the ruling forces. Politics of the hegemonic secularism has caused increasing alienation among identity groups and the oppressed and has given rise to authoritarianism in various forms. Only when secularism is a part of the overall process of democratic transformation only when it is a part of the movement against social domination can it maintain its essential character.

9. Research Gap

Much work has been done on the district depicting the cultural tradition of the district, analyzing the socio-political and economic condition of the region on Muslim women of the

region, the masjids and temples of the district and historical context of the entire region. No work has been done on this particular research problem which the researcher have strike out in assessing the political attitude and the participation of the Muslims in decision making process of government, the respondents participation in election and the governmental jobs. The district with its historical specificity, the trend of Sufi culture proved to be a unique example of establishing communal harmony in pre and post partition era. Even today 'mela', 'majhar' festival in the district is celebrated by the people of both the community. The political participation of the Muslim leaders in both pre and post partition time like Rejaul Karim, Abdul Bari, Nawab Wasif Ali Mirza and his son Kazem Ali Mirza, Khuda Baksh, Syed Baddrudoza, Lutfal Hoq, Abdus Satta is a significant one who raised their voice in Bengal Assembly in various debates is an excellent example of political participation from the district. This encouraged the researcher to study the political participation and attitudes of the Muslims in the context of Indian secularism and when successful democratic institutions can only work with the active participation of its citizens.

10. Research Methodology

a) Research Design - Here the researcher used both theoretical and empirical method in conducting this research work. Then the researcher opt a schedule and conducted a pretest prior to research design in order to avoid anomalies in research work.

i) Theoretical Method - The researcher used governmental statistics and publications, Murshidabad district Gazetteers, newspaper, books and journals which is used for constructing the theoretical framework of the research. This also helped the researcher to receive an idea of the problems, status of the Bengali Muslims of the district to conduct the entire research.

ii) Empirical Method - In conducting the empirical research the researcher opted for survey research method along with descriptive and narrative styles. A comparative analysis has done of the selected respondents of the two respective gram panchayats chosen purposely by the researcher from Suti 2 Block as the area of study in Murshidabad district. Initially from ten gram panchayats in Suti 2 Block, two were selected – Aurangabad 2 and Umrapur by the researcher. Among the two GPs, two gram sansads (one from each GP), is selected by the researcher from two respective gram panchayats, one is taken as most developed sansad and the other the most underdeveloped area among all the gram panchayats. Similarly 100 samples were drawn from underdeveloped gram sansad and 150

from the developed gram sansad to find out the responses of the Muslims towards political participation and their attitude towards Indian state and secularism. But 250 respondents cannot be the true reflection of the entire block or in entire Jangipur subdivision but best efforts are made to provide accurate results.

iii) Schedule –The researcher followed survey method, since it is necessary to collect data from individual sources, since our subject matter of research is mainly about the backward community – the Muslims in the district. Since the research focused on some personal and sensitive questions, besides formal interview, we felt it necessary to have preliminary discussions with some of the respondents before setting the final questionnaire. From about half a dozen of these associational interviews we have constructed the interview schedule.

iv) Pretest – At the initial stage, the researcher used pilot survey method during last week of December, 2015 and it has become very much fruitful. Through pilot survey method we could exclude those questions and change the hypothesis which proved to be wrong and with a very high non-response rate. The pre-test also help in deleting irreverent questions and in modifying the language of the question. When the researcher felt that the questionnaire tended to become lengthy, following, the pilot survey, she naturally excluded the superfluous, unimportant questions so that the respondent did not get bored and lose interest and at the same time the response rate would increase. The questionnaire includes some sensitive and formal questions to obtain the data accurately by face-to face interview.

b) Respondent Category - Here the variables chosen are the educational status, economic condition (income of the respondent), types of caste, sex, age, and occupational status, types of family and marital status of the respondents. The socio-economic condition, literacy rate among the community, work participation rate in government jobs and their school continuation rate, land ownership are the factors assessed to determine the political participation and attitude of the Muslim population. All these variables would help the researcher to explore the causes of political under-representation of the community in Indian society and the reasons of their backwardness.

c) Locale of the Proposed Study

i) Selection of the Block- The researcher has selected the Suti 2 Block as the area of study due to the researcher's easy accessibility to the particular area, which is mostly comprise of Muslim population as the research confined to study the attitude and participation of the

Muslim respondent of the district. From 10 GPs of the Suti 2 block the researcher has selected two GPs Aurangabad 2 and Umrapur respectively.

Overall in this region the rate of population is high educational attainment is low, income level is low, accessibility of cheap labor and no well developed heavy industry except beedi industry make this region backward. The region lacks in agriculture and land and other source of income, hence the people stick to this beedi making profession as their only means of livelihood. The accessibility of cheap labor paves the path for inhuman economic exploitation of the beedi workers which the researcher considers as a problem to be focused on. This exploitation leads to poor living condition of the people. Poor social, economic and cultural status leads to the backwardness of the area.

ii) Objective of Selecting the Gram Panchayat - In Suti II block there are ten gram panchayats. Among them the researcher had chosen Umrapur and Aurangabad II gram panchayat as the area of study. The researcher selected Umpapur as most under-developed GP and Aurangabad II as most developed model in Suti II block. The researcher measured the two GPs one as mostly developed and the other as under developed according to the criteria of development index. On the basis of development index like economic status (income), social status (household, living condition and sanitation), educational attainment (literacy rate), communicational facility, medical facility, electricity Aurangabad 2 GP is considered as the most developed GP and Umrapur as mostly underdeveloped area among all the 10 GPs in Suti 2 block in Murshidabad district.

d) Method of Data Collection

In this dissertation systematic random sampling method is used to collect the data from the sample drawn. Data is collected from both primary and secondary sources. Qualitative and quantitative analysis has been done for the data collected as primary source through survey of the respondent using personal interview method of survey research to draw data regarding political participation and attitude of the respondents. Secondary data is collected through literature review (review of books and journals), governmental statistics and publications, election recorder, Sacchar Committee report, Assembly Proceedings, IB files, election results of the Murshidabad district (Suti 2 Block), gazetteers, newspaper and websites. Primary data is obtained from the survey method by interviewing the respondents conducted in the two respective gram sansads.

i) Survey Method - The researcher used the survey method to study the political participation and attitude of the Muslim respondent of the district. The researcher studied the social status, economic condition, and educational level of the respondents. Though content analysis, case study research, aggregate data analysis, field research (participatory research), experimental research, interpretive research are also important methods for doing social research, the researcher had chosen survey method in conducting the research.

Survey research by using standardized procedures generates standardized and measurable data and thus makes possible not merely qualitative analysis and hypothesis testing, but replication as well. Furthermore, it can penetrate into society, much below that is in the micro-level data collection. Survey research in its cross-cultural variety helps us to avoid pseudo comparisons and unfounded generalizations. Rather than developing a comparative politics on the basis of assumptions and untested hypotheses, it allows the researcher to gather data on identical variables across countries and thereby widens the possibility of a true comparative politics. Survey research then is indeed a very powerful tool of social science.

ii) Questionnaire- To conduct this research the researcher had prepared two types of questionnaire – open ended or un-structured questions to get the qualitative responses from the respondents to assess their participation level and attitude towards Indian state and closed ended or structured questionnaire was prepared to receive the quantitative responses from the respondents.

iii) Interview Schedule- In all there are two groups of respondents. The first group of respondent is the people and seconds the elected representative or the political leaders from the district. Consequently two sets of questions were framed and administered to reach the target.

e) Selection of the Sample

Given the time constraints, the study covers a selected sample of two- fifty within a particular area of Aurangabad 2 and Umrapur gram panchayat in Suti 2 Block (Murshidabad district).

Universe chosen is two gram panchayats of Suti II block among ten gram panchayats of this block. The researcher had chosen Aurangabad II and Umrapur gram panchayat from the respective ten gram panchayats of this block as the universe. In Aurangabad 2 GP the

researcher selected one gram sansad Kalitala (Purba and Paschim) comprises of 1574 voters among which 768 are male and 806 are female. The researcher interviewed 150 respondents on the basis of systematic random sampling method by collecting the voter list of this sansad in order to assess their political participation and attitude towards state and politics. In Umrapur GP one gram sansad Sahajadpur Paschimpara is selected by the researcher which has total 1083 voters of which 536 are male and 547 are female. Respondents of this sansad are chosen on the basis of systematic random sampling method by collecting the voter list of this sansad from Suti 2 Block office.

f) Methods Used in Sample Selection

Simple random sampling method was used in collecting the data from the respondents. Among the total population of 1574 only 10% of sample was randomly chosen in the concerned gram sansad (Kalitala Purba and Paschim) of the Gram Panchayat Aurangabad II. The voter list of the respective gram sansad was collected from the block office of Suti 2 Block. Then 150 samples were selected randomly from the voter list as lottery method and in this systematic way the researcher selected 150 samples to gather relevant data of the respective GP. Similar methods were applied by the researcher in Umrapur GP. Here the researcher selected one gram sansad Sahajadpur Paschimpara which has total 1083 voters, and similarly 10% of sample sizes were drawn in the concerned sansad. Then 100 samples were selected among the total voters of this sansad on the basis of systematic random sampling method as lottery method by collecting the voter list of this sansad from Suti 2 Block office.

g) Data Processing

The researcher used some statistical methods like drawing pie-chart, tables, graphical representations and chi-square test to represent the data and to show the relationships between the variables. Even coding sheet was prepared to have a glance at the variations of the responses at a single time of the two respective gram sansads. Two sets of questionnaire prepared for interviewing the two groups of respondents included both open and close ended questions. The data gathered from the close ended questions were readily amenable to statistical analysis. Hence the data that were obtained from the structured questions were first classified into categories and arranged in the form of tables, pie charts. Finally the data were analyzed and measured in percentage to find out the relationship between the dependent variables and a set of independent variables.

h) Time Taken

The selected gram sansad (Kalitala Purba and Paschim) in Aurangabad 2 GP is not so far from the work place of the researcher thus it took 25 days to cover up all the interviews of 150 respondents. Again it took another 12 days to conduct the interview of the political representative of the area. But it was a problem of the researcher when the interview is conducted in Umrapur gram panchayat in one gram sansad (Sahajadpur Paschimpara) due to poor communication and distance from researcher's work place and it took 10 days to conduct the interview and the researcher stayed in the area and conducted the research.

i) Difficulties Encountered

In spite of pilot survey, the researcher faced some problem in the field work. Some of the respondents have enquired that whether they would receive any governmental benefit or not. Only after answering their questions in Umrapur Gram Sansad (Sahajadpur Paschimpara) the researcher could able to conduct the interview. However, after clearing the motive of the interview they agreed to give answers. It was not the problem of the respondents of early age or teenagers, but the aged ones made a lot of enquiry during the interview time. Most of the respondent of this area are beedi workers and they had to work for long hours approximately for six to ten hours including their domestic work, so they remained very busy throughout the day. Moreover the interview schedule is very long and its time consuming so it required the huge patience of the respondents and it took a lot of time in completion of the interview with the respondent. Though the respondent remain confined to domestic sphere and they work from home, so it helped the researcher to carry the interview at her convenient time in the early morning, afternoon and evening time. Though the area had the problem of heavy power cut still the women workers continued their work with kerosene lamp and agreed to talk with the researcher without any hesitation. But in the total respondent of 250, it is found the male respondents are less in number because the male workers are the migrant workers and stayed outside the district. In this way with the co-operation of the respondents the researcher completed the interview of 250 samples in the two respective gram sansads of the block. The respondents showed no trace of apathy in their interview with the researcher. But the researcher had to conduct the interview of the political representatives too and it was quite difficult to conduct the survey with each representative from gram panchayat pradhan to MLA of the block due to their busy schedule, non-availability in the panchayat office and the lengthiness of the

questionnaire. Still the political leaders too co-operate with the researcher towards the completion of the task. Another problem which the researcher faced in conducting the interview in Umrapur gram panchayat is that of the poor communication of the gram panchayat with the National Highway (NH-34) and with other areas of the block. With the co-operation of the respondent of the area the researcher could able to collect the data.

j) Validation Problem

Problem of validity may arise due to faulty indicators, mistaken measurements and fallacious inference. In survey research indicator and measurement problem are very closely related. It is expected to have precise indicators in order to make qualitative measurements. If indicators are faulty they cannot give us proper measurement. Hence validation problems also arise out of fallacious inferences. Thus interview setting must be taken into consideration that is respondent's cultural social structural conditions must be taken into account by the researcher before choosing the indicators and nature of questions. Though in this writing there was no language problem but to avoid fallacious inferences the researcher studied the socio-economic background of the respondent before selecting the variables. To avoid problem of conceptualization the researcher framed the questions simple, kept both coded and un-coded questions to get qualitative and quantitative data from the respondents. To avoid these problems it is the task of the researcher to develop deep familiarity with the substantive aspects of these societies, systems cultural background and tried to capture as much of their uniqueness as possible and to compare inter-variable relationships of the respondents.

k) Time Frame

The whole period of study was divided into three phases. The first phase covering a period of one year devoted to locate and identify the foundations of the conceptual framework which is relevant for the present study. In the second phase the researcher examined in details the theoretical framework in general and collected necessary data (mainly primary data from government documents and to collect the attitudinal data in the district by applying survey method) to test the hypotheses, required in analyzing the theoretical basis of the work. The last phase were devoted to data analysis and preparing the research paper aims in completion of the work.

l) Limitations of the Study

i) Lack of Time - Due to lack of time and other constraints the researcher limited the periphery of the study within Murshidabad district and applied random selective area sample survey method to collect data in the district. The researcher intended to make a comparative analysis of the study of participation and attitude of both the Bengali and non-Bengali Muslims of Murshidabad and Kolkata, but due to lack of time the researcher concentrated the study within the district and that too in specific block.

ii) Lack of Space - To mention again the district of Murshidabad has been chosen into consideration for the convenience of the researcher since the researcher is a full time teacher and her research pursuit will be part-time endeavor. Though efforts were taken to make a comparative analysis of both Malda and Murshidabad district in assessing the attitude and participation of the Muslims in the two respective districts but the researcher had to confine the study within the specific space.

11. Plan of the Study

In chapter one the researcher has stated the objectives of this research, pointed out the research questions, hypotheses, detailed the overview of literature available in the field in this field of research and pointed out the research gap in the area.

In chapter two the researcher would define India's democracy, its nature, its problem in adjusting with the changing needs of the society and finally defined that Indian democracy adopted multicultural model to accommodate various claims, to give recognitions to various group rights and to accommodate various cultures to work successfully in the society.

In chapter three the researcher defines the key concepts of Indian secularism, nature of Indian and western secularism, challenges to Indian secularism and adjustment of Indian secularism with plural society by adopting contextual model.

In chapter four the researcher had introduce the district, its history, demography, economy its cultural specificity, its Sufi culture and the trend of communal harmony in the district, the incidence of pre and post partition riots and the reasons for not out breaking of riots or communal violence in the district in contrast to other parts of Calcutta. Finally the researcher showed the population migration from the district and the attitude of the Muslim people of the district after partition towards other community people.

In chapter five the researcher traced out the nature of political participation and attitude of the political leaders towards Indian state from 1978-2008 from Assembly Proceedings records where several issues were raised by the leaders and efforts were taken by them to remove minority complexity from the minds of the Bengali Muslim of the district. The leaders also tried to improve the social, cultural and economic status of the district people and tried to rouse political aspirations and consciousness of the people of the district in post independent era.

In chapter six the researcher tried to trace out the electoral participation of the Muslims of the district (Suti II Block), from election result of Murshidabad district and the reasons of participation of the Bengali Muslims in politics. The researcher also made an attempt to collect empirical data from the respondent of two respective gram panchayats and finally analysed the same with the statistical tools to find out the reasons and variations of participation.

In chapter seven the researcher tried to tease out the political attitude of the Bengali Muslims towards Indian state and society by collecting empirical data and with the help of statistical analysis of the same and tried to reach a conclusion of her findings.

In the concluding chapter the researcher traced out the uniqueness of the religio-political experiences of the Bengali Muslims in political participation and variations in attitudes of the people of Murshidabad district. This chapter focused on whether religion influenced the voting behavior of the respondents in a secular country. To be more precise it may be opined that the researcher tried to find whether the principles of the secular democratic state motivated the Bengali Muslims of the district and the extent of the respondent's political integration with mainstream culture. The researcher tried to develop how the Bengali Muslims are adjusting themselves in multicultural plural secular state and how they considered themselves in a secular state or what is their relationship with the 'others' that is with the Hindu compatriots in the district and the respondents civil loyalty towards Indian state and politics.

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