

## **CHAPTER – VII**

# **ATTITUDES OF THE MUSLIMS TOWARDS INDIAN STATE AND SECULARISM; A FIELD STUDY**

### **1. Introduction**

#### **1.1. Attitude of Bengali Muslims towards Indian State and Secularism**

### **2. An Attitudinal Perception of the Respondents in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat- A Brief Empirical Analysis**

#### **2.1. An Attitudinal Perception of the Respondents in Umrapur Gram Panchayat- A Brief Empirical Analysis**

#### **2.2. Variations in Political Attitude of the Respondents in Aurangabad 2 and Umrapur Gram Panchayat**

#### **2.3. Comparative Study of Attitudinal Perception of the Respondents in Aurangabad 2 and Umrapur Gram Panchayat**

### **3. An Empirical Study of Attitude of the People's Representative of the District**

### **4. Conclusion**

### **Notes and References**

## **1. Introduction**

The partition of the country was the tragic culmination of the communal politics of the pre-independent days. In an absence of a strong secular content in the freedom movement, the British imperialist succeeded in their mischievous game of dividing the people. Partition of the country proved to be a clumsy device which settled nothing and satisfied none but increase the socio-political complexity of the Muslim community. Moin Shakir argues that what is lacking on the part of the majority community is the sympathetic understanding of the peculiar problems of the Muslims. But in India, the Muslim community has tried their best to integrate with the gigantic process of democratic secular federal polity of India. The Muslim community have been struggling hard to adjust themselves with multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, multi-religious, multi-cultural plural society and tried to emancipate themselves from religious obscurantism and socio-economic inequalities. Success of India's democracy depends not only on the approval and commitment of the majority segment but also the concurrence and involvement of the minority segments. Hence Indian democracy shows respect to the minority people as a citizen of the country and not on the basis of his ascriptive identity based on birth, property race religion language and the like. According to Mushirul Hasan<sup>1</sup> the contextual model of India's secular society make the community feel that Muslim community were a part of India's tradition where Hindu and Muslims shared their cultural norms and rituals.

### **1.1. Attitude of Bengali Muslims towards Indian State and Secularism**

The constitution was drafted<sup>2</sup> and adopted on 26<sup>th</sup> January, 1950 declaring India a republic. The constitution declared all citizens of India equal in every respect without any distinction of caste, creed or race. The Articles 25 to 30 of the constitution also gave special religious and cultural rights to minorities. Indian state ensures collective and group rights, liberty of all members of society and hence Indian democracy<sup>3</sup> incorporates ethnic and national identities in one framework. The concept of secularism<sup>4</sup> in the Indian context means it recognises all religious communities to reformulate their traditional values and norms and to reform their traditional practices. It promotes an idea of sarva dharma samabhava that is the attitude of equal respect for all religious values and social groups.

Societies characterized by cultural pluralism<sup>5</sup> have a built in tendency for conflicts particularly where economic scarcity and political exploitation prevailed. Modern state increases the political consciousness of the social groups and mobilise these groups into

politics and their inclusion in democratic fabric of our country. In case of Bengali Muslims, it may mention that there lies a quest of self-identity<sup>6</sup> develop from the relative deprivation in education and economic sphere from rest of the Muslim community thus the Muslims of Bengal do not pose any hostile attitude towards Indian state. In West Bengal particularly in Murshidabad district the Muslim community believes to establish a cultural plural society and make a commitment for nation-building on the principles of democracy, secularism, national unity and social justice. Hence it may be infer that in case of West Bengal Muslims there is the merger of relatively small identities into new and bigger identities<sup>7</sup>. The Bengali speaking Muslims though term as atrap (low graded Muslim), they remain confine with their Bengali identity, having Bengali as their medium of instruction and are different from north Indian Muslims in terms of linguistic and cultural homogeneity<sup>8</sup>. The Bengali Muslims solely adhere to preserve the unity and unique culture of India and assimilate into a larger cultural periphery of Bengal. In Murshidabad district integration<sup>9</sup> between political elite and rural mass result in integration of the Bengali Muslims with mainstream national culture. The elite-mass interaction<sup>10</sup> in the district helps in better integration through elections and democratic decentralisation popularly known as Panchayati Raj, which ultimately helps the process of elite mass integration by bridging the gulf between the centre and the periphery. Thus the political representative helps in reconciliation of various competing claims of the community and helps to motivate the community in integrative process of the nation. The community believes that state will ensure economic improvement and finally an overarching sense of national identity of the Bengali Muslims seems to be emerging with the national identity of the country. The community possesses strong national<sup>11</sup> sentiment in the district which makes the community more loyal towards Indian state. They perceive Indian state as their protector so that they can overcome their backwardness and minority syndrome.

The Bengali Muslims in the district develops a concrete social bond within the society which never hinders national integration and democratic polity of the country. Though the norths Indian Muslims still believe that still today they are treat as second class citizen, and discriminate in various governmental jobs but the attitude of the Bengali Muslims in this matter is different. They perceive Indian state as the protector and guarantor of their rights. The Muslims solely believe that state government does not discriminate on religious grounds<sup>12</sup> and they enjoy freedom of religion under the constitution. Each election

and electoral politics makes the Muslims more conscious of their political importance, and drawing them gradually into the national mainstream.

The Muslims of Bengal are not a homogenous community<sup>13</sup> they are divided in many ways by their varied ethnic origins, occupations sects and status. Even the Bengali Muslims of economically backward section denies to stay with 'bhadrolok', who are literate, educated and well settle Muslims (both Bengali and non-Bengali origin). These Muslims prefer not to live cheek by jowl with their ruder co-religionists in Calcutta or in proper town rather these illiterate, poor class Muslims settled in rural areas of Murshidabad, Hooghly and other parts of West Bengal. Muslims who are well settled, educated having economically sound status and handpicked as representative of the community are generally ashamed of their 'Muslimness' and tries to remain alienate from the rest of the community. Hence it may say that the sense of grievances, hostile attitude against the state do not grow within the Bengali Muslim rather they seek state as their sole institutions for removing their backwardness. The Bengali Muslims of the district are alienated in two ways – one from non-Bengali Muslims and other from the Bengali educated Muslims. As the uneducated Muslims remain alienated from 'bhadrolok' community and settled in slum and rural areas tend to become economically poor, sufferes heavily in education and in development of culture and apparently remain backward in employment which result in total backwardness of the Muslims of the district compare to others. In context of West Bengal, we shall also mention that the economically and culturally backward Muslims settle in the district, shares Hindu culture which erodes unparallell diversity within the two communities. Bengali Muslims<sup>14</sup> has been immensely diverse from non-Bengali Muslims in culture in language, in ideology and hence Indian Muslims cannot be term as homogenous community. Hence the communal forces like RSS, VHP which are at work in disintegrating this composite culture, create less or no impact on the minds of the Bengali Muslims and thus they do not possess any hostile attitude towards Indian secularism.

Indian and Bengali Muslims invoke secularism<sup>15</sup> for the safety and insecurity of their existence but not very much responsive to fight aggressively against any move for secular change or reform in their religious tradition. In eighties the Shah Bano case became the most cited example and it is undoubtedly true that a large number of Muslims are mobilised by the north Indian Muslim leadership to oppose the Supreme Court judgement in the Shah Bano case. In post Babri Msajid demolition case, the Bengali Muslims are not very much responsive towards court's decision. But interestingly the secular ideology<sup>16</sup> motivate the

Bengali Muslim in such a way that with an exception of few most of the Muslim of Murshidabad possess pro-secular attitude and positive view towards India state and society. Muslims in the district are educationally and economically remain in backward position in compare to other community members. Some Muslim scholars believe that reservation<sup>17</sup> can remove irrational sectarian hatred which will lead to integrity of the community. In country like India, it is not possible to have a small middle class consisting by and large of upper caste Hindus. Expansion of the middle class in India is not possible only by general expansion of economic opportunities. We will have to see that the expanding economic opportunities are also made available to several communities who have been living or have been pushed to the periphery of our society.

In case of Bengali Muslims of the district, vast Muslim population share Gandhi's vision for the new India – a resolutely secular nation with freedom and equal rights of citizenship<sup>18</sup> for people of every faith, community caste and gender. There is also influential mass support to sponsor egalitarian and democratic ideologies for the community. The ML leaders fought for a secured and independent Islamic nation to be carved out from Muslim majority segments of India. But they could not convince the Muslim people of the district with their vulgar ideas. The Muslims till today show their respect for all faiths and secular law of the country. The Muslim community in Bengal adopt a mixed culture<sup>19</sup> and identity (though a Muslim but align with Hindu Bengali language, live together in co-operation with each other, shows rational behaviour with the Hindus, had economic co-operations) and identify them as Indian Bengali Muslim. As the Bengali Muslims signifies them as politically socially disadvantaged community they look upon the state as their guardian and protector and hence trust more upon secular ideology of the state. The social attitudes of people are shaped by the contemporary situations as well as by the rudiments of ideas generated in the past, whereas in case of Bengal Muslim their social context and cultural trend is so different from the Muslims of other states that they develop unique cultural trend and they want to become part of the general milieu of the subcontinent.

Indian secular forces<sup>20</sup> infused with the presumption of minority interest influenced the Bengali Muslims who willingly and wholeheartedly accepted the idea of a single Indian 'nation'. Using this Bengali identity, most leaders stressed on the idea that the true homeland of the Muslim is India and they should show loyalty to the state first and then to the Ulema (Muslim community). Hence from the very beginning the Bengali Muslims shares universal feeling and brotherliness which the crux of India's plural society. This is

also true that the secularist ideology of the Indian state is vehemently projected through ideological institutions or ideological state apparatus. In the words of Althusser state acts as a mechanism to promote national unity and identity of the homogenous and undifferentiated Muslim community. Indian society is culturally diverse<sup>21</sup> and it gave rise to clash between minority and majority on issues such as language rights, regional autonomy, political representation, education, employment, economic disparity. But Indian democracy incorporates all the diversified social groups while ensuring rights to all its citizen and hence Indian citizens truly adopt multicultural traits. It may be inferred that there exist multiple identities but only with singular representations which show that Muslim community is integrating truly with Indian state and society and state promotes all democratic aspirations of the minorities.

In a democratic polity majoritarian<sup>22</sup> discourse cannot prevail and all communities will like to be recognising as separate religious or cultural entities. A democratic set up has to be in other words, pluralistic<sup>23</sup> in nature. The minorities shall be given proper political representation, representation in governmental services and in higher educational institutions. The future of national mainstream is very much dependent on contributions of minorities in every aspect of Indian life. A democratic set up must see that all religious minorities are given equal opportunity to profess their religious freedom and to express their feelings in political sphere. It is the duty of the Supreme Court to see that these fundamental rights given to minorities are well secured. It must be admitted unhesitatingly that the Bengali Muslims possess faith towards Indian state and integrate with nation's plural culture showing their secular attitude. It is the duty of India state to curve all communal forces so that the community is not being use for political gains.

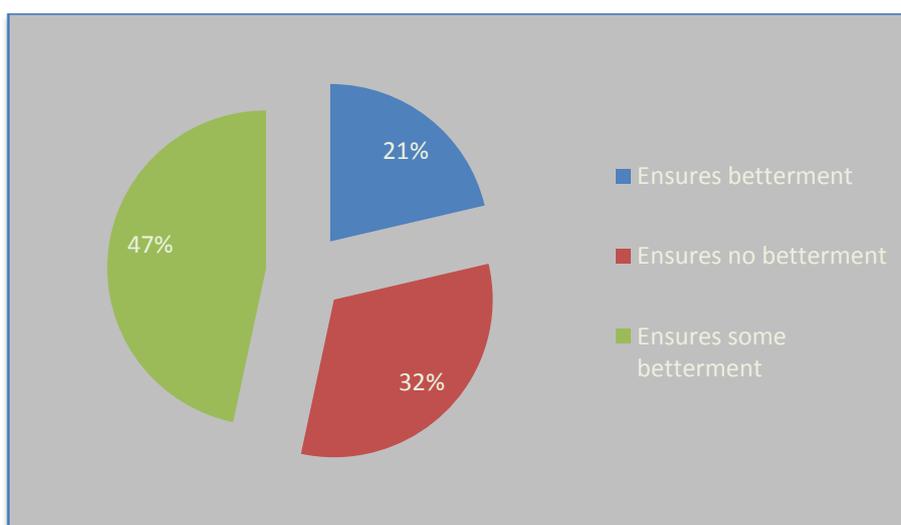
## **2. An Attitudinal Perception of the Respondents in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat – a Brief Empirical Analysis**

With a view to assess the attitudinal perception of Muslims in the district a survey research method with semi-structured schedule has been conducted by the researcher the primary objective being to study the attitudes of Bengali Muslims in the district so far as the secular concept of Indian democracy is concerned. For the purpose, Suti II block has been selected considering the convenience of the researcher in terms of her accessibility to the field of study, the time constraints and other factors that may act as barriers towards conducting the survey honestly and with sincerity. Further in order to keep the sample sizes manageable

two Gram Panchayats have been selected from the block adopting the stratified random sampling method on the basis of a development- underdevelopment syndrome. It is in this perspective that the present limited study has been undertaken which is confined to seek attitudinal perception of the respondents in two gram panchayats – Aurangabad 2 and Umrapur gram panchayat. From Aurangabad 2 gram panchayat one gram sansad Kalitala (Purba and Paschim) has been chosen consisting of 1574 voters from which 768 are male and 806 female. Among 1574 voters the researcher reduced the sample size to 150 in order to collect data regarding their attitude towards Indian state and secularism through the collection of voter list and applying systematic random sampling method to obtain data from the respondents. Two kinds of interview schedule with both structured and unstructured questionnaire has been administer to conduct the interview – one for the respondents and other for the elected representative in this gram sansad to collect data from the respondents and political leaders with an aim to obtain attitudinal perception of the Muslim respondents in Aurangabad 2 gram panchayat. Aurangabad 2 is the most developed area in Suti 2 block. The educational attainment, income level, socio-political and cultural attainment is high among the respondents in Aurangabad 2 gram panchayat. In this gram sansad political consciousness of the respondents are also high and the researcher has taken an interview of the respondents of this gram panchayat to assess their attitude towards Indian state and secularism.

**Figure -7.1**

**Attitudes of the Respondents towards Party Leaders**

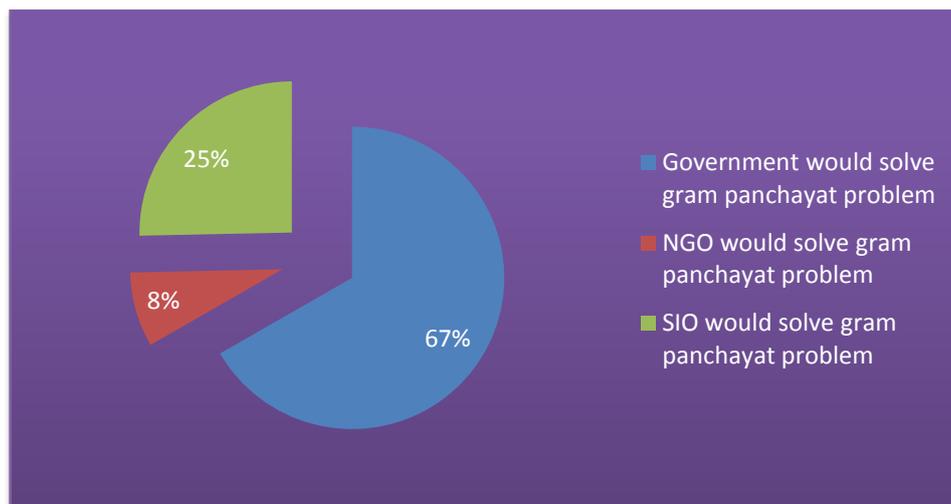


So far as the attitude of the respondents towards their party leader is concerned 21% says the leaders ensure betterment, 47% says they ensures some betterment and 32% says party

leaders ensures no betterment for the community and the leaders are self centred and serve their own interests. The respondents says the elected representative that is the panchayat prodhan has to depend on block officers, Zilla Parishad members for sanctioning grants requires for development in the respective panchayats and hence betterment in the area can be ensure by MLA of the block and from state governmental funds. But the panchayat remains underdeveloped due to lack of communication, drainage system, shortage of electricity and health care facilities which has been overlook by the leaders for the long time who seeks their own interest and apathetic to ensure the community benefits. This underdevelopment results in dissatisfaction towards government, but not towards the secular principles of Indian state according to the respondents of this area. The respondent argues that they want a political leader who must be wise, unbiased and intelligent, neutral in character and possess political farsightedness. The political leader shall possess certain knowledge for the betterment of the community. He must follow the path shown in Islam (honest and to serve the interest of all the people), shall possess the zeal to bring development and to remove backwardness of the entire GP, shall be of open mind and ensures equal treatment for both the community people and follow a liberal path to ensure betterment of the community by channelizing more governmental funds for development of the district.

**Figure- 7.2**

**Attitude of the Respondents towards State**

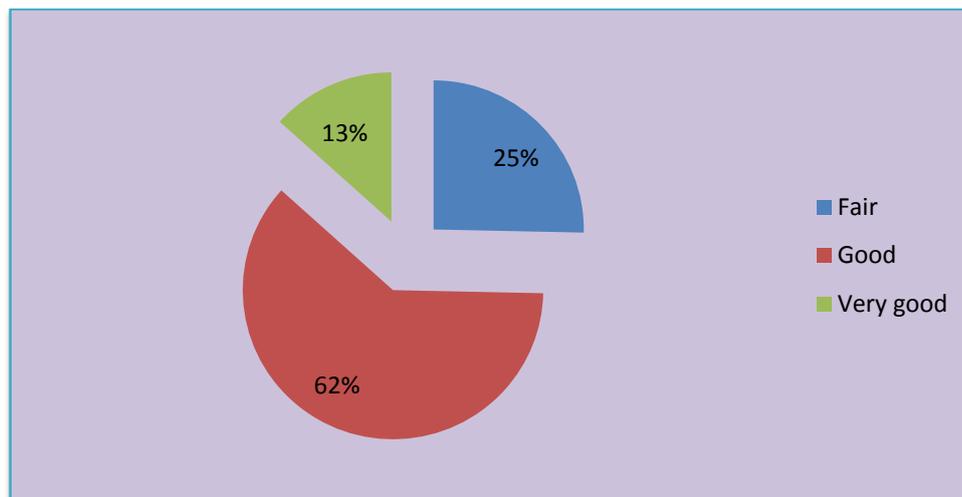


So far the attitude of the respondents towards Indian state is concerned 67% possess the view that state ensures the benefits for the people, 8% says development is ensure by the NGOs and 25% says the problem of the village will be solve by religio-social organizations like Jammait-i-Islami and SIO. Governmental initiative and aid can bring development in

the village. This is true that organizations like SIO gives scholarships to the students for higher education in this backward area and there are NGOs working to bring social consciousness among the people like child's right to education, literacy campaigns, conduct night schools, create awareness about family planning and with the co-operative efforts of both the government and NGOs development in the gram panchayat can be achieve. To ensure development in the area like improvement in educational infrastructure, health care units, electricity, maintenance and construction of roads and communications, to provide safe drinking water, and to remove economic backwardness efforts must be taken by government. Most of the respondent opines that no religious cum social organizations like Jammait-i-Islami-Hind, SIO, Tabliq Jammait, Ale-a-Hadish can bring betterment for the community except state.

**Figure- 7.3**

**Respondents Opinion Regarding the Relationship in the Community**

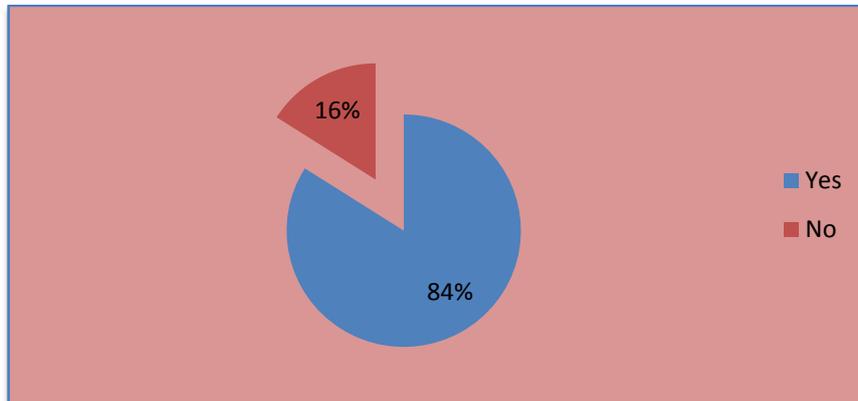


In this gram panchayat 62% respondents say the relationship among the community member is good, 25% says fair and 13% says relationship is very good in their area. All the respondents gladly say that there is no communal tension or no incidence of riots occurs within the area. The people participate in each other's festival like Id, Durga puja, Holy, Purjusan and even attends all the social events like the marriage ceremony. The respondents even denounce acts like demolition of any mosque or temples even criticize acts like terrorist activities or incidence like Godhra riot or Khagragarh explosion. The relationship between Hindu and Muslims is cordial. Some of the respondents even say that they are dishearten when the community is blame for any terrorist acts or treat as disloyal towards state. In true sense, they possess total loyalty towards Indian state and hence both the community resides peacefully with each other without any communal tension. The

respondent even give example of Bengali syncretic tradition which exist from pre-partition days till today which binds the community people through its cultural bonds and this bond ultimately shapes their attitude to accept India's plural culture and secular principles.

**Figure- 7.4**

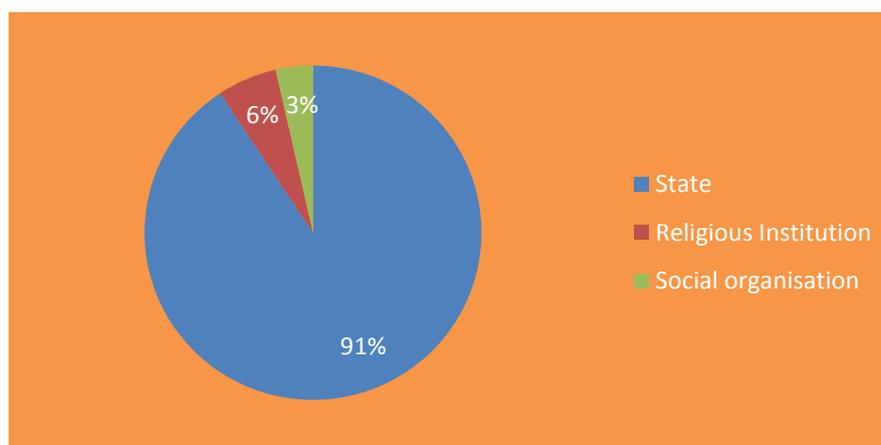
**Opinion of the Respondents Regarding Women's Participation in Politics**



So far as participation of women in politics is concerned 16% of the respondents do not support women's participation in politics actively whereas 84% support it. According to them politics is a complex phenomenon and it is beyond the reach of women folk. Women shall cast vote as it is a political right but they shall confine themselves in domestic sphere. But most of the respondent with the exception of the few says in a liberal society everyone shall enjoy their political rights whether to cast vote or to participate in politics actively.

**Figure- 7.5**

**Respondents Allegiance towards State**

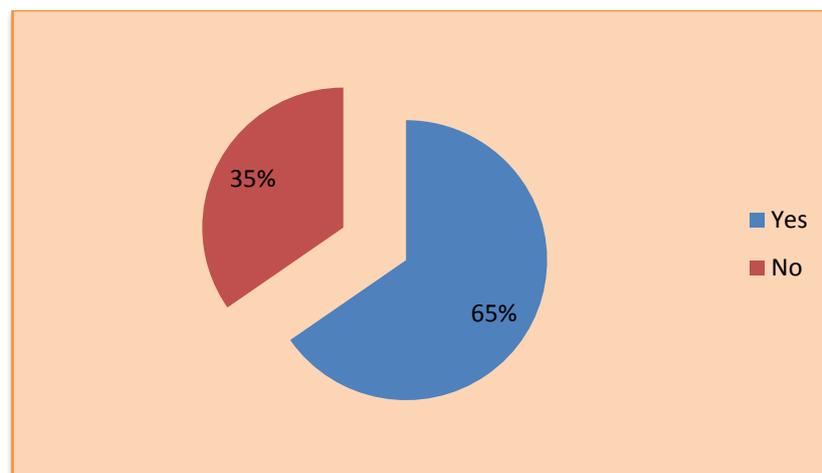


So far as respondents allegiance towards state is concerned 3% of the respondent shows their allegiance to socio-religious institutions, 6% to purely religious institutions and 91% to state. Most of the respondents show their loyalty towards state and its secular principles. No

religious or social organizations like Jammait or SIO shall influence state's decision which is often found in Bangladesh or Pakistan. According to the respondent Indian state shall have sovereign power and no institution is beyond state. The respondents in Murshidabad hence do not support the political manifesto of Jammait –I Ulema, which tries to influence government by their political interference during elections. The voters even says that there may be apathy of the respondents towards Indian state, but their loyalty and allegiance will go first to the Indian state and then to other religious or social organizations in the society. The Muslims in the district who are of Bengali origin says they discard all those organizations which affects state and politics. Some respondents support the religious cum social organization because of its philanthropic work in helping students to ensure some benefits in their education. The respondents identify them as Indian citizen though some of them support the organizations like Jammait or the SIO only for the betterment issue of the community people in this backward area.

**Figure- 7.6**

**Attitude of the Respondents towards Reservation**

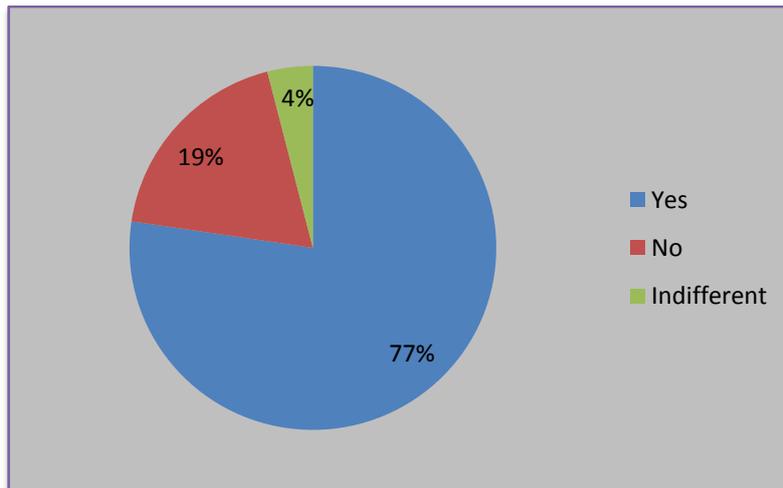


So far as attitude of the respondents towards reservation in job and in governmental educational institutions is concerned 65% respondent prefers reservation and 35% says there is no requirement for reservations for the development of the Muslim community. Reservations results in separateness among the community member as the individual is being portrait as minority and hence this complexity (of being minority) and anxiety results in alienation of the community from the mainstream culture so reservation must be curtail. Most of the respondent is in favour of reservation which they consider as an important aspect of nation-building, aims at changing the nature and composition of the middle class Muslim community. It requires a major national effort to achieve success in reservation

issue and to reduce the gap between the majority and minority. Through reservation the community can bring into integral segment of Indian society. In this way according to constitutional norms equality, social justice can be assured to the community in this backward district.

**Figure- 7.7**

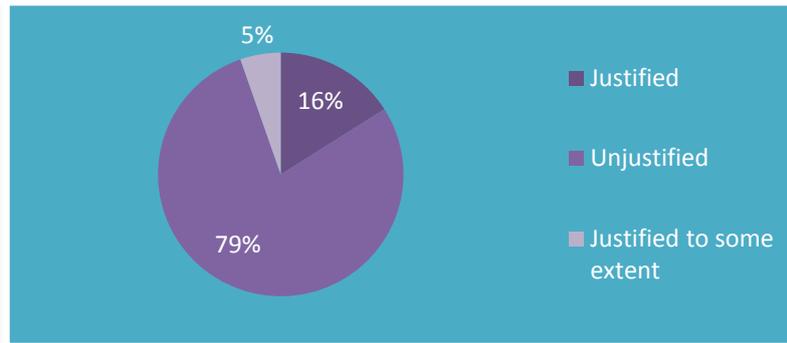
**Attitude of the Respondents towards AMU Status**



So far as the view of the respondents regarding the minority status of Aligarh Muslim University is concerned most of the respondent argues that they need reservations in education which is given by the AMU to the minorities. The community students are educationally backward and hence they deserve reservation which is so long denying by the state. Hence they want to preserve the minority status of the university to get scope in higher education. Hence we find that 77% of the respondent strongly supports to preserve the minority status, 4% were indifferent respondent and 19% do not support this view and says the students shall be given facilities according to their merit and not on the basis of their minority status especially in higher educational studies. So the respondents discard all kinds of minority based educational institutions in secular country.

**Figure- 7.8**

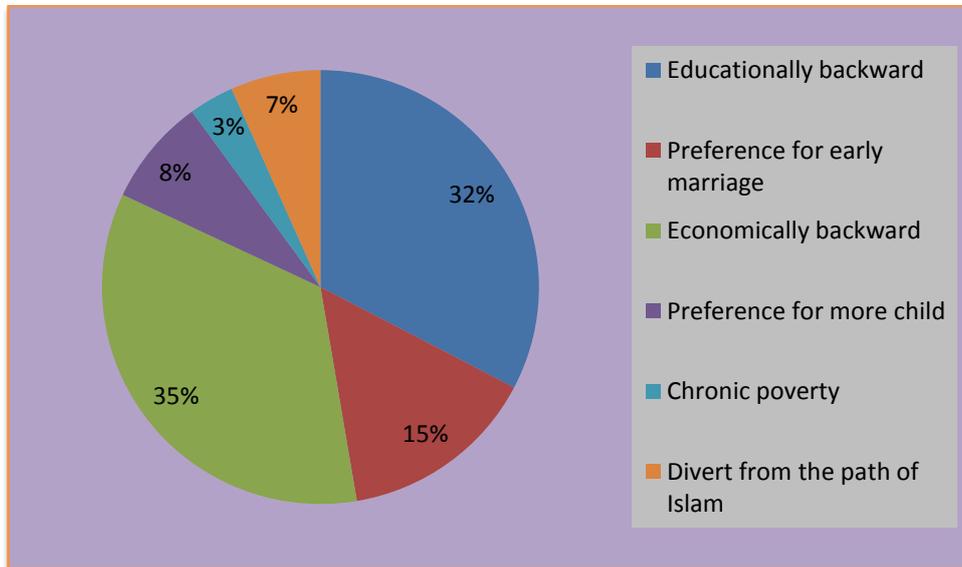
**Attitude of the respondents in Supreme Court's Decision on Babri-masjid Issue**



So far as the attitude of the respondents regarding Supreme Court's judgement on Babri Masjid issue is concerned 16% of the respondent says that the court's decision is justified, 5% says it is justified to some extent and 79% blame it as unjustified judgment of the court in this sensitive issue. Some respondent think the judgment is justifiable because it will erase the communal feelings within the community members residing in a secular country where every individual possess the right of religious freedom. Respondent who support the Supreme Court's decision as it delivers its judgment neutrally for constructing the temple and mosque in the same land. But all the respondents strongly agree that demolition of the masjid is a barbarous act and it strikes hard on India's secularism which mentally tortures the minority community and creates fear and anxiety in their mind. But most of the respondent thinks it an unwise decision of the court. There is no concrete evidence whether Lord Ram according to Hindu mythology was born at that place where the masjid stood. Mosque cannot be erect in lands allotted for temples or other religious institutions according to their religious ideals and can only be constructed in the place donate willingly or allot for the construction of mosque and not in the land which is forcefully taken. The respondent says worshipping Hindu deities and reading namaz cannot be done simultaneously in a same place. There are several cases where religious procession cannot pass by the sight of the mosque and playing music before mosque is restricted by the state authority. Hence the respondent opines that Supreme Court's decision is not justified at all.

**Figure- 7.9**

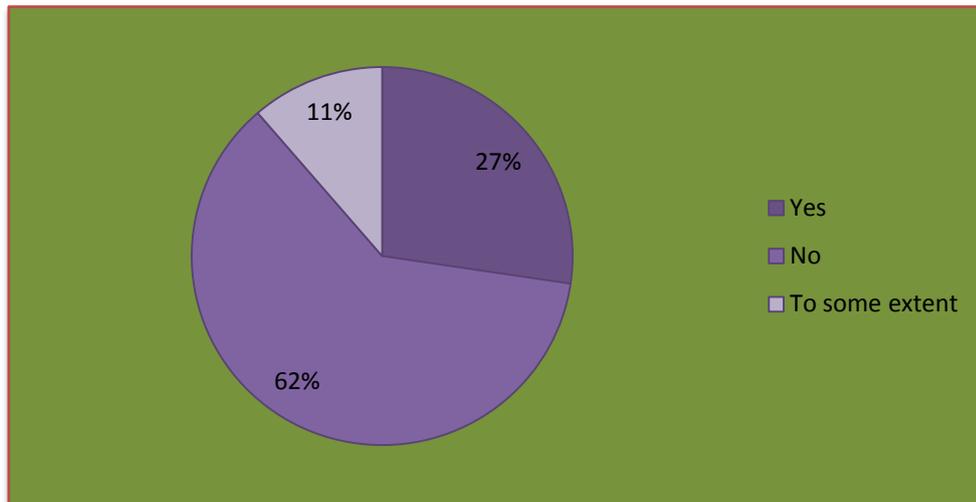
**Opinion of the Respondents Regarding Communities Backwardness**



So far the backwardness of the community is concerned 32% of the respondent says the community remain backward because of lack of education, 7% says they divert from the path of Islam, 35% says they are economically not sound, 8% says due to the communities preference for more child, 15% says due to preference for early marriages, and 3% says due to chronic poverty in the area and lack of employment scope and agriculture. The people engage in beedi making profession with low wage and exploitation by the beedi manufacturer. The respondent says further that if proper attention is given to the agricultural sector and irrigation then the people of the district can attain economic prosperity but no attention is given till today which makes not only the community people but the entire district in backward position. Even early marriages and preference for more children, lack of proper social consciousness make the people more backward. Governmental negligence to undertake proper developmental measures further make the district underdeveloped.

**Figure- 7.10**

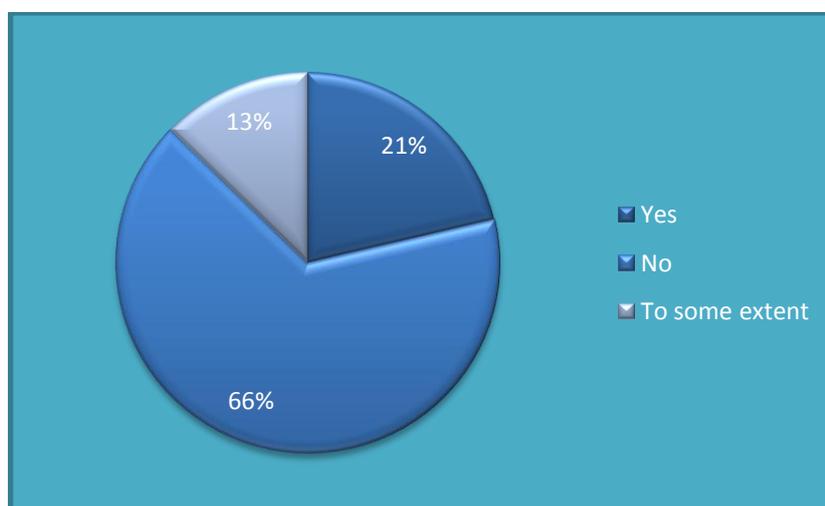
**Opinion of the Respondents Regarding Religious Belief Which Affects Politics**



Most of the respondent says that religious belief and practices does not affect political affairs. Though most of the people attend the discussion held at Tabliq Jammats, attend Jalsas, study religious news or watch religious channels and take part in informal discussions with moulavis in any religious gatherings after regular prayer but it no way influences their political behaviour because the discussions are purely religious in nature. Religion is basically individual's private affair and it never influences respondents political attitude or motivate the individual's attitude towards Indian state and secularism. Hence 11% respondent says religion to some extent influences political decisions, 62% says religion has no impact and 27% says that religious dictates from official level given to the people influences the political behaviour of the people. Indian state is secular it gives equal recognition to all religious community and never influences politics. But when the imams or the Hindu priest deliver their speeches from official standpoint to support the respective political parties then it creates an impact on the people's mind which may influence their political attitude.

**Figure- 7.11**

**Impact of Religion on Social Life of the Respondents**

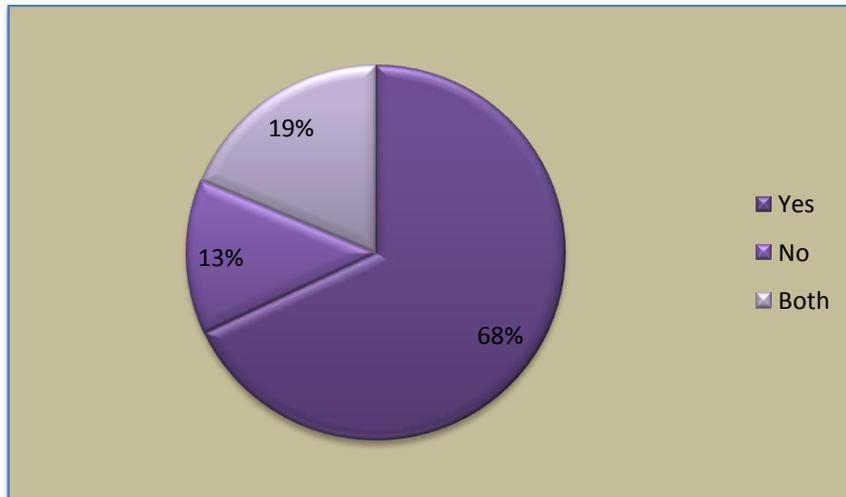


So far as respondents view regarding the impact of religion on social life of the respondent is concerned 21% of the respondent says religious dictates influences social life to some extent, 66% opine that religion influences the social life of the respondent and 13% says it influences to some extent the social life of the individual. In this GP most of the respondent possess good educational status and have fair economic background and hence to them religion does not influence the social life of the people. But there are some respondents who say that religion affects social life of an individual in the community. Previously the Muslim women in the Aurangabad 2 gram panchayat do not use borkhas or strictly adhere to the dress code according to their religious dictates. But according to the changing pattern of the society like the increasing rate of women's dishonour and harassment compel the young girls and women to follow strictly the dress code according to their religious dictates. The respondent argues that illicit comment from the boys makes the womenfolk ashamed which has become a regular practice due to increasing rate of unemployment of the youths. Hence to avoid social crimes and out of fear the women start following the Islamic dress code which is not a regular picture among the Bengali Muslims in the district few times back. In this GP most of the respondent can read Quran written in Arabic or in Bengali and enable to interpret it in right way. Sometimes few people who cannot read have to depend upon the moulavis for Quaranic interpretations who can interpret its right meaning and convey it to the people. The moulavis also deliver their advice to follow the same dress code by the women and to live a life according to the principles of Islam without any kind of perversions. Even in various religious channels the messages of Islam convey to the

people also influences the social life of the community at large. Moreover in various religious meetings in Jalsa and Tabliq Jammait dress code for women is depict out according to the principles of Islam which influences the social life of the community.

**Figure- 7.12**

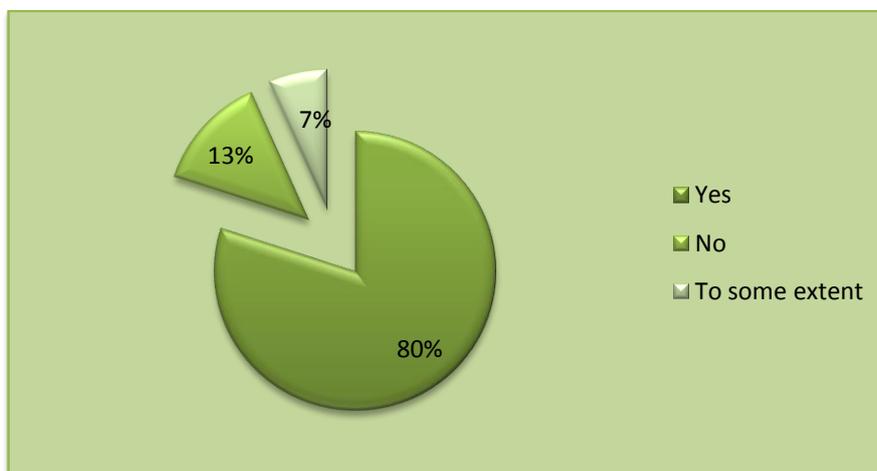
**Preference of the Respondents for MPL**



So far as respondent's preference for their personal law is concerned 19% of the respondent prefers both the laws to be prevailed in the society, 68% prefers Muslim Personal Law and 13% prefers the secular law in the society. Though the Muslims of Bengal shows their respect for India's composite culture and secular principles but when the researcher enquire them about their preference for establishing shariat (MPL), the respondents opine that in India as there is no uniform civil code and Indian state give the community that much wisdom to opt for both the laws so they show the preference for shariat which is better for the Muslim community to guide for some issues like settling property rights, and matters like divorce and hence it is to be the guiding force for the community where the matters can be solved easily. Shariat law is not only a law but it shows the right path to the Muslims as mention in Islam. The law helps to predict the right and wrongs in the society. It shapes the behaviour, moral conduct and guides the people in their day-to-day affairs. Hence there is no contradiction between secular and shariat law and hence the respondents want the shariat law to be applicable for the community.

**Figure- 7.13**

**Attitude of the Respondents Regarding State's Discrimination towards Citizens**



So far the attitude of the respondent towards discrimination of state towards citizen is concerned 80% says that state does not make any discrimination between its community members and it guarantees right to equality for all its citizens. There is no discrimination within the community people in distributing 100 days' work in the GP. India is a secular state, it guarantees right to freedom of religion to its people and it has no bias towards a particular religion. All citizens under Article 25-28 enjoys freedom of religion guaranteed under Indian constitutional provision. Then the researcher asks them whether there persist any discrimination among the community member of the GP regarding developmental issue. The respondent says that development truly lacks in Aurangabad 2 GP in both Hindu and Muslim locality (para). 6% says that there is discrimination to some extent that is the leaders during elections give some concessions to seek Muslim vote for the respective party that is distributing cycles to minority students or pensions to imams which in a secular state is not permissible but state is applying such tricks intentionally for the material gains from the community people. But some respondents say state makes discrimination openly that is when Baba Ramdev openly propagate to cast vote for BJP, Imam Bhukhari's similar proposal to support Congress government it shows the true picture of state-sponsored discrimination in society among the people. This discrimination seriously thwarts India's secular principles and may create a gulf within the two communities. The respondents opine that government follows passive discriminatory method among the community members in the society. During the last ruling years of left front regime no initial efforts are taken by the left rulers to bring educational and employment scope for the community. Government still

in present tries to preserve the minority issue alive and intentionally keeps the community in backward position to preserve majority-minority complexity in the society. The secular principles have been intentionally violated by the elected representatives of our country to maintain a healthy voting competition so that they can seek their political gains.

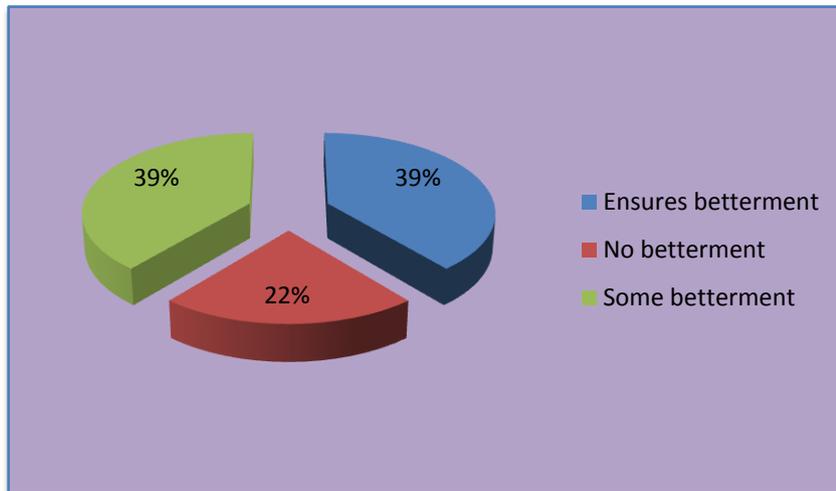
The respondent in this GP shows their mentality in accepting secular ideas of the country though they can well assess that minority issue is a complex and superficial term which exist in the community due to the evil intension of the political leaders and sometimes due to the mental perceptions of the community members. If the community desires so, they can remove the term minority and can come out of artificial minority syndrome which exists so many years after independence. But one interesting thing the researcher has notice during the survey of this GP, the Hindu and Muslim para (locality) is separated and there is no locality having mixed communities. Now the question arises if there exist no tension and only good and cordial relations exist within the community members then why this separation exist in the gram (village). Then one may argue that the community may not able to integrate totally with the secular principles or may not be able to mix up with the members of Hindu community and it may infer that the respondent's religious identity still exist which makes the community culturally secluded or may be due to the difference in culture, ritual and norms both the community though maintains good relationship with each other still maintains a safe distance within the area.

### **2.1. An Attitudinal Perception of the Respondent in Umrapur Gram Panchayat – a Brief Empirical Analysis**

Umrapur GP has been selected purposely by the researcher to study the attitudinal perception of the respondent of this area considering as the most underdeveloped gram panchayat in Suti 2 block. From this gram panchayat one gram sansad Sahajadpur Paschimpara has been chosen which has the total voters of 1083 from which 536 are male and 547 are female voters. From this area the researcher has select the sample size of 100 through systematic random sampling method from the voter list. Here the educational attainment of the respondents is low, their socio-economic status is low and the respondents are not sound in cultural affairs. Here research has been conducted with both structured and semi-structured questionnaire to obtain an empirical analysis regarding the attitude of the respondent towards Indian state and secularism in Umrapur gram panchayat.

**Figure- 7.14**

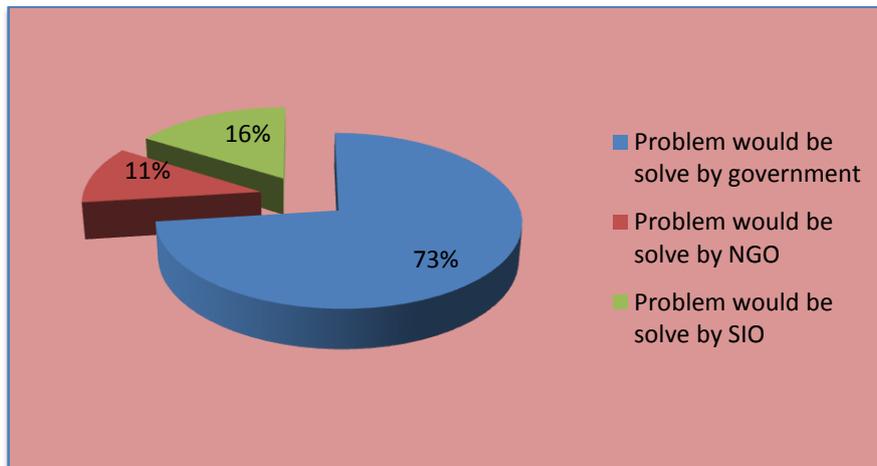
**Attitude of the Respondents towards Party Leaders**



As far as the attitude of the respondent towards party leaders is concerned in this area 39% says party ensures some betterment, 22% says it ensures no betterment at all and 39% says party ensures betterment in their GP. In this area the educational and economic attainment of the respondent is very low and hence most of the party leaders seek vote by manipulating the voters. Some voters say leaders try to ensure development but due to lack of fund development lacks in this GP. A proposal has been given to construct an over bridge to connect Umrapur GP and national highway-34, but government do not pay any attention to it and hence the project which has already started remain incomplete. Some respondent says that the GP proddhan in his own initiative construct tube wells and roads for the people but the GP suffers from heavy flood which shatters the life and property of the people in this area. So both state and central governmental aid is necessary in this area to ensure an overall development of the people.

**Figure 7.15**

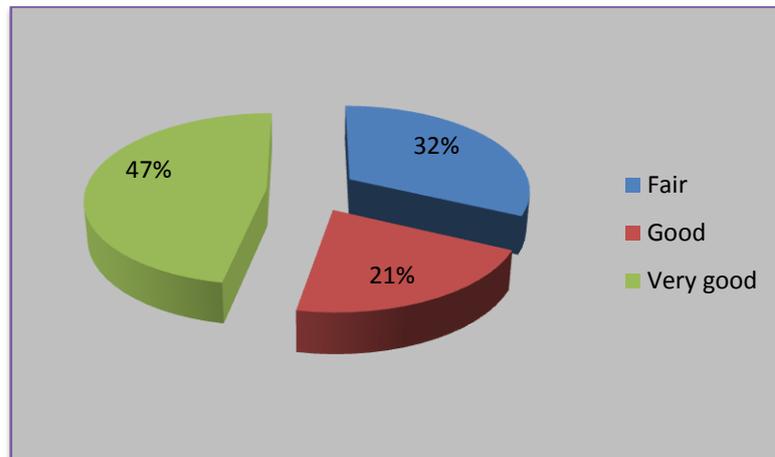
**Attitude of the Respondents towards State**



As far as the attitude of the respondent towards Indian state is concerned 73% respondent possess faith on the working of state and solely believe that the major problems of their area will be solve by governmental initiative like maintenance of roads, developing good communication system, maintenance of educational infrastructure and heath care units, to provide medicines in the health care units and to make improvements in agriculture and irrigation and to provide sufficient power in the area. 11% of the respondent says through co-operative efforts of both government and NGOs development in the GP can be ensure. 16% have trust on the social organizations like SIO, Jammait for attaining some educational benefits for their children through minority scholarships. Most of the respondent has faith in the working of the government for all developmental works.

**Figure- 7.16**

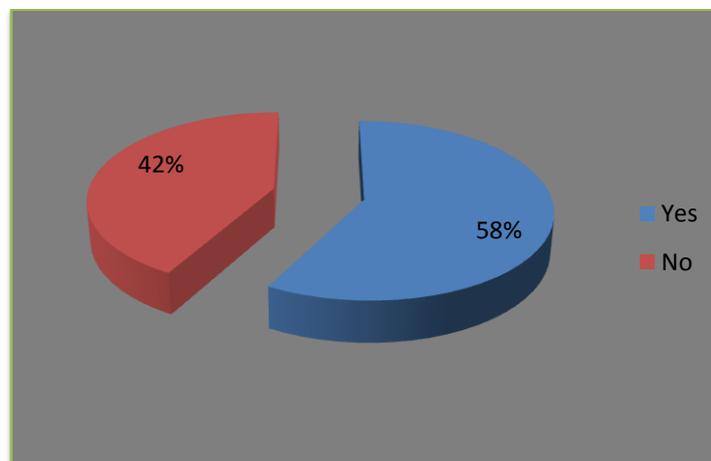
**Opinion of the Respondents Regarding Hindu Muslim Relationship**



As far as the opinion of the respondent regarding the relationship within the community members is concerned 32% says Hindu Muslim relationship is fair, 21% says good and 47% says very good. In this GP there is no communal tension within the communities. Even incidence like riots does not occur according to the knowledge of the respondent. The communal incidence like demolition of Babari masjid, Godhra incidence, Khagragarh explosion felt no impact on the relationship of the community members. Some respondent says the researcher that riots or any communal incidence definitely felt an impact on society and on Hindu Muslim relation because after Babari masjid demolition, incidence of riots like Katara mosque violence occurs in the district which is artificially created to infuse communal tension in the district but it even felt no impact on Hindu-Muslim relationship in this GP.

**Figure- 7.17**

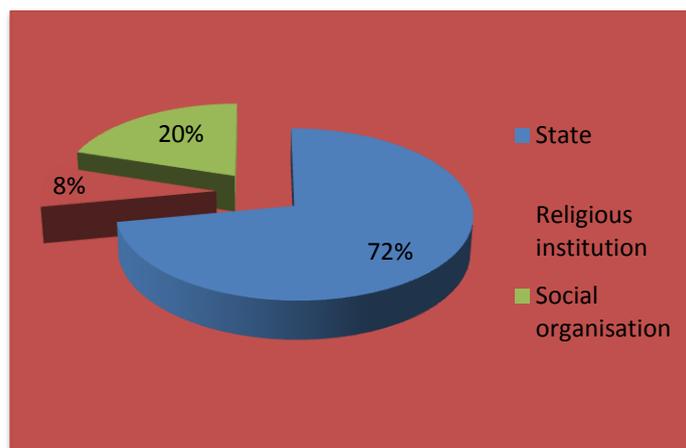
**Respondents Preference for Women's Participation in Politics**



Though most of the respondents in this GP is not literate enough, still 58% of them prefer participation of women in active politics and 42% do not support women's participation in active politics. They says politics is a complicate issue and women shall remain confine to domestic spheres and strictly follows religious dictates which do not give permission for the womenfolk to mix up freely with others in the society. But political participation means casting vote and it is permissible for women. Most of the respondent wants women's participation demands educational attainment for women to secure a well-established position in the society and to gain active knowledge in politics. The respondents believe that political empowerment of women is required in a liberal and democratic society. The community wants women to take part actively in decision making process and to express their political views, to attain the gram sabha meetings and to cast vote to exxagerate their political rights in the society.

**Figure- 7.18**

**Respondents Allegiances towards State**

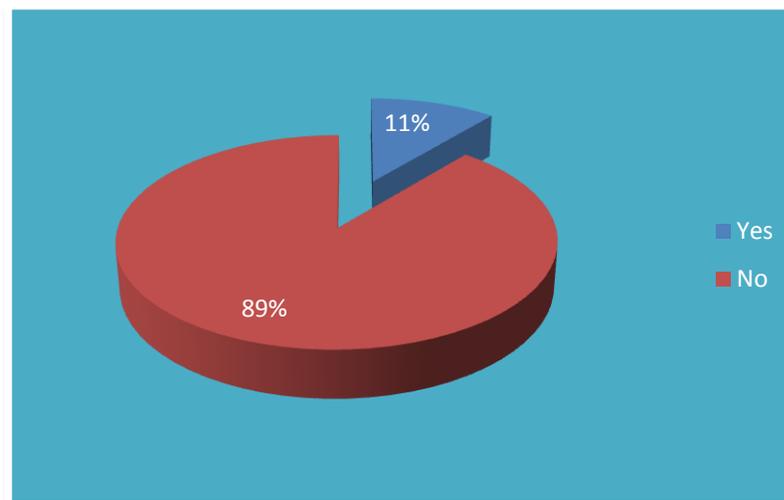


As far as attitude of the respondents is concerned in showing allegiance towards state 72% respondents says that they will show their loyalty first to the Indian state and then to other organizations. They even do not support any association having communal overtone and hence do not support Jammait-e-Ulema to act as political force nor do the respondents support the political manifesto of jammait which they publish during election time to create pressure on party in power. Rather the respondents believe that development will be ensuring through state government's initiatives. 20% of the respondents trust on other socio-religious organizations like Jammait-e-Ulema, SIO for development of the community. By giving financial aid to Muslim students for education and other philanthropic works like to run health centres and provide ambulance facility in this underdeveloped GP jammait become popular as social organizations to the people. 20% of

the respondent says the underdeveloped gram panchayat can attain the index of development by the efforts taken by the NGOs. The NGOs take initiative in rousing the social and educational consciousness of the people in this backward area. Apart from these preferences the respondent wants to identify them as Indian along with their Bengali identity and prefers to identify them as Indian citizen.

**Figure- 7.19**

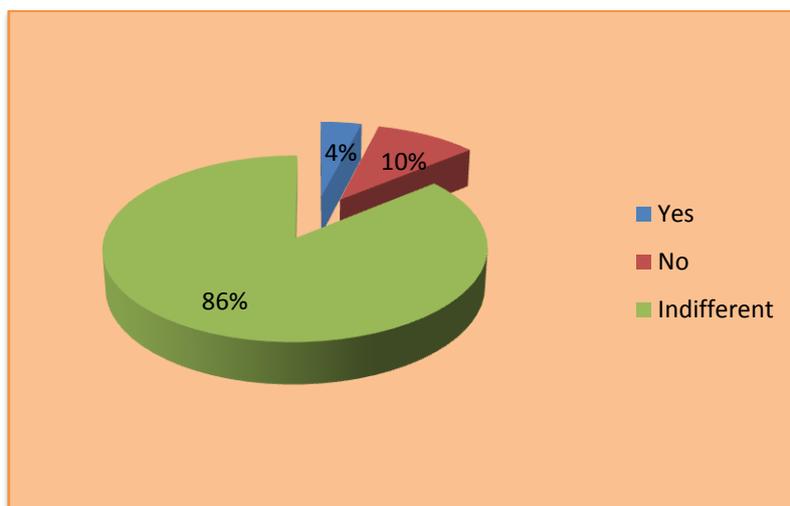
**Attitude of the Respondents towards Reservation**



As far as the attitude of the respondents towards reservation is concerned 89% do not prefer reservation and only 11% supports the reservation from government for the community benefit like other Hindu backward caste like SC, ST and OBC to secure good status in the society. Most of the respondents in this GP are against any reservations, but they need more governmental attention to be given to remove their backwardness. Reservation will be beneficial to few Muslims but development means to ensure good for all members of society and reservation in addition will give rise to minority complexity and creates further distinction within the society.

**Figure- 7.20**

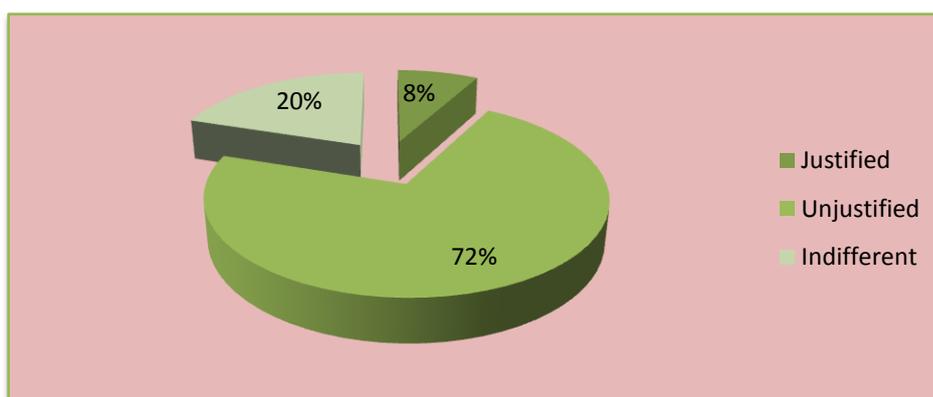
**Attitude of the Respondents towards AMU Status**



So far as attitude of the respondents towards the status of Aligarh Muslim University is concerned 86% are indifferent to the question raise by the researcher, 4% supports this issue which is essential for educational improvement of the Muslims and 10% says that in a secular country there is no requirement for reservation for any particular community in any higher educational institutions. Respondents who do not support reservation opine that all students must be treated equally and students shall give the opportunity according to their own merit and not on any community preferences.

**Figure- 7.21**

**Attitude of the Respondents in Babari Masjid Issue**

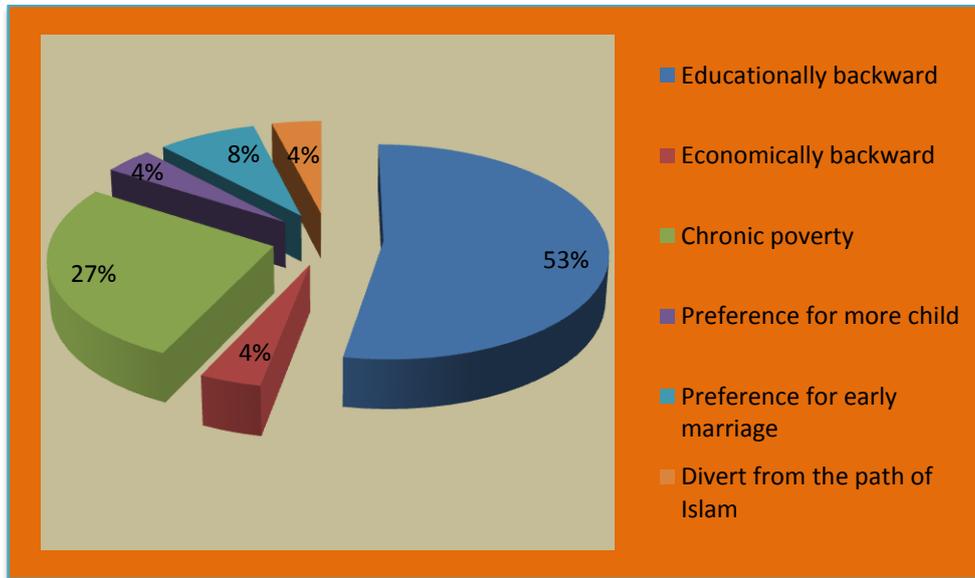


So far as the attitude of the respondents regarding Supreme Court's decision in Babri Masjid issue is concerned 20% of the respondents remain indifferent to the issue of Supreme Court's decision given to the most complicate issue of Rammandir-Babari Masjid question. 72% says that the decision is not justifiable because temple and masjid cannot be erect on a same premise and only can be construct on land donate willingly by someone or

allot for the construction of the mosque. 8% says the decision is justifiable because in a secular country it is not incorrect to have temple and mosque in a same place because the people respect each other's religious sentiment.

**Figure- 7.22**

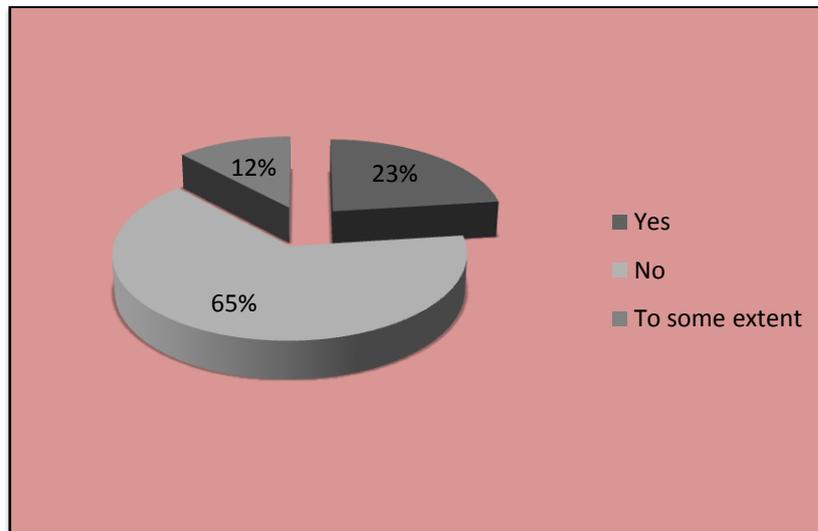
**Opinion of the Respondents Regarding Communities Backwardness**



So far as the views of the respondents regarding communities backwardness is concerned 53% says that due to educational backwardness the community suffers and deprives in employment, 4% says the people are economically not sound, 27% says it is because of chronic poverty in the GP and there is no scope for employment and business except being engage in beedi making profession, 8% says it is due to the early marriage of the children by their parents, 4% says due to the communities preference for more children so that they can engage their children in beedi making profession and 4% says that they do not follows the right path of Islam in recent time due to several engagements in their life that leads to the backwardness of the community. Moreover all the respondents say that due to negligence on governmental part to undertake proper developmental measures ultimately leads to deplorable condition of the people in this area.

**Figure- 7.23**

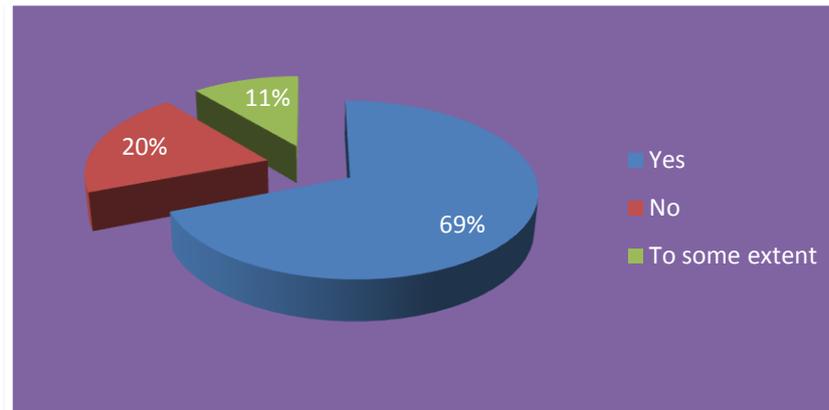
**Opinion of the Respondents Regarding the Influence of Religion on Politics**



So far as the opinion of the respondents regarding the impact of religion on politics is concerned 12% says it influences to some extent when religious dictates are given from official platform to its followers example when imams direct the Muslim community to vote for congress or TMC or Ramdev's open public dictates to cast vote to BJP to promote Hinduism. 23% believe that religion affects politics when the political parties having minority orientations like WPI, SDPI, though secular but tries to motivate the people through religious dictates. Though these parties have no such base in Murshidabad, but has sound base in Assam where communal tension exist and hence the respondent says that religious beliefs of the individual affects political decision. 65% of the respondent says religion do not influence politics. Though this GP is educationally backward and the people attain Jalsa, Tabliq Jammatt and attain religious discussions but it is in their opinion that religion is individual's personal affair and it do not affect political orientation or political decision of most of the people. Islam is a religion which shows the right path and directs its followers to develop good morale.

**Figure- 7.24**

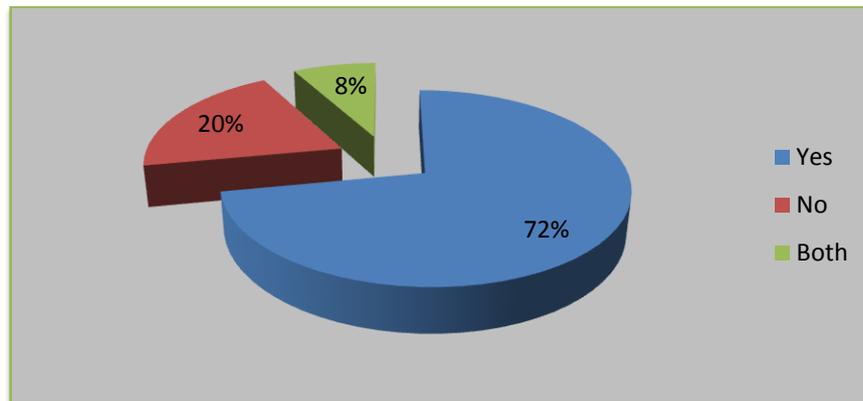
**Opinion of the Respondents Regarding Impact of Religion on Social Life**



In this area 69% of the respondent says that religion affects the social life of the community people. As far as Muslim community is concerned Islam directs some cultural norms which are to be obeyed by its community members. In the present social condition dishonouring of the women become a regular phenomenon. In Jalsa, in various religious channels and in various Jammait meetings emphasize is given on dress code for Muslim women, their living standards and to follow purely Islamic culture and tradition so the community can save them from cultural erosion of the present century. Unemployment of the youths, economic stress result in moral erosion of the Muslim youths which can be prevented if the community members follow the religious dictates. Thus the respondent says that religious dictates influences social life of the Muslim people. 11% says to some extent religious dictates influences the social life of the respondents. Though Umrapur gram panchayat is not much develop and educational attainment is very low so most of the people use to follow religious dictates and start observing it in their daily life whereas the affluent section do not adhere to all these religious dictates or follows the dress code as directed in Islam very strictly. 20% respondents who achieve education believe that religious dictates never influences social life it depends upon the individual's own choice whether to accept or discard those rules in their social life.

**Figure- 7.25**

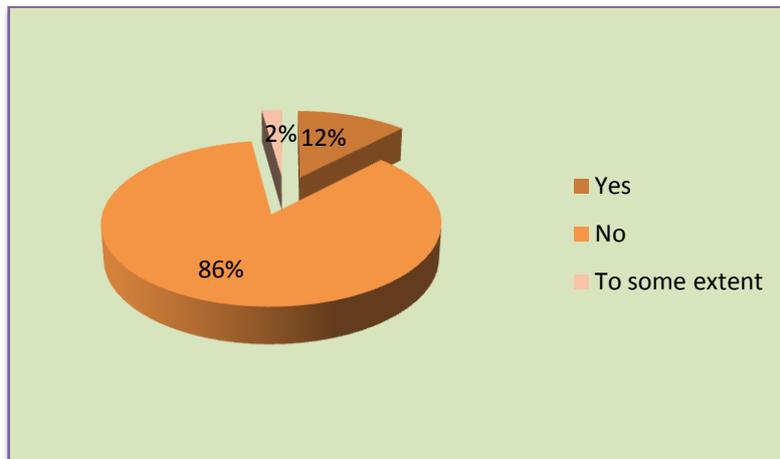
**Respondents Preference for MPL**



So far as the opinion of the respondents regarding their preference for personal law is concerned 20% respondent says that there is no requirement for MPL in a secular country and the respondent prefers to follow the secular law meant for all citizens. 8% says as there is no uniform civil code and the country gives its citizen the choice to opt for both personal and secular law its better for the community to choose shariat law for the guidance of the community. 72% respondent prefers shariat to follow in Muslim community because it suits community needs better to settle the disputes like property rights, divorce or marriages. All the matters in regard to legal issues is mention clearly and in simple terms and the cases take very less time to settle and hence suits the community in best way. Moreover shariat is not only a law but it guides the people in right path, helps in the development of the morale of the individual according to Islamic vision and doctrines. Thus most of the respondent in this area shows their preference to opt Muslim personal law.

**Figure- 7.26**

**Respondent's Attitude towards the State**



So far as respondent's attitude towards state is concerned 86% of the respondents say that government makes no distinction between the people of two communities. 2% says to some extent it makes differentiations and 12% says state makes differences within the community members in the society. 86% of the respondents view the state as an agent of development and says in the GP the people of both the community receive same governmental benefits like 100 days' work, benefits receive from IAY and MGNREGA projects. There is also no discrimination in educational premises or in job sector rather government ensures benefits to the minority community to remove their backwardness in the society. 2% believe that to some extent government discriminate between the Hindus and the Muslims and tries to promote the community interest in respect to others in giving special concessions to the minority community like distributing cycles to the minority students and giving pensions to imams to seek their political interests. 12% says that government discriminates between the two communities for example they opine that the Muslim community always make responsible for the outbreak of any riots or term as terrorist. They give a striking example of Katara mosque riot incidence when the innocent Muslims were butchered in Murshidabad (Beharmpore) by a section of Hindus (may be termed as terrorist) just after the demolition of Babari masjid and then no Hindus were labelled as terrorist. But in their area no incidence of riots occurs and though government possess discriminatory attitude towards its community people the respondent willingly accept that there is no discrimination exist within the people themselves. Though the location of the gram panchayat is in the most underdeveloped area both the community people possess a friendly attitude towards his fellow community member and look upon the government to ensure benefits for all in this backward area. The GP lacks in proper sanitation, electricity, it is frequently affect by flood

with no scope of education no well-built roads and poor communication with lack of health facilities in the area. Hence people demand for proper development in this area.

Overall it may be opined that the attitude of the respondent towards Indian state is not at all hostile rather they believe in secular culture of the country with the exception of their preference for shariat (MPL). They demand for reservation in governmental job and in educational institutions in a view to obtain good socio-economic status in the society. But interestingly in Umrapur GP the researcher observe that both the Hindu and Muslim locality is separated and there exist some kind of alienation within the two community members though they accept their identity as Indian or accept plural culture of our country. The respondent shares each other's culture, participate in each other's festival and have no ill-feelings towards each other. The researcher through this empirical analysis trace the difference of attitude within the two community which cannot be detect from outside. It may be due to the fact that both the community members fails to come out of the social distinction that exist from pre-partition days between the Hindus and the Muslims or may be the people of both the community still bears the trauma of partition and hence maintains a rigid separation in the society though the district is an glaring example to preserve Hindu-Muslim unity in pre and post partition days. From these empirical findings conduct by the researcher in Aurangabad 2 and Umrapur gram panchayat it may be rightly conclude that the respondents have full faith and confidence in the working of state and democratic government and at the same time the respondents shares country's plural culture and identify themselves as Indian citizen.

## **2.2. Variations in Political Attitude of the Respondents in Aurangabad 2 and Umrapur Gram Panchayat**

In India where multicultural democracy is operative and state incorporates all cultural, religious, linguistic, ethnic groups within its cultural facets, guarantees freedom of religion to all religious community, ensures right to equality, ensures justice among all citizens, in this context the researcher has studied attitude of Bengali Muslims towards Indian state and society. Variations in political attitude occur due to various determining factors or independent variables like respondent's educational background, occupation, age and income. For the purpose of testing relationship between independent variables and variations in respondent's attitude reliance has been made on chi-square test to determine how the independent variables determine the political attitude of the respondent in

Aurangabad 2 and Umrapur gram panchayat. The relationship between the independent and dependent variables has been considered significant both at the .05 and .01 level of significance. If chi-square value is less than the table value then null hypotheses is accepted and if chi-square value is greater than table value then null hypotheses is rejected.

**Table – 7.1**

**Income and Preference for Early Marriages in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat**

Income	Preference for Early Marriages			Total	Percentage (%)
	Yes	No	Sometimes		
Below 3000	42	10	2	54	36
30001-5000	39	7	8	54	36
5001-10000	3	20	1	24	16
10001 and Above	1	17	-	18	12
<b>Total</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>

$$X^2 = 74.31, df=6$$

In table 7.1, the researcher tried to find association between income and respondent's preference for early marriages in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat. Here are two attributes A= classes of income groups and B= three kinds of responses towards marriage in the society. On the basis of above information, it is to test null hypotheses  $H_0$ ; among the respondent of four income groups are independent against the alternative Hypotheses  $H_1$ : three different kinds of responses towards marriage are associated.

The table shows that observed  $x^2$  value (74.31) is greater than table value of  $x^2$  which is 12.592 and 16.812 both at .05 and .01 level of significance. Thus it may conclude that chi-square value is greater than table value so null hypotheses is rejected and there is significant association between different income groups and their preference towards early marriages in the society in Aurangabad2 Gram Panchayat.

**Table – 7.2****Income and Preference for Early Marriages in Umrapur Gram Panchayat**

Income	Preference for Early Marriages			Total	Percentage (%)
	Yes	No	Sometimes		
Below 3000	36	3	3	42	42
30001-5000	19	3	2	24	24
5001-10000	4	20	2	26	26
10001 and Above	1	7	-	8	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

$$X^2 = 53.46, df=6$$

In table 7.2, the researcher tried to find association between income and respondent's preference for early marriages in Umrapur Gram Panchayat. Here are two attributes A= classes of income groups and B= three kinds of responses towards marriage in the society. On the basis of above information, it is to test null hypotheses  $H_0$ ; among the respondent of four income groups are independent against the alternative Hypotheses1:= three different kinds of responses towards marriage are associated.

The table shows that the observed  $x^2$  value (53.46) is greater than table value of  $x^2$  which is 12.592 and 16.812 both at .05 and .01 level of significance. Thus it may conclude that chi-square value is greater than table value so null hypotheses is rejected and there is significant association between different income groups and their preference towards early marriages in the society in Umrapur Gram Panchayat.

**Table- 7.3****Education and Consciousness for AMU Status in Aurangabad 2 GP**

Education	Consciousness for AMU Status			Total	Percentage (%)
	High	Medium	Low		
MA	6	2	-	8	6
Graduation	30	4	1	35	23
Law Graduate	1	-	-	1	0.5
Doctor	1	-	-	1	0.5
Higher Secondary	15	4	1	20	14
Secondary	28	4	3	35	23
Upper Primary	19	6	6	31	21

<b>Primary</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Illiterate</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>

$$X^2 = 53.4, df=16$$

In table 7.3, the researcher tried to find association between education and respondent's consciousness towards the minority status of Aligarh Muslim University (AMU) in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat. Here are two attributes A= levels of educational attainment and B= three kinds of consciousness for AMU in the society. On the basis of above information, it is to test null hypotheses  $H_0$ ; among the respondent of 9 types of educational groups are independent against the alternative Hypotheses1:= three different kinds of responses towards the status of AMU are associated.

The table shows that observed  $x^2$  value (53.4) is greater than table value of  $x^2$  which is 26.296 and 32.000 both at .05 and .01 level of significance. Thus it may conclude that chi-square value is greater than table value so null hypotheses is rejected and there is significant association between different educational groups and their consciousness regarding AMU's minority status in the society in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat.

**Table- 7.4**

**Education and Consciousness for AMU Status in Umrapur GP**

<b>Education</b>	<b>Consciousness for AMU Status</b>			<b>Total</b>	<b>Percentage (%)</b>
	<b>High</b>	<b>Medium</b>	<b>Low</b>		
<b>MA</b>	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Graduation</b>	-	-	1	1	1
<b>Law Graduate</b>	-	-	3	3	3
<b>Doctor</b>	-	-	1	1	1
<b>Higher Secondary</b>	5	1	1	7	7
<b>Secondary</b>	4	6	2	12	12
<b>Upper Primary</b>	2	1	4	7	7
<b>Primary</b>	-	-	4	4	4
<b>Illiterate</b>	12	10	36	58	58
<b>Some Informal Education</b>	2	-	5	7	7
<b>Total</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

$$X^2 = 28.23, df=18$$

In table 7.4, the researcher tried to find association between education and respondent's consciousness towards the minority status of Aligarh Muslim University (AMU) in Umrapur Gram Panchayat. Here are two attributes A= levels of educational attainment and B= three kinds of consciousness for AMU in the society. On the basis of above information, it is to test null hypotheses  $H_0$ ; among the respondent of 10 types of educational groups are independent against the alternative Hypotheses $1$ := three different kinds of responses towards the status of AMU are associated.

The table shows that observed  $\chi^2$  value (28.23) is less than table value of  $\chi^2$  which is 28.869 and 34.805 both at .05 and .01 level of significance. Thus it may conclude that chi-square value is less than table value so null hypotheses is accepted and there is no significant association between different educational groups and their consciousness regarding AMU's minority status in the society in Umrapur Gram Panchayat.

Hence, it may infer that educational level in Aurangabad 2 GP is high; their attitude towards education is different as education ensures daily earnings, increases job opportunity, increase employment scope. The respondents are exposed to various social and political news and writings in newspaper which shapes their perceptions in several issues. But Umrapur GP is very underdeveloped, literacy rate is overall very low in compare to Aurangabad 2 GP, those who achieve high educational attainment belongs to high income groups but most people of this area are not expose to higher education and unaware of the socio-political changes and events and hence lack of education make the respondent unconsciousness politically and culturally thus shows no association between education and their responses towards AMU minority status in Murshidabad.

**Table- 7.5**

**Education and Demand for Reservation in Aurangabad 2 GP**

Education	Demand for Reservation			Total	Percentage (%)
	High	Medium	Low		
MA	8	-	-	8	6
Graduation	31	4	-	35	23
Law Graduate	1	-	-	1	0.5
Doctor	1	-	-	1	0.5
Higher Secondary	14	4	2	20	14
Secondary	22	9	4	35	23

<b>Upper Primary</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>Primary</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Illiterate</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>

$$X^2=28.69, df=16$$

In table 7.5, the researcher tried to find association between educational attainment of the respondent and their responses towards reservation for the community in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat. Here are two attributes A= levels of educational attainment and B= three kinds of responses towards the reservation status in the society. On the basis of above information, it is to test null hypotheses  $H_0$ ; among the respondent of 9 types of educational groups are independent against the alternative Hypotheses1:= three different kinds of responses towards reservation are associated.

The above table shows that observed  $x^2$  value (28.69) is greater than table value of  $x^2$  which is 26.296 at .05 level of significance. Thus it may conclude that chi-square value is greater than table value so null hypotheses is rejected and there is significant association between different educational groups and their responses (attitude) towards reservation in the society in Aurangabad2 Gram Panchayat.

**Table- 7.6**

**Education and Demand for Reservation in Umrapur Gram Panchayat**

<b>Education</b>	<b>Demand for Reservation</b>			<b>Total</b>	<b>Percentage (%)</b>
	<b>High</b>	<b>Medium</b>	<b>Low</b>		
<b>MA</b>	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Graduation</b>	-	1	-	1	1
<b>Law Graduate</b>	-	1	2	3	3
<b>Doctor</b>	-	1	-	1	1
<b>Higher Secondary</b>	-	1	6	7	7
<b>Secondary</b>	-	4	8	12	12
<b>Upper Primary</b>	1	1	5	7	7
<b>Primary</b>	-	1	3	4	4
<b>Illiterate</b>	-	2	56	58	58
<b>Some Informal Education</b>	1	-	6	7	7
<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

$$X^2=40.33, df=18$$

In table 7.6, the researcher tried to find association between educational attainment of the respondent and their responses towards reservation for the community in Umrapur Gram Panchayat. Here are two attributes A= levels of educational attainment and B= three kinds of responses towards the reservation status in the society. On the basis of above information, it is to test null hypotheses  $H_0$ ; among the respondent of 10 types of educational groups are independent against the alternative Hypotheses1:= three different kinds of responses towards reservation are associated.

The table shows that observed  $\chi^2$  value (40.33) is less than table value of  $\chi^2$  which is 42.312 at .001 level of significance. Thus it may conclude that chi-square value is less than table value so null hypotheses is accepted and there is no significant association between different educational groups and their responses (attitude) towards reservation in the society in Umrapur Gram Panchayat. Hence we may infer that educational consciousness of the respondent determines the community's urge for reservation in developed gram panchayat like Aurangabad 2 whereas there is no such demand in underdeveloped gram panchayat like Umrapur where educational attainment is low. When the respondents can realize that education can ensure their future prospects they demand reservations in governmental jobs and institutions for higher studies which is absent in Umrapur GP among the respondent.

**Table- 7.7**

**Age and Opinion Regarding Muslim Personal Law (MPL) in Aurangabad 2 GP**

Age	Preference for MPL			Total	Percentage (%)
	Strongly Agree	Strongly Disagree	Prefers Both		
18-30	43	6	3	52	35
31-40	29	5	4	38	25
41-50	12	2	2	16	11
51-60	29	1	2	32	21
61-70	6	1	1	8	5
70 and above	4	-	-	4	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>

$\chi^2 = 7.67, df=10$

In table 7.7, the researcher tried to find association between various age groups of the respondent and their opinion regarding Muslim Personal Law (MPL) in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat. Here are two attributes A= classes of various age groups and B= three different kinds of attitudinal expression towards MPL in the society. On the basis of above

information, it is to test null hypotheses  $H_0$ ; among the respondent of 6 different age groups are independent against the alternative Hypotheses1:= three different kinds of attitudinal expression towards MPL are associated

The table shows that observed  $x^2$  value (7.67) is less than table value of  $x^2$  which is 18.307 and 23.209 both at .05 and .01 levels of significance. Thus it may conclude that chi-square value is less than table value so null hypotheses is accepted and there is no significant association between respondent's age groups and their attitude towards MPL in the society in Aurangabad2 Gram Panchayat.

**Table- 7.8**

**Age and Opinion Regarding Muslim Personal Law (MPL) in Umrapur GP**

Age	Preference for MPL			Total	Percentage (%)
	Strongly Agree	Strongly Disagree	Prefers Both		
18-30	48	4	4	56	56
31-40	8	2	2	12	12
41-50	12	1	-	13	13
51-60	10	1	-	11	11
61-70	3	2	-	5	5
70 and above	3	-	-	3	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

$X^2 = 18.26, df=10$

In table 7.8, the researcher tried to find association between various age groups of the respondent and their opinion regarding Muslim Personal Law (MPL) in Umrapur Gram Panchayat. Here are two attributes A= classes of various age groups and B= three different kinds of attitudinal expression towards MPL in the society. On the basis of above information, it is to test null hypotheses  $H_0$ ; among the respondent of 6 different age groups are independent against the alternative Hypotheses1:= three different kinds of attitudinal expression towards MPL are associated.

The table shows that observed  $x^2$  value (18.26) is less than table value of  $x^2$  which is 18.307 and 23.209 both at .05 and .01 levels of significance. Thus it may conclude that chi-square value is less than table value so null hypotheses is accepted and there is no significant

association between respondent's age groups and their attitude towards MPL in the society in Umrapur Gram Panchayat.

Hence it may say that the Muslims irrespective of their age prefer Muslim Personal Law as their guiding force for the community as they think it better applicable for the Muslims in settlement of dispute rather than secular law of the country in both the gram panchayats among the respondents.

**Table-7.9**

**Age and the Respondents Allegiance Towards Indian State in Aurangabad 2 GP**

Age	Allegiance Towards Indian State			Total	Percentage (%)
	Yes	No	Other Institution		
18-30	48	-	4	52	35
31-40	32	2	4	38	25
41-50	14	1	1	16	11
51-60	27	1	4	32	21
61-70	6	1	1	8	5
70 and above	4	-	-	4	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>131</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>

$$X^2 = 10.38, df=10$$

In table 7.9, the researcher tried to find association between various age groups of the respondent and their attitude (allegiance) towards Indian state in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat. Here are two attributes A= classes of various age groups and B= three different kinds of attitudinal expression towards Indian state in the society. On the basis of above information, it is to test null hypotheses  $H_0$ ; among the respondent of 6 different age groups are independent against the alternative Hypotheses  $H_1$ : three different kinds of attitudinal expression towards Indian state are associated

The table shows that observed  $x^2$  value (10.38) is less than table value of  $x^2$  which is 18.307 and 23.209 both at .05 and .01 levels of significance. Thus it may conclude that chi-square value is less than table value so null hypotheses is accepted and there is no significant association between respondent's age groups and their attitude towards Indian state and politics in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat.

**Table-7.10****Age and the Respondents Allegiance Towards Indian State in Umrapur GP**

Age	Allegiance Towards Indian State			Total	Percentage (%)
	Yes	No	Other Institution		
<b>18-30</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>56</b>
<b>31-40</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>41-50</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>51-60</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>61-70</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>70 and above</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

$$X^2 = 8.69, df=10$$

In table 7.10, the researcher tried to find association between various age groups of the respondent and their attitude (allegiance) towards Indian state in Umrapur Gram Panchayat. Here are two attributes A= classes of various age groups and B= three different kinds of attitudinal expression towards Indian state in the society. On the basis of above information, it is to test null hypotheses  $H_0$ ; among the respondent of 6 different age groups are independent against the alternative Hypotheses  $H_1$ : three different kinds of attitudinal expression towards Indian state are associated.

The table shows that observed  $x^2$  value (8.69) is less than table value of  $x^2$  which is 18.307 and 23.209 both at .05 and .01 levels of significance. Thus it may conclude that chi-square value is less than table value so null hypotheses is accepted and there is no significant association between respondent's age groups and their attitude towards Indian state and politics in Umrapur Gram Panchayat.

Hence it may infer that irrespective of age groups in both the GPs the respondent shows their first allegiance towards Indian state than to other institutions in the society. Age makes no difference in respondent's altitudinal variations among the Muslims of Murshidabad district and they accept Indian identity as their preferable identity than any other. It shows that though the community members show their preference for establishing 'shariat' still accepts India's culture and integrate with secular idea and Indian democracy.

**Table- 7.11****Occupation and Influence of Religion in Politics in Aurangabad 2 GP**

Occupation	Influence of Religion in Politics			Total	Percentage (%)
	Low	Medium	High		
Beedi Workers	76	6	8	90	60
School Teacher	7	1	2	10	7
College Teacher	3	-	-	3	2
Private Job Holders	11	2	2	15	10
Doctor	1	-	-	1	0.5
Lawyer	1	-	-	1	0.5
Student	22	2	1	25	16
Governmental Clerk	4	1	-	5	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>125</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>

$$X^2 = 15.99, df = 14$$

In table 7.11, the researcher tried to find an association between various occupational groups of the respondent and their opinion regarding influence of religion on politics in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat. Here are two attributes A= classes of different occupational groups and B= opinion of the respondent regarding influence of religion on politics in the society. On the basis of above information, it is to test null hypotheses  $H_0$ ; among the respondent of 8 occupational groups are independent against the alternative Hypotheses1:= three different kinds of responses regarding influence of religion on politics are associated. The table shows that observed  $x^2$  value (15.99) is less than table value of  $x^2$  which is 23.685 and 29.141 both at .05 and .01 levels of significance.

Thus it may conclude that chi-square value is less than table value so null hypotheses is accepted and there is no significant association among various occupational groups and their opinion regarding influence of religion in politics in Aurangabad2 Gram Panchayat

**Table- 7.12**

**Occupation and Influence of Religion in Politics in Umrapur GP**

Occupation	Influence of Religion in Politics			Total	Percentage (%)
	Low	Medium	High		
Beedi Workers	82	6	4	92	92
Agricultural Labor	4	2	-	6	6
Doctor	1	-	-	1	1
Engineer	1	-	-	1	1
Total	88	8	4	100	100

$$X^2 = 5.89, df = 6$$

In table 7.12, the researcher tried to find an association between various occupational groups of the respondent and their opinion regarding influence of religion on politics in Umrapur Gram Panchayat. Here are two attributes A= classes of different occupational groups and B= opinion of the respondent regarding influence of religion on politics in the society. On the basis of above information, it is to test null hypotheses  $H_0$ ; among the respondent of 4 occupational groups are independent against the alternative Hypotheses  $H_1$ := three different kinds of responses regarding influence of religion on politics are associated.

The table shows that observed  $x^2$  value (5.89) is less than table value of  $x^2$  which is 12.592 and 16.812 both at .05 and .01 levels of significance. Thus it may conclude that chi-square value is less than table value so null hypotheses is accepted and there is no significant association among various occupational groups and their opinion regarding influence of religion in politics in Umrapur Gram Panchayat.

Hence we say that in both the test in the above tables (7.11 and 7.12) it is found the respondent irrespective of their occupational status agree that religion do not affect their political decisions in both the GPs which proves that respondent develops a secular attitude towards state and politics. Religion to them is the individual's personal affairs and it has nothing to do with politics though there are examples where several instructions given from religious heads (like the imams and the priest) to support the respective political parties during elections. Political perceptions are constructed by political knowledge, through civic participation or through political discussions and proper education in the society. Today

there are so many agents which rouse the political consciousness of the people. Hence the respondents are hardly get politically mobilize through religious dictates.

**Table-7.13**

**Occupation and Preferred Identity of the Community in Aurangabad 2 GP**

Occupation	Preferred Identity of the Muslims			Total	Percentage (%)
	Indian	Muslim	Bengali Muslim		
Beedi Workers	72	12	6	90	60
School Teacher	8	1	1	10	7
College Teacher	2	-	1	3	2
Private Job Holders	14	-	1	15	10
Doctor	1	-	-	1	0.5
Lawyer	1	-	-	1	0.5
Student	19	1	5	25	16
Governmental Clerk	3	1	1	5	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>

$$X^2 = 10.28, df = 14$$

In table 7.13, the researcher tried to find an association between various occupational groups of the respondent's attitude towards their preferred identity in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat. Here are two attributes A= classes of different occupational groups and B= opinion of the respondent regarding their preferred identity in the society. On the basis of above information, it is to test null hypotheses  $H_0$ ; among the respondent of 8 occupational groups are independent against the alternative Hypotheses1:= three different kinds of responses regarding the respondent's preferred identity are associated.

The table shows that observed  $x^2$  value (10.28) is less than table value of  $x^2$  which is 23.685 and 29.141 both at .05 and .01 levels of significance. Thus it may conclude that chi-square value is less than table value so null hypotheses is accepted and there is no significant association among various occupational groups and their opinion regarding their preferred identity in the society in Aurangabad 2 gram panchayat.

**Table-7.14****Occupation and Preferred Identity of the Community in Umrapur GP**

Occupation	Preferred Identity of the Muslims			Total	Percentage (%)
	Indian	Muslim	Bengali Muslim		
Beedi Workers	88	2	2	92	92
Agricultural Labor	5	-	1	6	6
Doctor	1	-	-	1	1
Engineer	1	-	-	1	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

$$X^2 = 16.67, df = 6$$

In table 7.14, the researcher tried to find an association between various occupational groups of the respondent's attitude towards their preferred identity in Umrapur Gram Panchayat. Here are two attributes A= classes of different occupational groups and B= opinion of the respondent regarding their preferred identity in the society. On the basis of above information, it is to test null hypotheses  $H_0$ ; among the respondent of 4 occupational groups are independent against the alternative Hypotheses1:= three different kinds of responses regarding the respondent's preferred identity are associated.

The table shows that observed  $x^2$  value (16.67) is less than table value of  $x^2$  which is 16.812 and 22.457 both at .05 and .01 levels of significance. Thus it may conclude that chi-square value is less than table value so null hypotheses is accepted and there is no significant association among various occupational groups and their opinion regarding their preferred identity in the society in Umrapur gram panchayat.

Hence it may be opined from the above statistical analysis shown the tables (7.13 and 7.14), that the occupational variations in both the gram panchayats does not make any differences on the community's choice of identity in the society. The respondent in both the GPs shows their loyalty towards Indian state by accepting their identity as Indian first and then Muslim. Religion to the respondents is not the prior but the secondary issue and the Muslim communities in the district are fully integrated to Indian society where occupation, age and income do not determine the respondent's attitudinal perceptions in Murshidabad district.

### **2.3. Comparative Study of Attitudinal Perception of the Respondent in Aurangabad 2 and Umrapur Gram Panchayat –**

In this study of the two respective gram panchayat it is observed that Aurangabad 2 is educationally, economically a developed GP in compare to Umrapur GP. The standard of living, housing conditions is different from one another; hence in this section attempt has been made by the researcher to make a comparative analysis of the two GPs in respect to show their attitude towards Indian state.

**Table-7.15**

**Income and Preference for School in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat**

Income	Preference for School			Total	Percentage (%)
	Government	Non-government	Madrassa		
<b>Low</b>					
<b>Below 3000</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>30001-5000</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>Middle</b>					
<b>5001-10000</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>High</b>					
<b>10001 and Above</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>

The educational attainment of the respondent of this Aurangabad 2 gram panchayat is high their socio-cultural attainment is also high and with the variations in economic status preference of the respondents for educational institutions varies in this area. Even due to unavailability of good schools in the area, the respondent says that they will prefer for co-educational schools for their children. More or less there is a tendency among the respondents for the preference of early marriages to avoid the chances of love affairs or due to availability of good match at early age still the respondents according to their income level prefer various kinds of educational institutions. From the above table 7.15 it may infer that among 18 respondents belong to high income group, 12 of them prefers non-governmental schools and six government schools. Out of 24 respondents among middle income group one prefers education in madrassa, 11 prefers government and 12 non-governmental schools. Similarly Out of 108 respondents among low income group 13 of them prefer education in madrassa, 13 prefers non-government schools and 82

governmental schools. This is because the respondents can feel the difference in the quality of education in these schools and say that governmental schools do not have proper infrastructure and teaching faculty. Students attain the governmental schools because of mid-day meal and no proper attendance of the students is maintained in these schools to see the regularity of the students whereas the purpose of educational institutions is to give proper education so that the students can develop good morale in order to achieve good future and status in the society. But all the respondents cannot afford these private schools and hence prefer governmental schools and madrassaa to train their child but at the same time they demand good educational facilities in these schools for their children.

**Table-7.16**

**Income and Preference for School in Umrapur Gram Panchayat**

Income	Preference for School			Total	Percentage (%)
	Government	Non-government	Madrassa		
<b>Low</b>					
<b>Below 3000</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>3001-5000</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>Middle</b>					
<b>5001-10000</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>High</b>					
<b>10001 and Above</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Here in this gram panchayat the educational attainment is very low. Respondents are not much expose to various events of the society and they use to guide by the religious dictates in their social and cultural life hence they prefer early marriage for their children and fail to realize that early marriages in the society lead to education and economic backwardness among the community members. Most of the respondents in this backward area though remain illiterate prefer early marriages for their girl child due to availability of good match at early age and to reduce the burden of responsibility from their shoulder. Here most of the respondents are beedi workers or marginal workers and some of them prefers job outside the district as the district lacks in employment scope so the respondents do not develop much preference for educational institutions in this GP which is most underdeveloped and

suffers from flood, lack of electricity, health centres, educational institutions and lack of agriculture and irrigation facilities. Even those who attain high level of income do not prefer non-governmental schools because of unavailability of schools in the area except governmental schools and madrassas. Hence from the above table 7.16 it may infer that out of 8 respondents belong to high income group, 6 of them prefer governmental schools and 2 only nongovernmental schools. Among other respondents of middle and low income groups, most of them can not differentiate between the types and qualities of the educational institutions. Among 26 of middle income group, 21 prefer government, 3 non-government and 2 madrassa education. Among 66 respondents of low income group, 9 prefer madrassa education, 6 of them prefer education from non-governmental institutions and 51 prefer education from governmental institutions. Moreover the financial constraints create another major hindrance towards educational attainment and most of the respondents took to informal education from madrassa or remain illiterate. Even it must be admit that income and educational attainment are the two most important variables which shape the attitude of the respondent.

**Table-7.17**

**Education and Discriminatory Attitude of State Towards People in Aurangabad 2 GP**

Education	Opinion About State's Discrimination			Total	Percentage (%)
	Yes	No	To Some Extent		
<b>High</b>					
MA	6	1	1	8	6
Graduation	4	21	10	35	23
Law Graduate	1	-	-	1	0.5
Doctor	1	-	-	1	0.5
<b>Medium</b>					
Higher Secondary	1	17	2	20	14
Secondary	2	30	3	35	23
<b>Low</b>					
Upper Primary	-	30	1	31	21
Primary	-	14	1	15	10
Illiterate	-	4	-	4	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>

Education is also an important variable which shapes respondent's attitude towards state and politics and makes people conscious about the discrimination create by the state towards the citizens in both the gram panchayats. The respondent of this gram panchayat attain quite high level of educational status in compare to other areas, people are expose to all kinds of media that create political consciousness among the people and hence can trace the discriminatory attitude of the state in the society to achieve their political gains. From the above table 7.17 it may infer that among 45 respondents achieving high educational attainment 12 of them can perceive the state's discrimination between its citizens. Among 55 respondents of medium educational group, 3 of them says state possess discriminatory attitude, 5 of them opine that sometime there is discriminatory attitude of state and 47 of them says state possess discriminatory attitude towards Muslim voters. Among 50 respondents having low educational attainment, 2 of them opine that there is some discrimination, 48 of them opine that state possess discriminatory attitude. According to the respondents BJP party though secular still have communal orientations, support forced conversion, intentionally make the Muslims responsible for riots or the outbreak of terrorist activities and promotes the ideology of Hinduism. As far as the state government is concern the respondent says that state distribute by cycles to the students of minority community and not to the students of other community. State gives aid to the Imams and not to the religious heads of other community. Hence government from official standpoint maintains these discriminatory attitudes to seek the Muslim vote. Among other educated respondents 10 were indifferent towards governmental attitude towards citizen. 21 respondents say there is no discriminatory attitude on the part of the state towards its citizen. This is because most of them are happy in getting these benefits and supports states discriminatory actions or rather they are opportunist and think that state's patronage to the Muslim community will ensure benefits for the community at large in this underdeveloped district.

**Table-7.18**

**Education and Discriminatory Attitude of State Towards People in Umrapur GP**

Education	Opinion About State's Discrimination			Total	Percentage (%)
	Yes	No	To Some Extent		
High					
MA	-	-	-	-	-
Graduation	1	-	-	1	1

<b>Law Graduate</b>	-	<b>3</b>	-	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Doctor</b>	<b>1</b>	-	-	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Medium</b>					
<b>Higher Secondary</b>	-	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Secondary</b>	-	<b>11</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>Low</b>					
<b>Upper Primary</b>	-	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Primary</b>	-	<b>4</b>	-	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Illiterate</b>	-	<b>57</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>58</b>
<b>Some Informal Education</b>	-	<b>7</b>	-	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

From the above table 7.18 it may infer that though educational attainment is low among the respondents of this GP and it is severely under develop and hence proper political consciousness cannot develop among the respondents. Out of the total respondents of 100, 94 of them feel that state makes no discrimination within its community members only 2 of them say that discrimination is done those who have enough political knowledge in this backward area and say state on one hand promotes freedom of religion to all citizens but at the same time promotes incidence like forced conversion, demolition of masjid which proves government's (central) discriminatory attitude towards the majority and the minority community which threatens the secular ethos of our country and hampers the democratic system of governance. 4 of the respondents opine that to some extent state initiate discrimination by giving some concessions and wooing the community for political gains. Hence it may infer that education and level of political consciousness is related which shapes respondents attitude towards state and secular principles.

**Table-7.19**

**Occupation and Attendance in Religious Institutions in Aurangabad 2 GP**

<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Attendance in Religious Institution</b>			<b>Total</b>	<b>Percentage (%)</b>
	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Sometimes</b>		
<b>Beedi Workers</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>60</b>
<b>School Teacher</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>College Teacher</b>	-	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Private Job Holders</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Doctor</b>	-	<b>1</b>	-	<b>1</b>	<b>0.5</b>

<b>Lawyer</b>	-	<b>1</b>	-	<b>1</b>	<b>0.5</b>
<b>Student</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>Governmental Clerk</b>	-	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>

From the above table 7.19 it may infer that respondent's occupation and attending the religious institutions is related in Aurangabad 2 gram panchayat. The respondents in white collar profession like school teachers, college teachers, doctor, lawyer and governmental clerk do not attain religious institutions and hence it may be interpreted that religious belief do not affect much in respondent's social and political life. The respondents who are engage in good profession either do not get time or do not have much willingness to attend these institutions. Very few job holders and students attain the religious institutions. Whereas beedi workers attain religious institutions, attain the religious meetings in Jalsa and Jammait regularly. The table shows that where the educational attainment of the respondents is low they get mobilize by the religious dictates in their social and cultural life and attain the religious institutions.

**Table-7.20**

**Occupation and Attendance in Religious Institutions in Umrapur Gram Panchayat**

<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Attendance in Religious Institution</b>			<b>Total</b>	<b>Percentage (%)</b>
	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Sometimes</b>		
<b>Beedi Workers</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>92</b>
<b>Agricultural Labor</b>	<b>4</b>	-	<b>2</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Doctor</b>	<b>1</b>	-	-	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Engineer</b>	<b>1</b>	-	-	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

From the above table 7.20 it may infer that in contrast to Aurangabad 2 GP, we find a striking difference in Umrapur GP. The white collar job holders also attain the Jalsa, Tabliq-Jammait and other religious meetings. In this area civic participation is very high and people irrespective of their profession attain religious meetings or discuss politics outside the mosques after regular prayer. The ordinary beedi worker of both the GP attains the religious institutions regularly or occasionally but in Umrapur GP people attain these

religious institutions regularly. Religious dictates motivates the social lifestyle of the people and the respondents follows the dress code and other cultural norms according to the dictates of Quran. They too believe that they remain as underdevelop community because they divert from the path of Islam. Due to low level of education and low economic attainment this gram panchayat remains backward and the respondents are guided mostly by the religious dictates. The respondent in both the gram panchayat irrespective of their occupational status says that religious dictates do not determine their attitudinal perception towards Indian state and its plural culture they prefers to identify them as citizen of India.

**Table-7.21**

**Education and Responses towards Communal Issues in Aurangabad 2 GP**

Education	Responses Towards Communal Issues			Total	Percentage (%)
	Strong	Medium	Low		
High					
MA	6	2	-	8	6
Graduation	26	6	3	35	23
Law Graduate	1	-	-	1	0.5
Doctor	1	-	-	1	0.5
Medium					
Higher Secondary	8	8	4	20	14
Secondary	2	2	31	35	23
Low					
Upper Primary	1	11	19	31	21
Primary	-	4	11	15	10
Illiterate	-	-	4	4	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>

Education in this gram panchayat shapes respondent's attitude towards communal issues. From the above table 7.21 it can be inferred that respondents with high educational background possess strong response towards communal issues. Among 55 respondents attaining minimum education, 10 possess strong, 10 possess medium and 35 of them possess low level of consciousness towards communal issues. 50 respondents attaining low educational status are not aware of the communal issues. Among 45 respondents attaining high educational status, 34 respondents react strongly in communal issues, 8 show minimum response and 3 possess low response to communal issues like outbreak of

communal riots, Khagragarh explosion, forced conversion of minority to Hindu religion, unjustified decision of Supreme Court in Rammandir-Babri masjid issue, Katara mosque riot in Murshidabad and displacement of Muslims in several parts of India. The educated people even demands reservation for the community in specialized governmental jobs and in educational institutions. Education makes the people very conscious regarding their social and economic status and demands development from government. The respondents believe that political leaders even from their own community try to seek Muslim vote and never seek betterment for the community and hence try to preserve the minority issue alive within the community. Through the incidence like riots the community leaders try to create disunity within the two community people. Even to create further gulf in the society the leaders' blame the Muslims particularly as terrorist and make them responsible for the outbreak of violent acts in the state and elsewhere. Most of the educated and politically conscious Muslims even express their views and feelings regarding politics and discriminatory attitude of the leaders in the local journals published from the district to make the rest of the people conscious regarding various political issues.

**Table- 7.22**

**Education and Responses towards Communal Issues in Umrapur GP**

Education	Responses Towards Communal Issues			Total	Percentage (%)
	Strong	Medium	Low		
<b>High</b>					
MA	-	-	-	-	-
Graduation	1	-	-	1	1
Law Graduate	-	3	-	3	3
Doctor	1	-	-	1	1
<b>Medium</b>					
Higher Secondary	1	5	1	7	7
Secondary	-	4	8	12	12
<b>Low</b>					
Upper Primary	-	5	2	7	7
Primary	-	-	4	4	4
Illiterate	1	8	49	58	58
Some Informal Education	-	-	7	7	7
<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

From the above table 7.22 it may be inferred that out of 100 respondents only 4 of them possess strong sense of communal discrimination, 71 of them possess low or no responses and 25 express some responses to these communal issues like riots or forced conversion. One thing it is among the respondents of both the GPs that most of the respondents prefer the establishment of 'shariat' as their guiding force for their community. Though the respondents are not very much vulgar to Supreme Court's decision given in the most disputed Rammandir-Babari masjid issue. The respondent in this GP is not conscious regarding the status of Aligarh Muslim University to preserve its minority status which is even put forward by the respondents of Aurangabad 2 GP. Hence it may infer that education as an independent variable makes a major difference in shaping the attitude of the respondent in both the GPs. It may also infer that irrespective of the differences in both the GPs the researcher observes that there is no difference in the attitude of the respondents in accepting India's secular principles.

**Table- 7.23**

**Age and Attitude towards Women's Participation in Politics in Aurangabad 2 GP**

Age	Attitude Towards women's Participation in Politics			Total	Percentage (%)
	Strong	Medium	Low		
<b>Low</b>					
<b>18-30</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>31-40</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>Middle</b>					
<b>41-50</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>51-60</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>High</b>					
<b>61-70</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>70 and above</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>

From the above table 7.23 it may be interpreted that out of 150 respondents 101 strongly supports women's participation in politics. Even the aged respondent supports active participation of women in politics and they too prefer women's educational attainment for an overall development of the community. The respondent even feels the necessity of family planning for the progress of the community in the backward area of the district. But the religious dictates influences the social and cultural life too which is observed among

the respondents in this GP through women's dress pattern and through the ways of lifestyle they follows according to the dictates of Islam.

**Table- 7.24**

**Age and Attitude towards Women's Participation in Politics in Umrapur GP**

Age	Attitude Towards women's Participation in Politics			Total	Percentage (%)
	Strong	Medium	Low		
<b>Low</b>					
<b>18-30</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>56</b>
<b>31-40</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>Middle</b>					
<b>41-50</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>51-60</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>High</b>					
<b>61-70</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>70 and above</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

From the table 7.24 it may infer that out of 100 respondents 26 of them support participation of women in active politics, 43 of the respondents possess medium support for women's political participation and 31 of them shows very low support towards participation. The area as it is already mention is educationally, culturally backward and to some extent economic and social condition is not favourable thus it does not permit the respondent's mentality to support women's participation in politics though interest for politics is high among the respondent. Here preference for early marriages is high and birth rate is also high and low education rate among the respondent is a common picture and the respondent is guided by the religious dictates and practices in their daily social life. Here the respondents too maintain dress code as directed in Islam and to some extent negates modern lifestyle even those who attain high income level in this area. The respondent according to various age groups says that political participation that is casting vote is everyone's political right and they prefer it too but as far as active participation of women in politics is concerned it is always not permissible in this backward area.

### **3. An Empirical Study of Attitude of the People's Representative of the District**

Here in this section, the researcher tries to focus on the attitude of the elected representatives of Suti II block. Here an interview has been conducted with both structured and semi-structured interview schedule with the elected representative of this block. The interview covers gram panchayat prodhan, elected representative of Zilla Parishad, Sabhapati of Panchayat Samiti and member of Legislative Assembly (MLA) of Suti 2 block. The interview aims to collect data from the elected representative to assess their attitude towards Indian state and secularism. The researcher has conducted the interview with the MLA Emani Biswas from Suti 2 block. He says he starts politics at very early age. By profession, he is a beedi merchant and associatw with Howrah Beedi Company and belongs to the propertied class. The leader contributes regularly to charitable society for development of the district people. He win the election as congress candidate and later on join TMC government to receive state finds for the district and to solve most of the problems like health, communication, drinking water facility and development of educational institutions in this block.

The leader opines that for the betterment of the community, women must be given a minimum education and if possible even higher education, shall allow her to take part in politics, and children from early age must be given proper formal education in schools or madrassas. He is against early marriages of boys and girls which reduce the scope of education and employment for the community which according to the leader is another reason for backwardness of the community. He lays emphasis on proper family planning for all Muslim family. He is against all kinds of fundamental organisation which creates communal cleavages like Jammait-i-Islami which tries to motivate the working of government through their election manifesto. The leader though changes his party affiliation posses' secular character. He profess that in his area there is no Hindu-Muslim tension and people of the area willingly participate and contribute in the festival of one another. Due to lack of time he attains Jalsa and Tabliq Jammait occasionally which are purely religious organizations and he prefers mostly the mainstream journals and television news which is politically neutral in their writings and inculcates mostly secular ideas within the community members. The news is not illusionary but they depict the real incidence and picture of the society which had actually happened. He always prefers secular politics and hence strictly read and watches the mainstream television channels and newspaper to guide the people in proper way. He does not support any destruction whether done by the Muslims

or non-Muslims like Khagarhgarh explosion by the terrorist in West Bengal or demolition of Babri Masjid or Godhra incidence. According to him religion does not motivate politics of the country but sometimes the religious tenet is misinterpreted by few antisocial elements to create violence in the society whom we term as terrorist. Riots or any communal violence is an outcome of modernization mainly due to uneven economic growth in the society. He support that riot is a sign of dynamism that the rioters make the government aware of unequal social and economic progression of the country. He too feels unjustified to blame the Muslims for the outbreak of any riot in the country. He opines that he is satisfied with Supreme Court's decision regarding the reconstruction of Masjid and temple in the same place as our country is secular. He prefers formal education or education from state sponsored schools and madrassas first than any informal educational centre given by Moulavi. He believes that educational training provides the true base which shapes individual's attitude. The community remains underdevelop because of economic problem and lack of educational facility in the district. As people's representative he wants to contribute all his efforts to remove the backwardness of the block.

As a political leader Emani Biswas shows his allegiance to state first then to other institution whether social or religious. He feels that the socio-political changes in the society affect the attitude and participation of the Muslim respondent like to blame the community for any outbreak of riots or communal violence by the other community. In this situation, the Muslims naturally will lose their faith from Indian state. But he is very thankful to TMC government of West Bengal that government tries to remove the backwardness of the community and have no discriminatory attitude towards Hindus and Muslims. But religious beliefs affect political decision of the people and he put forward the slogan of Baba Ramdev who comments to support the BJP party. The leader supports reservation for the Muslim community so that the community can maintain a balance with the Hindus. Now coming to the question that how he perceives BJP government, he says the researcher that the government promotes Hinduism and Hindu ideology, promotes forcible conversion of tribal Christians to Hindu in Birbhum district and it is the government which supports corporate sectors to develop and flourish to dominate the market that hinders the economic growth of the people. Hence he does not support BJP government. For assessing the attitude of the leaders towards India state the researcher ask him about the qualities of a good leader. He says an elected representative shall provide developmental scope for the community people and secures the rights and privileges of all including the minorities. He do not support

Muslim displacement in Assam and in other parts of India which is an unjustified act and he remains unsatisfied with the working of central government which works in the benefit of bourgeois class only. Other than that he considers India as his motherland and identifies himself as Indian Bengali Muslim in the secular country. He wants to divert his energies and work hard for the community development and to preserve community harmony by curbing all communal forces. The leader expresses his inclination toward establishing shariati law because the explanation of property rights is given in right way in shariat. He even supports the inclusion of the district with India during partition and he perceives India as his motherland. Hence it may rightly assess that the leader possesses a strong sense of integration towards Indian state and society and guide the community in secular lines. The community according to him needs strong secular leadership and secular party which can preserve the rights and demands of the community without any communal bias.

The researcher then assesses the attitude of Panchayat Samiti Sabhapati Anikul Islam elected from CPI (M) party for the objective to collect qualitative data from the elected representative. The leader opines that he completed his graduation from Aurangabad College and by profession he is a businessman and resides in very remote area of the Suti 2 block in Umrapur GP (Sahajadpur gram sansad). He is a member of the cultural organisation of his area (Sahajadpur Madhyapara Young Sporting Club). His first motive is to develop well connected roads in Umrapur and connect it with National Highway- 34 for smooth communication and business transactions. He diverts all his attention to develop educational infrastructure and health centres in the backward areas of the district through governmental aid and assistance. He does not support any fundamental organisations like Jammait-i-Islami or their election manifesto but attends Jalsa and Tabliq Jammait which are purely religious organisations. He clarifies that in the block there is no incidence of communal violence or riots. There is active participation of community people in all religious festivals of one another and their relation in the society is good. He wants women of Muslim community to take part in active politics and every family to have proper family planning. He wants every child in a family shall have proper educational facilities for their good future.

The leader opines that it is beyond any justification to blame the Muslims for the outbreak of riots like Khagragarh explosion and Godhra incidence. The demolition of Babri masjid by Hindu fundamentalist forces shatters the image of Indian secularism. He proposes to condemn riots and communal violence for the betterment of community relations. He

opines that riots or communal incidence occurs due to economic inequality in the society and the rioters want to occupy a dominant position by drawing attention of the secular government through their activities. They simply want change, but at the same time government shall condemn all communal incidences, communal organization to keep alive the spirit of secular ethos. In his area, he mentions there are no such discriminations between Hindu and Muslims and all receives same governmental benefits (IAY, benefits of 100 days' work and all benefits of centrally sponsored schemes). The leader expresses his view for the inclusion of the term Muslim with Aligarh University, as the institution is an icon of their traditional culture. The leader expresses his views to take part in mainstream secular politics, hence shows his interest in all kinds of political news from newspaper and media and through other informal sources.

The leader perceives BJP government as the government which promotes the interest of the corporate sector and hence do not support its ideology. To receive the loyalty of the Muslim community, the leader opines that the present TMC government tries to satisfy the community by giving 'Imam Bhata' (pensions to the Imams of masjids) but no monetary benefits to the Hindu priests, the government distributes cycles to the Muslim girls but not to the poor Hindu girl students who too struggle a lot to receive the educational facilities. Religious beliefs and dictates too affect political decisions of the respondents. The open declaration of Imam Bhukari of Jama Masjid to support Congress and TMC government and Maulana Barkati, shahi Imam of the Tipu Sultan mosque to support TMC directly influence the minds of the respondents hence he opines that religion sometimes dominates politics. The leader does not support Supreme Court's decision regarding the reconstruction of Masjid and temple in the same place because that is impossible. Masjid generally can be built on the land donate or allot for that purpose and not on the land allot for temple construction. He too express his grievance that the state shall remain aware of the development of madrassas which develops without any authorization and act as the base of terrorist activities in West Bengal and state shall remain responsible to curve all fundamental and communal forces with iron hands. But state shows its negligence in this matter and hence he believes that state is solely responsible for the outbreak of Khagragarh explosion in which the unauthorize madrassas provides the base for terrorist activities.

As the political representative he says he is bound to show his allegiance to the state though state possess discriminatory attitude towards each community. As a responsible elected representative of the people, it is his duty to provide developmental scope for the

community people. It is his responsibility to modernize the society by providing educational scope, training for specialised governmental job, and to provide training centres for the students to qualify in professional exams like joint entrance. He demands reservation of seats in medical and engineering colleges for the minority people. This is true that there are organisations like Jammait-e-Islami, SIO, which is purely religious but these organisations undertake various developmental schemes like giving scholarships to the meritorious students from all community, runs hospitals and charitable societies. He considers India as his motherland and identifies him as Indian Bengali Muslim. He project his view that undue stress in 'Indianness' sometimes assumes the totalitarian form which truly undermines Muslim identity in a multicultural plural society and hence it may hinders the path for integration. At the same time BJP's stress on 'Hindutwa' and on 'Hindu Nationalism', identifying India with Hindu culture instead of composite culture increases the separatist tendency in the state which hinders the national building process in India.

The researcher also assesses the views of Nizamuddin Ahmed, ex-Zilla Parishad member (1983-93), a RSP candidate of the state committee and at present attach with Jangipur Beedi Masdoor Union (Murshidabad district) and presides as a committee member and advisor of Aligarh Muslim University (Murshidabad district). He says Muslim women shall actively take part in politics or give leadership within their limit and following the purview of Islamic ideology. He does not support any communal organisations or party which inculcates communal ideas. He solely believes that development of the district will be possible through governmental initiative as he did during his tenure as ZP member. During his active leadership he introduced new irrigation project – RLI to divert water from Messenjor Dam to Murshidabad district which benefitted nine blocks in the area. He prefers government educational institution to impart education and not education from informal sources. Beside mainstream newspaper, he read local newspapers like Gati, Kalam, Mizan, Ganasakti, and Ganabarta to read the voices of other common Muslims and to study their attitude towards Indian state. The community lacks in proper leadership as most of the leaders aligned with the secular parties (mainly congress) and seek their own interest neglecting the developmental issues. He does not support Supreme Court's decision regarding the reconstruction of temple and masjid in the same land which is an illusionary concept. He believes that though religious dictates motivates politics like the declaration of Imam Bhukari and his message to the community to cast Muslim vote to congress or TMC party. He believes that through proper leadership and if the leader is non-communal then he

can guide the community properly and help the community to develop secular identity through fulfilling the demands of the minority groups. It is the duty of the leader to preserve community harmony and to curb all communal forces, focus on developmental issues and to provide equal treatment to all citizens. He is against all the discriminatory acts of the present state government that is giving aid to Muslim girls by depriving others, giving pensions to Imams and the minority scholarships given only to the Muslim student which is purely an unconstitutional act. But the leader do not want reservation for the community as this will make the community more dependable on government and they will lose their self-confidence in them and will remain as minority. So to eliminate the minority syndrome from their minds, government shall provide enough scope to the minority community for their development and not through reservation which is not the solution. He does not support any communal riots as a civilised person of the community but at the same time opine that it is not justified to blame the Muslims for any kind of violent acts. He opine till today the community people look upon suspiciously. He criticizes acts like forced conversion in a secular society as conversion of Christian community to Hindus or killed a Christian by burning him which he considers as the terrorist acts in a secular country. He says communal violence and riots occur due to negligence of state. Regarding the status of Aligarh University he state that as a member of advisory board of AMU in Murshidabad campus, it hardly makes any difference in inclusion of the term Muslim with the university. But majority of the people have an emotional attachment with the term as it resembles the past glory of Muslim culture, ethics, and language and hence he too demand the inclusion of the term 'Muslim' and to preserve the minority status of the university. In secular India universities and all educational institutions shall bear a universal name and no community's name shall be attached to it. This is true he willingly admit that after partition the community lacks in proper leadership and the leaders fully fails to bring development of the district but tries their best to curb all communal forces and to develop secular attitude within the community.

The researcher also collects data from the present zilla parishad member of the district Mohidul Islam to interpret his attitude towards Indian state and politics. In the first occasion, he argues that in a democratic secular country, it is the duty of a political leader to give a neutral leadership, to practice and profess neutral politics, to ensure the benefits of the district people and to direct them in right path, so that they can develop positive attitude towards Indian state, and to integrate themselves in mainstream politics.

The leader demand that each child in every community shall receive adequate educational facility to get establish in life and hence he forbade for early marriages of the girl child. There shall be proper family planning for all. He prefers congress party as a true secular party which provides developmental scope for all members of the society and had no communal orientations. West Bengal's Muslims, once a loyal vote bank of the ruling Marxists, appear non-committal in the on-going assembly polls though in Murshidabad district there is an exception in Muslim vote where the respondent shows their allegiance to congress party. Two things that sway the community towards the Left Front are land reforms and land pattas which empowered landless Muslims. He shows his assertiveness towards reservations for the community as Hindu SC, ST and OBCs for their development in every spheres of life. He tries to ensure equal treatment to all citizens irrespective of caste religion, linguistic groups and tries to curtail all communal forces. National integration is possible when the community people will assimilate with the composite culture of Indian society and develop a national identity by identifying him as Indian Bengali Muslim. This is true that the community had to bear the post partition trauma and after so many days the communities were look upon suspiciously, blamed for the outbreak of riots, communal incidence like Khagragarh and Godhra incidence in which he himself disheartens. The community is solely blamed for partition of India, but people failed to realise the political game of the leaders in that time. According to him for the community it is better to follow sharait which is in other words to follow the path of Islam.

In questioning the leaders that how he perceives BJP government, he says the government possess corporate mentality and kills secular principles of our country. As a part of communal agenda, the BJP allegedly organizes and incites communal violence and raises divisive issues such as Islamic terrorism, uniform civil code and Christian conversions. In West Bengal, in Birbhum district 150 Christian tribals converted to Hindu by VHP activists. Graham Staines involved in leprosy mission work in Keonjhar district in Orissa was killed by a mob protesting the conversion of tribal to Christianity which is purely an inhuman act – a mark of intolerance in a secular society. The leader fully accepts Supreme Court's decision in regard to reconstruction of Babri masjid and Ram temple within the same land which according to him a true symbol of secularism in India, as it bears the remembrance in ancient times. The leader opines that in his area Hindus and Muslims receives same governmental benefits equally and no discrimination is done between them. He says that in contemporary era, religious dictates tries to influence politics

and voting trends in secular India. Ramdev openly propagates BJP as Hindu party and tries to divert Hindu vote towards it, similarly Imam Bhukheri propagates to cast vote to congress and TMC government in West Bengal. These socio-political changes definitely affect the attitude and participation of the Muslim respondent. As an elected representative of the ZP his target is to secure the rights of beedi workers to develop medical sub-centres in the Zilla with well-equipped doctors, medicines and trained nurses and to ensure overall development of the district. The leader has grievances against state government which hampers national integration and possesses a discriminatory attitude towards the community people, to capture the Muslim vote bank which is now a floating one. The present TMC government provides pensions to the imams to ensure Muslim vote bank and illegally distribute by-cycles to Muslim girl students and not to the students of other community. The present state government is giving backing to hard core Islamic fundamentalist Ahmed Hasan Imran (editor of Kalam Patrica), a SIMI activist as Rajya Sabha member from West Bengal at present and donates Saradha (chit fund) money to unorganised madrassas which acts as terrorist base in West Bengal. The discriminatory act of state government is vulgar to the outbreak of communal tension in the country and as a secular leader he believes that it is his duty to guide the community in right direction.

In the last occasion, the researcher makes an attempt to assess the attitude of Gram Panchayat prodhans of Suti 2 block. Among the 10 GPs in Suti 2 block, 7 are chosen having Muslim prodhan and the rest are Hindu prodhans. The researcher do not find much attitudinal variations in them, and not aware of all national and international whereabouts but we have assess their attitude through our interview based on local, political issues and through contemporary incidence in the GPs. In Jagtai I, Aurangabad I and Mahesail I, there are Hindu prodhans all get elected from congress party and they all say the Muslim respondent of their GP possess a positive attitude towards Indian state and there is no communal tension in the area. In Aurangbad 2 GP, the prodhan Sabana Yesmin is elected from independent party. She says women shall take part in politics, and she says that development of the area depends upon totally governmental aid and assistance given to each GP. The leader shows her allegiance to state first then towards other organisation. In her GP there is no communal tension. She too faces the need of development for more primary schools and health centres with medical facility for the people. As a candidate from independent party she says Supreme Court's decision is fare regarding Babri masjid-Ram temple issue. She blames the discriminatory acts of TMC government towards the

community people. Financial assistance shall be given to all minority community including Hindu SC, ST, and OBCs to bring development of the GP. She argues that religious beliefs and practices do not affect political decisions. She reads the political news mainly from local journals like Mizan and Gati and says the community needs reservation for their development and as a leader she focus on developmental issues which is to be done mainly by state and central aid, so that the aspirations of the minority groups can be fulfilled. In Jagtai II the GP prodhan Serina Bibi is elected from congress ticket possess similar attitude like Sabana Yesmin and stress on developmental issues mainly in education and in health for the district people.

Farida Yesmin the gram panchayat prodhan of Bajitpur elected from congress party later joined TMC government to ensure development for the people of her area. She says religious beliefs never affect political decision in a secular country; religion is something private affair of the individual. She is against any communal violence, riots which shatters communal relations in a society. Hence she believes educational improvement will make the individual conscious about politics and the intension of political parties. She personally believes that TMC government truly ensures benefit to her GP people by giving them ration card and minority scholarships to the students. She possesses grievances against BJP government because her area people are not receiving the benefits of 100 days' work. The GP prodhan of Laxmipur, Alkez Hossain, who is elected as congress nominee later on join TMC. He stress on the need for development in the district. The leaders possess an idea that the present TMC government can ensure betterment for the community people through its welfare schemes like reservation for the community, providing scholarships to minority students and financial aid as 'Kannyashree Prakalpa' to all girl students for their educational advancement. Nabirul Islam the GP prodhan of Mahesail II was elected from congress ticket and later on joined TMC possess similar attitude with the prodhan of Laxmipur gram panchayat.

The GP prodhan of Umrapur Rakibul Islam (CPIM) says that state government possess step motherly attitude towards his GP. Among all the GPs Umrapur is the most backward region with no proper communication facility, roads and hence he says that central aid and assistance is required in his GP. He is against all communal forces that disrupt social solidarity and creates communal tensions in the society. Though it is found that all the GP prodhans concentrate mainly on developmental issues but as a leader he tries

to secure minority rights and privileges which is their highest priority and hence demand reservation for the community. He wants educational development so that the people of this backward GP remain aware of the communal forces and the tendencies of some political parties like AIUDF, WPI, and SDPI which has minority inclination and cater to their own needs and tries to hamper the secular attitude of the people. The leader identifies him as Indian Bengali Muslim and expresses his antagonistic attitude towards TMC government – because the party is self-centred and not intends to ensure development of the district. He says that in his GP the respondents have secular orientations and there is no communal tension in the area. As an elected representative of the people he diverts all his attention to curb all communal forces so that the people of his area could adopt India's plural culture. The GP prodhan of Kasimnagar, Masrur Rahaman elected from congress ticket too believes that attitude of the common people can take proper shape through developmental projects and benefits given by the government for their development. The prodhan of this backward gram panchayat possess similar attitude with the prodhan of Umrapur where no state or central attention are given to ensure betterment of the area.

Hence in analysing the attitude of the political leaders of the Suti 2 block, one thing is clear that the leaders possess very strong inclination towards Indian society. The leaders stress the need for an overall development for their area to remove the backwardness of the community. They strongly demand reservation for the community for educational improvement and reservation in governmental employment. The leader at the same time discards all kinds of communal activities and tries to preserve harmony in the society and shows their loyalty to Indian state.

#### **4. Conclusion**

The process of democratization results in sharpening the sense of distinct identity among different religious groups. The political parties and politicians are sometimes play dirty political games for their own purposes which require an effective intervention of state. A secular democratic state aims to ensure liberty and justice to all its citizens without any discriminatory attitude. Secularism shall neither be reduced to 'pseudo-secularism' as the BJP has sought to do, nor shall it be reduce to opportunism and a subtle form of communalism, as some ruling parties have done. Indian secularism is an effective antidote to fight against all communal forces. This state intervention or change has been oppose by some section of people who oppose in reforming of personal laws of the community to

ensure justice to the oppressed section of the society and to curb religious authoritarianism which hampers in unity of the nation. Secularism in the Indian context implies respect for plural culture in the society. Respect for diversity not only embodies the democratic spirit, it is the real guarantor of unity. No democratic society can disregard diversity and pluralism in the name of unity. Democracy and secularism are necessary as well as sufficient conditions for the unity and integrity of India. Indian democracy shows respect to all values and cultures of each community which paves the path of unity within its people.

In the whole analysis, it is observed that the Muslims in the district pose an integrative character and accept India's plural culture and democracy. Their participation in electoral democracy proves that the respondents of Murshidabad district believe in the functioning of the Indian state and sees the state as the sole institution to secure their rights, to ensure development and to bring welfare for the overall community people. In both the areas of the empirical study in the district, it is observed that religious beliefs and practices do not affect their political visions. The respondents show their allegiance towards Indian state and government and attribute fully to Indian nation and consider them as Indian first then as Bengali Muslims which proves the communities secular attitude and loyalty towards Indian state. The impact of partition riots, the fear and anxiety, the mental trauma which creates an artificial and invisible boundary of majority and minority syndrome among the community members gradually blurred away in contemporary era and Muslims have integrate with mainstream national culture and politics where the researcher could safely conclude that Bengali Muslims in Murshidabad district has develop secular character by accepting secular ethos which has been seen in the researcher's empirical analysis in Aurangabad 2 and Umrapur gram panchayat of Suti 2 block. 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 degrades 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 leads to integration with national culture and secular principles. As our state comprise of multi-cultural class collectives, it gives concessions to minority groups of the society to consolidate her political

power in the society. The Bengali Muslim as they are alienate from their rest of the community comprising of non-Bengali Muslims does 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 the 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, promotes 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 adopts national culture and wholeheartedly integrate with secular democratic politics of the country.

## Notes and References

1. Hasan Mushirul, (1998), "In Search of Integration and Identity: Indian Muslims since Independence", EPW, Vol.23, No.45/47, Special Number (November), pp. 267-72
2. Shah Ganasham, (2007), The Condition of Muslims in India, EPW, Vol.42, No.10 (March 10<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup>), pp.836-839
3. Banerjee Binay, Introduction, in Banerjee Binay ed. (1994), Towards Communal Harmony, Calcutta, Germinal Publications, pp. 7-8
4. Gore. M.S, (2002), Unity in Diversity, The Indian Experience in Nation Building, New Delhi and Jaipur, Rawat Pub. p.222
5. Ansari M.T , Islam and Democracy, in Ansari M.T. ed. (2001), Secularism, Islam and Modernity, New Delhi, Sage Publications, pp. 275-76
6. Noorani.A.G, "The Babari Masjid Question", in Noorani.A.G ed. (2003), The Muslims of India; A Documentary Record, Oxford, Oxford University Press Pub. pp. 261-62
7. Engineer Asghar Ali, Islam and Indian Civilization, in Engineer Asghar Ali, ed. (2002), Islam in India; The Impact of Civilizations, New Delhi, Indian Council for Cultural Relations Pub. Pp.69-71
- 8.Md. Noor, "Indian Muslims", in Md. Noor ed. (1999), Indian Muslims – Precepts and Practices, New Delhi, Rawat Pub. Pp.62-64
9. Engineer Asghar Ali, (2011), Living Faith; My Quest for Peace, Harmony and Social Change, New Delhi, Orient Black Swan Pub. Pp.86-88
10. Narain Iqbal, (1976), Cultural Pluralism, National Integration and Democracy in India, Asian Survey, Vol.16, No.10 (October), pp.903-917
11. Ara Arjumand, (2004), Madrassas and Making of Muslim Identity in India, EPW, Vol.39, No.1 (January 3<sup>rd</sup>-9<sup>th</sup>), pp. 34-36
12. Narain Iqbal, (1976), Cultural Pluralism, National Integration and Democracy in India, Asian Survey, Vol.16, No.10 (October), pp.903-917

13. Chatterjee Joya, "Of graveyards and ghettos; Muslims in Partitioned West Bengal; 1947-67", in Hasan Mushirul ed. (2005), *Living Together Separately, Cultural India in History and Politics*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Pub. pp.225-27
14. Narain Iqbal, (1976), *Cultural Pluralism, National Integration and Democracy in India*, *Asian Survey*, Vol.16, No.10 (October), pp.903-917
15. Engineer Asghar Ali, (1999), *Essays in Contemporary Politics of Identity, Religion and Secularism*, New Delhi, Ajanta Pub. pp.124-25
16. Bandhopadhyay Sailesh Kumar, (2002), *Ganatantri Bharate Hindu O Musalman*, Kolkata, Biswabangio Prakasani Pub. Pp.89-92
17. Md. Noor, "Indian Muslims", in Md. Noor ed. (1999), *Indian Muslims – Precepts and Practices*, New Delhi, Rawat Pub. Pp.62-64
18. Jalal Ayesha, (2000), *Self and Sovereignty, Individual and Community in South Asian Islam since 1850*, New York, Rutledge Publications, p.153
19. Varshney Ashutosh, (2002), *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Pub. Pp.23-24
20. Jalal Ayesha, (2000), *Self and Sovereignty, Individual and Community in South Asian Islam since 1850*, New York, Rutledge Publications, pp.32-34
21. Kymlicka Will,(1996), *Multicultural Citizenship*, New York, Clarendon Press Pub. Pp.2-3
22. Roy Anupama, (2010), *Mapping Citizenship in India*, New Delhi, Oxford Press Pub. Pp.1-3
23. Shakir Moin, (1983), *Islam in Indian Politics*, New Delhi, Ajanta Pub. p.17

## **CHAPTER – VIII**

### **CONCLUSION**

- 1. Research Findings**
- 2. Concluding Observations**

In conclusion we would analyze the whole dissertation in two distinct parts. First we would strike out the research findings and then the concluding observations of this dissertation.

## **1. Research Findings**

Democracy is an almost universally recognized ideal as well as a goal. It is based on some common values shared by most people throughout the world, irrespective of cultural, political, social and economic differences. Democracy in practice varies from country to country as it takes account of changing needs and aspirations of the people as well as national realities and requirements.

The present research deals in studying political attitudes and participation of Muslims in the district of Murshidabad. The researcher chooses the district of Murshidabad with majority of Muslim population. Chapter one deals with identifying the research problem and the methodology applied by the researcher for empirical study of the problem identified by the researcher. After partition Murshidabad was expected to go to Pakistan, if the two nation theory was applied. However, the Radcliff Award gave Murshidabad with its Muslim majority of 56% somewhat unexpectedly to be included in India. The researcher has stated the objectives of this research, research questions, hypothesis, detailed the overview of literature available in the field in this field of research and pointed out the research gap in the area.

So far as methodology is concerned the researcher used both theoretical and empirical methods in conducting this research work. The researcher used governmental statistics and publications, Murshidabad district Gazetteers, newspaper, books and journals which are used for constructing the theoretical framework of the research. This also helped the researcher to get an idea of the problems, as well as the status of the Bengali Muslims of the district. For the empirical part of the 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 purposefully 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 are selected – Aurangabad 2 and Umrapur by the researcher. Among the two GP, two gram sansads (one from each GP), are 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 so far as their political participation and their attitude towards Indian state and secularism are concerned. But 250 respondents cannot be the true reflection of the entire block or the district but best efforts are made to provide accurate results.

Chapter two deals with the nature and working of democracy in India. Greeks suggest that democracy is government of the people and refer to a system of governance where government is accountable to the voters, where there is observance of basic human rights and the rule of law and where there are free and fair elections at regular intervals. Such

elections must be held on the basis of universal and equal suffrage so that all voters can choose their representatives from parties in conditions of equality, openness and transparency. Democracy provides for open, free and non-discriminatory participation by the people in the political process, exercised in accordance with the rule of law in both letter and spirit. Democracy also respects the rights of minorities. Democratic institutions and processes must therefore include decentralized regional governments and administration which make it possible to broaden the base for public participation.

In a democratic government the public have the right to information about itself. The public domain in a democracy belongs to the people – the sovereign. As the democratic government needs the trust of the governed, it cannot use the plea of secrecy to hide from the people its basic aims and how it functions. Many scholars opined that knowledge for the people about their government is indispensable if democracy is to succeed. Self-government is meaningful only with an informed public. In this dissertation we have tried to analyse the nature of Indian democracy – the main aim of Nehru's democracy, his ideals, main challenges thrown at democratic governance and solutions about is how Indian democracy would survive in multicultural plural society. The greatest strength of democracy is its inherent advantage of interaction with the people through their representatives. People therefore need to be informed about what is happening in government. The right to inform and be informed is enshrined in the constitutions of India and Indian democracy guaranteed right of freedom of speech and expression, cultural and religious freedom and protection of citizen against any malpractices by any agencies (governmental and non-governmental) by active judicial interpretations. In the multi-ethnic and plural societies, we find that the effective political community is restricted to the dominant state structure of powerful centralization which curbs human freedom. In Indian democracy we find lack of proper political leadership and too much centralized nature of India state leads to the institutional decline of democratic governance. Democracy faced challenges from caste associations, communal forces, linguistic groups and forces that have regional aspirations. The influential caste groups like the jats, the yadavs who wield political power tried to influence the working of the government and tried to seek their own interests. By devoting new resources the leaders from lower caste tried to expand mass education to provide job opportunities to the lower section of people to prove that while Indian government failed to take care of the masses and failed to include them in the process of democratic governance, these leaders acted as the guardian of the community. The low rate of economic growth in India has made more difficult to improve the wellbeing of the lower castes and the liberal market oriented policy of the government for getting higher rate of economic growth in the long run has marginalised the backward community in the society. Here separatist tendencies among the deprived groups became more prominent which hindered the working of democratic governance. Hence democracy incorporated new classes and new groups within the framework of the political process. Democratisation thus today means expanded form of participation. Several group assertions have challenged the accepted normative forms of democracy and the constitutional rules have been interpreted in ways that challenged the essence of democratic governance but the welfare and developmental model of Indian state tried to incorporate those groups in democratic process by giving them several concessions.

In the third chapter, the study has dealt with in details the historical origin of Indian and western secularism with the distinction between the two and continued with analysing the concept of secularism as defined by various scholars especially Gandhian concept of ethical secularism and his ideals as rooted in ancient Indian tradition that is dharma which teaches the lesson of religious tolerance. Focus is given on the nature of Indian secularism which shows respect for all religious communities and guarantees freedom of religion as embodied in our constitution from article 25-28. However some deviations in matters of religious tolerance and state intervention in religious affairs of the state have been pointed out by scholars like Ashis Nandy, T.N.Madan, Partha Chatterjee, who challenged Indian secular ethos and put Indian secularism under question. The study has finally concentrated on examining Nehruvian concept of secularism which is grounded in western concept with the intermixing of Indian values and tradition and mutual respect and freedom of religion for all communities. Some communitarians believe that secularism in India did not demand strict separation between religion and politics, and the community members, tried to live together in spite of religious differences among the communities. In India the community members possess a distinct conception of toleration as they know very well that both majority and minority communities are living in a multi-cultural, multi-religious multi-lingual plural society. Thus according to the communitarians like Raj, Dworkin and John Rawls, in India secularism do not mean strict neutrality but secularism is a unique blending of all religious community.

The first major problem that secular state in India faced is that of communalism which has tenacious loyalty to community which has undermined the secular state at every turn. Communal loyalties easily lead to communal rivalries and this tendency is greatly accentuated by an underdeveloped economy which further has aggravated the situation. The second major problem for the secular state is the extensive state interference in Hindu religious institutions. The close supervision or even outright administration of temples and maths was one of the traditional functions of the Hindu state. In independent India there was a clear trend for the state to revert to its former role in temple administration. The state became the principal agency of Hindu religious reform. In present day India there is a strong tendency for the state to interfere in Hindu religious institutions. State's interference in Hindu temples has been limited somewhat by the judicial interpretations mentioned in article 26 of the constitution. The third major problem is the position of religious personal law in the legal structure of present day India. India guarantees separate personal laws to each religious community which is contradictory to the principle concept of secularism. The constitution declares that the state must strive for a uniform civil code and important progress has been made by legislation unifying the Hindu law. In enacting the legislation the Indian parliament took great liberties with the Hindu legal tradition by introducing provisions for divorce, inheritance by daughters and other revolutionary ideas. To implement uniform civil code throughout the territory of India is not applicable universally. The last major problem facing the secular state is one of basic definition. What is the meaning of the term "secular state" in Indian context? The most basic question is simple whether the secular state means a) a state which treats all religions impartially or b) a state which is separate from religion.

It is well to remind ourselves that the completely secular state does not exist. The United States for example, illustrates the reluctance to separate state and religion completely. Presidents and governors issue proclamations urging the citizens to attend their respective places of worship, sessions of federal and state legislatures are opened with prayer, Bible readings and the Lord's Prayer are still used in many tax-supported schools and every coin bears the motto "In God we trust". While Indian secularism is deficient in several respects when judged by the American standard in other respects, the Indian practice is a closer approximation to the theory of the secular state. In an answer to a question, is India a secular state? Our answer is a qualified 'yes'. It is meaningful to speak of India as a secular state, despite the existence of the problem which has been discussed. India is a secular state in the same sense in which one can say that India is a democratic country. Despite various undemocratic features of Indian politics and government parliamentary democracy is functioning and with considerable vigour. Similarly, the secular state, the ideal is clearly embodied in the constitution and it is being implemented in substantial measure. The question must be answered in terms of a dynamic state which has inherited some difficult problems and is struggling hard to overcome them in sound lines. The secular state is one aspect of India's total democratic experiment, the success of which depends on continued stable leadership and steady progress in economic development. But it is true that secularism as an ideology has a distinct place in Indian society. It adopts an 'Indian model', of secularism (that is not strict neutrality), through which it adjusts itself with the society successfully which we termed as Indian secularism – so distinct from the western countries and to some extent remains 'contextual', to combat forces of communalism on one hand and on the other ensuring rights and freedom of religion to every citizen.

In this dissertation, in the fourth chapter attempt has been made to identify the exceptional features of the district of Murshidabad and trend of participation of the people in political affairs. In studying various dimensions of the district, it is found that from pre partition era the people of this district had a golden heritage of protest against the British rule. There is no denying of the fact that Murshidabad had been all through not a politically backward district. As it was the land of the Nawabs, Rajas and Zamindars, the progress of the nationalist movement in the district was not hampered. In comparison to other regions Murshidabad did not lag behind in the course of long freedom movement of India. The role of some of the nawabs and rajas, however contributed a lot for the development of Indian freedom movement in Murshidabad. Almost all sections of the society of Murshidabad joined Swadeshi, Boycott, Non-Co-operation, Civil Disobedience and Quit India movements. One of the significant features of the Swadeshi movement in Murshidabad was that the common people of both urban and rural areas of the district actively participated in the movement. The people of Murshidabad maintained their tradition of communal harmony during national liberation movement. The people had no signs of communal bitterness or corrupted politics that intermittently sprouts on the muddy ground of the district. The leaders of Murshidabad were successful to make convinced the people that communalism could do nothing but would be harmful to the society and nation and thus they must discard communal feelings. The people of this district had been very much conscious about the fact that India was one country and the people of the whole country is

integrated into a single nation. In all their political activities they remained free from religious biasness and communal feeling. Their political approach of a united Indian nation contributed to better understanding of the national integration of the country.

As the people and the leaders possessed a strong national feeling from pre-partition days and participated actively in the movement for freedom struggle against the British raj, in the long run it is found that most of the people of the district were against partition and only the few self-seeking groups like the Muslim League members and the activists of Hind Mahasabha leaders were in favour of inclusion of Murshidabad with Pakistan as a Muslim majority in West Bengal. The communal problem of Murshidabad was a delicate one. As Ashutosh Varshney argued that there were strong cultural and associational bond existed between the two communities and hence in spite of communal activity of the district league leaders, we find that the two communities did not engage themselves in any violent communal clashes. Irrespective of economic, cultural and educational backwardness, communal feeling did not touch the core of the heart of the people in this district. People of the district protested against the partition campaign since people knew that separatist tendency would disintegrate the nation and it would also not benefit the Muslim community. Creation of a separate homeland for the Muslims was not the solution, rather the idea to remain united with Indian dominion was the most important idea that had been inculcated by the true nationalist leaders like Wasif Ali Mirza, Abdus Samad, Rejaul Karim, Humayan Kabir and others who believed in unity and solidarity among the two community. According to official record when incidences like the great Calcutta killings and violent riots occurred in various parts of West Bengal and India the district remained free from violent communal clashes. After partition where mass scale migration took place in various parts of West Bengal the percentage of migration was very less in number in Murshidabad. Outflow of population was comparatively nil in respect to other places of West Bengal.

In chapter five of this dissertation the researcher has tried to analyse the participation and attitude of the political leaders of the district. The leaders of the district were very much vocal in the assembly debate for securing the rights of the community and they motivated the Muslims of the district to raise their voice in securing their interest in the society. Though some of the leaders' possessed communal feelings but the leaders after 1990s stressed for development of this backward district and tried to draw state government's attention in this regard.

In chapter six of this dissertation attempt has been made to assess the level of political participation of the Muslims of Murshidabad district. Here mainly the electoral participation of the Muslims has been studied with a brief analysis of the reasons behind participation of the respondents. The researcher has studied the electoral participation of the Muslims of the district by analysing the result of panchayat election from 1978-2008 with a view to show their rate of participation in Murshidabad district. The researcher has tried to make an analysis of the nature and orientations of the Bengali Muslims towards politics through structured and semi-structured questionnaire. Attempt has been made to find out the variations in respondents opinion due to differences in respondents' educational and socio-

economic level in the two respective gram panchayats selected purposefully by the researcher.

The researcher has tried to draw a comparison between the two gram panchayat regarding nature of political participation. Though the respondents of both the gram panchayats take part in electoral politics their nature of participation is determined by the socio-economic variables. Participation varies according to respondent's socio-economic, educational, occupational status and according to the age of the respondents as is found in comparison between the two gram panchayats. In the empirical survey of the two gram panchayat Aurangabad 2 and Umrapur it is found that most of the respondents express their interest in politics, have a desire to achieve political power, cast vote, possess interest in election result, are aware of various developmental schemes of government and aware of the activities of the elected representative from their area. The variables chosen by the researcher are education, income, age, occupation and sex. As far as sex as a variable is concerned it is found that there is no association between independent and dependent variables in this research. The researcher has also tried to make an empirical analysis to seek an association between the independent and dependent variables.

In Aurangabad 2 GP there is significant association between various occupational groups like beedi workers, school teachers, student and their orientation towards politics in society. The beedi workers are more interested in politics than the respondents belonging to white collar job holders like school and college teachers, private job holders, governmental clerk and the students. The beedi workers have interest in politics because they believe participation can ensure better future or can raise their socio-economic status. In Umrapur GP there is no significant association between various occupational groups and their interest in politics. Here irrespective of profession respondents show no interest in politics. As far as income of the respondents is concerned in Aurangabad 2 GP and Umrapur GP there is significant association between income of the respondents and their interest for political power. Respondents belonging to high income group have interest in politics than respondents belong to middle and low income groups in both GPs due to variations in their educational level and level of political consciousness. In Aurangabad 2 GP respondents belonging to high income groups also possess high level of political efficacy. Participants too believe that individual citizen can play a part in bringing about change in governmental decision. The respondents of this GP share their problem with the elected representative of the area and try to exert influences on the working of the panchayat. Hence it is the educational and income level of the respondents which make the sense of political efficacy strong among the respondents. In Umrapur GP, the respondents of high or middle income groups want to achieve political power, have interest in politics but do not have the mentality to influence the governmental decisions and hence do not always take part in political discussion or attend the meetings of the gram sabha. Even the respondents belong to high and middle income groups have political interest but do not have much interest to rouse the political consciousness of the community at large. Rather it is found that respondents who belong to high income groups maintain a little distance from the general mass in this area but in Aurangabad 2 GP it is found that there is a trend of political

assimilation in the society and hence the respondents do not get politically motivated by the leaders but participate in politics according to their own perception. But due to lack of political assimilation in Umrapur GP the respondents get politically motivated by the leaders due to lack of political knowledge. Though the respondents have much interest in politics or in acquiring political power sense of political efficacy is not so strong among the respondents due to lack of political assimilation even among the people belong to high income groups. It is found that in both the GPs there is significant association between educational attainment and political awareness of the respondent. Respondents having good educational status like doctor, engineer, graduates, having masters and higher secondary education are politically conscious than people having no education or the respondents of low educational groups (primary, upper primary level). Educational status of the respondents and their political consciousness is highly related. Respondents having high educational status are also a politically conscious voter. They are aware about the problems in their area attend gram sabha meetings regularly and take part in election to choose right and responsible government. They gain political awareness from formal and informal sources like news channel and news paper, political magazines, group discussions and chatting in various social sites. Whereas in Umrapur GP lack of education makes the respondent politically inactive and unconscious in compare to the people of Aurangabad 2 GP. Hence people in Umrapur GP get politically motivated by the party leaders during election time. In this analysis it is found that in Aurangabad 2 GP there is significant association between age of the respondent and their preference for political parties. Respondents above 60 years of age have an inclination to prefer the ideology of a particular political party. Respondents between the age group 18 and 60s do not have such strong party preference and they change their choice according to the situation as they are educationally and politically conscious voters and are not motivate easily by the party leaders. In Umrapur GP there is no significant association between age of the respondent and their preference for political party due to low educational attainment and lack of political consciousness. The elected representative of the district too actively work in co-operation of the people to ensure development of the area like channelizing more funds from the state government for their area, ensures 100 days work for the GP people, bring funds to ensure development of the people like grants allotted for IAY, to built community and individual toilet in the village which proves active participation of the leaders. The leaders motivate the people to attend gram sansad meetings to express their views try to make the people politically conscious and an active voter in a democratic country.

In chapter seven the researcher tried to assess the attitude of the Muslims of the district of Murshidabad towards Indian state and secularism. In the empirical study in the two respective gram panchayats in Suti 2 block- Aurangabad 2 and Umrapur Gram Panchayat in Murshidabad district, it is found that Bengali Muslims of the district possess an integrative attitude towards Indian state. In both the GP the respondents believe that none other than the government can ensure the betterment of the community. Indian state does not discriminate among the communities. No communal feeling exists among the members of different communities and they participate in each other's festivals. The respondents prefer education for the Muslim women though they prefer Islamic dress code for them. The

respondents do not possess any hostile attitude towards state but they want reservation in governmental jobs and educational institutions for the Muslims. In some issues like Supreme Court's decision given in Babari masjid Ram mandir issue, the respondents express their disregard in the decision of the court. They want to preserve the minority status of Aligarh Muslim University, and prefer MPL (shariat) to be the guiding force for Muslims. Most of them opined that Supreme Court's decisions were not justified because temple and masjid could not be constructed in the same premise. In determining an association between the independent and dependent variables it is found that in both Aurangabad 2 and Umrapur GP there is significant association between different income groups and their preference towards early marriages in the society. Preference of early marriages is very common in both the GPs. The respondents believe that the marriage should be given at early age according to their religious dictates. Moreover the respondents opine that to avoid the chances of love marriage and in order to get good matches at early age they prefer early marriages for their children. Many parents want to reduce burden of their girl child and hence prefer early marriage in their community. So except the people of high income group, the respondents of middle and low income groups prefer early marriages in the society.

Educational consciousness is high in Aurangabad 2 GP. The respondents demand reservation for the community and want to preserve the minority status of Aligarh Muslim University (AMU). In these empirical analyses it is observed that there is significant association between educational groups and their consciousness towards AMU status and reservation for minority community whereas in Umrapur GP there is no significant association between educational groups and their consciousness regarding reservation or for AMU's minority status. Hence it may be concluded that as educational level in Aurangabad 2 GP is high; their attitude is different as education ensures daily earnings, increases job opportunity, increases employment scope. The respondents in Aurangabad 2 gram panchayat are exposed to various social and political news and writings in newspapers which shape their perceptions on several issues. Umrapur GP is very under developed, literacy rate is overall very low compared to Aurangabad 2 GP and those who have achieved high education belong to high income group. Most of the people of this area have not attended educational institutions and unaware of the socio-political changes and political events. Thus the respondents are not very conscious about the issues like reservation for minority community or regarding the 'minority' status of Aligarh Muslim University. Hence there is no significant association between education and the responses of the people towards preserving AMU minority status in Umrapur GP. As far as association between age and respondents opinion regarding Muslim Personal Law (MPL) in both the GPs are concerned it is found there is no significant association between them. In both the GPs the respondents strongly prefer shariat as their guiding force of life. There is no significant association between respondents' occupation and their views regarding the impact of religion in politics in both the GPs. The respondents in both the gram panchayat irrespective of their occupational status agree that religion do not affect their political decisions. Religion to them is the individual's personal affairs and it has nothing to do with politics. The research also strike out that there is no significant association among

respondents' occupation and their preferred identity in both the GPs. The respondents in both the GPs shows their loyalty towards Indian state by accepting their identity as Indian first and then as Muslim. In assessing the attitude of the elected representative of the district it is found that they too possess a pro-secular character and identify them as Indian citizen.

## **2. Concluding Observations**

i) The profile of Murshidabad district reveals that partition of the subcontinent, makes no difference in the district. The district with its unique cultural trend is an excellent example where the forces of unity worked to reshape the minds of the people. Politics in Murshidabad is very much influenced by the culture and political trends of the district. It is found that in various places of the district Hindu temples co-exist with the Muslim mosques within close vicinity. Instances are found even today where the 'majhar' festival is celebrated in various parts of the district and accompanied by the member of other communities which is an outstanding symbol of Hindu-Muslim unity. It may infer that the ideology of the staunch nationalist leaders like Abdus Samad, Rejaul Karim, Wasif Ali Mirza influenced the people of the district much more than the opportunist Muslim League leaders who promote only 'divide and rule', between the individuals.

ii) The concept of Indian-ness shapes the mind of the people of the district in such a way that the people of Murshidabad district reject all communal and anti-national propensities. The tradition of communal harmony which was set up by the nationalist Muslim leaders in the pre-partition days prevented the district from acute political crises. Muslims of Murshidabad district can well understand that they want freedom and all kinds of rights that the other communities of India enjoy and they truly believe that residing with Indian Union will help them to secure all kinds of rights. After partition though most of the Muslim leaders left for Pakistan from India and obviously from Murshidabad, the community did not become leaderless. Though league supporters carried out anti-communal activities but the prominent leaders like Syed Badruddoza, Khuda Baksh, Lutful Hoque guided the community in the right path. Today Murshidabad the old capital of the Bengal Nawabs still maintains its glory and communal harmony uniquely. The place is a centre of attraction as a historical place which draws a good number of tourists every year.

iii) Leaders from Murshidabad district are not communal in nature with the exception of a few and they possess developmental attitude in ensuring betterment of the community which is a parameter of secularism. The leaders play an important role in political integration of the community and curb all communal sentiments from the minds of the people of Muslim community.

iv) Political participation refers to those voluntary activities which enable members of a society to have a share in the selection of rulers and directly to have a role in the formation of public policy. In this research it is found deferential nature of political participation among the respondents. They are motivated deeply by the politicians or by the local leaders and identify them with the respective party. This is typically found in the rural areas where villagers often vote out of their loyalty to their traditional leaders. In Murshidabad district, it

is found that such a tradition of casting vote works in voting for congress party. Again while making a comparison between Umrapur GP which is badly underdeveloped and the Aurangabad GP which is comparatively better developed, it is found that as Umrapur is totally isolated from the rest part of the district, it is poverty ridden and educationally backward, people do not have any sort of political consciousness and as a result they generally support a candidate in election who can bring about some material relief and gain for them. Hence what is needed for these people is to make them politically conscious with the proper initiative of administration.

v) The Bengali Muslims socially and culturally so distinct from the non-Bengali Muslims that no concrete social and group ties develop between them. This is the reason that communal politics do not motivate the Bengali Muslims or force them to act with communal fervor towards Indian state and politics. Due to this fractured identities Muslims in the district try to obtain a secure and stable position in the domain of Indian politics.

vi) Electoral participation proves that Muslims has full faith in the working of Indian democracy that allows all minority interests to promote. To make electoral participation more workable people shall be made politically aware regarding the issues of politics. Electoral and political consciousness has to be increased within the community that itself will help the community to get fully integrated with the political process of the country.

vii) For proper integration with the state the leaders shall make the Muslim community conscious about the necessity of development of the community. It is the duty of the political leaders to make the people of the community convinced for taking part in societal affairs for better governance for the spurt of development.

viii) It is also true that there are communal forces which work to disintegrate the two communities and create a demoralizing effect on the Muslim mind, but the Muslims of the district show the courage to eliminate such forces which are detrimental to the welfare of the country. The Muslims share the true secular culture and value and prove themselves as the true Indian citizen and make adjustment with multicultural plural democratic set-up of the country.

x) There is no single well-defined Muslim culture in India. In case of Bengali speaking Muslims of Murshidabad district it may infer that the Muslims in Bengal share Bengali culture and adopt Bengali language, identify them as Bengali Muslims and shape their attitude and mind towards having faith in Indian state, secularism, working of Indian state (functioning of state) and possess faith in democratic culture of Indian society. The Muslims of Murshidabad district identify them as Indian first then as Muslim. Religious identities had fully merged in adopting secular culture where 'Indianness' became their first priority.

The constitution solemnly resolve to secure to all its citizens justice, social economic and political liberty, thought, expression belief, faith and worship that is religious safeguards, equality of status and opportunity, educational and cultural safeguards and to promote among them a feeling of fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual in order to promote unity and integrity of the nation. Indian secularism adopts a contextual model;

hence secularism essentially implies tolerance and harmony in a pluralist political system. In the present context of Murshidabad district it is found that the Muslims feel that they shall maintain complete harmony and understanding among the community members. This harmony, indivisible brotherhood, spirit of national unity and solidarity and composite culture and heritage are upheld and preserved by the Muslims of this district. Muslim community in Murshidabad district observe Islamic tenets, believe in Islamic teachings, maintain and believe in communal solidarity not for political purpose or personal ends, but for this that in order to be a true Muslim he shall possess friendly relations with his neighbor and to live in peace and amity with him. The Muslims of the district truly believe in the working of state, believe in secular constitutional setup and truly believe that by promoting to the best of their ability they can ensure welfare of the nation as a whole.