

**SECULARISM AND INDIAN POLITICS: A STUDY OF  
POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND PARTICIPATION OF  
MUSLIMS IN THE DISTRICT OF MURSHIDABAD  
(1978-2012)**

**A Thesis Submitted to the University of North Bengal**

**For the Award of**

**Doctor of Philosophy**

**In**

**Department of Political Science**

**By**

**Krishna Roy**

**Supervisor**

**Dr. Maya Ghosh**

**Professor**

**Department of Political Science**

**University of North Bengal**

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**

**UNIVERSITY OF NORTH BENGAL**

**August, 2018**

*SECULARISM AND INDIAN POLITICS: A STUDY OF  
POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND PARTICIPATION OF  
MUSLIMS IN THE DISTRICT OF MURSHIDABAD  
(1978-2012)*

---

## DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis entitled, "Secularism And Indian Politics: A Study Of Political Attitudes And Participation Of Muslims In The District Of Murshidabad (1978-2012)", has been prepared by me under the guidance of Dr. Maya Ghosh, Professor, Department of Political Science, University of North Bengal. No part of this thesis has formed the basis for the award of any degree or fellowship previously.

*Krishna Roy*  
Krishna Roy

Department of Political Science,  
University of North Bengal,  
P.O. North Bengal University,  
Raja Rammohunpur,  
District Darjeeling,  
West Bengal, India,  
PIN:- 734013

Date:- 17.08.2018



**Dr. Maya Ghosh**  
~~Associate~~ Professor (Retd)  
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE  
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH BENGAL

P.O. North Bengal University  
Dt. Darjeeling, (W.B.), Pin - 734013  
☎: (0353) 2776 349 (O)  
Cell - 9474379359  
E-mail: maya-datta@rediffmail.com

### CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that Smt. Krishna Roy has submitted her thesis entitled, "Secularism And Indian Politics: A Study Of Political Attitudes And Participation Of Muslims In The District Of Murshidabad (1978-2012)", under my supervision for the award of PhD degree as per New Ordinance of the University of North Bengal. She has carried out the work in the Department of Political Science, University of North Bengal. To the best of my knowledge, the work is original in nature.

*Maya Ghosh*

Dr. Maya Ghosh

Department of Political Science,  
University of North Bengal,  
P.O. North Bengal University,  
Raja Rammohunpur, District Darjeeling,  
West Bengal, India, Pin:- 734013

Date:- 17. 8. 2018

## Urkund Analysis Result

Analysed Document: Krishna\_Political Science.pdf (D40766536)  
Submitted: 8/8/2018 8:28:00 AM  
Submitted By: nbuplg@gmail.com  
Significance: 2 %

### Sources included in the report:

<https://www.duo.uio.no/handle/10852/50264>  
<http://oapen.org/search?identifier=341363>  
<https://www.opendemocracy.net/rajeev-bhargava/states-religious-diversity-and-crisis-of-secularism-0>  
<https://www.coursehero.com/file/p3cl21a/Like-Madan-and-Nandy-Chatterjee-finds-no-hope-of-salvaging-secularism-And-quite/>  
[https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Secularism\\_in\\_India](https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Secularism_in_India)  
<http://www.iosrjournals.org/iosr-jhss/papers/Vol.%2022%20Issue7/Version-8/B2207080509.pdf>  
<http://articleonlegalissues.blogspot.com/2012/>  
<https://fakestaff.weebly.com/blog/political-theory-by-rajeev-bhargava-pdf-to-jpg>  
<https://medium.com/@aamerjarg/state-of-indian-secularism-c89927fcc313>  
<http://jhss.org/printartical.php?artid=213>  
<https://ael.eui.eu/wp-content/uploads/sites/28/2014/05/Bhargava-03-Bhargava.pdf>  
<http://iosrjournals.org/iosr-jhss/papers/Vol.%2022%20Issue7/Version-11/G2207114953.pdf>  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Murshidabad\\_district](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Murshidabad_district)  
<http://discuss.forumias.com/uploads/editor/pb/659cxtzfw8b.pdf>  
<http://www.insightsonindia.com/2014/11/08/secularism-its-meaning-models-and-issues/>  
<https://www.ukessays.com/essays/politics/secularism-in-india-as-gandhi-and-nehru-politics-essay.php>  
<http://new.modernrationalist.com/2014/02/problems-of-secularism-in-india/>  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_Districts\\_\(Zilas\)\\_in\\_West\\_Bengal](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Districts_(Zilas)_in_West_Bengal)  
[https://ipfs.io/ipfs/QmXoyvizjW3WknFijnKLwHCnL72vedxjQkDDP1mXWo6uco/wiki/History\\_of\\_Bengal.html](https://ipfs.io/ipfs/QmXoyvizjW3WknFijnKLwHCnL72vedxjQkDDP1mXWo6uco/wiki/History_of_Bengal.html)  
[http://www.ijhssi.org/papers/v6\(6\)/Version-2/D0606021923.pdf](http://www.ijhssi.org/papers/v6(6)/Version-2/D0606021923.pdf)  
<https://www.yumpu.com/en/document/view/6321408/nmml-new-delhi-author-catalogue-page-nehru-memorial-19>  
<http://www.21global.ucsb.edu/global-e/march-2017/living-together-secularism-and-making-indian-public-sphere>  
<https://www.youthkiawaaz.com/2017/03/indias-secularism-provide-solution-triple-talaq/>  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Violence\\_against\\_Muslims\\_in\\_India](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Violence_against_Muslims_in_India)  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bengali\\_Muslim](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bengali_Muslim)

*Krishna Ray*  
17.8.2018

*Maya Ghosh*  
17.8.2018  
FORMER Professor  
Department of Political Science  
University of North Bengal

## **Abstract**

### **Title: - Secularism and Indian Politics: A Study of Political Attitudes and Participation of Muslims in the District of Murshidabad (1978-2012)**

The present research deals in studying political attitudes and participation of Muslims in the district of Murshidabad. The researcher chooses the district of Murshidabad as one of the district with majority of Muslim population. It was once the political capital of Bengal and also its commercial hub. After partition Murshidabad was expected to go to Pakistan, if the two nation theory was applied when determining its position. However, the Radcliff Award gave Murshidabad, with its Muslim majority of 56% somewhat unexpectedly for the inhabitants of the districts to India. So the Muslims of Murshidabad had to stay back and adjust their lives with the emerging new nation. Hence staying in India and adjusting their life with their Hindu compatriots or crossing the border, both the cases pointed out the intentions of the Muslim – whether the community possesses anti-national feelings or a pro-secular character. Due to lack of written sources the intentions of the ordinary people cannot be inferred. It is a serious handicap to discovering what Muslim expectations were at the time of partition.

As a section of the Muslims like Kazem Ali Mirza, Farhad Murtuza Reza Chowdhury, Imajuddin Biswas, Abdul Hamid, Shawakat Hossain all were in favour of partition and the supporters of Muslim League and demanded Pakistan, the loyalty of the Muslims as a whole was questioned. In this context the question becomes more important what is their attitude towards Indian state and secularism. Thus the research problem lies in finding the dilemma of the Muslims in the district of Murshidabad. The Muslim political leaders like Kazem Ali Mirza, Abdul Bari, Khuda Baksh, Lutfal Hoque (who was once the supporter of Muslim League), in post partition era raised their voice in Bengal Assembly in various debates is an excellent example of political participation from the district. They demanded an overall development of the district to ensure economic betterment of the district people irrespective of any community. This encouraged the researcher to study the political participation and attitudes of the Muslims in the context of Indian secularism and when successful democratic institutions can only work with the active participation of its citizens.

Here attempt has been made to study the political participation and attitude of the Bengali Muslims in Murshidabad district. Here the researcher used both theoretical and empirical method in conducting this research work. Here the two gram panchayats Aurangabad 2 and Umrapur is selected by the researcher from Suti 2 block to find out the responses of the Muslims towards political participation and their attitude towards Indian state and secularism. In the empirical analysis of the two gram panchayat Aurangabad 2 and Umrapur it is observed that political participation is high among the respondents. They cast vote because as a democratic citizen they feel that some level of political participation that delivering vote is admirable and acceptable.

Political participation gives opportunity to every citizen to express their political beliefs so that they might influence others. The Muslims cast vote because participation is not committed to any social goals but is a technique for setting goals, choosing priorities and deciding the process of the goal attainment. The Muslims voted to consolidate themselves politically and for influencing the political process directly. The participatory attitude of the Bengali Muslims of Murshidabad proved that they are well accomplished with the norms of democracy. To them participation is not a social goal but is a technique for setting goals. They believe in political participation as it is the way to express the needs and desires of the citizen to the government or as the means of receiving the benefits of the community. Through voting they want to ensure a stable and secure government in order to secure their rights in the society. Participatory acts of this district prove that the electoral system is a pillar of Indian democracy and the community's participation in the election proves that they believe in Indian democracy and they have enough confidence in the election system. Through voting they want to ensure a stable and secure government in order to secure their rights in the society. Due to the social differentiation between the Bengali and non-Bengali Muslims and an alienation from the Muslim community, the Bengali Muslims try to obtain a secure and stable position in the domain of Indian politics.

The researcher tried to access 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 but the government can ensure the betterment of the community. Indian state does not discriminate within the community people. There is no communal feeling exist within the community members and they participate in each other's festival. 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. The Muslim respondents show their faith in state administration and felt that true development was impossible unless government ensures development and welfare of the community. Muslim community in Murshidabad district follows Islamic tenets, believes in Islamic teaching, maintains communal solidarity not for political purpose or personal ends, that in order to be a true Muslim he must have friendly relations with his neighbor and live in peace and amity with him. The respondents believe that it is not Islam but a sense of discrimination which creates a sense of dis-unity within the community members. But in case of Muslims of Murshidabad, it is the feeling of insecurity, alienation from the community, sense of minority feeling which the Muslim community bears for a long time lead to integration with national culture and secular principles.

## PREFACE

In India democracy has taken root amidst a low income economy, widespread poverty, illiteracy and immense ethnic diversity. In an ethnically homogenous society Indian democracy is thus best understood by the factors as leadership strategies, the design of political institutions and the political role of diverse social groups or in short to the interaction of the state and society. Democracy has struck a delicate balance between forces of centralization and decentralization and the interests of the powerful in society have been served without fully excluding the weaker groups and the minority community. India's democracy was strengthened by crafting a federal structure that gave political power to all citizens. Federal structure was further strengthened with the creation of local self governments, distribution of power between various regions and centre, accommodation of interests of several groups like caste, class, religions, linguistic, interest of the specific region and accommodates the rights of all the major and minor groups in the society. Democracy means the rule of the people, which is inclusion of its entire citizen in the realm of governance. Today, every citizen not only casts vote to ensure their political duties towards state but shares their opinion in the process of governance. Today all its citizens irrespective of caste, sects, religion were politically conscious and aware of their rights, duties and hence through active political participation they help the government to run the democratic governance in India – that is it is a two way process. Indian secularism is conceived as the unifying principle mediating between different communities and their rights. It is not the principle of separation of church and state but religion and politics is divorced from one another where different religious communities co-exist on a basis of equality having freedom of religion and both majority and minority religious communities acted as catalytic agent in the process of separating the respective jurisdictions of religion and the state and hence develops a true secular concept of citizenship which ensures true participatory democracy. India's secular state is not a state which guarantees individual and corporate freedom of religion, deals with the individual as a citizen irrespective of his religious affiliations and neither promote or interfere with religion. Secularism in India vindicates the basic democratic rights of all religious communities to secure equality, justice and freedom of the individual.

In the theoretical background of Indian secularism and democracy we have tried to analyze the political participation and attitude of the Muslims in Murshidabad district from the period 1978-2008. We made an empirical study of Suti II Block by selecting the two gram

panchayat Umrapur and Aurangabad 2 and the sample size were 100 and 150 respectively from the two GPs. First we have study the election result from 1978-2008 and tried to analyze the participation result by comparing the total number of electorates and their voting turnout in the election. Similarly attempt has been made to assess the participatory rate of the respondents in elections by conducting empirical research and collection of both qualitative and quantitative data regarding electoral and other forms of political participation. The independent variables like respondent's income, occupational status, education and age is chosen by the researcher to find an association between independent and dependent variables in this research work. Hence the proposed study is a modest attempt to empirically explore political attitude and political participation of the Bengali Muslims of Murshidabad in order to theorize the data obtained from the empirical findings from the respondents in the district.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Any piece of research is a result of many contributive efforts. So acknowledgement of help is a sincere and genuine recognition of gratitude to those who have helped the entire process of preparation and completion of this thesis. While completing the thesis I have received enormous help, assistance and co-operation from various institutions and individuals. I shall be failing in my duty if I do not deliver my appreciation for them.

At the outset, I must express my deep sense of gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Professor Maya Ghosh for her scholarly guidance, sustained encouragement and valuable suggestions to understand the area of research both conceptually and operationally. Her immense insight, continuing and sustained guidance have been of great help for me to complete this work. I gratefully acknowledge the sincere guidance and inspiration given me by Dr Maya Ghosh at every stage in the preparation of this thesis in spite of her busy commitments.

I am also thankful to all my respective teachers past and present in the department of Political Science, University of North Bengal, who have helped me in strengthening the quality of my research work providing their resourceful suggestions.

I owe a deep sense of gratitude to my college authority for sanctioning authorized leave for this research work. I am also thankful to my colleagues who have willingly adjusted the regular schedule and co-operate with me in completion of this thesis. I thank my friends who stimulated me and encouraged me to complete the work in every step. I am also thankful to my Research Scholar Hostel mates of University of North Bengal for their assistance and kind co-operation in the completion of my thesis.

I gratefully acknowledge the help extended to me by Library Science and Informatics Department for preparing the Index for this thesis. I am also grateful to the Library staff of North Bengal University (Darjeeling), State Institute of Panchayat for Rural Development (Kalyani), Centre for Studies in Social Sciences (Calcutta), National Library (Kolkata), The Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture (Kolkata), West Bengal Secretariat Library (Home Political Department), State Archives Branch (Government of West Bengal), West Bengal Legislative Assembly Library (Kolkata), Directorate General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics Commercial Library (Kolkata), West Bengal State Election Commission (Kolkata) and Panchayat Bhavan (Salt Lake).

I am also thankful to Nizamuddin Ahmed (former member, Zilla Parishad of Murshidabad district), Dr. Abdul Kader (Prof. of Sripat Singh College), Dr. Khybar Ali Miah (Prof of Beherampore Girls College), Dr. Md. Khairul Anam (Prof. Beherampore Girls College), and Dr. Soumendra Kumar Gupta (Retired Prof. of Beherampore Krishna Nath College), who helped me a lot in assessing the attitude of the Bengali Muslims of the district and their socio-cultural conditions in the initial stage of my research.

I owe my gratitude to Dr. Rina Rani Roy (Director of State Archives), Librarian of West Bengal Legislative Assembly Mr. Pahari and Biman Bandhyopadhyay, Speaker of West Bengal Legislative Assembly for his special consideration to allow me for using the Assembly Library during the working of the House in summer session (4<sup>th</sup> June,2014).

I also thank those who took the trouble in printing and binding the whole thesis for the final completion of the work. Last but not the least this work could not have been even undertaking or complete without the sympathetic, continuous and never failing support, inspiration and encouragement provided by my uncle S.L. Roy, my father and my mom.

*Krishna Roy*  
(Krishna Roy)

Date:- 17.08.2018

# **CONTENTS**

	<b>Page No.</b>
<b>Preface</b>	<b>i-ii</b>
<b>Acknowledgement</b>	<b>iii-iv</b>
<b>List of Tables</b>	<b>xi - xiv</b>
<b>List of Figures</b>	<b>xv- xix</b>
<b>Abbreviations</b>	<b>xx- xxiv</b>
<b>CHAPTER – I .....</b>	<b>1 - 60</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	
1. Relevance of the Proposed Study	
2. Significance of the Proposed Study	
3. Statement of the Research Problem	
4. Objective of the Study	
5. Research Questions	
6. Hypothesis	
7. Theoretical Framework	
8. Review of Literature	
9. Research Gap	
10. Research Methodology	
11. Plan of the Study	
Notes and References	
<b>CHAPTER- II .....</b>	<b>61 - 103</b>

**DEMOCRACY IN INDIA**

- 1. Introduction
- 2. Nehru’s Concept of Democracy
  - 2.1. Nature of Indian Democracy
  - 2.2. Challenges to Indian Democracy in Plural Society
  - 2.3. Democracy in India: - A Concept of Multicultural Democratic Trends
- 3. Conclusion
- Notes and References

**CHAPTER –III .....104 - 164**

**DISTINCTIVENESS OF INDIAN SECULARISM**

- 1. Introduction
- 2. Secularism in the West
  - 2.1. Historical Foundation of Secularism in the Western World
  - 2.2. Distinguished Features of Western Secularism
- 3. Historical Foundation of a Secular State in India
  - 3.1. Distinguished Features of Indian Secularism
  - 3.2. Distinction between Western and Indian Concept of Secularism
- 4. Nehru’s Views on Secular State
- 5. Critics of Indian Secularism
- 6. Challenges to Indian Secularism
- 7. Nature of Indian Secularism: Adopting a Contextual Model
- 8. Conclusion

Notes and References

**CHAPTER –IV.....165 - 213**

**MURSHIDABAD DISTRICT: A BENGAL DISTRICT IN TRANSITION**

1. Introduction
2. History of the District
  - 2.1. Demography of the District
3. Participation of the People of the District in Freedom Struggle
  - 3.1. Nature of Politics in Pre-Partition Bengal in Murshidabad
  - 3.2. Anti-Communal Instances in the District
  - 3.3. Communal Activities in the District
  - 3.4. Incidence of Communal Violence in the District
4. Radcliff Award and Partition of India (Bengal) In 1947
  - 4.1. Claims and Counter Claims: The Bengal Boundary Commission
  - 4.2. Partition in Case Of Murshidabad District
5. Nature of Post Partition Communal Activities in the District
  - 5.1. The Border and Everyday Life
  - 5.2. Incidence of Communal Violence in Post-Partition Era
  - 5.3. Reasons behind Insignificant Occurrences of Communal Violence in the District
  - 5.4. Attitude of the People of the District in Post-Partition Era
6. Population Migration from the District
7. Conclusion

Notes and References

**CHAPTER –V.....214 - 262**

**ATTITUDE OF THE POLITICAL LEADERS AND THEIR PARTICIPATION  
IN POLITICS IN MURSHIDABAD DISTRICT – (1950-2008)**

1. Introduction

2. Role of Muslim Intelligentsia from the District

3. Attitude and Participation of the Influential (1950s-1980s)

Political Leaders of the District

3.1. Other Notable Political Leaders of the District

4. Attitude of the Leaders from 1990 Onwards

5. Conclusion

Notes and References

**CHAPTER –VI.....263 - 335**

**POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF THE MUSLIMS  
IN MURSHIDABAD DISTRICT; A FIELD STUDY**

1. Introduction

2. Studying the Block Profile of the District

2.1. Demography of Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat

2.2. Demography of Umrapur Gram Panchayat

3. Political Participation of Bengali Muslims (1978-2008) – An

Analysis of Panchayat Raj Election Result of Suti II Block

3.1. Reasons behind Political Participation of the Bengali Muslims in the District

4. Nature of Political Participation of the Respondents  
in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat – A Brief Empirical Analysis

4.1. Nature of Political Participation of the Respondents in  
Umrapur Gram Panchayat – A Brief Empirical Analysis

4.2. Variations in Political Participation in Aurangabad 2  
and Umrapur Gram Panchayat – A Brief Summarization

4.3. Comparative Study of Nature of Participation in  
Aurangabad 2 and Umrapur Gram Panchayat

5. An Empirical Study of Participation of the People's  
Representative of the District

6. Conclusion

Notes and References

**CHAPTER –VII..... 336 - 402**

**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  
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

**CHAPTER – VIII ..... 403 - 413**

**CONCLUSION**

1. Research Findings

2. Concluding Observations

**Bibliography..... 414 - 449**

**Appendices.....450 - 483**

**Index ..... 484 - 487**

**LIST OF TABLES**

Table No.

<b>4.1. Change of Demography in West Bengal and Murshidabad</b>	<b>197</b>
<b>4.2. Percentage of Decade Variations of Hindu Population in Murshidabad</b>	<b>200</b>
<b>4.3. Percentage of Decade Variations of Muslim Population in Murshidabad</b>	<b>201</b>
<b>6.1. Respondents Details of Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>270</b>
<b>6.2. Respondents Details of Umrapur Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>273</b>
<b>6.3. Panchayat Raj Election Result – 1978</b>	<b>274</b>
<b>6.4. Panchayat Raj Election Result – 1983</b>	<b>275</b>
<b>6.5. Panchayat Raj Election Result – 1998</b>	<b>276</b>
<b>6.6. Panchayat Raj Election Result – 1993</b>	<b>277</b>
<b>6.7. Panchayat Raj Election Result – 1998</b>	<b>278</b>
<b>6.8. Panchayat Raj Election Result – 2003</b>	<b>279</b>
<b>6.9. Panchayat Raj Election Result – 2008</b>	<b>280</b>
<b>6.10. Result of Panchayati Raj Election – Suti II Block</b>	<b>281</b>
<b>6.11. Occupation and Interest in Politics in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>306</b>
<b>6.12. Occupation and Interest in Politics in Umrapur Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>307</b>
<b>6.13. Income and Political Ambition in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>307</b>
<b>6.14. Income and Political Ambition in Umrapur Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>308</b>
<b>6.15. Education and Political Awareness in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>309</b>
<b>6.16. Education and Political Awareness in Umrapur Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>310</b>

	<b>Page No.</b>
<b>6.17. Age and Party Preference in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>311</b>
<b>6.18. Age and Party Preference in Umrapur Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>311</b>
<b>6.19. Occupation and Forms of Participation in Politics in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>312</b>
<b>6.20. Occupation and Forms of Participation in Politics in Umrapur Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>313</b>
<b>6.21. Education and Political Consciousness of Respondents in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>315</b>
<b>6.22. Education and Political Consciousness of Respondents in Umrapur Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>316</b>
<b>6.23. Income and Interest in Politics in Aurangabad 2 GP</b>	<b>318</b>
<b>6.24. Income and Interest in Politics in Umrapur GP</b>	<b>319</b>
<b>6.25. Occupation and Participation in Politics in Aurangabad 2 GP</b>	<b>320</b>
<b>6.26. Occupation and Participation in Politics in Umrapur GP</b>	<b>321</b>
<b>6.27. Age and Partisan Preference in Aurangabad 2 GP</b>	<b>322</b>
<b>6.28. Age and Partisan Preference in Aurangabad 2 GP</b>	<b>323</b>
<b>7.1. Income and Preference for Early Marriages in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>366</b>
<b>7.2. Income and Preference for Early Marriages in Umrapur Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>367</b>
<b>7.3. Education and Consciousness for AMU Status in</b>	

	<b>Page No.</b>
<b>Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>367</b>
<b>7.4. Education and Consciousness for AMU Status in Umrapur Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>368</b>
<b>7.5. Education and Demand for Reservation in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>369</b>
<b>7.6. Education and Demand for Reservation in Umrapur Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>370</b>
<b>7.7. Age and Opinion Regarding Muslim Personal Law in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>371</b>
<b>7.8. Age and Opinion Regarding Muslim Personal Law in Umrapur Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>372</b>
<b>7.9. Age and the Respondents Allegiance Towards Indian State in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>373</b>
<b>7.10. Age and the Respondents Allegiance Towards Indian State in Umrapur Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>374</b>
<b>7.11. Occupation and Influence of Religion in Politics in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>375</b>
<b>7.12. Occupation and Influence of Religion in Politics in Umrapur Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>376</b>
<b>7.13. Occupation and Preferred Identity of the Community in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>377</b>
<b>7.14. Occupation and Preferred Identity of the</b>	

	<b>Page No.</b>
<b>Community in Umrapur Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>378</b>
<b>7.15. Income and Preference for School in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>379</b>
<b>7.16. Income and Preference for School in Umrapur Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>380</b>
<b>7.17. Education and Discriminatory Attitude of State Towards People in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>381</b>
<b>7.18. Education and Discriminatory Attitude of State Towards People in Umrapur Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>382</b>
<b>7.19. Occupation and Attendance in Religious Institutions in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>383</b>
<b>7.20. Occupation and Attendance in Religious Institutions in Umrapur Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>384</b>
<b>7.21. Education and Responses Towards Communal Issues in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>385</b>
<b>7.22. Education and Responses Towards Communal Issues in Umrapur Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>386</b>
<b>7.23. Age and Attitude Towards Women's Participation in Politics in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>387</b>
<b>7.24. Age and Attitude Towards Women's Participation in Politics in Umrapur Gram Panchayat</b>	<b>388</b>

**LIST OF FIGURES**

Figure No.

<b>4.1. Variations of Hindu Population in the District of Murshidabad</b>	<b>198</b>
<b>4.2. Variations of Muslim Population in the District of Murshidabad</b>	<b>198</b>
<b>4.3. Migration Rate of Total Population in West Bengal and Murshidabad</b>	<b>201</b>
<b>4.4. Migration Rate of Hindus in the District</b>	<b>202</b>
<b>4.5. Migration Rate of Hindus in the District</b>	<b>203</b>
<b>4.6. Total Influx of Population in Murshidabad District</b>	<b>203</b>
<b>6.1. Interest in Politics of the Respondents</b>	<b>289</b>
<b>6.2. Electoral Participation of the Respondents</b>	<b>290</b>
<b>6.3. Types of Participation in Politics of the Respondents</b>	<b>290</b>
<b>6.4. Reasons Towards Political Participation Among the Respondents</b>	<b>291</b>
<b>6.5. Agencies that Increases Political Consciousness of the Respondents</b>	<b>292</b>
<b>6.6. Reasons for Lack of Participation</b>	

	<b>Page No.</b>
<b>of the Respondents</b>	<b>292</b>
<b>6.7. Preference for Party Membership</b>	
<b>of the Respondents</b>	<b>293</b>
<b>6.8. Interest in Election Result of the Respondents</b>	<b>294</b>
<b>6.9. Awareness of Rural Development</b>	
<b>Schemes Among the Respondents</b>	<b>294</b>
<b>6.10. Respondent's Opinion of Receiving</b>	
<b>the Benefits of 100 days Work</b>	<b>295</b>
<b>6.11. Respondent's Opinion of Receiving</b>	
<b>Assistance from GP Prodhan in Economic Development</b>	<b>295</b>
<b>6.12. Interest Towards Politics</b>	
<b>Among the Respondents</b>	<b>297</b>
<b>6.13. Respondents Interest in</b>	
<b>Casting Vote in Election</b>	<b>298</b>
<b>6.14. Types of Participation in</b>	
<b>Politics Among the Respondents</b>	<b>299</b>
<b>6.15. Responses of the People</b>	
<b>Towards Political Participation</b>	<b>300</b>
<b>6.16. Agencies that Increases Political</b>	
<b>Consciousness Among the Respondents</b>	<b>300</b>
<b>6.17. Reasons for Lack of Participation</b>	
<b>Among the Respondents</b>	<b>301</b>

	<b>Page No.</b>
<b>6.18. Preference for Party Membership</b>	
<b>Among the Respondents</b>	<b>302</b>
<b>6.19. Respondents Interest in Election Result</b>	<b>303</b>
<b>6.20. Respondents Awareness of</b>	
<b>Rural Developmental Schemes</b>	<b>303</b>
<b>6.21. Respondents Opinion Regarding</b>	
<b>Benefits of 100 Days Work</b>	<b>304</b>
<b>6.22. Respondents Opinion Regarding</b>	
<b>Assistance from GP Proadhan in Economic Gains</b>	<b>304</b>
<b>7.1. Attitudes of the Respondents Towards Party Leaders</b>	<b>341</b>
<b>7.2. Attitude of the Respondents Towards State</b>	<b>342</b>
<b>7.3. Respondents Opinion Regarding the</b>	
<b>Relationship in the Community</b>	<b>343</b>
<b>7.4. Opinion of the Respondents Regarding</b>	
<b>Women’s Participation in Politics</b>	<b>344</b>
<b>7.5. Respondents Allegiance Towards State</b>	<b>344</b>
<b>7.6. Attitude of the Respondents</b>	
<b>Towards Reservation</b>	<b>345</b>
<b>7.7. Attitude of the Respondents</b>	
<b>Towards AMU Status</b>	<b>346</b>
<b>7.8. Attitude of the Respondents in Supreme Court’s</b>	

	<b>Page No.</b>
<b>Decision on Babri-Masjid Issue</b>	<b>347</b>
<b>7.9. Opinion of the Respondents Regarding Communities Backwardness</b>	<b>348</b>
<b>7.10. Opinion of the Respondents Regarding Religious Belief Which Affects Politics</b>	<b>349</b>
<b>7.11. Impact of Religion on Social Life of the Respondents</b>	<b>350</b>
<b>7.12. Preference of the Respondents for MPL</b>	<b>351</b>
<b>7.13. Attitude of the Respondents Regarding State's Discrimination Towards Citizen</b>	<b>352</b>
<b>7.14. Attitudes of the Respondents Towards Party Leaders</b>	<b>354</b>
<b>7.15. Attitude of the Respondents Towards State</b>	<b>355</b>
<b>7.16. Opinion of the Respondents Regarding Hindu Muslim Relationship</b>	<b>356</b>
<b>7.17. Respondent's Preference for Women's Participation in Politics</b>	<b>356</b>
<b>7.18. Respondents Allegiance Towards State</b>	<b>357</b>
<b>7.19. Attitude of the Respondents Towards Reservation</b>	<b>358</b>

	<b>Page No.</b>
<b>7.20. Attitude of the Respondents Towards AMU Status</b>	<b>359</b>
<b>7.21. Attitude of the Respondents in Babri-Masjid Issue</b>	<b>359</b>
<b>7.22. Opinion of the Respondents Regarding Communities Backwardness</b>	<b>360</b>
<b>7.23. Opinion of the Respondents Regarding the Influence of Religion on Politics</b>	<b>361</b>
<b>7.24. Opinion of the Respondents Regarding Impact of Religion on Social Life</b>	<b>362</b>
<b>7.25. Respondents Preference for MPL</b>	<b>363</b>
<b>7.26. Respondents Attitude Towards the State</b>	<b>364</b>

## ABBREVIATIONS

ADM - Additional District Magistrate

ADMK – All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam

AFSPA - Armed Force Special Power Act

AGP – Assam Gana Parishad

AIFB – All India Forward Block

AITMC – All India Trinamul Congress

AIUDF – All India United Democratic Front

AMU – Aligarh Muslim University

APL – Above Poverty Line

BDO – Block Development Officer

BJP – Bharatiya Janata Party

BJU – Biju Janata Dal

BLC – Bengal Legislative Assembly

BLCP – Bengal Legislative Council Proceeding

BO – Block Office

BPCC – Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee

BPL – Below Poverty List

BSF – Border Security Force

BSP – Bahujan Samaj Party

CID – Crime Investigation Branch

CPI – Communist Party of India

CPI (M) – Communist Party of India (Marxist)

CPI (ML) LBR – Communist Party of India (Marxist- Leninist) Liberation

DIB – District Intelligence Branch

DIG – Deputy Inspector General of Police

DM – District Magistrate

DMK - Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam

DSP – Democratic Socialist Party

GBIB – Government of Bengal Intelligence Branch

GDP- Gross Domestic Product

GP – Gram Panchayat

HCB – Hindu Code Bill

HPL – Hindu Personal Law

IAS – Indian Administrative Service

IAY – Indira Awaas Yojana

IB – Intelligence Branch

ICDS – Integrated Child Development Schemes

INC – Indian National Congress

IND - Independent

IPS – Indian Police Service

IUML – Indian Union Muslim League

JD (U) – Janata Dal (United)

KPP – Krishak Praja Party

LA – Legislative Assembly

LC – Legislative Council

MFB – Marxist Forward Block

MGNREGS – Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme

ML – Muslim League

MLA – Members of Legislative Assembly

MLC – Members of Legislative Council

MNA – Mizo National Army

MNC – Multi-national Corporation

MNF – Mizo National Front

MP – Members of Parliament

MPL – Muslim Provincial League

MSK – Madrassa Siksh Kendra

NCP – Nationalist Congress Party

NDA – National Democratic Alliance

NGO – Non-Governmental Organization

NH – National Highway

NITI – National Institution for Transforming India

NSAP – National Social Assistance Scheme

OBC – Other Backward Caste

PDS – Party for Democratic Socialism

PIL – Public interest Litigation

PML – Progressive Muslim League

PMU – Provincial Mohammedan Union

PS – Panchayat Samiti

RJD- Rastriya Janata Dal

RLI – Rural Land Irrigation

RRP – Ram Rajya Parishad

RSP – Revolutionary Socialist Party

RSS – Rashtriya Sava Sangh

RTI – Right to Information

SC – Schedule Caste

SDO – Sub-Divisional Officer

SDPI – Socialist Democratic Party of India

SHG – Self Help Group

SIMI – Student Islamic Movement

SIO – Student Islamic Organization

SP – Samajwadi Party

SSK – Sishu Siksha Kendra

ST – Schedule Tribe

SUCI – Socialist Unity Centre of India

TMC – Trinamul Congress

UCC – Universal Civil Code

ULFA – United Liberation Front of Assam

UPA – United Progressive Alliance

VHP – Vishwa Hindu Parishad

WB - West Bengal

WBEIDC – West Bengal Electronic Industry Development Corporation

WBSP – West Bengal Socialist Party

WPI – Welfare Party of India

ZP – Zilla Parishad

# **CHAPTER - I**

## **INTRODUCTION**

- 1. Relevance of the Proposed Study**
  - 2. Significance of the Proposed Study**
  - 3. Statement of the Research Problem**
  - 4. Objective of the Study**
  - 5. Research Questions**
  - 6. Hypothesis**
  - 7. Theoretical Framework**
  - 8. Review of Literature**
  - 9. Research Gap**
  - 10. Research Methodology**
  - 11. Plan of the Study**
- Notes and References**

## **1. Relevance of the Proposed Study**

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

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

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

## **2. Significance of the Proposed Study**

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

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

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

### **3. Statement of the Research Problem**

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

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

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

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

#### **4. Objective of the Proposed Study**

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

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

## **5. Research Questions**

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

## **6. Hypothesis**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## **7. Theoretical Framework**

In India democracy has taken root amidst a low income economy, widespread poverty, illiteracy and immense ethnic diversity. India is ethnically homogenous and India would probably rank low on a number of attributes of 'civic culture'<sup>1</sup>. Civic culture is used to identify the political culture (orientation towards political system in both the political and governmental senses, expectation of fair treatment from government authorities, valuing of active participation in local governmental activities, civic cooperation and trust, to participate in politics, ability to talk freely and frequently about politics, an emotional involvement in election and tolerance towards opposition parties), that explains the stability of a democratic society. Proper combination of the various types of political culture will provide a culture that has a positive implication for the growth of democracy. Indian democracy is thus best understood by focusing not mainly on its socio-economic determinants, but on how power distribution of the society is negotiated and renegotiated. A concern with the process of power negotiation in turn, draws attention to such factors as leadership strategies, the design of political institutions and the political role of diverse social groups or in short to the interaction of the state and society<sup>2</sup>. Indian state deals with a

variety of politicized social groups – ethnic, class, caste or regional that periodically demand a greater share of resources, autonomy and self government. India's democratic record suggests that two sets of political processes have guided the management of power conflicts in that country. First a delicate balance is struck and re-struck between forces of centralization and decentralization<sup>3</sup>. And second, the interests of the powerful in society have been served without fully excluding the weaker groups.

India after independence followed the path and ideals inherited from the British Raj with some modifications though purely India's own traditional concepts of democracy prevailed in Vedic era<sup>4</sup>. The relationship of the governed and governance followed the method of the Vedic age through which diversity is transformed into unity without sacrificing the distinctiveness of different categories of men. The Rajeev Bharghav<sup>5</sup> analyses the democratic vision of a new republic that is Indian democracy is a unified concept. Democracy came to India as nationalism. The character of democracy in one significant sense just had to be liberal not only because of its commitment to civil liberties but because of its vision of equality and social justice. Indian democracy is challenged in the plural society. Various groups have pressed new and ever more diverse political demands in demonstrations that often have led to violence and challenges came from caste organization and their political parties, various linguistic groups, challenges came from the activities of new social moments, regional based parties possessing an idea of secession (separatism), religion and communal forces<sup>6</sup> too challenges the very ideals of democratic nation. A concern for liberal justice<sup>7</sup> is nowhere more evident than in constitutional provisions for affirmative action on the part of the government. To tackle the basic inequalities already existing in the Indian social structure and to make the formal political empowerment of severely disadvantaged groups more effective, the introduction of constitutionally protected preferential treatment of these groups was thought necessary.

India's democracy was strengthened by crafting a federal structure<sup>8</sup> that gave political power to Indians who speak different languages. Federal structure was further strengthened when the demands of one region or another were partially accommodated rather than flagrantly resisted; the examples of the Punjab and Kashmir provide the most dramatic instances. The creation of local governments and the accommodation of lower castes and of a variety of grassroots movements similarly point towards the deepening and strengthening of democracy. Democracy means the rule of the people, which is inclusion of its entire citizen in the realm of governance. Today, every citizen not only caste vote to ensure their

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

The historical foundation of Indian secularism, rooted in ancient Hindu dharma inculcates an idea of religious toleration and distinctiveness of building a composite culture<sup>9</sup> in Indian society. Indian secularism according to our constitutional provision purely shows un-biasness towards other religious community but state intervenes in religious issues for the progress and betterment of the community for example – removal of devdashi pratha, entry of all individual including the harijans in the temple premise. In India religion is other name of tolerance and ensures equality for all<sup>10</sup>. To avoid the challenges it tries to follow a principle of neutrality and tolerance hence tried to adopt a uniform civil code to be applicable for all religious communities.

D.E.Smith defines secularism as contextual<sup>11</sup>; it has explicit multi-value character, did not maintain strict neutrality, given importance to moral reasoning and rationality, uniquely combines some aspects of religion and respecting some aspect of religion and it is the only secularism that deals with intra-religious oppression and inter-religious domination. It is a unique combination of European tradition and India's ancient tradition. It is not the principle of separation of church and state but religion and politics is divorced from one another where different religious communities co-exist on a basis of equality having freedom of religion and both majority and minority religious communities acted as catalytic agent in the process of separating the respective jurisdictions of religion and the state and hence develops a true secular concept of citizenship which ensures true participatory democracy. India's secular state is not a state<sup>12</sup> which guarantees individual and corporate freedom of religion, deals with the individual as a citizen irrespective of his religious affiliations and neither promote or interfere with religion. Secularism in India vindicates the basic democratic rights of all religious communities to secure equality, justice and freedom of the individual. According to Panikkar<sup>13</sup> the weakness of Indian secularism is it keeps religion in play and in turn enhances religiosity, it preserves and projects religious identities and thus increases the social distance between different religious communities. Achin Vanaik<sup>14</sup> argues the Indian model of secularism is product of its specific history. In the context where the values associated with liberal democracy (mainly western which has

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

To introduce the district, it should be mentioned that it is the Muslim dominated district which proved to be an ideal example in preserving Hindu-Muslim unity<sup>15</sup> in post partition days. According to Jaya Chatterjee, partition of the country is a political surgery<sup>16</sup> and it gave permanent pain to the people of both community in India and Pakistan followed by huge influx of refugees. But in the district inflow and outflow of population is less in compare to other parts of Bengal even there is no occurrences of any significant violence in the district in compare to other places of West Bengal. Paul Brass, Ashutosh Varshney categorized the people of Murshidabad district as subaltern class<sup>17</sup> that they focused on the pattern of civil network and not vulgar in creating situations like riots. Suranjan Das, Rafiuddi Ahmed said the identity crisis<sup>18</sup> among the Bengali Muslim middle class of the district creates a trend of unity within the society with the non-Muslims and help in communal solidarity and hence there are fewer occurrences of communal riots in post partition era in the district.

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

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

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

In Bengal the Muslims remain a divided community and hence it is not a homogenous well knit and consolidated community as its leaders wished to believe. So Engineer<sup>19</sup> believes that there are attitudinal differences between the Bengali and Muslims of non-Bengali origin. When post-partition riots are prominent in several areas of Calcutta and other parts of India, communal harmony were restored in the district. Imtiaz Ahmed<sup>20</sup> argued that leadership among the Bengali Muslim community was not so strong and they did not inculcate any communal feelings within the Muslim community in Bengal. The Bengali Muslims were further tortured by Hindu zamindars, landlords, rich peasants and educated Muslims of privileged class. Hence they remain educationally backward due to their poor economic status whereas the propertied section received the benefits of good education. Due to the prolonged negligence and backwardness the Bengali Muslims develop a positive attitude towards Indian state and perceive the Indian state as their granter and protector of rights<sup>21</sup> and ensuring their development in every sphere through reservation in education and governmental jobs.

Gopal Krishna<sup>22</sup> opined that the Bengali Muslims of Murshidabad district is integrated with the process of democracy. The Muslim cast their vote for securing their rights, wants to act as a dominating force in politics or wants to determine politics. It must be opined that communal solidarity has been eroded and the Muslim community get integrated with secular politics. The electoral competition proves they have a desire to seek and acquire political power in the mainstream politics so that they would able to create an influence on democratic governance through which they could secure their good status in the society in compare to others. According to Imtiaz Ahmed<sup>23</sup> the Muslim community of

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

As our state comprise of multi-cultural class collectivities, it gives concessions to minority groups of the society to consolidate her political power in the society. The Bengali Muslim as they were alienated from their rest of the community comprising of non-Bengali Muslims did not have the self-confidence to raise their problem, their minority status, but it is their faith on the working of Indian state and democracy that state will ensure their development of the community. It is the Indian state which lend support to promote Muslims to unhesitatingly contribute to the solution of various national problems, make all out efforts to eradicate communal forces, promote goodwill and integrity among different communities and groups in India and to help the minority to come out from their minority complexity and hence the Bengali Muslims of Murshidabad district adopt national culture and integrated with secular democratic politics of the country. Our democracy ensures rights for its citizen without any discrimination. Thus Muslims cast their vote<sup>24</sup> in terms of material condition, employment and education and our state tried to remove all the disabilities. The Muslims in the district remains no doubt as a monolithic entity rather they have developed an integrative mentality towards Indian state and government. Our democracy is all inclusive and hence includes all groups within its purview; this multicultural democracy has helped to eradicate all communal and disintegrative forces and gradually helped the minority groups to accommodate within its structure. Political leaders tried to eradicate cultural separation and forged an vision of single collective unique culture within the minds of the Muslim community to the extent that the Muslims develops a integrative character and adopt plural culture of Indian society.

## **8. Review of Literature**

### **BOOKS**

## Foreign Authors

In the book 'New Patterns of Democracy in India', written by Dean Vora Micheles<sup>25</sup>, the author focuses on the cultural history of India, the ingredients of democracy, the fusion of Hindu-Muslim-Sikh-Buddhist culture, caste religious linguistic cleavages which shapes the edifice and roots of India's democracy and hence it adopts a multicultural democratic structure. The book 'The Political Thought of an Asian Democrat' written by Eugene Donald<sup>26</sup> gives an vivid account of the nature of India's secularism, western secularism and India as a secular state succeed against all odds or cleavages in a diversified society by adopting a contextual pattern. Samuel Huntington<sup>27</sup> in his book, 'Political Order in Changing Societies', focused that Indian democracy though follows western model of democracy can be identified with the Asian model, where democracy has to work in the background of poverty and illiteracy of multi racial and multi religious societies. Thus democracy honored all these diversities and adopts a multicultural model suited for India. The author Sten Widmalm,<sup>28</sup> in this book 'Democracy and Violent Separatism in India' tries to analyze the political order of third world countries with respect to the liberal democratic social order of the western countries and the changing nature of politics in third world countries. Calhoun Craig<sup>29</sup>, in his book, 'Rethinking Secularism', provide an overview of the concept of secular, secularization and secularism and the inter relationship and difference between them. Harris Sam<sup>30</sup>, in his book, 'The End of Faith', analyze the orthodox mentality of the British people and their views towards the Jews and the Muslims which later on creates the differences between 'us' and 'them'.

Eaton R.M, Eaton<sup>31</sup>, in his book, 'The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier (1204-1760)', narrates the advent and spread of Islam in India with special focus on Bengal and its culture under the Mughals, forced conversion of low caste Bengali Hindus to Muslims, and the rooting of Islam in Bengal, its adjustment with Hindu-Bengali culture throughout the period and as a result leads to cultural diffusion in Bengal and among the Bengali speaking Muslims. Cragg Kenneth<sup>32</sup>, in his book, 'The Pen and the Faith', focused on Quranic reading on the part of outstanding Islamic writers like Ali Shariati, Kamil Hussain, Maududi and others who visualize Quran not only as a holy text but as their guidance of life and to curtail the major disturbances of dogmatic confidence prevailed in Christian tradition. Lawrence Davidson<sup>33</sup>, in his book, 'Islamic Fundamentalism- An Introduction', focused on the outlook of Islamic fundamentalism which is shaped by a deep reverence for history of the Muslim people. Marshall David<sup>34</sup>, in his book 'God, Muhammad and the Unbelievers; A

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

Moududi Sayyid Abul A'la<sup>35</sup>, in his book, 'Towards Understanding Islam', tries to interpret Quran and its verses in a right way in English version so that it could be read by all and to curb all kinds of misinterpretation. Gossman Patricia. A<sup>36</sup>, in his book, 'Riots and Victims; Violence and the Construction of Communal Identity Among Bengali Muslims (1905-47)', focus on the construction of communal identity among Bengali Muslims throughout the pre-partition period in Bengal and the rise of communal tension and cases of riots and the role of civil society in fostering such communal tensions. Hardy Peter<sup>37</sup>, in his book, 'The Muslims of British India', focused that partition of India and the Muslim community has therefore been made to appear a startling development of British supremacy, the outcomes of political; errors by the INC or by the British themselves. He shows that how Islamic religious aspirations and modern Muslim social and economic anxieties with the political needs of the alien ruling power gradually fostered a separate Muslim politics.

Hunter W.W<sup>38</sup>, in his book, 'The Indian Musalmans', focused on the condition of the Muslims in pre-British era, the deteriorating condition of the Muslims and the wrongs done to the Muslim community under British rule resulting in their socio-economic and educational backwardness and their grievances in the society is depicted out in this literature. Vasta Ellie<sup>39</sup>, in her book, 'Citizenship, Community and Democracy', trace out the relationship between citizenship community and democracy and the concept of multiculturalism which shapes the mentality of each citizen in a community which later on strengthens democracy in India. Gottschalk Peter<sup>40</sup>, in his book 'Beyond Hindu and Muslim; Multiple Identities in Narratives from Village', focused that beyond the religious identity, all religious minded Indian Muslims adopt an plural culture and identity and identified them as Indian national or national identity, hence author says multiple identities merged to singular representations. Kymlicka Will<sup>41</sup>, in this book, 'Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights', focus that culturally diverse countries mostly gave rise to minorities and majorities clash over issues as language rights, regional autonomy, political representation, educational curriculum, land claims or public choice. But in India all cultural diversity merged to one multicultural concept and all citizens adopt this new culture.

## **Edited Books**

Gutmann. A<sup>42</sup>, in this book, 'Multiculturalism: Explaining the Politics on Recognition', shows how in a multicultural society government pays attention to secure the minority rights and interests to make smooth running of democracy and recognizes various kinds of culture to flourish in the society. In Rudolph and Rudolph<sup>43</sup> ed. book, 'Explaining Indian Democracy. A Fifty Year Perspective; 1956', Vol.I, the authors explore how modes of inquiry, kinds of knowledge, construction of categories and historical context shape political analysis and explanations. It also criticizes key concepts such as political culture, modernization, civil society and orientalism and applies them to questions of social change. This book gives us an explanation why and how democracy has succeeded against the odds in India. Jakobson R.Janet<sup>44</sup> ed. Book, 'Secularism', focuses on secularism its origin, its main principles and a comparison of secularism in liberal democratic country. Jeffrelot Christophe<sup>45</sup> in the book, 'Hindu Nationalism', focused on the BJP's concept of nationalism based on Hindutwa or Hindu ideology and the origin of Hindu nationalism of the nationalistic vision of Tilak and Savarkar and Hindu nationalism of BJP with a distinctive idea of Indian secularism. The authors Cohn Ronald and Russell Jesse<sup>46</sup> in their book, 'Nawabs of Bengal and Murshidabad', traced out the nawabi culture of Bengal, its demography and rule of Bengali nawabs in Murshidabad district, its trade and commerce and the district's interaction with the British merchants.

Eaton.R.M<sup>47</sup> in 'India's Islamic Tradition – 711-1750', shows the relevance of rich Islamic tradition in India's culture and cultural contradiction between Hindu and Muslim culture in medieval era and the adjustment of the Muslims with India's culture and tradition by preserving their Islamic culture. Metcalf Barbara Dally<sup>48</sup> ed. Book, 'India's Muslims', focused on the India's Muslim communities comprising almost one hundred and forty million people have significant political, cultural and religious identities in contemporary times which had been researched by many scholars.

## **Indian Authors**

Appadorai A<sup>49</sup>, in 'Democracy in India', describes the meaning of the term democracy, the source of democracy and democratic governance, the assurances of fundamental rights to the people, ensuring justice, liberty, equality, maintaining structure of decentralization of power and rigid separation of power following both western concept but assuming multicultural form or India's own structure of democratic model suitable for India's

diversified society. Bhattacharjee Sukhendu<sup>50</sup>, in ‘Thoughts on Democracy Enquiry Concerning Majority Rule Versus Individual Freedom’, focus on democracy, values of democracy and freedom its problems and concerns and how the two concepts democracy and freedom apparently incompatible and irreconcilably be met such that one can be adjusted to the other in a relation of mutual complementary is the main theme of this book. Chande M.B<sup>51</sup>, in his book ‘Betrayal of India’s Democracy’, focus on the changing face of leadership leads to the distortion of entire democratic system in all these decades which has been once framed by Nehru with a vision to ensure rights to all the citizens. Datta Prabhat<sup>52</sup>, in his book ‘India’s Democracy, New Challenges’, focus on the emerging crises of the Indian state and various insurgency in the northeast, crises in Jharkhand, Uttarakhand, the rise of regionalism in India. Jalal Ayesha<sup>53</sup>, in her work ‘Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia, A comparative and Historical Perspective’, tries to analyze the nature of democracy, state structure, nature of politics in South Asian countries and the common dilemmas the democratic polity faced in post-independent period. Kishwar Madhu Purnima<sup>54</sup>, in her work ‘Deepening Democracy; Challenges of Governance and Globalization in India’, traces out various kinds of threats towards democratic governance and the ways how Indian democracy has took deep roots in Indian soil.

Kohli Atul<sup>55</sup>, in this book ‘Democracy and Discontent; India’s Growing Crisis of Governability’, deals with India’s problems of governability where various social groups have pressed new and ever more diverse political demands in demonstrations that often have led to violence. The author provides an answer to the question why the “world’s largest democracy” has become difficult to govern. Kothari Rajini<sup>56</sup>, in this book ‘Rethinking Democracy’, talks about de-bureaucratization of democracy and to give space to the civic society and on the changing nature of the state. State presumed the role of the liberator, equalizer, and modernizer and mobilizes all the static institutions. Mahajan Gurpreet<sup>57</sup>, in his book ‘Identities and Rights; Aspects of Liberal Democracy in India’, shows that liberalism is best at dealing with individual differences. Here author focus on how liberal democracy has transformed its form from giving priority to individual autonomy to group equality by sanctioning religious freedom with state intervention and affirmative action of the state in preserving the minority rights and religious communities. Naqavi S, M<sup>58</sup>, in his work ‘Democracy in India’, focused that democracy is a concept where the rule of the people was guaranteed and their rights were secured and preserved. Democracy ensured betterment of the people and is all inclusive in nature as it believes that

true people's participation paves the path for better governance and better functioning of democracy. Puniyani Ram<sup>59</sup>, in his work 'Communal Threat to Secular Democracy', analyzed various kinds of challenges that India's democracy faced in contemporary era and seeks solution for it. Rajan Nalini<sup>60</sup>, in this work 'Democracy and the Limits of Minority Rights', showed how the cultural boundaries of a people are believed to coincide with the national boundaries of the state and the minority rights, culture at the same time were preserved where the state resembles a homogenous nation and the bearer of 'human rights', protector and guarantor of minority individual and group rights.

Roy Ramashray<sup>61</sup>, in this work 'Democracy in India: Form and Substance', defined the nature of India's democracy which is dominated by bourgeoisie in decision making process which has also made democracy an object of excessive adulation and severe condemnation and become an imaginative idea in today's context. Sharma Shalendra<sup>62</sup> in this book 'Development and Democracy in India' focused that democracy has adopted a multicultural model where all group rights were secured in order to ensure development for the citizens. Shiva Vandana<sup>63</sup>; in this work 'India Divided, Diversity and Democracy under Attack', analyzed how democracy took multicultural model in a culturally diversified Indian society for maintaining its relevance. Vanaik Achin<sup>64</sup>, in this book 'The Painful Transition; Bourgeois Democracy in India', focus on the nature of India's democracy which is authoritarian and of bourgeoisie nature on that basis, it discuss the centre-state relations and the cause of discontent regarding centralization and decentralization of power in the society. Varshney Ashutosh<sup>65</sup>, in his book 'India and the Politics of a Developing Countries', focus on various political issues in a developing country like India like communalism, regional disparities, linguistic differences, caste and religious cleavages that creates problem in the path of democratic governance.

Bharghav Rajeev<sup>66</sup>, in this book 'The Promise of India's Secular Democracy', opined that democracy is the crux of India's political structure, democracy came as nationalism and later adopt multicultural trend to adjust with diversified society. Bharucha Rustom<sup>67</sup>, in this book 'In the Name of the Secular', tries to focus on the pseudo-secular elements in secular country which try to distort India's secular structure and seeks solution to get rid out of it by adopting a contextual model of secularism in Indian society. Bhattacharya Sibesh<sup>68</sup>, in his work, 'Secular and Pluralistic Elements in the Idea of State in Early India', connotes an idea that secular and plural culture was not a new concept that were infused in Indian soil, but an expression which prevails from early times in Vedic era also. Asokan principle of Dharma

was based on unity of all religion and integrity of the country. Those ideas were transferred in post-colonial era by the founding fathers of our secularism and democratic state. Dhyani S.N<sup>69</sup>, through this book ‘Secularism, Socio-Legal Issues’, throws light on contradictions in secular principles which has been shown in Shah Bano case and secularism fails to apply UCC (universal civil code), in the country to give privileges to the minority community and hence shows the legal issues of India’s secularism. Engineer Ashgar Ali<sup>70</sup>, in his ‘Essays in Contemporary Politics of Identity, Religion and Secularism’, shows the reasons behind communal conflict in a secular country, he says that it is not religion but other socio-economic factors which lead to communal conflicts and religion can play a positive role in the society. His understanding of Islamic non-orthodox liberal ensures rights to deprived sections of the society. He further stressed on the reasons of ethnic conflicts, communal violence in a democratic state. Engineer Ashgar Ali<sup>71</sup>, in his ‘Communal Challenge and Secular Responses’; comment that the communal problem is the greatest challenge before our country by our politicians. By deepening of democracy secularism will become stronger by negotiating with sectarian, religious, linguistic and caste identities in the society. Gahrana Kanan<sup>72</sup>, in his book ‘Right to Freedom of Religion; A Study in Indian Secularism’, opines that religion is an integral part of civil societies and the present study is an attempt to examine the right to freedom of religion in India from the ideological perspective of Indian secularism and the author shows that in a multi religious country, to meet the civil needs of the state by securing right to freedom of religion, India’s secularism maintains a just balance between people’s claim of religious freedom and constitutional provisions regarding right to freedom of religion.

Ghosh S.K<sup>73</sup>, in ‘Secularism in India; The Concept and Practice’, focus on various aspects of secularism, the problem of communalism as against secularism is a long term problem which requires intense and complex struggle on the political front and the ways to curb communalism. Jain Girilal<sup>74</sup>, in ‘The Hindu Phenomenon’, shows the rise of Hindu fundamentalist forces which threatens secularism in India by portraying India as a Hindu state. Jigram Saral<sup>75</sup>, in ‘Secularism in India, A Reappraisal’, opines that the recent rise in the level of communalization of Indian polity and society challenge the very notion of citizenship and nationhood, the author contest all communalist arguments regarding India’s secularism Khothari Rajni<sup>76</sup>, in ‘Communalism in Indian Politics’, focus on the rise of communal forces and the challenges and impact to secular India. Kumar Sunil<sup>77</sup>, in ‘Communalism and Secularism in Indian Politics’, tries to show the difference between

communalism and secularism and the contradictions between the two, the rise of communal forces and seeks solution to curb communal forces. Madan .T.N<sup>78</sup>, in 'Modern Myths, Locked Minds; Secularism and Fundamentalism in India', opined that secularism and fundamentalism are presented here as modern ideologies that purvey images of the world as the only two options available to an individual. Though opposed by definition as it were, the author argues that they are also similar in significant ways such as in their concern with power and tolerance of alternatives.

Madan T.N<sup>79</sup>, in 'Images of the World; Essays on Religion, Secularism and Culture,' shows an inter-relationship between religion and secularism and culture, whereas secularism respects all religion and people of all faith and culture and never interferes in each other's cultural sphere and lastly the book describes the nature of secularism in India. Nigam Aditya<sup>80</sup>, in 'The Insurrection of Little Selves; the Crisis of Secular', said secularism leads to curtailment of self-interest and is subjected to debate since 1980s as the nationalist imaginary and the secularist discourse fashioned in the course of the national movement remained hegemonic and resulting in various movements which creates crisis in working of secularism in India. Panikkar K.N<sup>81</sup>, in 'Communal Threat, Secular Challenge', describes the cultural context of secularism, various principles of secularism; conceptualize the history and culture of communalism by focusing on Ayodhya issue and the significant relationship between secularism and communalism. Puniyani Ram<sup>82</sup>, in 'Communal Threat to Secular Democracy', shows various kinds of communal challenges to India's democracy and secularism in contemporary era. Roy. A.K<sup>83</sup>, in 'Religion and the Secular Man', shows the differences between religion and the principles of secularism and there are no contradictions between the two concepts or they are two not synonymous rather they respect and enrich each other. Saran A.K<sup>84</sup>, in 'On the Theories of Secularism and Modernization', focuses on the two contexts of secularism, western and Indian and the differences between the two, whereas India's secularism adopts a contextual model. Sen Ronojoy<sup>85</sup>, in 'Articles of Faith; Religion, Secularism and the Indian Supreme Court', opines the role of religion in society and the effect of judicial intervention on a country's polity is vitally important today. It focuses on India's Supreme Court's interpretation of the constitutional right to freedom and its influence on the discourse of secularism and nationalism. Author says that Indian state had to balance the dual task of being even handed in the religious sphere and carrying out religious reforms. Indian approach to secular governance and how the judicial process in India mediates between the state and the ideology of secularism, whether by

redefining or narrowing the meaning of religion and expanding the meaning of democratic faith. Sharma Geetesh<sup>86</sup>, in 'Wither Secularism'? focus on the relevance and importance of secularism in India and defines secularism as a renaissance movement because it is contextual in nature and based on the principle of 'sarva dharma samabhava', that is shows equal respect for all religion. Hence author says whether the western concept of secularism is withering away in Indian context. Sharma, B.N.A<sup>87</sup>, in 'Hinduism Under Seige', portrays the various kinds of communal activities which threatens the secular edifice of our country, give rise to communal clashes like Godhra riots, Babari masjid incidence, hence our country adopts pseudo-secularism that is an idea which predicts 'sarva dharma sanmabhava', to curve all pseudo- secular forces and to save the nation from communal tension. Sharma, R.C<sup>88</sup>, in 'Secular India and Communal Politics', focus on various kinds of communal politics, the nature and cause of communalism in India that led to partition of the country, and later Indo-Pak war and communal disturbances in Indian subcontinent in contemporary era. Vajpayi Ananya<sup>89</sup>, in 'Righteous Republic, The Political Foundations of Modern India', throws light on traditional concept of India's secularism based on dharma and the modern concept of secularism as predicted by Jawaharlal Nehru through his duality of ideas that is by combining traditional Indian concept with western secular ideas and adopting a contextual model of secularism suited for Indian society. Vanaik Achin<sup>90</sup>, in this work 'Communalism Contested; Religion, Modernity and Secularization', shows the contradiction between communalism and secularism and the former challenges the country's secular principles, the threat to religious ideas by modern culture and the rise of communal forces to challenge secular ideas.

Ahmed Rafiuddin<sup>91</sup>, in 'Understanding the Bengal Muslims', reflects the existing divisions between the Bengali speaking Muslims of Bengal as an ethno-linguistic category and those who, though living in Bengal have consistently refused to be identified as such that is the author differentiates between the ashrafs and the atraps category of Muslims and the respective social division within the Muslim community in Bengal which forge Bengali identity among the Muslim community. Ahmed Rafiuddin<sup>92</sup>, in 'The Bengali Muslims (1871-1906), A Quest for Identity', concentrates on the evolution of mass awareness among the Bengali Muslims of Bengal and analyses the vast puthi culture in Bengal an unusual but reliable source that reflected the minds of the rural Muslims. In tracing the origin of separatism in a key area to its social and cultural roots, the work raises doubts about the validity of any simple explanations that emphasizes either the historical conflict between

Hinduism and Islam or the doctrine of divide and rule or the central role of constitutional initiatives. Anam Mohammed Khairul<sup>93</sup>, in 'Indian Freedom Movement and Murshidabad District (1905-1947)' provides valuable contribution of the people of the district in India's struggle for freedom, shows political consciousness of the people of this district and the district's pioneering role in the country's liberation movement which showed peoples participation in freedom movement from all level. Bandhyapadhyay Sekhar<sup>94</sup>, in 'From Plassey to Partition, A History of Modern India', focus on the transition and political issues of Murshidabad district, the consolidation of political power of the British in Bengal and the consequences of battle of plassey which finally led to partition of Bengal and India. Brass Paul<sup>95</sup>, in 'The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India', focus on the reasons for communal violence after partition and the role of civil society in the outbreak of such violence. Chatterjee Jaya<sup>96</sup>, in 'The Spoils of Partition, Bengal and India'; opines that partition of India in 1947 was a seminal event of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This book is a remarkable account of socio-political and economic consequences of Bengal. This book reveals how the spoils of partition which the congress of Bengal had expected from the new boundaries were squandered over the 20 years which followed. Chatterjee Jaya<sup>97</sup>, in 'Bengal Divided, Hindu Communalism and Partition', provides a reevaluation of the events of 1946-47 focusing on the political and social processes that led to the demand for partition in a Muslim majority province Bengal and tracing the rise of Hindu communalism. In its most startling revelation, the author shows how the demand for a separate homeland for the Hindus, which was fuelled by a large and powerful section of Hindu society within Bengal, was seen as the only way to regain their influence. The picture which emerges is one of a stratified and fragmented society moving away from the mainstream of Indian nationalism and increasingly pre-occupied with narrower more parochial concerns.

Das Debasri<sup>98</sup>; in 'Murshidabad, A Study of Cultural Diversity; From Early Eighteenth to Early Twentieth Century', focuses on the district's nawabi culture and on the social and cultural diversity among the people of the district and how the community people shares the rich Bengal's culture apart from communities cultural diversity. Das Suranjan<sup>99</sup>, in 'Communal Riots in Bengal; 1905-1947', reflects that communalism in Indian politics was initially expressed in elite conflicts over education, jobs and political concessions. The author focused on the evaluation of communal politics in the subcontinent and the Bengali Muslims were among the first to be organized politically to voice their rights as Muslims. Ghosh S.K<sup>100</sup>, in 'Muslims in Indian Democracy', focuses on the formation of Muslim

identity in India and the crisis they faced in the secular country. Gupta Bishan Kumar<sup>101</sup>, in ‘Political Movements in Murshidabad (1920-1947)’, focuses on political movements in Murshidabad from 1920-47 by focusing on the role of both communal and secular forces which is operative in the district like ML and Hindu Mahashaba activists with the nationalist Muslim and Hindu leaders who tried to restore communal harmony in the district during the period. Gupta Soumindra Kumar<sup>102</sup>, in ‘Paribartaner Sandhane Murshidabader Bangali Musalman’, focus on several problems of the Bengali Muslims of Murshidabad district, the social stratification and the caste division within the community and focusing on the socio-economic condition of the district. The book focuses on the present socio-economic status, the reasons of backwardness of the Bengali Muslims with especial emphasize on their day-today problems of educational and economic backwardness. Jalal Ayesha<sup>103</sup>, in ‘Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia, A Comparative and Historical Perspective’, tries to analyse the nature of democracy, state structure, nature of politics in South Asian countries and the common dilemmas the democratic polity faced in post independent period.

Khan Mohammad Mohsin<sup>104</sup>, in ‘A Bengal District in Transition, Murshidabad (1765-1793)’, trace out the history of the district, its demography with special emphasize on its culture and economic condition and political situations in the then time and its development in British period. Latif Sk.Abdul<sup>105</sup>, in this book ‘The Muslim Mystic Movement in Bengal (1301-1550)’, opines that Religion is a part of culture, which is very difficult to place in its proper historical perspective. The precise way and the extent to which Muslim mysticism has contributed to the shaping of culture and thought in Bengal. Majumdar Prnna Chandra<sup>106</sup>, in ‘The Musnud of Murshidabad, Murshidabad’, focus on the nawabi culture of the district of Murshidanbad, its social and political condition in the then time and the era of Murshid Quli Khan his reign and administration his interaction with the British and his destiny in the hands of t6he British and the final end of rule of Bengal’s nawab. Mukhopadhyay Prasad Kali<sup>107</sup>, in ‘Partition, Bengal and After: The Great Tragedy of India’, trace out the tragic partition of Bengal in 1947 its causes and consequences and its impact on Bengal’s people and society. Rahaman Abdur<sup>108</sup>, in ‘Migrations of Muslims from Eastern Bengal and Agrarian Change in Assam, Assam’, focuses on the reasons of migrations of Muslims from Bengal to other places and in Pakistan and the huge economic degradation of the community. Roy Ashim<sup>109</sup>, in ‘The Islamic Syncretistic Tradition in Bengal’, focus on the sufi trend in Bengal the inter-mixture of culture and religious beliefs

and practices which shows the distinctiveness of Bengal. Sarkar Sumit<sup>110</sup>, in ‘The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal (1903-1908)’, focus on the swadeshi movement in Bengal and the reaction of the common people towards it. Sen Shila<sup>111</sup>, in her ‘Muslim Politics in Bengal, 1937-1947’, portrait a systematic analysis of Muslim politics in Bengal evaluate Bengali Muslim aspirations behind the Pakistan movement and also the reasons for the emergence of a demand for an independent sovereign Bengal by a section of the Bengal Muslim leadership on the eve of partition.

Varshney Ashutosh<sup>112</sup>, in ‘Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life; Hindus and Muslims in India’, opines that ethnic conflict in civic life is inevitable and the author has taken us a long way in understanding intra-Indian variations in communal violence and he had also sought out an comparison between conflict in rural and urban areas of India in post colonial era. He also focuses on the types of civil society, various organizations and activities help to contain religious conflict. Ahuwalia B.K<sup>113</sup>, in ‘Muslims and the India’s Freedom Movement’, portrays the role of Muslims in freedom movement with special reference to Murshidabad district, their nationalistic fervor and enthusiasm to free India from British Raj. Azad Maulana Abul Kalam<sup>114</sup>, in ‘India Wins Freedom’, deals with the birth of as nation and brings to life the hopes and sorrows of heroic personalities. With the passage of time its relevance to the deeper currents of Indian politics has grown rather than diminished. Karim Rejaul<sup>115</sup>, in his work ‘Prabandha Sangraha’, inculcates an idea that the leaders and the intellectuals of the district always tries to preserve communal harmony in the district and hence the Muslim develops a secular character. Khan Syed Ahmad<sup>116</sup>, in ‘The Man and his Works’, wrote an autobiography and his contribution to the Muslim society in general and his modern perceptions. Sen Jahor<sup>117</sup>, in ‘Purnamanab Rejaul Karim’, wrote about the contributions of Rejaul Karim who tried to preserve solidarity within the community members of Murshidabad. Singh Jaswant<sup>118</sup>, in ‘Jinnah: India’s Partition Independence’, portrays the character of Md. Ali Zinnah, his political mission, his nationalistic fervor, his contradictions with British government, his friendship with the British and the political reasons for partition of India.

Ahmed Ausaf<sup>119</sup>, in ‘Issues in Social and Economic Development; Indian Muslims’, focuses on the socio-economic status of Indian Muslims in compare to other communities and governmental measures to solve their problems. Ahmed Rafiuddin<sup>120</sup>, in ‘Understanding the Bengal Muslims’, reflects the existing divisions between the Bengali speaking Muslims of Bengal as an ethno-linguistic category and those who though living in

Bengal have consistently refused to be identified as such that is the author differentiates between the ashrafs and the atrap category of Muslims and the respective social division within the Muslim community in Bengal which forge 'Bengali' identity among the Muslim community. Ahmed Sufia<sup>121</sup>, in 'Muslim Community in Bengal (1884-1912)', focuses on the historical cause of educational social and economic backwardness of the Bengali Muslim community and their grievances against the British government. Focus has also been made on the construction of new Bengali identity and the adaption of Bengali language as a medium of instruction in educational institutions, adoptions of Bengali culture and Bengali translated works to study which is termed as puthi literature or translated works to educate the low status group of Bengali Muslims rather than Urdu or in Persian or in Arabic languages. Ansari Iqbal<sup>122</sup>, in 'Political Representation of Muslims in India (1952-2004)', focus on the political representation of Muslims which proves democratic governance reassures the minorities especially the Muslims to secure their rights compare to the majority community which is guaranteed under constitutional provisions. Bhattacharya Atin<sup>123</sup>, in 'The Muslims of Bengal: A Psycho-Ideological Study in the Light of Political Movement (1905-1916)', analyze the psychological and ideological action and reaction of the Muslims of Bengal from 1905-1911 regarding political movements of incidents namely 1905 Bengal partition. The book focus the on the nature of Muslim politics of Bengal from 1905-1916 in the light of its relation with the Hindus and the British government, Muslim's involvement in revolutionary movement against the British government. Brass Paul<sup>124</sup>, in 'Ethnicity and Nationalism; Theory and Comparison', focus on the causes of ethnic conflicts and the production of violence in the society through possessing a feeling of nationalism and here the author draws a comparison between several such conflicts in South Asian countries. Chakroborty Ashoke Kumar<sup>125</sup>, in 'Bengali Muslim Leterati and the Development of Muslim Community in Bengal', focused on the educational development among the Muslim community of Bengal, especially the role of educated Bengali Muslims who undertook several works of translation of Muslim religious texts in Bengali language and the political consciousness were roused among the community through these writings in easy Bengali languages.

Chatterjee Roma<sup>126</sup>, in 'Living With Violence – A Anthropology of Events and Everyday Life', analyses the physiological status of the Bengali Muslims the trauma of partition riots in post independent period and their day-to-day struggle in society. De Dhurjati Prasad<sup>127</sup>, in 'Bengal Muslims in Search of Social Identity (1905-47)', focus on the

social structure of Bengali Muslims, their cultural alienation from rest of the community the difference between the ashrafs and atrafs and the community is searching for their real identity that is the cultural exclusivism (Bengali Muslims) of Bengali Muslims and their preference for Bengali literature or translated works which have been termed as ‘puthi’ culture. Dutta Abhijit<sup>128</sup>, in ‘Muslim Society in Transition’, focus on the caste conflict n Muslim society the contradiction between ML leaders and Bengali Muslim leaders towards their attitude for the demand of separate state and partition of the sub-continent is the major theme of this book. Ghosh Jayasri<sup>129</sup>, in ‘Political Participation of Women in West Bengal – A Case Study’, shows that in all most all countries women have been given the tight to vote and to participate equally with men, but participation hampers due to inadequate education, lack of access to channels of influence and social role expectations and their socio-economic and political status. All these factors influence political participation or the other forms of political activities. Ghosh S.K<sup>130</sup>, in ‘Muslims in Indian Democracy, Calcutta’, focuses on the formation of Muslim identity in India and the crisis they faced in the secular country. Lahiri Pradip Kumar<sup>131</sup>, in ‘Bengali Muslim Thought (1818-1947); Its Liberal and Rational Trends’, focused on the different features of the Bengali society in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the differences between ashrafs and atraps among the Muslim community and the political thought of the educated Muslims expressed in Bengali literature which too forge a new identity consciousness among the Bengali Muslims. Maitra Jayanti<sup>132</sup>, in ‘Muslim Politics in Bengal – 1855-1906’, examined the nature of Muslim separatism in Bengal, a concomitant development of the confrontation of British imperialism with Indian nationalism. From the formulation of a separatist ideology to the organization of separatist politics, the Bengali Muslims played a significant part throughout the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The main foci of this work have been a growing awareness of a distinct Muslim identity and several forces which led to the gradual politicization of the Muslims of Bengal. Shah Mohammad<sup>133</sup>, in ‘In Search of an Identity, Bengali Muslims (1880-1940)’), focuses on the position of Bengali Muslims in education, jobs and local government and the political changes which took place, the reasons why the Bengali Muslims lost their faith in joint electorates. The book also focuses on the position of Bengali Muslims compare to the Hindus in the society. Shail Mayaram<sup>134</sup>, in ‘Muslims Dalits and the Fabrication of History; Subaltern Studies,’ traced out the socio-political and economic backwardness of the dalit people who were treated as subaltern and focus on the historical reasons for their backwardness.

Shakir Moin<sup>135</sup>, in, 'Communalism in India', focused on the communal tension in post partition era and the mental trauma the Muslims faced in post partition era and hence losing hope on government and faced insecurity of their life and property. Siddiqui.M.K.A<sup>136</sup>, in 'Muslims of Calcutta; A Study in Aspects of their Social Organizations', focuses on the social and political organizations and educational status of the Muslims of Calcutta and their behavioral pattern their differences with the uneducated class Muslims who reside in slum areas of Calcutta. Ahmed Aijazuddin<sup>137</sup>, in 'Muslims in India', narrates the situation of Indian Muslims after independence, their psychological state, their fear and anxiety in respect to their life and property and their grievances against government to ensure their developments in respect to the other community members to remove their minority complexity. Ahmed Makki Mukhtar<sup>138</sup>, in 'Educational Trends and Development among Muslims of India', focus on the educational backwardness of the Muslims and seeks measures to uplift socio-economic and educational status through governmental reservations and concrete governmental actions. Ansari. A. Iqbal<sup>139</sup>, in 'Muslim Situations in India', traced out a behavioral introduction of the Indian Muslims and their adjustment with secular pretext is the central theme of the book. The socio-economic political conditions were curved out and demand democratic solution from the minority problem. Engineer Asghar Ali<sup>140</sup>, in 'Indian Muslims; A Study of Minority Problems in India', focuses on the adjustment of Indian Muslims with secular democratic society, bearing the tensions of traditional thoughts and the necessity of accepting modernity. The socio-economic problems of the Muslims were traced out and various communal problems which disintegrate society and nation's integration.

Engineer Asghar Ali<sup>141</sup>, in 'Islam and Muslim in India: Problems of Identity and Existence; A Critical Reassessment', showed religious doctrines and practices undergo change when transplanted to a region other than that of its origin and hence Islam in India has undergone many changes while adjusting with India's multicultural society and hence differences occurs between Islam and Muslim. A sense of separate identity develops either religio-cultural or purely cultural and the literature also throws light on how the Muslims are integrating with mainstream Gandhi Rajmohon<sup>142</sup>, in 'Understanding the Muslim Mind', narrates about the Muslim psychology of Calcutta who called themselves as ashrafs and demand governmental reservations in educational and job to improve their economic condition but alienates themselves from atraps or poor class Muslims of the society. Gore. M.S<sup>143</sup>, in 'Unity in Diversity, The Indian Experience in Nation Building', focus on

secularism in India, India's unity in diversity and the contextual nature of secularism in India. Hasan Mushirul<sup>144</sup>, in, 'Legacy of a Divided Nation, India's Muslims since Independence' analyses India's polity and its relationship with Muslims. He deliberates on the secular platform on which to build bridges in times when positions have hardened and battle lines drawn. Hasan Qamar<sup>145</sup>, in, 'Muslims in India; Attitudes Adjustments and Reactions', says the Muslims of India are struck between extra-territorial loyalties and communal aspirations and reactions of the Muslims as a minority groups and adjustments with India's state and politics. Jalal Ayesha<sup>146</sup>, in 'Self and Sovereignty, Individual and Community in South Asian Islam since 1850', tries to show the dilemma of Muslims in South Asian countries where self-individualism of the community gets eroded through adapting plural culture in the society inculcate by the sovereign authority of the country. Madani Saeidi Mohsen<sup>147</sup>, in, 'Impact of Hindu Culture on Muslims', focus that in India though the Muslims adopt various culture of other caste so the impact of Hindu culture rituals felt a deep impact on Muslim society on their language, food and dress pattern and in other social life as predicted by the author.

Roy Anupama<sup>148</sup>, in 'Mapping Citizenship in India', opined that the multicultural plural society enframed all citizens within its democratic purview and ensuring all constitutional equality, liberty and justice for its citizens. Saberwal Satish<sup>149</sup>, in, 'Spirals of Contention; Why India was Partitioned in 1947', focus on the influence of both Hindu and Muslim fundamentalist forces on secular society and that to hamper Hindu-Muslim unity in multicultural multi-religious plural Indian society. Salamatullah<sup>150</sup>, in 'Education of Muslims in Secular India', shows that the Muslim community in secular India demand reservations in educational institutions and want to improve their economic condition through education in respect to others in the society. Saxena Vinod Kumar<sup>151</sup>, in his book, 'The Partition of Bengal (1905-1911)', throws light on causes and consequences of partition of Bengal in 1905, attitude of the Bengali Muslims of Murshidabad towards this partition, the rise of ML in 1906, its activities, demands till 1911 and its endeavor in mobilizing the Muslims all over Bengal for active participation in politics. Sheikh Rahim Mondal<sup>152</sup>, in 'Educational Status of Muslims: Problems Prospects and Priorities' focused on the main tenets of Islam and its principles were directed to follow as Muslims code of life genuinely in society. Shakir Moin<sup>153</sup>, in 'Muslims in Free India', focus on the partition trauma the tragic culmination of the communal politics, absence of a strong secular context and tracing the socio-political, cultural, educational and economic condition were the central theme of

the book and the attitude of the Muslims towards Indian state and politics. Shakir Moin<sup>154</sup>, in 'Islam in Indian Politics', shows Muslim position in India, the role of the Muslim political leaders in mobilization of the community, the outbreak of communal riots and the reasons behind it and the communal idiom which persists still today because of the wrong political manipulation is the major theme of this book. Srinivasan Nirmala<sup>155</sup>, in 'Prisoners of Faith', argued that the ideology of any religion makes the individual a blind follower of that faith and ultimately it goes against the secular principles of the country is focused by the author in this literature.

### **Edited Books**

In Basrur Rajesh. M<sup>156</sup> ed. 'Challenges to Democracy in India', the author focus on the survival of India's democracy for well over half a century is in many ways a remarkable achievement. However there are a number of serious challenges that need to meet in the years ahead. The book shows the major failings of Indian democracy and the critical issues facing India today. Chatterjee Aneek<sup>157</sup> ed. book 'Indian Parliamentary Democracy in Transition', stress that the parliamentary democracy has as its hallmark in rule of the majority, prefers decision of the majority and Nehruvian vision of Westminster style parliamentary government was preferred but it changes its form due to its non-functioning in the long run of democratic experiment it changes its ideal structure and adopts a multicultural model. Chakroborty Bidyut<sup>158</sup>, ed. Book 'Wither India's Democracy', the author tries to say that Nehruvian model of successful and smooth functioning of democratic government loses its relevance in the recent century- a phenomenon which has been characterized here as de institutionalization that is suffers from structural crisis and gradually is eroding. In Chaube, S.K<sup>159</sup> ed. Book 'Indian Democracy At the Turn of Century', the author focus on the functioning and success of India's parliamentary democracy where true people's participation through adult franchise is seen and liberal tenets were preserved like political economic social and cultural rights of the people were given priority in contrast to authoritarian presidential model.

Frankel.R.Francine<sup>160</sup> ed. Book 'Social and Political Dynamics of Democracy', focused on the profound transformations brought about by the democratic forms of governance for its better survival. The essays discuss electoral upsurges of historically marginalized groups, autonomous mobilization of lower caste and dalits, corruption in government, tendencies towards regionalization's, fragmentation of political parties, Hindu-

Muslim tensions and the increase in inter-state disparities on account of economic reforms. Ganguly Sumit<sup>161</sup> ed. Book 'The State of India's Democracy', focuses on the contradictions between democracy and ethnic conflicts in various forms in Indian political landscape. The theme also shows the reason that due to diversified society India's state is prone to ethnic conflicts. Hasan Zoya<sup>162</sup> ed. book 'Transforming India Social and Political Dynamics of Democracy', focus on the political issues and social problems that a democratic government faced and the changing nature of working of a democratic government by adapting a new model of multiculturalism. Jayal Gopal Niraja<sup>163</sup> ed. book '1995, Democracy in India; Themes in Politics', discussed about India's experiment with the democratic form is unique and the contribution over its success and failure has found expression in a wide ranging and lively debate about states capacity to govern in democratic polity. Democracy faces particularly difficult challenges in plural societies and India's rather unique experience of negotiating cultural diversity through democratic institutional mechanisms. Social movements and public action emphasize the importance of civil society for the performance of democracy.

Kohli Atul<sup>164</sup> ed. book 'India's Democracy: An Analysis of Changing State-Society Relations', analyses state-society relations in India's democracy. The issues discussed concern the changing nature of India's political institutions and the role of organized social groups in Indian politics. The central theme of this book is how have India's democratic institutions altered while accommodating new demands for political participation and while solving serious socio-economic problems. Kohli Atul<sup>165</sup> ed. book 'The Success of India's Democracy', focuses on how democracy has taken its root in India in the face of a low income economy, widespread poverty, illiteracy and immense ethnic diversity. Democracy has struck a deliberate balance between the forces of centralization and decentralization and the interest of the powerful in society have been served without fully excluding those on the margins. Mitra Sharmila Deb and Manisha M<sup>166</sup> ed. book 'Indian Democracy; Problems and Prospects', focused that 20<sup>th</sup> century has witnessed a tremendous reinforcement of the concept of democracy and it becomes an all-inclusive criteria and in the recent century of democratization process, authoritarian and military regimes have been challenged by several movements (NSM, regionalism) and hence India's democracy tries to find solution to maintain its structure and function. Vora Rajendra and Palsikar Suhas<sup>167</sup> ed. book 'Indian Democracy ; Meaning and Practices', reveals the people's assessment of democracy which shapes democratic structure, the complexity within democracy, its authoritarian nature with

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

Bhargava Rajeev<sup>168</sup> ed. book, 'Secularism and its critics', deals with the concept of secularism and answers the challenges posed to it by the recent resurgence in organized religion and religious faiths. It dwells on the need for a separation between religion and politics and grapples with the question whether modern secularism has the cultural and philosophical resources to enable people with differing faiths to live together. Engineer Ashgar Ali<sup>169</sup> ed. book 'State Secularism and Religion- West and Indian Experience', focuses on the differences and relevance between western and Indian concept of secularism, Indian secularism in theory and practice and the successful working of secularism in Indian context by combating all communal forces and lastly the criticism against India's secular model. Ghelot N.S<sup>170</sup> ed. book 'Politics of Communalism and Secularism', stress that in a multi-religious society like India, the concept of secularism has always been the most pressing need of our time hence the theme focus on the nature and meaning of secularism, its problems, Nehru's concept of secularism and the challenges of secularism and the rise of communal forces in Indian politics. Hasan Mushirul<sup>171</sup> ed. book 'Will Secular India Survive', present the theme of democratic representation with the polarization of politics on religious and caste lines and the feelings of powerlessness expose the limits of the checks on the majoritarianism that fundamental rights and cultural and linguistic rights embody and a source of disadvantage for vulnerable populations among the minorities. The theme also discuss that secular India preserves both identity and equality in the society to preserve its democratic edifice and structure. Needham Anuradha D ingwaney and Rajan Rajeswari Sunder<sup>172</sup> ed. book 'The Crisis of Secularism in India', focused on themes like historical background of secularism, the relevance and interdependence of secularism and democracy, contradictions in secularism or crisis in secularism. Padhi A.P<sup>173</sup> ed. book 'Socialism, Secularism and Democracy', discussed the themes like socialism, secularism and democracy were explained and the three terms are shown to be interdependent on each other and the smooth functioning of democratic setup depends on the interplay between the three concepts where true liberal democratic framework could work successfully and rights liberty and justice were ensured to the people.

Sankhdher.M.M<sup>174</sup>, ed. book 'Secularism in India, Dilemmas and Challenges', provides an theoretical understanding of secularism, the difference between real and pseudo

secularism, and contradictions in Nehru's concept of secularism. The author Sharma Arvind<sup>175</sup> in his ed book. 'Hinduism and Secularism', shows the contradictions between Hindutwa forces and Indian secularism in the shadow of Ayodhya, its causes and consequences, doctrine of Hindu Rashtra and identify India as Hindu Rashtra and hence author says Indian political system now presents a paradox where the state broadly remains secular, but politics has become communal. Srinivasan T.N<sup>176</sup> ed., book 'The Future of Secularism', showed how Indian secularism has adopted a peculiar stance to avoid communal tensions. Chatterjee Rakhahari<sup>177</sup> ed. book 'Religion Politics and Communalism, the South Asian Experience', focus on the relations and contradictions between religion politics and communalism which shapes the civil society and the mentality of the people in South Asian countries which later on contribute to riots and communal disturbances in the society.

Hasan Mushirul<sup>178</sup> ed. work, 'India's Partition, Process, Strategy and Mobilization', portrays on the tragic events of Bengal and its impact including the Radcliff award and its impact on Murshidabad district to several consequences of partition. Roy Atul Chandra<sup>179</sup> ed. book 'Murshidabad Affairs (1821-50)', is the collection of district records the then history, cultural tradition, demography, socio-economic condition of the district and about its trade and commerce. Hasan Mushirul<sup>180</sup> ed. work 'Islam Communities and the Nation, Muslim Identities in South Asia and Beyond', perceived the construction of identity as Bengali among the Bengali speaking Muslims, the distinction between ashrafs and atrafs in respect to their culture is focused in this literature. Imam Zafar<sup>181</sup> ed. work 'Muslims in India', focused on the advent of Muslims in India, their condition, their socio-economic and political status, their politicization by the British in pre-independence period, mobilization of the Muslim leaders against INC the attitude towards secular state in post independent era and accepting 'Indianness' as their preferred identity. Md. Noor<sup>182</sup> ed. work 'Indian Muslims – Precepts and Practices', specifically focus on the identity problems of the Muslims due to the presence of caste system within the Muslim society and a critical appraisal is drawn from it in this book by the author. Siddiqui M.M and Faraidi F.R<sup>183</sup> ed. book 'The Social Structure of Indian Muslims', predicts an idea of social structure and culture of Indian Muslims which is functionally dependent on the beliefs and practices of Islam which have been elaborately defined in Quran and Sunnah. Ahmed Imtiaz<sup>184</sup> ed. work 'Modernization and Social Change Among Muslims of India', showed the adaptation of modern culture, western education by the Bengali Muslims of Calcutta gave birth to new

middle class defined as 'Bhadrolok community', who are well educated, civilized, high status ashraf class distinguished from low caste illiterate Muslims atracts class and hence there exist a distinction within the community as the focal theme of this literature. Ansari M.T.<sup>185</sup> ed. work 'Secularism, Islam and Modernity', focus on the adjustment of the Muslims in a democratic society, adoption of secular ideas and modern principles in India and their continuous adjustment with the plural culture. Baig. M.R.G<sup>186</sup> ed. book, 'The Muslim Dilemma in India', focused on the socio-economic problems, the problems of the community in adjustment with Indian society and the major challenges they faced as a minority is focused in this book.

Banerjee Binay<sup>187</sup> ed. book 'Towards Communal Harmony', shows various instances of communal harmony in India between the two communities in various ways like social and religious harmony and the success of India's secularism rests on this communal harmony. Chakroborty Bidyut<sup>188</sup> ed. book 'Communal Identity in India; Its Construction and Articulation in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century', focus on Hindu-Muslim relations in post-independent era, long term impact of partition, the growing fear and mistrust anxiety within the community members and reordering of the identity of the individual or the community. Dasgupta Abhijit<sup>189</sup> ed. work 'Minorities and the State; Changing Social and Political Landscape of Bengal', focus on the socio-economic status of the Muslims of West Bengal, their low rate of progress and growth and the measures taken to improve their position by the governmental initiative. Engineer Asghar Ali<sup>190</sup> ed. book 'Communal Violence in Post Independent India', focus on the reasons and causes and consequences of the outbreak of communal riots like Godhra, demolition of Babari-masjid in post independent period and the challenges of India's secularism. Engineer Asghar Ali<sup>191</sup> ed. work 'Babri Masjid Ramjanambhoomi Controversy', focus on the incidence of major communal riots like the demolition of Babari masjid and Ramjanambhoomi issue, the growth of Hindu fundamentalist forces which shatters the secular image of the country is the main theme of this book.

Hasan Mushirul<sup>192</sup> ed. work 'Living Together Separately, Cultural India in History and Politics', focus on the socio-economic condition of Bengali Muslims in post-partition West Bengal 1947-67, the rise of educated Bengali Muslim middle class termed as 'Bhadrolok' community, the sharp distinction within the community between educated and non-educated poor Muslims in several areas of West Bengal. Hasan Zoya and Menon Ritu<sup>193</sup> ed. work 'Unequal Citizens: A Study of Muslim Women in India', trace on the

position of Muslim women in Indian society and their treatment in unequal ways from the others and social and religious dictates were imposed on them in their personal life which motivates a Muslim women in taking several decisions in the society. Madan. T.N<sup>194</sup> ed. work 'Muslim Communities of South Asia, Culture and Power', focused on the role of Muslim communities of South Asia in politics and the deep concerned for power of the Muslim leaders and the hostility within the community (caste problem and cultural differences). Noorani.A.G<sup>195</sup> ed. work 'The Muslims of India; A Documentary Record', focused on the contradiction between law and MPL, the case of Shah Bano, political strategy adopted by the leaders to meet minority grievances through establishment of minority committees.

## **JOURNALS**

Ahmad Imtiaz<sup>196</sup>, in his article, 'The Ashraf and Ajlaf Categories in Indo-Muslim Society', showed that Muslims in India are divided into 'ashraf' and 'ajlaf' categories which are distinguished by ethnic origin and descent. An attempt is made here to answer some of the questions related to the understanding of the existing pattern of social relations among the diverse social groups among the community in Bengal and other parts of India. Ahmed Imtiaz<sup>197</sup>, in his article, 'Indian Muslims and Electoral Politics', observes the increasing rate of electoral participation and political integration among the Muslims of India and the reasons behind it which implies that Muslims are becoming increasingly secularized politically in a secular country. Alam Anwar<sup>198</sup>, in his 'Democratization of Indian Muslims: Some Reflections', showed that the upper caste Indian Muslim leadership has historically and consciously focused on the politics of identity, centered on a few cultural-emotive issues - a process that by its very nature has stymied attempts towards democratization within the community. Alam Javeed<sup>199</sup>, in his article, 'The Contemporary Muslim Situation in India; A Long Term View', showed that though the Muslims are regarded as the 'other' of the nation, a new 'citizen politics' seems to be taking shape among Muslims in India today, articulating demands relating to jobs, income, education and so on. This new politics which is a part of the process of secularization - is radically different from the pre-independence separatist trends. Except at the surface, in the form of demands for reservations and quotas, there is nothing in common in the nature and content of Muslim politics then and now. Alam Zaveed<sup>200</sup>, in his article 'What Is Happening Inside Indian Democracy'? showed that the processes around democracy in India have detached

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

Aleaz Bonita<sup>201</sup>, in her 'Madrassa Education, State and Community Consciousness: Muslims in West Bengal', focus on how does education foster a sense of identity? This article looks at the madrassa system of education in West Bengal in an attempt to understand its role in shaping Muslim identity. Bharghav Rajeev<sup>202</sup>, in his article 'Giving Secularism Its Due', shows political secularism has little or no conception of community. It is non-communitarian. From this it does not follow that there are no secular communitarians and that to live together well we must prepare a gingerly mix of political secularism and non-secular communitarianism. Bharucha Rustom<sup>203</sup>, in this article 'The Shifting Sites of Secularism: Cultural Politics and Activism in India Today' focus on the secular struggle in India today, on several issues like pressures of communalism, multiculturalism and globalization which threatens Indian secularism.

Chatterjee Jaya<sup>204</sup>, in her 'The Fashioning of a Frontier: The Radcliff Line and Bengal's Border Landscape, (1947-1952)', focused on the partition of India is customarily described in surgical metaphors, as an operation, an amputation, a vivisection or dismemberment. Partition also complements the anthropomorphic conception of the nation that was evoked so often in Indian nationalistic discourses and here the author analyses the border demarcation according to Radcliff award and its consequences on the subcontinent. Chatterjee Partha<sup>205</sup>, in his article, 'Bengal (1920-1947), The Land Question, The Journal of Peasant Studies', traced on the economic problem of the Muslims peasants where they are economically exploited by their zamindars and hence develop a subaltern character where they do not feel anything to protest against the oppression of the landlords. In this article, 'Towards an Understanding of Communal Violence in Twentieth Century Bengal', Das Suranjan<sup>206</sup>, focus on a historical study of communal riots in Bengal during 1905-47, the author attempts to understand why and how Hindu-Muslim communal violence occurred. Dasgupta Abhijit<sup>207</sup>, in his article, 'On the Margins: Muslims in West Bengal', focused on the marginalization of dalits and backward Muslims in West Bengal has brought into the forefront which required the affirmative action of the state. Dixit Prahat<sup>208</sup>, in his work, 'Secularism and Communalism: A Comment', focused that secularism can at best be termed as 'communal secularism', and it is not communal or religious awareness which constitutes a serious threat to national life or unity, but the danger lies in the transformation of this

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

Engineer Ashgar Ali<sup>209</sup>, in his work 'Democracy and the Politics of Identity', focus that democracy provides space in which sections of society mobilize various identities to demand share in power and thus question the status quo. Engineer Ashgar Ali<sup>210</sup>, in his work, 'Islam and Muslims in India; Problems of Identity and Existence', focus on the problems of the Muslim community in India, their adjustments with the state and society and the problem of identity they faced due to the social differentiation in the community. Engineer Irfan<sup>211</sup>, in his work 'Politics of Muslim Vote Bank', brings out the strong anti-congress sentiment prevailing in the community in Bombay. Irrespective of the Ulema council's directives, the majority of the Muslims prefer for an alliance with the minority parties.

Engineer Irfan<sup>212</sup>, in his work 'Religion, State and Secularism', focuses that secularism should not mean equal encouragement to fundamentalism of all communities. To reject this version of secularism, the ruling classes whose interests it serves need to be defeated. Gil Anidjar<sup>213</sup>, in the work 'Secularism', writes that no one is free from the culture of hegemony and hence the problem of religion taken not in the confessional sense but in the secular sense of a unity of faith between a conception of the world and a corresponding norm of conduct and hence we say that it is the unity of faith of religion and not ideology or not even politics. Habib Irfan<sup>214</sup>, in his work 'Muslims in India: Some Issues for State Action', stress that in a democratic setup state should ensure that no section of its citizenry remains backward because of discrimination and the author demands state action to be implemented to remove the backwardness of the Muslim community.

Hasan Mushirul<sup>215</sup>, in his work 'In Search of Integration and Identity: Indian Muslims since Independence' shows that after 40 years of independence India's secular experiment needs to be reviewed as a pointer to other plural societies in Asia and Africa endeavoring to tackle their ethnic, regional and religious problems, and its results assessed in relation to Indian Muslims who form the largest minority segment in the country. Hasan Mushirul<sup>216</sup>, in his work 'Adjustment and Accommodation; Indian Muslims after Partition', focus on the problems of adjustments of the Indian Muslims with secular India though the community look upon suspiciously by most of the Indian nationals as they are the creator and believer of two-nation theory and hence in post independent era there arose accommodation

problems among the community with other member of majority community in India. Heller Patrick<sup>217</sup>, in his article, 'Degrees of Democracy; Some Comparative Lessons from India', showed that one of the most remarkable developments of the late 20<sup>th</sup> century has been the number of countries that have made the transition from authoritarian to democratic rule. Khalidi Omar<sup>218</sup>, in his work, 'Muslims in Indian Political Process; Group Goals and Alternative Strategies', mention that to be represented to the state, minorities in India have three political choices:- they can join one of the parties sympathetic to minorities or secular in orientation, they can work through a non-partisan pressure group that would ensure the election of the sympathetic individuals regardless of any party affiliation, or they can form their own political party and try to extract benefits by holding the balance of power in a coalition government and Indian Muslims have tried all three approaches.

Krishna Gopal<sup>219</sup>, in his work 'Electoral Participation and Political Integration', shows how voting patterns of minority communities on the one hand and castes on the other have affected a considerable process of integration and secularization. Although they had started with an emphasis on caste and communal appeals, electoral politics have generally eroded the solidarity of sectarian groups. Kumar Sanjay<sup>220</sup>, in his 'Muslims in Electoral Politics', wrote that Muslims have generally been regarded as a vote for the congress and have tended to vote en bloc. On the basis of a micro-level study of five constituencies in Madhya Pradesh during the 1993 assembly elections, this paper argues that the Muslim community is no longer an electoral monolith and there are differences in the voting behavior of its members in terms of socio-economic status, educational attainments, occupational structure and mobility patterns. Lijphart Arend<sup>221</sup>, in 'The Puzzle of Indian Democracy: A Consociational Interpretation', wrote India has been the one major deviant case for being consociational (power sharing). A deeply divided society with, supposedly a mainly majoritarian type of democracy, India nevertheless has been able to maintain its democratic system. From the late 1960s on, although India has remained basically consociational, some of its power sharing elements has weakened under the pressure of greater mass mobilization. Therefore, India is not a deviant case for consociational theory but instead an impressive conforming case of being a true democratic state.

Metcalf. D. Barbara<sup>222</sup>, in the work 'Too Little and Too Much: Reflections on Muslim in the History of India', focus that there exist social distinction between the ahsrafs and the atraps class of Muslims, the socio-economic backwardness of the community and educational backwardness and the reasons behind it in compare to the Hindus of the society

and hence remains marginalized section according to the author. Mohanty Monoranjan<sup>223</sup>, in this work 'Secularism: Hegemonic and Democratic', wrote that the fight for secularism in India has to be oriented against the hegemony of the state and the ruling forces. Politics of the hegemonic secularism has caused increasing alienation among identity groups and the oppressed and has given rise to authoritarianism in various forms. Only when secularism is a part of the overall process of democratic transformation only when it is a part of the movement against social domination can it maintain its essential character. Narain Iqbal<sup>224</sup>, in this work, 'Cultural Pluralism, National Integration and Democracy in India', showed that societies characterized by cultural pluralism have a built-in tendency for conflicts but are not necessarily prone to dis-integration from the society. Noronha Ernesto<sup>225</sup>, in this work 'BJP: Cow as a Political Symbol', shows that though cow as a political symbol lacks the potential to consolidate the Hindu voters, the BJP may continue to use it to enliven the attenuated Ram Janmabhoomi symbol. Pantham Thomas<sup>226</sup>, in this article 'Indian Secularism and its Critics' point out that secularism defined as the separation of politics or the state from religion is an intolerable, alien modernist imposition on the Indian society. This according to the author is the misreading of the Indian constitutional vision, which enjoins the state to steer clear of both theocracy or fundamentalism and the 'wall of separation', model of secularism. Regarding the dichotomy which the critics draw between Nehruvian secularism and Gandhian religiosity, the author suggests that what is distinctive to Indian secularism is the complementation or articulation between the democratic state and the politics of satya and ahimsa whereby the relative autonomy of religion and politics from each other can be used for the moral-political reconstruction of both religious traditions and the modern state. Parekh Bhikhu<sup>227</sup>, in his work 'Nehru and the National Philosophy of India', shows that every state needed a 'national philosophy' to sustain it, give it coherence and to direct it, Nehru devoted attention to the elaboration of a unifying national philosophy. For him 'modernization', was India's national philosophy and involved seven national goals – national unity, parliamentary democracy, industrialization, socialism, scientific temper, secularism and non-alignment. This paper comments on this philosophy and examines how he sought to obtain its public acceptance.

Puri Balraj<sup>228</sup>, in his work 'Indian Muslims Since Partition', showed that demolition of the Babri masjid and its aftermath have aroused genuine sympathy for the Muslims in a sizeable sections of enlightened Hindus who have accepted the challenge of the extremists in their community. What the Indian Muslims need, however, is not sympathy but

understanding based on a sociological study of their differentiated and plural society. Puri Balraj<sup>229</sup>, in his work ‘Autonomy and Participation: Dimensions of Indian Muslim identity’, deals with the role of Muslims in India, with the problems of their identity and autonomy as also the interconnection of their interest and that of the nation of which they form a vital part. India is a sort of multi federation, a federation of regions, cultures, communities, castes, classes, ideologies and so on – superimposed as well as cutting across one another. In such a complex polity Muslims must belong to a multiplicity of identities at vertical and horizontal levels, exclusive as well as in partnership with others, in order to maintain their identity and play an effective and constructive role, in peace with other communities of India, as also to satisfy their own multiple urges. Rowena Robinson<sup>230</sup>, in this work ‘Religion Socio-Economic Backwardness and Discrimination: The Caste of Indian Muslims’ showed the three crucial dimensions of social exclusion of Muslims are backwardness, marginalization and discrimination. More troublesome is the relationship between ethnic violence and socio-economic achievements. That a very high share of Muslim workers are engaged in self-employment activities, particularly in urban areas – street vending, small trades and related enterprises – ensures that the community is far more exposed to disruptions and damages by urban conflict and violence. The fragility of Muslim participation in the economy and the low level of asset accumulation further intensify their vulnerability to displacements caused by situations of continual communal strife argues the paper.

Roy Himanshu<sup>231</sup>, in his work ‘Western Secularism and Colonial Legacy in India’ showed that in the west, secularism emerged as a protest movement of the oppressed against a theocratic state for individual freedom. With the expansion of capitalism and trade, it was largely the bourgeoisie and merchant capitalists who championed secularism, though minorities continued to live in a segregated that was ostensibly based on liberal political ideas derived from the west. In post-independent India, secularism means an idea that all religions shall be treated equally and state may intervene in religious matter to secure liberty and justice to its citizen. Ruparelia Sanjay<sup>232</sup>, in this work ‘How the Politics of Recognition Enabled India’s Democratic Exceptionalism’, explores a significant puzzle: the persistence of modern representative democracy in post-independent India. It demonstrates how a politics of recognition based on identities of caste, language and religion is crucial for understanding the origins, character and trajectory of modern Indian democracy. These politics suffer various infirmities. The relative historical predominance of the politics of

recognition in post independent India, in contrast reflects its capacity to engage powerful social imaginaries that enabled the realization of democratic norms, institutions and practices. Sarkar Sumit<sup>233</sup>, in his work ‘The Bomb and Aspects of Nationalism’, explores what might lie behind the term hindutva used by the Sangh Paribar and BJP and the ambiguities in the term secularism and democracy and nationalism used by these political parties lead to the problematic aspects of nationalism.

Shah Ganasham<sup>234</sup>, in this article ‘The Condition of Muslims in India’, analyzes the Sachar Committee report from its perspective of equity which focused on the poor economic condition of the Muslims. Shahabuddin Syed<sup>235</sup>, in his work ‘Indian Muslims; Quest for Identity and Security’, analyses the contemporary Muslim Politics of India Muslim quest for identity and security their relative backwardness, demographic situation, social pattern and interaction with the secular experiment which has been increasingly distorted by the resurgence of communalism. Here the question of Muslim identity and security related issues are focused by the author in this article. Shakir Moin<sup>236</sup>, in this article ‘Electoral Participation of Minorities and Indian Political System’, showed that the minorities has contributed significantly to electoral participation, and their organization to some extent depends upon the leadership given to the community and here the author focus on the fact that the Muslims are organized on the basis of economic issues. Varshney Ashutosh<sup>237</sup>, in his work ‘India’s Democratic Challenge’, shows that India is attempting a transformation and has successfully managed liberalizing the economy within an established democratic order. Hence by accommodating plural elements of politics through negotiation with cultural, caste, religious, linguistic differences it tries to meet the challenges of democracy. Mohanty Monoranjan<sup>238</sup>, in his article “Secularism: Hegemonic and Democratic”, wrote that the fight for secularism in India has to be oriented against the hegemony of the state and the ruling forces. Politics of the hegemonic secularism has caused increasing alienation among identity groups and the oppressed and has given rise to authoritarianism in various forms. Only when secularism is a part of the overall process of democratic transformation only when it is a part of the movement against social domination can it maintain its essential character.

## **9. Research Gap**

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

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

## **10. Research Methodology**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **c) Locale of the Proposed Study**

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

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

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

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

#### **d) Method of Data Collection**

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

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

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

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

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

#### **e) Selection of the Sample**

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

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

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

#### **f) Methods Used in Sample Selection**

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

#### **g) Data Processing**

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

## **h) Time Taken**

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

## **i) Difficulties Encountered**

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

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

#### **j) Validation Problem**

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

#### **k) Time Frame**

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

#### **l) Limitations of the Study**

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

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

## **11. Plan of the Study**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Notes and References

1. Khothari Rajni, 'The Crisis of the Moderate State and the Decline of Democracy', in Jayal Niraja Gopal ed. (2007 Reprint, 2010), Democracy in India, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publication p.122
  2. Kohli Atul, 'State-Society Relations in India's Changing Democracy', in Kohli Atul ed. (2001), India's Democracy: An Analysis of Changing State-Society Relations, Hyderabad, Orient Longman Publication, pp.305-309
  3. Manor James, 'Parties and Party System', in Jayal Niraja Gopal ed. (2007 Reprint, 2010), Democracy in India, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publication, pp.62-69
  4. Kothari Smitu, 'Social Movement Politics in India; Institutions, Interests and Identities', in Kohli Atul ed. (2008, reprint, 2011), The Success of India's Democracy, New Delhi, Cambridge University Press Publications, pp.242-244
  5. It is not important to claim however that the leaders of the national movement, a part of the self could be abstracted from the substantive commitment flowing from one's tradition and custom from family to community. In short, a domain existed where a person could be legitimately viewed simply as an individual rather than a member of this or that particular community. Significantly, in this domain a person's unequal status within a particular community also had no relevance. The process of individualization went hand-in-hand with the process of equalization. Once this idea of political equality – equality in the public domain – grew in importance, universal adult franchise was only a small step away.
- Bhargav Rajeev, (2010), The Promise of India's Secular Democracy, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, pp.29
6. Hasan Zoya, 'Indian Democracy and Social Inequalities', in Basrur Rajesh. M ed. (2009), Challenges to Democracy in India, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp.132-140
  7. Kaviraj Sudipto, 'Democracy and Social Inequality', in Hasan Zoya ed. (2000), Transforming India, Social and Political Dynamics of Democracy, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, pp.89-111
  8. Datta Prabhat, (1997), India's Democracy, New Challenges, New Delhi, Kanishka Pub. pp.2-7
  9. Dasgupta Swapan, 'Secularism and Hindu Nationalism', in Sankhdher .M.M, ed. (1992), Secularism in India, Dilemmas and Challenges, New Delhi, Deep and Deep Publications, pp.204-212
  10. Ghelot N.S, 'Indian Secularism: Muth and Reality', in Ghelot N.S ed. (1993), Politics of Communalism and Secularism, New Delhi, Deep and Deep Publications, pp.88-96
  11. Bhargava Prabha, 'Secularism: A Most Used and Abused Term', in Ghelot N.S ed. (1993), Politics of Communalism and Secularism, New Delhi, Deep and Deep Publications, pp.125-131
  12. Donald Eugene Smith, (1967), India as a Secular State, Princeton, USA, University of Pennsylvania Publication, pp.495-501
  13. Vanaik Achin, (1997), Communalism Contested; Religion, Modernity and Secularization, New Delhi, Vistaar Publication, pp.152-154

14. Bhargava Rajeev, 'What is Secularism For?' in Bhargava Rajeev ed. (1998), *Secularism and its critics*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publications, pp.536-542
15. Taylor defines culture "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society".
- Das Debasri; (2008), *Murshidabad, A Study of Cultural Diversity; From Early Eighteenth to Early Twentieth Century*, Kolkata, Arpita Prakashani, pp.2-5
16. Chatterjee Jaya, (1995), *The Spoils of Partition, Bengal and India; 1947-1967*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press Publication, pp.215-218
17. Varshney Ashutosh, (2002), *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life; Hindus and Muslims in India*, Yale, Yale University Press Publication, pp.22-26
18. Das Suranjan, (1991), *Communal Riots in Bengal; 1905-1947*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publications, pp.28-30
19. Engineer Asghar Ali, (1985), *Indian Muslims; A Study of Minority Problems in India*, New Delhi, Ajanta Pub. pp.138
20. Ahmed Imtiaz, (1967) *Indian Muslims and Electoral Politics*, EPW, Vol.2, No. 10, March, 11th, pp.521-23
21. Ansari. A. Iqbal, (1990), *Muslim Situations in India*, New Delhi, Sterling Pub. Pvt. Ltd, p.50
22. Krishna Gopal, (1967), *Electoral Participation and Political Integration*, EPW, Vol.2, No.3/5, Annual Number , February, pp.179-181
23. Ahmed Imtiaz, (1967), *Indian Muslims and Electoral Politics*, EPW, Vol.2, No. 10 March, 11th, pp.521-23
24. Mahajan Gurpreet, (1998), *Identities and Rights: Aspects of Liberal Democracy in India*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, pp.35-36
25. Dean Vora Micheles, (2005), *New Patterns of Democracy in India*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press
26. Eugene Donald, (1958), *The Political Thought of an Asian Democrat*, Calcutta, Orient Longman Publication
27. Huntington Samuel, (1968), *Political Order in Changing Societies*, New Haven, Yale University Press Pub.
28. Sten Widmalm, (1997), *Democracy and Violent Separatism in India*, Sweden, Uppasala University Publications
29. Calhoun Craig, (2011), *Rethinking Secularism*, USA, Oxford Press publications
30. Harris Sam, (2004), *The End of Faith*, New York, Library of Congress Cataloging - in - Publication Data
31. Eaton R.M, (1994), *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier (1204-1760)*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publication
32. Cragg Kenneth, (1988), *The Pen and the Faith*, Delhi, George Allen and Unwin Pub. Ltd.

33. Lawrence Davidson, (2003), *Islamic Fundamentalism- An Introduction*, USA, Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication Data.
34. Marshall David, (1999), *God, Muhammad and the Unbelievers; A Quranic Study*, Great Britain, British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
35. Moududi Sayyid Abul A'la, (2012), *Towards Understanding Islam*, New Delhi, Markazi Maktaba Islami Pub.
36. Gossman Patricia.A, (1999), *Riots and Victims; Violence and the Construction of Communal Identity Among Bengali Muslims (1905-47)*, USA, West View Press Pub.
37. Hardy Peter, (1972), *The Muslims of British India*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press
38. Hunter W.W, (1964), *The Indian Musalmans*, Lahore, Premier Book House Publication
39. Vasta Ellie, (2000), *Citizenship, Community and Democracy*, New York, Macmillan Press Pub. Ltd.
40. Gottschalk Peter, (2001), *Beyond Hindu and Muslim; Multiple Identities in Narratives from Village India*, New Delhi, Oxford Press Pub.
41. Kymlicka Will, (1996), Reprint: (2002), *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*, New York, Clarendon Press Pub.
42. A and Gutmann ed. (1994), *Multiculturalism: Explaining the Politics on Recognition*, Princeton, Princeton University Press
43. Rudolph and Rudolph ed. (2008), *Explaining Indian Democracy. A Fifty Year Perspective; 1956-2006, Vol.I*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press
44. Jakobson R.Janet ed. (2008), *Secularism*, USA, Duke University Press Publications
45. Jeffrelot Christophe ed. (2007), *Hindu Nationalism*, New Delhi, Orient Longman Publication
46. Cohn Ronald, Russell Jesse ed. (2013), *Nawabs of Bengal and Murshidabad*, United States of America, Miami Publications
47. Eaton.R.M ed. (2003), *India's Islamic Tradition – 711-1750*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publication
48. Metcalf Barbara Dally ed. (2007), *India's Muslims*, Delhi, Oxford University Press Publication
49. Appadorai A, (1944), *Democracy in India*, New York, Oxford University Press
50. Bhattacharjee Sukhendu, (2010) *Thoughts on Democracy Enquiry Concerning Majority Rule Versus Individual Freedom*, Kolkata, Firma KLM Pub. Pvt. Ltd
51. Chande M.B, (1999), *Betrayal of India's Democracy*, New Delhi, Atlantic Publications and Distributers
52. Datta Prabhat, (1997), *India's Democracy, New Challenges*, New Delhi, Kanishka Pub.
53. Jalal Ayesha, (1995), *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia, A comparative and Historical Perspective*, New Delhi, Cambridge University Press
54. Kishwar Madhu Purnima, (2005), *Deepening Democracy; Challenges of Governance and Globalization in India*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press

55. Kohli Atul, (1990), Democracy and Discontent; India's Growing Crisis of Governability, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press Pub. Part IV
56. Kothari Rajini, (2005), Rethinking Democracy, New Delhi, Orient Longman Pub.
57. Mahajan Gurpreet, (2001), Identities and Rights; Aspects of Liberal Democracy in India, New Delhi, Oxford University Press
58. Naqavi S,M, (1967), Democracy in India, Calcutta. Cosmopolitan Publication
59. Puniyani Ram, (2010), Communal Threat to Secular Democracy, Delhi, Kalpaz Pub.
60. Rajan Nalini, (2002), Democracy and the Limits of Minority Rights, New Delhi, Sage Publications
61. Roy Ramashray, (2005), Democracy in India: Form and Substance, Delhi, Shipra Publication
62. Sharma Shalendra.D, (1999), Development and Democracy in India, London, Lynne Rienner Publications.
63. Shiva Vandana; (2005), India Divided, Diversity and Democracy under Attack, New York, Steven Stories Press Pub
64. Vanaik Achin, (1990), The Painful Transition; Bourgeois Democracy in India, London, Verso Publication
65. Varshney Ashutosh, (1995), India and the Politics of a Developing Countries, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press
66. Bharghav Rajeev, (2010), The Promise of India's Secular Democracy, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publications
67. Bharucha Rustom, (2001), In the Name of the Secular, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Pub.
68. Bhattacharya Sibesh, (2002), Secular and Pluralistic Elements in the Idea of State in Early India, Shimla, Indian Institute of Advanced Study Pub.
69. Dhyani S.N, (1996), Secularism, Socio-Legal Issues, Jaipur and New Delhi, Rawat Publication
70. Engineer Ashgar Ali, (1999), Essays in Contemporary Politics of Identity, Religion and Secularism, New Delhi, Ajanta Publications
71. Engineer Ashgar Ali, (2003), Communal Challenge and Secular Responses, New Delhi, Shipra publications
72. Gahrana Kanan, (1991), Right to Freedom of Religion; A Study in Indian Secularism, New Delhi, South Asian Publication Private Ltd.
73. Ghosh S.K, (2000), Secularism in India; The Concept and Practice, New Delhi, A.P.H. Pub. Corporation
74. Jain Girilal, (1994), The Hindu Phenomenon, New Delhi, UBS Publications
75. Jingram Saral, (1995), Secularism in India, A Reappraisal, New Delhi, Har Anand Publications
76. Khothari Rajni, (1998), Communalism in Indian Politics, Delhi, Rainbow Publications Ltd.

77. Kumar Sunil, (2001), *Communalism and Secularism in Indian Politics*, New Delhi and Jaipur, Rawat Publications
78. Madan .T.N, (1997), *Modern Myths, Locked Minds; Secularism and Fundamentalism in India*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Pub.
79. Madan T.N, (2007), *Images of the World; Essays on Religion, Secularism and Culture*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Pub.
80. Nigam Aditya, (2006), *The Insurrection of Little Selves; the Crisis of Secular*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press
81. Panikkar K.N, (1996), *Communal Threat, Secular Challenge*, New Delhi, Centre for Historical Studies Publications; Jawaharlal Nehru University
82. Puniyani Ram, (2010), *Communal Threat to Secular Democracy*, Delhi, Kalpez Pub.
83. Roy. A.K, (1996), *Religion and the Secular Man*, Allahabad and New Delhi, Wheeler Publishing Co. Ltd Publications
84. Saran A.K, (2007), *On the Theories of Secularism and Modernization*, Varanasi, Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies Pub.Sarnath
85. Sen Ronojoy, (2010), *Articles of Faith; Religion, Secularism and the Indian Supreme Court*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press
86. Sharma Geetesh, (2006), *Wither Secularism? Kolkata*, Dialogue Society Publication
87. Sharma, B.N.A, (2006), *Hinduism Under Seige*, New Delhi, Manas Pub.
88. Sharma, R.C, (1999), *Secular India and Communal Politics*, Jaipur, Book Enclave Publication
89. Vajpayi Ananya, (2012), *Righteous Republic, The Political Foundations of Modern India*, USA, Library of Congress Cataloging in-Publication Data
90. Vanaik Achin, (1997), *Communalism Contested; Religion, Modernity and Secularization*, New Delhi, Vistaar Publication
91. Ahmed Rafiuddin, (1987), Reprint (2001), *Understanding the Bengal Muslims*, New Delhi, Cambridge University Press Publication
92. Ahmed Rafiuddin, (1981), *The Bengali Muslims (1871-1906), A Quest for Identity*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press
93. Anam Mohammed Khairul, (2008), *Indian Freedom Movement and Murshidabad District (1905-1947)*, Kolkata, K.P.Bagchi and Company Pub.
94. Bandhyapadhyay Sekhar, (2006), *From Plassey to Partition, A History of Modern India*, Delhi, Orient Longman
95. Brass Paul, (2003), *The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India*, Washington, University of Washington Press Pub.
96. Chatterjee Jaya, (1995), *The Spoils of Partition, Bengal and India; 1947-1967*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press Publication

97. Chatterjee Jaya,(1996), Bengal Divided, Hindu Communalism and Partition, New Delhi, Cambridge University Press, Reprinted, 2002
98. Das Debasri; (2008), Murshidabad, A Study of Cultural Diversity; From Early Eighteenth to Early Twentieth Century, Kolkata, Arpita Prakashani
99. Das Suranjan, (1991), Communal Riots in Bengal ;1905-1947, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publications
100. Ghosh S.K, (1984), Muslims in Indian Democracy, New Delhi, Ashish Publication House Pub.
101. Gupta Bishan Kumar, (1992), Political Movements in Murshidabad (1920-1947), Calcutta, Manisha Granthalaya Publications Ltd.
102. Gupta Soumindra Kumar, (2013), Paribartaner Sandhane Murshidabader Bangali Musalman, Kolkata, Udar Akash Publications
103. Jalal Ayesha, (1995), Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia, A Comparative and Historical Perspective, New Delhi, Cambridge University Press
104. Khan Mohammad Mohsin, (1973), A Bengal District in Transition, Murshidabad (1765-1793), Dhaka, The Asiatic Society of Bangladesh Pub.
105. Latif Sk.Abdul, (1993), The Muslim Mystic Movement in Bengal (1301-1550), Aligarh Muslim University, New Delhi, K.P.Bagchi and Company Pub.
106. Majumdar Prnna Chandra, (1905), The Musnud of Murshidabad, Murshidabad, Saroda Publications
107. Mukhopadhyay Prasad Kali, (2007), Partition, Bengal and After: The Great Tragedy of India, New Delhi, and Reference Press Publication
108. Rahaman Abdur, (2004), Migrations of Muslims from Eastern Bengal and Agrarian Change in Assam, Assam, Oriental Book Publication
109. Roy Ashim, (1983), The Islamic Syncretistic Tradition in Bengal, Chicago, Princeton Publication
110. Sarkar Sumit, (1977), The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal (1903-1908), New Delhi, Peoples Publishing House
111. Sen Shila, (1976), Muslim Politics in Bengal, 1937-1947, New Delhi, Implex India Publication Ltd.
112. Varshney Ashutosh, (2002), Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life; Hindus and Muslims in India, Yale, Yale University Press Publication
113. Ahuwalia B.K, (1985), Muslims and the India's Freedom Movement, New Delhi, Heritage Publication
114. Azad Maulana Abul Kalam, (1978), India Wins Freedom, New Delhi, Sangam Books Publication
115. Karim Rejaul, (2012), Prabandha Sangraha, Kolkata, Bangla Academy Publication
116. Khan Syed Ahmad, (2001),The Man and his Works, New Delhi, Om Publication.
117. Sen Jahor, (2003), Purnamanab Rejaul Karim, West Bengal, Prabha Prakasani

118. Singh Jaswant, (2009), Jinnah: India's Partition Independence, New Delhi, Rupa and Company Publishing Corporation
119. Ahmed Ausaf, (1993), Issues in Social and Economic Development; Indian Muslims, New Delhi, Khama Publications
120. Ahmed Rafiuddin, (2001), Understanding the Bengal Muslims, New Delhi, Oxford University Press
121. Ahmed Sufia, (1974), Muslim Community in Bengal (1884-1912), Bangladesh, Oxford University Press Pub.
122. Ansari Iqbal, (2006), Political Representation of Muslims in India (1952-2004), New Delhi, Manak Pub. Private Ltd.
123. Bhattacharya Atin, (2007), The Muslims of Bengal: A Psycho-Ideological Study in the Light of Political Movement (1905-1916), Kolkata, The Hallmark Pub.
124. Brass Paul, (1991), Ethnicity and Nationalism; Theory and Comparison, New Delhi, Sage Pub.
125. Chakroborty Ashoke Kumar, (2002), Bengali Muslim Leterati and the Development of Muslim Community in Bengal, Shimla, India Institute of Advanced Study Pub.
126. Chatterjee Roma, (2007), Living With Violence – A Anthropology of Events and Everyday Life, New Delhi, Rutledge Pub.
127. De Dhurjati Prasad, (1998), Bengal Muslims in Search of Social Identity (1905-47), Dhaka, The Dhaka University Press Publication Limited
128. Dutta Abhijit, (1987), Muslim Society in Transition, Calcutta, Minerva Pub.
129. Ghosh Jayasri, (2000), Political Participation of Women in West Bengal – A Case Study, Kolkata, Progressive Publisher
130. Ghosh S.K, (1984), Muslims in Indian Democracy, Calcutta, Ashish Pub. House, Law Research Institute
131. Lahiri Pradip Kumar, (1991), Bengali Muslim Thought (1818-1947); Its Liberal and Rational Trends, Calcutta, K.P.Bagchi and Company Pub.
132. Maitra Jayanti, (1984), Muslim Politics in Bengal – 1855-1906, Calcutta, K.P.Bagchi and Company Publication
133. Shah Mohammad, (1990), The Growth of Muslim Politics in India, New Delhi, Ashish Publishing House.
134. Shail Mayaram, (2005), Muslims Dalits and the Fabrication of History; Subaltern Studies, New Delhi, Permanent Black Publications
135. Shakir Moin, (1985), Communalism in India, Delhi, Ajanta Pub.
136. Siddiqui.M.K.A, (1974), Muslims of Calcutta; A Study in Aspects of their Social Organizations, Calcutta, Government of India Pub.
137. Ahmed Aijazuddin, (1993), Muslims in India, New Delhi, Inter India Pub.
138. Ahmed Makki Mukhtar, (2010), Educational Trends and Development among Muslims of India, New Delhi, Shipra Pub.

139. Ansari. A. Iqbal, (1990), Muslim Situations in India, New Delhi, Sterling Pub. Pvt. Ltd
140. Engineer Asghar Ali, (1985), Indian Muslims; A Study of Minority Problems in India, New Delhi, Ajanta Pub.
141. Engineer Asghar Ali, (1985), Reprint: (2004), Islam and Muslim in India: Problems of Identity and Existence: A Critical Reassessment, Jaipur, Printwell Pub.
142. Gandhi Rajmohon, (1986), Understanding the Muslim Mind, Calcutta, Penguin Books Pub.
143. Gore. M.S, (2002), Unity in Diversity, The Indian Experience in Nation Building, New Delhi and Jaipur, Rawat Pub.
144. Hasan Mushirul, (1997), Legacy of a Divided Nation, India's Muslims since Independence, New Delhi, Oxford Pub.
145. Hasan Qamar, (1987), Muslims in India; Attitudes Adjustments and Reactions, New Delhi, Northern Books Pub. Ltd.
146. Jalal Ayesha, (2000), Self and Sovereignty, Individual and Community in South Asian Islam since 1850, New York, Rutledge Publications
147. Madani Saeidi Mohsen, (1993), Impact of Hindu Culture on Muslims, New Delhi, M.D. Pub. Pvt. Ltd
148. Roy Anupama, (2010), Mapping Citizenship in India, New Delhi, Oxford Press Pub.
149. Saberwal Satish, (2008), Spirals of Contention; Why India was Partitioned in 1947, New Delhi, Routledge Publications
150. Salamatullah, (1994), Education of Muslims in Secular India, New Delhi, Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development Pub.
151. Saxena Vinod Kumar, (1987), The Partition of Bengal (1905-1911), Delhi, Kanishka Publishing House
152. Seikh Rahim Mondal, (1997), Educational Status of Muslims: Problems Prospects and Priorities, New Delhi, Inter India Pub.
153. Shakir Moin, (1972), Muslims in Free India, New Delhi, Kalamkar Prakasani Pub. Pvt. Ltd.
154. Shakir Moin, (1983), Islam in Indian Politics, Delhi, Ajanta Pub.
155. Srinivasan Nirmala, (1989), Prisoners of Faith, New Delhi Sage Pub.
156. Basrur Rajesh. M ed. (2009), Challenges to Democracy in India, Oxford, Oxford University Press
157. Chatterjee Aneek ed. (2005), Indian Parliamentary Democracy in Transition, Kolkata, Presidency College Pub. Department of Political Science
158. Chakroborty Bidyut, ed. (1995), Wither India's Democracy, New Delhi, K.P Bagchi and Company
159. Chaube, S.K ed. (1999), Indian Democracy At the Turn of Century, New Delhi, Kaniska Publication
160. Frankel.R.Francine ed. (2006), Social and Political Dynamics of Democracy, New Delhi, Oxford India Publications

161. Ganguly Sumit ed. (2009), *The State of India's Democracy*, New Delhi, Oxford Publications
162. Hasan Zoya ed, (1999), *Transforming India Social and Political Dynamics of Democracy*, Delhi, Oxford University Press
163. Jayal Gopal Niraja ed. (1995), *Democracy in India; Themes in Politics*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press
164. Kohli Atul ed. (2001), *India's Democracy: An Analysis of Changing State-Society Relations*, Hyderabad, Orient Longman Publication
165. Kohli Atul ed. (2001), *The Success of India's Democracy*, Cambridge University Press
166. Mitra Sharmila Deb and Manisha M ed. (2009), *Indian Democracy; Problems and Prospects*, New Delhi, Anthem Press
167. Vora Rajendra and Palsikar Suhas ed. (2004), *Indian Democracy ; Meaning and Practices*, New Delhi, Sage Publications
168. Bhargava Rajeev ed. (1998), *Secularism and its critics*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publications
169. Engineer Ashgar Ali ed. (1998), *State Secularism and Religion- West and Indian Experience*, New Delhi, Ajanta Publication
170. Ghelot N.S ed. (1993), *Politics of Communalism and Secularism*, New Delhi, Deep and Deep Publications
171. Hasan Mushirul ed. (2004), *Will Secular India Survive*, New Delhi, Imprint One Publication
172. Needham Anuradha Dingwaney and Rajan Rajeswari Sunder ed. (2007), *The Crisis of Secularism in India*, New Delhi, Permanent Black Publications
173. Padhi A.P ed. (1984), *Socialism, Secularism and Democracy*, Delhi, New Literature Pub.
174. Sankhdher .M.M, ed. (1992), *Secularism in India, Dilemmas and Challenges*, New Delhi, Deep and Deep Publications
175. Sharma Arvind ed. (2001), *Hinduism and Secularism*, Great Britain, Palgrave Pub.
176. Srinivasan T.N ed., (2007) *The Future of Secularism*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publication
177. Chatterjee Rakhahari ed.(1994), *Religion Politics and Communalism, the South Asian Experience*, New Delhi, South Asian Publication Private Limited
178. Hasan Mushirul ed. (2001), *India's Partition, Process, Strategy and Mobilisation*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, Reprint,2008
179. Roy Atul Chandra ed. (1995), *Murshidabad Affairs (1821-50)*, Records from the Berhampore Collector ate, Calcutta, K.P.Bagchi and Company Pub.
180. Hasan Mushirul ed. (1998), *Islam Communities and the Nation, Muslim Identities in South Asia and Beyond*, New Delhi, Manohar Publications
181. Imam Zafar ed. (1975), *Muslims in India*, New Delhi, Orient Longman Publications

182. Md. Noor ed. (1999), Indian Muslims – Precepts and Practices, New Delhi, Rawat Pub.
183. Siddiqui M.M and Faraidi F.R ed. (1992), The Social Structure of Indian Muslims, New Delhi, Institute of Objective Studies Pub.
184. Ahmed Imtiaz ed. (1983), Modernization and Social Change Among Muslims of India, New Delhi, Manohar Pub.
185. Ansari M.T. ed. (2001), Secularism, Islam and Modernity, New Delhi, Sage Publications
186. Baig.M.R.G ed. (1974), The Muslim Dilemma in India, New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.
187. Banerjee Binay ed. (1994), Towards Communal Harmony, Calcutta, Germinal Publications
188. Chakroborty Bidyut ed. (2003), Communal Identity in India; Its Construction and Articulation in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Pub.
189. Dasgupta Abhijit ed. (2011), Minorities and the State; Changing Social and Political Landscape of Bengal, New Delhi, Sage Pub.
190. Engineer Asghar Ali ed. (1984), Communal Violence in Post Independent India, New Delhi, Sangam Books Pub.
191. Engineer Asghar Ali ed. (1990), Babri Masjid Ramjanambhoomi Controversy, New Delhi, Ajanta Pub.
192. Hasan Mushirul ed. (1992), Islam and “Indian Nationalism; Reflex ions on Abul Kalam Azad, New Delhi, Manohar Publications
193. Hasan Zoya and Memon Ritu ed. (2004), Reprint: (2011), Unequal Citizens: A Study of Muslim Women in India, New Delhi, Oxford India Publications
194. Madan. T.N ed. (2001), Muslim Communities of South Asia, Culture and Power, New Delhi, Institute of Economic Growth Pub.
195. Noorani.A.G ed. (2003), The Muslims of India; A Documentary Record, Oxford, Oxford University Press Pub.
196. Ahmad Imtiaz, (1967), The Ashraf and Ajlaf Categories in Indo-Muslim Society, EPW, Vol.2, No.19 , (May 13th )
197. Ahmed Imtiaz, (1998) India and the Muslim World, EPW, Vol.40, No.9 (February 26<sup>th</sup>- 4<sup>th</sup> March)
198. Alam Anwar, (2003), Democratization of Indian Muslims: Some Reflections, EPW, Vol.38, No.46 (November 15<sup>th</sup> -21<sup>st</sup>)
199. Alam Javeed, (2008), The Contemporary Muslim Situation in India; A Long Term View, EPW, Vol. 43, No.2 (January 12<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup>)
200. Alam Zaveed, (1999), What Is Happening Inside Indian Democracy? In EPW, vol 34, No.37 (September-11th-17th September)
201. Aleaz Bonita, (2005), Madrassa Education, State and Community Consciousness: Muslims in West Bengal, EPW, Vol. 40, No.6 (Feb. 5<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup>)
202. Bharghav Rajeev, (1994), “Giving Secularism Its Due”, EPW, Vol.29, No.28 (9<sup>th</sup> July)

203. Bharucha Rustom, (1998), "The Shifting Sites of Secularism: Cultural Politics and Activism in India Today", EPW, Vol.33, No.4 (January-24<sup>th</sup>-30<sup>th</sup>)
204. Chatterjee Jaya,(1999), "The Fashioning of a Frontier: The Radcliff Line and Bengal's Border Landscape, (1947-1952), Modern Asian Studies, Vol.33, No.1 (February)
205. Chatterjee Partha, (1984), Bengal (1920-1947), The Land Question, The Journal of Peasant Studies, Vol. II, No.4, (July)
206. Das Suranjan, (1998), Towards an Understanding of Communal Violence in Twentieth Century Bengal, EPW, Vol,23, No.35 (August 27)
207. Dasgupta Abhijit, (2009), On the Margins: Muslims in West Bengal, EPW, Vol.44, No.16 (April 18<sup>th</sup>-24<sup>th</sup>)
208. Dixit Prahat, (1969), "Secularism and Communalism": A Comment", EPW, Vol.4, No.44 (1<sup>st</sup> November)
209. Engineer Ashgar Ali, (1998), Democracy and the Politics of Identity, EPW, vol.33, no.13 (March 26th-April 3rd)
210. Engineer Ashgar Ali, (2004), Islam and Muslims in India; Problems of Identity and Existence, *Oriente Moderno*, Nuova Serie, Anno, 23 (84),( No. 1)
211. Engineer Irfan, (1995), Politics of Muslim Vote Bank, EPW, Vol.30, No.4 (January,28<sup>th</sup>)
212. Engineer Irfan, (1995), "Religion, State and Secularism", EPW, Vol.30, No.43 (October 28<sup>th</sup> )
213. Gil Anidjar, (2006), "Secularism", *Critical Inquiry Journal*, Vol.33, No.1 (Autumn)
214. Habib Irfan, (2006), Muslims in India: Some Issues for State Action, *Social Scientist*, Vol.34, No.3/4 (March-April)
215. Hasan Mushirul, (1998), " In Search of Integration and Identity: Indian Muslims since Independence", EPW, Vol.23, No.45/47, Special Number (November)
216. Hasan Mushirul, (1990), Adjustment and Accommodation; Indian Muslims after Partition, *Social Scientist*, Vol.18, No. 8/9 (August-September)
217. Heller Patrick, (1993), Degrees of Democracy; Some Comparative Lessons from India, *World Politics* Khalidi Omar, Muslims in Indian Political Process; Group Goals and Alternative Strategies, EPW, Vol.28, No.1/2 (January 2<sup>nd</sup> -9<sup>th</sup>)
218. Khalidi Omar, (1993), Muslims in Indian Political Process; Group Goals and Alternative Strategies, EPW, Vol.28, No.1/2 (January 2<sup>nd</sup> -9<sup>th</sup>)
219. Krishna Gopal, (1967), Electoral Participation and Political Integration, EPW, Vol.2, No.3/5, Annual Number (February)
220. Kumar Sanjay, (1996), Muslims in Electoral Politics, EPW, Vol.31, No.2/3 (January 13<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup>)
221. Lijphart Arend, (1996), The Puzzle of Indian Democracy: A Consociational Interpretation, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 90, No.2 (June)
222. Metcalf. D. Barbara, (1995), Too Little and Too Much: Reflections on Muslim in the History of India, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol.54, No.4 (November)

223. Mohanty Monoranjan, (1996), Democracy Limited, EPW, vol.31, no.13 (March 30th)
224. Narain Iqbal, (1976), Cultural Pluralism, National Integration and Democracy in India, Asian Survey, Vol.16, No.10 (October)
225. Noronha Ernesto, (1994), “ BJP: Cow as a Political Symbol”, EPW, Vol.29, No.24 (June 11th)
226. Pantham Thomas, (1997), “Indian Secularism and its Critics” Some Reflections, Journal, The Review of Politics, Vol.59, No.3 (Summer)
227. Parekh Bhikhu, (1991), Nehru and the National Philosophy of India, EPW, Vol.26, No.1/2 (January 5<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup>)
228. Puri Balraj, (1993), Indian Muslims Since Partition, EPW, Vol.28, No.40 (October 2<sup>nd</sup>)
229. Puri Balraj, (1978), Autonomy and Participation: Dimensions of Indian Muslim identity, EPW, Vol. 13, No. 40 (October,7<sup>th</sup>)
230. Rowena Robinson, (2008), Religion Socio-Economic Backwardness and Discrimination: The Caste of Indian Muslims, Indian Journal of Industrial Relation, Vol.44, No.2 (October)
231. Roy Himanshu, (2006), Western Secularism and Colonial Legacy in India, EPW, Vopl.41, No.2 (January 14-20)
232. Ruparelia Sanjay, (2008), How the Politics of Recognition Enabled India’s Democratic Exceptionalism, in International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society, (vol.21, no.1/4,Secular Imaginaries)
233. Sarkar Sumit, (1998), “The Bomb and Aspects of Nationalism”, EPW, Vol.33, No.27 (July 4<sup>th</sup>-10th)
234. Shah Ganasham, (2007), The Condition of Muslims in India, EPW, Vol.42, No.10 (March 10<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup>)
235. Shahabuddin Syed, (1983), Indian Muslims; Quest for Identity and Security, EPW, Vol. 18, No.29 (July 16<sup>th</sup>)
236. Shakir Moin, (1980), Electoral Participation of Minorities and Indian Political System, EPW, Vol.15, No. 5/7 (Autumn Issue, February, )
237. Varshney Ashutosh, (2007), India’s Democratic Challenge, Foreign Affairs, Vol.86, No.2 (March-April)
238. Mohanty Monoranjan,(1989), “Secularism: Hegemonic and Democratic”, EPW, Vol.24, No.22 (3<sup>rd</sup> June)

# **CHAPTER - II**

## **DEMOCRACY IN INDIA**

### **1. Introduction**

### **2. Nehru's Concept of Democracy**

#### **2.1. Nature of Indian Democracy**

#### **2.2. Challenges to Indian Democracy in Plural Society**

#### **2.3. Democracy in India: - A Concept of**

#### **Multicultural Democratic Trends**

### **3. Conclusion**

### **Notes and References**

## 1. Introduction

Nehruvian state is seen in terms of establishment of a viable structure of a relatively autonomous and democratic nation state at the core of the society. The constitution of India seeks to lay the foundations of a democratic republic embodying the ideals of constitutionalism as they have evolved in the western political traditions. It declares the ideals of secularism, of social justice, of political equality and embodies an impressive list of fundamental rights. State assumed responsibility to direct economic development, established a constitutional regime, and accumulated wide range of powers. It abolished untouchability, established places of higher education and tried to modernize the society. Indian state focused on the welfare role<sup>1</sup> of the state to ensure social, cultural, political and economic justice to its citizen to strengthen democracy. Democracy<sup>2</sup> may be described as a system of government under which the people exercises the governing power, either directly or indirectly through representatives of the people periodically elected. According to Sumit Sarkar<sup>3</sup> democracy in India owes its beginning not to the 'democratic sense', of the English man, or of the English educated Indian but for the stern necessity, as the Indian Council Act of 1861<sup>4</sup> which for the first time recognized the rights of the Indian people to representation in their legislative bodies. The Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 increased the size of all the Legislative Councils, gave legal recognition to the elective principle, provided for non-official majorities and extended the powers of the councils by giving them power to move and vote on resolutions on all matters of general public importance including the budget. The act of 1919 introduced several 'democratic' features in the constitution like criticizing governmental activities and remodeling of public administrative system. The Act of 1935 was the last important milestone in the progress of democracy in India. It transferred all department of provincial government to administration by responsible ministers; proposed to introduce diarchy at the center which meant that subject to the special responsibilities of the Governor-General, ministers would be in charge of administration of all subjects.

The concept of democracy and democratic institutions were by no means alien to India. Republican forms of government, presence of elected representatives of people in local self institutions existed in many parts of ancient India. Democratic thinking and practices permeated in different aspects of the life of the people of India right from the Vedic age<sup>5</sup>. It may say that much later after the decline of the Vedic age, the Greek city-state or Greek democracy came into existence. The ancient rulers observed the symbolic

representation of the cosmic 'yajna' (sacrifice) among different classes in order to develop mutual dependence, co-operation and harmony among each other. Thus Yajna symbolizes the process through which the diversity is transformed into unity without sacrificing the distinctiveness of different categories of men. The social order in India was inspired by the idea of Vedic 'Yajna', that sustained 'unity in diversity', on the basis of sharing a common culture grounded in 'Samanachittata'<sup>6</sup>, (like-mindedness) and promoted the value of interdependence, co-operation and harmony. The early Indian political scholar like Kautilya had excellently portrayed the political attitude of ancient India in his work 'Arthashastra'. The social order based on Varna system provided the functional basis to the political decision making which had to observe the principles of dharma. Manusmriti, Buddhist and Pali literature and Jain treatises confirm the picture of widespread republicanism. The concept of the Gramsabha and welfare state was prevalent in Shanti parva of Mahabharat and in Bhagawat Gita<sup>7</sup>. Even in Kautilya's Arthashastra it is mentioned regarding the concept of welfare state, that king ought to derive his happiness from the happiness of the people, their own wellbeing from their contributions to the wellbeing of the people. Kautilya laid down the rules of administration for merchants, oppressed people, peasants and artisans and every individual of the society. The whole idea of democratic state in Vedic era was that king would work for the good of all without making any distinctions. Kohli argues<sup>8</sup> that a close studies of ancient Indian texts is required to understand the roots of democracy in India. Gandhi, the father of the nation developed his ideology and concepts of democracy on Indian tradition by recognizing the spiritual energies generated through empowerment of the people<sup>9</sup> (by creating self-sufficient village unit) as the main force behind human activity. Similarly in Aurobindo's concept of spiritualism<sup>10</sup> a clear picture of ancient Indian ideology is predictable. The aim of life is the pursuit of perfection at all levels and it can be achieved through the path of dharma and every individual should achieve 'svabhava' and a svadharma of its own through which he would be able to adjust with society. Later on Swami Vivekananda, Rabindranath Tagore, Aurobindo Ghosh developed their concepts of democracy based on Indian tradition.

In the late eighteenth century, Benjamin Franklin announced democracy as the rising of a new sun. As a governing power, democracy<sup>11</sup> has overthrown the feudal system and vanquished mighty kings. Tocqueville in 1835 defined democracy as a governing power in the world's affairs, a power which he recognized as a universal and irresistible force. Territorially, the democratic idea appeared some two and a half millennium ago on the soils

of Athens, disappeared for a while to reappear again in Western Europe some three hundred years ago. Democracy<sup>12</sup> indicates a particular political regime and Tocqueville defines it as a notion of equality. Greek society<sup>13</sup> came to signify as a democratic city-state, a community of equal men that is demos (people) and kratos (rule) absorbed in larger political units and enjoining the power of ruling or participating in political activity of the city-states. Athenian<sup>14</sup> (Greek) democracy was direct participation of people but gradually the notion of democracy has changed from direct to representative, a shift from religion oriented to secular mode of governance. Later on, the western scholars like Locke, Rousseau, Montesquieu, Bentham; Mill have reshaped the notion of democracy.

## **2. Nehru's Concept of Democracy**

To Nehru<sup>15</sup>, democracy does not merely mean periodical exercise of franchise rather it determines the relationship between the citizens and the state and among citizens themselves. According to him, democracy was an extension of the democratic principle to the economic domain. Nehru stood for progress, for modernization and for the onward march of India towards a just and egalitarian order<sup>16</sup>. To ensure political equality, Nehru argued that it was obvious to achieve economic prosperity, and people should have equality of opportunity and they should be able to go as they can go. Nehruvian democracy opt the model of unique democratic traits which is distinct from other South Asian countries. The Asian countries have to work in the background of poverty and illiteracy, of multi-racial societies and of communities following many religions. But there are several problems<sup>17</sup> to work democracy successfully in Asian context.

Firstly, masses of people in these countries are illiterate and ignorant. Thus people are attracted to the personalities and to the regional and linguistic groups and fractions and not so much loyal to the political parties.

Secondly, leaders mostly become self-seeking, satisfying their own personal ambitions and retaining power rather than helping the common people.

Thirdly, Masses are gradually alienated from the government mainly because of concentration of power at higher levels.

Fourthly in all Asian countries, corruption in administration has been so rampant that it has almost corroded the body politic of most of the Asian countries.

Fifthly, politics is the art of getting money from the rich and votes from the poor, on the pretext of protecting the one from the other. The democratic institutions in other South Asian countries<sup>18</sup> like Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan and Srilanka lost the true spirit of democratic ideals. Due to population explosion in these countries, they adopt new decentralized policies like privatization which lead to the erosion of traditional forms of sovereign political control by the nation-state and the trans-nationalization of economic activity result in the political centrality of the state.

Nehru opt a distinct model of democracy by combining the western liberal tradition of democratic ideals with ancient Indian philosophical ideals which is unique from rest of South Asian countries. Nehru's ideas of democracy<sup>19</sup> were a combination of the ideas of Locke, Rousseau, Montesquieu, Bentham and Mill. Montesquieu's *Espirit des Lois*, Rousseau's *De Contract Social* (man is born free, but everywhere in chains), Mill's *On Liberty* all of which apparently made a considerable impression on his mind. The idea of Nehru's<sup>20</sup> democracy was very closely related to the goal of self-rule in India. Democracy meant freedom from foreign rule and the establishment of a truly representative government. Nehru defined democracy<sup>21</sup> as a means to attain national unity, industrialization, parliamentary democracy, socialism and secularism. Nehru was much influenced by John Locke's concept of natural law which may be identified with morality. The formation of representative government according to the will of the people is the true essence of governance in democratic way where the members of the society could create restraints on the ruler in respect of their personal liberties and rights. Rousseau subscribed to the notion of active and involved citizenry who must meet in assembly to make laws by which their lives could be regulated. Thus for Rousseau, the exercise of power by citizens is the only legitimate way in which liberty can be sustained and safeguarded. Citizens both create and are bound by "the supreme direction of the general will", the publicly generated conception of the common good. Athenian democracy showed the basic feature of direct democracy where power was constantly passing in the hands of leading citizens like Solon and Pericles. Nehru was influenced by the concept of formation of civil society and political community with active participation of citizens in democratic process. Later on Montesquieu through his separation of power tried to modify the concept of democratic governance to ensure social, political and economic equality for people. Bentham regarded laws as the commands of the sovereign power imposing patterns of behavior and not as

rules of ethics or morality. Mill simultaneously described democracy as the 'greatest good of the greatest number'.

Like socialism, secularism too is an indispensable ingredient of Nehru's concept of democracy. According to Nehru 'secularism' did not mean opposition to or rejection of religion. It rather meant separation of religion and politics on grounds of rationality and social harmony. For a multi-religious society like India, secularism provided a valid and viable framework for national integration, since he believed that like land and resources, people and their ideas and interests are the true ingredients of democracy.

### 1. Nehru Defined Democracy as Individual Freedom

The democratic state is one in which there is a freedom for the realization of human values and the creative development of the individual. The purpose of a democratic society is 'to provide the individual' with the conditions of creative development. According to Nehru the modern democratic state <sup>22</sup>still represent a structure of society in which freedom is cherished in which human values can best be realized. In 1946, Nehru moved the objective resolution in which the Constituent Assembly declared its intension of drawing up a constitution guaranteeing and securing to all the people of India freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, vocation, association and action. Independent India had chosen democracy and individual freedom because it offered the highest dividends to all its citizens.

### 2. Nehru Defined Democracy as a Representative Form of Government

Nehru declared that the proper democratic way to deal with the representative institution<sup>23</sup> is through popular sovereignty through elected representative, majority rule and responsible political parties and leaders. Nehru demanded for a constituent assembly elected by means of an adult franchise so as to secure true mass representation. Nehru admitted that political equality was the very basis on which India build up other equalities and if the individual lacked political equality than other rights could not be secured. Democracy thus came to mean the right of the majority.

### 3. Nehru Defined Democracy as an Instrument of Political Leadership

According to Nehru modern democracy<sup>24</sup> encouraged the political leaders to function in a disciplined way because representative government requires responsible political leaders.

The problem of leadership in a democratic state is a complex one. Leaders frequently turned disloyal towards respective political party and became dishonest as a true representative of people. Nehru concluded that there was no clear answer to the problem of leadership in a democracy but it could be solved through election and choosing suitable political leader. Nehru has defined democracy in terms of certain governmental institutions and principles like popular sovereignty through representative's elections by adult franchise, majority rules, responsible political parties and leadership. In Nehru's thought the democratic state would cease to exist if these vital elements were destroyed. Democracy means equality and democracy can only flourish in an equal society where the political structure was supposedly built upon the principles of equality (one vote for every man). Hence democracy ensures economic advancement, social equality, political freedom and justice for all citizens.

#### 4. Nehru Viewed Democracy as a Measure to Attain Social Self Discipline

The hallmark of democracy is defined as social self discipline<sup>25</sup> which meant tolerance and peaceful methods. A tolerance does not mean giving up one's opinion or surrendering to another's judgment for criticism and even opposition are also 'of the essence of democracy'. Tolerance means the willingness to recognize the existence of differing points of view, and to allow the strongest view to prevail according to established procedures.

Writing in nineteenth century Nehru gave a socialistic interpretation of democracy as a way of peaceful methods. He pleaded to establish a classless society to resolve these conflicts other than that of applying force and coercion. Since independence the occasional outbreaks of violence have driven Nehru to emphasize the importance of peaceful methods in democracy. Nehru stressed on social self discipline of the community, the duties of the individual and the group. Hence he said that the people had every right to change laws and governments in a democratic manner. If the people leave off peaceful methods then progress of the community will not be achieved.

### **2.1 Nature of Indian Democracy**

#### **a) Bourgeois Nature of Indian Democracy**

Scholars like Asutosh Varshney, Sumit Sarkar, Rajni Kothari, Partha Chatterjee, D.L.Sheth opine that India that has been described as the world's largest democracy may be characterized as bourgeois and authoritarian in character. The constitution was framed with

an egalitarian objectives and the Congress under Nehru had adopted a socialistic pattern of society as the vision of the Indian polity to ensure equality and justice for all. From 1991 onwards economic reforms, the policies of liberalisation<sup>26</sup> and globalization have explicitly undertaken by the government to bring development of the country. This gave rise to various political conflicts in the society. The rival elites, especially the regional elites who acquire economic power demand a greater share of political power and resources vis-a-vis the central government.

1. Scholars like Rajini Kothari, D.L Sheth and Partha Chatterjee opined that elite versus mass conflict in Indian democracy became a palpable picture. Lower castes were mobilized by the ruling elites (as portrait by Myron Weiner in few South Indian states) especially the poor lower caste and landless peasants who depended on landowning upper caste elites for their livelihood. This patronage and dependency constrained the political behavior of poor, illiterate Indian masses. This showed that Indian democracy has often had undemocratic roots. Low level of political mobilisation<sup>27</sup>, (lower castes were not politically enough conscious of good governance) resulted in poor governance and gave rise to multiple political conflicts. Indian democratic trend thus included both the national and regional bourgeois and elites with legitimate authority within the governing institutions along with the incorporation of the India's un-conscious masses. Rajni Kothari opined that the bourgeois has become stronger and increasingly become a part of the capitalist process. They tend to capture vast market through advanced technology and information and produced huge goods for the consumers and the majority of the poor remained as the victim of capitalism. The anti-poverty measures since the regime of Mrs. Gandhi (1966) have failed to reduce poverty significantly in spite of several measures taken by the government. The number of poor continues to grow in spite of the allocation of governmental funds for health, education and social welfare, unemployment continues to rise high. Congress government had to depend on these elite classes for funds and secured their interest for economic growth and industrialization and gradually they were incorporated into the political process.

Gradually new elites entered the political arena, challenged the power of government<sup>28</sup>. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, land reforms in the countryside particularly in areas where formerly the zamindari system was replaced created a space for the emergence of a new class of rich farmers who acquired wealth and political influence locally and gained political power. Green Revolution for example is a case where we find

that policies and political decision are now wished to taken by the newly rich political clout, and the state has favored these urban upper classes. Agricultural sector also gained prominence with the absence of any agricultural tax. Powerful farmer's lobbies formed by the mid 1960s tend to dominate the political process. In North Indian states during 1950s rich farmer's group left the Congress and formed their own political party and acted as a strong lobby in politics and in the absence of a single dominant party these groups became strong and influenced the working of government. For Partha Chatterjee most Indian states is diversified between the dominant and subaltern classes in Indian democracy.

2. The Marxist acknowledged the pre-dominance of capitalist relations and the continuing presence of semi-feudal elements in many parts of the country. If we look at the ground situation during the 1980s and 1990s, it shows a co-existence of persisting feudal relations in the form of bonded labor and caste-related production relations with a rising phenomenon of the emergence of modern capitalist farmers<sup>29</sup>. This is evident in the behavior of the state organs and the political organizations. At the same time, despite the widespread feudal and semi-feudal relations, clearly the modern capitalist elements have become more and more powerful in the political process. The liberalization process has brought new sources of capital to them. They have established linkages with the world market. Conversely, if the world market puts them at a disadvantage, then they pressurized the state to protect their interests. The conflict between the elites (rich farmers) and the low caste people become palpable. Through education the low caste people, the dalits become conscious about their exploitation and through finance corporations and banking facilities they too try to increase their economic status which brings serious conflicts with the elites where state failed to ensure the interest of the ordinary masses.

3. According to Rajni Kothari<sup>30</sup> gradually incorporating the bourgeois or elite class in the democratic governance constraints the space of democracy. According to him, corporatist interests, using the very resources that democracy had generated, tried to sabotage the democratic mandate and to serve their interests. In this sense, the state become instrumental in using the legitimacy provided by democracy to further the interests of big capital which is today largely integrated within global capital. The masses themselves the backbones of democracy were increasingly reduced to ascriptive identities serving the interests of the elites. Such construction of identities and their proliferation is partly promoted by the state itself. Ashis Nandy<sup>31</sup> pointed out that modernity itself is inimical to democracy. The emergence of regional bourgeois in many parts of India combining local interests with

cultural assertion tried to maintain a duality of linkages with feudalism on the one side and with foreign capital on the other. It is forward looking because it seeks modern technology and external markets and backward looking because it seeks to maintain social constraints on production at the same time.

Kothari hence argued the base of Indian democracy today is much weaker and electoral democracy has been increasingly co-opted within the creeping structure of bourgeois dominance. Democracy by definition involved participation of citizens in diverse kinds of roles at various levels of the political system. Such participation required that considerations of equality be extended to all citizens. The citizen himself was expected to play a positive role and needed the basic information, skills and confidence to act as a conscious citizen. Citizens required a range of liberties and an assurance that the citizen-community has a right to contest all modes of authority. But in analyzing the nature of Indian democracy it primarily seems to be bourgeois in nature where the main political decisions are taken by the Tata, Birlas and big entrepreneurs<sup>32</sup> and not by the representative of the people (that is the political leaders) where the decision has been over-imposed from the elites in the process of governance. This creates a gap in between the citizen and the government that hampers democratic governance.

4. The Indian state, like any modern state, exercised relative autonomy and freedom vis-à-vis the capitalist forces<sup>33</sup>. In 1990s as a new partnership between the state and the capital got cemented, the state willingly handed its developmental and economic functions to the capitalist class both to the Indian and foreign. The state now played a role of mere night watchman concentrating their power to maintain the security, law and order of the state and entrusted the welfare role of the state to the capitalist class. The state faced challenges caused by the agrarian movements, ethnic movements, autonomy movements and occasionally workers movements which were to be handled by the new techno-managerial capitalist state. According to D.L.Sheth<sup>34</sup> democratic decision making both economic and politics that is democratic decision making and accountability depends on the hegemonic power of the world capitalist system. IMF, World Bank and MNCs influences most of the decisions of the government which shows that liberal democracy is now a part of the larger agenda of global homogenization.

Partha Chatterjee argued that the civil society in India is understood as the institution of modern associational life<sup>35</sup> originating in western societies which are based on equality,

autonomy, freedom of entry and exit, contract, deliberative procedures of decision making, and recognized the rights and duties of members. The large masses had little access to the domain of civil society and the state identified them not as citizens but as ordinary masses hence according to Chatterjee the limited presence of civil-society in India increased the hegemony of the bourgeois. The dominance of these elites in the society<sup>36</sup> is in a way a challenge to liberal democracy and this dominance made the masses alienated from government. Both Hobbes and Locke had emphasized the individual's right to resist even though these rights were conceptualized as rights of the bourgeois or propertied class in a framework of possessive individualism. For Rousseau, the general will was not necessarily the majority's will. True democracy is the realization of the self determination of people based on the principle of equality, freedom, reason and justice. The utilitarian argument of the greatest good of the greatest number has to be understood in terms of diverse values of good. The radical perspective on liberal democracy points out the necessary class character of bourgeoisie democracy which leads to the degeneration of liberal democracy and marginalization of social groups and result in majoritarian rule.

#### **b) The Authoritarian Nature of Indian Democracy**

Scholars like Ashis Nandy, Sudipto Kaviraj and Partha Chatterjee analyzed the autonomy of political processes in Indian democracy. Kaviraj argued that a gradual process of democratic change mainly directed through constitutional mechanisms has shaped the base of democracy in India. Formal institutions like legislatures, executive, the judiciary, the bureaucracy and the federal system influenced democratic governance in their own way. The informal institutions include most importantly the political parties, movements, fractions, patronage networks and the political activists which sometimes disrupt the democratic process making the state authoritarian in nature. Sudipto Kaviraj<sup>37</sup> also felt that the democratic process is getting detached from its institutional constraints and becoming autonomous. The growing differentiation with regard to the relation between the centre and region in India overtime has changed. While there are regions such as Gujarat which tend to identify with the central government, there are other regions such as Tamil Nadu which has strongly tilted towards assertion of regional belonging. At the same time there are institutional weaknesses of democracy. Though our constitution designed a federal structure of governance, but it is observed that (article 2, 3, 4), our constitution offers extensive formal powers to the national parliament to recognize the states (enable parliament by law to admit a new state increase, diminish the area of any state or after the boundaries or name

of the state). Mrs. Gandhi's rule reversed some of the fundamental principles of Indian democracy. She began to ignore institutional conventions in appointment of Supreme Court judges and conduct of cabinet affairs and turned democracy into an authoritarian regime. During emergency (1975-79), she exercised her tremendous control to avert threats to the entire institutional system and to prevent the territorial integrity of the country. Emergency provisions were meant to avert threats to the state, not to the individual but no doubt emergency violated the spirit of the constitution. Fundamental rights were suspended and any person who opposed the government was either detained or arrested without the right to appeal to courts. Article 352 of the Indian constitution gave extra ordinary powers to Mrs. Gandhi which she misused. Severe censorship was imposed on local and national media. People were detained and arrested under MISA and Defense of India Rules across the country.

Atul Kohli<sup>38</sup> mainly focused on two proximate variables – the level of institutionalization of the central state and the degree to which the ruling strategy of leaders accommodates their demands. Democracy is a system, norms and procedures and set of institutions which depends on one hand on the actors, functionaries and officials who run these and on the other the people who are termed as governed. First we will mention that decline of one party dominance led to the development of regional parties which started rearticulating their demands on regional issues such as development. Gradually there occurs a huge difference between the party in power at the centre and in the region (state). This resulted in interlocked co-operation and conflict between the two. As a result a large number of big and small regional parties have become stakeholders in political power at the state, region or union level (through alliance with centre and regional parties in central ministry), though none of them can afford to push their conflicts beyond a particular threshold.

Secondly we will mention the level of state's institutionalization and its authoritarian nature of governance. The coercive dimension of the Indian state has been manifest in numerous ways. The Preventive Detention Act<sup>39</sup> in the 1950s and the Maintenance of Internal Security Act (MISA) in the 1970s, the National Security Act which replaced it in the 1980s, the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act (TADA) of the 1980s, which was not repealed even in the face of a nationwide campaign, the Armed Forces Special Powers Act, which operates in the North-Eastern region and Jammu and Kashmir and the Disturbed Areas Act are some of the draconian laws which have curbed human

rights of citizens in vast areas of the country. The ways in which rebellious elements have been suppressed – be they the Naxalites of Andhra Pradesh and Bihar or the militants in the autonomy movements in Jammu and Kashmir and the North-East ranging from indiscriminate arrests and killings by security forces also bring out the coercive character of the Indian state. This has caused a trend of violence on the part of the security forces as well as the rebellious forces both committing serious violations of human rights of common people.

As Ashis Nandy clarified that the democratic institutions (legislature, executive and judiciary) and procedures (the vote, representation, political parties and leaders) had contrasting features. Ordinary people especially the illiterate, poor mass through the act of franchise believed that they celebrated their real power, but they were mostly mobilized by the local political leaders. But the conscious voters thought that the representatives they choose did not pay attention to or care about what the voters thought. Though people showed respect towards the system of representation, but they gradually faced the problem that the higher officials who run the administration that is the bureaucrats maintained a strict rigid character and failed to fulfill the public interests and demands. The bureaucratic structure is highly hierarchical and work in one dimensional way hampering the sentiment of the ordinary people. Thus ultimately most of the people tend to believe that the judiciary and the election commission too functioned in a commendable manner. Due to inadequacy in democratic governance, true participation of the people hampered. The mass faced the problem of ‘dissatisfaction and alienation from the leaders, parties and certain institutions’.

According to Partha Chatterjee, the formal institutional state structures reconstruct the structures of dominance. State proves itself to be highly authoritarian in nature in times of emergency. The objective of the emergency government should be none but the restoration of normal conditions, preservation of the constitutional democratic order, maintenance of the independence of the state and the defense of the political and social liberties of the people. Thus state concentrates more and more on security related issues, wars, internal disturbances and economic crisis and hence government made some curtailments of the rights<sup>40</sup> and liberties of the citizens. However the centralizing tendencies in the congress government during Mrs. Gandhi’s time led to regional resentment and the rise of regional parties in Indian politics. From 1960s, the regional parties successfully captured state power and the regional parties like Akali Dal, DMK, and AGP owned their political existence through regional issues and demanded political autonomy. The present Narendra Modi

government's discretionary act<sup>41</sup> like demonetization, passing GST Bill (goods and service tax), and reducing rate of interest as a part of its economic policy all shows the government's own whimsical discretion which is authoritarian in nature. Government tried to clarify that GST would enable the centre to levy and collect taxes across the country and would provide compensation to the states for their loss of revenue. Government upholds their clarification that the steps like demonetization or its nod for cashless society or reducing the rate of interest would help the government to squeeze black money from overall India. These whimsical actions of the government brings hardship for marginal and middle income based workers who do not have access to account suffers a lot and it retards India's economic growth from 7.2% to 6.1% because of government's disruptive move to ban cash. As regards the judicial safeguards, the record of the Indian higher judiciary as compared with other countries has been dismal. As far as judicial review is concerned, the main objective is to protect the rights of the people and to ensure that these are not encroaching by the public administrators in any way. But it has some limitations that is courts of law cannot intervene in any matter on their own, someone will have to approach them and many administrative activities have been kept outside the domain of judiciary. Moreover the judiciary can by law prevented from promoting upon the validity of certain rules and regulations and it has no other alternative but to refrain from pronouncing its judgment, then the judiciary may on its own decide not to interfere in a particular area though it may legally be competent to do so. The courts have by and large expressed their inability to nullify detention orders made during the operation of a proclamation of emergency<sup>42</sup> (article 356,352,360). During an emergency the government has an overwhelming majority in both houses. The authority of parliament becomes the authority of the government. That is why there is no need for a coalition government in India at any time during the emergency and the centre acts as sole authority concentrating all the powers in its hand.

Though there is a distribution of powers between the union and the state under a federal system, the distribution has a strong central bias<sup>43</sup>. The residuary power of taxation belongs to the centre – it means that the subjects which have not been included either in the union or in the state list may be taxed only by the union government. The most productive sources of revenue in every federation are with the centre while the most expensive heads of expenditure are with the states. Hence to run the expenses, state has to depend on centre for financial assistance which the ruling party at the centre may use to serve its political ends.

To relieve this dependence article 275, and article 282 of the constitution provides for grant-in-aid to some states for the promotion and welfare of the tribal people, grant in natural calamities and for development. But the union shall have unlimited power of borrowing grant from outside the country for the security of India (article 292). Foreign aid comes directly to union government. The borrowing power of a state is however subject to constitutional provisions. The union government may offer a loan to a state and may impose terms and conditions against the loan and has to return the outstanding loan with interest for the further demand of loan (article 293). Duties and some taxes (income tax) are levied by the union, collected by state and later deposit it to centre (article 270,272). According to the recommendations of Finance Commission aid given to the state sometimes remains discretionary to the Parliament of India (article 282). Sometimes discretionary grants may be return to the centre if centre feels so necessary. Thus it may be inferred that the nature of democratic state is authoritarian with highly centralized central powers and dismal federal design which creates a gap in center-state relations, denying of civil and political rights of the individual in times of emergency and in the name of state security. The presence of highly centralized institutions and bureaucratic mechanism make the nature of democracy highly authoritarian in nature and on the other hand weak institutional channels led to the weakness of democracy.

The Supreme Court criticized NDA government for its lackadaisical attitude to the appointments of judges and accused the government of “trying to starve out the cause of justice by not appointing judges”<sup>44</sup>. Supreme Court argues that the present government wants to lock down the judiciary by not appointing the judges in Karnataka, Punjab and in several states. Though Modi government says the Memorandum of Procedure (MOP) for judicial appointments was not ready the Supreme Court pressurized the government to activate the work of appointment in its own way by constituting a judge bench constituting of 5 judges to clarify the appointments of judges quickly. Government’s authoritative acts were restricted by Public Interest Litigation <sup>45</sup> (PIL) act. This enabled the court to hear out public grievances and deliver justice on key social issues to large masses of people who were denied basic human rights. We have some instances of PIL revolutionary cases. In Sheela Barse vs state of Maharashtra (15th February, 1983), court dealt with the issue of custodial violence against women in prison and gave order to facilitate separate police lockups for women convicts in order to shield them from further trauma and brutality. In M.C.Mehta vs union of India (pollution in the Ganga, January 12th 1988) the judgment of

the court lashed out at civic authorities for allowing untreated sewage from Kanpur's tanneries making its way into the Ganges. It was the beginning of green litigation in India and resulted in stringent orders against Mathura refineries for polluting the ambient air around Taj Mahal (30th December, 1966). Now the prism of judiciary has extended to put a check on the whimsical attitude of the central government in order to uphold the essence of democratic spirit of our country.

National Institution for Transforming India (NITI) Aayog aims<sup>46</sup> to build strong states that will come together to build a strong India. NITI Aayog leads initiative to convert cent percent government-citizen transaction to the digital platform. NITI provides critical knowledge, innovation and entrepreneurial support to the country. To enable this NITI is trying to build an Art Resource Centre with citizens of all states as a repository of research on good governance and best practices. Radically redefining centre-state relations, NITI has for the first time ensured that all states should take the lead in protecting the policy interventions of the union government. To provide a platform for co-operative federalism, it facilitates the working of the union and states as equals. NITI ensures that people are involved and informed at all stages of governance. NITI waited for the state governments to adopt a number of reforms oriented legislative bills which aim at transforming India and to develop a healthy centre-state relation and to curb the authoritative nature of Indian state for better governance.

## **2.2 Challenges to Indian Democracy in Plural Society**

For nearly four decade, democracy in India has appeared somewhat of an anomaly. India is a multinational agrarian society with a rigid hirerical social structure. Our national leaders offered democracy to the Indian masses as a means of incorporating them into the decision making process. Apart from all this India is still, of course, a functioning democracy<sup>47</sup>, but interestingly it is not well governed. The evidence of eroding of political order is everywhere that is the personal rule has replaced party rule in all levels – national, state and district. Below the rulers, the entrenched civil and police service have been politicized. Various social groups have pressed new and ever more diversed political demands in demonstrations that often have led to violence. The purpose of this study is to describe in which ways Indian democracy is facing a challenge today. Rajni Kothari tries to provide answers to the puzzle of why the “world's largest democracy”, has become difficult to

govern because of its leadership role leading to institutional decline<sup>48</sup> resulting various challenges in democratic setup.

#### **a) Caste and Challenges to Indian Democracy**

For decades, Indian politics was ruled by the traditional elites. Pranab Bardhan called them the proprietary or the bourgeoisie class and the Indian National Congress (congress party) dominated the political life relied on the collaboration of the elite groups<sup>49</sup>, who exerted strong control over land as well as over industrial and business activities. Thus the congress system worked with the social hierarchy in a protective way, since the local notables who supported the party could call upon their 'vote banks' at the time of elections.

The conservative brand of democracy was more in evidence in northern India but in the south and in the west leaders from the lower castes – Jotirao Phule, Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar in Maharashtra, Periyar E.V.Ramaswami in Tamil Nadu initiated consciousness among the lower caste people which had exerted a strong political influence. Gradually the non-Brahmins dominant castes such as the Marathas in Maharashtra, the Lingayats and the Vokkaligas in Karnataka, and the Reddys and Kammas in Andhra Pradesh sprang up posing their demands and in most cases the congress party accommodated these upwardly mobile groups. Things started to change when the congress party lost power in 1977, where in the northern states lower caste (intermediate castes and other backward classes, that the OBCs) rose to power almost twenty percent in Indian politics. The rise of intermediate castes began with the jats who are still a dominant caste in Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan. Though they are not well educated but their socio-economic status is higher than that of most peasant groups. They began to invest in irrigation systems and fertilizers and came to a position to defend their own interest against the state. The most famous was the congress politician from western Uttar Pradesh, Charan Singh, who was minister in the state government but who was never given his due by the party's high command of the province because of his peasant background. He broke from the congress party in the 1967 elections, joined with other opposition parties and the political force created by Charan Singh was to play a major role in Uttar Pradesh politics for two decades. He mobilized the cultivators who were accustomed to voting for their landlord or any other notable upper caste and convinced them to vote for the members of Charan Singh's party. The rise of a new Kisan Constituency partly explains the rise of OBCs<sup>50</sup> and members of parliament (MPs) among the lower caste in 1977 as many kisans were from OBCs. The OBCs are not primarily

defined by class criteria as the kisans are but by castes. Soon after the constitution was promulgated, president Rajendra Prasad appointed a commission to identify the needs of other backward classes (they were all lower shudras ) and they need positive discrimination programs.

The demand for positive-discrimination<sup>51</sup> programs are more precisely for quotas in the bureaucracy became the rallying cry of the OBCs all over India. In Bihar where caste divides were dramatic, politicians were especially successful in mobilizing OBC voters. In 1977, the rise of the MPs from the intermediate castes motivated the OBCs who stemmed for the electoral success and it resulted in the formation of an anti-congress coalition where Charan Singh played a significant role. The aftermath of Charan Singh's regime, the caste politics were continued by V.P.Singh and in the long run the OBCs were no longer simply an administrative category, they had risen to a position to challenge and organizing themselves politically and started to concentrate their vote on parties representing their interests, for example – Samajwadi Janata Dal. In this context, the OBCs were joined by the scheduled castes who feared that the anti-reservationists campaign of the upper castes might affect their own quotas. The dalit-led Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) later made an alliance with Samajwadi Janata Dal in 1993. Thus we find in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan the OBC leaders turned up for example – Shivraj Singh Chauhan in Bhopal (by caste kirar), Nitish Kumar in Patna (by caste kurmi), Mulayam Singh Yadav (a caste of cow herders) with their political powers and tried to influence the governmental decision in politics.

Caste however, provides channels of communication and bases of leadership and organization, which enable those who still submerged in traditional society and culture. It motivated the lower castes to gain political literacy and increased their ability to participate in democratic politics. Caste has been able to perform this key role by developing a new form of political activity to form the caste association which became a central feature of Indian politics and hence we can say that the political literacy enabled them to take part in democratic politics. The caste association like the Kshatriya Mahasabha or the Jat Kisan Sabha is no longer a natural association rather they aimed at raising caste status to maximize their 'caste representation' to influence in state cabinets and governing bodies and to use ministerial, legislative and administrative channels to promote welfare in educational and economic realms. Thus we find that Bahujan Samaj Party came into prominence in 1993 under the leadership of Kanshi Ram. The party projects itself as an

organization of the scheduled castes or dalits. Its ideology is aggressively anti-upper caste based. Leaders like Mayawati publicly denounced Gandhiji as having led the scheduled castes or Harijans onto the wrong path. The party swears by Ambedkar<sup>52</sup> and believes in the separate mobilization of the scheduled castes on caste lines. The DMK in Tamil Nadu under the leadership of E.V. Ramaswami Nalcker formed a caste association which criticized the dominance of the Brahmans in south India. The party launches Self-Respect Movement which aimed to uplift the Dravidians and aimed at removing the exploitation and control of the Brahmans at the social level. It touched the heart of the lower class. DMK later participated in elections of 1967 and came out as the ruling party. In 1987, the party suffered a split and ADMK under the leadership of Mrs. Jayalalitha in 1991 owned the election.

The aim of these caste based political parties is to acquire and demand more powers and autonomy from the state. Similarly the Reddies and Kammas of Andhra play an important role in the politics of their state. The Nair Service Society of Kerela played an important part in the politics of the state. A caste association combines in itself the modern and the traditional and represents the qualities of adopting itself to modern, social, economic and political changes. Caste based political parties seek social upliftment, economic development and effective participation in the political process. They provide channels of communication and base for the leadership and want to take part in active politics of the country. The caste groups posed a challenge to Indian state and democracy. As most of the leaders in the governance were all from upper caste in the long run the party leaders from the upper castes set out to broaden their policies by recruiting the members from the lower castes. Ram Monohar Lohia set out to mobilize the backward castes, while Charan Singh, a Jat (peasant proprietor), brought large numbers of members of the middle class and backward castes into his political party – for example the Bharatiya Kranti Dal (BKD). To hold power the congress leaders build a coalition with the middle and the lower caste leaders.

Caste politics<sup>53</sup> really is not a threat but it challenged the edifice of India's democracy. They fully want their identity to be accepted in the mainstream culture that is not as dalits but to achieve their rights as members of other castes (upper caste). They want their socio-economic development by organizing their own caste association or political party based on caste identity. The leaders of the caste groups also secured their position in mainstream politics by mobilizing huge masses belong to backward class and sometimes in

obtaining reservation status for the backward community. The struggle for equality is the basis of caste politics in Indian democracy; we really do not clarify it as a threat but definitely a challenge or a revolutionary challenge that shakes the very nature of Indian democracy. Today India has to incorporate the caste based political party in its domain of democratic setup and to reshape its ideology.

### **b) Language and Challenge to Indian Democracy**

Language issue can give rise to the strongest expressions of cultural nationalism among its users. It is only in modern times as the members of the Indian constituent assembly discovered that the language or individual's 'mother tongue' is couched with unique set of emotional powers. However the same languages were spoken in older times, in a completely self-conscious and functional way. But in modern era languages suddenly created a consciousness<sup>54</sup> among the members of the community.

Of the one hundred and fourteen languages, eighteen are included in the eight schedule of the constitution and ninety six are non-scheduled. Thus the eighteen languages dominate the list and are the most widely spoken in the country. During the constituent assembly debates, except for English and Sanskrit, other major languages added in the list with the pressure of the Hindi speaking zone. Part xvii in the constitution (articles – 343-351) constitutes the provisions on the government's language policy. But the language question gave rise to the maximum amount of stress and strain for the members of the constituent assembly. The acceptance of Hindi as the national language was vociferously pushed by the hard core linguistic extremists from the Hindi belt that is from the states of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Rajasthan who constituted less than half the members in the Assembly. Finally, it was decided that Hindi would be the official, rather than national language. Hindi would also be used for inter-state communication. Hindi extremist proclaimed that in order to maintain one cultural tradition, they want one language and one script for the whole country. Linguistic groups played an important role as separatist groups in politics of the country. Protagonist of the language groups tried to promote the languages concerned in their states. These groups demanded an increasing use of the regional languages by the state in education and in official matters like employment. For example - the DMK advocates the cause of Tamil language and Tamil culture, the Akali Dal advocates the use of Punjabis in every sphere. The creation of the bilingual state<sup>55</sup> of Mumbai created great controversy in politics. Sampooran Maharashtra Samiti came into

existence and they agitated for the creation of unilingual states continued till the creation of the states of Maharashtra in 1960. Similar demands were put forward by other states like Gujarat, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh. In the mid-sixties, when the issue of imposition of 'Hindi' as the national language was revived, riots broke out in Tamil Nadu and hence paved the path for the further growth of regional politics, following the fall of the Indian Congress party. The movement for the state of Telangana became strong, in 1969 and a group called the Telangana Praja Samiti under Dr. Chenna Reddy was formed. It took part in the Lok Sabha election of 1971 and state assembly elections of 1972 and tried to dominate Indian politics. Similarly the Gorkha League acts as a strong secessionist group in the politics of West Bengal to safeguard the interests of the Gorkha language and culture.

To solve these separatist tendencies, in Indian democracy the use of a regional language as the language of administration in a state and as the medium of instruction in schools is by now an established policy. Right now, there is a dual system of schooling in every state, creating a 'Bharat' versus Indian syndrome. Mother tongue instruction for children is an accepted principle everywhere. Under the constitutional language policy, some states are thus expected to be multi-lingual, because school children must learn Hindi and English, in addition to their mother tongue. In the Hindi speaking belt, they are really only expected to learn two languages, namely Hindi and English, even though Sanskrit may be tagged along in the curriculum as an appendage. Resistance to Hindi as official language involved not just the issue of its linguistic complexity<sup>56</sup> but on the other hand it raised the demand of recognition to other regional languages. The language controversy has taught us at least one lesson: we must learn to 'imagine' ourselves as a nation state that is forced into redefinition by the moral force of multiculturalism<sup>57</sup>. Hence national identity is obtained through political stability of state's dominant cultural and linguistic groups.

### **c) Communalism and Challenge to Indian Democracy**

After independence the leaders of the Indian National Congress, including Gandhi and Nehru argued that India's religious diversity could effectively be managed through the creation of a secular and democratic state. Hence Indian democracy tried to achieve an overarching Indian identity by accommodating all ethnic identities and safeguarding the interests of minorities, and ensured freedom of religion to all its citizens<sup>58</sup>. Even as Indian political elites accepted ethnic plurality and worked to promote and strengthen such diversity, they agreed of a secular and federal polity. To secure the rights of the majority

and minority community India adopts secular principles. Indian secularism does not mean the strict separation between church and state but rather the recognition and promotion of all religious communities by the state. Hindu political parties such as the Jana Sang, the predecessor of the BJP, RSS, the VHP, the Shiv Sena, Akali Dal and the Bajrang Dal referred to communal issues such as the assignment to “special status” to Kashmir by India government. The Jana Sangh argued that the congress government was pandering to the Muslims and ignoring to the legitimate interests and grievances of the Hindus<sup>59</sup>. When the era of complete congress dominance<sup>60</sup> of Indian politics had started to fade and the party began to face serious electoral competition from the Hindu nationalists and fundamentalists, Indira Gandhi, for example – to win state assembly elections in Kerala made electoral alliances with a number of political parties including the communal Indian Union Muslim League (IUML). Similarly Rajiv Gandhi continued this tradition of making concessions to “minority communities”<sup>61</sup> in order to win support and votes. This was dramatically displayed during the Shah Bano affair in 1985. To Hindu nationalists, this act was a glaring appeasement of minorities by the congress for political purposes which once again exposed the party’s pseudo secular credentials.

Throughout the 1980s, as Muslim fundamentalist voices grew stronger and communal tensions simmered in the territory. Hindu nationalist parties such as the BJP gained popularity especially in the Hindi speaking states of central, northern and western India. The ideology that the Hindu political parties promoted was known as Hindutva – which may be broadly translated as “Hinduness”<sup>62</sup> or even “Indianness”. Behind the notion of Hindutva lies a particular vision of the Hindu or Indian ‘nation’, and it is a matter of debate whether Muslims and other religious minorities have a place within it. But to Hindu organization such as the RSS (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh), the VHP (Vishwa Hindu Parishad), and the BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party), Hindutva “embodies the notion that all Indians including Muslims – are part of a Hindu nation and that Ram and the gods and heroes of Hindu mythology are part of their patrimony”. As the 1990s unfolded, Indian national politics seemed to be entering an era of turmoil and weak central governance, the BJP and its allies choose to play the ‘religion’ card as a way of capturing political power by tapping into the “Hindu vote”. One of the most militant regional political organizations is the Shiv Sena<sup>63</sup> in Maharashtra. Founded in 1966 by Bal Thackeray, the Shiv Sena’s ideology is based on the concept of the ‘bhumi Putra’ (son of the soil) and ‘Hindutva’ (Hinduness). Taking advantage of the socio-economic grievances and frustrations of the

Hindu Maharashtrian community, the Shiv Sena rose to political prominence in Maharashtra under the banner of 'Maharashtra for Maharashtrians'. They started 'verbal and physical' attacks at South Indian immigrants and Muslims to create communal tension in the state.

Much earlier prior to partition, during 1919, the Singh Sabha Movement<sup>64</sup> and Central Sikh League was formed to safeguard the economic and political interests of the Sikhs and to promote a sense of self-consciousness and identity based politics among the Sikhs. The Akali Dal was formed in 1920 as a part of the Gurdwara Reform Movement and tried to protect the interests of the Sikhs, especially they seeks representation in the legislative bodies. It worked for the reservation of seats for the Sikhs in nominated bodies and they tried to inculcate a separate group consciousness among the Sikh community members. They demanded Sikh majority state and exploited the religious sentiment of the Sikhs. The Akali Dal<sup>65</sup> demanded separate and sovereign Sikh state of Khalistan and demand an environment in which national sentiments and aspirations of the Sikhs will be satisfied fully. Later on, it resulted in violent communal clash. Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwala along with his lieutenants took shelter in Golden Temple of Amritsar with their destructive weapons to fight against Indian state. But to prevent the situation, Bhindranwala was killed and the Golden Temple was cleared by the Indian government in an operation known as "Operation Blue Star". But after this Mrs. Gandhi was assassinated in 1984. .

Thus it may be inferred that after independence till now Indian democracy was severely threatened by the communal forces and communal based political parties. In 1992, the 'party cadres' belonging to the RSS, the VHP, the Shiv Sena and the Bajrang Dal completely destroyed the structure of the sixteenth century mosque (the Babri masjid) in the north Indian city of Ayodhya (Uttar Pradesh). The BJP and its allies claimed that the mosque had been constructed by the Mughal Emperor Babar after the destruction of a Hindu temple that had venerated the birth place of Lord Ram (an icon in Hindu mythology). The complete failure of the Indian government to prevent the situation sparked Hindu-Muslim riot and communal tension across the country. Muslim criminal gangs in Mumbai set off a series of bomb blasts in India's major commercial city in 1993. In retaliation, Hindu mobs are organized and carried out massacre of Muslims. The VHP periodically threatened to begin the construction of a Hindu temple on the site of the demolished Babri Mosque and set the date 2002 as a deadline for the construction of temple. This event was followed by the Godhra incidence where several compartments of the Sabarmati Express

were caught fire and attacked by the Muslim mob in Godhra dominated by the Muslim masses. The Godhra incident<sup>66</sup> sparked some of the worst anti-Muslim violence in Indian democracy. Similarly in the Hindu holy city of Varanasi, bombs were exploded which resulted in several deaths of innocent people.

Asutosh Varshney emphasized the role of civil society in the outbreak or absence of communal violence. Lack of civic engagement between members of two communities<sup>67</sup> resulted in such violent clash. Gramsci made a link between culture and political practice which in the long run created identity problems. Gramscian theory have played a major role in focusing attention on the dynamics of culture within the Indian context, later on specified by the political parties such as RSS, the VHP and the BJP in their ideology. According to the RSS ideology, it 'is to salute the saffron rather than the tri-color flag and to oppose the Indian constitution'. This shows that the hidden face of the culture is often political. The BJP's version of cultural nationalism attempted to explore the Brahmanical cult in nation-building that is they uphold socio-religious values, folk culture of the upper caste Hindus who are marginalized and devalued by the present secular government. Democracy they argued not alien to Hindu civilisation<sup>68</sup>, rather they preferred monarchy prevailed in Vedic times as an ideal form of government. They insisted on the Atharvaveda where people choose their king. Thus the Hindu traditionalists were not hostile to democracy rather they want to preserve democracy rooted in Indian soil and culture. Every fundamentalist religious party tried to use culture in obtaining their rights and hence they challenge the existing democratic set up of the country.

#### **d) Regionalism and Challenge to Indian Democracy**

The Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences defines a region as, "a homogenous area with physical and cultural characteristics distinct from those of neighboring areas. As a part of national domain, a region is sufficiently unified to have a consciousness of its customs and ideals and thus possesses a sense of identity distinct from rest of the country". Regionalism is defined as an emotional attachment to a particular region in preference to the whole country and in some cases, in preference to the constitutional unit of which the region is a part. Regionalism<sup>69</sup> is an ideology and political movement that seeks to advance the causes of regions. The regional political parties have turned out to be the most potential and threatening force challenging the institutions and practices of parliamentary democracy in contemporary India. Regionalism can be defined in two forms – one the demand for state

autonomy and formation of smaller states and the other secessions from the union government. Further the regional political parties usually confine its activities within the boundary of a state or region, sometimes show militant attitude towards the national politics or to the central government or engaged in unscrupulous political activities. Some of these regional political parties are the DMK and ADMK of Tamil Nadu, the Telugu Desham Party of Andhra Pradesh, the National Conference Party of Jammu and Kashmir, the Akali Dal of Punjab, the Trinamul Congress of West Bengal, the CPI (M) of West Bengal, the Assam Gana Parishad of Assam, the Gorkha League and Gorkha Janamukti Morcha (GJM) of Darjeeling in West Bengal.

The demand for the smaller states is based on the following arguments –

1. It will halt the process of increasing regional economic imbalance.
2. It will quicken the pace of development.
3. It will enable the local people to govern themselves and control their economy and thus to help them get rid of what is often called neo-colonial exploitation.
4. It will facilitate formulation of more responsive policies.
5. It will help some ethnic groups to maintain their independent culture, way of life etc.
6. Some of the states are too big and populous to be administered effectively and hence smaller states for administrative convenience.

The state reorganization of the 1950s did not put a stop to demands for the creation of new states. For example, in 1960s, mainly due to the agitations of Marathi and Gujrati speaking populations of the state of Bombay, the Bombay Reorganization Act created the linguistic state of Maharashtra and Gujrat. Similarly in 1966, the Hindi-speaking state of Haryana was created by dividing the Punjab. In the northeast, the Indian government tried to bring the Naga insurgency to a close end by accepting the Naga's demand for a separate state; hence, in 1962, the districts of Assam were detached to create the new state of Nagaland. In the early 1970s three more new states – Meghalaya, Manipur and Tripura were created in the northeast<sup>70</sup>. The demand for new states however did not stop there. In West Bengal the Gorkhas of Darjiling and the Rajbanshis of Cooch Behar have long agitated for the creation for a separate Gorkhaland and Kamtapur. In Assam the Bodos have made a similar demand of creation of new states. The Telengana agitation in Andhra Pradesh, the

movement to create Vidharbha in Maharashtra and a demand for a separate state of Jammu are all the cases with relatively long histories of political agitation.

Regionalism is rooted in the wider logic of development, democracy, responsive policy formation, identity, maintenance and better administration. The ethnic groups seem to have developed feeling of insecurity resulting in a demand for a separate state within the Indian union or sovereign state outside the Indian union. The roots of the problem lie embedded in the socio-economic structure of the country, the problem has been aggravated by the policies of the government and the political manipulation of ethnic nationalities. The demand for smaller states<sup>71</sup> has gained considerable momentum after the step taken by the central government to create Uttarkhand state. After this it motivated the Jharkhandis of Bihar, Gorkhas in Darjeeling hills, Bodos in Assam, Gonds in Andhra Pradesh, the tribals in Chattisgarh and other places in India to raise their demands for the creation of new states with political autonomy. The demands has been supported by some political parties who seek their own interests for acquiring power in the specific region, including BJP, Janata Dal and Samajbadi Janata Dal. BJP government suggested for the creation of the new states of Uttarkhand from Uttar Pradesh for their economic development. Similarly Jkarkhand Autonomous Area Council felt that they also continue to fight for a separate state for their development. Ethnically the Uttarakhandis argued that they were different in language, in culture from the rest of the people of Uttar Pradesh and they raised their voice for the creation of new states. The Jharkhandis demanded separate state for their own economic upliftment and to set up their own political administration<sup>72</sup>. The demands of the tribals of Madhya Pradesh were same for the creation of Chattisgarh to achieve development for the tribal community. The strong tendency of centralization and unequal financial distribution rather a dismal centre- state relation resulted in the development of regional politics<sup>73</sup> in Indian democracy. The question of equity is an important issue in these demands for separate state, and obviously the manipulation of the political leaders to seek their own interest finally mobilize the people of the underdeveloped region to put forward the demands of separate state for them. Later on the existing state of Jharkhand from Bihar, Uttaranchal from Uttar Pradesh and Chattisgarh from Madhya Pradesh were carved out and given their political autonomy by Indian state. Many or most of the people who have demanded for their own homeland are the deprived marginalized people and people from economically backward section. For example Gorkha leaders<sup>74</sup> who are in favor of the creation of Gorkhaland put forward the agreement that they receive less central grant

compare to Sikkim. Thus assertion for regional autonomy develops where these marginalized section of the people demand expanded political participation and free access in state and local politics by capturing the power in the newly created state. These regional parties had an intension to promote and protect the interests of the community which has been long neglected by the government.

The central problem that confronts Indian state and the ruling coalition is the problem occur from variety of regional movements and pressures in the process of nation-building and national integration A major aspect of the problem of regionalism is the dialectic of centralization (powers of national government) and decentralization (distribution of powers to the respective states) between the center and the states regarding the appropriate pattern of devolution of power. The general factors behind the growth of regional movements in Indian politics are tendencies of the regional parties towards greater decentralization, the cultural and linguistic diversity of India, the inevitable unevenness of capitalist economic development, the growing strength of the agrarian bourgeoisie and the intermediate classes (the rural and urban petty bourgeoisie), the growing electoral strength of opposition parties and the decline of democratic mentality of the country. Sub-state movements<sup>75</sup> usually aim either at attaining power at the state level (this was the implicit thrust of the Assam agitation) or at achieving some degree of political autonomy like statehood or ‘autonomous’ council status (Gorkhaland). In case of Assam Gana Parishad (AGP), they feel different from so-called mainstream politics and raised their region specific cultural, political and economic demands which is only restricted to a particular ethnic community. Assam movement (1979-85) demanded for detecting, disenfranchising and deporting the illegally settled foreigners that lay at the heart of Assam and predicted for a distinction between the citizens and the foreigners. They solely believe that the survival of a nation-state depends on its ability to make and maintain this distinction between an alien and a citizen<sup>76</sup>. As Assam a neglected region continuously exposed to the incessant influx of foreigners from across the borders particularly from Bangladesh which has not been resolved by the central government and thus United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) demanded sovereign and independent Assam where they would enable to carry their own administration. The Mizo struggle for secession in the 70ties was led by the Mizo National Front (MNF) and its armed wing the Mizo National Army (MNA) under Laldenga demanded state autonomy for the Mizo people and finally settled by getting autonomy within the Indian Union. Similarly the Nagas were given their autonomy by the government to meet their demands of secession.

Separation is not at all a solution rather it pose a threat to the democratic structure of India which favors unity and integration. It is the responsibility of the central government to remove the cause of dissatisfaction of the people of the area demanding separate state to maintain the integrative spirit of Indian democracy.

### **2.3 Democracy in India: - A Concept of Multicultural Democratic Trends**

Democracy has taken root in India in a face of a low-level of economy, widespread poverty, illiteracy and immense ethnic diversity. Two processes<sup>77</sup> have guided the negotiation of power conflicts. First, a delicate balance has been struck between the forces of centralization and decentralization and second, the interests of the powerful in society have been served without fully excluding those on the margins. Clearly democracy has struck very deep roots in the inhospitable soil of India. It has taken deep roots disproportionately among the historically marginal groups, especially among the most depressed section of the society. Equally the democratic values have become entrenched among intellectual elites and institutions which are vital for the consolidation of democracy. Steps like investigative reporting in national newspapers has exposed corruption and forced political accountability, meticulous planning by the Election Commission has assured free and fair general elections and the expanded role of judiciary ensured civil and political liberties of the citizen further enhanced democratic governance in India.

Like the founders of the Indian Constitution, scholars studying Indian democracy recognized that under Indian conditions certain exceptions were given by the liberal state to ensure individual freedom and protection of minority rights which ensured national unity and equality among all groups of citizens. Marginalized social groups are incorporated into an inclusive political process, through political alliances for stable governance. State also protect the interest of religious minorities and strengthened the competitiveness of socially disadvantaged groups (individuals belong to low socio-economic strata, the dalits) to ensure their effective participation in the democratic processes. Contextual democracy in its origin had a liberal vision where it aimed to preserve the individual and group rights of the community people. State aimed to preserve the identities of all the minority groups having distinct cultures in order to promote a plural culture. Through the strategy of political accommodation the liberal democratic state tried to safeguard the cultural identity of the community and ensures equal opportunities in order to receive the allegiance of the community or the electorates towards Indian state. India embarks on the path of

multiculturalism and it incorporates the major diversities (religious, linguistic, cultural and ethnic) within her arena. Multiculturalism is a system of beliefs and behaviors that recognizes and respects the presence of all diverse groups in an organization or society, acknowledges and values their socio-cultural differences, and encourages and enables their continued contribution within an inclusive cultural context which empowers all within one organization called society. India was among the first few democracies to embark on the multicultural path. India acknowledges the rights of minorities and valued the cultural diversity of the country. But question arises can democratic nation states accommodate cultural diversity while sustaining a sense of collective identity? Can cultural diversity be protected and nourished without compromising national wellbeing and the commitment to equality? Exceptionally, India acknowledged the rights of minorities and valued cultural diversity? To make democracy successfully workable in Indian multicultural context, India adopted a path of consociation or power sharing means. Four means can be clarified in adopting the consociation path – that is Cultural Autonomy, Proportionality, Grand Coalition and State-Society Relationship.

#### **a) Cultural Autonomy**

The unexpected success of India's fledgling democracy put differently, a politics of recognition, based on identities of caste, language and religion that is the post-colonial elites sought to manage the problem of diversity amidst inequality by constructing a semi-consociational democratic regime which recognized the claims of particular social groups in the formal political arena. Atomistic conception of a person, which conceives of individuals as socially rootless beings and according to Taylor<sup>78</sup>, our identity "is partly shaped by recognition by others or its absence, often by the misrecognition of others". The lack of proper social recognition could take various forms. It could mean the absence of significant cultural ties – bound by language, ethnicity, race, religion and region – which diminished the lives of individuals in historically marginalized communities. It could also manifest itself through inferior, demeaning or dehumanizing beliefs and images of and behavior towards particular social groups. Kymlica and Bikhu Parekh were of same view with that of Taylor, through classical liberal proponents questioned the legitimacy of granting special rights or collective entitlements to particular social groups on ascriptive grounds in order for these communities to survive. Such conception of giving special rights to a particular community threatened to obscure the hierarchies of power, wealth and status within

particular communities. Taylor's claim that modern liberal democracies could justifiably grant special rights to specific minority groups, either to ensure their cultural survival or rectify historic injustices, so that these minority groups could easily collide with the notion of a single common good or a civic political culture. The politics of recognition based on particular group identities threatened to fragment the national frame of modern democratic states. The desire for equality for equal standing in various realms fuelled three major forms of identity based politics- linguistic, communal and regionalism in post independent India. Thus India embarked for granting cultural autonomy for religious and linguistic groups through power sharing means in federal arrangements. Firstly, in co-operative federal design state and linguistic boundaries largely coincided with each other to provide a big degree of linguistic autonomy. Secondly, the religious and linguistic minorities were given greater autonomy to establish and administer their own autonomous area. Thirdly, separate personal laws were sanctioned for each religious community by the Indian state. Indian democracy has all these three forms for successful working of democracy.

From 1950s pressures from below forced a complete change in governmental policy and in the Linguistic Provinces Commission after the state of Madras was divided into separate Tamil and Telegu speaking states. Linguistic federalism has not fully satisfied the minorities' desire for autonomy and security. The special autonomy was constitutionally granted to Kashmir as the Muslim majority state. This triggered the other linguistic minorities of other states to raise similar demands for regional autonomy and raised the demand for the creation of new states. In India however the constitution provided the right of educational and cultural autonomy to these ascriptive groups. Article 30 of the constitution states that all minorities whether based on religion or language shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice and more important that the states shall not be granting aid to educational institutions, discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority<sup>79</sup>, whether based on religion or language. Thus there is little doubts that the linguistic reorganization of states by granting autonomy to these linguistic minorities within the national context tried to curb the regional aspirations. Even Indian state guaranteed separate personal laws for Hindus, Muslims and smaller religious minorities that is Hindu Marriage Act, The 1956 Hindu Succession Act and The 1937 Muslim Personal Law (Shariat). Linguistic groups play an important role as separatist groups, demanding increasing use of the language by the state in official matters. To solve problem, Indian democracy use the

regional language as the language of administration in a state and as medium of instruction in schools. In exception to English and Hindi, the use of the regional language officially has been guaranteed by the government and vice-versa to Hindi, regional languages were given official recognition. A major aspect of the problem of regionalism is the dialectic of centralization and decentralization between the center and the state – but India accommodates all the cultural and linguistic diverse groups together in the way of giving cultural autonomy to these groups and hence adopt a model of contextual democracy to work successfully in multicultural society.

### **b) Proportionality**

The normal electoral system in power sharing democracies is proportional representation. In India, too, power sharing has managed to coexist with the plurality of electoral system inherited from the British. One reason is that plurality does not disfavor geographically concentrated minorities and India's linguistic minorities which are regionally based<sup>80</sup>. In addition, a special feature of the electoral law guarantees the so-called scheduled castes (untouchables) and scheduled tribes (aboriginals) proportional shares of parliamentary representation by means of 'reserved seats', that is seats for which only members of these groups are allowed to be the candidates. Finally, these scheduled groups and the so-called other backward classes have benefited from other quotas – so-called reservations- with regard to public service employment and university admissions. Even adequate women representations were given in parliament and all units of governmental elections. All political arrangements in the early phase which were clearly dominated by an educated, nationalist elite (bourgeois class), were now tend to dominated by all section of people of the community<sup>81</sup>. To maintain equal opportunity in politics all marginalized section (caste groups) were given their rights in all spheres of political dominance.

### **c) Grand Coalition**

The Indian case adds even greater variety through the measure of grand coalition. Its main vehicle for grand coalition is the cabinet, which is not an exceptional form, but the unique aspect in India is that cabinets are produced by the broadly representative and inclusive nature of a single, dominant party, the Congress Party or the coalition party in power previously the UPA (United Progressive Alliance) or at present by BJP led NDA (National Democratic Alliance) government which is also a dominant party at the centre. Kothari<sup>82</sup>

tried to analyze the Indian party system from the comparative perspective of the distinction between one, two, and multiparty systems. The Congress Party's location in the center means that minor parties surround it on all sides. These, in turn, which Kothari calls "parties of pressure," perform the role of preventing the ruling "party of consensus" from straying too far from "the balance of effective public opinion." India's political system has served as the foundation for a consociation grand coalition. Despite never winning a majority of the popular vote in parliamentary elections, the Congress Party has been balanced in the political center and has encompassed "all the major sections and interests of society". Prior to independence the Congress was already an internally federal organization with a high degree of intra-party democracy and a strong penchant for consensus. This "historical consensus" Kothari writes, was successfully trans-formed into a "consensus of the present," and he comes close to using consociation terminology in describing Indian democracy as a "consensus system which operates through the institution of a party of consensus," namely, the Congress Party. Lijphart's theory<sup>83</sup> of consociational democracy was applied to the Indian pattern of political integration. The national political elite were committed to reconcile differences within the party of coalition through bargaining and concessions among themselves. The combination of the Congress Party's inclusive nature and political dominance has generated grand coalition cabinets with ministers belonging to all the main religious, linguistic, and regional groups.

#### **d) State-Society Relationship**

The developmentalist nature on Indian state hampers the rights of individual and groups. We find in case of New Social Movements, where the affected person vigorously protested against the state which pretend to be democratic in nature<sup>84</sup>. Nation-states with the global circulation of capital tries to homogenize the economic right of the groups and the state subjugates these groups (women, indigenous people and the rural poor) as the dominant discourse of national elites. In the discourse of development, the state is mandated to unify the national economy, to establish a common national market, and to impose linguistic and cultural norms. The Indian state has mediated class, ethnic, gender and caste conflicts through the medium of secularism, political democracy and the capitalist economic system. Although couched in a vocabulary of 'protection and development', the development discourse of the Indian state subordinates women, dalits, and tribal and minority populations. Under the guise of development and welfare state, national elites have

transformed caste, gender and ethnic from relations of difference into relations of dominations. Such entity is both defined by the state and ordered in relation to the state. As the official guardian and development of these groups, the state denies them any creative alternative. New Social Movement challenges this anti-patriarchal attitude of Indian state and democracy.

To cope up with the problem, that challenge the democratic setup of the state, Indian state uses both coercion and persuasion to generate consent for development and try to collaborate with the affected groups in order to maintain hegemony of the state in its developmental scheme. Indian state tries to integrate the local, the regional and the ethnic acts of the marginalized groups as a citizen (through democratic electoral process) and as a consumer (through the free-market). On the one hand, India's durable democratic tradition has created the political space in which new social movements and their demands have emerged and on the other increasing bureaucratization and political centralization have repressed local struggles for autonomy. But the marginalized section has sometimes benefited from state- sponsored developmental and welfare programmes where these deprived groups received some concession from the state and integrate with democratic state. Here through these concessions the Indian state tried to mobilize both the ideological and material resources for development programmes in meeting the acute crisis created by the affected and marginalized groups. Here we find Indian state try to make a favorable relationship with the society. Where there is a gap between the state and society<sup>85</sup>, state tried to fill the gap and act as a true guardian of its citizen in the democratic state. According to Rawlsian theory of justice, we find that justice and facility should be given to those groups who are in not advantageous position, justice should be of distributive nature. Here Indian liberal state in order to run the democratic setup of the country give adequate opportunity to the women and effected groups (to meet feminist challenges to the hegemony of the Indian state) merely integrating women into patriarchal development. Development projects have everywhere been intolerant to the voices of tribal, women and low castes (as we find in Chipko movement, women affected by green revolution, affected for bauxite mining in Gandhamardan, Orissa, limestone mining in the Doon Valley or uranium mining in Singbhum, Jharkann, forest dwellers affected from governmental scheme of social forestry and poor people affected especially the santhals by the construction of multi-purpose projects of that area).

The patriarchal attitudes of Indian state<sup>86</sup> has not changed fully but partially has changed and in order to run democratic governance successfully it gives some benefits to the subaltern classes. Democracy today is not defined not only as representative democracy but as a social relation which is consultative and participatory. Today to enhance participation, democracy changed its prevailing notion of power. Power is exercised through the apparatus of government or political parties in quite sensibly and it gradually influenced the culture, communicative and ethical spheres of the life of the subalterns and in the long run state through its various social agencies integrate these marginalized people into the mainstream politics. State today tried to evolve a distinctive knowledge system which can represent the experiences of the subaltern groups by using alternative ways of producing and validating knowledge. Thus women's dalit's and indigenous people's knowledge be integrated into a readymade body of dominant development discourse – thus state incorporates a new dimensions into its arena to cope up with new problem in its governance. State proves its developmental discourse to be a correct measure in uplifting the lifestyle of the indigenous people. But state undoubtedly has changed its attitude of dominance<sup>87</sup> that is folkloric, common sense based knowledge of indigenous people has been included in the process of development and state has definitely changed its language of the dominant development disclosure and reconstructed in appreciation of the knowledge claims from the bottom (marginalized or indigenous groups).

State allows society<sup>88</sup> to act in wide space to reduce the gap between state and its citizen. Society acts as a agent which allows the citizen of the state to move and act freely and to express their views against or in favor of state and in turn society influences the disadvantageous groups or individuals to act in favor of state-led developmental projects. West Bengal Government's decision to impose Bengali language in all the schools from class I to IX triggers the problem in Darjeeling in 2017 which according to GJM (Gorkha Janamukti Morcha) violates 6th schedule of the Indian Constitution addresses the administration of tribal areas. The people of Nepali-Indian Gorkha ethnic origin on the Northern part of West Bengal who tried to preserve their cultural identity which is different from Bengali culture started agitation against the state government. The long drawn agitation of the GJM hinders states economic growth but granting them their autonomy may create a stable and responsible government in Darjeeling and it will end one of the longest movements for the creation of a separate state in India. Today the importance of the states has increased as Myron Weiner<sup>89</sup> observes, "The effectiveness of national planning is

conditioned by the performance of the states. The instabilities and shocks associated with the economic development process are left first at the state level and only thereafter move into national politics". Hence regional recognition in terms of statehood or state autonomy gives self-determination to the people of that particular region and they feel empowered and happy. Federalism is seen here as a political equilibrium which appropriately strikes a balance between shared rule and self-rule. Even state in turn also considered the knowledge and suggestion of the minority groups as an ideology of governance and order to lessen the distance between the state and the groups in one hand and in other to ensure more responsibility towards the society and its people and to enhance participatory democracy and to cope up the challenge created against developmental state which in the long run helps the Indian democratic state to work in multicultural plural society.

### **3. Conclusion**

The big puzzle of Indian democracy is its survival today despite the countries deep ethnic and communal, linguistic divisions. All cleavages in Indian democracy are solved by the consociation interpretation. India has had a power-sharing system of democracy during its almost fifty years of independence. After the late 1960s, as a result of greater mass mobilization and activation, power sharing became less strong and pervasive, marked by the centralization of the congress party's electoral strength, the attack of minority rights and the rise of the Bharitya Janata party (BJP). As consociational theory would have predicted, Indian democracy has remained basically stable, but the weakening of power sharing has been accompanied by increase in inter-group hostility and violence.

The consociation interpretation of India strengthens our understanding of the Indian case by providing a theoretically coherent explanation of the main patterns and trends in its political development. Challenges came from caste groups for example the Jats and caste based political parties like Bahujan Samaj party, Samajwadi Janata Dal, Janata party and these challenges were meet by giving these groups cultural autonomy and proportionality in political governance, and reservation in employment, in education for the upliftment of their socio-economic status in compare to the others in society. Like that to meet the communal challenges from the religious based or identity based political parties like Jana Sangh, Bharatya Janata Party, Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Rashtiya Sevak Sangh, Akali Dal, Bajrang Dal, proper recognition of the identity of the religious minority was given by the government and representation was given to the minority religious groups and their personal

laws. In our constitution our framers guaranteed the right to equality and freedom of religion, educational and cultural rights and constitutional remedies to secure the rights of every individual in the country thus democracy also ensures justice to all its citizens. Through the process of judicial activism true justice has been ensured to every individual. To meet the challenges of the linguistic groups and to prevent separatist tendency of these groups, regional language, Hindi and English language were given preferences officially by the government to maintain the integrity of the country. Demands of the regional assertive groups were solved by government by given the respective state like Jharkhand, Uttarakhand, Chattisgarh their autonomy for self-administering their own state. State by giving these groups like the Gorkhas, their cultural autonomy prevent the state from separation, and state tries to prevent cleavages through proportional means especially in the states of the North east India. And lastly, we must mention that the challenges thrown from the activists of new social movement which to some extent tackled by state society inter-relationship. Indian democracy today has become more decentralized (irrespective of some exception like President's Rule in times of state emergency) adopting a true structure of federalism that is very lenient center-state relation where the state has been given autonomous power in order to safeguard unity and cohesion of a democratic setup. We will also mention the method of grand coalition is a unique from to adopt with multicultural society. All the pressures from below (challenges from several minority groups) make it difficult to maintain the rule of one major party. Rather from 1967 onwards India has shifted from a dominant to a multi-party system that is government made grand coalition with the parties from minority groups for example- party based on caste or regional based. Party like BJP though secular in nature but (the party in power at present in centre with its majority) its growing strength represent a major potential threat to power sharing in India – that is the party is clearly anti-consociational. But apart from this government incorporates political parties from minority groups into its grand-coalition of power sharing which to some extent proves beneficial in designing state's contextual or multicultural design. Thus, it may be rightly concluded that through the measure of power sharing of consociational means lie the secret of the countries stability. The constitution of India embodies the principle of democratic ideas of secularism, socialism, social justice, political equality and fundamental rights. Indian democracy is the right intermixing of Western and Indian tradition of thought. Democracy respects the egalitarian and liberal principles of governed by recognizing group rights, secular principles and strengthen the welfare role of the state. India's democratic model was fashioned by Nehru in a realistic way to face the magnitude

of challenges, the nation faced in the long run in the post independent period. It is inevitable that in multiethnic and plural society like India democracy will face an obvious challenge from several groups like caste, religious, linguistic, regional forces and people affected from developmental projects and hence it finds a unique way to meet these challenges through consociational interpretation and adopting a model of contextual or multicultural democratic trend in India. Today democracy has struck very deep roots in the inhospitable soil of India.

## Notes and References

1. Kaviraj Sudipta, 'Democracy and Social Equality', in Hasan Zoya ed, (1999), Transforming India Social and Political Dynamics of Democracy, Delhi, Oxford University Press, p.86
  2. Appadorai A, (1944), Democracy in India, New York, Oxford University Press, pp.3-5
  3. Kohli Atul, 'Introduction', in Kohli Atul ed. (2001), The Success of India's Democracy, Cambridge University Press pp.5-19
  4. Appadorai A, (1944), Democracy in India, New York, Oxford University Press p.4
  5. Sharma Sanjeev Kumar, (2005), Ancient Indian Democracy- Studies, Research and Some Modern Myths, Indian Journal of Political Science, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, Vol.xxxix, No.3, July-September, pp.155-166
  6. Roy Ramashray, (2005), Democracy in India: Form and Substance, Delhi, Shipra Publication, pp.57-58
  7. Chakraborti Atulananda, 'The Welfare State', in Chakraborti Atulananda ed. (1961), Nehru- His Democracy and India, Calcutta, Thachers Press Publication Limited pp.79-88
  8. Kohli Atul, 'Interpreting India's Democracy: A State Society Framework', in Kohli Atul ed. (2001), India's Democracy: An Analysis of Changing State-Society Relations, Hyderabad, Orient Longman Publication, pp.6-11
  9. Roy Ramashray, (2005), Democracy in India: Form and Substance, Delhi, Shipra Publication, pp.66-67
  10. Sharma Sanjeev Kumar, (2005), Ancient Indian Democracy- Studies, Research and Some Modern Myths, Indian Journal of Political Science, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, Vol.xxxix, No.3, July-September, pp.158-159
  11. In case of the world like democracy not only that there is no agreed definition but the attempt to make one is resisted from all sides.....The defenders of any kind of regime claim that it is a democracy and fear that they might have to stop using the word if it were tied down to any one meaning,.....George Orwell.
- Roy Ramashray, (2005), Democracy in India: Form and Substance, Delhi, Shipra Publication, pp.3-5
12. Democracy means 'the rule of the people', which is the root of the matter, when the electoral success of one set of human beings spells the utter loss of power to rule for the other: more so when as too often is the case again becomes the loss of the superior numbers and the loss victory of the fewer. This condition gave birth to Magna Carta, the culmination that produced the French Revolution, the atmosphere that matured the 'no taxation without representation', for democracy is a state of deliverance of human beings from the oppressive rule of one, more or far away many.
- Naqavi S, M, (1967), Democracy in India, Calcutta. Cosmopolitan Publication, pp.103-147
13. Thucydides notes Athenian Democracy under Pericles, were of direct type, the demos (people) universally were supposed to participate actively in the affairs of the state, citizens of Athens enjoyed equality before law, demos were dedicated to the republican city-state, were supposed to subordinate private interests to the public good and state was a unified entity that ensures justice to its citizens.

Chaube, S.K, 'India's Republican Democracy and Ideology and Politics in India', in Chaube, S.K ed. (1999), Indian Democracy At the Turn of Century, New Delhi, Kaniska Publication, pp.23-25

14. The foremost man in Greece, the law giver (Solon), the Philosopher (Plato), the wise leader (Pericles), Studios (Aristotle) and demos (people). Apparently, we can infer that the political community now came to be constituted by separate, autonomous individuals who exercise their power as citizens in the political realm that is rule of people was the foremost criteria in ancient Greek democracy.

Roy Ramashray, (2005), Democracy in India: Form and Substance, Delhi, Shipra Publication, pp.34-35

15. "I have often wondered why the people of India put up with people like me, after all that has happened during the last few months (a reference to the terrible aftermath of partition). I am not quite sure that I had not been in the government, I would put up with my government". A few years later (1952), when reminded of the government's failure to end all food imports, he frankly admitted, I regret that my words have been falsified and I feel thoroughly ashamed that what was almost a pledge to the country has been broken".

Chakroborty Bidyut, (1993), Wither India's Democracy, New Delhi, K.P Bagchi and Company, pp.144-145

16. Jalal Ayesha, (1995), Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia, A comparative and Historical Perspective, New Delhi, Cambridge University Press, pp.20-26

17. World Brotherhood All India Committee, (1960), Indian Democracy in the Asian Background, New Delhi, Allied Publishers Private Ltd, pp.62-63

18. A hungry man is not going to put the ballot box before his next meal. If our way of life is to survive and spread and vitalize, we must offer prosperity as well as freedom. As Bernard Shaw said, "Democracy cannot rise above the level of the human material of which its voters are made". According to L.T.Hobhouse," Democracy can be worthy of us only in so far as we are worthy as human beings".

Ibid pp.88-89

19. Nehru wrote in 1935, "My roots are still perhaps party in the nineteenth century and I have been too much influenced by the humanist liberal tradition to get out it completely. Nehru's democratic thought is more the product of this broad tradition, the humanist liberal tradition,

Eugene Donald, (1958), The Political Thought of an Asian Democrat, Calcutta, Orient Longman Publication p.43

20. Democracy is not only political or economic but something of the mind, as everything is ultimately something of the mind. It involves equality of opportunity to all people as far as possible in the political and economic domain. It involves the freedom of the individual to grow and to make the best of his capacities and ability. It involves a certain tolerance of others and even of other's opinion when they differ from yours. It involves a certain inquisitive search for truth and a dynamic concept, its domain is much wider and Nehru defined democracy as a mental approach applied to our political and economic problems.

Chakroborty Bidyut, (1993), Wither India's Democracy, New Delhi, K.P Bagchi and Company, p.44

21. Hidayatullah M, (1965), Democracy in India and the Judicial Process, New Delhi Asia Publishing House, pp.42-53

22. National freedom as far as the nation is concerned, personal freedom so far as the individual is concerned. For every restriction and inhibition stops the growth and development and produces apart from economic disorders, complexes and perversions in the nation and individual. So freedom is necessary.

Mehta Bhanu Pratap, 'The State of Indian Democracy', in Basrur Rajesh. M ed. (2009), Challenges to Democracy in India, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp.49-51

23. The democratic way was not only well known but was common method of functioning in socio-political life, in local government trade guilds, religious assemblies etc, caste, with all its evils kept up the democratic habit in each group.

Eugene Donald, (1958), The Political Thought of an Asian Democrat, Calcutta, Orient Longman Publication, p.50

24. Then a politician or statesman, call him what you will, has to deal not only with the truth but with men's receptivity of that truth because if there is not sufficient receptivity of it from the politicians or statesman's polite of view, that truth is thrown into the wilderness till minds are ripe for it.

Chakraborti Atulananda, 'The Welfare State', in Chakraborti Atulananda ed. (1961), Nehru- His Democracy and India, Calcutta, Thachers Press Publication Limited, p.87

25. A scheme of values and moral standards in life. Whether you are democratic or not depends on how you act and think as an individual or as a group. You may define democracy in a hundred ways but surely one of its definitions is self-discipline of the community. The less the imposed discipline and the more the self-discipline the higher is the development of democracy.

ibid pp.63-64

26. Varshney Ashutosh, (1995), India and the Politics of a Developing Countries, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp.90-95

27. The base of institutional democracy in India will have to expand beyond parties and elections, and the political authority will have to seek legitimating by also responding to the politics of non-party and non-electoral organizations and movements that have arisen in the wider public realm (that is within civil society) and largely in response to structural changes in society.

Mohanty Monoranjan, 'Indian Democracy', in Vora Rajendra and Palsikar Suhas ed. (2004), Indian Democracy ; Meaning and Practices, New Delhi, Sage Publications, p.35

28. The state such as West Bengal, Kerala the poor have been more systematically incorporated by reform oriented communist parties

Sarkar Sumit, 'Indian Democracy; Its Historical Inheritance', in Kohli Atul ed. (2008), Reprint,( 2011), The Success of India's Democracy, New Delhi, Cambridge University Press p.15

29. Khothari Rajni, 'The Crisis of the Moderate State and the Decline of Democracy', in Jayal Niraja Gopal ed. (2007) Reprint, (2010) Democracy in India, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publication p.122

30. Rudolph and Rudolph, 'Democracy and Identity Politics', in Rudolph and Rudolph ed. (2008), Explaining Indian Democracy. A Fifty Year Perspective; 1956-2006, Vol.I, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, pp.608-610

31. Mitra Sharmila Deb, 'Democracy and Development; State Society Approach', in Mitra Sharmila Deb and Manisha M ed. (2009), Indian Democracy; Problems and Prospects, New Delhi, Anthem Press, pp.89-92

32. Kohli Atul, 'Political Change in a Democratic Developing Country', in Jayal Niraja Gopal ed. (2007) Reprint, (2010) Democracy in India, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publication p.149
33. Kohli Atul, 'Interpreting India's Democracy: A State Society Framework', in Kohli Atul ed. (2001), India's Democracy: An Analysis of Changing State-Society Relations, Hyderabad, Orient Longman Publication, pp.6-7
34. Sheth D.L and Nandy Ashis , "Introduction", in Sheth D.L and Nandy Ashis ed.(1998), The Multiverse of Democracy, Sage Publications, New Delhi (pp.9-23)
35. Gupta Sobhanlal Datta, "Social Character of the Indian State", in Das Samir Kumar and Vanaik Achin ed. (2014), The Indian State, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, pp.55-60
36. Kothari Rajni, (2005), Rethinking Democracy, New Delhi, Orient Longman Pub. pp.68-72
37. Kaviraj Sudipto, (2011), The Enchantment of Democracy and India; Politics and Ideas, Orient Black swan Publications, New Delhi, pp.274-76
38. Mohanty Monoranjan, Indian Democracy in Vora Rajendra and Palsikar Suhas ed. (2004), Indian Democracy ; Meaning and Practices, New Delhi, Sage Publications pp.115-117
39. Zubair Alam, (1987), Emergency Power in Indian Democracy, New Delhi, S. K Publishers p.87
40. Alam Zubair, (1987), Emergency Power in Indian Democracy, Delhi, S.K. Publishers, pp.94-95,110-111
41. [www.hindustantimes.com](http://www.hindustantimes.com), 28th October, 2016
42. Rodrigues Valerian, 'Two Discourses on Democracy in India', in Basrur M Rajesh ed. (2009), Challenges to Democracy in India, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, pp.69-71
43. Johari J.C, (1987), Indian Government and Politics, Delhi, Vishal Publications, p.286
44. [www.hindustantimes.com](http://www.hindustantimes.com), 28th October, 2016
45. [www.hindustantimes.com](http://www.hindustantimes.com), 28th October, 2016
46. National Institution for Transforming India – [www.niti.gov.in](http://www.niti.gov.in)
47. Kohli Atul, 'Interpreting India's Democracy: A State Society Framework', in Kohli Atul ed. (2001), India's Democracy: An Analysis of Changing State-Society Relations, Hyderabad, Orient Longman Publication, p.5
48. Huntington Samuel, (1968), Political Order in Changing Societies, New Haven, Yale University Press Pub. Chapter I, pp. 19-25
49. The Congress leaders came mostly from the intelligentsia – many of them were lawyers by profession – whose caste backgrounds drew generally from the literate castes includes Kayasthas and more importantly Brahmins (like Nehru), Congress leaders also had established close working relationships with traders and industrialists that is the capitalists (pujivadi) and with the landlords (the former zamindars, jagirdars, malguzars and maharajas) who financed in times of election and exert their strong feelings on the administration in government affairs. The upper castes (including Kshatriyas and Vaishyas) became a symbol of power elite.
- Jaffrelot Christophe, 'Caste and the Rise of Marginalized Groups in Ganguly Sumit', ed. (2009), The State of India's Democracy, New Delhi, Oxford Publications, pp.68-69

50. Rudolph and Rudolph, 'Living With Differences in India', in Rudolph and Rudolph ed. (2008), *Explaining Indian Democracy, A Fifty Years Perspective (1956-2006)*, vol.I, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, pp.102-108
51. Alam Zaveed, *What Is Happening Inside Indian Democracy?* 1999, In EPW, vol 34, No.37 (September-11th-17th September), pp.2652-2653
52. Jaffrelot Christophe, 'Caste and the Rise of Marginalized Groups', in Ganguly Sumit ed. (2009), *The State of India's Democracy*, New Delhi, Oxford Publications, pp.75-79
53. Myron Weiner, 'The Struggle for Equality; Caste in Indian Politics', in Kohli Atul ed. (2008), reprint, (2011), *The Success of India's Democracy*, New Delhi, Cambridge University Press Publications, pp.196-197
54. Anderson claims that the new significance attached to languages was facilitated by the advent of the printing press and mass production, which made the nation 'imaginable'. From face to face communities of village life, we have move to the anonymous world of nation-building, where the role of media is enormous.
- Rajan Nalini, (2002), *Democracy and the Limits of Minority Rights*, New Delhi, Sage Publications, p.134
55. Shankarrao Deo, for once reacted to this sentiment by proclaiming that he was a Marathi speaker and also an Indian. There was a warning from T.T. Krishnamachari of Madras that such an attitude of 'Hindi' - imperialism would exacerbate secessionist tendencies in the South.
- Sten Widmalm, (1997), *Democracy and Violent Separatism in India*, Sweden, Uppasala University Publications, pp.185-187
56. Vanaik Achin, (1990), *The Painful Transition; Bourgeois Democracy in India*, London, Verso Publication, p.199-205
57. Rajan Nalini, (2002), *Democracy and the Limits of Minority Rights*, New Delhi, Sage Publications, pp.142-143
58. Ganguly Rajat, 'Democracy and Ethnic Conflict', in Ganguly Sumit ed. (2009), *The State of India's Democracy*, New Delhi, Oxford Publications, p.46
59. Mohanty Monoranjan, *Democracy Limited* (1996), EPW, vol.31, no.13 (March 30th), pp.804-805
60. Engineer Ashgar Ali, "Democracy and the Politics of Identity", (1998), EPW, Vol.33, No.13 (March 26th April 3rd), pp.697-698
61. Kohli Atul, 'Interpreting India's Democracy; A State-Society Framework', in . Kohli Atul ed. (1991), *An Analysis of Changing State-Society Relations*, Hyderabad, Orient Longman, pp.320-323 and 327-330
62. Jaffrelot Christophe, 'Hindu Nationalism and Democracy', in Jayal Niraja Gopal ed. (2001), *Democracy in India; Themes in Politics*, New Delhi, Oxford Publication, pp.509-513
63. Basu Partha Pratim, 'Parliamentary Democracy and Communalism in India', in Chatterjee Aneek ed. (2005), *Indian Parliamentary Democracy in Transition*, Kolkata, Presidency College Pub. Department of Political Science, pp.34-37
64. Puniyani Ram, (2010), *Communal Threat to Secular Democracy*, Delhi, Kalpaz Pub, pp.86-91

65. Rajan Nalini, (2002), *Democracy and the Limits of Minority Rights*, New Delhi, Sage Publications, pp.125
66. Ganguly Rajat, 'Democracy and Ethnic Conflict in Ganguly Sumit', ed. (2009), *The State of India's Democracy*, New Delhi, Oxford Publications, p.50
67. It is the task of civil society to fill the gap between the individual and government. It is the failure of both of them that it fails to challenge the efforts of Hindutva forces to culturally transform civil society that has led to the present crises that is threat to democracy.
- Rajan Nalini, (2002), *Democracy and the Limits of Minority Rights*, New Delhi, Sage Publications, pp.123-124
68. Shiva Vandana, (2005), *India Divided, Diversity and Democracy under Attack*, New York, Seven Stories Press Pub, 109-111
69. Datta Prabhat, (1997), *India's Democracy, New Challenges*, New Delhi, Kanishka Pub, pp.74-75
70. Vanaik Achin, (1990), *The Painful Transition; Bourgeois Democracy in India*, London, Verso Pub, pp.121-123
71. Kohli Atul, 'Interpreting India's Democracy; A State-Society Framework', in . Kohli Atul ed. (1991), *An Analysis of Changing State-Society Relations*, Hyderabad, Orient Longman, pp.323-325
72. Ganguly Rajat, 'Democracy and Ethnic Conflict', in Ganguly Sumit ed. (2009), *The State of India's Democracy*, New Delhi, Oxford Publications, pp.49-50
73. *ibid* pp.51-53
74. *ibid* pp.123-124
75. Datta Prabhat, (1997), *India's Democracy, New Challenges*, New Delhi, Kanishka Pub, pp.80-81
76. *ibid* pp.98-101
77. Kymlica.W, (2002), *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*, Oxford, Clarendon Press Pub. pp.22
78. Taylor Charles, (1994), "The Politics of Recognition", in A and Gutmann ed. *Multiculturalism; Explaining the Politics of Recognition*, Princeton, Princeton University Press pp.25-27
79. Kohli Atul, 'Interpreting India's Democracy: A State-Society Framework', in Kohli Atul ed. (2011), *India's Democracy, An Analysis of Changing State-Society Relations*, New Delhi, Cambridge University Press, pp.15-16
80. Lijphart Arend , 'The Puzzle of India's Democracy: A Consociational Interpretation', in Jayal Niraja Gopal ed. (2001), *Democracy in India, Themes in Politics*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, pp.334-336
81. Frankel.R.Francine, (2000), "Contextual Democracy; Intersections of Society, Culture and Politics in India", in Hasan Zoya ed. *Transforming India, Social and Political Dynamics of Democracy*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, pp.6-7
82. Lijphart Arend, 'The Puzzle of India's Democracy: A Consociational Interpretation', in Jayal Niraja Gopal ed. (2001), *Democracy in India, Themes in Politics*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, pp.330-331

83. A further comparison with Japan, not yet so obvious in the early 1960s, reveals the additional contrast between India's Congress party and Japan's right of centre Liberal Democrats. Mexico's Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) is probably the closest parallel to the centrist congress party, except that it does not operate in a fully competitive democratic setting.

Ibid p.332

84. Parajuli Pramod, 'Power and Knowledge in Development Discourse: New Social Movements and the State', in Jayal Niraja Gopal ed. (2000), *Democracy in India: Themes in Politics*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Pub. pp. 274-75

85. Rajan Nalini, (2002), *Democracy and the Limits of Minority Rights*, New Delhi, Sage Pub. Pp.128-29

86. Frankel R Francine, *Contextual Democracy: Intersections of Society, Culture and Politics in India* in Hasan Zoya ed. (2000), 'Transforming India, Social and Political Dynamics of Democracy', New Delhi, Oxford University Press, pp.9-12

87. Kothari Rajini, (2005), *Rethinking Democracy*, New Delhi, Orient Longman Pub. Pp.55-58

88. Hegemony stands for a condition of domination and Gramsci's notion of hegemony is important to analyze this contestation as well. Dominant state culture is imposed through civil society to the subordinate section of people and as a result 'dominant' culture superseded the 'weak' culture as mentioned in Gramsci's 'Prison Notebook'. The subaltern section has been locked within the iron age of the society which acts as an agent of the state and subjugates these weak groups to the dominant discourse of national elites.

Parajuli Pramod, 'Power and Knowledge in Development Discourse: New Social Movements and the State in India', in Jayal Niraja Gopal ed.(2000), *Democracy in India: Themes in Politics*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Pub. pp. 260-61

89. Mukherjee Bharati, (1992), *Regionalism in Indian Politics*, K.P.Bagchi and Company Pub. Calcutta, pp.106-107

## **CHAPTER – III**

### **DISTINCTIVENESS OF INDIAN SECULARISM**

#### **1. Introduction**

#### **2. Secularism in the West**

##### **2.1. Historical Foundation of Secularism in the Western World**

##### **2.2. Distinguished Features of Western Secularism**

#### **3. Historical Foundation of a Secular State in India**

##### **3.1. Distinguished Features of Indian Secularism**

##### **3.2. Distinction between Western and Indian Concept of Secularism**

#### **4. Nehru's Views on Secular State**

#### **5. Critics of Indian Secularism**

#### **6. Challenges to Indian Secularism**

#### **7. Nature of Indian Secularism: Adopting a Contextual Model**

#### **8. Conclusion**

#### **Notes and References**

## **1. Introduction**

The idea of secularism was first self-consciously discussed by nationalist leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji, Surendranath Bannerji, Pherozshah Mehta and Gopal Krishna Gokhale who were engaged in the twin tasks of fighting British colonialism and developing a blueprint for a united Indian nation. It became especially relevant for them as a tool to combat the disruptive communal forces which later resulted in the partition of the subcontinent. Subsequently secularism and the idea of a secular state were seriously proposed as a national policy with two specific purposes – first, to combat communalism and second to provide a basis for the development of a socio-political framework for the democratic functioning of the state and for the integration of various religious communities into a harmonious society. The framers of the Indian constitution were certain that secularism and the secular state do not necessitate the elimination of religion. The important place held by religion in Indian society and its pluralistic character helps to develop religious toleration in terms of equal regard for all religions that is ‘sarva-dharma samabhava’ and this idea was projected as a desirable tool for achieving national integration<sup>1</sup>.

The term secular<sup>2</sup> has been derived from the Latin word ‘seculum’ which means an age, an indefinite period of time or the present age. The word secular in its dictionary meaning stands for “things not spiritual, civil and not ecclesiastical and for things not concerned with religion”. The secular state says D.E. Smith “is a state which guarantees individual and corporate freedom of religion, deals with the individual as a citizen irrespective of this religion is not constitutionally connected to a particular religion nor does it seek either to promote or interfere with religion”. The Indian state is secular in the sense that its constitution guarantees full religious liberty to all individuals and groups and forbids discrimination against any citizen on grounds only of religion, and caste. It is just as well that it is not secular in the western sense of complete separation between church and state, for it reserves to itself the right to intervene in the interest of necessary social reforms in matters which customarily come under the preview of religion.

## **2. Secularism in the West**

The secular state in the west was the answer to a twofold problem – first separation of church and state in Europe was in part an arrangement to curtail the political power of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and second, the secular state in the west was found to be the best

guarantee of the preservation of religious liberty. Scholars have traditionally traced the beginnings of secularism to the doctrine of two swords<sup>3</sup>, advocated by Pope Gelasius I (6<sup>th</sup> century), which asserted the separation of two powers – the church and the state. The same distinction, albeit in a religious context, was made by Saint Augustine (early 5<sup>th</sup> century), between the “city of god” and the “city of man”. But it was Saint Bernard (12<sup>th</sup> century), who first asserted that the function of clergy was pastoral and not temporal, and that they should restrict themselves to the spiritual guidance of humanity. Marsilio of Padua (13<sup>th</sup> century) affirmed that the church has no power to coerce, punish or forgive sins. The real beginnings of secularism must be found in the spirit of Reformation in 16<sup>th</sup> century. Martin Luther’s advocacy of the individual’s right and the autonomy of secular power became important tenets of secularism.

Secularism is, above all, a product of the renaissance and enlightenment. The most important factor which inspired the secularist thinking of the period was the rapid growth of science and technology. Astronomy of Copernicus (16<sup>th</sup> century), Galileo (17<sup>th</sup> century), Newton (late 17<sup>th</sup> century and early 18<sup>th</sup> century) and Laplace (late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century) demolished the biblical cosmology and world-view. Science of biology especially Darwinian theory<sup>4</sup> of evolution (19<sup>th</sup> century) demolished another dogma regarding the entire human race descending from a common ancestor Adam. The empiricism of Locke (17<sup>th</sup> century), Bacon and Hume (18<sup>th</sup> century), the rationalism of Descartes (17<sup>th</sup> century), Kant (18<sup>th</sup> century), the utilitarianism of Bentham (18<sup>th</sup> century), and Mill (19<sup>th</sup> century) and the positivism of Comte (19<sup>th</sup> century) provided the intellectual framework for the development of a secularist ideology. The philosophers affirmed the autonomy of reason<sup>5</sup>, the importance of empirical experience and the need for free enquiry.

Scholars like G.J.Holyoake<sup>6</sup> defined secularism as a simple philosophy which affirmed concern for life in this world, as articulated by the humanists and positivists alike. Secularism affirms the worth of this worldly existence, the independence of scientific knowledge and human happiness as the only legitimate aims of social institutions. He described secularism as a “way of thinking” and as being concerned with “issues that can be tested in this life”. In the recent work, ‘A Secular Age’, Charles Taylor<sup>7</sup> has reconstructed the process through which the phenomenological experience of what he calls “the immanent frame” becomes constituted as an interlocking constellation of the modern differentiated cosmic, social and moral orders.

## **2.1 Historical Foundation of Secularism in the Western World**

The rise of Christianity produced a new set of relationship unknown to the ancient world, and led to the problem of church and state. From its inception Christianity recognized and taught a basic duality – the spiritual and the temporal, each with its appropriate loyalties. Inevitably the loyalty of the people towards state came into conflict with their loyalty of god. Under the Edict of Milan<sup>8</sup> (AD. 312 or 313), a great step toward freedom of religion was taken with the provision that “liberty of worship shall not be denied to any, but that the mind and will of every individual shall be manage divine according to his own choice”. The most important theory which sought to define the jurisdiction of each other was that expounded by Pope Gelasius I in the fifth century. His doctrine of the two swords implied the dual organisation of human society – church to conserve spiritual interests and to mediate eternal salvation, and the state to maintain peace, order and justice in temporal affairs. Modifying the original idea of the two swords, the papalist later insisted that all authority, spiritual and temporal, was originally given to the church, retaining the spiritual power, the church handed down the temporal authority to be exercised by the state.

Henry IV, like his predecessors, did not hesitate to sell high ecclesiastical appointments to the highest bidder. Pope Gregory VII, on the other hand, claimed greater authority for the clergy but by the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the papacy was confronted theoretically by a universal emperor and also by an independent king. The rise of independent sovereign states produced a politically fragmented Europe which successfully challenged the papacy’s temporal claims. The Reformation later intensified this fragmentation by the introduction of religious diversity. One of the most influential thinkers to contribute to the idea of the secular state was Marsiglio of Padua. Living in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, Marsiglio defended the independence of secular rule as good and necessary. He developed a theory of secular government based upon the conceptions of the Italian city-states. In England and France religion became essentially a matter of inner spiritual faith and experience and freedom of conscience was restored. John Locke’s Two Treatises of Government which became the Bible of modern liberalism laid great stress on the individual’s “life, liberty and property”, upon which a legitimate government would not dare to encroach. In New York, New Jersey Maryland and Georgia the state-church separation was established. Finally in Rhode Island, Pennsylvania and Delaware the influence of the institution of church has been distinctly reduced.

The pattern of church-state relations which evolved in America was transplanted from Europe<sup>9</sup>. The Calvinist (Puritans) who came to Massachusetts Bay in 1628 established a theocratic type of polity similar to Calvin's Geneva. Although they came to the new world they seek religious liberty for them. In Virginia and other southern colonies the established church of England was largely controlled by the state. The colony of Rhode Island was founded by Roger Williams in 1636 demanded the separation of church and state and freedom of conscience of the individual. Other great exponent of religious liberty was Quaker William Penn, who founded the colony of Pennsylvania who widely demanded religious toleration and strict state-church separation in the colony. Locke's<sup>10</sup> idea of rationalism influenced the American world too. It reduced the dogmatism and fanaticism of religious groups and individual's freedom of conscience were upheld which resulted in church-state separation. James Madison and Thomas Jefferson were prominent leaders in the agitation for separation of church and state in Virginia, and their efforts met with full success by 1786. Separation was achieved in the states in 1833 with the deestablishment of the church from worldly affairs. Jeremy Bentham's reforms envisaged religious liberty, equality in citizenship rights to establish democratic order in the society. J.S. Mill's great essay *On Liberty* became a classic statement of the liberal creed and buttressed freedom of religion, individualism and utility of the individual at all cost. In England, in the established churches, the bishops and archbishops are appointed by the Prime Minister; who preside as voting members of the House of Lords. The church was however disestablished in Wales, in 1920.

In France prior to reformation the monolithic Roman Catholic faith had its influence over the life of the people where the monarchy is based upon the religious justification of Roman pope. Gradually, the monarchy had established a largely autonomous political and administrative structure. Since the Concordat of 1516, the power was shared between the king and the Pope for the appointments in the upper clergy. With the Gallic movement<sup>11</sup>, autonomy of the French Catholic Church was restored which freed the church from the direct rule of the Pope. At the same time the spirit of the French enlightenment influenced the nobility, the bourgeoisie and the philosophers like Voltaire directly attack the Roman Catholic Church. In 1787, Louis XVI specified in article one, "The Roman Catholic religion alone will continue to enjoy public worship in our realm", but it was resisted by Protestants and finally article ten of "Declaration of the right of Man and the Citizen", proclaimed the principle of religious freedom. The eighteenth-century philosopher Montesquieu<sup>12</sup> in his

famous work, *The Spirit of Laws*, forcefully attacked the notion that there ought to be religious uniformity in a state. The French Revolution overthrew the established Catholic Church along with the hated monarchy and demarcated the distinction between liberty and tolerance and established a new cult of rationalism and reason. In the year 1804, in France and in USA the date of the Civil Code was declared which finally culminates in the year 1905 with the establishment of a neutrally religious state and the law of separation of church and state.

The separation in France had an immediate effect elsewhere in Western Europe, and Geneva and several other Swiss states soon adopted similar policies. The German Weimer Republic of the 1920s adopted the principle of the separation of church and state, although the states maintained their own religious establishments, and continues to do so. In Netherland, Belgium, Australia, Newzealoand, South Africa, Latin America and France church –state separation followed and religious liberty was granted to all individuals. The law passed in 1789 declared that all members whether Jews, Turks, Chinese would enjoy freedom to practice their own religion and finally equality and full citizenship were granted to all members of the society. Hence in the western world secularization follows a dynamic path to emancipate all secular principles from clerical ecclesiastical control. The boundaries between the religious and the secular are rigidly maintained, aiming to marginalize everything religious from secular public sphere.

## **2.2 Distinguished Features of Western Secularism**

### **1. Declaration of Rights and Religious Freedom**

The state ensures all earthly pleasures<sup>13</sup> to the people in a secular state and therefore considers all the people to practice their own religion freely. It was marked by institutional fragmentation or dissociation that is Catholicism was no longer remained an inclusive institution to exaggerate its influence in the society rather had to confine itself in its religious activities.

### **2. Recognition of Legitimacy**

Religion the foundation of morality, still remain as a useful tool in the society. Secularism is an idea that implies that there is a basic agreement between religious morality and common social morals. The state officially recognized several religions and their freedom to profess and practice their religion in the way they want. State is bound to satisfy the ‘religious

needs' of the people belong to different religious community and work towards the moral well being of the country. Within the framework defined by law, the state therefore guaranteed freedom to various religions. While generally upholding religion, the state liked to see itself as an impartial arbiter. The state took over from the church the power for the registration of births, deaths and marriages and this is a revolutionary step of the state. The Catholic Church received subsidies paid by the state. State attempted to protect the rights of the citizens and the power of Church was curtailed from all earthly affairs.

### 3. Secular Education

Education of the people is considered as an indispensable corollary of universal suffrage<sup>14</sup>. Educational laws were passed in 1872 to develop an educational system devoid of any religious influence. More freedom were given to state to make access in higher education and in 1883 educational system became fully operational, ensuring education to women mainly to freed the women from the influence of Roman Catholic Church. Finally education became secular and compulsory in nature and the expenditure of the schools and college teachers would be given from the state fund.

### 4. Freedom of Religion

The state guaranteed each citizen freedom of conscience and allowed each one to assemble with others in various religious societies<sup>15</sup> or associations, with a legal private and public status. Hence we can opine that the conception of a secular state was not produced in a vacuum rather it's a movement to establish rationality and freedom of individual from the bondage of ecclesiastical authority. Freedom of religion, citizenship and separation of state and religion is the basic feature of western secularism.

## **3. Historical Foundation of a Secular State in India**

### **Ancient India**

In India, secularism in its widest sense stands for tolerance. Indian secularism subscribes to the Hindu philosophical tenet that all religion has elements of truth and no religion can claim the monopoly of truth. Hinduism has never put forth the claims that it alone is the true religion<sup>16</sup>. The spirit of toleration is the foundation of the theory of Indian secularism. Hinduism was never a militant religion rather it is an essence; a way of life. After Sankara, Sanatan Dharma had become formal and ritualistic. The atmosphere throughout ancient

India was more or less tolerant and state promotes religious liberty to all. In ancient India the promotion of Dharma<sup>17</sup> (law, duty, morality, and religion) was regarded as the foremost aim of the state. In promoting Dharma the Hindu kings built temples, granted them large endowments and exercised strict supervision over their affairs. The religiously tolerant Hindu state<sup>18</sup> which patronized all sects impartially provided one of the historical bases of secularism. A clear cut distinction was made in ancient Indian polity between the functions of priest and king. The Vedic king discharged no priestly functions but look upon the welfare of his subjects. The Brahman ordained a spiritual authority<sup>19</sup> and he alone could perform the sacrifices and utter the sacred incantations. The Kshatriya caste provided to the rulers and the warriors, although in course of time a few non-Kshatriya dynasties were founded. While the Brahman stood at the top of the caste system, spiritually superior to the Kshatriya, his valid function was the priestly office only; his superior position gave him no direct authority in matters of government. This tradition supports one aspect of secularism. The supremacy of dharma<sup>20</sup> was the central conception in early Hindu political thought. Kautilya's secularism<sup>21</sup> did not envisage the institutional separation of state and religion, the patronage and regulation of temples was simply another area of state administration. However, the Arthashastra did undermine the theoretical basis for the promotion of religion by the state.

### **Medieval India**

The society established by Mohammed in the seventh century A.D was an integrated religio-political community<sup>22</sup>. It gave no recognition either in theory or in practice to the distinction between spiritual and temporal. The classical Islamic polity did not exist during the Muslim rule in India - the Delhi Sultanate (1211-1504) and the Mughal Empire (1526-1757). Peter Hardy<sup>23</sup> opined that the Muslim ruler sometimes depends on the religious guidance of the ulama or the spiritual authority. The religious policy of the Indian Muslim rulers ranged from a tolerance and syncretism of Akba<sup>24</sup> to the bigotry and fanaticism of Aurangzeb. The public worship of Hindu idols was generally forbidden and Hindus were not allowed to build new temples or repair old ones. Sometimes rulers like Feroz Shah Tughlaq would desecrate temples upon the conquest of new territory as a symbol of the victory of Islam<sup>25</sup>. On some pious occasions a particular Muslim king like Sikandar Lodhi, would have a fit of religiosity and desecrate or destroy even existing temples in peaceful times. In 1669, Aurangzeb issued a general order for the destruction of all Hindu temples and schools. During the sultanate and later under Aurangzeb, many Hindus were forcibly

converted to Islam. Shah Jahan appointed a superintendent of converts charged with special responsibility for making converts. The attempt was made by Aurangzeb to exclude all Hindus from government posts. Hindus were constantly reminded of their inferior status in an Islamic state.

In marked contrast, Akbar followed a policy of broad religious tolerance and equality of treatment for all his subjects. He forbade forcible conversions to Islam and permitted Hindus, Christians and Shia's to make converts also. Akbar gave official encouragement to the spirit of tolerance<sup>26</sup> where the Muslim theologians and scholars, as well as Sufi mystics, came and expounded their teachings. S. Abid Hussain<sup>27</sup> wrote that the new Indian nation which Akbar forged was based, "not on the community of religion but on the citizenship of the same state". It is certainly true that the emperor did much to create what we would call now a 'common citizenship', with equal rights for all irrespective of religious differences. In this respect Akbar's state came much nearer to the modern conception than the Hindu state, which was religiously tolerant, and dealt with people with legal and administrative matters according to caste status.

### **Modern Era (The British Period)**

The British East India Company began as a commercial enterprise, but in course of time became a vast colonial power exercising all the functions of government. The religious policy of the European trader-government ruling over millions of Hindus and Muslims was non-interference<sup>28</sup> in the religious life of the country and its subjects. As Britain's Indian empire expanded, British followed a policy of religious neutrality. Lord William Bentinck<sup>29</sup> struggled for abolition of sati with Raja Rammohun Roy to remove superstitious belief from Hindu society and to ensure civil rights, justice, equality and individual freedom which is part of secular society. They want to restore universal toleration and to respect all religion but giving the supremacy of the state (political authority) first priority. One of the great contributions made by the British Raj was the establishment of the principle of equality before the law. The introduction of a uniform civil law was an indispensable foundation for the development of a secular state. There were definitely two points of view regarding this legislation. The British government upholds the "Freedom of Religious Act"<sup>30</sup> a measure which established the great principle that a person could not be deprived of his civil rights because of his profession of any religion. Government would be neutral and aid all educational institutions to impart education exclusively secular in nature<sup>31</sup>.

In the latter half of the century, the role of the British government has changed and they adopted policies to create communal tensions in India which blurred the picture of secular context<sup>32</sup> by encouraging the policy of separate electorate for each religious community. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the first small concessions were made by the British to the Indians to participate in the legislative process. Against a background of mutual distrust created by the British within the two communities, both communities demand separate electorates<sup>33</sup>. In 1906 the Agha Khan headed a Muslim deputation which presented its demand for separate representation to Lord Minto, the then governor general. The Indian Council Act of 1909 provided for separate Muslim electorate in most of the major provinces. Muslim seats were reserved in the Indian Legislative council and the provincial councils, and only Muslims could vote for candidates for these seats. In 1916 the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, enjoying a brief period of harmonious relations<sup>34</sup>, concluded an agreement regarding the representation of Muslims in the various legislative councils. The agreement, known as the Lucknow Pact, confirmed the principle of separate electorates. The Government of India Act which finally emerged in 1919 accorded communal representation not only to Muslims but to the Sikhs in the Punjab and to Europeans and Anglo-Indian Christians. In addition, a definite proportion of seats were reserved to non-Brahmins in Madras and for Marathas in Bombay. The 1930 report of the Indian Statutory Commission stated that the Montagu-Chelmsford evaluation of granting separate electorates were theoretically wrong, harmful in practice, but politically necessary in favour of the Indian Muslims. The Round Table Conferences<sup>35</sup> in London (1930-1932) failed to resolve the question of the number of seats for each community and Act of 1935<sup>36</sup> and Mac Donald's Communal Award, specified the reserved seats for the minority community. The system of separate representation undoubtedly stimulated the further growth of communalism which culminated in the partition of the sub-continent.

### **3.1 Distinguished Features of Indian Secularism**

We have sought to identify that religious tolerance is the basis of India's secularism. The three distinguished features are –

#### **1. Secularism as a National Ideology in India's Freedom Movement**

Early political activists like Dadabhai Naoroji, Surendranath Bannerji, Pherozshah Mehta and Gopal Krishna Gokhale were inspired by the liberal thinkers of the west like. They advocated the concept of moral foundations of political authority. Justice, generosity and

humanity alone constitute the golden link which holds the political structures together. Political power has to be freed from the perversities of biases, unfounded and misleading prejudices and from the defecets of their class and position. S.Bannerji accepted the purifying and enabling role of high moral idealism in politics. Gopal Krishna was committed to the philosophy of reason, spiritual and moral liberation, and universal tolerance. Naoroji condemned the unnatural financial and economic policy of the British rulers. He thus built up a theory of economic foundations of Indian nationalism. Surendranath Bannerji, Ranade opined that in India the religious ideals are low and thus the socio-economic and political bondings were low and the Indians thus lacked in political consciousness and apparently comprehensive conception of 'swadeshism'<sup>37</sup> could not develop in Indian soil. Rabindranath Tagore emphasised on the empirical human values of love, harmony and peace. He was thus a prophet of humanism and universalism. He believed that it was India's destiny to evolve unity in the midst of diversities. He formulated and sponsored a moral approach to politics. According to Aurobindo, secularism is the form of liberation (mukti) of the individual self from the bonds of earthly life. Aurobindo Ghosh combined the western ideas of patriotism and nationalism with the religious symbolism of Hinduism. In Maharashtra, Tilak promoted the celebration of Shivaji festivals which became the vehicles of nationalist expression.

The Indian National Congress was established in 1885 and this later formed the sphere head of the freedom struggle<sup>38</sup>. The INC leaders like W.C.Bonnerji and other Congress creed like Dadabhai Naoroji, Mahadev Govind Ranade, Pherozshah Mehta, Surendranath Bannerji and Gokhale shared the view that INC was a national body. Its aim was to improve economic condition of the people and to make people aware of the political condition and their exploitation by the British which hampers nation's advancement. Hence they gave a comprehensive conception of swadeshism which was not only a political and economic movement but a moral and spiritual movement for the liberation of the energies of the nation. According to M.N.Roy, the essence of secularism is not to give every citizen an option to choose which religion he wants to follow, but an option to escape the bondage of religion. According to him secularism is not a political institution; it is a cultural atmosphere<sup>39</sup> which advocates a democratic and ethical society.

In 1920, the congress came under the control of M.K.Gandhi, whose nationalism had deep roots in religious faith. Gandhi used religious terminology to explain the objectives of the nationalist movement. In the future, India would become Ram Rajya, the kingdom of

Rama, a golden age of peace and prosperity. Gandhi declared that his Hinduism included all that he knew to be best in Islam, Christianity, Buddhism and Zoroastrianism. Gandhi strove unceasingly for Hindu-Muslim unity and convinced that ultimately both religions were true and valid. His deepest conviction was that god, truth and ahimsa were all one and the same. Satyagraha (therefore, non-violent resistance) was thus based on Gandhi's personal religious faith, but as a political device it was employed by many thousands who did not share the faith. Gandhi's leadership of the INC gave it a somewhat Hindunized appearance, but his constant emphasis on the religious, social and political unity of the various communities helped to lay the foundation of the secular state. According to Gandhi the state must be so organized that all religions can peacefully co-exist. In order to ensure this, the function of the state must be non-religious and the state must deal with people as individual and not as members of religious communities. Thus according to Gandhi's ideology religion and politics were not incompatible, rather they were complementary<sup>40</sup> to each other and hence he believed in the synthesis of religion and politics. Hence the concept of secularism in India meant an all inclusiveness<sup>41</sup> of all religions together and hence the nationalist or the freedom fighters used secularism as a national ideology<sup>42</sup> that is they gave a clarion call to all religious community to fight together for the cause of freedom of the nation.

## 2. Secularism Paves the Path for Hindu Renaissance

The introduction of western education, with its emphasis on scientific attitude and rationalism, created an impact upon the sensitive minds of the intelligentsia. Raja Rammohun Roy, the father of modern India and Indian renaissance fought all the way from the burning Ghats of Calcutta to the Privy Council in London to eradicate sati and dowry. He stood for the abolition of sati, education of women, prevention of child marriages and polygamy, codification of laws, and separation<sup>43</sup> of judiciary and executive. The evolution of secularism in the ethical thought was associated with the practical endeavor to promote social reform and civil and religious liberty. Justice M.G. Ranada and his Parthana Samaj stood for breaking of the caste system, and he introduced widow-marriage, abolition of child marriage and encouragement of women's education. Ranade stood for a synthesis<sup>44</sup> of the best elements in Hindu, Islamic and western civilizations on the basis of rationalism. Swami Dayananda Saraswati on the other hand advocated the supremacy of Vedic culture in all spheres of life. Swami Vivekananda<sup>45</sup> stood for the revival of certain aspects of Vedic culture but also for the liquidation of economic poverty, political servitude and educational backwardness of the masses. Syed Ahmed Khan was a typical Muslim aristocrat who had

very little rapport with the Muslim masses. But he was keen that his community should adopt western education and western liberal values and ways. The first Muslim college called Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College was established in Aligarh by Syed Ahmed Khan, which later on transformed into Aligarh Muslim University in 1920. His primary interest was to remove the prejudices and to modernize the community and hence with the help of the British government he remains successful in modernizing and imparting western education in the newly setup schools and colleges.

### 3. Secularism as the Means to Combat Communalism

Syed Ahmed Khan forbade his co-religionist to participate in the nationalist movement largely because he needed the support of the colonial power for the upliftment of the community. Jinnah repeatedly claimed congress as purely a Hindu organisation<sup>46</sup>. British policy of separate electorates further intensified communal consciousness<sup>47</sup> and created an atmosphere of mistrust and hostility within Congress organization and among the League members. All India Muslim league was given separate electorates for Muslims in the year 1909. Muslim seats were reserved in both central and provincial councils for which only Muslims could vote. This system of separate electorates undoubtedly strengthened the consciousness of separate identities<sup>48</sup> in various religious groups, and thus encouraged communalism. Gradually a new brand of Hindu communalism developed as represented by Hindu Mahasabha and Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh. While the Muslim league criticized INC as a Hindu Organisation, Hindu Mahasabha declared it to be treacherous to the Hindus. Hindu Mahasabha president Veer Savarkar developed the concept of Hindutva for the first time. It supposedly referred to a people who are united by the bonds of race, religion and culture. The aim of the Hindu Mahasabha was the maintenance, protection and promotion of the Hindu race, Hindu culture and Hindu civilization and the advancement of the glory of the Hindu rashtra (nation). RSS was another Hindu fundamentalist<sup>49</sup> communal organization which affirmed the idea of a Hindu nation and M.S.Golwalkar asserted that Hindus were one nation from which non-Hindus were automatically excluded. To the Muslim League leaders<sup>50</sup> INC were an organization of temporal interest and an organization to meet political interests of the Hindus. In this circumstance Md. Ali Zinnah tried to inculcate the seeds of separation within the community members which later intensified in the outbreak of communal riots<sup>51</sup> and the demand for separate state – Pakistan.

To the INC leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji, Surendranath Bannerji, Gopalkrishna Gokhale, national identity and the interests of the nation as a whole were all inclusive which transcended the differences of religion, caste, language etc. The secular ideology<sup>52</sup> of the congress leaders focused on nation and its territory which includes all the inhabitants of India, irrespective of their religions or any other differences. Gandhi stated that national integration or the sense of national identity could be achieved only if Indians set aside their religious identities and joined hands in the freedom struggle. Mahatma's efforts to integrate the "the lower", caste Hindus into the larger Hindu society, as well as his efforts to bring the Muslims and the other religious minorities into the national mainstream were expressions of nationalist, humanitarian perceptions which were shared by nationalist leaders to a large extent. This approach implied a total rejection of communalism<sup>53</sup>, but openly accepted the desirability of religious tolerance and importance of religion in a person's life. On the other hand, religious identity was not important for Nehru who emphasized a secular national identity rather than peaceful coexistence of different religious communities. Thus Indian nationalism was based on the perception that a nation is constituted by a people who share a common life, a more or less common culture, common everyday problem and endeavor together to achieve common goals of freedom, democratic rights and a just social order.

### **3.2 Distinction between Western and Indian Concept of Secularism**

Secularism is a belief system that rejects religion or the belief from the affairs of the state. The principle of separation of church and state and of keeping religion out of the public realm is defined as secularism. Collin's National Dictionary defined secularism as an 'ethical doctrine' which advocates a 'moral code', independent of religious beliefs and considerations. Western secularism has become a fact of life, a result of long struggle between two organized power – the church and the state which ultimately established the power of state in worldly affairs. Indian secularism remains an ideal or a value to be realized which aims to divorce politics from religion.

In the west secularism implies the principle of rationalism<sup>54</sup> and human reason, to unravel the mysteries of the world and to guide man in positive direction. The idea of rationalism developed in Greek thought and renaissance resulted in the rejection of the ecclesiastical authority to mould the lives of the people. The concept or the principal of autonomy is a second important aspect of western secularism. The idea implies the

centrality of man as the supreme end of his actions. Secularism in the west means a separation of organized religion from organized political power. In this sense secularism is a universal normative doctrine, with a fixed content. Harvey Cox<sup>55</sup>, in his 'The Secular City' and in his 'The Secular: Secularization and urbanization in a Theological perspective' opined that "the Biblical vision of man find its radical interpretation as man is feeble and weak, which has been rejected and instead stood forth the idea that reason had already made nature autonomous and a more intellectual leap as needed to make man morally and political autonomous". In west, secularization becomes a process of mans increasing involvement with his earthly life and his concern with his present situation, rather than his pre-occupation with his destiny which lies in eternity.

Secularism in Indian context means first, 'dharmanirapakasata' or impartiality to religion and secondly, 'sarva dharma sama bhava'<sup>56</sup> or equal respect for all religions based on the principle of accommodation of all religions. To be precise, we must say Indian secularism is not so much philosophy advocating reverence of all 'dharma' (religion), but a clarion call for a single dharma, that is Hindu dharma( 'ekabhava') which universality comprises of all other religions. Indian secularism is multi-value character<sup>57</sup> and gives importance to moral reasoning and equally respecting all religion. Rajni Kothari<sup>58</sup> in his book expressed the idea that Indian secularism signifies the polarities of separating religion from politics and accommodating different religions through the arbitration and assumed neutrality of the state. Like other ideas of democracy, socialism, Indian secularism developed as a response to the actual historical needs of Indian society.

The conception of a secular state involves three distinct but interrelated sets of relationships concerning the state, religion and the individual. The three sets of relations are: a) freedom of religion, b) citizenship and c) separation of state and religion.

#### **a) Freedom of Religion**

In the west secularism is defined as a freedom of conscience, freedom of religion means an individual may or may not have faith or shows belief in Church or any religious matter freely according to his own choice<sup>59</sup>, but in India, freedom of religion means an individual have right to profess his or her religious beliefs and practices. In the west (in United States), for Madison and Jefferson, freedom of conscience meant the freedom to exercise religious liberty to worship or not, to support a church or not, to profess belief or disbelief – without suffering civil penalties or incapacities. It had nothing to do with a right to choose one's

beliefs. Madison and Jefferson understood religious liberty as the right to exercise religious duties according to the dictates of conscience not the right to choose religious beliefs. Indeed, their argument for religious liberty relies on the assumption that beliefs are not a matter of choice.

In India the individual is free to consider and to discuss with others the relative claims of different religion and to come to a decision without any interference from the state. The individual is free to reject them all. If the particular individual decides to embrace one religion, he has freedom to follow its teachings, participate in its worship and other activities, propagate its doctrines and hold office in its organizations. If the individual decides to denounce his religion or to embrace another, he has that liberty to do so. The state cannot dictate religious beliefs to the individual or compel him to profess and practice a particular religion<sup>60</sup>. It cannot force him to contribute financially towards the support of a religion by taxation. However there is a limited area in which the secular state can legitimately regulate the manifestation of religion in the interests of public health, safety and morals. India as a secular state guarantees freedom of association for religious purposes as carefully as the individual's freedom of conscience<sup>61</sup>. All religious groups have the right to organize, to manage their own affairs in religious matters, to own and acquire property and to establish and administer educational and charitable institutions. Indian constitution guarantees freedom of religion under article 25-28 to its citizens.

## **b) Citizenship**

The secular state views the individual as a citizen and not as a member of particular religious group. Religion becomes entirely irrelevant in defining the terms of citizenship; its rights and duties are not affected by the individual's religious beliefs. Western secularism views the individual as a citizen and as a member of a particular religious group and there is no influence of religion on citizenship. In the west<sup>62</sup> an individual perform religious duties as a part of their life style and religion is not indispensable for the identification of any individual. Civil liberty was ensured in America in 1993 with Religious Freedom Restoration Act by the Congress, where it was declared that people should be free to pursue their own religious liberty, interests and ends. Individual or citizens are free to exercise duties irrespective of any religious restrictions. A secular state seeks to secure the religious liberty of all members of society. In a secular country their core beliefs and practices come to dominate on one hand and on the other liberty are granted to all

religious communities without any preference. As any religious values, norms or identity could distort the principle of democratic citizenship the state do not interfere with the freedom of religion in private or public sphere.

In India the case for religious liberty<sup>63</sup> derives not from the moral importance of religion, but from the need to protect individual autonomy. Government in a secular state should be neutral towards all religion to secure good life and religious values of the individual. In India rights of citizen<sup>64</sup> are guaranteed from article 14-18 as right to equality and from article 19-22 as right to freedom where no individual is discriminated on religious or caste grounds by the state, and to perform political function. The rights and duties of citizens are not affected by the religious beliefs held by individuals. Religious communities influences and shaped the identity of the citizens in India and India gives special emphasize to citizens of religious minority community. All citizens are guided by their own personal laws and Indian Christian churches are in general sufficiently well organized and skilled in the techniques of communication that they can make their influence felt on the member of Christian community in India. To sum up the presence of fairly large religious minority effectively organized and pay a key role in the development of the secular set up of Indian state.

### **c) Separation of State and Religion**

In the west the underlying assumption of this concept is simply that religion and the state function in two basically different areas of human activity, each with its own objectives and methods. The democratic state derives its authority from a secular source ('the consent of the governed') and is not subordinate to ecclesiastical power<sup>65</sup>. In the western world under the principle of separation; both religion and the state have freedom to develop without interfering with each other. Religious groups can organize, frame their own creeds and regulations, choose their own ecclesiastical officers, found their educational institutions and finance their own activities, all without interference from the state. The state on the other hand is free from the financial responsibility of supporting an official religion and free from all vested ecclesiastical interests. Separation of state and religion thus seeks to fulfill the idea, "a free church in a free state".

In India all religions are, in one limited respect, subordinate to as well as separate from the state. As voluntary associations of individual's citizens, religious groups are under the general laws of the state and responsible for the proper discharge of civil responsibilities

(payment of taxes, maintenance of public order etc). In this respect religions are viewed by the state in much the same way that it views other voluntary associations based on common social, cultural and economic interests<sup>66</sup>. Indian secularism is concerned much with intra-religious oppression as with inter-religious dominations. As example we find state donates funds to 'maths' and 'mandirs', states interference in religious matters to abolish 'devadashipratha' or allow the dalits to enter in all Hindu temples which is publicly maintained. Indian secular state maintains peace between religions, that allows different religious to co-exist and thus Indian secularism is a multi-value doctrine<sup>67</sup>. It accommodates and respects all religious communities and thus allows all religious communities to run their own religious institutions or to guide the community with their personal laws and state does not impose universal civil code on the community.

#### **4. Nehru's Views on Secular State**

Nehru is known as an architect of Indian secularism. A pluralistic and liberal society could survive by unifying the large cultural diversities. To Nehru, India was a much the centre of Hinduism as a unique expression of a 'cultural multiplicity' which lasted for thousands of years. In a reminiscent mood he wrote, "Hundreds of vivid pictures of this past filled my mind, and they would stand out as soon as I visited a particular place associated with them. At saranath, near Banaras I would almost see the Buddha preaching his first sermon. Ashoka's pillar of stone with their inscriptions would speak to me in their magnificent language and tell me of a man who though an emperor, was greater than any king or emperor. At Fathepur Sikri, Akbar, forgetful of his empire, was seated holding converse and debate with the learned of all faiths or curious to learn something new and seeking an answer to the eternal problem of man"<sup>68</sup>.

The secular state mean a state which guarantees individual and corporate freedom of religion, deals with the individual as a citizen, irrespective of his religion, which is not constitutionally connected to a particular religion, nor does it seek either to promote or interfere with it. A secular state is therefore a state where citizens are not discriminated in any form or manner on the basis of their religion. Secularism may be an ideology and may be seen as such as a way of life and a concrete process of nation building. It is not the function of a secular state to promote regulate, direct or otherwise interfere in religion. A secular state while granting basic fundamental rights, enjoins upon its citizen not to discriminate against any citizen on grounds of religion, sex, caste etc. It also grants freedom

of conscience and free profession, practice and propagation of religion subject to public order, morality and health. Simultaneously a secular state may also reserve the right of making provision for advancement of any socially backward community or of making any law imposing restrictions on religious practices in the interest of public peace and morality. A secular state thus always exists to safeguard<sup>69</sup> the welfare of its citizens and provides them equal opportunities for the development of self. Thus we can assume the following to be the characteristics of a secular state – no established state religion, tolerance to all the religion, discouragement to bigotry, equality of rights, welfare of people, no religious education by government, condemnation of religious dogma, no religion exempted from the laws of the secular state. Secular state<sup>70</sup> in India means a state which honours all faiths equally and gives all religion equal opportunities.

The word secular conveyed to him much more than the mere dictionary meaning, especially in the context of social conditions prevailing in this country. Thus a caste ridden society is not popularly secular hence Nehru desired to build a political structure in which the individual was not subject to any social inequalities imposed by religious diversity existed in the country, secularism was essentially a practical approach for maintaining social stability and harmony. Nehru's concept of secularism<sup>71</sup> was as much a product of Indian situation and intimately linked with the idea of the good society. Nehru was concerned with secularism because he was convinced that organised religion and even the religious outlook were opposed to democracy. Western model of secularism that is state-church separation can hardly fit the Indian reality. According to Nehru, "Secular philosophy itself must have come from some background, some objective other than merely material wellbeing. Indian secularism possesses India's traditional and spiritual values and certain standards of ethical behaviours"<sup>72</sup>.

Nehru's concept of secularism has mainly four aspects -

Firstly, Nehru always believed in a multi-religious<sup>73</sup> India and India is a common home to all those who live here to whatever religion they may belong, they have equal rights and obligations. The most essential factors of secularism were granting of equal status to all religions in India. He thought that the right to perform religious ceremonies should certainly be guaranteed to all communities. He said that no religion should be deprived of its legitimate rights, should depend on the membership of religious group of community. It

can fully understand the right to freedom in religion, to him it means equal respect for all faiths and equal opportunities for those profess any faith.

Secondly, Secularism according to Nehru is that, state should follow a policy of neutrality in religious matters. Nehru was convinced that the government of free India must be secular, in the sense that government will not associate itself directly with any religious faith. Nehru always condemned in strong words any talk of Hindu raj or Muslim raj. He believed in people's raj<sup>74</sup> and for that, state expected to follow a policy of co-existence as far as various religions were concerned. If the state tried to transgress upon religious freedom, then that approach would be not only wrong in it but will inevitably lead to friction and trouble.

Thirdly, Nehru's secular state or secular philosophy also meant a certain mental attitude<sup>75</sup> on the part of various communities. Particularly in India, with a variety of religious groups, it becomes most essential that they should develop an attitude, which can bring about harmony and a feeling of fraternity towards one another. He believed that from the religious point of view, it is the responsibility of the dominant community not to use its position in any way which might harm our secular ideal. He emphasized that any narrow and aggressive attitude on the part of the majority creates apprehension in the mind of minority communities. It was much better to displease a few persons to lose an election rather than fail in the ideals such was the firm faith Nehru had in secularism.

Fourthly, Nehru wanted secularisation in all areas of social life. Nehru recognised how deep religions have made their way into the social field such as marriage, inheritance, civil and criminal law. He thought that they lay down a complete structure for society and try to perpetuate them by giving religious sanction and authority. So, the existence of separate sets of laws governing different religious communities was not consistent with the ideal of a secular society. Nehru tried to evolve a uniform civil code<sup>76</sup> for the whole Indian people irrespective of the distinctions of religions and caste by introducing many measures of social legislation. His ideal of secularism envisaged a political structure in which the individual was not subject to any social inequalities imposed by religious sanctions. What actually prompted the constitution makers to opt for a secular state model for India was the problem posed by the religious diversity<sup>77</sup> of the land, the protection of minorities, the unsavoury experience of partition of the subcontinent, and such other peculiar conditions faced by the country at the time of constitution making. In 1976, the 42<sup>nd</sup> amendments

include the word secular in Indian constitution. Till then secularism were inferred in terms of articles 25 and 26 which form the core of religious liberty in India. Article 25 guarantees freedom of conscience and free profession, practice and propagation of religion, subject to public order and health. Article 26 guarantees freedom to manage religious affairs subject to public order morality and health.

Nehru fully agreed with Dr. B.R Ambedkar, the father of our Indian constitution who said that democracy would be unreal and meaningless in the wake of rampant communalism and hence only a secular state based on equality and justice could fit to Indian society. The constitution of India contains Nehru's philosophy about the religious neutral state<sup>78</sup> contains the three main features:-

Firstly, our secularism is liberal in the sense that Nehru wanted to combat communalism with social welfare, politics while maintaining religious neutrality and ensuring religious equality and liberty to all minorities living in India.

Secondly, Indian secularism is not absolute in its character, that is it is qualified in the sense that religious freedom given to all religions is subject to all consideration of public order, morality and welfare of the citizens as such, and the state authority may impose restrictions on any of the freedom or rights guaranteed under article 25 of the Indian constitution. It is for the judiciary to determine whether or not any such restriction is inconsistent with the spirit of the constitution.

Thirdly, Nehru's concept of secularism is both dynamic and enlightened ad it allows the religion to play a part in the social welfare.

Thus Nehru regarded secularism as the most essential feature of modern democratic society. Nehru was determined to build an integrated nation after independence. India being an ethno-cultural<sup>79</sup> mosaic provides scope for variety and diversity. At the dawn of independence, religion became a formidable force and led to the partition after considerable blood bath and painful migration on both sides of India and Pakistan. Even after the partition on narrow religious line and on two nation theory, the fact renamed that we have second largest Muslim population in the world next to Indonesia. Hence to preserve the unity and integrity of India Nehru advocated his theory of secularism which is suitable in highly diverse society with a long history of disunity.

## **5. Critics of Indian Secularism**

The cornerstone of Indian democracy – the word secularism is a highly contested concept. It is contested because two different line of understanding are competing for ideological domination ever since independence and even before. (a) One side of this understanding was Jawaharlal Nehru who had a vision of separating religion and politics manifesting in the concept of ‘dharmanirpeksata’. (b) By way of contrast Mahatma Gandhi rejected the idea of separation of religion and politics and believed in the principle of equal respect of all religions manifesting in the concept of ‘sarva dharma samabhava’. The contest between these two different understanding of secularism was an issue of debate in the Constituent Assembly and later in academic circles in India. The most important contemporary challenge to Indian secularism has been mounted by the forces of Hindu nationalism, and from influential academic writers, notably Ashis Nandy, T. N. Madan and Partha Chatterjee respectively.

According to Nandy, “Nehruvian secularism, which separates state and religion, and which has been imposed on the Indian people, is part of a larger, modern, Western package of scientific growth, nation-building, national security and development. These constitute a modern demonology, a tantra with a built-in code of violence. Secularism demands the members of religious communities to dilute their faith so that they can be truly integrated into the nation-state. It guarantees no protection to the citizen against the sufferings inflicted by the state itself in the name of its "secular, scientific, amoral" ideology of nation-building, security and development. As a handy adjunct to these "legitimizing core concepts," secularism helps the state-elites to legitimize their power to claim monopoly based on religious and ethnic tolerance and on the basis of political rationality. To accept the ideology of secularism is to accept the ideologies of progress and modernity as the new justifications<sup>80</sup> of violence and domination.

According to Nandy, this modern Western rational-scientific secularism, which Nehru sought to impose on the Indian society, has failed either to eliminate religion from politics or to promote greater religious tolerance. Hence, it can "no longer pretend to guide moral or political action." Nandy therefore has no hesitation in calling himself an anti-secularist. By so criticizing secularism, Nandy does not mean to privilege the communalist ideology of either the majority or minority religious communities. To the contrary, these communalist ideologies are, in his view, the pathological by-products of modernity; they are the dialectical "other" or counter-players of modernity's secular state. He notes that khaki

shorts of the RSS cadres are modeled on the uniform of the colonial police. According to him, the ideology of Hindu nationalist revivalism or fundamentalism, with its borrowing of the models of semiotic religions and of the modern Western nation-state, is "another form of Westernization"<sup>81</sup> in the sense that it seeks to decontaminate Hinduism of its folk elements, turn it into a classical Vedantic faith, and then give it additional teeth with the help of Western technology and secular statecraft, so that the Hindus can take on, and ultimately defeat, all their external and internal enemies, if necessary, by liquidating all forms of ethnic plurality-first within Hinduism and then within India.

The next move in Nandy's argument is to suggest that it is the very package of modern nationalism and its statecraft and scientific developmentalism which generate and nourish religious communalisms, which the state elites combat by resorting to the use of the ideology of the secular or nonreligious nation-state. This counter posing of the tyranny of the modern secular state and the violence of modern communal organizations is, in Nandy's view, nothing but the internal dialectics of modernity's nation-state paradigm. By this reasoning, communalism can be the majoritarian or the minoritarian variety, and the secular state stand condemned as the perverse gifts or, rather, the inevitable products of Western modernity. In Nandy's view, the ethico-politically appropriate alternative to them lies in the non-modern, pre-secular conception of religions as accommodative, tolerant faiths or ways of life as was practiced, in exemplary manner, by Asoka, Akbar and Gandhi. They derived their religious tolerance not from secular politics but from Buddhism, Islam and Hinduism, respectively. Gandhi's religious tolerance, he writes, "came from his anti-secularism, which in turn came from his unconditional rejection of modernity."

Ashis Nandy calls himself "an anti -secularist" and argues that ideology and politics of secularism has exhausted its possibilities in India. He even asks for a different conceptual frame which he visualizes at the border of Indian political culture. He locates the cause of new religious violence in secularism and modernity. A 'gift of Christianity' and child of modernity and colonialism secularism is a product of western science and rationality and function as the ideology of modern State which according to Nandy is a source of most contemporary problems. Nandy's rejection of secularism is rooted in a twofold critique of modern culture and society and critique of secular state.

Nandy discuss two different meaning of the word in modern India, the first meaning of secularism demarcate two distinct sphere public life and private life and one's religion is not admitted in public life. According to Nandy, one can be a good Hindu or a good Muslim within one's home or at one's place of worship but when one enters public life; one is expected to leave one's faith behind. This ideology believes that public realm is dominated with vision of science and universal and bringing religion may lead to potential threat to modern polity. Pitched against this is the non-western meaning of secularism that believes in the principle of equal respect to all religions. Implicit is the idea that public sphere must have space for continuous dialogue among different religions because each include within it "an in house version of the other faith, both as an internal criticism and as a reminder of the diversity of the theories of transcendence"<sup>82</sup>. This version of secularism is compatible with Indian understanding of secularism but India's westernized intellectuals have opted for abolition of religion from the public sphere. Nehruvian secularism which separates state and religion is a part of modern western package of scientific growth, nation building, national security and development. These according to him constitute a 'modern demonology a tantra with a built in code of violence'. The idea of secularism creates rigid separation of two spheres – state and religion. Religion enters politics through different means in the form of ideologies and instrumentalized religious exclusivism. Thus even threat of Hindu right has to be coped with religious and not secular means through reactivating traditional forms of tolerance. Secularism is also insensitive to politics of culture and believer is treated as person with inferior political consciousness. In this process traditional culture based on tolerance is eroded and tendencies of extremism increases and generates communal politics. Thus he suggests Gandhian path of inter-faith dialogue.

Like Nandy, T.N.Madan maintains that religious zealots, who contribute to fundamentalism or fanaticism by reducing religion to mere political bickering, are provoked to do so by the secularists who deny the very legitimacy of religion in social life. According to him, Nehru's secularism denies the immense importance of religion in the lives of the peoples of South Asia. Secularism is in this region an impossible credo, an impracticable basis for state action and an impotent remedy against fundamentalism or fanaticism. Ruling out the establishment of a Hindu state as an utterly unworkable proposition, Madan concludes that "the only way secularism in South Asia, understood as inter-religious understanding, may succeed would be for us to take both religion and secularism seriously and not reject the former as superstition and reduce the latter to a mask for communalism or

mere expediency"<sup>83</sup>. He commends Gandhi not only for emphasizing the inseparability of religion and politics but also for opening up avenues of inter-religious understanding and of a spiritually justified limitation of the role of religious institutions and symbols in certain areas of contemporary life. Madan also criticizes the idea of secularism though not dismiss it absolutely. He cautions against unproblematic adaptation of secularism in South Asian realities. Citing Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Madan argues how translations are difficult because words can be translated but it is difficult to translate an idea that the word denotes if that idea does not exist among people whose language translation is required. The idea of secularism as transferred to countries of South Asia also poses many difficulties. South Asia is a multi-religious society and the majority of people living in this region are active adherents of some religious faith. While Secularism is impractical for State action because Buddhism and Islam have been declared as State religion, Policy of equidistance is also difficult to maintain since religious minorities do not share the majority's view of what this entails for the State. It has failed to bring under control divisive forces which resulted in the partition of the subcontinent in 1947 and also failed to counter religious fundamentalism. Madan argues that it was possible to privatize religion in the West because of developments internal to Christianity such as reformation that facilitated the process. Whereas In South Asia major religious traditions do not assume any radical antinomy between the sacred and the secular. Religion covers all aspects of life and its impact is totalizing in nature thus it was impossible to restrict it to private domain. Religion as the doctrine of overarching ends is the most important factor in the lives of the people of India and South Asia. Religion gives meaning to lives of most of the people and also determines their place in society Thus to impose secularism on believers is wrong in the words of Madan "an act of moral arrogance and political folly"<sup>84</sup>. Religion and the belief of people must be taken seriously and should be given its place in society as non-religions because denial of legitimacy to religion in society of believers provokes fundamentalism on the part of religious zealots. Through religious pluralism inter religious harmony could be established. Secularism and religious faith must be recognized to be compatible with each other. The alternative conception in Madan's views is Gandhism because it has the possibilities of inter religious understanding. Partha Chatterjee too finds that the ideology of secularism is not an adequate or appropriate political perspective for meeting the challenge of Hindu majoritarianism. In his view, the official model of Indian secularism and the present campaign of the Hindu right for setting up a "positively" secular state have brought India to a "potentially disastrous political impasse." Chatterjee points out that its present championing of "positive

secularism" is meant not only to deflect accusations of its being anti-secular but also to rationalize in a sophisticated way its campaign for creation of a modern positivist secular state with a homogenized notion of citizenship<sup>85</sup>. In this role, writes Chatterjee, the Hindu right in fact seeks to project itself as a principled modernist critic of Islamic or Sikh fundamentalism and to accuse the 'pseudo-secularists' of preaching tolerance for religious obscurantism and bigotry. The quandaries generated by the career of the secular state in India and the potentially disastrous nature of the new politics of "positive secularism" lead Chatterjee to the conclusion that the theory and practice of the secular state cannot bring about what, according to him, is really needed in India, namely, the toleration of religious, ethnic and cultural differences. Chatterjee's search is for a "political" conception of tolerance as part of a non-Western form of modernity in India<sup>86</sup>. Finding that the liberal-democratic state can only recognize individual rights, and not the collective rights of cultural or religious groups, Chatterjee directs his intellectual efforts not to secularize the state in the name of any universalist framework of reason, but to defend minority cultural rights and to underscore the duty of the democratic state to ensure policies of religious toleration.

According to Chatterjee to assess the proper relationship between the state and the religious, ethnic and cultural groups, we need to go beyond the "state sovereignty vs. individual rights. Following Foucault, he maintains that the specifically modern form of power, which cuts across "the liberal divide between state and civil society," exercises itself through forms of representation and through technologies of governmentality, that is, the self-disciplining of its subjects. He noted that this modern form of power is characterized by "an immensely flexible braiding of coercion and consent"<sup>87</sup>. Hence, according to him, the secularization of the state cannot be taken as a non-coercive or power-free politics of pure (secular) rationality. Rather, under modernity, the religious, cultural and ethnic communities as well as the secular state are to be seen as institutional sites or strategic locations of the politics of identity and difference. This being so, according to him, arguments for a universal framework of governance based on so-called pure secular-rational grounds (e.g., the principle of the equal rights of all regardless of their religion or caste) which ignore their context of cognitive-political struggles over issues of identity and difference. According to Chatterjee the duty of the democratic state is to ensure policies of religious tolerance within the constitutional vision. So is the case with the principles of respect for persons and of the consent of the governed, which he rightly takes to be the basis for the toleration of religious

differences. The activity or policy of giving equal tolerance to all religions is not a strictly religious activity or policy. It is also not and a moral political activity in which the end is taken to justify any means adopted for its realization. It assumes not only that a pluralism of religious and or nonreligious beliefs is ineradicable under the conditions of modernity but also that political institutions and political policies can be constructed and operated in different ways and for different purposes from those of religious institutions or religious doctrines. Indian secularism cannot be said to be situated entirely outside the problematic and thematic of the Western discourse on secularism. The problematic relationship between religion and politics in the West had its analogies in India too. What we mean is that despite important philosophical or metaphysical differences between them, both European Christianity and Indian Hinduism legitimized, in their own ways, analogous systems of social inequalities during the pre-modern period. The latter was complicit in the "social construction" of the social evils mentioned above, namely, sati, untouchability, etc. Hence, an ethico-political reform of the socio-religious sphere was taken to be an integral part of the Indian movement for swaraja and sarvodaya. Government has also intervened in the matters of conversion. In the constituent assembly conversion as an issue was discussed and the constitution grants right to propagate but word conversion was not included. After independence different State government made these acts to prohibit force, fraud and inducements for conversion. When matter relating to conversion was discussed in the Court, Supreme Court differentiated propagation of religion from conversion and viewed it as contrary to freedom of conscience.

According to Chatterjee in post independent India the model of secularism adopted by India's westernized elites implied exclusion of Indian alternative to Western secular modernity. It also introduced direct involvement of state in religious and social matters especially in Hindu religious matters. According to Chatterjeeif secularism is interpreted as strict separation of religion and politics this can prove fairly compatible with the discrimination against minorities. If secularism is interpreted as equidistance from all religious groups then its practice in India raise some doubts because State has intervened selectively in personal laws of different communities making laws to reform Hindu personal laws but the same reformist agenda has been absent for other communities like Muslims, Christian and Parses. Hindu right describe this as appeasement of minorities. Chatterjee refers to the exceptionality of India though he does not call for a new version of

secularism. Chatterjee is in favour of idea of political tolerance that incorporates autonomy and respect for persons and accommodates different religions and its culture and traditions.

Achin Vanaik in his thesis proposes that traditional beliefs and practices are responsible for undermining the secular state and democratization of society. The root cause of religious communalism is religion itself. The struggle against religion should not be limited to setting up a state equally tolerant of all religions but extend to the secularization and diminution of religion in civil society. To secularize civil society religious influence, importance of religious identity in everyday life and increasing privatization of religious commitments has to be reduced. Secularism means three things - right to freedom of worship, primacy of citizenship and non- affiliation of State to any religion. The secular State must separate state and religion, secularize state laws and policies. Recognizing due importance of Gandhian legacy Vanaik argues that though Gandhi did not separate religion and politics his role was remarkable in giving principle of equal respect to all religions. But many of Gandhi's perspectives were against modern conception of secularism. Secular democracy requires rights centered relationship between individual and society. Vanaik interprets Gandhi's mixing of politics with religious idioms of ahimsa trusteeship etc. as a strategy of class accommodation<sup>88</sup> for preventing any socialist revolution against capitalism. Gandhi mobilized masses in the Indian national movement but this contributed to a conservative though anti communalist, religious nationalism in contrast to a secular, democratic and egalitarian nationalism.

Akkel Bilgrami criticizes Nehruvian form of secularism. In Bilgrami's opinion Nehruvian secularism stands in a conceptual and political space that lies outside the sphere of substantive political commitments. Secularism did not emerge as the product of a negotiation and dialogue between religious communities. It was adopted from above as an Archimedean point. If it would have been the result of debate and understanding of different communities then different groups would have subscribed to it. Presence of different communities in State is important and these communities could play very important role in designing secular principles. Bilgrami presents the model of negotiated or emergent secularism<sup>89</sup> which is based on moderate religious persons embracing principle of secularism not on the basis of universalistic rationality but on their own internal value system. Secularism should also incorporate clarification of those principles that belong to illiberal religious persons also. Instead of seeking neutral common agreement communities should contribute to a secular outcome for different reasons from within their different

substantive values. Instead of being imposed it should emerge from bottom up incorporating moderate political voices and assumptions of different communities.

Through principle of sarva dharma sambhava Gandhi tried to bring people from different religions together and showed respect to all religions, Nehru's notion of secularism dharamnirpekshataor religious neutrality did not mean a state where religion is discouraged. It rather meant a State where people have freedom of religion and conscience and freedom for those as well who have no religion. Nehru himself said it is perhaps not very easy to find a good word for 'secular'. Some people think it means something opposed to religion. That obviously is not correct. What it means is that it is a state which honors all faiths equally and gives them equal opportunities, that as a state, it does not allow itself to be attached to one faith or religion, which then becomes the State religion<sup>90</sup>. Nehru's secularism was understood as freedom of religion or irreligion, (no state religion) and duelyhonoured all religion equally. Constitution guarantees freedom of religion to individual, also to religious denomination, guarantees equality of citizenship, equality of opportunity in public services, no discrimination in educational institutions, no communal electorate, although there is provision for reservation of seats for Schedule Castes and Schedule Tribes, and there is no special taxes for promotion of religion and not to give religious instructions in state educational institutions.

## **6. Challenges to Indian Secularism**

Secularism has come under heavy attack from different quarters in Indian society during the last two-three decades. The Constituent Assembly which came into existence after Indian independence, after long liberation movement formulated the constitution in a way which had all the basic ingredients of a secular state. In the initial decade after the independence, India was admired for adopting secularism as a basic credo, though sometimes giving way to the pressure and compromising under religious influences which have resulted in the outbreak of several riots in India. Themajor elements that pose a challenge to our country's democratic setup are as follows -

### **a) Misinterpretation of India's Composite Culture**

Culture is a collective name for the material, social, religious and artistic achievements of human groups, including traditions, customs and behavior patterns, all of which are unified by common beliefs and values which is an essential part of culture. It is religion which explicitly articulates the distinctive values of a culture. Religion in India has been the great

unifying force of culture<sup>91</sup>. The relationship between religion and culture was emphasized by S. Radhakrishnan when he wrote that it is after all the norms, beliefs and values which determine the social framework of a historic culture. The very names of Hindu India, Buddhist Asia, Western Christendom or Islamic society suggest the fundamental role of spiritual traditions in the shaping of India's society. In India all social organization, law, customs, traditions, architecture, sculpture, literature, dance and music are all shaped by culture. Indian nationalist leaders took recourse to India's glorious past and its rich cultural heritage inculcate by various religious traditions. India's culture has been defined as a fusion of many different strands including the Dravidian, the Aryan Hindu (with its Buddhist variation), and the Muslim (with its Turkish, Persian and Mughal variation) and the western culture induced by the British. India's culture is the assimilation<sup>92</sup> of many culture and values. The unique cultural synthesis in Indian tradition is defined as Hindu culture by Nehru in his *Discovery of India*. This culture is of composite nature which suits in India's multi-cultural, multi-religious plural society.

The Hindu communalist tried to interpret this composite culture as Hindu culture<sup>93</sup> which relies heavily on the epics like Ramayana and Mahabharata and not on Arabian and Persian classics. India is a land of heroes like Shivaji and Hindu gods like Rama and Krishna where Muslim culture is totally alien and Mohammed, Ibrahim has no place. Hindu fundamentalist<sup>94</sup> viewed that the conception of Indian culture allowed no space for the recognition of Muslim or western contributions. In true sense Indian culture respects and includes the cultural contribution of all religious community<sup>95</sup>. The RSS (Rastriya Swamamsevak Sangh) declared that its aim was the revival of India's ancient culture. The RSS activist and its leader M.S.Golwalker followed Savarkar's ideology to redefine Hindu land in terms of Pitrabhumi (fatherland) and Punyabhumi (holy land) where Muslims had no place. RSS, Sangh Parivar and Shiv Sena aimed at reconstruction of the Indian society by the revival of Hindu culture and through total rejection of the idea of equality of all religious communities. According to them Hinduism<sup>96</sup> is a Sanatan (traditional) dharma, identified Hindutva as a common nation (rashtra), a common race (jati) and a common civilization (Sanskrit). Hence Indian culture is basically the culture comes from Hindu and not inherent from other religion who inhabit India. Hindutva is a call for Hindu unity and argues forcefully in favor of the defense of the indigenous<sup>97</sup> Hindu culture against all foreign influences like Christian and Islam. This misinterpretation of India's composite culture challenges the secular principle of the country.

## **b) Challenges from Hindu Communalist Forces and the Outbreak of Riots in India**

The term communalism<sup>98</sup>, as it is used in India today, refers to the functioning of religious communities, or organizations which claim to represent them, in a way which is considered detrimental to the interests of other groups or of the nation as a whole. Bipan Chandra defines communalism “as a belief which enables a group of people following a particular religion to have common social, political and economic interests<sup>99</sup>. In this way religion becomes the basis of their basic social identity and determines their basic social relationships. This enables them to act and function as a separate group, entity or unit”. According to Prabha Dixit<sup>100</sup>, “Communalism is a political doctrine which makes use of religious-cultural differences to achieve political ends”. Ashgar Ali Engineer<sup>101</sup> regards communalism as a political phenomenon “whose genesis can be found in politics rather than in religion”. He however believes that “communalism draws its sustenance from religion”. Rajni Kothari<sup>102</sup> describes communalism “as a conflict between communities, which may also turn violent. For him, communalism is a direct outcome of the decline in democratic politics, in participation in efficient citizen action”.

The Hindu communal groups such as Hindu Mahasabha, RSS, Ram Rajya Parishad, Jana Sangh opposed to anti-Hindu influences<sup>103</sup> (religious influence of Muslim and Christian) in Indian culture and demand for Hindu unity. These parties took recourse to the idea of Tilak who started Ganapati and Shivaji festival as a means of strengthening Hindu solidarity against all non-Hindus. The RSS asserted that national unity could be attained through ‘nationalizing all non-Hindus<sup>104</sup> and by adopting Bharatiya culture. Hence BJP in order to seek Hindu vote took recourse to the agenda of Hindutva and its popular slogan ‘mandir vahin banayenga’, that is to construct temple at the place of Mosque at Ayodhya. These parties tried to shape politics in communal line. Hence BJP’s ‘RathYatra’ and ‘EktaYatra’ gave the party huge success in politics after the failure of Congress in Shah Bano case. RSS demanded that India is a Hindu rastra according to the ideology of Savarkar. The Hindu-rastra<sup>105</sup> doctrine happens to be the common ideological feature of the communalist forces like RSS and SanghParivar which later on resulted in outbreak of riots in several parts of India. RSS believes in the dictum ‘vasudhevkutumbkam’ (world fraternity), and hence Hindu rashtra gives priority to dharma, national identity and tolerance towards other religion. Hindu rashtra<sup>106</sup> is the other word for the creation of ‘akhand Bharat’ that is re-building of Bharat on the basis of Indian culture<sup>107</sup> and tradition and guaranteeing

equality of opportunity to all its citizens so as to build a united nation. Later on BJP made Ayodhya and Ram-Janmabhoomias the central symbol for unifying the Hindus and mobilizing mass support in the cause of Hindu rashtra.

The frenzy outlook of these Hindu fundamentalist resulted in the outbreak of several riots in India like demolition of Babari Masjid, communal riots in Mumbai, Gujrat riots followed by Godhra incidence. On December 6, 1992, a large crowd of Hindu Karsevaks<sup>108</sup> (volunteers) entirely destroyed the 16th-century Babri mosque in Ayodhya, (Uttar Pradesh) in an attempt to reclaim the land known as Ram Janmabhoomi (the mythological birthplace of the god Ram). The riot resulted in the the death of at least 2,000 people in Ayodhya. The communal riot in Mumbai<sup>109</sup> in 1992 resulted in the death of nearly 900 people. The riots started as a result of communal tension prevailing in the city after the Babri Mosque demolition on 6 December 1992. The city of Surat (Gujarat) witnessed horrific communal<sup>110</sup> violence in December 1992. The riot started following a rally by Bharatiya Minority Suraksha Sangh that had been organized by the BJP in support of the karsevaks who were responsible for the destruction of the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya. In retaliation, Muslim youths damaged shops in the old city of Surat and Bandh was called. Fifty-seven persons were burned alive and entire slums were razed to the ground. In the area of Varachha Road, a four-thousand-strong armed mob attacked Muslim houses, in which 27 people were declared dead. In Ved Road, Muslim houses were marked by Hindu criminals and subsequently looted, leading to the death of 32 persons. In the suburbs of Surat, train passengers were attacked. These riots claimed 190 lives. The 2002 Godhra riots<sup>111</sup>, also known as 2002 Gujarat violence and the Gujarat pogrom, was a three-day period of inter-communal violence in the western Indian state of Gujarat. According to official figures, the riots resulted in the deaths of 790 Muslims and 254 Hindus; 2,500 people were injured non-fatally, and 223 more were reported missing. There were instances of rape, children being burned alive, with a widespread looting and destruction of property. On the morning of 27 February 2002, the Sabarmati Express, returning from Ayodhya to Ahmedabad, was stopped near the Godhra railway station. Several of the passengers were Hindu pilgrims, returning from Ayodhya after a religious ceremony at the site of the demolished Babri Masjid. Under controversial circumstances, four coaches of the train caught on fire, and many people were trapped inside. In the resulting conflagration, 59 people, including 25 women and 25 children, were burned to death. It is also true riot is a hateful mad and blind violence. The communalist should realize that every attack on Hindu temples, bomb

explosion, sabotage, derailment of trains causes loss of innocent lives. The objective of the extremism among the Sikhs is to keep their separate identity and protect the interest of the Sikhs and demand separate Sikhs homeland<sup>112</sup> to protect Sikh identity, religion and culture. Sikh fundamentalists created frenzy riot in demand of separatism<sup>113</sup> which finally brought into control by Indian government in the operation Blue Star.

### **c) Challenges due to State's Interpretation with Hindu Code Bill**

In India important areas of civil law, including marriage, divorce, inheritance, succession, remains under the purview of religious personal laws. In the Directive Principles of State Policy, article 44, we find, "the state shall endeavor to secure for the citizens a uniform civil code throughout the territory of India". The Special Marriage Act of 1872 provided for a civil marriage, and the marriage could be solemnized in any form, for all who wished to marry under the Special Marriage Act were therefore compelled to renounce their religion in order to escape the restrictive provisions of their personal laws. The Special Marriage Act<sup>114</sup> of 1954 is thus, in a sense, a uniform civil code in embryo. Codification of Hindu law was the progressive social provisions which sought to modify (destroy) the traditional Hindu social pattern.

The Hindu fundamentalist challenged against the codification of Hindu law that is the Hindu Marriage Bill and the Hindu Succession Bill which was approved by the court in 1955 and 1956. The Hindu Marriage Bill contained three provisions – inter-caste marriages, monogamy and divorce. Polygamy was declared illegal in 1952 by the court in *Bombay vs Narasu Appa* case as it provides the scope of adoption of son instead of another marriage. Regarding adoption among Hindus the conservative Hindus opined that adoption was based on a spiritual concept<sup>115</sup> namely the necessity of having a son to offer oblations (pindas) after the father's death, a function which could not be possibly be performed by a daughter. Inter caste marriages were legalized by the Hindu Marriage Validating Act of 1949 and Hindu Bigamous Marriages had already been prohibited by state legislation in Bombay (1946) and Madras (1949) and the new bill sought to extend the principle to the whole country. N.C.Chatterjee, then leader of the Hindu Mahasabha quoted that divorce was an institution, completely foreign to Hindu religion. Hindu succession Bill introduced another significant innovation, namely the granting the daughter rights on parents property as a simultaneous heir along with the son, widow etc. Under the old Hindu family system, a daughter never received a part of the father's estate, the assumption being that she was

either already a member of another family (if married). The Muslim law of succession on the other hand, did grant such rights to daughters. In the debate in Parliament on the Hindu Succession Bill<sup>116</sup>, several members claimed to see in the measure a wholesome engrafting of a principle “more Mohammedan than the Mohammedan Law”. Critics pointed out that it was an attempt to impose certain aspects of the ‘shariah’ (Muslim law) on Hindus.

#### **d) Challenges for State’s Interpretation in Muslim Personal Law**

In British era the Muslim Criminal Law was replaced by the Indian Penal Code of 1860 and the Criminal Procedure Code of 1898. Muslim law of evidence was replaced by the Indian Evidence Act of 1872. The jurisdiction of qazis was also abolished, and the personal law of different communities was administered by magistrates. Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act<sup>117</sup> of 1939 began the process of redressing the balance by enabling the wife to initiate the proceedings too on specified grounds. The Muslims Wakf Validating Act of 1913 was amended in 1930, validates settlement of property by way of wakf of Muslims in favor of their families, children and descendants. The British era and its reformist policy have touched the Muslim community in India.

After independence state has interfered in the personal laws of the community in order to restore justice and equality especially among the women. The Muslim Personal Law is applicable to Muslims only in matters of succession, special property of females including personal property, inherited or obtained under contract or gift or any other provisions of law-marriage and dissolution of marriages including divorce, maintenance, guardianship, gifts trust and trust properties of wakf. Women in Muslim community labor under serious handicaps and injustice in matrimonial matters particularly in divorce, maintenance, inheritance etc. They can be ‘talaqued’ (divorced) instantly and thrown into the streets by whimsical husbands. The Muslim Personal Law<sup>118</sup> does not recognize adoption and prohibits adoption. The Muslim Personal Law has become the main issue of Muslim politics in India. The verdict of the Supreme Court in April 1985 in Shah Bano case upholding her claim for maintenance resulted in the protests by fundamentalist sections of the Muslim community, who saw the decision as interference in their personal law. The decision of the Supreme Court ostensibly ushered a new hope for Muslim women’s rights and demolished Muslim’s “right”, to marry and divorce<sup>119</sup> according to whim. Shah Bano, a divorced Muslim wife, pursued for her maintenance and the court gave judgment in her favor. Supreme Court declared that the Muslims were subject to the maintenance provisions

and also went on to pronounce gratuitously that this ruling was in accord with Islamic law (interpretation on the basis of the Islamic concept of mehr). This judicial interpretation angered a number of Muslim mullahs who favored a different interpretation and feared that such a unifying and homogenizing step would lead to the erosion of Muslim identity and they objected to Supreme Court's decision<sup>120</sup> to interpreted Muslim law. But under communal pressure Indian Parliament had to pass a statute, entitled Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Divorce) Act, 1986, which altered the Shah Bano case decision. According to this new codification<sup>121</sup> of Muslim Personal Law, the divorced woman's husband is obliged only to return the mehr (dower or marriage settlements) and pay her maintenance during the period of 'iddat' (the period of three months following the divorce). If the divorced woman is not able to maintain herself then the maintenance will be given by her relatives or the magistrate may direct the State Wakf Boards (administrators of Muslim trust funds) to pay the maintenance.

## **7. Nature of Indian Secularism: Adopting a Contextual Model**

In sub continental cultures, it is difficult to separate the religious from the non-religious practices. A secular state follows the principle of non-establishment which means the state is separated not merely from one but from all religions. Thus in a secular state a formal or legal union or alliance between state and religion is impermissible. There is no official status of any religion and no religious community in such a state can say that the state belongs exclusively to it. Hence the separation of religion from politics is required to give the pursuit of good life which defines the right of every individual in the society.

T.N. Madan, Ashis Nandy and Partha Chatterjee have all argued that the external threat to secularism is only a symptom of a deeper internal crisis. Secularism in their view has long faced internal threat in the sense that the conceptual and normative structure of secularism is itself terribly flawed. According to Madan<sup>122</sup> removal of religion from public life is simply a western ideal which claims scientific management of state and rational principles. Religion and secular views are contradictory and in India secular principles are inappropriate because Indian cultures dominated by religions. Secondly any attempt to forcibly evict religion from the public sphere provokes a strong cultural resistance where secular state needs to use its coercive apparatus. According to Nandy<sup>123</sup> religion is a way of life, it is not only a faith but it is also an ideology to secure socio-economic interests of the citizen. By modern statecraft Nandy means the scientific management of state institutions.

The public realm is a contested arena between religion on the one hand and science on the other. To ask believers to expunge their faith from the public realm is to compel them to lead meaningless lives. Religion is not a private matter of preference but in India it possesses immense importance. So public private distinction becomes irreverent and religion inevitably enters public life through the back door. Partha Chatterjee<sup>124</sup> clarified Indian secularism as western as it introduced direct involvement of state in religious and social matters of different communities' example – laws to reform Hindu personal laws but not to interfere with the reformist agenda for other communities like Muslims Christian and Parsis.

According to Bhargava these critics fail to see that India developed a distinctively Indian and differently modern variant of secularism. Bhargav clearly<sup>125</sup> defines that Madan-Nandy thesis view separation only as exclusion, identifies it as absolutism and finally failed to identify the principle of 'principled distance' of Indian secularism. According to Bhargava church-state model is culture specific and has two dimensions – first, it reflects a struggle for power and proposes the sharing of power and secondly to fight religious absolutism. Separation of power does not entail sharing it with people with radically different religious beliefs and practices. This is true that secularism derived from the church-state model cannot accommodate deep diversity and hence Indian secularism promotes religious faiths of all community, allowing them full liberty and later by granting them equal citizenship rights by making religious affiliation irrelevant to one's citizenship. Secularism is definitely modern because of its commitment to liberty and equality. The absence of church-state model does not affect the development of secularism in India which Madan and Nandy fails to grasp. Chatterjee too fails to accommodate the idea of principled distance to have room for the view that to promote religious liberty and equal citizenship, the state may have to treat different religious communities differently. Indian secularism is committed to the notion of equal respect, which does not always entail equal treatment rather it means treating individuals or groups as equals. Equal respect may entail differential treatment – Chatterjee is unable to see this and he believes that differential treatment entails a departure from secular principles.

According to Neera Chandhoke<sup>126</sup> to understand secularism it is important to situate it in the wider conceptual context of which it forms part and unravel its meaning in relation to meaning of equality, freedom and democracy. Indian version of secularism is rooted in the principle of sarva dharma samabhava which requires equal respect for all religions. The

premise of equality of all religions is problematic in multi-religious society where religious communities are divided on the basis of majority and minority and some minorities are weak and extremely poor. In this background the idea of secularism as equality of religion when employed by Hindu right put pressure on religious minorities. She employs the principle of substantive equality to ensure both inter group and intra group equality and defends protection of minority rights. This principle demands to recognize institutionalized inequalities in society within the communities and to rectify them by accommodating minority rights. Neera Chandhoke offers a normative theory of minority rights based on the shift from secularism to the universal principle of moral equality.

Gurpreet Mahajan<sup>127</sup> discusses the relationship between state and religion in India with the assumption that secularism requires a commitment to the principle of separation and that the ideology of separation is central attribute of secularism. Yet, a strict separation of the two domains of religion and state is neither possible nor even desirable. Democracies in India and Europe may have followed different policies but the end pursued was the same namely religious non-discrimination. It means no citizen would be disadvantaged or discriminated against on grounds of religious affiliation. She argues that the relationship between the policy and the concept can be understood best in terms of the relationship between forms and the universal. The later represents the end the shared aspirations that permeates particular expressions and policies embody the different paths that countries take to realize that shared end. The underlying idea of secularism in America or democracies in Europe or India is not to discriminate or disadvantage on grounds of religious identity or beliefs. This shared norm was followed by different countries through different policies which were shaped by different political and historical experiences and context. In India policy of secularism created a situation in which constant involvement of state in religious matters became a norm. According to Mahajan India gave specific meaning to the idea of religious liberty through three important dimensions of religious liberty – right to profess, practice and propagate religion, right to set up religious institutions and minority educational institutions. Religious liberty was valued because it entails condition of non-discrimination and ensures religious communities autonomy to determine their religious and cultural life.

According to Amartya Sen<sup>128</sup> the principle of secularism does not require that the state must steer clear of any association with any religious matter whatsoever. Rather what is required is to ensure that in so far as the state has to deal with different religions and

member of different religious community there must be a basic symmetry of treatment. The virtue of this approach he emphasizes is that the requirement of symmetric treatment leaves open the question as to what form that symmetry should take. Sen's theory of basic symmetry of treatment illustrates that the theoretical inadequacy of the secular discourse is largely due to lack of stability in the essential conceptual distinction between the religious and the secular. Sen defends secularism as part of more comprehensive idea that of India as an integrally plural country made up of different religious beliefs, language groups and divergent social practices. It is part of bigger project of recognizing this heterogeneity. Hence while interpreted Indian secularism Sen argued that the state does not owe loyalty to one religion, it is not irreligious or anti religion, gives equal freedom to all religions and religion of citizen has nothing to do in matter of socio-economic problems. In *Bommai vs. Union of India* Justice Sawant J. said concept of secularism as religious tolerance and equal treatment of all religious groups included an assurance of the protection of life, property and places of worship of all religious groups. The important core features of secularism freedom of religion for citizens, non-discrimination, equality of treatment, and no established religion of the state, opposed to institutionalize religious domination are part of Indian understanding of secularism which has been enumerated in special historical and social construct.

### **Secular Features of Indian Secularism**

The character of the Indian constitution on the other hand was decisively shaped predominantly in response to the deteriorating Hindu-Muslim relations. Indian state excluded religion on contextualist grounds for example by refusing to allow separate electorates, reserved constituencies for different religious communities, reservations for jobs on the basis of religious classification and the organization of states on the basis of religion.

Secularism anywhere in the world is required to check the growth of fanaticism and to manage inter-religious conflicts. It must everywhere prohibit the persecution of religious groups and individuals but in India it has had to take on the additional burden of ensuring that conflicts between religious communities even when they are not purely religious in character. In India, we can mention that a secular state<sup>129</sup> tried to ensure these values – a) It ensures the liberty of members of all religious community and to possess their core beliefs and practices. b) It grants non-preferential treatment to all members of every religious

community that the state respects multiple establishments. c) The individuals are free to criticize the religion to which he belongs and to reject or embrace it or to embrace another religion of his choice or to remain without anyone. d) No specific religion will tend to dominate the other religions. e) It ensures physical security, material well-being of the individual and no individual should interfere in the private sphere of other. State promotes the value of equal citizenship where every individual irrespective of religion will be treated equally. f) All citizens are recognized as equal participants in the public domain. Secularism tried to convey a community wide acknowledgement of equal respect for everyone in the political domain. g) In multi-religious society, a secular state gives maximum liberty and equality to all its citizens. The Indian Constitution appears to possess all the above features.

Article 25(1)<sup>130</sup> of our constitution specifies the right to freedom of religion. All Indian citizens are allowed freely to choose their own religion, to profess and practice it, as well as to propagate it to others. Freedom is not absolute but subject to the orders of the state regarding public order, morality and health. Religious customs such as human sacrifices and widow burning (sati) are therefore unacceptable to the state. In Commissioner H.R.E vs. L.T. Swammiar, the Supreme Court held that religion is a matter of faith and it should lay down a code of ethical rules for its followers to accept, it may prescribe rituals, ceremonies, modes of worship, dress code which will be regarded as integral part of religion.

Article 26 states various collective religious rights<sup>131</sup>, here the right extends beyond individuals to religious denominations. Religious denomination is allowed to establish and maintain institutions necessary to practice their religion, to own property and administer such property and it permits a denomination to manage its own affairs in matters of religion. Supreme Court held that AryaSamaj, Anandamarga, Vaishanave, the followers of Madhawacharya and other religious teachers though not separate religions yet they are separate religious denomination and enjoys the protection under Article 26 of the constitution.

Similarly article 30(1)<sup>132</sup> which gives to all religions or linguistic minorities the right to establish and administer their own religious educational institutions. This adheres to the principle that religion is not a matter of the state, but is purely individual and private.

Article 27<sup>133</sup> of the constitution forbids the state to collect taxes for the purpose of promoting or maintenance of any particular religion or religious denomination. State cannot

support economically any specific religion hence we can say there is no official state religion.

Article 28(1)<sup>134</sup> implies that no religious instruction shall be provided in any educational institution wholly maintained out of state funds. Thus we can say religion is prohibited in state supported or funded institutions. Article 28(3) states that no person attending any educational institution shall be required to take part in any religious instruction or attend any religious worship that may be conducted in such institution.

Article 14 and 15(1)<sup>135</sup> deals with equality of the citizens of India. It states that the state shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them. Every person has free access to all public places and to use public goods (well, tanks, roads, public resort) maintained partly or wholly out of state funds or dedicated to the use of the general public.

Article 16(1)<sup>136</sup> and (2) prohibits discrimination with regard to employment or appointment to any office under the state and article 29(2) prohibits discrimination with regard to admission into any educational institution maintained by the state or receiving aid out of state funds.

Article 325<sup>137</sup> of the constitution declares a general electoral roll for all constituencies and states and no one should get priority on the grounds of religion. Hence articles 14, 15(1), 16(1) and (2), 29(2) and 325 deals with equality of citizenship.

It is frequently claimed that Indians have a natural, traditional affinity with secularism. We have historical instances of multiple establishments of religions. Asoka embraces Buddhism; it may also have been an aspiration of the Mughal king Akbar. Perhaps another example is the 14<sup>th</sup> century Vijaynagar kingdom that granted official recognition not only to Shaivites and the Vaishnavites but even the Jains. Hence we must say Indian secularism is not a single value idea rather it is a complex multi-value doctrine.

### **Contra-Secular Features of Indian Secularism**

Indian Constitution aims not only to give the Indian citizen freedom of conscience and choice of religion, but also it keeps religion and religious affairs out of the business of the state, whether state employment or education. Constitution also aims at keeping the state out of matters of religion. Despite its clarity on the separation of state and religion the

constitution contains several inconsistencies on the matter of religion and state. Aim of Indian state is to secure to all its citizens social, economic and political justice, as well as equality of status and of opportunity. India traditionally was a very stratified society, in which social differences have been considered by the religiously legitimated caste system which hinders upward social mobility of the lowest social classes of Indian society. To ensure justice and equality is a complicated and difficult task.

Though article 25 confers freedom of conscience and religion to the individual citizen article 25(2)<sup>138</sup> allows the state to limit the freedom of religion. This article may regulate or restrict any economic, financial, political or other secular activity which may be associated with religious practice to provide scope for social welfare. State interferes in matters of religion for social welfare and to reform Hindu religious institutions. Accordingly article 25(2) provides broad sweeping power of interference to the state in religious matters and reflects the peculiar needs of Indian society. It is important to mention here that law providing for the very extensive supervision by the state about temple administration has been enacted by virtue of this provision. Here it would not be out place to state that the extensive modifications of Hindu personal law (marriage, divorce, adoption, succession), has been affected by legislation based on the provision permitting measures of social welfare and social reform. For the validity of the Bombay Prevention of Hindu Bigamous Marriages Act of 1946, High court delivered its judgement that polygamy is an integral part of Hindu religion, Hindu religion recognizes the necessity of a son for religious efficacy and spiritual salvation, the religion also recognizes the institution of adoption and hence provides for the continuation of the same. The state is empowered to legislate the practice of monogamy among Hindu as a measure of social reform though it interferes with the right of a citizen freely to profess, practice and propagate religion. Harijan temple entry laws have been enacted, the Central Untouchability (Offences) Act of 1955 provides that any attempt to prevent Harijans from exercising their right to enter the temple is punishable with imprisonment or fine or with both. Therefore it must be clear that a secular civil law is equally applicable to all Indian citizens.

Though article 26 guarantees to every religious denomination the right to manage its own affairs in matters of religion but in Venkata Ramana Devaru vs. State of Mysore, the Madras Temple Entry Authorization Act threw all Hindu public temples even VenkataRamana temple to Harijans. The trustees of this denominational temple refused admission to Harijans on the ground that people of low caste were not allow entering temple

premise and under article 26(b)<sup>139</sup> of the constitution they had the right to manage their own affairs in matters of religion. But when it faces inter-religious conflict, Supreme Court approved a compromise arrangement heavily weighted in favour of rights of Harijans and a token concession to the right of a religious denomination to exercise internal autonomy. Further 26(c) and (d) recognize the right of a religious denomination to won acquire and administer movable and immovable property in accordance with law. However it was held in *Surya Pal Singh vs. State of Uttar Pradesh with UP Abolition of Zamindari Act* it expropriate the agricultural land dedicated to the maintenance of a Hindu deity but some compensation was paid to the landlord and High court held that there was only a change in the form of the property.

Article 17<sup>140</sup> is an uninhibited robust attack on the caste system, arguably the central feature of Hinduism, by abolishing and by making the enforcement of any disability arising out of it an offence punishable by law. But article 17 and 25(2) intervene in religious affairs of the citizen.

Article 30(2)<sup>141</sup> commits the state to give aid to educational institutions established and administered by religious communities. It also permitted religious instruction in educational institutions that are partly funded by the state.

These are significant departures from the ‘wall of separation’, view of the secular state. Even article 30(1)<sup>142</sup> recognises the rights of religious minorities to administer educational or religious institution, but it is a community based right and may be taken away for the interest of the greater. These features of the Indian constitution depart from the stereotypical western model – first, unlike the strict separation view that renders the state powerless in religious matters, they enjoin the state to interfere in religion and second, more importantly by giving powers to the state in the affairs of one religion, they necessitate a departure from strict neutrality or equidistance. Article 17, 25(2), 30(1) and (2) compromises the secularity of the Indian state. According to T.N. Madan, AshisNandy and Partha Chatterjee, the presence of these features in the Indian constitution shows why the Indian state cannot be really secular. By accepting community based rights for religious minorities and endorsing state-intervention in religion, the constitution depart from secular principles.

Article 15(4)<sup>143</sup> states that nothing shall prevent the state from making any special provisions for the advancement of any social and educationally backward classes of citizens

or for the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes. First Amendment Act of 1954 means that the state in fact is allowed to perform reverse discrimination especially on behalf of the scheduled caste and tribes which are among the lowest in India's social order.

Article 16(4)<sup>144</sup> which permits the state to provide reservations of posts for appointment in favour of any backward class of citizens which in the opinion of the state is not adequately represented in the services under the state. Article 15(4) specifically allows the state to favour scheduled castes and tribes and other socially backward classes with regard to employment in state institutions.

Likewise in articles 330(1)<sup>145</sup> and 332(1) reservation is made to the overall rule of the constitution that there is going to be no communal electorates to the House of People and to the State Assemblies. Both articles say that there are reserved seats for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes to the mentioned assemblies.

Finally we have already mentioned that the constitution prohibits the collection of taxes for any particular religion (article 27). This however is challenged by article 290A<sup>146</sup> which has been inserted by the 7<sup>th</sup> Amendment Act of 1956 and which states that a specified yearly sum is to be transferred from the states of Kerala and Madras to two religious funds for the maintenance of Hindu temples in those states. This clear breach of the overall sentiment of the constitution can perhaps be explained as a remnant of the old princely states of Travancore and Cochin, in which it was customary for the king to support Hindu temples. After the integration of these states in the Republic of India this custom was allowed to persist first in the state of Travancore-Cochin in 1949 and later into the state of Kerala in 1956.

In the years 1955 and 1956, a series of laws regulating marriage, divorce, adoption and maintenance for Hindus were passed by Indian state like Universal's Hindu Laws, 2004. This regulation and codification of Hindu personal law codified the right to divorce and cancelled the right of Hindu men to marry more than one wife. This act was severely criticized by orthodox Hindus, secular minded people who argued that it was not in accordance with Indian secularism. Special Marriage Act of 1872 was passed in 1954 which specifies rules for a religiously neutral marriage (marriage in other religion) before a marriage officer. It may or may not accompany by religious rituals. Muslim personal laws have not, however, completely escaped codification by the state. As a result in 1985, Shah Bano divorced Muslim women applied to Supreme Court and in contrast to Sharia law, won

the right to maintenance. The Rajiv Gandhi government in order to please the Muslim opinion in 1986 succeeded in getting the so-called Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Divorce) Act passed in parliament. The Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act from 1939 for the first time codified an aspect of Muslim Sharia law (Universal Muslim Laws, 2004). Hence all these cases depict out state's intervention in religious or personal matter of the community which justifies the contra-secular features of Indian secularism – a departure from mainstream western secularism.

### **Distinctiveness of Indian Secularism**

The preamble of our constitution clearly marks India as a 'Sovereign, socialist, Secular, Democratic Republic'. In the ideal sense in a 'secular democracy, religion must be kept out of all political discourse. But in India's multicultural, multi-religious and multi-linguistic setup it is difficult to divorce religion and politics. In the words of Nehru who is considered the philosopher of Indian secularism, the secular state protects all religions but not favor one at the expense of others and does not accept any religion as the state religion. Secularism is a normative doctrine which envisages a society that is devoid of inter-religious and intra-religious domination. It promotes freedom of religion and equality for all. In India one religious community does not dominate another, that some members do not dominate other members of the same religious community, that the state does not enforce any particular religion nor take away the religious freedom of individuals. The Indian state works in various ways to prevent the religious domination – first, it uses a strategy of distancing itself from religion. The Indian state is not ruled by a religious group and nor does it support any one religion. In India, government spaces like courts, police stations, government schools and offices are not supposed to display or promote any religion; second, Indian secularism works to prevent the religious domination through a strategy of non-interference. This means that in order to respect the sentiments of all religions and not interfere with religious practices, the state makes certain exceptions for particular religious communities, thirdly, Indian secularism works to prevent the domination through a strategy of intervention. For example: banning of untouchability by the Indian Constitution, in which one community of the religion indulge in exclusion and discrimination of the other weaker community. Indian secularism equally opposed the oppression of dalits and women within Hinduism, the discrimination against women within Indian Islam or Christianity and the possible threats that a majority community might pose to the rights of the minority religious communities. This is its important difference from mainstream western secularism. Western

secularism takes into account only the mutual exclusion of religion and politics, Indian secularism instead seeks to achieve its goals through different forms of policies. So Indian secularism shows respect to all religions following an ideology of 'sarva dharma samabhava' than separation of state and religion.

#### **a) Secularism is a Multi-Value Doctrine**

The distinctiveness<sup>147</sup> of the Indian secularism can be understood only when the cultural background and social context in India is properly grasped. First there exists huge diversity of religious communities in India. Such diversity may co-exist harmoniously but it may generate conflicts over values. Second greater emphasis is placed on religious practices rather than belief. A person's religious identity and affiliation are defined more by what the individual has with and in relation to others, than by the content of beliefs individually held by them. Third many religiously sanctioned social practices are oppressive by virtue of their illiberal and in egalitarian character and deny a life of dignity and self-respect. Therefore from a liberal and egalitarian standpoint, they desperately need to be reformed by the institution with enormous social power such as state. First, as a form of movement<sup>148</sup> secularism removes the excessive influence of religion from society. It means secularism undermines religious orthodoxies, frees individuals from the clutches of religion and empowers people to live their life in rational ways. Second, there is a constitutional meaning of secularism which requires the Indian state to maintain distance from religion for policy making. In case of inter-religious conflicts or the struggle against oppressive communities, state follows liberal principles without abandoning the sentiment of the communities. State secures the religious liberty of the community by granting them religious freedom but to secure the values like equality and justice state intervenes in religiously sanctioned social customs. Indian state undertakes several reforms within Hinduism by making polygamy illegal, introducing the right to divorce, abolishing child marriage, legally recognizing inter-caste marriages and introducing temple entry for dalits, the state intervened in religious matters to protect the ordinary but dignified life of its citizens. Intervention in Hinduism by state for example the legal ban on the prohibition of Dalits into the temple is illegitimate interference in religious liberty and equality of all socio-religious groups.

#### **b) Secularism Secures the Right of Specific Community**

According to Marc Galanter the state in India continues to embody a model of secularism. State entails a character of uniform rights but the commitment of secularism to equal citizenship compels the state to secure the rights of each community example personal laws of each community is secured. In India the courts<sup>149</sup> have frequently interpreted religion from a wholly rationalist standpoint and conducted its reform purely on that basis. They have rationally determined both the essential tenets of Hinduism and the religious identities of people. One such case has been discussed by Galanter. A puritanical Vaishnavite sect called Satsangis reacted to the temple entry act and disallows Harijan's entry into the premise. But court declared Satsangis as Hindu not separate from Hinduism and motivate them not to distort true teachings of Hinduism and to remove all superstition and ignorance and thus convinced them to accommodate with Harijans who are also Hindus. The decision of the court to grant alimony to Shah Bano shows that it is a justifiable need of an Indian citizen to live a life of dignity. But this decision of the court undermines the cultural survival of Muslims in India. But for the sake to secure the rights of the minority community Supreme Court enacted a law that effectively made provisions of the Shariat an integral part of secular law. In October 2015, ShayaraBano who was given divorce by her husband filed a petition against triple talaq and challenged the controversial practice before India's top court. On August 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2017 the Supreme Court<sup>150</sup> struck down instant triple talaq (divorce) calling it unconstitutional and against the tenets of Islam. A woman cannot be given divorce over email, or through letter which is against article 14 of the constitution which guarantees the right to equality. Here we find that instead of securing community specific or group right, stronger emphasis was laid on universal individual right of Muslim women by Indian state to give them honor and respect. Secularism aims to ensure real equality among citizens and modernization of culture and hence present government pledges for uniform civil code a progressive move that guarantees the same rights in marriage, divorce, inheritance and adoption to Indian women. It is controversial as it brings Muslim women's personal laws onto a secular footing and goes against the right of the Muslims community but secures the right of the Muslim women.

### **c) Secularism Follows a Principle of Principled Distance**

Principled distance<sup>151</sup> does not demand total exclusion and the relation between religion and politics requires neither fusion nor complete dis-engagement. The boundaries of religion and politics are distinct and each is valuable in its own right, and respects one another's limit. To understand this principled distance we must define what political and ethical

secularism meant. Political secularism justifies the separation of religion from politics either by excluding from politics all ultimate ideals (democracy, equality, autonomy) or by an appeal to the principle of political neutrality.

Political secularism<sup>152</sup> excluded the controversial ultimate ideas from the coercive public sphere for the protection of ordinary life to rule out big evils. But some competing and controversial ideals must be allowed to enter to the public sphere so that in the common space they are freely scrutinized by public with reason. But ideals cannot be totally excluded from public sphere so we need to clarify the relationship between the right and the good. Charles Taylor, claim that what is good gives the point of the rules which define the right that is good defines the right of the individual. But Bharghav defines that it does not follow that any particular good has priority over the right or that the good has priority over the right no matter what the context. The right is required in order to realize the good. Both right and good can claim priority and both can be correct depending on the context. By providing a framework of rules, the right both limits the good and makes a stable life for the individual. Hence according to Bharghav the pursuit of good life is impossible without the right. Principled distance is different from strict neutrality. It rests upon a distinction drawn by American philosopher Ronald Dworkin that is equal treatment and treating everyone as an equal. The principle of equal treatment means that the state treats all its citizens equally in the relevant respect for example in the distribution of a resource of opportunity.

The principle of treating people as equals entails that every person or group is treated with equal concern and respect. But treating people or groups as equals is entirely consistent with differential treatment which is identified with principled distance. For example, the state may interfere in one religion more than in others, depending on the historical and social condition of the religions. For the promotion of a particular value like to promote equality, social mobility of dalits and to secure their rights state fails to maintain strict neutrality<sup>153</sup>. Hence state interferes in caste-ridden Hindu society (which undermines the good of the upper-caste Brahmins but secures the rights of the dalits) more than Islam or Christianity.

Democracy is a means for citizens to achieve the best capability that they can achieve, so it requires laws and policies to be citizen-centric. But as we live in society too much individual centrism could hamper the integrity of community as one will form an individual centric universe around oneself. So democracy can also been seen as means

through which negotiation between 'I' and 'We' take place to maintain the coherence between society and individual while giving sufficient space for individual to grow his or her potential. Previously religion was a tool for streamlining the society and imparting certain values and restrain individual's freedom as the member of community. Religion limits the scope of a person to utilize its capacity through religious dictates. State destroys this power structure by imposing certain rules on the community for creation of society which is equal where each member can grow his potential to its maximum. Secularism hence tries to prevent intra-religious domination (for example by abolition of untouchability) where one group within religious community dominates other group within community. In this regard we can justify Supreme Court's decision (August, 2017) on instant triple talaq issue calling it unconstitutional. There is vocal support for the establishment of Universal Civil Code (UCC) as a secular set of laws will ensure gender equality and protects the right of women. Secularism means taking out all traces of religion from family law and submitting to a single civil code that applies to all Indians. All religious laws discriminate against women and that the state owes its citizen a single, gender equal set of laws. Hindu succession act was reformed by Parliament in 2005 and Christian divorce rights were made gender equal in 2001. The court has steadily affirmed women's rights of maintenance, adoption in various judgments and reforms in minority communities. Hence Supreme Court struck down instantly triple talaq calling it unconstitutional. In a religiously heterogeneous state like India, the democratic system secures the rights and liberties of minority groups by applying the principle of strict neutrality.

The Indian state has not always been neutral even in all cases. For good or bad, it has deviated from the principle of neutrality on a number of occasions. It had so when it carried out a series of reforms within Hinduism. For example it changed Hindu personal law quite significantly: polygamy made illegal, the right to divorce introduced, abolished child marriage, inter-caste marriages were legally recognized. Furthermore, it prohibited animal sacrifices within the precincts of a temple, abolished devadasi dedication, regulated the activities of criminals masquerading as holy men, introduced temple-entry rights for Harijans and reformed temple administration. Here, before deciding whether it was necessary to enact a special provision for Hindus, the legislature took into account their social customs and beliefs. Similar laws for Muslims were simply redundant. Secondly, law in liberal democracies requires legitimacy and the consent of the representatives of

communities. So in Shah Bano case the state supports the shariat. If the state is the march of God on earth (according to Hegel) then all its actions are justified. Hence all state action<sup>154</sup> like entry of dalits into temples or ban on cow slaughter on objection from North Indian Brahmins are justified. Finally, it is perfectly within the competence of the legislature to curb all social evils. If the legislature enact a special provision in regard to say, bigamous marriages among Hindus, it cannot be said that the legislature was discriminating against Hindus only on the grounds of religion rather for the purpose of eradication the social evils prevalent in Hindu religious practices and to secure the rights, even though the policy was targeted at specific communities. A state interfering in one religion more than in others does not automatically depart from secularism – which is term as principled distance. Indian secularism rejects the assumption that one size fits all. Principled distance states that state may intervene in the affairs of the state if such intervention promotes freedom, equality or any other value integral to secularism. Religion may get into the affairs of the state either when the state is compelled to recognize religious communities to secure community rights and social goods.

Ethical secularism<sup>155</sup> separates religion from politics for the sake of an ultimate ideal. Like John Rawls, Raz has shown us that ethical secularism is linked to a distinct conception of toleration. In a pluralist community one tolerates the other not despite one's disagreement but on the understanding that in commensurable values cannot always be realized at the same time in the same sphere and thus one has to tolerate the limitations of others. It is frequently claimed that the state in India is secular because Hinduism is tolerant and it protects all the minority communities and Hinduism alone can sustain communal harmony. Hinduism is marked by religious harmony, tolerance and intra-religious oppression, shows equal respect for all religions and uniquely combines some aspects of religion. It promotes an idea of establishment of all religion to promote a distinct plural community and uniquely shows respect to all religious values. Ethical secularism promotes a strong sense of community<sup>156</sup> – a conception of togetherness. While political secularism promotes an idea of living together ethical secularism promotes an idea of living together well.

To live together well one needs a high degree of community, but living together is possible with a relatively low level of community. Under conditions of conflicting diversity ethical secularism focus on community rights (any religious community) and not on citizen's rights to ensure progress of the society like political secularism. Ethical secularism relies on the particular conception of good life example in the decision of the court to grant

alimony to Shah Bano though it could easily have been determined by the more justifiable need to enable citizen's right to live a life of dignity. But the decision was widely seen to undermine the very cultural survival of Muslims of India and it goes against the good or community-specific rights. Hence the government set the decision of the court aside and enacted a law that effectively made provisions of the shariat an integral part of secular law. Similarly a ban on cow slaughter satisfies the right of a particular north Indian Brahmin community. This is an example where the boundaries of state and religion are respected which is the other form of principled distance<sup>157</sup> (religious liberty means distancing the state from the practices of religious groups) in Indian secularism. The minorities (specifically minority community) are granted certain privileges and immunities in order to ensure their cultural survival (special provisions for ST, SC and OBC) and hence ethical secularism by its more positive defense to secure community rights and goods to different religious and cultural groups can satisfy the plural community. When introducing the system of reservation, the goal was to ensure groups that had previously not had a chance to gain access to education and governmental jobs. While there are challenges faced with the reservation system there is no doubt that this positive discrimination ensures the benefits of specific minority groups for their economic prosperity. If religion and caste is divorced from the state, then it is difficult to ensure equitable progress. Hence strict neutrality is not feasible and government will have to introduce policies which are targeted at specific religions or communities.

Each religious community in India has certain unique practices in family laws from marriage to inheritance and from marital separation to maintenance and adoption. Many of these are unfair to women in different ways still India allows each community to practice its personal law to secure community rights. There are also civil alternatives like Special Marriages Act which any citizen can opt to follow. The Hindu Marriage Act<sup>158</sup> of 1955 and act related to succession and marriage provide special considerations for Hindus living in different geographical regions and belonging to different castes and ethnic groups. For example in some communities in Southern India, marriage between an uncle and niece is allowed and such unions are preferred whereas such marriages are proscribed and viewed as incestuous by Hindus in North India. The Hindu inheritance laws like 'Mitakshara' and 'Dayabhaga' is accepted in most parts of India except West Bengal and Assam. Article 44 of the constitution says that "the state shall endeavor to secure for citizen a uniform civil code throughout the territory of India", but exceptionally the people of North East India

like Nagaland, Mizoram, Manipur, Tripura, Meghalaya and Aurnachal Pradesh has their distinct religious and social practices and guided by distinct customary laws and procedures. The Christian Catholics of India strictly adhere to the Canon Law concerning marriage recognized as the personal law of Catholics. Similarly the abolishing of personal laws of the Muslim community and passing of universal civil code will go against the ethos of religious freedom guaranteed in Indian constitution. Through the principle of 'principled distance', Indian secularism promotes strong sense of community feeling, conception of good life and secures the right of each religious community.

## **8. Conclusion**

Secularism in India is context specific and is based on the idea of principled distance. It has been defined as contextual secularism. The policy of principled distance entails a flexible approach on the question of inclusion or exclusion of religion and the engagement or disengagement of the state depending on the context, nature or current state of relevant religions. This means that religion may intervene in the affairs of the state if such intervention promotes freedom equality or any other value integral to secularism. Principled distance allows for differential treatment. It may even require state intervention in some religions more than in others considering the historical and social condition of all relevant religions. For example to promote social equality that requires undermining in part of the caste hierarchies, it may be necessary for the state to interfere in caste ridden Hinduism much more than say Islam or Christianity. According to Bharghav secularism is fully compatible with the differentiated citizenship rights and secularity of the state does not necessitate strict intervention, non-intervention or equidistance but any or all of these as the case may be.

As a multi value doctrine contextual secularism encourage accommodation – not the giving up of one value for the sake of another but rather their reconciliation and possible harmonization that is to make each work without changing the content of incompatible values. It promotes an idea of living together well by recognizing the values of the community; focus on community rights (made provisions of the shariat an integral part of secular law, made special provisions for underprivileged class, made entry of the Dalits in temple premise), promotes strong sense of community and inculcate an idea that in the same sphere one has to tolerate the limitations of others. A puritanical Vaishnavite sect called Satsanghis reacted to the temple entry Act of 1947 by filling a suit alleging that its temples

were not covered by this Act and therefore they were not bound to permit Harijans to enter into temple premise. In 1950, it even challenged that Act by not only claiming that every religious denomination had a right to manage its internal affairs as it deemed fit, but also that it was a separate and distinct religious sect unconnected with the religion of Hindus. When the matter was brought to the Supreme Court, it conducted an enquiry into the scope of 'temple entry power' and declared the Satsangis as Hindus and enjoined them to be good Hindus by not mis-constructing the true teachings of Hinduism or be guided by superstition and ignorance. Hence state encourage accommodation of all the people with this particular sect to restore possible harmonization in the society on one hand and secure the interest of the minority specific rights on the other by allowing their free access in the temple premise and hence solve inter-religious conflicts. Reconciliation and accommodation is done by removing dogmatism in all spheres to secure the best values. Hence article 25(2) gives state the absolute power to interfere in religious matter for example extensive modification of Hindu personal law in marriage, divorce, adaption, succession. Even Article 26(b) makes the state interventionist as a measure of social reform when it favours the right of Harijans to enter temple premise in spite of strict objection from high caste community members and the state is permitted to do this as a measure of several reforms.

This model of contextual secularism is built into a commitment to participatory democracy and openness to a future common good which ultimately removes all conflicts. It fairly brings divergent conception of good into the political process. The good life conceived by any society includes satisfying the basic needs of everyone in the form of right. For example the minority right in certain context promoting the good of the small community has to be protected not only against the whims of its own members but also against the so-called common good for the larger community and the state. State institutions have to play a crucial role by way of putting several safeguards to secure the rights of smaller 'endangered communities' example court order to make entry of dalits in temple or to declare that no person shall be denying using any public places maintained by state.

Features that make Indian secularism distinctive are its explicit multi-value character that it values religious liberty, equality, peace and toleration. Constitution respects and recognizes community specific rights and its commitment to a different model of moral reasoning and opens up the possible path of multiple secularism of different societies to work out their own secularisms, it follows a principle of principled distance that is it not mutual exclusion of state and religion or strict neutrality but it accepts a disconnection

between state and religion by following an idea of principled distance and it attends to the issues of intra-religious oppression and inter-religious dominations. State in a heterogenous society like ours tried to safeguard the goods and rights of all communities against the whims of their own members as well as others. When ultimate ideas (example religious fundamentalist) infused with religious flavor entered the public arena and threatens the life of the individual then the ideals were expelled by the state. In Indian society right based politics, politics of common good could prevent intra-religious conflicts like the communal violence or to plunge the society what Hobbes called 'the war of all against all'.

India tried to build a composite Indian culture and tried to preserve it through religious tolerance, accommodation of all religious groups, by maintaining neutrality and sometimes through state intervention in religious affairs. The distinctiveness of Indian secularism lies in its explicit multi-value character, strict neutrality, giving importance to moral reasoning, uniquely combines some aspects of religion and respecting some aspects of religion and it is the only secularism that deals with intra-religious oppression and inter-religious domination. Democracy stands for freedom of conscience and belief, tolerance and mutual respect. India being a plural society with multi-religious faiths, diverse creeds, castes and cultures secularism promotes fraternity and amity with dignity of person as its constitutional policy. The state guarantees individual and corporate religious freedom and deals with an individual as citizen irrespective of his faith and religious belief and does not promote any particular religion nor profess one against another. Indian secularism is grounded in the notion of equality, equal concern and respect for other religion. Indian secularism seeks neutrality towards all religion and hence Indian constitution provides religious liberty to an individual and associations of individuals united by common beliefs, practices and disciplines. Individual's freedom of religion is guaranteed in article 25-28 of Indian constitution. The constitution thus declares that every person has a fundamental right not only to hold whatever religious beliefs commend them to his judgment (freedom of conscience) but also to manifest his beliefs or to propagate its tenets among others. In contemporary political scenario, India adopted a contextual model distinct from western notion of church- state separation and which is to satisfy the religious communities. Thus the principle of 'principled distance' is found which secures group rights and the rights of the religious community. Hence it may safely be inferred that Indian secularism has successfully adjusted to Indian multi-religious plural society in spite of its challenges and criticism.

## Notes and References

1. Smith Eugene Donald, (1967), *India as a Secular State*, Princeton, USA, University of Pennsylvania Publications p.5
2. Singh Karan, (1993), *Essays on Hinduism*, New Delhi, and RatnaSagar Publication, pp.99-101
3. Sandel J. Michael, “Religious Liberty: Freedom of Choice of Freedom”, in Bhargava Rajeev ed. (1998), *Secularism and its critics*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publications, pp.75-77
4. Ibid pp.102-103
5. Jingham Saral, (1995), *Secularism in India, A Reappraisal*, New Delhi, Har Anand Publications, pp.36-37
6. Bharghav Rajeev, Introduction, in Bhargava Rajeev ed. (1998), *Secularism and its critics*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publications, p.26
7. ibid pp.10-15
8. Donald Eugene Smith, (1967), *India as a Secular State*, Princeton, USA, University of Pennsylvania Publication, pp.8-9
9. ibid pp.16-17
10. Ghosh S.K, (2000), *Secularism in India; The Concept and Practice*, New Delhi, A.P.H. Pub. Corporation, pp.7-8
11. Galanter Marc, “Secularism, East and East”, in Bhargava Rajeev ed. (1998), *Secularism and its critics*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publications, p.238
12. GahranaKanan, (1991), *Right to Freedom of Religion; A Study in Indian Secularism*, New Delhi, South Asian Publication Private Ltd. pp.5-6
13. Galanter Marc, “Secularism, East and West”, in in Bhargava Rajeev ed. (1998), *Secularism and its critics*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publications, 245-46
14. Banberot Jean, “The Two Thresholds of Laicization”, in Bhargava Rajeev ed. (1998), *Secularism and its critics*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publications, pp.99-100
15. Ansari.M.T, ‘Islam and Democracy’, in Ansari, M.T, ed. (2001), *Secularism, Islam and Modernity*, New Delhi, Sage Publications, pp.231-32
16. Jingham Saral, (1995), *Secularism in India, A Reappraisal*, New Delhi, HarAnand Publications, p.35
17. Misra. R.S, (1996), *Hinduism and Secularism- A Critical Study*, Delhi, Motilal Banarsi Dass Pub. Pvt. Ltd, pp.101-103
18. Rajeev Bhargava, “The Distinctiveness of Indian Secularism”, in Srinivasan T.N ed. , (2007), *The Future of Secularism*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publication, pp.44-45

19. *ibid* pp. 90-91
20. Bhattacharya Sibesh, (2002), *Secular and Pluralistic Elements in the Idea of State in Early India*, Shimla, Indian Institute of Advanced Study Pub. Pp.24-25
21. Shah.A.B, "Secularism in India", in Sinha.V.K ed. (1968), *Secularism in India*, New Delhi, LalvaniPub.House, pp.8-9
22. Donald Eugene Smith, (1967), *India as a Secular State*, Princeton, USA, University of Pennsylvania Publication, p.62
23. *ibid* p.26
24. Panikkar K.N, (1996), *Communal Threat, Secular Challenge*, New Delhi, Centre for Historical Studies Publications; Jawaharlal Nehru University, pp.8-9
25. *Ibid* pp.80-81
26. Aiyar Mani Shankar, (2004), *Confessions of a Secular Fundamentalist*, New Delhi, Penguin Pub.pp.42-43
27. *ibid* pp.46-47
28. Donald Eugene Smith, (1967), *India as a Secular State*, Princeton, USA, University of Pennsylvania Publication, pp.65-66
29. *ibid* pp.67-68
30. Ghosh S.K, (2000), *Secularism in India; The Concept and Practice*, New Delhi, A.P.H. Pub. Corporation, pp.28-29
31. Engineer Irfan, "Religion, State and Secularism", (1995), *EPW*, Vol.30, No.43 (October 28<sup>th</sup>), pp.2726-2728
32. Gahrana Kanan, (1991), *Right to Freedom of Religion; A Study in Indian Secularism*, New Delhi, South Asian Publication Private Ltd. pp.18-19
33. Dhyani.S.N, (1996), *Secularism, Socio-Legal Issues*, New Delhi, Rawat Publications pp.164-165
34. Tejani Shabnum, "Secularisms Historical Background", in Needham AnuradhaDingwaney and RajanRajeswari Sunder ed. (2007), *The Crisis of Secularism in India*, New Delhi, Permanent Black Publications, pp.48-52
35. *ibid* pp.56-57
36. J Ingram Saral, (1995), *Secularism in India, A Reappraisal*, New Delhi, HarAnand Publications, pp.120-121
37. *ibid* pp.123
38. Saran A.K, (2007), *On the Theories of Secularism and Modernization*, Varanasi, Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies Pub.Sarnath, pp.53-54

39. Singhvi, L.M, “Secularism: Indigenous and Alien”, in Sankhdher.M.M, ed. (1992), *Secularism in India; Dilemmas and Challenges*, New Delhi, Deep and Deep Publications, pp.42-43
40. Beteille Andre, “Secularism and Intellectuals”, 1994, *EPW*, Vol.29, No.10 (5<sup>th</sup> March), pp.559-566
41. Gahrana Kanan, (1991), *Right to Freedom of Religion; A Study in Indian Secularism*, New Delhi, South Asian Publication Private Ltd. p.24
42. *ibid* pp.148-49
43. Sinha.V.K, “Secularism and Indian Democracy”, in Sinha.V.K ed. (1968), *Secularism in India*, New Delhi, LalvaniPub.House, pp.13-14
44. Jingram Saral, (1995), *Secularism in India, A Reappraisal*, New Delhi, HarAnand Publications, pp.130-31
45. *ibid* pp.128-29
- 46.Panikkar K.N, (1996), *Communal Threat, Secular Challenge*, New Delhi, Centre for Historical Studies Publications; Jawaharlal Nehru University, pp.36-37
47. *ibid* pp.37
- 48.Antonio Gramsci observed in *Prison Notebook*: “The active man in the mass has two theoretical consciousness; one which is implicit in his activity and which in reality unites him with all his fellow workers in the practical transformation of the real world and one, superficially explicit verbal, which he has inherited from the past and uncritically absorbed which influences moral conduct and the direction of will, decision or any choice and produces a condition of moral and political positivity.
- Ibid* pp.37
49. Jingram Saral, (1995), *Secularism in India, A Reappraisal*, New Delhi, HarAnand Publications, pp.133
50. *ibid* pp.133
51. Himanshu Roy, “Western Secularism and Colonial Legacy in India”, (2006), *EPW*, Vol.41, No.2 (January, 14-20), pp.158-165
52. Gahrana Kanan, (1991), *Right to Freedom of Religion; A Study in Indian Secularism*, New Delhi, South Asian Publication Private Ltd. p.25
53. Gil Anidjar, “Secularism”, (2006), *Critical Inquiry Journal*, Vol.33, No.1 (autumn), pp.52-77
54. BhanuPratap, “Secularism and the Identity Trap” in HasanMushirul ed. (2004), *Will Secular India Survive*, New Delhi, Imprint One Publication, pp.72-74
55. Hasan Mushirul, “Introduction”, HasanMushirul ed. (2004), *Will Secular India Survive*, New Delhi, Imprint One Publication pp.7-21

56. Bharucha Rustom, (2001), *In the Name of the Secular*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Pub. Pp.15-19
57. Sandel J. Michael, "Religious Liberty: Freedom of Choice of Freedom", in Bhargava Rajeev ed. (1998), *Secularism and its critics*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publications pp.78-79
58. Ansari.M.T, 'Islam and Democracy', in Ansari, M.T, ed. (2001), *Secularism, Islam and Modernity*, New Delhi, Sage Publications, pp.231-236
59. Chatterjee Partha, "Secularism and Tolerance", in Bhargava Rajeev ed. (1998), *Secularism and its critics*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publications, pp.358-361
60. Sandel J. Michael, "Religious Liberty: Freedom of Choice of Freedom", in Bhargava Rajeev ed. (1998), *Secularism and its critics*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publications, pp.80-81
61. Galanter Marc, "Secularism, East and East", in Bhargava Rajeev ed. (1998), *Secularism and its critics*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publications, pp.236-238
62. BhargavRajeev, "What is Secularism for"? in Bhargava Rajeev ed. (1998), *Secularism and its critics*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publications, pp.519-522
63. Ibid pp.516-18
64. Craig Calhoun "Rehabilitating Secularism", in Bhargava Rajeev ed. (1998), *Secularism and its critics*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publications, pp.97-99
65. ibid 108-111
66. Donald Eugene Smith, (1967), *India as a Secular State*, Princeton, USA, University of Pennsylvania Publication, pp.5-6
67. Bharghav Rajeev, "What is Secularism for"? In Bhargava Rajeev ed. (1998), *Secularism and its critics*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publications, pp.516-518
68. Pant A.D, "Nehru on Secularism and the Nature of the Secular State", in ChakrobortyBidyut ed. (1993), *Wither India's Democracy*, New Delhi and Calcutta, K.P.Bagchi and Company Pub. Pp.161-62
69. According to Nehru, "religion is whatever introduces genuine perspective into the piecemeal and shifting episode of existence, or again any activity pursued in behalf of an ideal end against obstacles and in spite of threats of personal loss, became of its conviction of its general and enduring value, is religion in quality, Nehru truly believe in the vedantic approach of Indian religion which shows respect to all religious community".  
A.B.Shah, "Secularism in India", in Sinha.V.K ed. (1968), *Secularism in India*, New Delhi, LalvaniPub.House, pp.1-3
70. Saran A.K, (2007), *On the Theories of Secularism and Modernization*, Varanasi, Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies Pub.Sarnath, pp.199-201
71. Grover Virender, (1990), *Political Thinker of Modern India*, New Delhi, Deep and Deep Pub. Pp.228-29
72. Ahulwalia.B.K, (1978), *Nehru India's Man of Destiny*, New Delhi, New Man Group Publishers, p.15

73. Luthera.V.P, (1964), *The Concept of Secular State and India*, London, Oxford University Press, p.15)
74. Nehru commented, “We the Indians believe in a national state which includes people of all religions and is essentially secular as a state, or do we believe in the religion, theocratic conception of a state which regards people of other faiths as somebody beyond the pale? He speaks of one national outlook, which would inform the working of the Indian state, though he did not spell out the source for the development of that one national outlook”.
- Smith. D.E. “India as a Secular State”, in Bhargava Rajeev ed. (1998), *Secularism and its critics*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publications, pp.180-182
75. Madan .T.N, (1997), *Modern Myths, Locked Minds; Secularism and Fundamentalism in India*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Pub. Pp.116-118
76. Basu Timir, “Secularism and Communalism in India”, in Banerjee Binay ed. (1994), *Towards Communal Harmony*, Calcutta, Germinal Publications, pp.25-26
77. Tejani Shabnum, “Secularisms Historical Background”, in Needham Anuradha Dingwaney and Rajan Rajeswari Sunder ed. (2007), *The Crisis of Secularism in India*, New Delhi, Permanent Black Publications, pp.82-86
78. Ahulwalia.B.K, (1978), *Nehru India’s Man of Destiny*, New Delhi, New Man Group Publishers, p.28
79. Gandhi Rajiv, (1987), *Secularism, Social Equity – Foundations of the Indian State*, New Delhi, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India Pub. Pp.11-13
80. Pantham Thomas, “Indian Secularism and its Critics”, (1997), *Journal, The Review of Politics*, Vol.59, No.3 (summer), pp.523-524
81. Ashis Nandy, “The Politics of Secularism and the Recovery of Religious Toleration”, in Bharghav Rajeev ed. (1998), *Secularism and its Critics*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publications, pp.324-25
82. Pantham Thomas, “Indian Secularism and its Critics”, (1997), *Journal, The Review of Politics*, Vol.59, No.3 (summer), pp.523-524
83. Madan.T.N, “Secularism in its Place”, in Bharghav Rajeev ed. (1998), *Secularism and its Critics*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publications, pp.298-99
84. Pantham Thomas, “Indian Secularism and its Critics”, (1997), *Journal, The Review of Politics*, Vol.59, No.3 (summer), pp.523-524
85. Chatterjee Partha, “Secularism and Tolerance”, in Bharghav Rajeev ed. (1998), *Secularism and its Critics*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publications, p.369
86. Pantham Thomas, “Indian Secularism and its Critics”, (1997), *Journal, The Review of Politics*, Vol.59, No.3 (summer), pp.523-524
87. Chatterjee Partha, “Secularism and Tolerance”, in Bharghav Rajeev ed. (1998), *Secularism and its Critics*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publications, p.372
88. VanaikAchin, (1997), *Communalism Contested: Religion, Modernity and Secularization*, New Delhi, Vistaar Publications, pp.306-308

89. Bilgrami Akeel, "Secularism, Nationalism and Modernity", in Bharghav Rajeev ed. (1998), *Secularism and its Critics*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publications, p.408
90. Sayeed Abu Ayyub, "Secularism and Jawaharlal Nehru", in Sinha.V.K ed. (1968), *Secularism in India*, New Delhi, Lalvani Publication House, pp. 127,129
91. Ghosh Sankar, (2000), *Secularism in India: The Concept and Practice*, New Delhi, APH Publishing Corporation, pp.40-42
92. Berglund Henrik, "Religion and Nationalism: Politics of BJP," (2004), *EPW*, Vol.39, No.10 (March 6<sup>th</sup>), pp.1064-1066
93. Ibid pp.1067-1068
94. Puniyani Ram, (2010), *Communal Threat to Secular Democracy*, Delhi, Kalpez Publications, pp.167-169
95. Ibid pp.240-242
96. Panikkar K.N, (1996), *Communal Threat, Secular Challenge*, New Delhi, Centre for Historical Studies Publications; Jawaharlal Nehru University Press Pub. Pp.26-27
97. Christophe Jeffrelot, "Setback to BJP", (1996), *EPW*, Vol.31, No.2/3 (13<sup>th</sup>-20th January), pp.129-133, 135-137
98. Kumar Vijaya.S, "Our Secular Heritage", in Padhi A.P ed. (1984), *Socialism, Secularism and Democracy*, Delhi, New Literature Pub. pp.22, 25
99. Madan T.N, (2007), *Images of the World; Essays on Religion, Secularism and Culture*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Pub. Pp.11-14
100. Ibid pp.37-40
111. Bharghav Rajeev, "The Distinctiveness of Indian Secularism", in Srinivasan T.N. ed. (2007), *The Future of Indian Secularism*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publication, pp.45-46
102. Kumar Sunil, (2001), *Communalism and Secularism in Indian Politics*, New Delhi and Jaipur, Rawat Publications, pp.33-34
103. Kumar Vijaya.S, "Our Secular Heritage", in Padhi A.P ed. (1984), *Socialism, Secularism and Democracy*, Delhi, New Literature Pub. pp.22, 25
104. Kumar Sunil, (2001), *Communalism and Secularism in Indian Politics*, New Delhi and Jaipur, Rawat Publications, pp.41-42
105. Carroll John J, "In the Shadow of Ayodhya; Secularism in India", in Sharma Arvind ed. (2001), *Hinduism and Secularism*, Great Britain, Palgrave Publications, pp.35-36
106. Madan T.N, (2007), *Images of the World; Essays on Religion, Secularism and Culture*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Pub. Pp.11-14

107. Noorani A.G. “ The Babari Masjid- Ram Janmabhoomi Question”, in Engineer Ashgar Ali ed. (1990), Babari Masjid, Ramjanmabhoomi Controversy, New Delhi, Ajanta Publications, pp.56-78
108. Sharma, B.N, A, (2006), Nation on Fire; Hinduism under Siege, New Delhi, Manas Publications, pp.125-130
109. ibid pp.131
110. ibid pp.282
111. ibid
112. Noronha Ernesto, “BJP: Cow as a Political Symbol”, (1994), EPW, Vol.29, No.24 (June 11th), pp.1447-1448
113. ibid
114. Vanaik Achin, (1997), Communalism Contested; Religion, Modernity and Secularization, New Delhi, Vistaar Publication, pp.46-47
115. Ghelot.N.S. (1995), Politics of Communalism and Secularism, New Delhi, Deep and Deep Publications, pp.48-49
116. Mohanty Monoranjan, “Secularism: Hegemonic and Democratic”, (1989), EPW, Vol.24, No.22 (3<sup>rd</sup> June), pp.1219-1220
117. Chatterjee Partha, “The Contradictions of Secularism”, in Needham Anuradha Dingwaney and Rajan Rajeswari Sunder ed. (2007), The Crisis of Secularism in India, New Delhi, Permanent Black Publications, pp.143-146
118. ibid
119. Neera Chandhoke, “Representing the Secular Agenda for India”, in Hasan Mushirul ed. (2004), Will Secular India Survive, New Delhi, Imprint One Publication pp.81-82
120. ibid
121. ibid pp.85-86
122. Godbole Madhav, “Is India a Secular Nation”, (2016), EPW, April 4<sup>th</sup>, pp.1-22
123. Bharghav Rajeev, “What is Secularism For”, in Bharghav Rajeev, ed. (1998), Secularism and its Critics, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, pp.522-526
124. ibid pp.530-531
125. ibid pp.529
126. Chandhoke Neera, “Secularism”, in Jayal Niraja Gopal and Mehta Bhanu Pratap ed. (2010), Delhi, Oxford University Press, pp.24-26
127. Mahajan Gurpreet, (1998), Identities and Rights, Aspects of Liberal Democracy in India, Delhi, Oxford University Press, pp.160-164

128. Sen Amartya, "Secularism and Its Discontents", in Bharghav Rajeev, ed. (1998), *Secularism and its Critics*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, pp.467-472
129. Bharghav Rajeev, "Giving Secularism Its Due", (1994), *EPW*, Vol.29, No.28 (July 9<sup>th</sup>), p.52
130. Basu Durga Das, (2010), *Introduction to the Constitution of India*, Nagpur, Lexis Nexis Butterworths Wadhia Publications, p.119-123
131. *ibid* pp.129
132. *ibid* pp.121
133. *ibid* pp.119
134. Smith D.E, "India as a Secular State", in Bharghav Rajeev, ed.(1998), *Secularism and its Critics*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, p.220
135. *ibid* pp.209-201
136. *ibid* pp.209
137. *ibid* p.201
138. Donald Eugene Smith, (1967), *India as a Secular State*, Princeton, USA, University of Pennsylvania Publications, pp.163-168
139. *ibid* pp.203-205
140. Basu Durga Das, (2010), *Introduction to the Constitution of India*, Nagpur, Lexis Nexis Butterworths Wadhia Publications, p.125
141. *ibid*
142. *ibid*
143. *ibid* pp.123-124
144. Smith D.E, "India as a Secular State", in Bharghav Rajeev, ed. (1998), *Secularism and its Critics*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press pp.209-210
145. Ghosh S.K, (2000), *Secularism in India; The Concept and Practice*, New Delhi, A.P.H. Publication Corporation, pp.162-163
146. *ibid*
147. Baxi Upendra, "Secularism, Real and Pseudo", in Sankhdher.M.M ed. (1992), *Secularism in India, Dilemmas and Challenges*, New Delhi, Deep and Deep Publications, pp.89-92
148. Ghosh S.K, (2000), *Secularism in India; The Concept and Practice*, New Delhi, A.P.H. Publication Corporation, pp.52-54
149. SenRonojoy, (2010), *Articles of Faith; Religion Secularism and the Indian Supreme Court*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, pp.131-133
150. [www.hindustantimes.com](http://www.hindustantimes.com)
151. Gahrana Kanan, (1991), *Right to Freedom of Religion; A Study in Indian Secularism*, New Delhi, South Asian Publication Private Limited, pp.9-12

152. Bharghav Rajeev, "Giving Secularism Its Due", (1994), EPW, Vol.29, No.28 (July 9<sup>th</sup>), pp.1784-1791

153. State in India tries to accommodate all religious groups their rights and cultures and tries to create a composite culture by abolition of caste inequalities and for the deepening of democratic values, but insist that secularism being made an integral component of a minimalist agenda of decent human existence. At times, the fight for it should be kept distinct from a struggle for equality and for greater political participation. In other words, secularism is unduly overburdened with all kinds of values.

Bharghav Rajeev, "Introduction", in Bharghav Rajeev, ed. (1998), *Secularism and its Critics*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, p.498

154. Bharghav Rajeev, "The Distinctiveness of Indian Secularism", in Srinivasan T.N ed. (2007), *The Future of Secularism*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publication, pp.21-23

155. Bharucha Rustom, "The Shifting Sites of Secularism: Cultural Politics and Activism in India Today", (1998) EPW, Vol, 33, No.4 (Jan 24<sup>th</sup>-30<sup>th</sup>), pp.167-180

156. Beteille Andre, "Secularism and Intellectuals", (1994), EPW, Vol.29, No.10 (March 5<sup>th</sup>), pp.559-566

157. Bharghav Rajeev, "Giving Secularism Its Due", (1994), EPW, Vol.29, No.28 (July 9<sup>th</sup>), pp.1784-1791

158. Vanaik Achin, (1997), *Communalism Contested; Religion, Modernity and Secularization*, New Delhi, Vistaar Publication, pp.46-47

## **CHAPTER – IV**

### **Murshidabad District: A Bengal District in Transition**

#### **1. Introduction**

#### **2. History of the District**

##### **2.1. Demography of the District**

#### **3. Participation of the People of the District in Freedom Struggle**

##### **3.1. Nature of Politics in Pre-Partition Bengal in Murshidabad**

##### **3.2. Anti-Communal Instances in the District**

##### **3.3. Communal Activities in the District**

##### **3.4. Incidence of Communal Violence in the District**

#### **4. Radcliff Award and Partition of India (Bengal) In 1947**

##### **4.1. Claims and Counter Claims: the Bengal Boundary Commission**

##### **4.2. Partition in Case of Murshidabad District**

#### **5. Nature of Post Partition Communal Activities in the District**

##### **5.1. The Border and Everyday Life**

##### **5.2. Incidence of Communal Violence in Post-Partition Era**

##### **5.3. Reasons behind Insignificant Occurrence of Communal Violence in the District**

##### **5.4. Attitude of the People of the District in Post-Partition Era**

#### **6. Population Migration from the District**

#### **7. Conclusion**

#### **Notes and References**

## 1. Introduction

The history of Bengali Muslim society as traced is seen as static<sup>1</sup> and increasingly sterile reaffirmation of the ‘basic contradictions’ and ‘inherent ambiguities’ between true Islam and the Bengali reality. Bengali Muslim was portrayed as victims perpetually trapped in a dilemma of identity forever between their (irreconcilable) Bengaliness<sup>2</sup> and Muslimness. Rafiuddin Ahmed, in his enormously influential and learned study of the Bengali Muslims, actually insists that ‘a Bengali identity was in no way inconsistent with their faith in Islam’. Rafiuddin Ahmed writes that ‘Bengal, particularly the low lying districts of eastern and southern Bengal where Islam found most of its adherents has been a peasant society for the whole of her recorded history and agriculture has provided the foundations of the region’s distinctive<sup>3</sup> culture. British historian Peter Hardy apprehends the fact that Bengali Muslim faced a crises<sup>4</sup> as far their identity is concerned. Mainly the Bengali Muslims were converted Muslims, that is they were forced to embrace Islam but at the same time could not come out of their own Hindu culture, customs, idol worship which they practiced before this conversion. Hence they could not fully embrace Islam or its ideology (monotheism) or foreign language that is Urdu or Persian. Bengali masses were not proper Muslims because they failed to understand the true meaning of Islam. Amalendu De similarly characterized that Bengal has a trend of Sufi culture which exerted a very great influence on the life of the people of Bengal. The Sufis were of the opinion that “Islam was in dire need of reform and revival”. The Sufi saints preached the essence of Islamic religion without emphasizing its orthodox aspects. According to Roy<sup>5</sup> the impact of Sufi culture was great in all over India and West Bengal and hence Indian or Bengali Muslims did not start with orthodox Islam so there was a great reverence for pirs or saints in Bengal and Bengali Muslims adopt this Sufi version of Islam and hence termed as atrap by the ashrafs.

Muslims of Murshidabad district were the tenants and their zamindars were mostly Hindus. They suffered all the more at the hands of the zamindars because the landlords were mostly absentees and left matters in the hands of the naibs (intermediaries between the landlord and the peasants) who were unscrupulous and tended to coerce the tenants. Hence the economic positions were not sound. Even in drought or famine relief measures were not given to these sufferers resulting in starvations of the rural masses. There was no other profession to adapt other than peasantry and the community suffered<sup>6</sup> a lot. Apart from the peasants the weavers, porters suffered economic setback too. Inter caste marriages were

denied to the Bengali Muslims with the non-Bengali Muslims – so the bulk of the people were not prosperous and were beginning to feel pressure of a Hindu economic domination.

But major section of the Bengali speaking Muslim in the district took education from informal institutions like mosques. They still lacked in education<sup>7</sup> because education at mosque was given at much later age than formal educational institutions like schools and colleges. Education at mosque was given at much late age to a student hence a Muslim boy entered school much later than a Hindu boy born at the same age. Bengali Muslims of the district often belong to low caste Hindus who were very poor and forced to embrace Islam that is they are converted Muslims. As because the economic conditions of the Muslim family were not sound so a Muslim boy left school earlier than a Hindu boy because their parents often could not pay for him to complete his education. The Muslims of Bengal were mainly poor belong to agrarian class and having low economic status in compare to a Hindu. The Hindu parents of affluent section often decided to give his son such an education which would help him to secure high place among the leaned members of his own community and help him to compete for offices of the government. Hindu student in compare to a Muslim received training in English and Mathematics in government runned public schools than a young Muslim in Madrassa who devote them in receiving excellences in studying Arabic. Hence the Muslim community in Bengal failed to persue an independent line of politics<sup>8</sup> due to educational and economic backwardness. Due to superior position of the Hindus therefore the Muslims of Bengal could not depend on the majority. Linguistic difficulty, poverty and attraction towards education in theology of Islam and with the growth of reforming movements within the community - the Wahabi and the Feraizi movements<sup>9</sup> drive the community into isolation and backwardness. Due to educational and economic backwardness the Bengali Muslims had failed to make their mark in the civil service in compare to the Hindus. No industrial development was markedly developed in the district resulted in huge sufferings of the Bengali Muslim which continued till in the present time. But the Muslims of this district became politically conscious with the advent of Muslim League leaders who wanted to play an active role in the politics of the district.

## **2. History of the District**

Murshidabad a district of West Bengal in eastern India lies between 23<sup>0</sup>43' and 24.52' north latitude and 87<sup>0</sup>49' and 88.44' east longitude covering an area of 5.341km<sup>2</sup>(2,062 sq mile)<sup>10</sup>, and having a population 5.863m<sup>11</sup> is a densely populated district and the ninth most

populous district in India. Beharampur town is the head quarters of the district. The district of Murshidabad enjoys rich cultural heritage<sup>12</sup> which owed its origin due to the confluence of various religions, and linguistic crosscurrents within the main stream culture of the district. Though the district is located in Bengal, it has a rich tradition of Persian and latter Urdu literature which flourished there on account of the patronage given by the Muslim Nawabs. A look into the ancient history of the district reveals that the district was the capital city of Sasanka<sup>13</sup>, the great king of Gauda (comprising most of Bengal)) in the seventh century AD and perhaps that of Mahipala. During this time the district was a place of great cultural heritage. The origin of Murshidabad city can be traced back in the early years of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. According to Gulam Hossain Khan, author of Riyaz-us Salatin, a merchant named Makhsus Khan first improved the present site of Mushidabad<sup>14</sup>. Makhsus Khan has been mentioned in the Ain-i- Akbari as a nobleman who served in Bengal and Bihar during the last decades of the sixth century. He built a sarai or rest house at a market place which was called after him Makhsusabad or its variant Makhsudabad.

The district<sup>15</sup> began to flourish from 1704 when Murshid Quli Khan, the Diwan of Bengal shifted the seat of Dewani administration from Dhaka to Makhsusabad. During Jahangir's reign the district became well known for silk and silk fabrics. Along with Kashimbazar it is one of the most important silk manufacturing centers in Bengal, and the district continued to grow in importance during the second half of the seventh century and eventually become an administrative station. Later on, Aurangzeb honored him the title of Murshid Quli Khan<sup>16</sup> and granted permission to rename the town as Murshidabad in 1704 C.E after his newly acquired title. The city and the district flourished during the time of Murshid Quli Khan and became the centre of political economical and social life under the Nawabs of Bengal for nearly a century.

W.W Hunter stated, "It seems probable that Murshid Quli Khan took the decision of shifting the capital from Dhaka to Murshidabad by political consideration"<sup>17</sup>. Dacca has lost its importance for the Portuguese as a trade center and the banks of Bhagirathi afforded a more central position for the management of the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Murshidabad rose from the position of a small market town to be the headquarters of Bengal. At the same time it was an important commercial centre. By the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the Murshidabad city gained importance for the development of silk trade centre in Qasimbazar. Places like Saidabad and Jangipur attracted many English, Dutch and the French traders. The commercial activities of the city led to the increase of the wealth of

Murshidabad. The house of the Jagat Seth performed the most important financial transactions of the Government of Bengal and through this banking house the Nawabs of Bengal<sup>18</sup> remitted the annual revenue to the Mughal court and gradually the district gained political importance.

## **2.1 Demography of the District**

### **Geography**

The eastern side of the district is bounded by the river Padma and on the south lies the district of Burdwan and Nadia. The South eastern part of this district is bounded by the Jalangi River, which also separates the district from Nadia. To the west lie the districts of Birbhum and the Santhal parganas. The Bhagirathi flows from the north to the south of the district. It divides the district into two equal parts<sup>19</sup>. The tract to the west of the river is locally known as Rarh and the tract east of the river is known as Bagri. When the rain water erodes, this area becomes a pasture land and it produces thatching grasses. The Bagri or eastern tract resembles the ordinary alluvial plains of Bengal. It is subjected to inundation and lies entirely between the Bhagirathi and the Jalangi River. The composition of the people of these two regions also differed. In every Thana in the eastern tract except Gorabazar, Sujaganj, Manullabazar and Burdwan the majority of population belongs to the Muslim community and in every portion of the western tract the Hindus outnumbered the Mohammedans<sup>20</sup>.

### **Industry, Agriculture and Tourism**

There are some silk farms and some weaving machines, but they are losing out fast against the modern industries. Murshidabad is famous for the production of high quality silk. Beedi industry is also there. Many of the India's major beedi companies are from this district. Bell metal and brass utensils are manufactured in large quantities at Khagra, Berhampore, Kandi, Barangar and Jangipur. The District is having the largest Power Plant at Sagardeghi, Central Power Plant at Farakka NTPC which generates 1600 Mega Watt power. Iron and steel manufacturing company and house hold Plastic goods are produced in ample in Jangipur division of the district. The skill of gifted craftsmen can be seen in the district markets. Ivory carving has been patronized from the Nawabs time and about 99% of total production of ivory is exported which draws a significant amount of Murshidabad's income. Sandalwood etching has become more popular than ivory carving now. Murshidabad is

famous for brass and bell metal ware also. Silk weaving industry constituted to be the principal cottage industry in the district. The brand “Murshidabad Silk” is not only famous across India, but also has a great demand throughout the world. Sericulture industry is the principal agro-based rural industry in Murshidabad. Most of the people depend on agriculture for their livelihoods. Rice, Jute, legumes, oilseeds, wheat, barley and mangoes are the chief crops in the east; extensive mulberry cultivation is carried out in the west.

The town still bears memories of the Nawabs with several mosques, tombs and gardens. The district is also famous for the historical place<sup>21</sup> which attracts millions of tourists from overall India. The remarkable places were Nimitta Rajbari (Zamidar house), Murshidabad New Palace, constructed during the reign of Wasif Ali Mirza, Murshidabad, Nawab Palace Hazarduary by Humayunjah on the site old fort (Killa Nazamat), Chawk Mosque by Moni Begum (Chawk Bazar), Murshidabad Imambara by Sirajuddowlla though caught fire in 1846 and rebuilt in 1848 by Feraidunjah, Katgola Jain Pareshnath temple constructed by Lachmipat Sing Dugar, Nashibpur Rajbari, House of Jagat Seth, Jufraganj Gate of Mirjafar House, Jufraganj Cemetery of Mirjafar and his family, Tomb of Azimunnessa Begum, daughter of Murshidkuli Khan, Murshidabad Katra Mosque built by Murshidkuli Khan who was burnt under its stairs in, Murshidabad jahankhosa, topkhana (house of heat), Motijhil and Motijhil Mosque, Footi Masjid, Khoshbagh Cemetery of Nawab Sirajddowlla and Alibardi and his family. Other notable places of the district were Jagabandhu dham, Armenian Church, Dutch Cemetery, Kasimbazar Rajbari and Kiretshawri mandir respectively. [See Photos – pp. 470-475]

### **Administrative Division**

The district<sup>22</sup> comprises five subdivisions; Barhampur, Domkal, Lalbag, Kandi and Jangipur and twenty six blocks (7 Municipalities, 254 Gram Panchayats and 1937 villages in this district).

### **Population, Religion and Cultural Trend of the District**

Among the Muslims of the district<sup>23</sup> almost 90% are Sunnis governed by the Hanafi law. Old and established Sunni families, claiming to have Jagirdari functions and Zamindari rights from medieval times are regarded as Ashrafs who are rich elite and belong to noble and propertied class of Muslims and are distinguished from the common masses of Muslim peasants and artisans converted into Islam from lower Hindu castes. But the largest number

of Muslims of the district are Sheikhs who mainly are peasants and artisans and regarded as Azlafs (or Atrap) or no gentry.

Murshidabad is the only district in West Bengal where the followers of Islam form the single largest religious community in the district. As of 2001 census report<sup>24</sup> Murshidabad district had a total population of 5,863, among which Muslim consists of 63.67%, Hindu consists of 35.92% and Christians consist of 0.23%. As per census 2011, the total population is 7102 lakh and the literacy rate is 63.88%. Murshidabad has a large concentration of minority population may be more than 66% of the total population. Among the total population of the district, 7102430, male population consist of 36, 29,595 and female population comprises 34, 72,835. Population density is 1334/square kilometer. As per as census report decadal growth varies 21.07%. It is an educationally backward district. As per as record shows male literacy rate is 61.25% and female literacy rate is 55.04% of the total population of the district.

In the India, some of the Sufi cult<sup>25</sup> came closely in the wake of Islam and brought a new mystic idealism. The district with its historical specificity, the trend of Sufi culture proved to be a unique example of establishing communal harmony in pre and post partition period. Even today; 'Majhar' festival<sup>26</sup> in Salar region of the district is an excellent example of Hindu Muslim unity. The grand celebrations of 'Bera Utsav' are conducted at Lalbagh. Hazarduari Mela is conducted by West Bengal Tourism Department along with the Murshidabad district administration. The Mela also includes songs of Bauls and Fakirs of the district. In this district we find a trend of cultural diversity - a district identified as multilingual, multicultural and multi religious society.

Inspired by the Wahabi movement of Arabia some Muslim theologians like Shariat-ullah and Saiyad Ahmad around 1818-1847, launched a puritanical movement<sup>27</sup> in India known as Tariqua-i- Mohammadiya to restore Islamic beliefs and practices. According to them, Hindusthan had become a Dar-ul-Harb<sup>28</sup> (country governed by alien infidels) under the Christian Britishers and Sikhs where the Muslims could not pursue their faiths in peace and had to live a dog's life without any liberty. They urged Muslims to quit from all non-Islamic beliefs and practices and return to the original purity of Islam. They preached that Islam stood for an egalitarian brotherhood of all Muslims. Their preaching's found good response among the masses of Muslim especially among the small peasantry, agricultural laborers, and artisans and small traders in the district. They began to believe that it was their

duty to return to the purity of original Islam in their beliefs and practices and fight the alien<sup>29</sup> infidel indigo planters and Hindu zamindars to overcome their economic and social distress to lead a pure Islamic life. From around 1818 to 1847, the Tariqua-i- Mohammadiya movement was directed mainly against the Sikhs in Punjab, although from 1827. Titumir had been organizing Muslim peasantry in twenty-four Parganas and Jessore against the Hindu Zamindars and English indigo planters. This influenced Enayat Ali in the district to organize religious gathering in the village of Narayanpur in Jangipur sub-division which created frenzy among the Muslims assembled there. But it was dead soon, with Tariqua-i- Mohammadiya as well as Titumir's Faraidi movement were dead by 1870, but it made Muslims conscious of their separate identity and made them conscious of their duty to fight for the establishment of Muslim identity. Together we find the emergence of Brahmonism<sup>30</sup> as a social reform movement among the literate white collared Hindu professions in Murshidabad, Qasimbazar and Azimganj for the revival of Hindu traditional society.

The Indigo rebellion in 1779<sup>31</sup>, in the district showed a different picture. By the Regulation VIII of 1819, the government allowed the Europeans' to take on Taluqdari – pattani lands from Indian Zamindars. In 1859 the cultivators all over Bengal and in Murshidabad too, refused to cultivate indigo and in this struggle both Hindu and Muslims (backed by the newly emergent urban white collar workers and professional middle class irrespective of their religious faith in the district) fought against Indigo plantation.

### **3. Participation of the People of the District in Freedom Struggle**

The Muslim people of the district possessed a nationalistic feeling from the very beginning and they opposed to Bengal partition of 1905. The proposal of Bengal partition<sup>32</sup> was opposed by the influential people of the district like Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy, Baikuntha Nath Sen, Ramdas Sen, Acharya Ramendra Sundar Trivedy, Brojo Bhusan Gupta, Durgapada Singh, Makshudal Hossain, Nalini Banerjee and other influential zamindars of the district. Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy organized a meeting in 7<sup>th</sup> August 1905 where he declared to boycott all foreign goods by the people of the district. Swadeshi Movement<sup>33</sup> was started by setting up National Industries like National Leather Manufacturing Company, National Soap Factory, National Handloom Factory and Banga Lakshmi Cotton Mill by Manindra Chandra Nandy in the district. Many people began to spin threads by 'charka' in their own hands and then clothes were manufactured with the help of local weavers. The influential people of the district, the zamindars, ordinary people

and students from all community joined in this movement. Ramendra Sundar Trivedy through his writings like 'Banga Lakshmir Broto Katha' stirred the sentiments of the Bengali people against partition of Bengal in 1905.

Gandhi's Non-Violent<sup>34</sup> and Civil Disobedience Movement influenced the District Congress Committee to organize protest in the district. Under the leadership of Brojo Bhusan Gupta Civil Disobedience movement was launched where the youths of the district adopted the path of violent revolutionary activities for the liberation of their motherland. Brojo Bhusan Gupta was a Gandhite and led the entire Non-Cooperation movement<sup>35</sup> in the district. With the volunteers of the movement like Rejaul Karim, Brojo Bhusan Gupta established National Schools named as 'Karma Kuthir', to organize political campaigns in the district to fight for boycott of foreign goods, liquor and prostitution and to draw the attention of the common people. A Gandhi Ashram was constructed at Dhulian. Movements were launched in several parts of the district under the leadership of Durga Pada Singh, Makshudal Hossain, and Nalini Banerjee for non-payment of government taxes, they started picketing before excise shops and shops selling foreign goods. But the Khadi centres<sup>36</sup> of Mirzapur, Kanchantala and other places of the district were ransacked and looted by the British police and some influential leaders were also arrested to stop the movement in the district.

In connection to August Movement of 1942<sup>37</sup> violent incidents happened in various places of the district such as attacks on Beldanga Railway station and post office by cutting telegraph wires, damaging an engine and blocking the track, some youths and students looted post office, rice mill were looted in Jiaganj and the terrorist set fire to the relief camps in Beldanga and Jiaganj. In Murshidabad, Quit India Movement started immediately after the people heard the news of the arrests of Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders. In 1942, some students of different educational institutions of Berhampore rushed into the court of the District Judge and tried to create dead lock by obstructing the normal activities of the court where the trial of the arrested participators of the Quit India Movement was going on. S.P Pollard with his police force rushed to the spot and arrested number of students and took them to the District Intelligence Branch Office. In 1943 a very daring mail robbery was committed near the village of Mohammadpur within Bhagwangola, but police failed to arrest any person. The people of the district of Murshidabad continued their fight against the British and intensified their political activities in the period from 1943-1947. The District Congress Committee organized a Literacy Conference at

Berhampore in 1945 and a large number of persons from different parts of and outside the district attended the conference. The conference aimed in shaping the nationalism and patriotism among the people. 'Siraj Day' was observe in 'Kishor Pathagar', in Berhampore<sup>38</sup>, in 1945 as a symbol of freedom to the people of not only Murshidabad but also of whole Bengal .

### **3.1 Nature of Politics in Pre-Partition Bengal in Murshidabad**

It has been stated by Sen Shila<sup>39</sup> that the study of Muslim politics in Bengal can be studied on the basis of three factors. Firstly, the majority community (Muslim) in Bengal was economically, socially and politically backward in relation to the majority community. This generated a feeling among Muslims that they were economically exploited, culturally subjugated and politically dominated by the Hindus. Hence a search for a separate identity began among the former. Secondly the position of the majority of Muslims was not strong enough to pursue an independent line of politics because the two communities were almost evenly matched in numbers. The slight advantage the Muslim population enjoyed over Hindus was more than counter-balanced by the superior position of the latter in the economic, social and political life of the province. The emerging Muslim middle class found that all roads to its advancement blocked by Hindus and it had to search for new outlets. Therefore Muslims in Bengal could not depend on the majority and subjected to the pulls of the Indian political forces. Thirdly by the thirties of the present century Bengali Muslims had reached an advanced stage of political awakening and produced an articulate section which ventilated their grievances and asserted their rights. This section wanted to play an effective role in the life of the province, but could not fit into congress politics.

In Mursidabad according to Government record<sup>40</sup> of 1941, the percentage of Muslim population was 55.24% and Hindus was 44.60% and nine tenths of the total Muslim populations of Murshidabad were orthodox 'Sunni Muslim'<sup>41</sup>. Both these religious communities were represented by their conservative leaders who tried their best to enlarge their sphere of influence in Murshidabad. Most notable among them were Guru Golwalkar the leader of R.S.S of Berhampore and the Hindu revivalist leader Maharaja Manindra Chandra of Cossimbazar. Similarly The influence of the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad, who happened to be the leader of the; 'Sia' community opposed the orthodox Muslim league leaders and Muslim fundamentalists, and played an important role in shaping the social political life of the people in Murshidabad in the pre 1947 period.

Besides political leaders there is another significant group of people who are known as 'Bauls'<sup>42</sup> scattered in various parts of Murshidabad whose religious views are very much akin to those of the 'Sufis' which created an impact in the socio cultural movements of Murshidabad. Over and above, Kazi Najrul Islam played a positive role in this respect. Since his release from Berhampore jail 1923 he often came and resided in the houses of some Hindu families for days together and maintained a close connection with the important political leaders of the District Congress. His patriotic and other songs and public speeches influenced the youths of Berhampore which acted as a battle against communalism, imperialism and casteism and had its profound impact on the socio- cultural and political life of Murshidabad.

### **3.2 Anti-Communal Instances in the District**

Although the District Committee of the Muslim League was set up in 1927 in the district, yet communal activities in the district were not noticeable till the introduction of the 'Separate Electorate' in 1931. In Murshidabad both the Muslim league and the Hindu Mahasabha were formed during the late twenties<sup>43</sup>. During the proposal of partition of Bengal in 1905 the students of Berhampore K.N. College under the Leadership of Abdul Ahamed Yusuf Jilani started agitation against the partition. It was in Murshidabad that the provincial conference of the All India Muslim league was held at Berhampore in 1937 and attracted the attention of the Press and was attend by Md. Ali Jinnah and other stalwarts of the Muslim league. Anti communal voices of Abdus Samad, Rejaul Karim and Wasif Ali Mirza motivated the people of the district to preserve communal harmony and they were not influenced much with the communal slogans of the Muslim League activist who tried to create gulf within the two community members.

Abdus Samad was a staunch nationalist and important leader of the Murshidabad District Congress Committee. As a Congress Legislator from Murshidabad, he sharply criticized and opposed the "Separate Electorate Bill"<sup>44</sup> in the greater interest of the common people of Bengal, both Hindus and Muslims. In his opinion this communal award was an imperialist weapon to weaken the freedom struggle with the help of 'divide and rule policy'. According to Samad communal representation by separate electorate could not be justified under any circumstances. It divided the two communities by separate water tight compartments and made out one community apathetic to the interests and welfare of the other. Under such an electorate a Muslim candidate seeking election should have to declare

that he was a Muslim first and Indian next. In another debate of the Bengal Legislative Council, Maulavi Abdus Samad said<sup>45</sup>, “the interests of the two communities are inseparably interwoven, and one cannot do without the help and co-operation of another. The system of communal electorates has done them more harm than good, they know that it has alienated the sympathy of the Hindus towards the Muslims, and has brought in its train communal tension and communal riots in the district”.

According to Samad, not the separate electorate, but the much needed social reforms and educational progress among the Muslims including the emancipation of Muslim women were the dire necessity and that only could uphold the position and interests of millions of poor<sup>46</sup>. He also criticized Dr. Ambedkar, as the, “so called representative of the depressed class Hindus who acted as one of the agents of the British government to run the divide and rule policy” within the community. As the nationalist Muslim, Abdus Samad appealed for the implementation of the joint electorate in the greater interests of all the communities. As Saamad opined, ‘the nationalist’<sup>47</sup> Muslims all over India who were the real representatives of the dumb millions of Muslim agriculturists, laborers and artisans should take initiative in securing the interest of the ordinary people. But unfortunately when Samad was opposing tooth and nail the forces of communalism, Sirish Chandra Nandy of Cossimbazar supported the proposal of separate electorate.

The tradition of communal harmony which was set up by Maulavi Abdus Samad was followed by his nephew professor Rejaul Karim, a staunch nationalist Muslim leader of Murshidabad and a devoted Gandhite who also set an example of relentless struggle for Hindu-Muslim unity and fought against the communal politics of the Muslim League since the 1930s. Professor Karim carried out his struggle to restore communal harmony not only in Murshidabad<sup>48</sup>, but also throughout Bengal. He sincerely believed that it was the duty of all to remove communal feelings from their mind to achieve progress of the community as well as the welfare of India and hence he considered himself as Indian. He was a true believer of Koran and uttered the famous teaching of the prophet Mohammed, “Habbul Watan, Minal Imam”, that is, nationalism is a part and parcel of Islam. He launched a ‘jihad’ against the reactionary Muslim League leaders and their opportunist policies who tried to distinguish between the two communities. He believed in uplifting a nation or a community by uniting the two communities and thus negated the concept of separate electorate for the Muslims. He was bitterly critical towards both the Hindu and Muslim communalists and as such was very much frustrated with the deliberations of the Round Table Conference that

served only the interests of the imperialist forces hence sharply opposed the fourteen points of Md. Ali Jinnah who himself was a communal man and tried to forge communal identity within the community members. After the Lucknow pact, he sharply criticized both Mahatma Gandhi and Md. Ali Jinnah in an article published in a Calcutta Daily. He criticized Gandhi for his policy of begging the rights of the Indians from the British government. So he said the welfare of the Muslim community would not be secured merely by increasing the number of voter's in the council. So he wrote<sup>49</sup>, "As long as India is not ruled for her own interests, no community will be benefited. Muslims want freedom and rights and all the communities of India will achieve freedom and rights after achieving freedom". Hence communal award was a trap, and an alluring share to enmesh the Muslim community was fatal because it tried to suppress the dissent voice of protest of the community people. According to Karim's theory for the liberation of the country he pledged to adult franchise and joint free electorate, which would settle of communal problem. The communal award has given some preferences to the Muslims, but at the cost of their liberty, nationalism and responsible government. Karim's long drawn struggle against the forces of reaction and imperialism and his vocal voices in public meetings and in Bengali journals like Jugantar, Amritabazar Patrica as well in the local weeklies published from Berhampore, threw a challenge against the politicians of Muslim League and had its effect over the Muslim masses of Murshidabad. As a young Congress worker he and his other colleagues moved from village to village of Murshidabad and propagated the politics of non-violence, non-cooperation and communal harmony<sup>50</sup>. He wrote a book known as 'Naya Bharater Bhatti' to strengthen it, but that could not win over the Muslim masses of Murshidabad from the clutches of Muslim League and as a result 'Separate Electorate' for the Muslim masses was implemented that ultimately led towards the partition of India in 1947.

To promote communal harmony Wasif Ali Mirza, the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad in 1937 formed an association<sup>51</sup> in Murshidabad known as the 'Hindu-Muslim Unity Association' to remove vindictive attitude from the minds of the community people. A Unity Conference was summoned by him which was attended by thousands of common people of both the communities and addressed by the stalwarts like Soumendra Nath Tagore, Tulshi Goswami, and Humayun Kabir etc and presided over by the Nawab Bahadur himself. It was a memorable event in the history of the socio-political movements of Murshidabad. The open session of the conference was held in 1937 on vast ground in front of the 'Hazarduari Palace' and the Nawab Bahadur employed his entire administrative

machinery for campaigning in the district and asked all the noble persons of his estate to attend it and opened a large kitchen to accommodate them. A branch of the Hindu-Muslim Unity Association, which was formed in 1938 at Murshidabad, exercised a claiming effect in that district and leading gentlemen of both communities attended a meeting held at the Palace of the Nawab Bahadur with an aim to restore communal harmony in the district.

It has been mentioned by Dr. Amalendu De that as the socio-political condition of Bengal was not favorable, therefore, this Association had to face many difficulties and the Muslim League gave a stubborn resistance and the efforts of the Nawab Bahadur could not precede much. Dr. Amalendu De also observes that during the period 1937-41, the communal tension was intensified in Bengal. In 1941, when Mr. A.K.Fazlul Haque, became the chief minister of Bengal Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad again took initiative and summoned a conference at Calcutta on 20<sup>th</sup> June, 1942. Mr. Haque further added that, “he was proud that he represented that section of the Muslim community who observed Islamic tenets; believed in Islamic teachings, who desired friendship with Hindu brethren, not for political purposes or personal ends, but to live in peace and amity. Hindus and Muslims must realize that they had got to live together, sink or swim together and if needed be, lay down their lives together for the good of their common motherland”.

Thus it is found that the political leadership given in the district was very positive in restoring communal harmony. Tragedy lies in the fact that when he was fighting against the forces of communalism, his son Kazem Ali Mirza proceeded in the opposite direction as the pivot of the District Muslim League; supported the Communal Award and advocated the justification of Pakistan and one of his cousins Mr. Iskandar Ali Mirza went to Pakistan and became the Prime Minister during 1950s. So in Murshidabad, both the forces of communalism and anti-communalism proceeded side by side during the pre-independence period.

### **3.3 Communal Activities in the District**

Communal activities were carried out in the district by the League supporters to disrupt the minds of the Muslim people and to forge mistrust among them. The District Committee of Muslim League was very much powerful and Maulavi Abdul Bari, an advocate of Berhampore Bar and a member of the State legislature was the unchallenged leader of the Muslim League in Murshidabad and in 1937 he was elected as one of the Assistant Secretaries of the Provincial Muslim League. Amongst the other important Muslim League

leaders of this district, names of Kazem Ali Mirza, Farhad Murtaza Reza Choudhury, Imajuddin Biswas, Jahiruddin Biswas, Abdul Gani, Abdul Hamid, Shakwat Hossain Alkaderi etc are worth mentioning. Under the leadership of Shakwat Hossain and Abdul Bari, the District Committee of the Muslim League published a weekly newspaper from Berhampore known as 'Islam Jyoti' and carried on their communal propaganda<sup>52</sup> throughout the district during 1932-37. The Muslim League leaders were the great supporters of the Britishers and they believe that their life, property, religion, honour and dignity would be secured from the Hindus by the British raj. The League leaders tried to remove the demoralizing effects on the community imposed by the Congress organization. Hence the Muslim League vociferously claimed to liberate the Mussalmans from the clutches of the Congress and the Hindus; though it did nothing to liberate them from the British imperialism. The leaders demanded separate electorate which would ensure justice to them and tried to motivate the Muslims to leave the Provincial and All India Congress Committee mainly dominated by the Hindus and Muslims belonging to the Jammait-i-Ulema. There was another Muslim organization in Murshidabad during that period, known as 'Murshidabad Mohammedan Association'<sup>53</sup> having its headquarter at Berhampore and Mr. Shakwat Hossain Alkaderi, a lawyer of Berhampore was its leader. This organization had similar views with the Leaguers. According to Abdul Bari<sup>54</sup> those who opposed to the Muslim League are branded as Kafirs that is enemies of Islam. The British government helped to strengthen the Muslim League in India as well as in Bengal and Murshidabad. The British government deliberately and most unjustifiably refused to take into account the opinions of large number of non-League Muslims who belong to the organizations like the Jammait-i- Ulema, the Nationalist Muslim Party, the Majlis -i- Ahrar, the members of the 'Shia' Conference and the Khudai Khidmatgars of the North-West Frontier Province. The Muslim League leaders published leaflets<sup>55</sup> consisted of cyclostyled slogan in Bengali language and circulated it throughout the district. The leaflet with 'Allahu-Akbar' on top and addressing 'Beradare Islam' says that the Muslims are in danger. The Muslims of the district should be determined to protest against the Congress proposal of the acceptance of Interim government from British. Seditious pamphlets were circulated in the district by the league activists entitled, 'Lar Ke Lenge Pakistan', that is "we will fight unto the last to achieve our dreamland Pakistan"<sup>56</sup>. Hence the league leaders called all the young Muslims to form Muslim National Guard for the achievement of Pakistan. The league activists in the district declared that, "the British had oust our Nawab Sri-raj-duallah from Bengal but we will oust the Hindus from the district and to preserve again the rule od Allah in Murshidabad with the

creation of the new land Pakistan and Murshidabad will be united with it”<sup>57</sup>. The League leaders of the district namely Moulavi Nurul Hasan, Umed Ullah, Jahiruddin Biswas, Saiyad Abdul Khan, Maniruddin Ahmed, Aminuddin Sheikh all declared, “Murshidabad is our sacred soil, the land of Nawabs and rich in Islamic culture, which we shall turn into Pakistan by our might”. The Muslim League leaders laid down programmes to guide Muslim masses and volunteers to organize camps to achieve their dreamland Pakistan. The Muslim League holds underground meetings to forge an intense communal feeling and hatred among the Muslims. The League activists smuggled lathis, knives, guns, revolvers to carry cold blooded slaughter of the people other than Muslim. They even destroyed Hindu properties, dislocated telegraph communications, destroyed the railway lines and other means of communications. They tried to eliminate the police force from the district to loot Hindu shops and properties. They formed a suicidal squad whose duty would be to murder Hindu ring leaders and non-League Muslims to establish their dreamland ‘Pakistan’.

Apart from the Muslim Leagues the Hindu communal forces were at work in order to create distance between the two communities in the district. Thus Hindu Communalist forces tried to create the gulf in the district. The notable Hindu Mahasabha leaders of the district were Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy, Maharaj Sirish Chandra Nandy, Sourindranath Roy, Gnyan Lahiri, Dhirendranath Roy, Radhanath Choudhury, Sisir Kumar Biswas, Bejoiyendra Narayan Roy, Sarat Chandra Ttivedy, Dwijapada Chatterjee, Kulada Charan Roy, Tulsi Majumdar, Asutosh Bhattacharya and Kanti Moitra. The leaders of Mahasabha<sup>58</sup> like Hom Kanti Maitra, Sourindra Nath Roy who attended the sabha defined the ‘sabha’ as a non-political organization which was established to re-mould the character, health and morals of the students in accordance with the doctrines of the Hindu Shastras. The leaflets entitled ‘Naba Banga’, ‘Hindu Jagriti’; of Hindu Mahasabha activists were circulated in the entire district through the student and other members of the sabha to rouse communal sentiment among the Hindus against the Muslims in the district.

In all the elections of the state Legislature since 1929, the Hindu Mahasabha contested in Murshidabad. Sometimes they supported independent Hindu candidates like Raibahadur Surendra Narayan Singha who had close associations with the Hindu Mahasabha. The strength of the Hindu Mahasabha was not negligible in Murshidabad and often it rose to the occasion and gave provocations to intensify communalism<sup>59</sup> to serve their vested interest. The sabha attempted to unite the educated and well-to do Hindus of Bengal, the rich rural landowning groups, the urban professional intelligentsia, with the

lower middle class sections of the 'bhadralok'. Attempts were made to recruit from the lower classes and so called 'depressed' or low castes into Hindu political parties. From the district as the representative of Hindu Mahasabha, Maharaja Manindra Chandra Roy and Srish Chandra Nandy of the Cossimbazar Raj attended the All India Hindu Mahasabha Conference held at Goya in 1915. His son Srish Chandra Nandy attended the Provincial Conference of the Hindu Mahasabha held at Burdwan in 1935-36 and All India Conference held at Amritsar in 1943.

The Hindu Mahasabha<sup>60</sup> leaders possessing a critical concept of Hindu-Muslim unity assumed that, the Hindus wanted freedom of India, and the only way for the Hindus was to unite, to grow strong and develop the will to live in India. Hence, Hindu-Muslim unity and its concept was an imaginary scheme and hence the proclamation of Hindu-Muslim unity was the cause of the weakness of the Hindus. The Mahasabha had been very active to organize demobilized soldiers to carry out the organisation's activities. The leaders of the district also tried to obtain arms and ammunitions, attempted to organize soldiers under the banner of the Mahasabha and also arranged military training of Hindu youths by ex-servicemen (like S.P.Mukherjee). The Mahasabha leaders always tried to create an 'Hindu' communal identity, by inculcating the images of Bengal's glorious past and claimed that partition would protect Bengal's unique 'culture' and would provide a secure 'Hindu Homeland'. In the context of the great Calcutta Killing of 1946, the Mahasabha leaders pointed out that they should struggle against the Muslim fundamentalist. In one leaflet entitled 'Sangram', circulated in the entire district and Calcutta, they showed 'Hindus' were forced to murder one hundred League 'goondas' (hooligans) in revenge for the molestration and rape of the Hindu women. Thus they should continue their struggle for freedom not against the British but also to fight against the Muslim tyranny and thus demanded partition of Bengal. The Hindu Mahasabha observed the All India Independence Day and the anti-Pakistan Day on 10<sup>th</sup> of May 1942. They followed the ideology of Savarkar to attain Swarajya, the absolute political independence of Hindusthan to preserve the unity and integrity of the nation. In November, 1945, the District Conference of the Hindu Mahasabha was held in Berhampore (Saidabad Kuthibari) and was attended by more than two thousand delegates. Maharajkumar Srish Chandra Nandy opened this conference and N.C.Chatterjee and other leaders of All India Mahasabha attended the conference. According to N.C.Chatterjee<sup>61</sup>, "Let us declare today that as the Muslim League persists in its fanatic idea of establishing Pakistan in Bengal, the Hindus of Bengal must constitute a separate province

under a strong national government. This is not a question of partition. It is a question of life and death for us, the Bengali Hindus. Unless you can have an administration of your own choice, you shall be serfs under an anti-Hindu communal regime and you can never get out of the prevailing sense of frustration and defeatism and you can never protect your oppressed brother and sister". The anti-communal forces tried to create a gulf in the district to infuse communal violence and posed an attitude that the concept of Hindu-Muslim unity in a Muslim majority district like Murshidabad was next to impossible. In Murshidabad among 43.1% of Hindu population, only five petitions demanded the partition of Bengal. So we can rightly conclude that no communal forces could mobilize the masses in the district to engage their mind and soul towards communal violence or partition of the district.

### **3.4 Incidence of Communal Violence in the District**

1. In 1937, a serious clash occurred at Jangipur<sup>62</sup> between the Hindus and the Muslims in connection with the immersion ceremony of the Hindu deities. The Muslim obstructed an immersion-procession of the Hindus and the incident took a communal turn recorded in the report. The S.D.O of Jangipur issued a standing order on 9<sup>th</sup> February, 1942 and made a compromise mentioning the terms and conditions of the immersion procession. After this event, communal tension in the district rose high<sup>63</sup>. But in 1943, the next S.D.O who was a Mohammedan, twisted the previous order in such a way on 27<sup>th</sup> February, 1943, that the tension mounted high<sup>64</sup> and as a result during the immersion of the goddess a communal conflict flared up. But it was quickly suppressed by the District Magistrate. It draws the attention of the Ministry<sup>65</sup> and the Muslim S.D.O was detected for the communal conflict and transferred.

2. In spite of special precautions trouble over Moharrum procession occurred occasionally in a particular area of Murshidabad in 1940. As per as the government report, the most serious incident took place at Kaliaganj<sup>66</sup> in Murshidabad district, where some of the processionists looted and damaged some Hindu shops. A number of police were injured and the Sub-Deputy Magistrate in charge was compelled to fire as a result of which three Muslims were killed and eleven injured.

3. On occasion of Korbani (slaughtering of cow) during the 'Bakar Id' festival at Khidirpur (Suti in Jangipur Sub-Division) a big village under the territorial jurisdiction of the Hariharpara police station<sup>67</sup>, a communal tension was aggravated in 1939, when the Hindu Zamindar Kalachand Roy tortured the poor Muslim peasants. As a result the Muslim tenants

appealed to their Muslim friends for financial help and they attacked Hindu villagers which created communal tension in the area.

4. Dispute over Music before mosque in Nimita and Aurangabad under Jangipur subdivision of the Murshidabad district is an interesting event of communal tension<sup>68</sup>. Hindus had some local customs and rituals of their own. If therefore a procession from a particular temple has been following a particular route and playing music all along the route, then the local custom must be taken as already well known. But the Muslim erected the mosque on that route which took away the rights of the Hindus following this custom and it appeared to the Hindus to be merely a very serious infringement of a religious observance of one community by members of other community. The District Magistrate at the time, declared that Hindu processions have been allowed to pass along a particular route playing music for a long time and in his view the erection of a mosque on the route makes no difference. Though there was an agreement between the two communities concerned permits music to be played outside the hours of prayer. But the Muslims made an allegation against the Hindus that Hindus were in the habit of passing along a particular route and playing music does not establish a local custom to play music before a mosque. This infuriated the Hindus which created tension in the area. Following this incidence District Magistrate of Murshidabad, Mr. S.Rahmatulla, took a progressive step to lessen the communal tension. Then district magistrate allowed the Hindus to take their religious processions in some other route with music.

5. Some Hindu shops<sup>69</sup> were looted in Lalgola and Bagawangola area of the district. The hooligans looted the Hindu house and set fire to it. Looting, kidnap of women and murder continued in the district to create communal frenzy atmosphere.

6. Minor clash<sup>70</sup> occurred in Murshidabad district between Hindu 'goala' (milkman), and Muslim villagers over the question of cattle grazing and slight communal tension aroused from there. In similar fashion communal tension continued at Ahiron (Murshidabad) on issues of cattle rearing. In the meantime, the political situation in Bengal had radically changed. Neither the Congress nor the leftists could comprehend how deeply communalism had spread in towns and villages of Bengal. The results of the election held in the beginning of 1946 clearly showed that the Muslim League headed by Suhrawardy<sup>71</sup> had become the single largest party; it won 115 seats, while the nationalist Muslims got five seats and independent Muslims two seats. In Murshidabad, the nationalist Muslims were defeated by

the Muslim League and suffered a severe set back and gradually faded away. Hence we should mention that the League activists tried to rouse communal sentiment among the Muslims to create consensus for the partition of the nation as we find in the records of pre-partition communal incidence in the district.

#### **4. Radcliff Award and Partition of India (Bengal) in 1947**

Radcliff award was the outcome of an official plan announced by Lord Mountbatten on 3<sup>rd</sup> June, 1947 regarding the partition of India<sup>72</sup> into two separate sovereign states – India and Pakistan. According to the June 3<sup>rd</sup> plan, the Bengal Legislative Assembly was to divide itself into two parts, one comprising of the representatives of the Muslim majority districts and the other of the Hindu majority ones. On 20<sup>th</sup> June these two provisionally partitioned units met to vote on the issue of partition. The majority of the representatives of the Hindu majority districts voted in favor of the partition of Bengal while those of the Muslim majority districts voted against it. On the basis of this vote, the ground for partition was established. Significantly, it was only after this vote that the Boundary Commission was set up to determine the final border between East Bengal and West Bengal<sup>73</sup>. The partition of India is customarily described in surgical metaphors as an operation, and the new borders created in 1947 are often thought of as incision scars<sup>74</sup>. Partition can be defined as a political game and after decisions of partition were taken, Boundary Commission had been drawn up to cast the real border, on the basis of which power would be transferred to the two dominions.

##### **4.1 Claims and Counter Claims: the Bengal Boundary Commission**

Proposals on the basis of claims of Boundary were put before the Bengal Boundary Commission by the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha and the New Bengal Association, the Congress and Jatiya Banga Sangathan Samiti in different ways. At the same time the united Bengal Plan<sup>75</sup> was launched as a reaction against partition. The extraordinary success of the partition campaign in mobilizing Hindu opinion did not; however mean that it swept all before it. A handful of Hindu politicians, led by Sarat Chandra Bose, made a determined attempt to resist the tide. In January 1946, Bose resigned from the Congress Working Committee. Sarat Bose with the support of Kiran Shankar Roy attempted to come to an eleventh hour agreement with Muslim leaders like Suhrawardy, Abul Hasim for the creation of a ‘United and Sovereign Bengal’ as a solution of the communal problem and to ensure social justice. But most of the League leaders like Jinnah,

Akram Khan, and Khwaja Nazimuddin were not influenced by this proposal and they demand to include Bengal in Pakistan. Due to lack of proper leadership the idea of 'united Bengal' failed to take shape.

### **The Muslim League**

The Muslim League<sup>76</sup> aimed in extracting as much territory as possible for East Bengal. According to them if a Hindu majority area was not contiguous to any other Hindu majority area in Bengal it should go to East Bengal. On this basis, the League claimed for East Bengal three districts where Muslims were a small majority of the population namely the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri<sup>77</sup>. The League insisted<sup>78</sup> in giving East Bengal a share of the provincial revenue in proportionate to the share of population in Bengal. On these grounds the league demand for East Bengal the whole of Calcutta urban agglomeration, it also staked its claim to areas of the west of Calcutta where Jute mills, military installations, ordinance factories, railway workshops and lines were located on the ground that these facilities were essential for East Bengal's economy, internal communication and defense. The Muslim League was asking for all the territory east of the Hooghly and Bhagirathi rivers.

[See Map - I -p.476]

### **The Hindu Mahasabha and the New Bengal**

The Hindu Mahasabha members<sup>79</sup> of the provisional West Bengal Assembly had voted for partition so as to secure a 'homeland' for the Hindus of Bengal and a separate space for the Hindus where the Hindus could determine their own future. They claimed ten Hindu majority districts (Burdwan, Midnapore, Birbhum, Bankura, Howrah, Hooghly, 24 Parganas, Khulna, Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri), they demanded that two entire Muslim majority districts (Malda and Murshidabad), large parts of Nadia, Faridpur and Dinajpur and selected thanas(police station) in Rangur and Rajshahi, be given to West Bengal. This would have given West Bengal roughly 57% of the total area of Bengal<sup>80</sup>.

The New Bengal Association<sup>81</sup> demanded land only for Hindu Bengalis as they are distinct from other race. To fulfill their destiny it was crucial to have enough space for them. New Bengal Association demanded the eastern districts of Barisal and Dacca in particular. They too demanded Jessore and Faridpur to be included in West Bengal, for the inclusion and accommodation of immigrants from Pakistan.

[See Map – II -p. 477]

### **The Bengal Congress**

The Bengal Congress demand a good number of Muslim majority thanas, and whole of Jalpaiguri, Dinajpur Malda, Murshidabad, Bankura, Burdwan, Midnapore, Hooghly, Howrah, Calcutta, Nadia, Jesore Khulna Faridpur and Bakarganj to West Bengal<sup>82</sup>. These territories were demanded by the Congress so that the safety of Calcutta might not get jeopardize.

[See Map - III- p.478]

### **Jatiya Banga Sangathan Samiti**

The Samiti lobbied for the exclusion of the entire Muslim-majority districts of Nadia, Jessore and Murshidabad and also of the Hindu-majority districts of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling in North Bengali speaking areas of Bihar in the new West Bengal state<sup>83</sup>. This demand excluded North Bengal<sup>84</sup> as a frontier region, because of ethnically and culturally distinct from the Bengal heartland. Due to the strategic importance of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri as a source of revenue earning demands were made for its inclusion in West Bengal.

[See Map - IV – p.479]

### **4.2 Partition in Case of Murshidabad District**

Murshidabad also had a special significance as the site of the headwaters of the Hooghly. It was generally agreed that the survival of Hooghly as a part (and of Calcutta as an entry port of trade) depended on its link with the river Ganges, which flowed through the northern edge of Murshidabad. The representatives of all four Hindu parties<sup>85</sup> had therefore insisted that Murshidabad be included in West Bengal, although it was a Muslim majority district and were prepared to exchange Khulna, a large Hindu-majority district to the East Bengal. Though the Muslim League leaders wanted the inclusion of the district with East Bengal, the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha leaders demanded for the inclusion of Murshidabad into the Indian Union; the district leaders<sup>86</sup> argued before the Boundary Commission in favor of retaining Murshidabad in the Indian Union. Wasif Ali Mirza, the Nawab of Murshidabad Nalinakshya Sanyal, Murtuza Reza Chowdhury, Kazem Ali Mirza,

Shahibzada Kawan Jah Saiyid, and Khuda Bukhsh moved before the Commission also argued for the inclusion of Murshidabad within the Indian Union.

### **Radcliff Award**

The Radcliff Award<sup>87</sup> was published on 17<sup>th</sup> August, 1947 two days after the Independence after much speculation. It drew a dividing line between the two parts of Bengal (East and West). The Boundary Commission demarcated after the publication of the Award<sup>88</sup> -

- a) The whole of the Chittagong and Dacca Division comprising Rangpur, Bogra, Rajshahi, Pabna, and Khulna were assigned to East Bengal.
- b) The whole of Burdwan, Calcutta, 24-Parganas and Murshidabad were given to West Bengal.
- c) The five districts that are Nadia, Jessore, Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri and Malda were distributed between East and West Bengal whereas Nadia, Jalpaiguri, Malda, and parts of Dinajpur were assigned to West Bengal and Jessore and parts of Dinajpur were given to East Bengal. Only two police station of Jessore that is Bongaon and Gaighata were added to 24-Parganas district of West Bengal which comprised 319.8 square miles in area.
- d) In Malda except Bholaghat, Gomastapur, Nachol, Nawabganj and Shibganj, the entire districts were assigned to West Bengal with 596 square miles in area.
- e) Murshidabad district did not loose to East Pakistan any entire police station.
- f) The whole district of Sylhet was transformed from the province of Assam to the new province of East Pakistan, excepting for the four police stations of Patharkandi, Rataleari, Karimganj and Badanpur.

[See Map - V – p. 480]

### **5. Nature of Post Partition Communal Activities in the District**

After partition communal violence was not so frequent in the district compared to other places in West Bengal (Calcutta, Narkaedanga, Amerstreet etc) and in East Bengal (Dacca, Faridpur, Noakhali, Chattagram etc). But we can mention few cases of violence as obtained from police records<sup>89</sup>. The Hindu politicians like Srish Chandra Nandy (Member of Legislative Council of Cossimbazar, Murshidabad), Syamapada Bhattacharya (Member of

Legislative Council of Cossimbazar, Murshidabad), and Nalinakshya Sanyal ( president of the District Congress Committee) demanded the inclusion of Murshidabad in East Pakistan and the inclusion of Khulna in West Bengal. Similarly underground and open activities started by the Muslim League leaders for the inclusion of Murshidabad in East Bengal and the tension rose high.

The prominent League leaders of the district<sup>90</sup> of Muslim League agitators were Abdul Momin (Lalbagh), Abdul Gani (Gorabazar), Abdul Khuda Pramanik and Abdul Rahaman (Bhagabangola), Abdus Samad Moulavi (Lalbagh), Afajuddin Ahmed (Beharmpore) was arrested, but the Muslim League supporters<sup>91</sup> tried their best to create communal tension in the district. In Domkol Muslim mob armed with lathis, surkis (knife) in an attempt to cross Jalangi River and attacked the Hindu refugees gathered at Karimpur bazar, but the situation came in control with the firing of the district police. In order to carry the activities of the Muslim League (ML), Kazimuddin Mandal a staunch ML supporter, along with other fellow local ML supporters looted the Lalgola hat (market) of the Hindus and looted the Hindu merchants with the help of the Muslim inhabitants in that area in order to collect money for the activities of ML. The staunch Muslim League supporters even after partition of the district tried to create communal riots in Lalgola and several areas of Murshidabad. They raped Hindu women, plundered their property and set fire to Hindu houses. Official record<sup>92</sup> showed that the Muslim League leaders like are Mannan Sheikh, Maniruddin Sarkar, Atahar Sarkar, Lokamn Sheikh who killed some influential Hindu businessman and looted the cash, jewelleryes and continued the League activities in the district but were later arrested. Efforts were also made by the Muslim Leaguers to import Muslim refugees from Bihar in the district to settle them there in order to utilize them in creating communal troubles. Muslim students of the district are also reported to have been collecting subscriptions from the Muslim on the definite understanding that the district would be brought back under the Pak dominion.

Some of the leading Muslim Leaguers are reported to be maintaining regular contact with the Muslim League high command of East Pakistan at Dacca. The local league leaders influenced the poor local Muslims of their area to collect information about the internal affairs of the district administration and passed it on to the appropriate quarters at Dacca. Muslim League<sup>93</sup> leaders Azizul Hoq, Abdul Hamid, Kazem Ali Mirza, Md.Israil, Md Khuda Bakhsh, Abdul Latif, Syed Baddrudoza, Zahiruddin Biswas, Sakhwat Hossain Alkadari etc. holds secret meetings of Muslims and propagated anti-Indian sentiment among

them in Beldanga. Similar meetings were held in Hariharpara police station, where some league supporters were arrested. In Hariharpara area Abdul Bari (a league supporter), has purchased a radio set where news from Pakistan radio station are received through this set and are listened to by the Muslims. Some Muslims resided in Dhulian, were arrested for carrying arms, pistols, gunpowder, draggers and secret formulae for preparations of explosives for creating communal riots in the district. These leaders also carried smuggling activities across border. The leaders have been systematically carrying on agitation and propaganda among the Muslim masses as a result of which a number of Hindu temples were desecrated and religious ceremonies and procession of Hindus were obstructed by the Muslims in some areas of the district.

The idiom of surgery puts a gloss from the communal tension but border intrusion continued unabated after partition. Surgery is painful and bloody, but it served a purpose – it makes things all right in the end – and the pain of surgery is comprehensible and endurable because of this. By describing the creation of the border in these terms, the violence that was involved in this process has been contained within an acceptable, comprehensive and even meaningful idiom. The surgical, metaphor has thus worked to lend legitimacy and credibility not only to the Radcliff line but to the very idea of partition itself.

### **5.1 The Border and Everyday Life**

Though partition has separated the territorial limits of India and Pakistan, still disputes continued in the char areas. The river Padma, which divided Murshidabad and Rajshahi, became a source of constant trouble from the latter half of 1947. People started inhabiting in these char areas. Biren Mandal lived on Rajnagar char in the Padma River where he faced severe trouble by the border security forces from the Pakistan's side. One of his thatched huts fell in Rajshahi in Pakistan, while the other huts were in Murshidabad in India. According to a police report<sup>94</sup>, both Indian and Pakistani troops periodically 'claimed his allegiance'. According to police report his neighbor Bishnu Pramanik, died in the crossfire while he was crossing the border<sup>95</sup> for his daily earning.

The lives of the people in the border were disrupted totally. People who lived at some distance from the border found that it disrupted their lives in all sorts of ways. For example, oilcakes, green vegetables, potatoes, brinjals and pulses were grown or produced in the village surrounding Rajshahi towns and these had been supplied by villagers to sell on the Sothern bank of the Padma in Murshidabad<sup>96</sup>. After partition, the Padma become the border

and people were not allowed to cross it with commodities. As a result, a whole sub-economy was destroyed. A vegetable grocer named Zahiruddin were shot dead in the firing by police in the border while he crossed the border. A vegetable vendor was beaten up and robbed as he returned from Daulatpur to Jangipur in Murshidabad<sup>97</sup>. And finally, the border separated people from their families. The border also interfered with the customary visits of the son-in law (jamai-babu) to his in-laws on the occasion of Jamai-Shoshti. Kishore Mohan Sarkar<sup>98</sup> of Jalangi in Murshidabad was arrested while trying to visit his father – in law at Bagwangola. Smuggling<sup>99</sup> of jute and other food grains and vegetables became prominent in the Bengal borders and as a result price of food grew higher in East Bengal.

In the border areas life of the common people became miserable. Pak intrusion was a common incidence<sup>100</sup> in post-partition days. In Bhagawangola (Murshidabad) police station, in char Kuthibari area, Pak force with the help of local villagers dug trenches to create communal tension in the region. But with the intervention of Indian police illegal intrusion become quite impossible for the Pak citizens. The Pak constables often crossed river Padma and looted the villagers of the char area. They looted crops, foods and domesticated animals even money from the villagers and fled to Pakistan. Even when Indian boats passed through Pakistan water between Bansgara and Majherdiar, constables of Pakistan often looted the Indian boats and the majhis were killed so that they could not launch any complaints against the dacoity. Throughout the border areas intrusions were carried by the Pak nationals and policemen. Report also showed that Muslims living on the border areas Kakmari char<sup>101</sup> (Jalangi in Murshidabad district) bear strong pro-Pak leanings. Khayerulla Sarkar, Dr. Khalilur Rahaman and his son Azizur Rahaman, Md. Hossain all hold governmental jobs in Murshidabad, maintained their relation with Pakistan, carried away all the money from local school fund from Murshidabad to Pakistan and did not return the said money to the school committee after several reminders. They even held land and property in Pakistan and supported Pak nationals to carry their misdeed in India's border areas. At regular occasion Pak officials attack the Hindu villagers of the char areas to create communal tension in the district. Muslim mob from Pakistan entered with hasuas, scythes and lathis to fear the local people and carried their atrocities in the villages.

## **5.2 Incidence of Communal Violence in Post-Partition Era**

For Bengal the partition was not just political or territorial but amounted to a mutilation of its rich culture. A large number of people not only lost their homes but bore the trauma of

displacement for the rest of their lives. Marked as refugees they had to fight for survival, left to the mercy of newly emerging state for which they remained as an additional and unwanted burden<sup>102</sup>.

1. Pashupati Roy of Chabgati police station, Suti, Murshidabad<sup>103</sup>, when he was returning with his family from in-laws house at Belaghati (Rajshahi) was detained by some Muslim youths. They were confined separately in houses for the night. Pashupati Roy was severely assaulted by the Muslim youths but he managed to escape and reached Nimitita, but later on police found the body of his wife and son.

2. Case of Baneswar Mandal was also an incidence of communal violence. On the morning of Bakr-Id day two of the Hindus were directed and forced to go to witness Korbani. In Nimitita there was a temple Gourangabari (Shiv temple). Here on the same day some Hindus who were Sebaitis (worshipper of lord Shiva), were called by the Muslims and asked to take beef. They have refused to take beef and the same night all three committed suicide along with their family.

3. From Azimganj ferryghat dead body of Nrisingha Kumar Mandal an influential local Hindu businessman was found which created communal tension<sup>104</sup> in the area. The body was embedded in the sandy bed of the Ganges. Arms and ammunitions were received from the house of local Muslim of the same area who were engaged in dacoity in the Hindu houses and murdered them. Later they were arrested which created communal tension in the region.

4. Another incidence of communal friction<sup>105</sup> recorded by Budu Sheikh when he lodged an FIR that some Hindu of their locality set fire to his house while he with other Muslims of his village offered 'go-korbani', in Muslim para in Beldanga. Whereas Babu Ghosh who was charged for the offence in his defence said that the Muslims stole his bullock and slaughtered in their house as a result he had to take similar revenge. Even some Hindus objected korbani in a place duly inhabited by the Hindus. Communal clash occurred between Hindu goala and a Muslim over the question of cattle grazing and slight communal tension arose in Ahiron (Suti). The tension arose so high that the two parties had to settle the incidence in court.

5. In Mangalpur bazar in the Nimitita or Aurangabad<sup>106</sup> (Jangipur subdivisional town), there were a plot of land on the roadside recorded as mosque in settlement records, but no

mosque was standing on the plot, then District Magistrate of Murshidabad (Mr. S. Rahmatulla), allowed the Hindus to take their religious processions with music. Hindus had some local customs, rituals of their own and established long processions following the usual route. But the Muslim erected the mosque in that route took away the rights of the Hindus performing the festival. Hindus took it as a serious infringement of a religious observance of one community by members of other community. The then DM declared that Hindu processions have been allowed to pass along a particular route playing music for a long time and in his view the erection of a mosque on the route makes no difference. Though there was an agreement between the two communities concerned permits music to be played outside the hours of prayer. But the Muslims made allegations against the Hindus.

Communal identities are necessarily constructed around specifically religious (or sacred) symbols such as the issue of music before mosque and communal tension arose in Suti of the Jangipur sub-division between the two communities. Post partition communal tension arose in Nimtita in Bangasabati village under Suti police station centering round the immersion of the Raj-Rajeswari Deity and before that religious procession with music throughout the village. The issue of music before mosque, go-korbani (cow slaughter) or cow protection caused communal clashes after partition but the situation did not take the form of riot but it created mistrust within the two community. Before the situation took violent turn it was controlled with the intervention of police force (DIG of police) to restore communal harmony in the district.

### **5.3 Reasons behind Insignificant Occurrences of Communal Violence in the District**

The official records that are available confirmed that communal violence in the district were few and insignificant compared to other places such as in Calcutta. Rafiuddin Ahmed demonstrated that political violence (riots) was mainly initiated by the leaders of the society, and where these leaders were successful in mobilizing the masses riots and violent communal clashes happened, whereas the places where solidarity<sup>107</sup> between the two community was institutionalized the picture was different and there were less incidents of communal violence, as in Murshidabad, Birbhum, Midnapore and Burdwan<sup>108</sup>. The main cause of riots in Bengal was economic grievances of the Muslim masses, the political mobilization of Muslim masses by the League and sectarian differences (identity consciousness of the Muslims of Bengali origin) within the community members.

#### **1. Identity Consciousness of the Bengali Muslims**

Muslims of non-Bengali origin had a relatively more distinct communal and religious identity (example Calcutta) whereas in case of Murshidabad, the Bengali Muslim community lacked that identity. Due to inner-alienation and differentiation between the ashrafs (Muslims of noble class) and atrafs (degraded Muslims) within the community of Muslims<sup>109</sup> (Ashraf and Atraf), there was no viable identity consciousness among Bengali Muslims, and thus they were more integrated with society they lived and had a friendly relationship with their Hindu compatriots with whom they shared a common pattern of rural life. Most of the Muslims of Murshidabad are Bengali so they are often questioned by the non-Bengali Muslims (Ashrafs) whether they are Bengalis or Muslims. So the identity of the Bengali Muslims has often been challenged as most of them (Muslims) in the district are converted Muslims, belong to low class mainly agricultural labor, illiterate and poor. Muslims of Calcutta who were rich and well educated distinct from the Bengali Muslims in culture and norms were totally alienated from the society and possessed a sense of distinctiveness<sup>110</sup> (Muslimness) from others (Hindus and Bengali Muslims) in the society. Thus often clashes occurred in Calcutta (example- the great Calcutta Killings of 1946) due to this kind of alienation of non-Bengali Muslims from the rest of the society. But in Murshidabad the Bengali Muslims were fully integrated with Bengali culture and this helped to develop a sense of communal harmony which restricted them from undertaking violent activities. On the issue of Pakistan when Md. Ali Zinnah declared, “Riot is a legal action and tried to motivate the Muslim masses for communal violence against the non-Muslims the Muslim League leaders of the district like Kazem Ali Mirza, Farhad Murtuza Reza Choudhury; Abdul Hamid tried their best to create communal violence. The leaders like Maulavi Abdus Samad, Rejaul Karim and the nawab Wasif Ali Mirza played an important role in restoring communal harmony within the community members. Thus communal politics failed to create the gulf within the two communities. Rafiuddin Ahmed demonstrates the growth of solidarity in Bengali Muslim society especially in Murshidabad district due to impact of Bakhti and Sufi cultural tend<sup>111</sup>. Thus the district tended to be an exception where occurrences of communal violence were insignificant.

## 2. Socio-Economic Inequality

Suranjan Das viewed communalism<sup>112</sup> as an organized form of violence created by both Hindu and Muslim politicians to seek their self interests. Socio-economic inequality<sup>113</sup> is one of the causes of riots in rural areas, example the case of East Bengal such as in Noakhali, Pabna, Tippera, Pabna, Mymensingh, Bogra, Backerganj and Chattagong. Here

the Muslim peasants were exploited by the Hindu zamindars who exploited the tenants who suffered from insecurity. Muslim peasantry had to meet the burden of Zamindari officials in Puja or other occasions such as marriages or births in the Zamindar's families. Money-lenders also imposed additional subscriptions such as 'Iswar Britti' for the upkeep of Hindu idols. Thus naturally riots broke out against the Hindu zamindars when the poor Muslim masses were completely mobilized by the political leaders of the community.

The existence or non-existence of civic ties within the community members is the primary cause of outbreak of conflict or riots. According to Ashutosh Varshney<sup>114</sup>, where such networks of civic engagement existed, tensions and conflicts are regulated and managed, where they are missing, communal identities lead to endemic and ghastly violence. Varshney further analyzed that engagement of both the community in associational forms promoted inter-communal peace. According to Paul Brass<sup>115</sup>, communal riots are a myth that is riots are organized and produced by a network of known persons in the area. Most of the rioters are devoted to the cult of violence for the protection of their own community. But in case of Murshidabad, in spite of the efforts taken by the Muslim Leaguers in creating communal violence, the solidarity or associational ties between the two communities prevented the outbreak of riots in the district.

The scholars like Ranajit Guha and Partha Chatterjee analyzed the character of the Bengali Muslims as subaltern<sup>116</sup> that is class devoid of any responsiveness. They were so indifferent of their socio-economic status that they were less vulgar towards creating any communal tension. The community both Hindu and the Muslims are mainly not affluent class, they even did not possess land for their survival, and lead their life as sharecroppers so, being economically deprived both the community lived in co-operation with each other to earn daily livelihood. They possessed good ties among them and hence did not think of creating violence against each other. Hence the league activist in the district neither in pre or post partition era could motivate the Muslims of the district to engage in communal clashes.

#### **5.4 Attitude of the People of the District in Post Partition Era**

After partition, the political situation changed in the district. Most of the Muslim League leaders left for Pakistan and those who remain in Murshidabad most of them merged with Congress party for their security of life and property. Similarly Hindu Mahasabha leadership too lost their relevance and merged with congress. After achieving independence

mighty waves of enthusiasm swept over the district, entire population took part in the national celebrations of Independence Day. The surging tide of consciousness born of the newly gained freedom broke all barriers between Hindus and Muslims, so long artificially separated from one another and every man and woman behaved magnificently in the friendliest possible co-operation to make the celebration worthy of a proud Indian.

When independence day was celebrated in 15th August, 1947 by hoisting their own national flag in India and Pakistan after achieving their dream land Pakistan for Muslims and Hindustan for Hindus, two districts in West Bengal (India) were exceptions (Murshidabad and Khulna) that is Murshidabad was included in Pakistan and Khulna in India as declared by government in the midnight of 14th August 1947. In 15th August independence day<sup>117</sup> were celebrated in Murshidabad by hoisting Pakistani flag in Barrack Square field. All influential citizens of Beharapore assembled in Barrack Square like Shyamapada Bhattacharjee, Maulavi Ekramul Hoque and delivered speeches explaining independence of India, usefulness of unity among Hindu and Muslims and exhorted people to give up killing and to live in peace with each other under the state banner. Maharaja of Quasimbazar, Raja Kamala Ranjan Roy, the then District Magistrate of Beharapore and more than three thousand persons attended the meeting in the auspicious day of independence. The Muslim community expressed their happiness and excitement by achieving their dream land Pakistan even more than from achieving freedom from foreign domination. Flag was hoisted<sup>118</sup> in Kashiswari Girl's School, in Kanchantala zamindar's residence by a section of Muslim. Among the Muslim community who were vociferously<sup>119</sup> supported for the inclusion of the district in Murshidabad under the leadership of Kazem Ali Mirza engaged in communal activities in some places like Hariharpara, Jangipur, Aurangabad, Suti, Islampur, Bhabta, Beldanga but their efforts failed to create communal tension with the active co-operation of the intellectual class of the district belong to both the community.

But in the midnight of 17th August, 1947, it was declared that due to geographical reasons Murshidabad will be included as the part of India and Khulna will be given to Pakistan. In the morning of 18th August again Indian flag was hoisted in Beharapore Barrack Square field by the then DM I.R.Khan. The meetings were organized with the presence of Congress, RSP and CPI leaders and all the members of independent India remembered the selfless dedication of the freedom fighters of the district. No evidence of riots<sup>120</sup> was traced out but communal tension at this time rose high among the Muslim population of the district. Prior to partition on 18th August a procession organized by

Muslim League demanded the alteration of partition scheme that is reinclusion of Murshidabad with Pakistan. Similarly from Dhulian and Jangipur a procession came to Khagraghat station organized by Muslim League but the then police super N.C. Sen brought the situation in control and the infuriated mass failed to enter Beharampore town and returned to their home again. Public meetings were held in Beharampore Square field to celebrate Independence Day in 21st August, 1947 after the inclusion of the district with India. The celebration concluded with national song sung by Kumari Mamata Saha followed by light refreshments and distribution of holy books. Public meetings were held at Beharampore K.N.College campus area at 3pm on August 21st 1947 and several nationalistic speeches were delivered for the restoration of Hindu-Muslim unity after so many dark days. To lessen the communal<sup>121</sup> stress the local leaders like Abdul Gani, police commissioner Amiruddin Khan, student leader of K.N.College Barin Ghosh, Lutfal Hoq of Aurangabad, and Tarapada Saha of Beldanga palyed a positive role as a progressive leader of the district during this time. The slogan of the Muslim League leaders, “Larke Lenge Pakistan” (that is we will fight up to the end to achieve Pakistan) failed to polute the environment of the district. Just after partition when communal tension rose high in every parts of West Bengal, in Dhulian (Murshidabad district), the headmaster of Kanchantala High School Hemanta Roy with the help of Muslim Moulavis and Muslim students and his colleague Nasibullah Saheb, Md. Razibullah tried to maintain and developed a feeling of communal harmony among the student and non-teaching members of the school. In 1948 during the eve of Holi<sup>122</sup> in the district in Jangipur many Muslim shops were destroyed but with the initiative of the then DM Ananda Shankar Roy, the situation soon came in control and once again communal harmony restored in the district.

Rejaul Karim in his speeches tried to assure that all citizens are equal in free India. He said, “We must work out the partition of India in a spirit of peace and co-operation and should eliminate our disputes and differences with the spirit of reasonableness”. Wasif Ali Mirza commented that the interest of the minorities will be safeguarded and there would be no interference to their religion, faith, their life their property and their culture. They will be treated in all respect as Indian citizens without any discrimination. To celebrate Hindu-Muslim unity<sup>123</sup> on the occasion of id festival Wasif Ali Mirza a leading Muslim of the district entertained the Hindus of the area with sweets and drink. By eliminating all communal fervour<sup>124</sup> Rejaul Karim translated the proposal of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and ensured that not only the Muslims, but the Hindus are also maltreated in this communal

tension, they too lost their homes, property and lost their lives. Minority is not a problem, he said communal friction is most vulgar which hampered country's peace and ushered communal tension. The Hindus and Muslims both have achieved their free homeland; they both possessed individual identity and actively participated in the administration of the country. Karim argued that Indian culture had been shared by both the community members and they considered them as Indian citizen. The district of Murshidabad with its Muslim majority witnessed less number of communal riots compared to other places of West Bengal especially in Calcutta and other parts of West Bengal and India. Here lays the exceptionality of the district its long tradition of Hindu Muslim unity which prevailed from the days of the Nawabs till today.

## **6. Population Migration from the District**

The partition of Bengal entailed large exodus of people in human history. According to the official report 3.5 million Hindus migrated from East Pakistan to India, while only 500,000 Muslims crossed border from West Bengal to East Pakistan, although it was Muslims (from all over India) who demanded a separate Muslim state and created Pakistan<sup>125</sup>. The influx of Hindu refugees created crisis of land and food in West Bengal lasting more than three decades. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee was the creator of the state now called West Bengal. He carved out West Bengal from the then East Pakistan and East Punjab from West Pakistan. Likewise all the Muslim dominated districts of Punjab renamed as West Pakistan went to Pakistan, and the Hindu - Sikh dominated districts were included in the Indian union as a new state, called East Punjab. The only Muslim majority district that was included into West Bengal, due to geographical reasons, was Murshidabad. And for the similar reason, the Hindu dominated district Khulna was included into East Pakistan.

**Table-4.1**

**Change of Demography in West Bengal and Murshidabad**

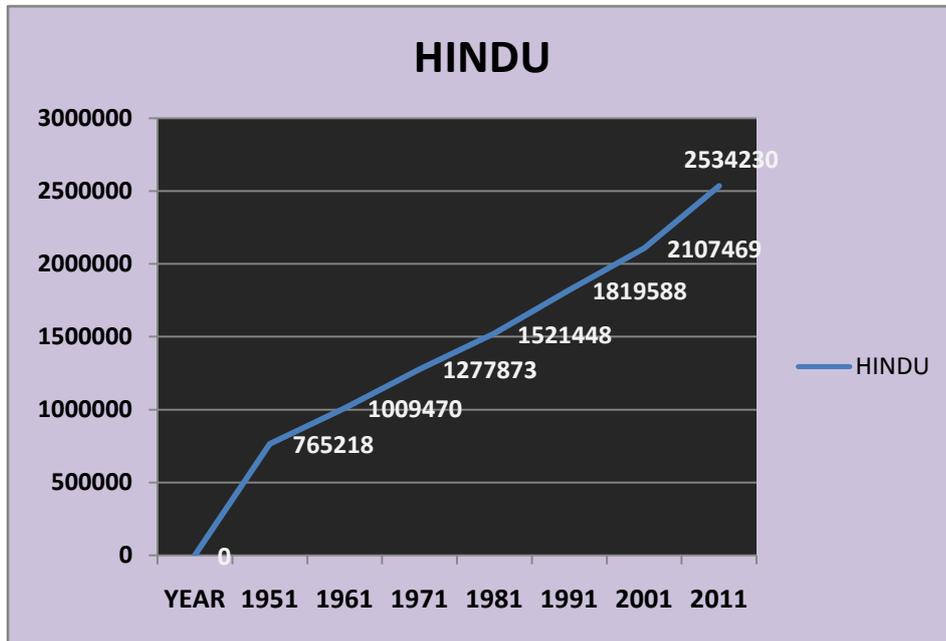
Area	Year	Hindu	Decreased	Muslim	Increased
	1951	78.45	-5.98	19.85	5.4
West Bengal	2001	72.47		25.25	
Murshidabad	1951	44.6	-8.68	55.24	8.43
	2001	35.12		63.67	

(Source: - Census of India- 1991, 2001)

In the following Table-4.1 the change of demography is traced out in West Bengal and Murshidabad that is after partition the increase and decrease of population (Hindus and Muslims). Within the span of time between the years 1951-2001 Hindu population from 78.45 % has come down to 72.47 % in 2001. At the same time Muslim population in 1951 were 19.85 percent which has increased to 25.25 percent in 2001. Similarly in case of Murshidabad the Hindu population has decreased from 44.6% to 35.12% and Muslim population has increased from 55.24% to 63.67%. The table shows the rise of Muslim population in overall West Bengal and in Murshidabad in compare to the decline in Hindu population in West Bengal and in Murshidabad district.

**Figure-4.1**

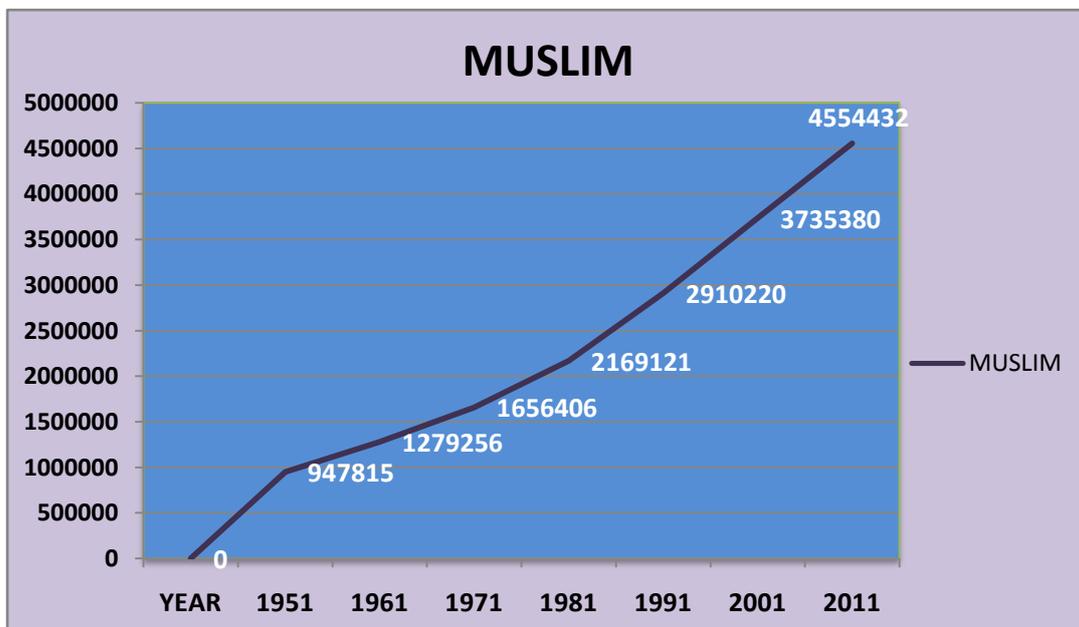
**Variations of Hindu Population in the District of Murshidabad**



(Source:-Census Report -1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001, 2011)

**Figure -4.2**

**Variations of Muslim Population in the District of Murshidabad**



(Source:-Census Report -1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001, 2011)

The above figure 4.1 and 4.2 shows the increase of the Muslim population in the district of Murshidabad and decrease in the Hindu population from the year 1951-2011 after partition. The increase in the Muslim population may be due to the following reasons -

- i) Planned and deliberate rejection of family planning measures by the Muslims.
- ii) The uncontrolled influx of illegal Bangladeshi Muslim infiltrators through the porous Indo-Bangladesh border.
- iii) Through conversion of (religion) Hindus and to Islam.

In the year, 1931, number of Hindus in the district were 589551 (43.01%) and number of Muslims were 761582 (55.56%) and others were 19544 (1.42%) out of the total population of 1370677 (taken as 100%) in the district.

In the year, 1941 number of Hindus in the district were 684,987 (41.75%) and number of Muslims were 927,747 (56.55%) and others were 27796 (1.69%) out of the total population of 1640530 (taken as 100%) in the district.

In the year 1951, number of Hindus in the district were 765,218 (44.60%) and that of Muslims were 947,815 (55.24%) and others were 2,726 (0.16%) out of the total population of 1,715,759 (taken as 100%) in the district.

In the year 1961, number of Hindus in the district was 1009470 (44.1%) and that of Muslims were 1279256 (55.87%) and others were 701 (0.03%) out of the total population of 2289427 (taken as 100%) in the district.

In the year 1971, number of Hindus in the district were 12,77,873 (43.46%) and that of Muslims were 16,56,406 (56.33%) and others were 5925 (0.21%) out of the total population of 29,38,713 (taken as 100%) in the district.

In the year 1981, number of Hindus in the district were 1521448 (41.15%) and that of Muslims were 2169121 (58.67%) and others were 6983 (0.18%) out of the total population of 3697552 (taken as 100%) in the district.

In the year 1991, numbers of Hindus in the district were 1819588 (38.39%) and that of Muslims were 2910220 (61.40%) and others were 10341 (0.21%) out of the total population of 4740149 (taken as 100%) in the district.

In the year 2001, number of Hindus in the district were 2107469 (35.92%) and number of Muslims were 3735380 (63.67%) and others were 23720 (0.41%) out of the total population of 5866569 (taken as 100%) in the district.

In the year 2011, number of Hindus in the district were 25, 34,230 (35%) and number of Muslims were 455, 4432 (64%) and others were 13768 (1%) out of the total population of 7102430 (taken as 100%) in the district.

The figure above 4.1 and 4.2 (by comparing the census report from 1931-2011 respectively) shows the percentage of decade variations of Hindu and Muslim population in the district.

**Table - 4.2**

**Percentage of Decade Variations of Hindu Population in Murshidabad**

Year	Hindu Population	Percentage of Decade Variation of population
1931	589551 (43.01%)	-
1941	684987 (41.75%)	1931-1941 (-1.26%)
1951	765218 (44.60%)	1941-1951 (+2.85%)
1961	1009470 (44.1%)	1951-1961 (-0.5%)
1971	12, 77,873 (43.46%)	1961-1971 (-0.64%)
1981	1521448 (41.15%)	1971-1981 (-2.31%)
1991	1819588 (38.39%)	1981-1991 (-2.76%)
2001	2107469 (35.92%)	1991-2001 (-2.47%)
2011	2534230(35.68%)	2001-2011(-0.24%)

(Source:-Census Report -1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001, 2011)

Table 4.2 respectively shows the decline of Hindu population in the district from 1931-2011, with the exception of the year 1951 which shows the increase of Hindu population by 2.85% in the district as a result of migration from East Pakistan to West Bengal (Murshidabad).

**Table – 4.3**

**Percentage of Decade Variations of Muslim Population in Murshidabad**

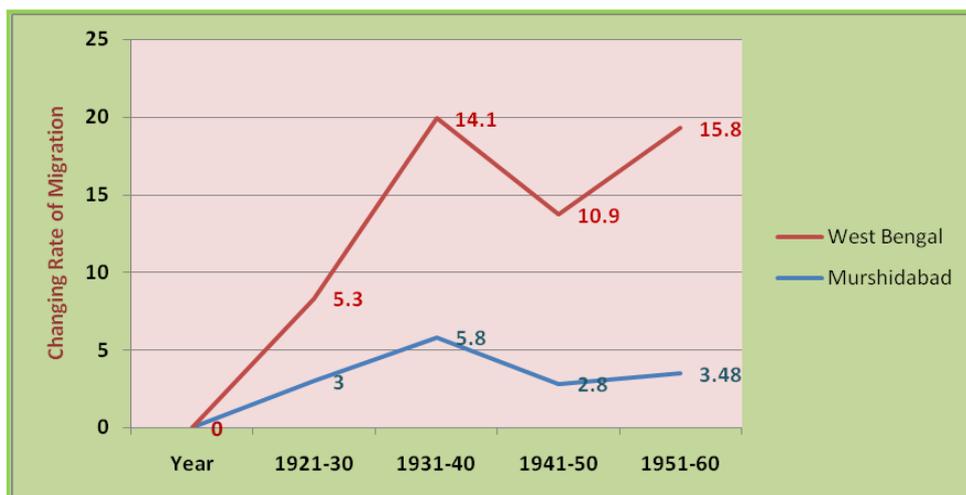
Year	Muslim Population	Percentage of Decade Variation of population
1931	761582 (55.56%)	
1941	927747 (56.55%)	1931-1941 (+0.99%)
1951	947,815 (55.24%)	1941-1951 (-1%)
1961	1279256 (55.87%)	1951-1961 (+0.63%)
1971	1656406 (56.33%)	1961-1971 (+0.46%)
1981	2169121 (58.67%)	1971-1981 (+2.34%)
1991	2910220 (61.40%)	1981-1991 (+2.73%)
2001	3735380 (63.67%)	1991-2001 (+2.27%)
2011	4554432(64.12%)	2001-2011(0.45%)

(Source:-Census Report -1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001, 2011)

Table 4.3 shows the gradual increase of Muslim population in the district from 1931-2011. Hence in compare table 4.2 with 4.3 we can infer that communal tension after partition (1951 census report), result in considerable emigration of Muslim population and immigration of Hindu population in the district. All these result in the sharp decline of population in the district. The 1951-1961 decade is characterized as the decade of population explosion in India. There is the rise in the district population in 1961 from what it was in 1951 or in other words, the district population increases at the rate of 3.34%.

**Figure - 4.3**

**Migration Rate of Total Population in West Bengal and Murshidabad**

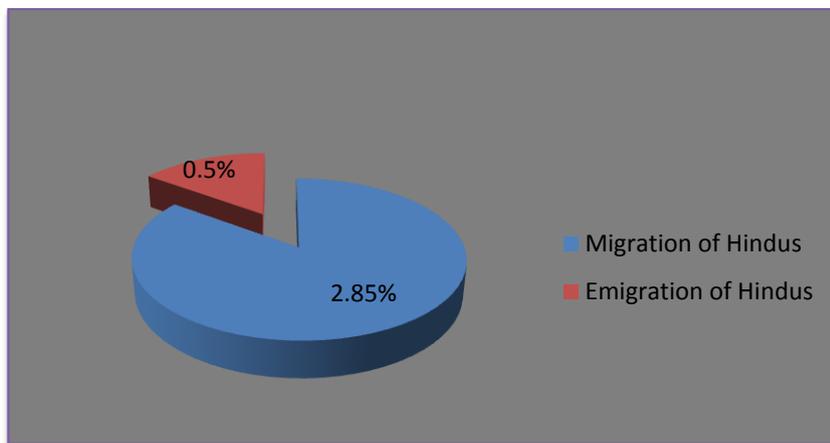


(Source:-Census Report -1981, Series 23 West Bengal Part V - A&B Migration Tables)

The above figure- 4.3 shows the rate of refugee influx to the district and overall West Bengal. Maximum migration occurred in the years from 1951-1960 after partition in Murshidabad compared to previous years. From the table it shows that 3.48% of population (inflow of population from Pakistan) enters in the district while the overall influx was 15.8% in West Bengal. Only 1.81% (outflow of population) of population left the district within the years between and 1951-1960.

**Figure – 4.4**

**Migration Rate of the Hindus in the District**

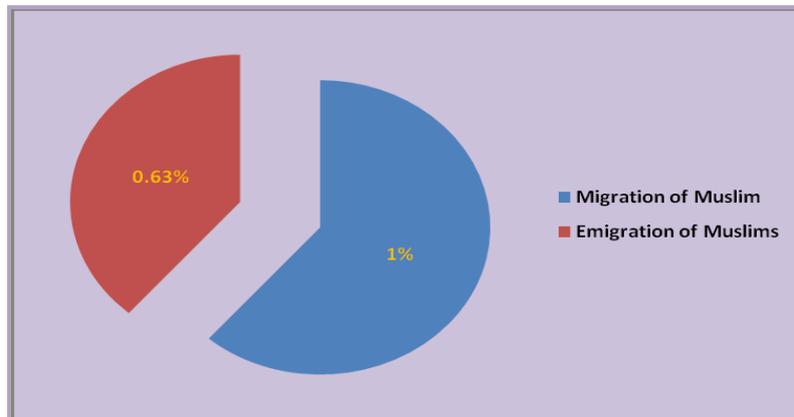


(Source:-Census Report -1981, Series 23 West Bengal Part V-A&B Migration Tables)

The above figure- 4.4 shows that migration of Hindu population to the district is about 2.85% from East Bengal to West Bengal whereas the data shows (census report of 1951-1961) the emigration of the Hindu population (outflow) is 0.5% from West Bengal to East Bengal.

**Figure- 4.5**

**Migration Rate of the Muslims in the District**

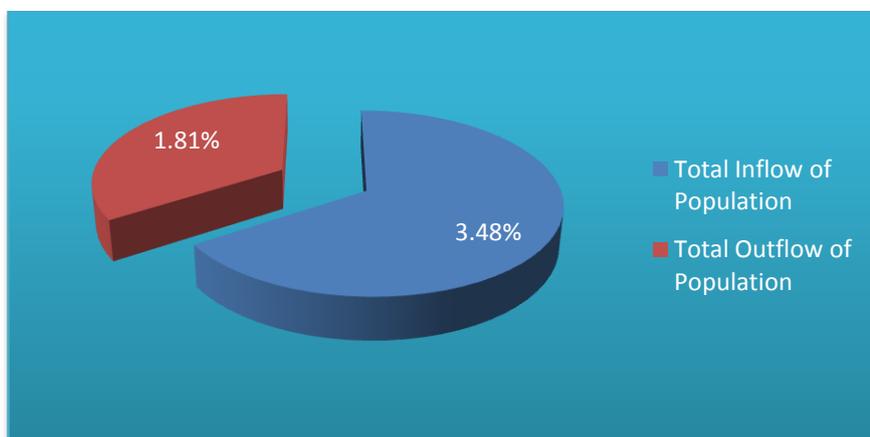


(Source:-Census Report -1981, Series 23 West Bengal Part V- A&B Migration Tables)

Figure- 4.5 similarly shows that from 1951-1961 migration of Muslims is only 1% that is inflow of population from East Bengal to Murshidabad whereas 0.63% of population is emigrated (outflow) from West Bengal to East Bengal.

**Figure -4.6**

**Total Influx of Population in Murshidabad District**



(Source:-Census Report -1951, 1961&1981, Series 23)

Overall in the above figure-4.6, the data shows that out of the total population in the district 3.48% is the inflow of the population from Pakistan to Murshidabad district and 1.81% of the people is migrated to Pakistan from Murshidabad district in between the year 1951-1961.

Migration has always played a very minor part in the fluctuation of population in the district. According to 1961 census report, 93.3% of the total populations of the district were of district origin, after partition 3.48% of the total district population came as refugees from the erstwhile state of East Pakistan after the state came into existence. The growth rate of population in the district was the result of growth in birth rate and not for migration alone. Other reasons for the increase in the growth of population were due to greater Hinduization, increase of the tribal and Christian population in the district.

Evicted by violent communal<sup>126</sup> attacks, in Calcutta a small section of Muslims decided to migrate to East Pakistan quite willingly. Certain categories of government employees were given the choice to opt for either India or Pakistan. People mainly the governmental employees from the Muslim majority districts of Murshidabad, Malda, and Nadia who thought that these districts would naturally go to Pakistan after the final settlement settled down in Rajshahi from Murshidabad because of its proximity to Murshidabad. The middle class population migrated to East Bengal for ideological commitment as well as better career prospect. The migration of the educated Muslim middle class created a vacuum<sup>127</sup> in the social, cultural and political leadership. In case of Murshidabad district, violence, riots, anti-communal feeling compare to other parts of West Bengal, was negligible thus migration rate was less in this district than other places of West Bengal.

## **7. Conclusion**

The inwardness of partition cannot be fully understood through a study of the motives of those in Delhi and in London who put the priorities of India and empire above the interests of Bengal. Nor do investigations into Muslim separatism tell the whole story. Partition, at least in one important province, was the considered choice of large and powerful sections of the Hindu population. Partition is generally believed to have been a consequence of a separatist politics of Muslim minorities, but in the case of Bengal, Hindus evolved a parallel separatism of their own. In Bengal, the Congress (Murshidabad) campaigned successfully for the vivisection of its province on communal lines. The United Bengal Plan is given as evidence that Bengalis actively fought against a second partition. But this version is far from the truth. Religious differences and culture was deployed as a mark of difference with the two communities rather than evidence of traditional unity in the district. The intellectual Bengali class actually fought for the partition which gave them a separate homeland of their

own. Partition was not imposed by the centre on an unwilling province. The Bengali leaders of the district who develop more parochial culture, narrow self-interests are more virulently communal, supported partition of the subcontinent in the floor of the Legislative Assembly.

The researcher found traces of communal tension and rare incidence of violent activities in the district. Due to porous border various Pak intrusions in Indian Territory continued unabated. Moreover we find that post partition communal tension remain active while the Muslim League supporters through various means tried to create gulf a within the two communities in the district which to some extent could not last long as the people of the district pose an anti-communal attitude. This is true that some incidence of riots, looting, burning of houses destruction of shops, murder of innocent people was traced out from the governmental sources along with the border disputes. But the incidence of riots was not as vigorous as we find in Dhaka, Calcutta killings and riots in other parts of India after partition. Partition was no doubt a political outfit but it changed mode of people's life and their relations to some extent especially the people resided in the char area which was considered as no man's land. But the people of the district shared a common tradition of maintaining communal harmony in the district and hence several steps taken by the Leaguers turned futile. Partition syndrome created an imaginative idea of minority complex among the Indian Muslims which to some extent felt its impact on the minds and psyche of the Bengali Muslims of the district too. The leaders of the district tried to remove this minority syndrome so that the Muslims could integrate with Indian society without any ill-feeling or hatred towards the other communities in the district concerned. It may also infer that the political leaders possess both pro and anti communal-attitude towards the newly created province of Pakistan which is visible through several instances. But apparently it may be concluded that Murshidabad's long history of communal harmony and socio-economic status of the Bengali Muslims and the calculative steps taken by the political leaders were the potent reasons of not out breaking of severe riots in the district – and the district remain as an icon of maintaining communal harmony even today.

## Notes and References

1. Barbara Metcalf speaks of her wonder at having approached..... The core of what has given the Islamic tradition its resilience throughout time and places of such increasing diversity. She insists not only that there is one Islam (the teachings of Islam are one) but that there is a general term 'adab' shared widely in Muslim society both by Bengali speaking and non-Bengali Muslims in the society at large

Metcalf Barbara Dally, 'Introduction', in Metcalf Barbara Dally ed. (2007), *India's Muslims*, Delhi, Oxford University Press Publication, pp.12-13

2. According to R. Ahmed, there are certain basic tenets of faith that characterize Islam, that Bengali Muslims for the most part, were semiliterate with a bare knowledge of the rudiments of Islam, their faith was dominated by the un-Islamic practices such as pir worship and idolatry and that despite a century of reformist efforts they are very little closer to seeing the light today. Inevitable for Ahmed, there was something curiously self contradictory in the Muslim masses quest for an Islamic identity.

Ahmed Rafiuddin, (2001), *Understanding the Bengal Muslims*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, pp.269

3. Dasgupta Abhijit, *On the Margins: Muslims in West Bengal*, (2009), EPW, Vol.44, No.16 (April 18<sup>th</sup>-24<sup>th</sup>, ), pp.91-96

4. Hunter W.W, (1964), *The Indian Musalmans*, Lahore, Premier Book House Publication, pp.112-113

5. Roy Asim, (1983), *The Islamic Syncretistic Tradition in Bengal*, USA, Princeton University Press, pp.82-84

6. Lahiri Pradip Kumar, (1991), *Bengali Muslim Thought (1818-1947); Its Liberal and Rational Trends*, Calcutta, K.P.Bagchi and Company Pub. pp.7-13

7. *ibid.* pp.131-34

8. Sen Shila, (1976), *Muslim Politics in Bengal (1937-47)*, New Delhi, Impex India Pub, pp.10-12

9. Chatterji Joya, (1994), Reprint, (2002), *Bengal Divided, Hindu Communalism and Partition, 1932-1947*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp.191-95

10. Bhattacharya, N.D, (1961), "A Study in Settlement Geography in the District of Murshidabad", in Roy. B ed. *District Census Handbook, West Bengal (Calcutta)*, Government of West Bengal Press Pub. p.139

11. Director of Census Operation, 2001, *Census of India; (2001)*, Vol. Maldah, Murshidabad, Bardhaman, Nadia, Kolkata, Government of West Bengal Press Pub.

12. Latif Sk.Abdul, (1993), *The Muslim Mystic Movement in Bengal (1301-1550)*, Aligarh Muslim University, New Delhi, K.P.Bagchi and Company Pub. Pp.68-74

13. Sarkar Jadunath, (1973), *History of Bengal*, Patna, Cambridge South Asian Studies Pub, pp.105-119

14. Khan Mohammad Mohsin, (1973), *A Bengal District in Transition, Murshidabad (1765-1793)*, Dhaka, The Asiatic Society of Bangladesh Pub. Pp.1-10

15. Government of West Bengal, (1979), *West Bengal District Gazetteers: Murshidabad*, Calcutta, Government of West Bengal Pub. Pp.12-15

16. Murshid Quli Khan himself a Hindu convert sought to proselytize by force, one of his regulations being that any Hindu Zamindar who failed to pay his revenue or make up the arrears due should be compelled to embrace Islam with his entire family.

Ibid pp.20-26

17. Hunter W.W, (1974), A Statistical Account of Rural Bengal, vol.9: District Murshidabd and Pabna, Delhi, D.K. Publishing House Pub. Pp.20-25

18. Cohn Ronald, 'The Musnud of Murshidabad', in Cohn Ronald and Russell Jesse ed. (2013), Nawabs of Bengal and Murshidabad, United States of America, Miami Publications, pp.89-95

19. Bhattacharya, N.D, "A Study in Settlement Geography in the District of Murshidabad", in Roy, B. ed. (1961), District Census Handbook, Murshidabad, Calcutta, Government of West Bengal Pub, p.139

20. Khan Mohammad Mohsin, (1973), A Bengal District in Transition, Murshidabad (1765-1793), Dhaka, The Asiatic Society of Bangladesh Pub. Pp.7-8

21. Bandopadhyaya Bijoy Kumar, 'History of Murshidabad District', in Bandopadhyaya Bijoy Kumar ed.(2003), Murshidabad Zilla Gazatters, West Bengal, Ministry of Higher Education, Government of West Bengal Pub. Pp.670-682

22. Government of West Bengal, (2001), West Bengal District Gazetters: Murshidabad, Kolkata, Government of West Bengal Pub. Pp.34-39

23. Gupta Soumindra Kumar, (2013), Paribartaner Sandhane Murshidabader Bangali Musalman, Kolkata, Udar Akash Publications, pp.25-38

24. Government of West Bengal, (2001), Census of India; 2001, Vol. Murshidabad, Malda, Bardhaman, Nadia, Kolkata, Director of Census Operation, Government of West Bengal Publications

25. Eaton R.M, (1994), The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier (1204-1760), New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publication, p.289

26. Das Debasri; (2008), Murshidabad, A Study of Cultural Diversity; From Early Eighteenth to Early Twentieth Century, Kolkata, Arpita Prakashani, pp.105-116

27. Government of West Bengal, (1979), West Bengal District Gazetters: Murshidabad, Calcutta, Government of West Bengal Pub. p.15

28. Hunter W.W, (1974), A Statistical Account of Rural Bengal, vol.9: District Murshidabd and Pabna, Delhi, D.K. Publishing House Pub. Pp.19-20

29. Government of West Bengal, (1979), West Bengal District Gazetters: Murshidabad, Calcutta, Government of West Bengal Pub. Pp.9-10

30. Khan Mohammad Mohsin, (1973), A Bengal District in Transition, Murshidabad (1765-1793), Dhaka, The Asiatic Society of Bangladesh Pub. Pp.7-8

31. Government of West Bengal, (1979), West Bengal District Gazetters: Murshidabad, Calcutta, Government of West Bengal Pub. Pp.25-26

32. During partition of 1905, Nawab Wasif Kadir Mirza Bahadur, Nawab of Murshidabad, when installed on the musnud of his father, issued a proclamation in which, among other things, was the following, "We (Hindus and Muslims), have long lived as brothers for the common well being of the country", and we will fight against partition of Bengal.

- Government of West Bengal, (2007), Bengal Partitioned, Selections from Confidential Records, Kolkata, West Bengal State Archives, Higher Education Department Publication, Government of West Bengal, pp.232-233
33. Sarkar Sumit, (1977), The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal (1903-1908), New Delhi, Peoples Publishing House, p.19
34. *ibid* pp.289-292, 376-404
35. Anam Mohammed Khairul, (2008), Indian Freedom Movement and Murshidabad District (1905-1947), Kolkata, K.P.Bagchi and Company Pub. Pp.116-117
36. *ibid* pp.123-127
37. Gupta Bishan Kumar, (1992), Political Movements in Murshidabad (1920-1947), Calcutta, Manisha Granthalaya Publications Ltd. pp.46-47
38. Hayat Abul, (1966), Mussalmans of Bengal, Calcutta, Zaheed Ali Publications Limited pp.20-28
39. Sen Shila, (1976), Muslim Politics in Bengal, 1937-1947, New Delhi, Implex India Publication Ltd. pp.1-8
40. Government of West Bengal, (1961), Census of India 1961, District Statistical Handbook, Murshidabad, Calcutta, Government of West Bengal Publications
41. Government of West Bengal, (1953), Census of India 1951, West Bengal Statistical Handbook, Murshidabad, Calcutta, Government of West Bengal Publications
42. O'Mally L.S.S, (2012), Murshidabad District (1874-1941), UK, Gyan Books Private Ltd. Pub. Pp.152-155
43. Gupta Bishan Kumar, (1992), Political Movements in Murshidabad (1920-1947), Calcutta, Manisha Granthalaya Publications Ltd. pp.140-141
44. West Bengal Legislative Council Proceedings, (1935), Vol. XLV, No. I, 48<sup>th</sup> Session, (Abdus Samad), Calcutta, Government of Bengal Pub. Pp.304-305
45. West Bengal Legislative Council Proceedings, (1935), Vol. XLV, No. 3, 48<sup>th</sup> Session, Calcutta, Government of Bengal Pub. Pp.56-67 and West Bengal Legislative Council Proceedings, (1935), Vol. XLV, No. 2, 48<sup>th</sup> Session, Calcutta, Government of Bengal Pub. Pp.567-68
46. West Bengal Legislative Council Proceedings, (1932), Vol. XXXIX, No. I 45<sup>th</sup> Session, Calcutta, Government of Bengal Pub. Pp.304-305
47. West Bengal Legislative Council Proceedings, (1936), Vol. XLIX, No. I 49<sup>th</sup> Session, Calcutta, Government of Bengal Pub. Pp.428-429
48. Sen Shila, (1976), Muslim Politics in Bengal, 1937-1947, New Delhi, Implex India Publication Ltd. pp.86-88
49. Gupta Bishan Kumar, (1992), Political Movements in Murshidabad (1920-1947), Calcutta, Manisha Granthalaya Publications Ltd. pp.148-149
50. Anam Mohammed Khairul, (2008), Indian Freedom Movement and Murshidabad District (1905-1947), Kolkata, K.P.Bagchi and Company Pub. Pp.131-133
51. Gupta Bishan Kumar, (1992), Political Movements in Murshidabad (1920-1947), Calcutta, Manisha Granthalaya Publications Ltd. pp.151-152

52. West Bengal Legislative Council Proceedings, (1937), Vol. LI, No. 3, 50th Session, Calcutta, Government of Bengal Pub. Pp.1011-1015
53. West Bengal Legislative Council Proceedings, (1938), Vol. LIII, No. 3, 51st Session, Calcutta, Government of Bengal Pub. Pp.109-115 and pp. 222-226
54. Hayat Abul, (1966), Mussalmans of Bengal, Calcutta, Zaheed Ali Publications Limited, pp.6-10
55. IB File No. 717/46 (6), Communal Disturbances in Calcutta and Elsewhere Commencing from the 16<sup>th</sup> August, (1946), Consequences on the Declaration of Direct Action Day by the All India Muslim League, Leaflets Brought to the Notice of Bengal, Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch Pub.
56. File No. 171/47, (1947) 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1947- 4<sup>th</sup> April, 1947, Direct Action Day of the Muslim League Activists, Home Political Department, Government of Bengal Pub.
57. IB File No. 1034/46, (1946), Consequences on the Declaration of Direct Action Day by the All India Muslim League, Leaflets Brought to the Notice of Bengal, Government of Bengal Pub.
58. IB File No. 805-46(1), (1946), Activities of Hindu Mahasabha Leaders of Murshidabad, DIG of Police, CID, Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch Pub
59. IB File No. 1056/46, (1946), Communal Matters, Hindu Propaganda (Hindu Mahasabha Leaders of Murshidabad), DIG of Police, CID, Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch, Intelligence Branch Pub.
60. File No. 119/43, (1943), Fortnightly Confidential Report on Political Situation of Bengal, Home Political Department, Government of Bengal Pub.
61. File No. 132/43, (1943) Activities of Hindu Mahasabha in the District, Home Political Department, Government of Bengal Pub.
62. Legislative Council Debate, (1939), Vol.I, No.2 52nd Session, Government of Bengal Pub. Pp.215-217
63. File No. 39/43, (1943), The (Murshidabad) District Case study of Violence, Home Political Department, Government of Bengal Pub.
64. File No. 13/42, (1942), Political Situation of the District of Murshidabad, Home Political Department, Government of Bengal Pub.
65. ibid
66. Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1942), Vol.LXIV No.2 55<sup>th</sup> Session, Calcutta, Government of Bengal Pub. Pp.94-99
67. Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1944), Vol.LXIV No.6 57<sup>th</sup> Session, Calcutta, Government of Bengal Pub. Pp.119-125
68. File No. 22 of 1947, Serial No.3-4, Music Before Mosque in Murshidabad, and Question of Playing Music in Front of a New Mosque, 24<sup>th</sup> February, Home Political Department, Government of Bengal and File No. 12C-28, B Proceedings, November, 1945, No.215, Home Political Department, Government of Bengal Pub.
69. File No. 30/47, (1947), Communal Activities in the District, 1<sup>st</sup>- 30<sup>th</sup> June, Home Political Department, Government of Bengal Pub.

70. File No. 13/42, (1942), Confidential Report on the Political Situation in Bengal during the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of December, 1942, Home Political Department, Government of Bengal & IB File No. 717/46 (5), (1946), Direct Action Day of the League, Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch Pub.
71. Speech by S.P. Mookherjee in Amrita Bazar Patrica, Sunday, 6<sup>th</sup> April, 1947 in Chatterjee Jaya, (1996), Reprinted, 2002 Bengal Divided, Hindu Communalism and Partition, New Delhi, Cambridge University Press, pp.243-244
72. Asok Mitra, "Parting of Ways: Partition and After in Bengal, (1990), EPW, Vol.25, No.44, November 3<sup>rd</sup>, pp.2441-42
73. Chatterjee Jaya, (1999), "The Fashioning of a Frontier: The Radcliff Line and Bengal's Border Landscape, (1947-1952), Modern Asian Studies, Vol.33, No.1, pp.185-242
74. If the impartiality and professionalism of the Commissioners had already been vitiated by the manner of their appointment every efforts was made to protect the credibility of Sir Cyril Radcliffe whose name Mountbatten proposed as chairman jointly of the Bengal and Punjab Boundary Commission.
- Chatterjee Jaya, (1995), The Spoils of Partition, Bengal and India; 1947-1967, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press Publication, pp.122-126
75. The political background against which these votes were cast for and against partition led to the partition of Bengal. Medical and surgical analogies have been used to describe ever since 1947. In fact, Jinnah first spoke of it thus in a meeting with Mountbatten in April, 1947," It would have to be a surgical operation, partition, Jinnah described as a period of dissection, another variation on the surgical theme. It was also very common to talk of communal violence as blood-letting, an expression that harks back to an earliest era of medicine".
- Ibid pp. 128-130
76. Chatterji Joya, (1996), Reprinted, (2002) Bengal Divided, Hindu Communalism and Partition; 1932-1947, New Delhi, Cambridge University Press, pp.222-227
77. Chatterjee Jaya, (1999), "The Fashioning of a Frontier: The Radcliff Line and Bengal's Border Landscape, (1947-1952), Modern Asian Studies, Vol.33, No.1 pp.197-198
78. Singh Inder Anita, (1987), The Origins of the Partition of India; 1936-1947, New Delhi, Cambridge University Press, pp.98-106
79. Hasan Mushirul, 'India's Tragic Partition', in Hasan Mushirul ed. (2001), Reprint, (2008) India's Partition, Process, Strategy and Mobilisation, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, pp.102-132
80. Bandhyapadhyay Sekhar, (2006), From Plassey to Partition, A History of Modern India, Delhi, Orient Longman, pp. 262-278
81. Chatterji Joya, (1996), Reprinted, (2002), Bengal Divided, Hindu Communalism and Partition; 1932-1947, New Delhi, Cambridge University Press, pp.150-159
82. Pandey Gyanandra, (2003), Remambering Partition, New Delhi, Cambridge University Press, pp.206-211
83. ibid
84. Hasan Mushirul, 'India's Tragic Partition', in Hasan Mushirul ed. (2001), Reprint, (2008) India's Partition, Process, Strategy and Mobilisation, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, pp.102-132

85. Pandey Gyanandra, (2003), Remampering Partition, New Delhi, Cambridge University Press, pp.206-211
86. Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings on Partition of Bengal, 3<sup>rd</sup> June, (1947), Vol.LXXII, No.IV, Special Issue on Partition, Kolkata, Government of Bengal Pub, West Bengal Secretariate Assembly House, West Bengal
87. Chatterjee Jaya, (1995), The Spoils of Partition, Bengal and India; 1947-1967, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press Publication, pp.213-214
88. *ibid* p.217
89. IB File No. 167/48, (1948), Communal Frictions in Murshidabad District, Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch Pub.
90. IB File No. 717/47, (1947), Communal Tensions in the Border Areas, DIG (Deputy Inspector General) of Police, CID, Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch (IB) Pub.
91. IB File No.319/47, (1947), Border Dispute, DIG (Deputy Inspector General) of Police, CID, Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch (IB) Pub.
92. IB File No. 1138/47, (1947), Communal Matters, DIG (Deputy Inspector General) of Police, CID, Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch (IB) Pub.
93. IB File No. 999-A/47, (1947), Murshidabad Affairs, DIG (Deputy Inspector General) of Police, CID, Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch (IB) Pub.
94. IB File No. 1238/47, (1948), Note Showing the Developments in Murshidabad District since the Partition of Bengal, December 1<sup>st</sup>, Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch. Pub.
95. IB File No. 1238-47, (1947), A Report on the incident in 'char Munshipara', Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch Pub.
96. IB File No. 1144/47, (1947), 20th December, Dispute Over Char Lands in Murshidabad, Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch Pub.
97. IB File No. 1238-A/47, (1947), Fortnight Report on Murshidabad District, June, 1950, Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch Pub.
98. *ibid*
99. IB File No. 1179/47, (1947), Border Dispute, DIG (Deputy Inspector General) of Police, CID, Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch (IB) Pub.
100. IB File No.1144/47, Border Dispute, (1947), DIG (Deputy Inspector General) of Police, CID, Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch (IB) Pub.
101. IB File No. 1238/47, (1947), Muslim League Agitators (Murshidabad), DIG (Deputy Inspector General) of Police, CID, Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch (IB), Pub.
102. Ghosh Arun, (2010), The Moments of Bengal Partition, Kolkata, Seribaan Pub. Pp.4-8
103. IB File No. 1238/47, (1947), Pak Activities on the Border of West Bengal (Murshidabad), DIG (Deputy Inspector General) of Police, CID, Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch (IB), Pub.
104. IB File No. 1056/47, (1947), Communal Matters, DIG (Deputy Inspector General) of Police, CID, Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch (IB) Pub

105. File No. 383/1949 (1947), (serial no.1-5), Detention of Corps by East Pak Authorities, Government of Bengal, Home Department Political, Pub.

106. File No. 22 (serial no.3-4)/ (1947), Music Before Mosque, Government of Bengal, Home Department Political, Pub.

107. R.Ahmed comments that the growth of solidarity in Muslim society was caused by a successful mobilization of rural Muslims by their leaders or mullas. The Islamic reform movements in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century sought to restore the 'purity' of the faith by purging it of 'idolatrous' practices. The Islamic reform movements in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century served to achieve a 'consensus' between the diverse Muslim social groups.

Das Suranjan, (1991), Communal Riots in Bengal; 1905-1947, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publication, pp.23-24

108. Das Suranjan, (1991), Communal Riots in Bengal; 1905-1947, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publication, pp.11-12, 103-142, 160-161, 206

109. Ahmed Rafiuddin, (1987), The Bengal Muslims, 1871-1906; A Quest for Identity, Delhi, Cambridge University Press Publication, pp.112-113

110. Communalism essentially amounts to organizing an exclusive religious group on the basis of hostility to one or more of the others at the social level. The implied hostility becomes sharper when two or more groups have to live together and share common economic political and other scare resources. The survivors of the great Calcutta killing for example, still talk about their experiences in the same way; the Second World War provides a framework for Europeans who lived through it.

Das Suranjan, (1991), Communal Riots in Bengal; 1905-1947, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publication, pp.158-162

111. Roy Ashim, (1983), The Islamic Syncretistic Tradition in Bengal, Chicago, Princeton Publication, pp. 114-115

121. Communalism has been described or that peculiarity destructive Indian expression of religion in politics, which emphasizes the religious identity of social groups and requires the political society to be organized as a confederation of religious communities.

Das Suranjan, (1991), Communal Riots in Bengal; 1905-1947, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publication pp.12-13, 23

113. Sen Shila, (1976), Muslim Politics in Bengal, 1937-1947, New Delhi, Implex India Publication Ltd. pp.213, 218

114. Varshney Ashutosh, (2002), Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life; Hindus and Muslims in India, Yale, Yale University Press Publication, pp.15-18

115. Brass Paul, (2003), The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India, Washington, University of Washington Press Pub. Pp.9-11

116. Chatterjee Partha, Bengal (1920-1947), The Land Question, The Journal of Peasant Studies, Vol. II, No.4, July-1984 (pp.xxxviii-xii)

117. Amrita Bazar Patrika, (1947), August 19th

118. The Statesman, (1947), September 22nd

119. Amrita Bazar Patrika, (1947), August 25th

120. Mitra Asok, Parting of Ways: Partition and After in Bengal, (1990), EPW, Vol, 25, No.44, Nov.3, pp.2441-2444
121. Amrita Bazar Patrika, (1947), September 18th
122. Das Suranjan, Towards an Understanding of Communal Violence in Twentieth Century Bengal, (1998), EPW, Vol,23, No.35 ,August 27, pp.1804-1808
123. Amrita Bazar Patrika (1947), September 24th
124. Jugantar, (1947), August23rd and 24th
125. Chatterji Joya, (1996), Reprinted, (2002), Bengal Divided, Hindu Communalism and Partition; 1932-1947, New Delhi, Cambridge University Press, p.254
126. Das Suranjan, (1991), Communal Riots in Bengal; 1905-1947, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publication pp.189-192
127. Chatterjee Rakhahari, 'Politics of Religion and Identity', in Chatterjee Rakhahari ed.(1994), Religion Politics and Communalism, the South Asian Experience, New Delhi, South Asian Publication Private Limited, pp.130-138

## **CHAPTER –V**

# **ATTITUDE OF THE POLITICAL LEADERS AND THEIR PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS IN MURSHIDABAD DISTRICT – (1950-2008)**

### **1. Introduction**

### **2. Role of Muslim Intelligentsia from the District**

### **3. Attitude and Participation of the Influential**

### **Political Leaders of the District (1950s-1980s)**

#### **3.1. Other Notable Political Leaders of the District**

### **4. Attitude of the Leaders from 1990 Onwards**

### **5. Conclusion**

### **Notes and References**

## 1. Introduction

Leadership role is mostly needed when any particular community is being suffered. The leaders generally concentrated on understanding the relations among Muslims and interrelations among religions. Muslim leaders in international level like Sayeed Abul A'la Moududi<sup>1</sup> of Pakistan tried to restore just or Islamic order in the society through the teachings of Islam. Mamadou Dia<sup>2</sup> of Senegal challenged the Muslim leadership and authority of the Sufi orders in Senegal - the society ridden with crises, inhumanity and lack of liberty and Islamic humanism and hence aimed to establish a true Islamic state. Hasan Al Banna<sup>3</sup> tried to restore just order in Cairo by eliminating western ideology and to restore Islamic law in the society. Md.Kamil Hussain<sup>4</sup> of Cairo posed an anti-attitude towards secularism and western technology and tried to alter the society by establishing the order of almighty, 'Allah'. Ali Shariati<sup>5</sup> of Tehran tried to bring purity in society by purifying the minds of the Muslims through the teachings from Quranic verses. He tried to remove all kinds of existentialism or western ideology which corrupted the society and at the same time believed in unity of the community and in the unity of god. Sayyid Qutb, the leader of Egyptian Brotherhood inculcated an idea that it is the duty of the true believer of Islam to restore 'rule of God' by overthrowing any other rule like democracy, socialism or rule of court and other secular concept to restore just social order.

Unlike the Muslim leaders in other countries of the Islamic world, the leadership role and attitude of Indian political leaders were different. Moulana Abul Kalam Azad<sup>6</sup> tried his best to save the community from their inferiority complex and condition of helplessness by assuring the community that they are Indian nationals and tried to eliminate the religious differences within the society. In pre-partition days Syed Ahmed Khan<sup>7</sup> tried to educate the Muslim women with western culture and to modernize the community through their adequate representation in government jobs and education and to interpret 'Muslim Law', in proper way in order to eliminate prejudice from the minds of the Muslim. Similarly Fazlul Hoque<sup>8</sup> tried for the upliftment of the community by giving them proper education. He rejected the ideas of the western Muslim leaders and as a member of Legislative Council and a deputy Magistrate; he tried his best to protect the interests and rights of the Muslim community by forming 'Krishak Proja Party' and was against Md. Ali Zinnah's communal ideology of 'two-nation' theory. However after partition he left for Pakistan. The leaders like Suhrawardy, Md. Ali Zinnah<sup>9</sup> who were the real makers of Pakistan dreamt of an independent Muslim state, 'Quaid-i-Azam', which fuelled communal sentiments among the

two community people. In the long run, Jinnah the leader of Indian Muslim League achieved success and become an important icon of the new independent state Pakistan. At the national level we find political figures possessing both secular attitudes, an idea of Hindu-Muslim unity and negative ideas and belief that demanded new state for the Muslims for securing justice to the community.

At the district level the prominent leaders in Murshidabad were Syed Baddrudoza, Kazem Ali Mirza, Khuda Baksh, Abdul Hamid, Lutful Haque and Abdus Satter. They guided the community and the entire district in a way that the Muslims could achieve their economic independence, educational, social and cultural as well as preserve their identity. These leaders influenced the psyche of the community in such a way, that they developed non-communal feeling for the other community and tried to overcome their backwardness through proper education and finally could secure a well established socio-economic status.

## **2. Role of Muslim Inteligentsia from the District**

In the district the role of Muslim intelligentsia like Abdul Odut, Humayan Kabir, Rejaul Karim and nawab Wasif Ali Mirza in the district in upholding communal harmony and Hindu-Muslim solidarity was praise worthy. Abdul Odut draws the striking example of Hindu-Muslim solidarity in the days of Bengal nawabs, through developing a common nationalistic feeling and encouraging to fight together to achieve freedom. He put his humble efforts in organizing several meetings in various parts of the district to raise national consciousness within the community in these critical days. He tried to create an intellectual environment<sup>10</sup> through his writings to reach to the people and published two important journals- 'Naya Tarun Samaj' and 'Oikka Baddha Bharat' to mobilize the people in the right direction and to set up a strong secular social base in the district. When the activities of the Muslim League continued in the district even after partition, through distribution of pamphlets and seductive prospectus to motivate the Muslims in engaging them in attacking the Hindus, Odut campaigned in various sabhas (meetings) and tried to restore peace in the society. In Lalgola and other places when the Hindu shops were looted and their houses were burnt by the League activists, he protested against it, criticized the deed and posed his ideas that riot is created through political motivation and no community should take part in it as Islam sanctions no such violent activities. Another worth mentioning was the role played by Humayan Kabir, who himself taught in a college and hence tried to inculcate an idea of solidarity among the youths in the district. He tried to prevent the exodus from the

district after partition especially of the people of Hindu community who feared and left for other places as the district was mostly dominated by the Muslim population. In this situation he took bold step in influencing the Hindus that ‘communal riots’, was a phenomenon which was artificially created and it had no link with the real socio-political culture and tradition of the district, and though riots and violent communal clashes occurred in Calcutta, the same thing did not turn up in Murshidabad district. Humayan Kabir was not a political leader but he tried to bridge a network of unity among the two communities and proposed the government to establish a link between administration and the society. Wasif Ali Mirza a person respected by both the community was the Nawab Bahadur of the Murshidabad district. He was a true nationalist leader and after partition he continued his anti-communal zeal in restoring harmony in the society. He formed ‘Hindu-Muslim Unity’, association in pre-independent era, which worked in full swing during the critical time of 1946-1947. Not only in Murshidabad but in all parts of West Bengal it propagated its ideals to restore communal harmony. He was against partition of the sub-continent on the basis of religion<sup>11</sup> and hence in front of Radcliff Commission, he demanded the inclusion of Murshidabad district in India. In the post partition era also through the creation of ‘Murshidabad Association’ he tried to consolidate the social edifice strongly.

The contribution of Rejaul Karim in post-partition days in restoring communal unity in Murshidabad, till his last days in 1993 was also remarkable and he was the follower worth mentioning of Gandhiji, an active participant of non-co-operation movement and after partition of India; he continued his struggle in restoring Hindu-Muslim unity<sup>12</sup>. Rejaul Karim was deeply influenced by the writings of Bankim Chandra Chattapadhyaya. He wanted the entire Muslim mass to follow the path of nationalism as predicted by Bankimchandra. Bankim’s idea of nationalism was different from other nationalist in nature. Bankim’s nationalism<sup>13</sup> helped to develop mental strength of the individual by inculcating new political ideas and rationalism in every human being. His ‘Swadeshi’ and ‘Swaraj’, movement initiated a new spirit in Muslim mass. Bankim’s ‘Anandamath’, is a real pathfinder for the Muslims. He was much influenced by Rousseau and the French scholar and Voltair. Karim interpreted the term ‘Bandemataram’ in true nationalistic way. He defined the term as a sacred word a mental stamina that forced all individual to fight against colonialism, a concept that bridge Hindu-Muslim unity which even encouraged the people of the district to raise Indian Flag and unitedly sung the song ‘Bandemataram’, after independence. We could say that Karim’s effort proved to be ideal plane in bringing a sense

of unity after partition. He tried to free his fellow citizens from the clutches of communalism, irrationality and narrowness of mind. He was influenced by Mill's concept of individualism and liberty, Ricardo's principle of economic upliftment of individual and he tried to bring change in the society by restoring these ideas. He too believed that 'nationality comprise of people of nation and national unity' and hence tried to integrate the social cohesive forces in the district. In the later part of his life in post partition days he tried to inculcate a wide meaning of religion that is "religion bridge unity". He was thus in favor of setting up of educational institutions which were free from religious influences either from Hindu or Islamic teachings. Education according to him should always be liberal, westernised<sup>14</sup> that enhanced the mental reach of the youths. Karim's idea of nationalism was developed from the ideal of French Revolution and Rousseau's Emile (educational ideas of Rousseau) which influenced his thought immensely. Thus, we find a progressive and developmentalist attitude in Karim's thought and action in preserving communal harmony in the district.

### **3. Attitude and Participation of the Influential Political Leaders of the District (1950s-1980s)**

#### **Syed Baddrudoza (1947-51 and 1957-1966)**

Syed Baddrudoza born in 1902 in Talibpur village (Bharatpur) in Murshidabad district in West Bengal was one of the topmost leaders from the Muslim community in West Bengal and tried his best to uplift the entire Muslim community, particularly in his district of Murshidabad. After partition when the entire country and the state of West Bengal was totally shattered and torned with the outbreak of the violent riots Syed Baddrudoza of Murshidabad district guided the community in the right path. He made his political career in the crises ridden society<sup>15</sup> of Bengal. He began to exert great political influence during his tenure. In 1952 he stood as an independent candidate from two constituencies in Murshidabad – Raninagar and Jalangi and had lost both seats to his Congress rivals but finally gained support from Muslim voters and wonned the Raninagar seat from his opponent candidate. Baddrudoza made his political career and owned the hearts of the people of not only his community but of the Hindus and other minorities of the district. He tried to bring back the confidence of the Muslims in the district after partition, so that they could feel themselves as Indian citizens. The most stalwart leader of the district was arrested on January 1954, but it could not put a bar on his political leadership. He was arrested as anti-national, Pak spy and for organizing Hindusthan Hamara party in West

Bengal for the object of annexation of West Bengal to East Pakistan. He also supplied valuable secret information about Indian Union to Pak officers. He tried his best to consolidate the Muslims of West Bengal for liberating them from the yoke of the Hindu rule<sup>16</sup>. As a member of West Bengal Legislative Assembly, he demanded socio-political justice for his district and explained his views on important issues concerning the Muslims of the district.

#### **a) Rehabilitation of Displaced Muslims**

Post partition period was marked by displacement of people across the border resulted in huge inflow of people from Pakistan who were treated as refugee. He demanded governmental aid to renovate the vacate mosques to provide shelter to the refugees on a temporary basis. The camps and rehabilitation centers were not sufficient in number to provide shelter to the displaced persons. In this regard, government denied for providing any aid to repair the mosques and to come to a solution to settle the refugee problem. The homeless Muslims people were beaten and tortured and finally they dig the 'graves' which were destroyed by Calcutta Corporation. Baddrudoza argued, "We the Mussalmans are oppressed and are not allowed to speak to express our grievances and our news are censored before coming to the reality". Hence as the political leader of the community he focused this issue of displacement in the Assembly House. He formed Muslim Rehabilitation Association in West Bengal<sup>17</sup> in 1953 to give some relief to the refugees like providing food, clothes and shelter.

In All India Muslim Conference at Jaunpur, 1950, he pointed out the social problems the happenings at Ajodhya and other places in India where the Muslim places of worship were forcefully occupied by the Hindu refugees to terrorize the Muslim community in India. From such happenings, Muslim had lost their courage and as they did not get any protection from the Indian government, they started migrating to Pakistan leaving behind their forefather's monuments and other remembrances. He stated that taking possession of the Muslim-mosques is not an ideal picture of secularism. When Calcutta Corporation destroyed sixty graves of Gobra for constructing a road Baddrudoza told that the Muslims were slapped on one cheek, then would be slapped on both cheeks and third day would be beaten by shoes. He visited to Banwari Mosque in Allhabad with Nehru, where central government even did not paid any aid for the reconstruction of the Mosque<sup>18</sup> thus Baddrudoza raised a question in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, regarding

rehabilitation of 13.5% displaced Muslims West Bengal. In Murshidabad and in other parts of West Bengal as well, Muslim agriculturists had been driven out of their cultivating land to rehabilitate the refugees. Baddrudoza stressed on abolition of zamindari system to ensure settlement to the refugees. He said, that to improve agriculture it was essential to give the land directly to the tillers of rural Bengal. He demanded government to accept the policy of bringing the actual cultivators into direct relations with the government and to increase the rate of compensation<sup>19</sup>, so that they could be saved from losing their lands to the zamindars. This measure of the government would help the peasants to secure their rights on the lands<sup>20</sup>.

### **b) Identity Consciousness among Bengali Muslims**

He wanted the community to get united<sup>21</sup> to regain their identity as ‘Muslim’ first and then Indian, so that they could fight against social corruption. In order to build Muslim solidarity, he inculcated the teachings of Koran and taught them to distinguish between a true Muslim and Kafirs. In order to remove minority complexity from the minds of the Muslim he stated that Muslim community was an integral part of India. Muslims are free citizens of a free state, and they had every right to contribute to the political, to the social, to the cultural, to the moral advancement of motherland, and they should feel that the state has got every right to claim their allegiance<sup>22</sup>. The state should ensure protection of lives, liberty, and religion, culture political and social rights of every community. Fundamental rights<sup>23</sup> as postulated in the constitution meant that all sections of the people, irrespective of caste, creed and color must have equal rights, equal opportunities, equal facilities and their self expression. If these fundamental rights are going to be protected, if the guarantees are going to be implemented, if the scheme of political reconstruction is going to be observed, the community and the other section of people in India will have no apprehension about all that has been laid down in the constitution.

In Murshidabad, after partition the Muslims living mostly on the broader districts became insecure. The Pak infedels trespassed into Muslim houses, molested them, assaulted them and tortured them in every way. Hence he requested the government to give special attention to assure security<sup>24</sup> to the Hindus and Muslims in the border area, and helped them to regain their confidence on government. He pointed out that it was the duty of a secular government to restore communal harmony and security of the people in the society.

Muslims shared a common national feeling, shared a common nation India and a common nationalism and Muslims also contributed with their Hindu brethren to fight against the colonial rulers. Indian Muslims were different from the Turks, the Egyptians, the Mesopotamians, the Arabs in culture, in geography and language. Hence government should treat all the members of the society equally, should preserve their fundamental rights and should assist to regenerate their identity as Muslim. Baddrudoza believed in the construction of a composite nationality<sup>25</sup>. He thus argued, “I am a Mussalman by virtue of my religion, I profess and I am an Indian by virtue of the geographical unit that has given me my birth, and I am a Bengali by virtue of the language I speak, I can at the same time be a Muslim, an Indian, a Bengali and a Murshidabadi just as we can be a father, a son, and a brother at the same time in relation to others”. Political leaders pleaded for partition<sup>26</sup> which increased socio-economic political complexity for the nation and mostly Muslims were blamed for it and were treated badly and termed as anti-national. Baddrudoza is not anti secular but he wanted the community person to live with honour and dignity which was the duty of every secular government. The youths should work as a warrior and as a true savior of the community. They should also portray the past glory which symbolized Islam and honor of the Muslim community so that the community could regain their self confidence as a citizen of India which they lost after the trauma of partition. The youths should portray the picture of Aligarh that harmonized<sup>27</sup> in a remarkable fashion the cultural currents of the East and West, the brightest spots like the Taj Mahal, Pearl Mosque, Itamaddaula etc, which is an icon of Muslim culture.

### **c) Indian Secularism and Democracy**

In one of his articles, ‘Dharmaprocher Na Dharmapiron’ (preaching of religion or coercion of religion), which was published in Jugantar on 20<sup>th</sup> August, 1956, he protested against all sorts of illegal comment thrown against Islam and their Prophet and to the entire Muslim community by the members of non-Muslim community. He requested government to put a ban on the publication of such books that caused anti-communal feeling in the society. But he pointed out that the administrators remained as a silent spectator and hence he accused the government for their step-motherly attitude towards the Indian Muslims. To establish secular democratic order in the society he wanted to activate the provisions of the security act against the gangsters, against dacoits, against robbers, against black marketers and not certainly against innocent subjects of the state or the political parties in the country. According to his conception of democracy was that where the individual rights and

liberties are secured and reconciled with the responsibility of the state. The state must exist for the individual and individual must exist for the state. State should ensure civil liberty to its entire citizen. He appealed to the government to curb organizations<sup>28</sup> and persons having communal bias to restore peace and security in the country, for example the organization and political parties like Hindu Mahasabha and RSS and the editor of 'Abgara' who had the courage to go against the secular ideals of the country. Baddrudoza pointed out that "The Security Act was meant for the communalists and the black marketers and the smugglers engaged in smuggling of food grains". But unfortunately he pointed out that the innocent people were arrested illegally from 'char areas' of Murshidabad instead of the people engaged in cross border smuggling activities. Hence he wanted to establish governmental controlled fair price shops to meet the demand of food in the state.

A new party entitled West Bengal Independent Democratic Party<sup>29</sup> was formed by Badruddoza to safeguard the interest of the Muslims. The party also acted as a social organization and the organization was non-communal with representatives from the Muslims and other minority communities and its aim was to improve the economic condition of the Muslims and other minorities. He criticized the book written by Swami Devanandajee of the Bharat Sevashram Sangha which was said to have contained intentional misinterpretation<sup>30</sup> of the 'Quranul Majid-al furquanul Hamid', in order to hurt the religious sentiments of the Muslims. He discarded all kinds of religious dishonor towards Muslim community. He made an appeal to the Muslim community of West Bengal to take special care so that the total number of Muslims does not get decreased during the next census work as voter list would be prepared on the strength of those statistics. Baddrudoza invited the representative of all minority leaders in his new party that is the schedule caste, Hindus, Christians and the Muslim organisations<sup>31</sup> called Jammait-ul-Ulema-i-Hind to support his new party. His main intention was to promote the community in securing their demands from government and thus called upon the Muslims to forge unity, solidarity within the community. He protested against cultural vandalism<sup>32</sup> in the centers of learning in India. Even the ministry of education, government of West Bengal singled out the Islamia College (Calcutta), leaving alone St. Xavier's College, Hindu School and other denominational institutions in the city and changed the name of Islamia College to Calcutta Central College despite vehement protests from Muslim members of the Assembly. Muslim newspapers are often suppressed by the government like – Asre-Jadid, the Angarah, the Azad Hind, the Paigham, the Nai Duniya, and the Shahna-e-Tariquat etc to

curtail the voices of the community. The leader appealed to the Muslim to form their own organization and fight their cause like other religious communities in India. He added that the Muslims were suspiciously looked upon by the government of the country. The so-called 'secular-state'<sup>33</sup> had given much liberty to the communalists to do harm to the Muslims in various ways and with impunity. He criticized secularism of India as a mockery and remarked that the Muslims were treated badly in all respect. He assured that if the Muslims were given equal opportunities, then they would remain quite faithful to their country.

He was not a communal person, but frankly speaking he was a true-nationalist<sup>34</sup> and the true supporter or protector of the community. Hence, he pointed out that it was not justified in calling India a secular democratic country<sup>35</sup> where a particular community was being neglected and isolated from mainstream national culture. Constantly in several meetings, he tried to explain to the local Muslims about their rights. He wanted justice for his community members. He asked the Muslims to start Islamic newspapers to vent their grievances and to focus on the governmental malpractices and maladministration of secular India. In these ways Baddrudoza the ex-Mayor of Calcutta and a respected member of West Bengal Legislative Assembly raised his voice against Indian democracy and secularism.

#### **d) Developmental Issues of the Community**

He raised the question of improving the socio-economic and cultural condition of the Muslim community. He demanded re-introduction of Urdu as the medium of instruction<sup>36</sup> for imparting knowledge. He demanded to introduce Persian and Arabic as official language and to impart in schools and colleges as a medium of instruction. He pleaded the government to make the universities financially self-sufficient and to improve the quality of education in primary and secondary level. In order to solve un-employment problem in the society he opined that the educated youths should also be given vocational training like Russia, China, Turkey and other smaller countries. He introduced daily newspapers like, 'Asre-Jadis' and 'Imroze' and weekly paper 'paigam', expressing the atrocities of the local police of the border areas of West Bengal for allegedly arresting the Muslims on the charge of anti-state activities after the recent agreement between the Prime Minister of India and Pakistan at Delhi. He tried to raise the awareness of the community in Urdu language about the world affairs through these newspapers. He tried his best to make the community conscious about all political affairs of the country. Muslims in India were deprived not only

from governmental services but in fact denied all facilities in trades, industries and in all fields of activities. Doors of all services were closed for them and gradually they found it impossible even to secure independent careers in the medical and engineering profession. Hence to protect the educational rights of the community and to help the community economically he demanded reservation of seats<sup>37</sup>.

### **Mohammed Khuda Baksh (1947-51 and 1969-1971)**

He was an active political leader of Murshidabad district who even raised his voice against the misdeed of government action and guided the community by his able leadership towards the path of development. Before partition, he was an active member of the Muslim League and official report<sup>38</sup> showed that he held secret meetings at his house in Beldanga with other notable League leaders like Dand Molla of Kapasdanga, Abdul Wahed Molla and Abdul Kadir Sheikh of Murshidabad. The League leaders tried to create intolerance among Muslims against the Hindus and communal fracture on the eve of Muharram. The leader was suspected for leakage of information from Indian borders to Pakistan intelligence and engaging in smuggling of Jute and other food grains to Pakistan. But as a true nationalist leader, Khuda Baksh argued that as an Indian Muslim, he was very anxious about stopping of smuggling of jute. After partition, he became the member of West Bengal Legislative Assembly and continued his tenure from 1947-51 and 1969-71. On several issues concerning the Bengali Muslims of the district he raised his voice and worked for ensuring justice for the community.

#### **a) Security of the Minority Community**

In his view secularism is a flawed concept unless rights of all communities are secured. The post partition riots in Calcutta, Bihar and Noakhali raised the question of security of the people. The minority was look upon with suspicious eyes, tortured and the self-seeking political leaders promised to give security to the life and property of the Muslims in order to fill up their vote bank. He pointed out that Hindus and Muslims together had fought for independence, but still after partition, the community is being humiliated<sup>39</sup> by the government itself and by the majority community. Displaced Muslims of India were not given back their homes and their properties which were occupied by the Hindu refugees. He opined out that our secular government<sup>40</sup> as the protagonist of nationalism, a defender of the rights and privileges of the people should also develop a new outlook for solving the problem of the country. On, the other hand government failed to stop smuggling of ganja

across the border and suspiciously arrested the poor Muslims in these smuggling<sup>41</sup> activities. The Muslims also need to follow the path of Islam – an ideology which would guide the community in the right path. It is the duty of the government to protect the Muslim sufferers and to protect the personal laws. A secular and democratic government would be liberal and protective enough to the cause of protection of the Muslim community and securing their lives in the border areas.

### **b) Rehabilitation of Refugees and the Displaced People**

Khuda Baksh pointed out that the district of Murshidabad had suffered by partition and demanded special consideration from centre. The char lands are encroached by the Pakistani troops which made the life of ordinary people miserable. He also drew the attention of the government towards settling refugee problem<sup>42</sup>, and pointed out that the refugees from East Pakistan (mainly the Hindus) took illegal possession of some private and in governmental lands. He asked government to settle the refugee problem to give relief to the affected person and to draw a policy for land acquisition. Hence he pointed out that government should distribute the evaluated land among the refugees. He asked Relief and Rehabilitation minister, about governmental measures and to give grant and loans or other kind of relief measures to the refugees. To stop displacement of Indian Muslims and resettlement of refugee's he suggested distribution of lands by government to the displaced Muslims and refugees with proper recognition.

### **c) Food Crises of the State**

He pointed out to the government about acute crises of food in West Bengal and in the district which occurred due to sudden increase in population in West Bengal due to huge influx of East Pakistan refugees<sup>43</sup> in the state. The price of food in the district of Murshidabad has increased especially in Domkal, and other border areas, in Lalbagh and Jalangi. He requested government to provide the cereals through government controlled ration shops to each individual to meet the crises. Along with the food crises, looting of food grains continued unabated in various parts of the district by the hooligans and sometimes by the party cadres followed by indiscriminate arrests, extortions and tortures by the police and as a leader of the district he appealed to the government to enquire into these matters. He pointed out that the deficiency in food could only be met by importing food from foreign countries. Khuda Baksh suggested that the fallow, vested as well as the 'benami' lands be immediately distributed to landless cultivators through a committee

mainly composed of poor peasantry. The lands should be properly allotted to the distressed and homeless people so that they could have economic gains from the lands. He focused on the development of rural Bengal through increasing of agricultural product which could meet the food crises instead of industrialisation<sup>44</sup>. Industrialization required more financial investment, and hence he pointed out that barren lands should be distributed among the displaced people and refugees for their resettlement and lands which were fertile should be used properly to get maximum product of food grains.

With a vision to develop in agricultural sector, Khuda Baksh took an initiative to establish Peasant Development Samiti<sup>45</sup> in various parts of the district which would distribute loans to the peasants as received from the state government. He pleaded to set up 'peasant co-operative society' which aimed at improvement of lands for cultivation (by applying other seeds, pesticides etc) and aimed at establishing a market through which the peasants could sell their crops directly to the governmental stores without any intermediaries so that food scarcity could be met out. Regarding, the rights and liberty of the working class and peasants, he quoted from the words of Quran that every individual enjoyed liberty as his birth right and individual freedom should be saved. To save the interests of the working class people from capitalist exploitation he stressed on the need to form trade unions. Hence we find Khuda Baksh tried to find a concrete solution for the food crises, to secure the interests of the peasants or agricultural class and the working class people to ensure social justice in a democratic country.

#### **d) Anti Reservationist Attitude for the Minority Community**

Khuda Baksh pointed out the injustice, inequities and inconsistencies in the Congress led ministry. He pointed out that in the countryside the Muslims had not received their quota or representation in the Minority Board which proved inefficiency in governmental administration. The leader was against reservation of Muslim communities since reservation would go against the interests and integrity of the country. He proposed that the Muslims should be governed by their personal law<sup>46</sup> as directed by Holy Quran. In the name of introducing uniformity in personal law, he thought that the constitution should not be permitted to make inroads in their religion, especially when right to practice, profess and propagate religion had been guaranteed in section 19(1) of Indian constitution. Instead of reservation, he demanded for the preservation of Muslim Personal Laws. Those who were in favor of reservation<sup>47</sup>, thought that securing a post in Legislative Assembly to represent

the community would help to fight for the community for the achievement of their rights. Rather he pointed out that separate electorate would promote communal tension within the two communities and would develop the bitterness of communal feeling. It would be the moral responsibility as well as the actual responsibility of the Hindus to defend and protect the rights of the Muslims<sup>48</sup> in India. With a few Muslim members sitting in the House would make no difference. They must receive the co-operation of the Hindus, along with the Muslim representatives for safeguarding the interest of the minorities.

### **Kazem Ali Mirza (1947-1966)**

Kazem Ali Mirza was the son of Wasif Ali Mirza, the Nawab of Murshidabad district who fought relentlessly to preserve communal unity in the district. Kazem Ali Mirza before partition was the staunch supporter and an active member of Muslim League<sup>49</sup> and engaged in communal activities in the district. He supported Jinnah's two-nation theory and organized the Muslims in the district to raise voice for the partition of the subcontinent and the inclusion of Murshidabad district with Pakistan. Apart from this Kazem Ali Mirza was the organizer of state Muslim League and organized the Muslim youths under the party fold for extending the influence of the party in different area. To create communal ill-feeling in the district, he published an Urdu journal 'Gamkhar' to motivate the Muslim youth in favor of the partition. He had a difference of opinion with Baddrudoza regarding the progress of the Muslim community. Hence Kazem Ali Mirza formed Indian Union Muslim League (IUML), aimed at uniting the Muslims of West Bengal. But after partition Janab Mirza carried his communal feeling and acted as a secret Pakistani agent by supplying all important information of Indian government. He also maintained good relationship with Md.Ali Zinnah and continued his communal activities, in a belief that Murshidabad hence would be included in Pakistan as a Muslim dominated district of West Bengal. He raised the attention of the government with mounting growth of violence and lawlessness throughout West Bengal resulting in ugly incidence like murder, arson and looting caused grave concern among the people at large. After partition, the leader became the member of West Bengal Legislative Assembly from 1947-1966. Though he possessed a communal feeling and was a staunch supporter of creation of Pakistan, but overall it may be inferred that there was an attitudinal change and he devoted his endeavor in bringing the welfare and development of the community. He raised the burning problem like resettlement of refugees, security of the minority community, food scarcity in the district and stressed on various developmental prospects in the district for ensuring justice for the community.

### **a) Resettlement of Refugees**

He expressed his deep feeling of pain and gratitude for the cause of the suffering of the refugees who had to leave their home under circumstances beyond their control during partition of the country. He fully appreciated that crores are being spent on the socio-politico-humanitarian work<sup>50</sup>, but government should also spent some of their time, resource and energy towards the rehabilitation of East Pakistan refugees. He expressed his deep feeling of dissatisfaction towards governmental planning measures, because he pointed out that the same refugees are taking advantage from different centers and then they run away to other places for getting more governmental benefits. He sought an ethical solution to the settlement of refugee problem, by stating that the lands acquired by the government which are illegal or disputed and termed as 'benami' lands should be distributed among the refugees for their settlement instead of fertile agricultural lands of the district people. He pointed out that food scarcity is being artificially created by the governmental policy of land acquisition measures where the fertile lands were taken by the government for rehabilitation of the refugees which creates inadequacy of land which hampers production rate. In this process many agricultural peasants were ousted from their land hence creating shortage of production due to inadequate agricultural labor in the lands. Kazem Ali Mirza thus pointed out that in Kandi, Barwan, Khargram, Bharatpur, Berhampore, Beldanga, Nawda, Hariharpara, Domkal, Jalangi, Raninagar, Lalgola, Bhagwangola, Nabagram, Jiaganj, Sagardighi, Raghunathganj, Suti, Samserganj, Farakka all agricultural lands were snatched by the government and hence production of crops like paddy suffered a lot. Both the agricultural land that is 495.46% and non-agricultural land that is 878.17% were allotted for the settlement of refugees which resulted in loss in agricultural products, resulting in food scarcity in the district and in the entire state<sup>51</sup>.

### **b) Security of the Minority Community**

Mirza pointed out that Muslim women were ill-treated and dishonoured in the riot infested areas by the hooligans. Even the government had a communal feeling<sup>52</sup> because it failed to secure the honour of the Muslim women and the rights and privileges of the minorities of the state have not given fullest attention. As a citizen of the country he demanded that government should give all its attention to preserve the security of the minority community. He pointed out that "if we are sincere to our constitution it will show that it has given complete liberty to all religion, caste and creed. Hindus or Muslims or people of any other

faith must adapt themselves and remember that as a nation, we are one and as citizens of this country – India we belong to India. India is our homeland and we shall live, die and sacrifice together for our motherland to preserve honour<sup>53</sup> and integrity of our country”. It is for the interest of all to remember this, as he argued that “we are a nation first, than anything else, and communalism had no room which must be buried once for all”.

### **c) Developmental Prospects in the District**

To bring educational development in the district, he pleaded to education minister of state to open a college at the Nawab Bahadur Institution land and building gifted by his ancestors within the municipality of Murshidabad<sup>54</sup>. To enhance self-sufficiency of the poor employed youths he proposed to initiate government sponsored milk distribution centres in various parts of the district. This project will benefitted the community people economically. For educational development he pleaded for establishment of state-runned schools in the district for enhancement of educational status and overall personality of the Muslims so that the educated Muslim candidates could fetch governmental jobs in respective spheres. For agricultural develoment<sup>55</sup> he stressed on development of irrigation system by digging sinking and non-sinking tube wells around the agricultural areas to ensure benefit to the peasants. He also devoted his energy for the development of health in the district. He pointed out that there was no sufficient heath center or hospitals in the district. He proposed to sanction grant from state fund to construct a hospital on the land offered by the late Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad in Faiz Bagh within the Lalbagh sub-division of the district, but no initiative had taken up by the government in this respect. He demanded for the urgent development of the health centers in other parts of the district and proposed to build up of the sub-divisional hospital to ensure maximum benefit to the community people in the district which according to him are backward areas in West Bengal. Though in earlier police record, he was portrait as a man possessing a communal attitude and engaged in anti-national activities or as a Pakistani agent, but in the speeches of the Assembly House, he raised his voice for the development of the community in several spheres and he really tried to develop the agriculture, health centres, irrigational improvement and educational institutions in the district to set up a real icon of development<sup>56</sup>.

His main motive was to remove the deplorable condition prevailing in Murshidabad district and hence demanded for allocation for more grant for the district. According to him

a welfarist government should invest in a backward area to ensure maximum good to the common people. He questioned to save the interest of the rural people, in order to safeguard the equity and good conscience of the people. He quoted, “Let all the people committed to your care pay equally or proportionate to the means”. He showed that according to governmental statistics ten thousand acres are being brought under cultivation and hundreds of thousands tones of crops are being produced from those lands. Then he opined due to governmental negligence scarcity of food occurred and inadequacy and dissatisfaction among the peasants persisted. He again pointed out that for the safeguard of the peasant’s interests<sup>57</sup> government directly should buy the crops from the peasant without any intervention of the middlemen to lessen the price of food grains in the market on one hand and on the other to ensure maximum benefit to the peasants which would ultimately ensured efficiency in development. Both the agricultural seeds and the fertilizers are to be given by the government directly to the peasants and loans in times of natural calamities like drought or flood so that the peasants could recover their debts. He even stressed on development of roads and communication in the districts so that the workers could move from one place to other in search of their employment scope. Government should provide employment scope for both skilled and unskilled workers and for the educated youths of the district. Thus, we could depict out the secular character of a political leader of the district with a distinct non-communal attitude, demanding various projects from the government for the up-liftment of the entire district from where he represented as an elected member in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly.

The other notable leaders are Abdul Hamid (1952-1961), Abdul Latif (1962-69), and Mohammed Israil (1952-1969) who took active part in politics and possessed both developmental and communal attitude. Abdul Hamid was a resident of Bhabta (Beldanga) in Murshidabad district and remained as member of Legislative Assembly from 1952 to 1961. He was a staunch Muslim Leaguer in pre-partition days and later joined Congress and became member in West Bengal Legislative Assembly. After partition<sup>58</sup>, he had a strong inclination towards Pakistan and wholeheartedly supported the idea of inclusion of Murshidabad in Pakistan. Mohammed Israil, the resident of Beldanga according to Intelligence Branch record revealed that he was a Muslim League activist in the district and detained under the Preventive Detention Act for communal and pro-Pakistan activities<sup>59</sup> since the partition. He was elected as MLA from 1952 to 1969 and after partition of the district and its inclusion with Indian Union, changed his anti-communal attitude. Maulavi

Abdul Latif son of Haji Abdul Quader of Beldanga district of Murshidabad a member of West Bengal Legislative Assembly from 1962 to 1969 was an active organizer of the Muslim National Guards at Beldanga. During the time of partition of Bengal in 1947, he carried series of agitations for the inclusion of Murshidabad district in Pakistan. The subject was arrested under section 18(1) of the Bengal Special Powers Ordinance in connection with his subversive activities<sup>60</sup>, but later he was released. He holds secret meetings and was suspected to leak out information from India to Pakistan through Pakistani newspaper like 'Azad' and 'Ittefaque' through his relatives and contacts in East Pakistan. He criticized the communal activities<sup>61</sup> of the Hindu Mahasabha and Jana Sangh and accused the local administration of playing the role of mute spectators for not providing any security to the innocent Muslim citizens. In 1962, he formed Kalyan Samiti – a secret organization of the Muslims formed with an object of achieving consolidation amongst the Muslims and carrying on secret activities to threat the Hindus and the police in the district for the torturing on the innocent Muslims. He portrait him as a true nationalist leader<sup>62</sup> and in 1962 while the country was facing tremendous crises with Chinese aggression with an emergency and critical situation, he pointed out that every citizen even from Murshidabad district irrespective of their caste status or religion would accept starvation and would support India. He wanted the Muslim nationals to join Indian army and to sacrifice<sup>63</sup> their life for the sake of the country's security.

Later on Abdul Hamid focused on the development of the district<sup>64</sup> and stressed on the improvement of education, agriculture, resettlement of refugees and settlement of food problem in the district and to ensure the security of all the people of Murshidabad. Developmental schemes<sup>65</sup> were demanded by Mohammed Israil were nationalization of the basic industry and governmental control in agricultural sector especially in collection of food grains which are to be distributed in times of scarcity within the people. He even pointed out the mal practices in governmental administration and wanted to overthrow demoralized and corrupt officials to bring transparency in governance. Abdul latif demanded development of industry to boost economic development. He also demanded educational improvement, agricultural development through improved agricultural techniques and fertilizers to raise the productivity of land and to meet the scarcity of food<sup>66</sup> in the district. To secure the interest of the peasant class he wanted government to introduce state controlled market in the district. He suggested for constructing a dam beside

Swiss gate<sup>67</sup> in Maniknagar Mouza (under Beldanda police station) on Bhandaraha Bill (river) to improve the irrigation system.

### **Lutfal Hoque (1952-1966 and 1977-1987)**

Lutfal Hoque was born in 1911 in Aurangabad in an ordinary family where he was brought up by his mother alone. He passed his matriculation in 1943 from Nimtita School and joined as teacher in high madrasa school. After partition the scenario has changed totally and most of the learned Muslim scholars and political leaders like Farhad Murtiza Reza Chowdhury from Murshidabad left for Pakistan leaving the space vacant for political leadership. In this situation, Lutfal Hoque felt the necessity of giving political leadership to the community for their upliftment. He was determined to guide the community positively towards their educational upliftment, social and economic progress and cultural growth and hence in 1952 in Vidhansabha election he contested as independent candidate from Suti constituency and won the election<sup>68</sup>. His personality, attitude, community fervor and strong determination attracted the then chief minister Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy who invited him to join Congress and later on in 1953, he joined Congress party. As the political leader of the district he raised his voice in various issues concerning the Bengali Muslims of the district like rehabilitation of the refugees of the district, to form bidi workers union and stressed on various developmental projects for the district people.

#### **a) Rehabilitation of the Refugee and Displaced Muslims and to use Wakf Property**

The social and living condition of the district was miserable after partition with widespread communal tension<sup>69</sup>, lack of unity and mistrust within the two communities. He pointed out that Indian state promised to ensure a secured life to its citizen but failed in its attempt to stop post partition communal riots and displacement of people in several parts of India and West Bengal which increased an untold misery of the people in the district. He further pointed out that during the freedom struggle the Muslim nationalist equally fought with their Hindu compatriots<sup>70</sup> to free India from foreign domination, so government in independent India should treat the Muslims fairly and not as second class citizen. He stressed to ensure security of the Muslims who did not leave the country. Lutfal Hoque uttered that in every respect he would save the true Indians – the Muslims of the district and in West Bengal. He demanded the homes to be given back to the Muslims. Muslims always sacrificed their life for the sake of the country so government also should provide adequate shelter to them. He opined that. He said, “ We the citizen of India enjoyed political rights as

given by the constitution, we have our fundamental rights we are born as the citizen of India but we are tortured, facing tremendous humiliation and mental pressure and government remained as silent spectator. If government fails to secure our rights then government itself is the constitution breaker". Secularism is a flawed concept if government failed to provide a secured life to its citizen.

He criticized Indian government to be secular and guarantor of rights of the minority community and government forced the Muslims to remain as displaced person. When India and entire West Bengal faced the huge problem of refugee influx after partition then Hindu refugees<sup>71</sup> took shelter in the houses of the displaced Muslims and well equipped with the Indian society. In ensuring justice to the Hindu refugees, government took the side of the Hindus on one hand and on the other failed to save the Indian Muslims. He criticized the governmental action doing conspiracy with the innocent Muslims in giving justice to the Hindus. But apparently government made severe blunder to the entire state of West Bengal. Among the displaced Muslims most of them were agricultural people engaged with production of food crops. But as they lost their homes and remained as displaced people many lakhs acres of land were left as barren. These people who could help in production of agricultural crops remained as helpless unfortunate and landless people and hence the state suffered from huge food scarcity. In the secular country<sup>72</sup> state should consider the condition of individual belong to any religion. State secures right to freedom of religion to all and hence every individual is guided by their religious principles. But a secular society should also provide a secure life to its citizen.

To rehabilitate the refugees' government occupied the 'char' lands as a measure of Land Acquisition Act where the agricultural lands were also included. These fertile lands if could utilize properly then could solve the food problem where peasants could cultivate the 'Aush' rice by taking governmental aid. But through this land acquisition measures fertile agricultural lands were occupied by government and used for rehabilitating the refugees and as a result food scarcity occurred. The system of governmental control of food grains and its distribution through ration shops<sup>73</sup> to valid ration card holders again became irrelevant in Murshidabad district. Even District Food and Relief Committee and Sub-Divisional Food and Relief committee was set up targeting to meet the essential demand of food crops to the district people but the entire state was suffering from shortage of food grains so these relief committees could not work properly. In this situation big merchants and hoarders are taking

the advantage and confined the food grains in their go-downs creating black out in the state. In the district level the people suffered from extreme poverty and starvation.

Lastly he pointed out that government took a measure to utilize Wakf property for rehabilitation scheme<sup>74</sup> by acquiring the ‘benami’ lands (that is without any proper landlord) but failed to implement that measure too. He pointed out that the income coming from Wakf estates and from property endowed to God (Debottar property that is property endowed defraying the cost of worshipping a deity) could be utilized properly. Lutfal Hoque himself was the member of Wakf Board argued that most of the Wakf estates became private property of the ‘sebaite’ (servant who look after the property of God’s property), who became the owner of the property. The property has been transferred so many times that the main principles of the Wakf property has changed. The property has been endowed to a corporate body<sup>75</sup> (trust) or lies with individual person who look after the property, but after changing hands from one to other so many times the Wakf properties became futile and vague.

#### **b) On Bidi Workers Union**

Lutfal Hoque tried to bring an economic change in the district by organizing the bidi workers to form bidi workers union. The bidi industry<sup>76</sup> as cottage industry gained momentum on one hand and on the other showed the picture of exploitation of bidi workers in the unorganized sectors. In Murshidabad due to decaying condition of land in flood, non-availability of other source of income, and lack of agricultural land forced the people here to engage themselves in this bidi manufacturing work. Due to availability of chief labor, the bidi industrialist had a tendency to exploit economically the workers by offering them less amount of wage. Thus he pointed out that government should take into consideration the socio-economic condition of these workers and their problems. He pointed out that due to lack of strong union this exploitation continues unabated. Gradually the workers due to long time of working, suffered from malnutrition, ill health, tuberculosis and other infectious diseases. He thus pointed out the socio-economic condition of the workers and demanded immediate protection for them. Lutfal Hoque questioned that in a democratic<sup>77</sup> country where socialism, equality, justice, law, protection of minority and poor is ensured then why government is doing injustice to the workers. Hoque tried his best to develop a strong bidi workers union<sup>78</sup> so that the union could fight in securing the interest of the workers. He was in favor of providing identity card to the bidi workers and one copy of that to be submitted

to the government by the respective company. The card is to be given in the industrial premise and he wanted to start provident fund scheme for the workers for their secured future.

### **c) Developmental Prospects**

Hoque demanded more governmental aid for the district in agricultural purpose. According to him government should give more aid to the peasants and to utilize the lands for more production. He even pointed out that the small farmers the fishing community should be given more financial assistance. Development of agriculture<sup>79</sup> and industry, education, health, development of the means of communication was the major demand of Hoque Saheb for the progress of the district. The district people also suffered a lot due to lack of safe and pure drinking water and hence he demanded for constructing of sinking and non-sinking tube wells. Communications paves the path for business transaction and hence he stressed the need to repair the roads regularly and new roads to be constructed and connected with national highways for the welfare of the local people of the district. Even he pointed out to repair the highway roads by the state government by taking central aid<sup>80</sup>. Lutfal Hoque also demanded governmental initiatives and steps taken for the development of small scale industries like the production of raw silk fabrics in Murshidabad and Malda districts. The silk handloom weavers should be assisted by the state government through co-operatives. The peasants should provide with share capital loan, working capital loan as per as their requirement by the government<sup>81</sup> and demanded to form co-operative societies. Efforts are being made to persuade the workers with institutional finance and cash credit for their financial advancement. He demanded for governmental aid to be given to the weavers of weaving co-operatives in the district. Lutfal Hoque tried his best to regenerate the economy<sup>82</sup> of the district through financial aid from state to establish small scale industries.

Similar to Lutfal Hoque Jainal Abedin (1952-1956) focused on the development of the district, like development in agriculture and handloom industry and to solve the food scarcity in the district. As a political representative from Congress party, he pointed out that secularism is the essence of Indian government and the rationale of our secular<sup>83</sup> philosophy is “sarva dharma samabhava”. He too demanded that Muslims in West Bengal are safe and there is no need to feel insure or to suffer from minority complexity. Jainal Abedin wanted to curve all political forces which are communal in nature and hampered national unity and integrity<sup>84</sup>. He reminded us the constitutional provision of India – we the people of India

having solemnly resolve to constitute India into a sovereign secular democratic republic and he believed India to be a true secular state.

### **Abdus Sattar (1967-1991)**

He was a vocal leader and elected as the member of West Bengal Legislative Assembly from Lalgola constituency of Murshidabad district. His tenure as member of Assembly was from 1967-1991 and within these couple of years he brought a revolutionary change in the district. If we say for example, Green Revolution has changed the demography of the most developed states like Punjab and Haryana then Abdus Sattar was the first man in West Bengal who brought a total change in the picture of this district in post independent era mainly in agricultural sector. His humble efforts and progressive minded attitude had a positive effect in the district and boosted the economic development of the entire community. He focused on administrative corruption of the district, proposed various land reform measures, stressed on agricultural improvement, and development in irrigation and overall development of the community. On several issues concerning the Bengali Muslims of the district he raised his voice and work for ensuring justice for the community.

#### **a) Administrative Corruption of the District**

The entire district during his political leadership and even before was facing from acute food crises, and lack of agricultural land and production. The people had no other way out to switch to other profession as after partition the district failed to develop any kind of heavy industry to solve employment problem. In this situation Abdus Sattar demanded governmental aid for the district to save the people from utmost misery. Hence he pointed out the administrative corruption<sup>85</sup> in the district in relation to distribution of governmental grant to the needy people. To curb corruption distribution of governmental aid was entrusted in the hands of Food and Relief Committee in the district. Panchayati Raj Institution which was formed according to constitutional norms of decentralization had become a popular local body with active participation of the rural people in politics. But he pointed out that in the district powers of these local bodies were captured by Congress party and Left Front government by totally ignoring the democratic spirit of these institutions. Sattar pointed out that government with their mistrust and misdeed replaced the democratic institutions which were the real icon of people's representation with a committee (Food and Relief Committee) which was not democratic in nature. The members of this committee were chosen democratically by Left Front government according to their own desire and he

criticized the government because the act was a whimsical deed of the government. Sattar pointed out that the decentralized body like Panchayati Raj Institution became a dysfunctional unit. From anchal (regional) Panchayat to Zillah Parishad, the governmental grant had been distributed by the relief committee formed by the members all chosen from Left Front party. Even the grant was not given directly by the committee to the people but to the representative of the people who were the fraud members and acted as representative of the people and received the benefits from government.

He pointed out that the officials engaged in higher administrative posts are corrupted and he raised his voice against the misdeed of civil service and administrative officers. These officers as they were in the higher posts should be responsible in maintaining order and peace in the district, but these bureaucrats are actually turned into the party cadres. Sattar was a vocal speaker and he declared that government sometimes became autocratic and did not pay any respect to the constitution or law. Sattar criticized government in a democratic country which was not progressive minded or development oriented rather engaged in narrow politics of power gathering and failed to attain welfare schemes for its citizens. Government itself is a law breaker, and failed to provide security to its citizens. In the border areas the life of the people too became miserable due to the atrocities of the Border security forces. The common people were arrested frequently for nothing and charged for engaged in cross-border smuggling activities. Even due to the increasing of extreme poverty, dacoity, looting, murder and atrocities on common people became a regular activity in the district by the hooligans. Hence Sattar criticized the government, the minister in charge of the Relief department that government failed in their action to reduce starvation and death and failed to increase funds in the relief work. Government sponsored Food and Relief Committee was a pseudo-committee which failed in its task of distributing the grant to the people and overall the administrative officers were corrupted and failed to provide security to the people of the district.

Abdus Sattar questioned to the Home Political Department regarding the maintenance of security of the district. He recommended for the formation of 'Gana committees' which wanted governmental promptness in this regard. He pointed out that the atrocity of one community towards other continues in Lal Kuthi (Aminabazar) in Jiaganj continued where the houses and property of the Muslim villagers were being looted and destroyed by these hooligans in the presence of the police support. The police force too failed to bring the situation in control. Several places in the district like Kasimbazar, Khagra, Behrampore

town Basudevpur, Raghunathganj, Salar, Farakka and Jalangi were looted vigorously in a planned way to create frenzy communal riots. He demanded governmental aid to be given in the areas which were badly affected due to riots. Throughout the district due to scarcity of food, looting and atrocities continued in the district. Today, he said, “We are living in a civilized society, so why this act of barbarianism”? In a democratic country<sup>86</sup> people should have proper law, and order security of life and property, right to possess the basic things like food and shelter but government failed in its attempt to ensure a stable condition in the district.

He pointed out that in rural areas; the people are not getting sufficient cereals through government sponsored modified ration shops<sup>87</sup>. If also they are getting its quality was not good. In some cases people are getting cereals of good quality but of very less amount. In case of five hundred grams of rice and one kilogram of wheat, much meger quantity of food was giving to them. Sattar pointed out that food stocks were being looted by the party cadres and lastly these government shops were gheored by the people who were being deprived of getting the cereals. Thus for proper functioning of the ration shops governmental measures like increase in subsidy, curtailment of tax on food items were to be given in order to solve the acute food problem.

### **b) Land Reform Measures**

Abdus Sattar’s greatest contribution is his land reform measures in the district and in overall West Bengal. The Land Acquisition Bill passed by the government encroached illegal lands<sup>88</sup> from the zamindars and allotted to the bargadars (share croppers). There is no concrete way to predict the genuinity of the bargadars (rental cultivators that is whether their names are officially recorded or not) and no way even to find the originality of the lands allotted to the bargadars (that is benami or legally approved lands). Hence he suggested government for maintaining a proper record of the land with the name of the zamindars officially and the land allotted to the bargadars, then only it would be possible to identify the benami (extra lands that is lands possess by the individual but allotted in some other’s name) lands. Agricultural tax should be collected on the basis of productivity of land<sup>89</sup> and amount of production. Government should collect tax partly on the basis of land revenue (income from land) and partly as income tax (income from agricultural product) to utilize the money for agricultural development and for giving relief to the distressed people. He proposed the lands (benami) which were allotted in the name of some other individuals

or the zamindars should not be encroached by the government. Abdus Sattar also demanded changes in governmental policy to regain governmental lands and property entrusted as vested land within wakf property. To eliminate the mutawalis (intermediaries) from wakf estates and to maintain transparency in governmental work, he suggested for replacing the wakf commission by wakf board where the board members would be appointed by the government. Board would work in accordance with law to regain the wakf properties which were been previously transferred to other person illegally without giving prior notice to the government by the mutawalis. Thus he demanded that law should be amended in the Assembly House so that government could sell out the immovable property of the estate in governmental auction so that governmental tax and other expenditure could be recovered. Hence Sattar demanded maintenance and preservation of ancient buildings, Masjids, Hazarduari Palace, Imambara by government from these money appropriated from these estate property.

### **c) Agricultural Improvement and Research**

Abdus Sattar's greatest contribution lies in his humble efforts in bringing agricultural revolution in the district to meet acute food scarcity in West Bengal and in the district. For agricultural development Sattar demanded more governmental subsidies on wholesale and loose buyers on chemical fertilizer and to adopt innovative measures. He demanded to establish Agricultural and Marketing Society. This society would act as co-operative to give financial aid to the poor farmers irrespective of governmental grant to prosper in agriculture. For the fruitful development of agriculture, he demanded for the construction of both sinking and re-sinking tube wells. At the same time he demanded governmental aid to improve irrigation methods. Governmental aid is channelised in such a way that only the big farmers received the benefit of governmental aid and loan, but he demanded this aid for the small farmers also. He wanted the 'Group System' to be changed that is in group system all big farmers were the members, who could easily got access to this governmental aid by delivering water tax<sup>90</sup> to the government. This immensely benefited the rich farmers in producing potato and other vegetables in the same land after cultivation of cereals, but the small farmers remain marginalized in this process. He focused that government should equally gave loans to small farmers so that they could receive the benefits in the same way as the big farmers. He demanded for central aid to be given regularly to the state for agricultural purpose and wanted to ensure justice to all the agricultural groups of the district. He suggested that government should help the farmers to grow jute which is a

dollar earning commercial crop and which could be exported outside India. Abdus Sattar introduced, the West Bengal Agricultural Produce Marketing (Regulation) Bill, in 1972 to help the agricultural class in selling and buying agricultural products. Agricultural commodities would be sold in the market with the price fixed and regulated by the government.

Sattar proposed some changes<sup>91</sup> for the betterment of agriculture like to set up a regulated samity (comprise of members of agricultural class, representative of local buyers and sellers, members of co-operative society) which would be in charge of the market and possessed absolute power to control the market. Market samiti would give the license to the businessman and the place for selling and buying of products. This samiti would provide sufficient scope for better utilization of agricultural products example it would provide co-operative bank to give loan to the peasants, to provide cold storage, godowns, and competitive market for selling the commodities at minimum higher price but not above the price fixed by the government. Market Samiti would also provide ingredients of agriculture like seeds, chemical fertilizers, insecticides and essential items of agriculture. By this measure, the agricultural class would be benefited mostly and the market samity would be the real icon and spirit of village economy. He suggested using indigeneous fertilizer instead of investing money on buying of artificial fertilizers from outside to reduce the agricultural cost. Government failed in their attempts to acquire the vested lands and property due to the corrupt administrative officers and their distributionist policy. He pointed out that government had no concrete well defined state plan to implement for bringing development. He demanded for co-operative<sup>92</sup> farming for the landless peasants with full governmental aid and support to bring prosperity in the district.

#### **d) Development in Irrigation of the District**

For the development of irrigation he demanded government to take adequate measure to distribute the pump set and to take central grant in necessary to develop the irrigation in the district for the production of jute in adequate amount. He proposed to take measures to initiate canal irrigation project in the district apart from digging tube wells and distribution of pump set. But he wanted prompt governmental action to ensure development in small irrigation project and hence he demanded sufficient pump set to be distributed and to dig shallow tube wells in order to bring development. For irrigational purpose he demanded for the supply of pipe to the farmers of good quality and at low price. Thus he proposed to buy

pipes from Indian Tube Company<sup>93</sup> by the government and to distribute it among the peasants. He appreciated governmental measure to introduce canal irrigation through central aids to improve the quality of crops in summer season. Thus if all agricultural lands could bring under the control of irrigation system then maximum production could be achieved.

#### **e) Community Development Programme**

Abdus Sattar pointed out the need for an overall development of the district. He first of all stressed on education, unemployment problem and development of communication<sup>94</sup> in the district. To solve employment problem he demanded on the development of state led industries. He pointed out that efforts also be made to start projects for overall development of the district so that financial benefit could be achieved. Development of agro-based industries should be the main motto of the government which would provide job opportunity for the people. Not only employment but government should take adequate measures to provide safe drinking water, to measure population density accurately and to provide basic facilities to enhance the economic status<sup>95</sup>, living condition of the people by providing electricity in the district. He mentioned that by the application of modern technology in agricultural sector agricultural prosperity could be achieved. West Bengal Area Comprehensive bill was passed by the government to give benefit to the people living under below poverty line (BPL) condition and at the same time targeted for increase in mode of production by removing all kinds of restrictions and governmental taxes<sup>96</sup> from agricultural products. But the people of the district did not receive the benefit from this bill and continued to remain as underdeveloped area in West Bengal.

As part of community developmental programme, agricultural improvement became a prime factor for the government. But Sattar pointed out that state should also focus on industry and to set up mainly agro-based industries and to rejuvenate the sick industries of the district to promote job opportunity to the people of the district. He thus mentioned that sufficient amount of agricultural equipment was to be given in agricultural sector to bring a revolutionary impact in this sector for example, pump set; tube wells, cement, chemical fertilizer; pesticides and other equipments which are to be produced in the local industries of the district to provide guaranteed work to the rural people. There is interdependency between agriculture and industry, hence he demanded to set agro based industries to satisfy the supplier and the consumer. Beside rice production he demanded for modern technological<sup>97</sup> means to be applied in production of jute, wheat, and sunflower seed which

would enhance the economic scope of the small and marginal farmers, landless peasants, casual tenant of the landlord, and peasants with very little amount of land. If government could reshape the farm industry, fishery then additional twelve lakhs peasant's family would get benefit from it. But governmental grant should be given to the non-agricultural class and marginalized farmers for their earnings because these people used to take loan from mahajan who later on exploited them through 'dadan pratha'<sup>98</sup> (that is paying the due amount of production to the mahajans), hence the poor people could earn nothing and hence lost everything to these mahajans. For the stock of the agricultural crops, proper governmental godowns should be provided to the peasants to preserve vegetables like potatoes, rice and other vegetables so that in due course they could sell them out in profitable price. Cold storage and godowns should be provided to the peasants without taking any money so that in time of scarcity those crops could be supplied in the market in subsidized rate. Corporate Banks should be set up by the government to give aid to the rural people and government would be the guarantor of the loan.

Hence for overall development of the district he proposed to set up District Comprehensive Area Development Council<sup>99</sup> comprising of members like District Magistrate, Project Director, District Agricultural Officer, and Representative of Yojana Commission of the district to ensure development in the district. In implementing several projects in the district, there would be a project director who would implement comprehensively the various schemes of project in the district. In aiming at fulfilling various projects he advocated to set up an advisory board<sup>100</sup> with the members selected from marginal farmer, workers, and sharecroppers, members from Agricultural Samabay Samiti and Block Development Officer in respective block. He requested government to start Minor Irrigation project to give a positive effect to the rural community. He proposed all governmental institution to work like the Rural Industries Corporation, Fertilizer Corporation, and Agro-Industries Corporation in an integrated way to achieve maximum output from the government sponsored Rural Developmental Projects.

Abdus Sattar truly believed in the secular ideology of our constitution and was against all kinds of communal forces, which tried to disintegrate our Indian society. Hence, he drew the attention of the government towards all communal activities<sup>101</sup> of the organizations and political parties like VHP and Bharatiya Janata Party which tried to distort the communal harmony of the district. He pointed out that when politics mixed with religious sentiment of the people then it created tension as the sensitive issue of Ram

Mandir and Babari Masjid which was dominated by the political parties like BJP and VHP who predicted an idea of Hindurashtra and tried to create a misconception in Indian politics. But he demanded that our state maintained a neutral attitude towards the Ayodhya problem and curbed all communal forces in iron hand. To curb all communal activities he demanded for strong police administration<sup>102</sup> to act with promptness to prevent communal tension and to ensure a secured life to all citizen of a secular country.

### **3.1. Other Notable Political Leaders of the District**

Apart from the above mentioned political leaders there were a number of other Muslim leaders in the district whose contribution lead to the development of secular culture among the people of the district as well as to the overall development of the district were noteworthy and require to be mentioned.

Idris Ali (1969-1971) showed a progressive and developmental attitude and demanded a concrete solution for food crises<sup>103</sup> in the state and especially in the district. Hence he demanded urgent reduction of levy tax on food crops and to fix up the market rate of cereals. He introduced government controlled modified ration shops with valid ration cards for each people in the district and to provide cereals at subsidized rate. For agricultural improvement, he demanded seed farms in different blocks in Murshidabad (Beldanga, Raninagar and Bhagawangola) and to provide the farmers with better quality of seeds, fertilizers, irrigation system and pesticides. He focused on the improvement of health of the people and implemented birth control measures in the district. He demanded for the development of health care centers, primary health care units with trained doctors and nurses to carry all kinds of surgery to ensure the health security of the rural people. He even demanded development of hospitals in every block equipped with modern machinery to ensure life security of the people. Irrespective of health, he stressed on development of cottage industry at governmental initiative example development of silk industry in the district. Development he too believes depends upon the education and cultural development of the people and hence demanded establishment of more primary schools, high schools and colleges in the district. He even stressed on development of madrassa education for the community and to provide trained government approved teachers in schools and madrassa to improve the cultural parameter of the district people. He demanded to pay the salary of these teachers from state funds. He pointed out that the district has suffered severely from flood and erosion of banks of Ganga every year which resulted in huge internal

displacement of people in the district and hence demanded permanent solution of the problem. The period from 1971 onwards the district and entire West Bengal suffered huge stress of food crises and burden of population due to influx of Pakistan refugee in West Bengal and overall India and especially in Murshidabad due to Indo-Pak controversy<sup>104</sup>. To solve the artificial food crises, starvation and death of the district he demanded to solve the refugee problem and to provide the refugees with adequate number of refugee camps, food, shelter and clothing and made an appeal to the government to make a permanent solution of refugee problem in the district.

Ekramul Hoque (1969-1977) stressed on the contemporary problem of the district. He remained the member of West Bengal Legislative Assembly from 1969 to 1977. Throughout this period he stressed much on food problem that the district has suffered from, unemployment problem and educational backwardness of the community. Mainly through his participation, he stressed much on the developmental prospects of the district and he himself possessed an anti-communal attitude and aimed at overall wellbeing of the rural people. Though the Industrial Development and Regulation Act<sup>105</sup> were passed in 1951 for development of sick industry through governmental control, he demanded to apply newer research techniques for overall development of jute industry through generation of surplus amount of jute. But jute industry suffered a setback due to various synthetics of low price that overthrew the jute made products from the market. He demanded for central aid to be given to the jute growers<sup>106</sup> of the district through state government and on the other hand to reject the circulation and use of synthetic made products in the market to save jute industry and if possible for exporting jute to foreign countries to earn money. Today, we have federal system of government with decentralization of power between centre and state, but in most cases there were a picture of dismal centre-state relation where state got no financial aid from centre and failed to prosper. He said that the Muslims have proportionality in representation in Assembly and Lokh Sabha, had electoral power but they did not enjoy true share of social and economic justice due to economic setback. The West Bengal Handloom Development Corporation<sup>107</sup> was set up to provide subsidy for the improvement of jute products. The nationalized banks came forward to help the handloom sector and to assist co-operative sectors, but due to lack of central assistance the industry could not flourish. Ekramul Hoque criticized governmental policy of land ceiling<sup>108</sup> (that is possessing of maximum land by an individual will be determined by government) or possession of land by the land owners since government failed to maintain any record of the

distributed land to the landless peasants. State failed to provide financial aid, modern technological equipments like fertilizers, seeds and pesticides to the peasant and hence agricultural sector could not flourish.

Md. Sohrab (1969-1982 and 1996-2000) focused on overall development of the district. He pointed out the socio-economic exploitation of the bidi workers<sup>109</sup> of Jangipur subdivision who produced seven crores of Bidi every day which is supplied in North Bengal, Assam and Delhi, Haryana, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and several parts of India. From this cottage industry, central government regularly received excise duty approximately of twenty crores. But government overlooked this condition of the unorganized workers who are exploited economically<sup>110</sup> and treated inhumanly by the factory manufacturer. He claimed that it was the duty of the central government to secure the minimum wage of the beedi workers from bidi companies, to provide them with identity card and log book to ensure their economic interests. He emphasized on the decaying economic condition of the district due to lac of agricultural scope and industry. He focused on educational development<sup>111</sup> in the district through development in educational infrastructure to boost educational growth in Murshidabad.

Shis Mohammed (1972-1995) opined that a liberal state should secure development for the country through various community welfare measures. He stressed on the need of development of fishery co-operative society, small cottage industry at governmental initiative, development in education, health to improve social condition of the people. He demanded aid for the growth of agriculture in the district that is to provide fertilizers, seeds, proper irrigation systems and pesticides. He demanded the village co-operatives to play an active role and worked as a financial institution to help the peasants in times of their need. Shis Mohammed demanded for distribution of pump set at low or free of cost to the farmers and for the construction of shallow and deep tube wells for overall development of the community<sup>112</sup>. He further demanded for river irrigation system to be introduced in the district for agricultural development. He also focused on rural electrification for agricultural growth. He stressed on the need of securing the provident fund for the bidi workers, overall development of transport system especially the development of state bus service, and for the creation of power plant in the district for generation of scope of employment<sup>113</sup>. Hence we find an overall developmental focus he made on the House to ensure betterment of the community. Similar approach are made by the other leaders of the district like Samsuddin

Ahmed (1967-69), Badruddin Ahmed (1971-1972), Aftabuddin Ahmed (1971-72), and Habibur Rahaman (1972-77. 1977-1982), in the Assembly House.

Abul Hasnat (1977-1995) believed in overall development of the district. He focused on development<sup>114</sup> of state-led schools, madrassa and governmental colleges, well equipped health units, sufficient medicines in health centres and well trained nurses and doctors, development of roads for better communication, rural electrification, industrial and agricultural development of the district. He demanded financial grant from both state and central government for the flood affected areas like Manikchak, Farakka, Sakopara, Akhiriganj, Jalangi, and Raninagar and to give special attention where the lands are being drastically eroded in flood. To solve soil erosion and flood<sup>115</sup> he focused on the need of construction of dam on river Banslai to prevent soil erosion of the lands going towards Bangladesh. For prevention of Bangladeshi migration to the district he stressed the need to provide more BSF army in the border areas and to increase the number of Mobile Task Force<sup>116</sup> in the border areas which are porous and vulnerable to migration. In Jangipur subdivision, he requested government to initiate projects for the construction of deep tube wells, thermal power plant, to complete the work of electrification in the district, and for the completion of the existing projects to supply adequate water. He felt the need of industrialization in the district and demanded governmental attention in this regard. He supported for the establishment of a congenial environment especially stressed on rural electrification for the development of industry to enhance economic growth in the district. In supervision of West Bengal Electronic Industry Development Corporation (WBEIDC), planning of development of industries is made but due to inadequacy of electricity industrialization<sup>117</sup> suffered a huge set-back.

Mozammel Hoque (1987-2000) focused on the urgent need for overall development of the district. He demanded grant for health and family welfare schemes, in agriculture, education, transport and fisheries. He demanded that in a democratic country all individual should be entrusted with secure life and economic enhancement and government should take that responsibility to ensure an overall development of the individual. In Murshidabad agriculture suffered a setback due to lack of land and irrigation facility. But to enhance economic development<sup>118</sup> of the rural people, he proposed that government should take initiatives in bringing development in agriculture and fishery. He pointed out that government should concentrate on developmental issue rather than initiating new projects. The governmental projects like Rural Land Irrigation (RLI) could not prove to be effective

in giving benefit to agriculture of the district. The dams constructed on river Padma, has been occupied by the political cadres. He pointed out that the people in the flood affected area took shelter upon the area of the dams, but if the dams were damaged, then its result would be more fatal. Through operation 'Sun Shine' West Bengal government freed the footpath of Kolkata, but flood control is a vital issue and thus he focused to underake measures for the protection of the dams to save the lands from erosion that resulted in agricultural damages. The dams<sup>119</sup> constructed in Bagawangola is mostly occupied by the political party leaders who constructed their office upon the dam. He pointed out that in Murshidabad district, soil erosion<sup>120</sup> was maximum especially in Akheriganj, Islampur and Paharpur area hence the district needs more governmental attention. To develop the economic market of rural Bengal, he demanded for governmental grant in the formation of co-operative society where the rural people could sell their handmade goods and local products. To develop the economy he stressed on the need for the development of tourist spot<sup>121</sup> in Murshidabad especially in Lalbagh - by renovating Hazar Duari Palace as historical place of Nawab Srirajdollah. The other influential leaders of the district like Dedar Baksh (1982-1987) and Nasiruddin Khan (1982-1987) who stressed for the overall development of the district.

#### **4. Attitude of the Leaders from 1990 Onwards**

The leaders from 1990 onwards pose developmental attitude as situation has changed from earlier. Issues like rehabilitation of the displaced people, food crises of the district, border dispute lost its relevance and the communal fervor of the political leaders has changed. The leaders are now working in proper democratic federal framework of the country. The leaders supposed to work within constitutional framework and aimed to assure socio-economic development of the district. This developmental attitude is considered as secular intension of the leaders. To obey Indian constitution requires orientation of the community leaders of the district towards secular principles of the country which are expected to get reflected in their developmental attitude. Indian version of secularism which in other word portrays a principle of 'sarva-dharma samabhava', or shows equal respect to all religious community shapes the mental attitude of the leaders in such a way that it shows a major shift in the attitude of the leaders of the district that is from minority concern to developmental issues.

Toub Ali (1987-1995, 2006-2016) in the West Bengal Assembly House pointed out the deteriorating condition of the district especially with the breaking of law and order in the border areas and the rampant increase in cross border smuggling of goods like jute, sugar, rice etc. Hence he stressed on the need of increasing the security measures to maintain law and order in the district. He demanded for the growth of industry in the district and to reopen the lockout industry and factories to generate employment scope<sup>122</sup> in the rural area and development in agricultural sector by applying modern technology and scientific method to increase output of production. He stressed the need to modernize district hospitals<sup>123</sup> and good educational infrastructure. To prevent internal displacement<sup>124</sup> of the people he demanded to implement concrete steps to prevent flood in the district. To bring self-sufficiency<sup>125</sup> in the district he wanted to establish industry and agricultural sector and state-led national industry to flourish. He was against open market economy which made the market more competitive for local people and hence demanded state-led industries which would only ensure development of the rural people by serving their interests.

Id Mohammed (1991-2016) focused on the development of the district, he argued that state should achieve the path of self-sufficiency, through development of industry and economic growth rate. He demanded to establish well constructed roads for enhancement of rural mercantile system and to bring self-sufficiency in the district. He stressed on the need for the development in agricultural sector, development of science and information technology<sup>126</sup> in the district for the students to study from their own area. He stressed on the need of rural electrification<sup>127</sup>, and to install powerful transmitter in Aurangabad and Dhulian to improve agricultural facility. He stressed on the need for development of educational institution in the district, establishment of institution of higher education like colleges and universities in the district, focused on the need for the development of health care units, to undertake appropriate flood control measures and to undertake land reform measures to achieve the parameters of development. He aimed at guiding the district towards the path of self-sufficiency by introducing self-owned small farms and development of cottage industry like handloom, silk, agro-based industry which would provide employment scope to the youths. When entire world is progressing, our country paves the path of liberalization, and then attempts should be made to ensure economic progress of the district too. In the name of globalization, 'Mac World' and in achieving 'Mac Culture' (one culture), national industries were regularly being locked out and being contracted to some renounced MNCs to take charge of it and to run it. In this process, India

government gave the economic control in the hands of the MNCs in the name of development. But he demanded for state-led nationalized industry to attain economic self-sufficiency<sup>128</sup>. He demanded more aid in industrial sector to build state-led industry and well regulated market. Id Mohammed's views were supported to full extent by Atahar Rahaman (member of Legislative Assembly from 1987-91, 1991-95) in the Assembly House.

Abu Hena (1991-2016) like his father Abdus Sattar focused on developmental issues of the district. He suggested for undertaking an effective flood control measures in the district and simultaneously to repair and maintain the apex dam to check flood in Lalgola and its adjacent areas. He pointed out the administrative corruption in the district and mal-functional Panchayati Raj Institution engaged in political corruption in the district. He criticized governmental flood protection schemes and for the misuse of central grant given to state for developmental purposes in Murshidabad. He pointed out the failure of the government to create employment<sup>129</sup> scope in the state, failure of the government to set up educational institution and degree colleges, failure of the government to establish new industries, failure of the government to solve food scarcity in the district, to set up hospitals, to provide agricultural scope, irrigation system, governmental failure in rural electrification and to undertake proper flood control measures in Murshidabad district. He proposed for development of Fisheries, Aquaculture, Aquatic Resources and Fishing Harbors, to take care of the fishermen community<sup>130</sup> in the state, and argued that state should take adequate measure for gradual increase in production of fish in a planned manner for upgrading the standard of living in Murshidabad district. Apart from this he focused on development of infrastructural facilities like construction of roads, bridges, culverts, rural electrification, market complex, establishment of Food Park processing centers, fishing harbors and fish landing centers in the district. He stressed the need to improve transport system, communication of the district, tourism and to organize various co-operatives in the district.

Under Rastriya Krishi Vikash Yojna he demanded allocation of funds for the improvement of the district agriculture and to introduce subsidy oriented schemes to attract the unemployed youths in the state to accept fisheries as one of the sustainable means of livelihood. He demanded state agricultural department to take up comprehensive<sup>131</sup> programme for reclamation of beels for development of fishery projects. He demanded to introduce schemes<sup>132</sup> for fisher folk in the state to give aid for the construction of house, their old age pension, personal accident insurance aiming at socio-economic condition of

the fishing community. Hence Abu Hena stressed much on training, extension and research and to develop research institute<sup>133</sup> for training and education in pisciculture. He also demanded for developing the tourism<sup>134</sup> industry in the district by setting up tourist lodge to increase the economy of the district and to develop the fishery sector which played a great role in combating the challenge of meeting the food demand with the population growth in entire West Bengal.

Unus Sarkar (1991-2011) was another politically active member of West Bengal Legislative Assembly and he stressed on the need of development<sup>135</sup> of education, implementation of modern means and techniques to bring agricultural improvement in the district. The leader also stressed the need for cultural and educational enhancement of the people, to undertake measures for proper industrialization to solve unemployment problem and to uplift the economic condition of the people in the district and to undertake effective flood control measures in the district. He focused for introducing technical college affiliated to All India Council of Technical Education in Behrampur. He felt that academic education would not help the youths to secure jobs for them and stressed on the need to introduce technical education, education in computer science in the district. According to him this would enable the youths to fetch suitable jobs in industries and private firms irrespective of governmental jobs. In case of industrialization, district needs more attention and more financial aid from government. For Murshidabad district, he demanded for the development<sup>136</sup> of oil mill, jute mill, silk rearing and weaving industry and agro-based industries like making pickle jams from mango-pulp, pineapple and lichis. To prevent erosion of banks of Ganga he stressed the need to take strenuous governmental flood control measures to prevent internal displacement<sup>137</sup> of people in Bagawangola, Arjunpur, Sakopara, Dhulian, Chandrapara, Fazilpur and Jalangi. He pointed out that the district lacked<sup>138</sup> in rural electrification, in agriculture, lacked in proper industry and employment scope. Further the district has porous border which is prone to smuggling of goods and human trafficking. He demanded government to take strong measures to curtail these activities in the border district. He also focused on the need for development of state sponsored governmental hospitals, to provide life saving drugs in health care units, to set up maternity care units, and modern equipment for surgical purpose and to establish district hospitals for betterment of the people. According to the leader, the Muslim community does not need any reservation<sup>139</sup> of seat in Assembly or in Lokh Sabha but reservation in educational sector, in employment, in higher education or education for specialized

governmental jobs like IAS and IPS. He demanded special privilege to be given to the people of the backward community of the district as in compare to other districts Murshidabad lagged behind. Development meant to achieve education, to achieve job, to attain socio-cultural status, to reduce poverty and increase in economic activity which are the main indicators of modernization and growth in a true secular country.

Anisur Rahaman (1991-2011) stressed for the need of agricultural improvement, industrial development, fishery, animal husbandry as the parameters of development. Anisur Rahaman aimed to bring economic progress in rural Bengal. Hence he focused on unemployment problem of the district and demanded for the growth of industry. He proposed to undertake measures<sup>140</sup> like use of modern fertilizers, seeds and pesticides, good irrigation techniques with the help of pump sets and proper electrification in the district to increase production in agriculture and to set up agro-based industry, production of dairy products, and growth of farm industry, cattle breeding, and fishery in the district to boost economic growth. He said that India government talk about democracy but it is impossible to achieve without proper employment scope among the youths. He demanded reservation for Muslims and OBC (other backward class) candidates in education and government jobs. He pointed out the backwardness of the Muslims in respect to special field of education like medical and engineering department, but the main problem is economically the Muslims are not sound to opt for these specialized courses and after getting chance in joint entrance, they are deprived from these streams. Even he pointed out that the party cadres and their well known persons are getting enlisted<sup>141</sup> as BPL (below poverty line) candidates and members who are genuinely needy remain deprived from receiving any governmental benefits. For educational modernization, he demanded to initiate computer courses, English and Maths in madrassas like other governmental educational schools and demanded to increase the educational budget for the district.

Anisur Rahaman demanded for the development of animal husbandry to initiate employment in the district. He stressed on the need of reopening of closed industries so that nearly twenty crores of unemployed youths could achieve benefits from industrial sector through employment. He demanded that government implemented various schemes but he wanted the scheme to be active like Rashtriya Krishi Vikash Yozona<sup>142</sup> to bring a holistic development in the agricultural sector. For augmentation of milk production in the district, the state should initiate extensive programme to increase production. He focused to invest money in cattle breeding which are the cheap source of high quality of proteins, minerals

and vitamins that are required to balance the human diet. As a member of House he stressed to ensure more developmental grant to the district through gram panchayat. The leader focused on fodder development though there is non-availability of fodder land and acute shortage in availability of quality of fodder seeds in the district. He demanded state attention in the district for fodder development. He also demanded for entrepreneurship development programme<sup>143</sup> to invest money in farm industry along with state. He further stressed for the development of dairy products and to supply ample quantity of milk at a reasonable price to urban and rural customers which would result in increase in state's income. Without any exaggeration the leader focused that state had establish West Bengal University of Animal and Fishery Sciences in 1995 which emphasised on education research and extensive activities to make the producing community conscious regarding the technique of development. But for the district he demanded more for development of the peasants. He suggested that government should go one step forward to reopen an training centre to develop an integrating farming – and to trained the farmer in similar fashion so that they could produce rice, fish, some space for animal husbandry so that the space could be utilized fully and maximum benefit could be gained from the same agricultural land for sufficient economic growth.

Moinul Hoque (1996-2016) stressed on the development<sup>144</sup> of higher educational institutions in the district, stressed the need of rural electrification for agricultural improvement, and well connected roads, pointed out the failure of the government in renovation of river banks which caused flood every year. He pointed out the massive failure of the government in preventing smuggling activities in the district<sup>145</sup> and negligence in completion of Kandi Master Plan to prevent flood in Jangipur, Samsanganj, Kandi, Suti I and II block in the coming years. He even pointed out the inhospitable condition of the bidi workers<sup>146</sup> in receiving their minimum wage and provident fund and hence demanded governmental intervention in improving their miserable condition.

Jane Alam (2001-2011) like other leaders of the district stressed on the development<sup>147</sup> of the district like rural electrification, agricultural development, development of roads, development in educational institutions and improvement of health centres, establishment of technical, medical, degree colleges and universities. He focused on the water logging problem in agricultural and pastoral land which seriously affected the peasants and marginalized farmers. Hence he pleaded to make bridges upon Banslai and Pagla River by the government and to undertake a project to connect these rivers with Feder

canal to check flood. According to him a welfare state should take adequate measures<sup>148</sup> to eradicate poverty, malnutrition, unemployment and educational hurdles in the district. He thus criticized federal form of government as West Bengal received less central grant for developmental purpose. Most of the people in rural area did not receive the benefit of 100 days work and no central grant had been allotted to the state for flood control measures. With the increase of population in the district he suggested to set up a rural co-operative samity, development in agro-based industry, development in tourism, improvement in health centres of the district and to set up an all inclusive strong security measures<sup>149</sup> for the people to prevent incidence like murder, extortion, rape and insecurity in the district. All he aimed to bring stability in this border district and to preserve law and order with strong security measures and police force. Similar developmental attitude are reflected among the leaders of Assemble like Abdul Hoque (1996-2006), Mujibur Rahaman (2001-2006) and Humayun Reza (1996-2006) in their speeches in Assembly House.

Abu Taher Khan (2001-2011) focused mainly on development of health centers, rural sanitation and hospitals in the district. He pointed out the dysfunctional health centers due to lack of doctors, medicines and trained nurses. He pointed out a striking example that hospitals runned by public initiative are running successively where treatment costs are much higher than governmental hospitals<sup>150</sup>. People had to go there to get medical benefit at higher costs so he demanded government sponsored health facilities in the district. He pointed out the dismal picture of decentralization of power where state received adequate or no financial assistance for devepment from center and hence demanded equal distribution of financial grants for West Bengal in compare to other states. Hence, it may be inferred that the leaders of the district actively participated in the Assembly debates and they all posses a developmental attitude not for the Muslim community but for the enhancement of entire district people. Insar Ali Biswas (2006-2016), Chand Mohammed (2006-2016), Md. Refatullah (2006-2011), Ferdousi Begum (2011-2016), and Emani Biswas (2011-2016) projected similar developmental attitude in the floor of the Assembly.

## **5. Conclusion**

To conclude, it may be inferred that every community needs proper guidance especially the minorities. After partition of our subcontinent the Indian Muslims everywhere became leaderless and ‘minority complex’ was developed in their minds. Most of the Muslims in West Bengal and in India who did not migrate to Pakistan were treated as disloyal by the

majority community, and are blamed for the creation of the new state. In this state of social turmoil when there was total chaos and insecurity in the border districts of West Bengal and in entire India then the Muslim political leaders came forward to save the community and to ensure confidence in their minds so that they could overcome from the trauma of partition disastrous and could identify them as Indian nationals. The Muslim intellectuals like Abdul Odut, Humayan Kabir, Rejaul Karim, nawab Wasif Ali Mirza (nawab bahadur of Murshidabad district) played a vital role in restoring Hindu Muslim unity and solidarity in the society in spite of communal activities of the Muslim League activists and tried their best to eliminate fear and anxiety from the minds of the community. The most influential political leaders of the district were Syed Baddrudoza, Md. Khuda Baksh, Kazem Ali Mirza, Lutfal Hoque, Abdus Sattar, and Jainal Abedin who tried their best to restore communal unity in the district in the formative years just after partition. The political leaders of the district took part in active politics in West Bengal Legislative Assembly and demanded proper measures to ensure justice to the community. They raised their voice to bring social equity within the community and to ensure confidence within the minds of the Muslim youths. In the midst of social and political turmoil like poverty, economic degradation, cross border migration, huge influx of East Pakistan refugees, lack of security of life and property, murder of innocent people, loot and communal violence the leaders tried to remove the sufferings of the people of their community in the district. The leaders wanted development in the district, raised their voice against all administrative malpractices and demand settlement of refugee problem in the state. The leaders sometimes criticized the nature of Indian democracy and secularism which they claimed to be a pseudo-democracy as because state failed in its attempt to ensure justice for all its citizens. The leaders demanded educational and cultural development for the minority people in the district. They pointed out that the Muslims in the border area are evicted and tortured by the Border Security Force of the central government. They wanted to prevent dishonor of the community, communal violence, murder, atrocities and demanded justice for the people in the floor of the Assembly House. Kazem Ali Mirza, Abdul Hamid, Abdul Latif and Md. Israel, who once worked as an active Muslim League leaders in pre-partition time later joined Congress ministry as political representatives from the district and demanded development for the people. The other influential leaders from the district like Lutfal Hoque, Abdus Sattar, and Idris Ali. Md. Sohrab. Abul Hasnat, Mozammel Hoque, Ebrahimul Hoque, Shis Mohammed, Toub Ali, Id Mohammed, Abu Hena, Unus Sarkar, Anisur Rahaman, Moinul Hoque, Jane Alam, Abu Taher Khan, Chand Mohammed, Ferdousi

Begum, Emami Biswas possessed an developmental attitude not only for the Muslim community but for all. It may be inferred that with a change of the socio-political condition, there came an attitudinal change among the leaders. Lutfal Hoque even tried to bring unity within the community, tried to ensure education to all and he tried his best to regenerate the condition of the unorganized workers in the district. Abdus Sattar brought an agricultural revolution in the district, and at the same time appealed for community developmental programme and criticized all kinds of communal forces in the society at large. He gave special attention towards securing the educational and cultural rights of the Muslim women.

The leaders from the district are very much vocal and politically active and tried their best to achieve the wellbeing of the community. They do not seek their own interest but they work in the interest of the community. It showed that with the changing of time there were changes in the attitude of the political leaders of the district. During 1950s and 1960s the leaders focused on the issues like the security of the community, rehabilitation of the migrated people, prevention of cross border migration. From 1970 onwards the attitude of the leaders shifted to developmental issues like agricultural development and irrigational improvement, development of educational infrastructure, development of communication, prevention of flood in the district, development in health care units of the district and increase in economic growth by implementing modern technology. These happened to be the basic demands of the leaders for ensuring an overall development of the district and state.

## Notes and References

1. Moududi SayyidAbulAl'a, (1984), Reprint, (2000), The Quran, Divine Revelation or Forgery, Delhi, Ishaat-E-Islam Trust Pub. pp. 29-30
2. Cragg Kenneth, (1988), The Pen and the Faith, Delhi, George Allen and Unwin Pub. Ltd. pp.98-102
3. Lawrence Davidson, (2003), Islamic Fundamentalism- An Introduction, USA, Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication Data, pp.6, 20
4. Marshall David, (1999), God, Muhammad and the Unbelievers; A Quranic Study, Great Britain, British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data, pp.17-25
5. Cragg Kenneth, (1988), The Pen and the Faith, Delhi, George Allen and Unwin Pub. Ltd. pp.125-130
6. Azad MaulanaAbul Kalam, (1978), India Wins Freedom, New Delhi, Orient Longman Publication pp.207-209
7. Khan Syed Ahmad, The Man and his Works, (2001), New Delhi, Om Publication, pp.12-14
8. Ahuwalia B.K, (1985), Muslims and the India's Freedom Movement, New Delhi, Heritage Publication, pp.86-89
9. Singh Jaswant, (2009), Jinnah: India's Partition Independence, New Delhi, Rupa and Company Publishing Corporation, pp.98-102
10. Ahmed Khazem, (2012), PaschimbanglerBangaliMusalman; AnantahinSamashya, Kolkata, UdarAkash Pub, p.105
11. Gupta Bishan Kumar, (2013), MurshidabadPhereDekha, Beharampore (West Bengal), Printco Publication p.23
12. Karim Rejaul, (2012), Prabandha Sangraha, Kolkata, Bangla Academy Publication p.42-48
13. SenJahor, (2003), Purnamanab Rejaul Karim, West Bengal, PrabhaPrakasani, pp.78-82
14. KarimRejaul, (2014), BankimChadra O MusalmanSamaj, Kolkata, Radical Publication pp.25-32
15. ChatterjeeJoya, (2008), Reprint, (2011), The Spoils of Partition; Bengal and India,1947-1967, New Delhi, Cambridge University Press, p.199
16. GB IB File No. 1518-50/SS, (1950), Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, 1950, 'Draft Grounds of Arrest- Shri Syed Baddrudoza, M.A, B.L, Ex-MLA' pp.10,15-16
17. GB IB File No. 1518-50/870-53 (1), (1953), Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, 1953, 'Speeches Delivered by Syed Baddrudoza in All India Muslim Convention, Aligarh'.
18. GB IB File No.1994-51, Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, (1952), 'Re-West Bengal Muslim Convention'.
19. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1958), Vol.19, No.1, 19<sup>th</sup> Session, (17<sup>th</sup> Feb-28<sup>th</sup> March), p.60
20. ibid pp.196-200

21. GB IB File No.1518-50(1), Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, (1950), 'Report of District Intelligence Officer, Murshidabad'. p.9
22. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1948), Vol.3, No.1, 3<sup>rd</sup> Session, (6<sup>th</sup> September-18<sup>th</sup> September), pp134-135
23. ibid pp.230-232
24. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1948), Vol.2, No.1, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, (10<sup>th</sup> Feb-5<sup>th</sup> March), pp.34-135
25. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1948), Vol.1, No.2, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, (21<sup>st</sup> November-15<sup>th</sup> January), p323
26. GB IB File No.1518-50/SS, (1950), Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, 1950, 'H.S.Folder of Syed Baddrudoza, Speeches Delivered in All India Muslim Convention, Aligarh, Nai Duniya'.
27. ibid
28. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1951), Vol.3, No.2, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, (1<sup>st</sup> March-28<sup>th</sup> March), pp.17-24
29. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1951), Vol.3, No.2, 3<sup>rd</sup> Session, (1<sup>st</sup> March-28<sup>th</sup> March), p.347
30. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1957), Vol.17, No.1, 17<sup>th</sup> Session, (28<sup>th</sup> July-19<sup>th</sup> August), p.52
31. ibid pp.322-323
32. GB IB File No.1518-50/SS, (1961), Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, 1961, 'H.S.Folder of Syed Baddrudoza, Muslim Affair, 24<sup>th</sup> January, p.18
33. GB IB File No.1464-50, (1953), Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, 'Muslim Affair', 29<sup>th</sup> November, p.322
34. GB IB File No.KW1518-50, (1950), Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal (Calcutta), 'Report of Deputy Commissioner of Police Special Branch'.
35. GB IB File No.1518-50/SS, (1950), Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, 'H.S.Folder Syed Baddrudoza', and Para 3036-Murshidabad
36. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1951), Vol.3, No.3, 3<sup>rd</sup> Session, (8<sup>th</sup> February-19<sup>th</sup> April), pp.422-23
37. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1948), Vol.2, No.1, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, (10<sup>th</sup> Feb-5<sup>th</sup> March), p.462
38. GB IB File No.1052/46 (1946), Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, 22<sup>nd</sup> March, 'Re-Md Khuda Baksh'.
39. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1950), Vol.1, No.2, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, (1<sup>st</sup> - 2<sup>st</sup> March), p.30

40. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1950), Vol.1, No.1, 1st Session, (3<sup>rd</sup> Feb-28<sup>th</sup>February), pp.8-9
41. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1951), Vol.3, No.3, 3<sup>rd</sup> Session, (1<sup>st</sup> March-28<sup>th</sup> March), pp.137-139
42. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1950), Vol.2, No.2, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, (8<sup>th</sup> June-30<sup>th</sup> June), pp.12, 29-33
43. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1948), Vol.2, No.2, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, (8<sup>th</sup> September-30<sup>th</sup> September), pp.224-226
44. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1951), Vol.3, No.2, 3<sup>rd</sup> Session, (1<sup>st</sup>-28<sup>th</sup> March), pp.196-198
45. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1952), Vol.5, No.1, 5<sup>th</sup> Session, (12<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> March), pp.1-2
46. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1951), Vol.4, No.2, 4<sup>th</sup> Session, (23<sup>rd</sup> October-22<sup>nd</sup> November), pp.156, 255
47. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1969), Vol.48, No.1, 48<sup>th</sup> Session, (6<sup>th</sup>-25<sup>th</sup> March), pp.16-18
48. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1951), Vol.2, No.1, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, (8<sup>th</sup> Feb-30<sup>th</sup> March), pp.39, 108
49. GB IB File No.971/46 (1946), Superintendent of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, 'Re-Kazem Ali Mirza, An Muslim League Activist in pre and post partition era'.
50. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1951), Vol.3, No.2, 3<sup>rd</sup> Session, (1<sup>st</sup>-28<sup>th</sup> March), p.52
51. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1956), Vol.14, No.3, 14<sup>th</sup> Session, (10<sup>th</sup>-27<sup>th</sup> March), p.189
52. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1957), Vol.18, No.2, 18<sup>th</sup> Session, (6<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> December), pp.19-21
53. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1953), Vol.7, No.2, 7<sup>th</sup> Session, (2<sup>nd</sup>-25<sup>th</sup> March), pp.117-120
54. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1960), Vol.25, No.2, 25<sup>th</sup> Session, (17<sup>th</sup>-25<sup>th</sup> March), pp.96-102 and West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1960), Vol.25, No.3, 25<sup>th</sup> Session, (26<sup>th</sup> March-12<sup>th</sup> April), pp.27-28
55. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1956), Vol.15, No.2, 15<sup>th</sup> Session, (17<sup>th</sup>-31<sup>st</sup> July), pp.27-35
56. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1961), Vol.13, No.2, 13<sup>th</sup> Session, (15<sup>th</sup>-26<sup>th</sup> September), pp.64-72
57. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1957), Vol.17, No.3, 17<sup>th</sup> Session, (2<sup>nd</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> July), pp.899-891

58. GB IB File No.805/46, (1946), Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, March, 'Re-Abdul Hamid (Beldanga) of Murshidabad, a Muslim League Activist and an anti-nationalist leader (MLA), pp.14-15
59. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1967), Vol.44, No.2, 36<sup>th</sup> Session,(8<sup>th</sup> August-30<sup>th</sup> August), pp.84-89
60. GB IB File No.381/48, (1948), Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, 'Re-Abdul Latif, Muslim League Leader of Beldanga, Murshidabad District', pp.13-14
61. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1963), Vol.36, No.1, 36<sup>th</sup> Session, (15<sup>th</sup> July-2<sup>nd</sup> August), pp.20, 215
62. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1962), Vol.33, No.2, 33<sup>rd</sup> Session, (6<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup> November), pp.395, 978,375,237
63. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.38, (1964), No.2, 38<sup>th</sup> Session, (22<sup>nd</sup> February-11<sup>th</sup> March), pp.1542, 1452
64. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1953), Vol.7, No.2, 7<sup>th</sup> Session, (2<sup>nd</sup>-25<sup>th</sup> March), pp.52-53
65. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1952), Vol.6, No.2, 6<sup>th</sup> Session, (22<sup>nd</sup> June-18<sup>th</sup> July), pp.104-106
66. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1966), Vol.42, No.1, 42<sup>nd</sup> Session, (16<sup>th</sup> Feb-25<sup>th</sup> March), pp. 361-362
67. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1965), Vol.41, No.2, 41<sup>st</sup> Session, (22<sup>nd</sup> November-2<sup>nd</sup> January), pp.548, 587,550,594
68. Ahmed Khazem, (2012), Paschimbangler Bangali Musalman; Anantahin Samashya, Kolkata, Udar Akash Pub. Pp.112-114
69. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1952), Vol.6, No.3, 6<sup>th</sup> Session, (9<sup>th</sup> June-26<sup>th</sup> July), pp.743-44
70. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1953), Vol.7, No.2, 7<sup>th</sup> Session, (2<sup>nd</sup>-25<sup>th</sup> March), pp.19-21
71. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1953), Vol.6, No.4, 6<sup>th</sup> Session, (31<sup>st</sup> March-11<sup>th</sup> April), pp.67-70
72. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1953), Vol.7, No.2, 7<sup>th</sup> Session, (2<sup>nd</sup> March-25<sup>th</sup>March), pp.1039-1041
73. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1954), Vol.9, No.1, 9<sup>th</sup> Session, (15<sup>th</sup> April-6<sup>th</sup> April), p.730
74. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1955), Vol.12, No.2, 12<sup>th</sup> Session, (30<sup>th</sup> August-12<sup>th</sup> September), pp.396-402
75. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1955), Vol.13, No.4, 13<sup>th</sup> Session, (5<sup>th</sup> December-15<sup>th</sup> December), pp.96-97

76. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1963), Vol.36, No.3, 36<sup>th</sup> Session, (27<sup>th</sup> August-6<sup>th</sup> September), pp.174-75
77. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1965), Vol.40, No.1, 40<sup>th</sup> Session, (9<sup>th</sup>-25<sup>th</sup> February), pp.892-94
78. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1977), Vol.67, No.4, 67<sup>th</sup> Session, (28<sup>th</sup> February-5<sup>th</sup> May), pp.287
79. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1980), Vol.73, No.2, 73<sup>rd</sup> Session, (18<sup>th</sup> August-9<sup>th</sup> September), pp.29-32
80. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1981), Vol.74, No.1, 74<sup>th</sup> Session, (16<sup>th</sup> -27<sup>th</sup> February), pp.660-661
81. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1982), Vol.78, No.2, 78<sup>th</sup> Session, (21<sup>st</sup> September-8<sup>th</sup> October), pp.89-92
82. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1983), Vol.79, No.3, 79<sup>th</sup> Session, (11<sup>th</sup> April-23<sup>rd</sup> April), pp.105-106
83. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1953), Vol.8, No.8, 8<sup>th</sup> Session, (9<sup>th</sup> November-27<sup>th</sup> November), pp.569-72
84. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1952), Vol.6, No.3, 6<sup>th</sup> Session, (31<sup>st</sup> March-11<sup>th</sup> April), pp.853-55
85. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1967), Vol.45, No.2, 45<sup>th</sup> Session, (11<sup>th</sup> July-26<sup>th</sup> July), pp.211-15
86. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1968), Vol.47, No.1, 47<sup>th</sup> Session, (22<sup>nd</sup> March-14<sup>th</sup> April), pp.212-214
87. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1967), Vol.46, No.4, 46<sup>th</sup> Session, (8<sup>th</sup> March-7<sup>th</sup> April), pp.212
88. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1969), Vol.49, No.3, 49<sup>th</sup> Session, (12<sup>th</sup> August-15<sup>th</sup> September), pp.698-699
89. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1969), Vol.48, No.2, 48<sup>th</sup> Session, (6<sup>th</sup> -25<sup>th</sup> March), p.695
90. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1972), Vol.53, No.3, 53<sup>rd</sup> Session, (26<sup>th</sup> June-11<sup>th</sup> August), pp.521-522
91. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1972), Vol.52, No.2, 52<sup>nd</sup> Session, (30<sup>th</sup> March-5<sup>th</sup> May), pp.25-27
92. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1972), Vol.53, No.2, 53<sup>rd</sup> Session, (5<sup>th</sup>-28<sup>th</sup> July), pp.575-79
93. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1977), Vol.66, No.5, 66<sup>th</sup> Session, (28<sup>th</sup> September-5<sup>th</sup> October), pp.278-80
94. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1973), Vol.54, No.2, 54<sup>th</sup> Session, (7<sup>th</sup> February-29<sup>th</sup> March), pp.173, 468

95. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1973), Vol.55, No.1, 55th Session, (27<sup>th</sup> August-4<sup>th</sup> September), pp.470-71, 33-36, 40-43
96. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1980), Vol.73, No.2, 73<sup>rd</sup> Session, (18<sup>th</sup> August-9<sup>th</sup> September), pp.1015-1017
97. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1983), Vol.80, No.1, 80<sup>th</sup> Session, (21<sup>st</sup> February-15<sup>th</sup> March), pp.220-249
98. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1984), Vol.81, No.1, 81<sup>st</sup> Session, (24<sup>th</sup> February-3<sup>rd</sup> March), pp.592-94
99. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1984), Vol.81, No.2, 81<sup>st</sup> Session, (4<sup>th</sup> March-31<sup>st</sup> March), pp.582-84
100. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1985), Vol.83, No.1, 83<sup>rd</sup> Session, (11<sup>th</sup> March-31<sup>st</sup> March), pp.82-84
101. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1990), Vol.95, No.1, 95<sup>th</sup> Session, (13<sup>th</sup> March-17<sup>th</sup> April), pp.390-92
102. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1989), Vol.92, No.1, 92<sup>nd</sup> Session, (27<sup>th</sup> February-27<sup>th</sup> March), pp.16-18
103. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1969), Vol.49 No.3, 49<sup>th</sup> Session, (12<sup>th</sup> August – 15<sup>th</sup> September), pp.698-99
104. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1970), Vol.50 No.2, 50<sup>th</sup> Session, (20<sup>th</sup> February – 10<sup>th</sup> March), pp.658-660
105. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1969), Vol.48 No.2, 48<sup>th</sup> Session, (6<sup>th</sup> -25<sup>th</sup> March), pp.695, 488
106. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1972), Vol.53 No.3, 53<sup>rd</sup> Session, (26<sup>th</sup> June-24<sup>th</sup> July), pp.521-23
107. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1976), Vol.61 No.4, 61<sup>st</sup> Session, (5<sup>th</sup> February-23<sup>rd</sup> April), pp.660-63
108. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1977), Vol.66 No.5, 66<sup>th</sup> Session, (28<sup>th</sup> September-5<sup>th</sup> October), pp.2010-12
109. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1976), Vol.63, No.3, 63<sup>rd</sup> Session, (26<sup>th</sup> November-1<sup>st</sup> December), pp.278-81
110. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1978), Vol.67, No.4, 67<sup>th</sup> Session, (28<sup>th</sup> March-20<sup>th</sup> April), pp.658-59
111. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1982), Vol.79, No.1, 79<sup>th</sup> Session, (21<sup>st</sup> February-15<sup>th</sup> March), pp.220-24
112. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1977), Vol.64, No.2, 64<sup>th</sup> Session, (23<sup>rd</sup> March- 11<sup>th</sup> April), pp.69-72
113. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1993), Vol.102, No.2, 102<sup>nd</sup> Session, (1<sup>th</sup> June-17<sup>th</sup> July), pp.312-13,362-63

114. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1995), Vol.106, No.3, 106<sup>th</sup> Session, (10<sup>th</sup> April-11<sup>th</sup> May), pp.118-119
115. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1989), Vol.92, No.3, 92<sup>nd</sup> Session, (12<sup>th</sup> -27<sup>th</sup> April), pp.629-633
116. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1990), Vol.95, No.1, 95<sup>th</sup> Session, (13<sup>th</sup> March-17<sup>th</sup> April), pp.272-76
117. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1992), Vol.99, No.2, 99<sup>th</sup> Session, (25<sup>th</sup> March-2<sup>nd</sup> April), pp.390-92
118. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1987), Vol.88, No.2, 88<sup>th</sup> Session, (26<sup>th</sup> May-10<sup>th</sup> June), pp.916-923
119. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1990), Vol.95, No.1, 95<sup>th</sup> Session, (13<sup>th</sup> March-17<sup>th</sup> April), pp.652-653
120. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1995), Vol.106, No.5, 106<sup>th</sup> Session, (27<sup>th</sup> July-11<sup>th</sup> August), pp.38-39,482
121. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1996), Vol.107, No.1, 107<sup>th</sup> Session, (8<sup>th</sup> February-2<sup>nd</sup> March), pp.56, 384
122. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1987), Vol.88, No.3, 88<sup>th</sup> Session, (16<sup>th</sup> July-24<sup>th</sup> August), pp.24-26
123. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1992), Vol.99, No.2, 99<sup>th</sup> Session, (25<sup>th</sup> March-2<sup>nd</sup> April), pp.486-88
124. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (2009), Vol.134, No.1, 134<sup>th</sup> Session, (9<sup>th</sup> -19<sup>th</sup> March), pp.313-316
125. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (2011), Vol.139, No.3, 139<sup>th</sup> Session, (12<sup>th</sup> - 23<sup>rd</sup> December), pp.614-617
126. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1992), Vol.99, No.3, 99<sup>th</sup> Session, (3<sup>rd</sup> - 27<sup>th</sup> May), pp.89-90
127. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (2011), Vol.137, No.1, 137<sup>th</sup> Session, (30<sup>th</sup> May-28<sup>th</sup> June), pp.181-182,459-60,436
128. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (2011), Vol.138, No.1, 138<sup>th</sup> Session, (10<sup>th</sup> – 23<sup>rd</sup> August), pp.528-29,345
129. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (2011), Vol.138, No.1, 138<sup>th</sup> Session, (10<sup>th</sup> – 23<sup>rd</sup> August), pp.528-29,345
130. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Budget Speech, (2011-2012), Demand No. 20, August, Government of West Bengal, pp.1-4
131. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (2005), Vol.127, No.1, 127<sup>th</sup> Session, (10<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> March), pp.363-65
132. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (2011), Vol.137, No.1, 137<sup>th</sup> Session, (30<sup>th</sup> May-28<sup>th</sup> June), pp.227, 439

133. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (2011), Vol.139, No.2, 139<sup>th</sup> Session, (12<sup>th</sup> – 23<sup>rd</sup> December), pp.430-32
134. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (2011), Vol.138, No.1, 138<sup>th</sup> Session, (10<sup>th</sup> – 23<sup>rd</sup> August), pp.161-163
135. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1992), Vol.99, No.2, 99<sup>th</sup> Session, (25<sup>th</sup> March-2<sup>nd</sup> April), pp.89-90
136. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (2001), Vol.118, No.1, 118<sup>th</sup> Session, (14<sup>th</sup> - 27<sup>th</sup> June), pp.171-74,121
137. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (2011), Vol.139, No.2, 139<sup>th</sup> Session, (12<sup>th</sup> – 23<sup>rd</sup> December), pp.564-66
138. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (1997), Vol.109, No.4 109<sup>th</sup> Session, (6<sup>th</sup> -19<sup>th</sup> June), pp.671-74
139. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (2011), Vol.137, No.1, 137<sup>th</sup> Session, (30<sup>th</sup> May-28<sup>th</sup> June), pp.242-243
140. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (2001), Vol.118, No.1, 118<sup>th</sup> Session, (14<sup>th</sup> - 27<sup>th</sup> June), p.531
141. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (2003), Vol.122, No.1, 122<sup>nd</sup> Session, (5<sup>th</sup> – 21<sup>th</sup> March), pp.94-97
142. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (2008-2009), Budget Speech of AnisurRahaman, Demand No.06, August, Government of West Bengal, pp.1-6
143. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (2000-2001), Budget Speech of AnisurRahaman, Demand No.49 and 50, August, Government of West Bengal, pp.4-5
144. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (2009), Vol.134, No.1, 134<sup>th</sup> Session, (9<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> March), pp.316-320
145. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (2011), Vol.137, No.1, 137<sup>th</sup> Session, (30<sup>th</sup> May-28<sup>th</sup> June), pp.232-39
146. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (2011), Vol.138, No.1, 138<sup>th</sup> Session, (10<sup>th</sup> – 23<sup>rd</sup> August), pp.96-97
147. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (2001), Vol.118, No.1, 118<sup>th</sup> Session, (14<sup>th</sup> - 27<sup>th</sup> June), pp.22, 37
148. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (2009), Vol.134, No.1, 134<sup>th</sup> Session, (9<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> March), pp.223-26
149. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (2011), Vol.138, No.1, 138<sup>th</sup> Session, (10<sup>th</sup> – 23<sup>rd</sup> August), pp.306-307
150. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, (2011), Vol.137, No.1, 137<sup>th</sup> Session, (30<sup>th</sup> May-28<sup>th</sup> June), p.438

## **CHAPTER – VI**

# **POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF THE MUSLIMS IN MURSHIDABAD DISTRICT; A FIELD STUDY**

### **1. Introduction**

### **2. Studying the Block Profile of the District**

#### **2.1. Demography of Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat**

#### **2.2. Demography of Umrapur Gram Panchayat**

### **3. Political Participation of Bengali Muslims (1978-2008) – An Analysis of Panchayat Raj Election Result of Suti II Block**

#### **3.1. Reasons Behind Political Participation of the Bengali Muslims in the District**

### **4. Nature of Political Participation of the Respondent in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat – A Brief Empirical Analysis**

#### **4.1. Nature of Political Participation of the Respondent In Umrapur Gram Panchayat – A Brief Empirical Analysis**

#### **4.2. Variations in Political Participation in Aurangabad 2 and Umrapur Gram Panchayat – A Brief Summarization**

#### **4.3. Comparative Study of Nature of Participation in Aurangabad 2 and Umrapur Gram Panchayat**

### **5. An Empirical Study of Participation of the People's Representative of the District**

### **6. Conclusion**

### **Notes and References**

## **1. Introduction**

Indian democracy despite its various pitfalls has over the year's unleashed forces of democratization among various social groups including marginalized ones. Political participation is an activity that shapes, affects or involves the political spheres. Participation is an activity where people strongly committed to politics are more likely to participate on a regular basis. Political participation includes voting, volunteering for a political campaign, making a campaign donation, belonging to activist groups and serving in public office. Most democratic citizens feel that some level of political participation that delivering vote is admirable and acceptable. Here in this chapter, the researcher will try to analyze the reasons why the Muslims electorates participate in politics. It may infer that some participate because they believe strongly in a particular idea, for many participation is a responsibility of democratic citizenship, or a person might work to promote issues and causes that personally profit that person or it may infer that some electors simply enjoy public activity, either because of the activity itself or because of the friends they make while politically engaged. Another way to think about this issue is to consider the person who votes because he or she desires to have an impact on the government. At the same time, many electors do not participate in politics because they believe that one vote does not make a difference. At the same time, however, if everyone who votes ceased to believe in the power of voting to effect change, then no one would turn out for elections and the democratic process would stop functioning. Lack of participation indicates satisfaction with the status quo – if they were upset about an issue people would participate. In a democratic society, people have the freedom to not participate. Many people were apathetic, do not know much about politics and do not care to vote. People do not participate because of alienation that is they feel that no one in power listens to their views and that the government is at best, indifferent to them.

In any modern political system<sup>1</sup>, elections occupy the most central place. The nature, periodicity and rate of participation of Muslim electors in elections are viewed as an important factor demonstrating the representative character of democracy in India. Democratic nations throughout the world in general have adopted universal adult suffrage, wherein every adult, without any additional qualification or conditions has the right to vote in general elections held periodically. Democracy cannot operate by proxy. Every conscious citizen aware of the value and utility of the vote took part in elections and choose their representative for the development of the country. Through political participation the disadvantaged groups could draw the attention of the government to secure the rights of the

community at large. Stability of a democratic society depends on the nature of civic culture which is identified as political culture. This includes orientation towards political system in both the political and governmental senses, pride in aspects of one's nation, expectation of fair treatment from governmental activities, ability to talk freely and frequently about politics. It is an emotional involvement in elections, tolerance towards opposition parties, valuing of active participation in local governmental activities, parties and civic associations. It is defined as self confidence in one's competence to participate in politics, civic co-operation trust and membership in the political associations. The participatory theory of democracy<sup>2</sup> believes in active participation of people in decision-making process which is an ideal form where the citizens ruled themselves. But in a modern state whose size and population are large, whose problems are complex, the best governing technique is the representative democracy. This representative democracy has to function in the interest of all the groups in the society. The practice of electoral democracy places a hard dilemma before minority groups. If the members of the minority want to participate as fully equal members of the polity, they must integrate themselves into the larger groups and play the games of politics according to the majority's rule, but they do so at the risk of seeing their minority identity and culture disappear. If on the other hand they insist on retaining their solidarity and group identity, they must act as a cohesive unit, a tactic which will undermine their separateness from the larger society but at the risk of continued isolation and political impotence<sup>3</sup> for the group. Democracy<sup>4</sup> ensures the rights of all religious minorities and Indian state uses both coercion and persuasion to generate consent for development and try to collaborate with the affected groups in a fair way through various state-sponsored development schemes.

Although the rate of electoral participation varies in each state, the researcher has concentrated the study in the district of Murshidabad – the district with majority of Muslim population. In this chapter, an attempt has been made to analyze the reasons and nature of political participations of the Muslims of the district and to what extent they are integrated with Indian politics. Measuring the degree of participation of the Muslim community in electoral process is a difficult task. But here the election results of Panchayati Raj from 1978 till 2008 were analyzed of the Suti II block of Murshidabad district to find out the reasons for participation of the Bengali Muslims of the district. Empirical data were gathered from two Gran Panchayat – Aurangabad II and Umrapur of Suti II block to

analyze the nature and variations in political participation among the respondents of the district.

## **2. Studying the Block Profile of the District**

In this section the researcher introduces the historical importance of Suti 2 block, its demography and the respective gram panchayat selected by the researcher. Here the researcher also introduces the respondent's characteristics, the reasons to choose the two specific gram panchayat for the purpose of survey in order to gather data for empirical analyses for the research.

Suti II block is memorable for the historical battle of Gheria<sup>5</sup> fought in 1740 in which Ali Vardy defeated Serferaz Khan at the head of 30,000 cavalry and infantry and with a numerous train of artillery. It was also famous for battle in 1763, which lasted for 4 hours and in which Mir Kasim was defeated by the British soldiers. Near Suti an excavation has been made during Sriraj's time which joins the Ganges and Bhagirathi. In 1839 it was proposed to government to form a new 'zillah' of which Suti was to be the capital comprise of six thanas from Murshidabad and eight from Bhagalpur. In Du-Perrine's time Suti was famous for the tomb of a Fakar Morte Zeddin. The important places of Suti II block were -

- a) Jagtai Goswami Thakurbari Mandir - It was established by Jibendra Krishna Goswami, it was nearly two hundred years old mandir (temple). It was established in Jagtai before the advent of British in India.
- b) Bajitpur Devmandir - Here the old idol and mandir was called 'Sarbeshwar' mandir and some pictures were portrait in the mandir wall of war of 1763 fought between Mirkasim and the British troops. It was 250 years old mandir premise and seven persons were stoned in the mandir wall (mahanta or the saints) during those period.
- c) Ancient Well - In Aurangabad nearly 250 years old well with underground staircases were found in this block. Many historical events were carved out in Arabic languages which are demarcated in the walls of the well.
- d) Bagshipara Rajbari - The one fifty year's old zamindar house of Bagshirapara stands today bearing the old memories of the rajas of those times. Today the house is in dilapidated condition.

e) Mahesail Lake - It was another historical place in the south-east direction of the block. Here the war of Giritwar was fought.

The district bears an excellent example of communal harmony. Apart from the celebration of Id festival, Hindu and Jain festival (Purjasa) is also celebrated here. This block is famous for the puja of 'Sarbeswar Dev' and the occasion continues for one week along with mela (fair) where people of all community participate and enjoy the festival. In Aurangabad 'Ananta Brahma' puja continues for 7 days with the participation of the people of all community. The region is famous for 'Pir' festival in Chabghati and Kutal festival in Daharpar. People in this region together enjoy the Kalipuja, Basantipuja, Doljatra (holy festival) which shows excellent resemblances of communal harmony.

Suti II block lies between 24.6231357 latitude and 88.0086695 longitudes. In the north it is bounded by Samsanganj block, in the south by Suti I block, in the east by the border of river Ganga and in the west by Jharkhand. The block is the sub-divisional town of parliamentary constituency of Jangipur in the district of Murshidabad. The block covers<sup>6</sup> a total area of 1127.95 square kilometer. The block comprises of ten gram panchayats (GP) – The total area covers by the GP are Umapur (46.41 sq.km), Kasimnagar (2.5 sq.km), Mahesail I (15 sq.km), Mahesail II (7.75 sq.km), Bajitpur (12.95 sq.km), Laxmipur (31 sq.km), Jagtai I (2.2 sq.km), Jagtai II (5.64 sq.km), Aurangabad I (2.5 sq.km), Aurangabad II (2 sq.km) respectively.

[See Map – VIII – p.483]

The main rivers of this block are Bhagirathi, Kanksa and Falgu. The block comprises of 48 mouzas among which 35 of them are inhabited mouzas. As per 2011 census the total population of the block are 278111 among them 139682 are male and 138427 are female and 2 others. Total literacy of the block is 128407 (46.17%) among which 70580 are male and 57825 are female and 50457 (18%) partially can read and write. Illiterates in the block comprises 99247 among which 43634 (35.686%) are male illiterates and 55613 (36%) are female illiterates. According to 2011<sup>7</sup> census of the block profile total electors are 144421 among which 72716 are male and 71705 are female. The total workers<sup>8</sup> of this block is 85717 among which 47558 are male and 38159 are female. 3944 of them are main cultivators among which 3908 are male and 36 of them are female. The total number of household workers are 74701 among them 23844 are male and 50857 are female. In this block most of the household workers are beedi manufacturer (beedi workers).

There is only one block primary health care in Mahesail I GP, two primary health centers, 31 subsidiary health centers, three family welfare centres and 146 anganwari centers. The district has only 1 block level veterinary centre with clinic in Jagtai I GP and 10 veterinary sub-centers in various GPs. The block lacks in proper medical facilities according to the demand and there are no sufficient health care units, trained nurses and doctors in the hospital. As per as population of the district is concerned the block lacks in educational institutions. There are 84 primary schools, 1 junior high school, 5 high schools, 2 higher secondary schools, 2 high madrassas, 53 sishu siksha Kendra, 27 child labor schools, 6 Madhyamik siksha Kendra and 2 rural libraries. The main crops of this area are paddy, wheat, jute, and mustard seed. The total cultivable land is 7300 hectores. The main fruits cultivated are mango and lichi which covers an area of 530 hectores of land. There is river lift irrigation in Mahesail II GP (Bamuha Gram). There are 7 deep tube wells used for irrigation purpose – three at Kasimnagar GP, none in Mahesail I GP, one in Laxmipur GP, and one in Mahesail II GP and one in Jagtai II GP area. There are 5 commercial bank branches in Aurangabad I and II GP, Bajitpur and Laxmipur GP, two gramin banks in Aurangabad I and Mahesail I GP and one co-operative bank at Kasimnagar GP. There is no heavy industry in this region except beedi industry. There are 58 registered small scale industries (beedi, mustard oil, ice-cream unit, wheat grinding unit, repairing unit) in Aurangabad I and II GP and among which the beedi industry is considered as most popular industry in this area. There are approximately 250 unregistered small scale industries in this region. The district has no fishery related industry but covers 600 hectores of river in water area from which 9 metric ton fish is produced to feed the local needs of the block. Roads are well connected with Suti II block and with national highway 34. With the exception of Kasimnagar and Umrapur GP most of the GP roads are connected with the highways.

### **2.1. Demography of Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat**

In Suti II block there are ten gram panchayats. Among which two gram panchayats Umrapur and Aurangabad II were selected by the researcher as the area of study. Umrapur gram panchayat is selected as an under-developed GP and Aurangabad II as most developed model in Suti II block. The researcher has measured the two GPs one as mostly developed and the other as under developed according to the criteria of development index. Suti 2 block is famous for beedi production. Here the rate of population is high, educational attainment is low, income level is low, access of cheap labor and the area has no heavy industry. The region lacks in agricultural land and alternate source of income according to

the population ratio hence the people stick to this beedi making profession as their only means of livelihood. The accessibility of cheap labor paves the path for inhuman economic exploitation of the beedi workers which the researcher considers as a problem to be focused on. This exploitation leads to poor living condition, poor social and cultural status lead to lack of education and apathy towards education resulting in overall backwardness of the area.

Aurangabad 2 gram panchayat is considered as most developed gram panchayat among all the ten gram panchayats. The area<sup>9</sup> covers a total area of 2 square kilometer. It consist of 18 gram sansad namely<sup>10</sup> Moulavipara North, Moulavipara South, Collegepara, Natunsarai, Kalitala Purba, Kalitala Paschim. Nutan Khanabari, Nutan Khanabari Purba, Khanabari, Benpara Uttar, Benepara Dakshin, Mechuabazar and Dhunepara, Dosadpara, Sheikpara and Dariapur Paschimpara, Dariapur (Paschimpara, Uttarpara Dakshinpara), Daharpar Paschimpara, Daharpar Purbapara and Daharpar Paschim. The destiny of population is very high and total population is 20,038 among which 2016 are BPL families and 3068 are the families above poverty level (APL). Literacy rate is 82%. Total voters are 15150 among which 7499 are male and 7651 are female. The GP comprise of 5084 number of household. Among the total population, 17940 people are Muslim and 2098 comprises Hindu, Jain and Christian people in this area. Among total household of 5084, 2612 houses are with toilet and 2020 are without toilet.

There is no sufficient agricultural land only 8 acres of land is used in agricultural purpose. Most of the houses are well built, 95% of houses are pucca and 5% kachha with thatched roof and mud. 4 km roads are concrete road, 1.25 km is pucca road and 1.5 km is kuchha road. There is only one post office and two banks in this GP. To boost economic activity of the women 72 self help groups were established, but most are in inoperative condition. This GP people received benefits from centrally sponsored scheme such as from MGNREGA – 130 families, from NSAP – 226 families and in IAY – 175 families are benefitted till now. Irrigation system is not well developed. There are more than 100 tube wells all over the gram. Drinking water is obtained from tube well and purified tap water is supplied to the area from Panchayat Samiti. Among the workers most of them are beedi workers. From the record, it is found that out of 5700 workers, 5650 of them are beedi workers, 250 are daily wage laborers, 50 are household workers and 120 of them are engaged as artisans or in other profession outside the gram (village). Roads are well constructed and connected with NH-34. There are buses, tracker, auto rickshaw and private cars to communicate from highways and railway station to other places of the GP. Though

not sufficient in number but there are 7 primary schools, 3 health centers, 8 SSKM (Sishu Siksha Kendra), and 2 High schools. To educate the child labor, three child labor schools were established in this area. There are 34 ICDS (Integrated Child Developmental Scheme) centers and one school for handicap children and 1 school to teach the aged person. This Aurangabad II gram panchayat is selected by the researcher as an icon of most developed model in compare to other GPs in Suti II block. Hence by taking the views of the respondent of Aurangabad II GP and Umrapur GP the researcher will try to bring a comparison between the two regarding their political participation and attitude.

In this GP we have select one gram sansad Kalitala (Purba and Paschim) comprises of 1574 voters among which 768 are male and 806 are female. We have interviewed 150 respondents on the basis of systematic random sampling method by collecting the voter list of this sansad in order to assess their political participation and attitude towards state and politics. Here in the table below we are showing the respondent's details. [TABLE -6.1]

[See Map – VI- P.481]

**AURANGABAD - 2 GRAM PANCHAYAT RESPONDENT DETAILS (GRAM SANSAD - KALITALA PURBA AND PASCHIM)  
TOTAL - 150**

SEX	AGE	EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION	INCOME	OCCUPATION	TYPES OF FAMILY	MARITAL STATUS	CAST	
MALE-94	18-30-52	ILLITERATE-4	BELOW-3000/=54	BEEEDI WORKERS-90	NUCLER -120	MARRIED -117	PECHI -97	
		PRIMARY-15		PRIVATE JOB HOLDER-15				
	31-40-38	UPPERP-PRIMARY-31		STUDENT-25	EXTENDED -4	UNMARRIED -33	BADI -38	
		SECONDARY -35		GOVT.SCHOOL TEACHER- 10				
FEMALE-56	41-50-16	HIGHER SECONDARY-20	3001-5000=54	COLLEGE TEACHER-3	TOTAL-150	TOTAL-150	TOTAL-150	
		GRADUATE-35		GOVT.CLERK-5				
	51-60-32	MASTERS-8		5001-10000=24	LAWYER-1	JOINT-26	WIDOW- 7	OBC -25
		LAW DOCTOR-1		10001 & ABOVE=18	DOCTOR-1			
71& ABOVE-4	TOTAL-150	TOTAL-150	TOTAL-150	TOTAL-150	TOTAL-150	TOTAL-150		

**TABLE-6.1**

## **2.2. Demography of Umrapur Gram Panchayat**

In Suti II block, this GP is the most underdeveloped gram panchayat. The area lacks in proper drainage system and there is no good communication or well connected roads with NH-34 (national highway). The area is severely affected from flood each year after rain and its agriculture was heavily affected. The socio-economic condition of the people is not good. The total area coverage<sup>11</sup> of this GP is 46.41 square km. Literacy rate is comparatively low than Aurangabad II, literacy rate is only 47.67%. Here the total populations are 34633 among which 17380 are male and 17253 are female. There are 6926 number of household where 3628 are listed as BPL and 3298 in APL list. Among the total population, 330987 are Muslims and 1536 are Hindus (including SCs). Here the numbers of voters are 20874 among which 11650 are male and 9224 are female. Out of total household, 4236 houses are without toilet and only 2690 houses are with toilet. From the centrally sponsored scheme, 1236 families received the benefit from NSAP and 270 families received aid from IAY schemes. Out of the total houses 35% of houses are pucca and 65% are kachha houses build of mud. Most of the houses have no toilet and water in their house and they live in poor sanitary condition. More than 20 km of roads are kuchha, 9 km is morum road, 3.5 km is concrete road and 3 km is pucca road. There is only one bank and one post office in this area.

Some agriculture is done in this area. Only 38 acres of land is used for agricultural purpose, but there is no proper irrigation system. The cultivators fetch water from ponds and digging shallow tube wells around the field at their sole initiatives for water supply in the field. Most of the areas are covered by mango and lichi gardens. A part of the land is used to grow crops like rice and seasonal vegetables, potatoes, onion and commercial crop like jute. Water for drinking purpose is obtained from ponds and shallow tube wells but this water is free from arsenic. Around 50 tube wells are there in the GP which is inadequate in compare to huge area of this panchayat.

This GP comprise the largest area covering 22 sansads. The sansads<sup>12</sup> are Baruipuni, Sheikpara, Umrapur Ullapara and Kakshapara, Umrapur Chanditala, Baruipuni Dakshinpara, Baruipuni (Uttarpara, Purbapara, Paschimpara, Sheikpara), Umrapur Uttarpaschimpara, Umrapur Dakshinpaschimpara, Umrapur Jaigirpara, Umrapur Dakshinpara, Umrapur Purbapara, Umrapur Tewaripara, Sahajadpur Uttarpurbapara, Sahajadpur Pathanpara, Sahajadpur Mandalpara, Sahajadpur Paschimpara, Bahagalpur

Purbapara and Madyapara, Bahagalpur Paschimpara, Bahagalpur Paschimmahajanpara or Sankarpur Madhya Dakshinpara, Bahagalpur Purbamahajanpara, Bahagalpur Purbapara, Bahagalpur Madhyapara and Bahagalpur Uttarmadhyapara. In this GP no attention is given by state government to improve the communication of this area. There is no industry in this region except small scale beedi industry. Poor communication makes the area isolated from highway roads, good schools, colleges and local market. There is no bus service and the GP is connected with ferry service provided by GP office but not at regular interval. The people of this region are deprived from good educational institution, medical facility and the GP is affected from flood each year.

There are only 12 Primary schools, 3 sub centers, 1 SSK and 1 MSK (madrassa sishka kendra) and one high school. There are 38 ICDS centers. Due to the geographical location of the GP, there are no well-connected routes which results in poor communication, lack of business or trade activity in this GP. According to GP record, there are 19043 workers and among them 3220 are cultivators, 14580 are beedi workers, 799 are household workers, 252 are daily laborers and 110 are artisan and 82 are stone cutters. There is even no trained medical practitioner, hospital in this area and the people had to travel a very tedious route to come to the nearest hospital located at Mahesail I GP which results in the death of the people in this area. The early marriages, child labor, early drop out from schools are a regular picture visible in this region. Some people earn money by cutting stone which they brought from Pakur (Jharkhand) and supplied to Jharkhand which leads to pollution in the area. Some people stick to the profession of brick making by cutting the agricultural land illegally without any kind of governmental intervention which lead to depletion of lands which are prone to flood. Hard labor and low economic status makes the people of this area apathetic towards education resulting to high illiteracy rate in this block. Thus we choose Umrapur GP as our area to be focused on and to study their political participation and attitude in compare to the most developed GP of Aurangabad II in Suti II block of Murshidabad district. The researcher has select one gram sansad Sahajadpur Paschimpara which has total of 1083 voters of which 536 are male and 547 are female. Respondents of this sansad are chosen on the basis of systematic random sampling method by collecting the voter list of this sansad. In the table below we have shown the respondent's details of this sansad. [TABLE-6.2]

[See Map – VII – p. 482]

**UMRAPUR GRAM PANCHAYAT RESPONDENT DETAILS (GRAM SANSAD - SAHAJADPUR PASCHIMPARA)**  
**TOTAL – 100**

SEX	AGE	EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION	INCOME	OCCUPATION	TYPES OF FAMILY	MARITAL STATUS	CAST
MALE-53	18-30-56	ILLITERATE-58	BELOW-3000/= 42	BEEDI WORKERS=92	NUCLER=86	MARRIED=74	PECHI=49
		SOME INFORMAL EDUCATION - 7					
	PRIMARY - 4	AGRICULTURAL LABOURER – 6		EXTENDE D=2	UNMARRIED=19	BADI=41	
	UPPER PRIMARY – 7						
41-50-13	SECONDARY - 12	3001-5000=24	ENGINEER – 1	JOINT=12	WIDOW=7	OBC=10	
51-60-11	HIGHER SECONDARY - 7						
	GRADUATE - 1						
FEMALE-49	61-70- 5	MASTERS – NIL	5001-10000=26	DOCTOR=1	TOTAL=100	TOTAL-100	TOTAL-100
	71& ABOVE- 3	MEDICAL TRANEE- 3	10001 & ABOVE= 8				
		DOCTOR - 1	TOTAL-100				
TOTAL-100	TOTAL-100	TOTAL-100	TOTAL-100	TOTAL-100	TOTAL-100	TOTAL-100	TOTAL-100

**TABLE-6.2**

### 3. Political Participation of Bengali Muslims (1978-2008) - An Analysis of Panchayat Raj Election Result of Suti II Block

Competitive politics operating through the system of free elections has drawn very differently situated people into the political process. Here the result of Panchayati Raj election of Suti II block has been collected to study political participation of the Muslims of Murshidabad district. The researcher has also try to interpret the level of political consolidation of the Bengali Muslims of the district in the political process of the country from the data collected from reliable sources.

**Table – 6.3**

#### **Panchayati Raj Election Result - 1978**

<b>Gram Panchayat</b>		<b>Panchayat Samiti</b>		<b>Zilla Parishad</b>	
<b>Total Electors and Percentage (%)</b>	<b>Votes Polled and Percentage (%)</b>	<b>Total Electors and Percentage (%)</b>	<b>Votes Polled and Percentage (%)</b>	<b>Total Electors and Percentage (%)</b>	<b>Votes Polled and Percentage (%)</b>
<b>95971</b>	<b>94549 (98.85%)</b>	<b>95521</b>	<b>94271 (98.69%)</b>	<b>95366</b>	<b>94368 (98.97%)</b>
<b>Hindu- 39432 (41.08%)</b>	<b>40.53%</b>	<b>Hindu- 36512 (38.22%)</b>	<b>37.7%</b>	<b>Hindus-34216 (35.87%)</b>	<b>35.5%</b>
<b>Muslim- 54377 (56.65%)</b>	<b>56%</b>	<b>Muslim- 57117 (59.79%)</b>	<b>59%</b>	<b>Muslim- 59161 (62.03%)</b>	<b>61.6%</b>
<b>Others- 2162 (2.25%)</b>	<b>2.32%</b>	<b>Others- 1892 (1.98%)</b>	<b>1.92%</b>	<b>Others- 1989 (2.08%)</b>	<b>1.87%</b>

**Source:** - 1. Panchayati Raj Journal, January-December, 1979, January-December, 1980, January-July, 1981, 1982, Government of West Bengal, 2. Statistical Abstract, 2008, Bureau of Applied Economics and Statistics, Kolkata, Government of West Bengal (Data given Religion wise and Block wise of the respective district) and 3. District Census Handbook, 1971, Murshidabad, Government of West Bengal Publication, 1977. and 4. Ganasakti Newspaper, 1978, (4<sup>th</sup> June, 15<sup>th</sup> June).

Hence from the total result of 1978 Panchayat Raj election in GP election result (table -6.3), it may be inferred that out of the total electors, 98.85% cast vote in the election. Out of

41.08% Hindus, 40.6% cast their vote. Out of 67% Muslims, 56% deliver their vote and out of 2.25% people from other community, 2% cast their vote. In the same way it may be inferred from the result of Panchayat Samiti election that out of the total electors of 95521, 98.69% cast their votes. Out of 38.22% Hindus, 36.92% cast their vote, among the Muslim voters of 59.79%, 58.49% cast their vote and from other community members out of 1.98%, 0.7% cast their vote. Similarly, from the result of Zilla Parishad it is found out of the total electors 98.97% cast their vote. Among the Hindus of 35.87%, 34.86% cast their vote, among 62.03% of Muslims, 61.02% cast their vote and from other community member of 2.08%, 1.07% cast their vote. The above table of election result shows that in all GP, PS and ZP with the exception of few all Muslim voters cast their vote which proves them as responsible citizens of democratic India.

**Table – 6.4**  
**Panchayati Raj Election Result - 1983**

Gram Panchayat		Panchayat Samiti		Zilla Parishad	
Total Electors and Percentage (%)	Votes Polled and Percentage (%)	Total Electors and Percentage (%)	Votes Polled and Percentage (%)	Total Electors and Percentage (%)	Votes Polled and Percentage (%)
<b>96491</b>	<b>95246</b> <b>(98.70%)</b>	<b>96001</b>	<b>94681</b> <b>(98.62%)</b>	<b>95925</b>	<b>94736</b> <b>(98.76%)</b>
<b>Hindu- 38488</b> <b>(39.88%)</b>	<b>39.36%</b>	<b>Hindu- 36294</b> <b>(37.80%)</b>	<b>37.47%</b>	<b>Hindus-32164</b> <b>(33.53%)</b>	<b>33.1%</b>
<b>Muslim- 55197</b> <b>(57%)</b>	<b>56.45%</b>	<b>Muslim- 58002</b> <b>(60.4%)</b>	<b>59.56%</b>	<b>Muslim- 61750</b> <b>(64.37%)</b>	<b>63.57%</b>
<b>Others- 2806</b> <b>(2.90%)</b>	<b>2.89%</b>	<b>Others- 1699</b> <b>(1.76%)</b>	<b>1.59%</b>	<b>Others- 2011</b> <b>(2.09%)</b>	<b>2.09%</b>

**Source :-** 1. Ganasakti Newspaper, 1983 (29<sup>th</sup>, 31<sup>st</sup> May) and (1<sup>st</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> June), 1983, 2. Panchayati Raj Journal (January-December) 1983, 3. Panchayati Raj Journal Special Issue 1985 and 1986, Government of West Bengal, 4. Census of India, 1981, Series -23, West Bengal, Part XIII –B, Kolkata, Government of West Bengal. 5. District Census Handbook, 1981, Census Operation, Government of West of West Bengal, 6.

Statistical Abstract, 2008, Bureau of Applied Economics and Statistics, Kolkata, Government of West Bengal  
(Data given Religion wise and Block wise of the respective district)

The above table (table no.6.4), shows that in gram panchayat election out of the total electors, 98.70% of people cast their vote in the election. Out of 40% Hindus, 38.6% cast their vote, out of 57% Muslims, 56% cast their vote and among 2.95%, people from other communities, 1.62% cast their vote. In the same way, it may be opined that from the result of PS election, out of total electors of 96001, 98.62% cast their vote. Out of 38% Hindus, 36.36% cast their vote among 60% Muslims 59.06% cast their vote and from 2% of people from other communities, 0.42% cast their vote. Similarly in the ZP election result it may be inferred that out of the total electors 98.76% cast their vote. Out of 34% Hindus, 32.3% cast their vote. Out of 64% Muslims, 63.14% cast their vote and out of 2.09%, 0.86% from other communities cast their vote. Hence it shows absolute turnout of Muslim population in this election according to the result of three tier panchayati raj system.

**Table – 6.5**  
**Panchayati Raj Election Result - 1988**

Gram Panchayat		Panchayat Samiti		Zilla Parishad	
Total Electors and Percentage (%)	Votes Polled and Percentage (%)	Total Electors and Percentage (%)	Votes Polled and Percentage (%)	Total Electors and Percentage (%)	Votes Polled and Percentage (%)
<b>96990</b>	<b>95990</b> <b>(98.96%)</b>	<b>96510</b>	<b>95330</b> <b>(98.77%)</b>	<b>96490</b>	<b>95440</b> <b>(98.91%)</b>
<b>Hindu- 41252</b> <b>(42.5%)</b>	<b>42.05%</b>	<b>Hindu- 39980</b> <b>(41.42%)</b>	<b>41.56%</b>	<b>Hindus-36924</b> <b>(38.26%)</b>	<b>37.84%</b>
<b>Muslim- 53723</b> <b>(55.39%)</b>	<b>54.81%</b>	<b>Muslim- 55366</b> <b>(57.36%)</b>	<b>56.65%</b>	<b>Muslim- 58555</b> <b>(60.6%)</b>	<b>60.07%</b>
<b>Others- 2015</b> <b>(2.07%)</b>	<b>2.1%</b>	<b>Others- 1164</b> <b>(1.20%)</b>	<b>0.56%</b>	<b>Others- 1011</b> <b>(1.04%)</b>	<b>1%</b>

**Source:-** 1.Panchayati Raj Journal October, 1988 No. 2, No. 3, Government of West Bengal, 2.Census of India, 1981, Series -23, West Bengal, Part XIII –B, Kolkata, Government of West Bengal.3. District Census Handbook, 1981, Census Operation, Government of West of West Bengal, Calcutta, 1983, 4.Statistical

Abstract, 2008, Bureau of Applied Economics and Statistics, Kolkata, Government of West Bengal (Data given Religion wise and Block wise of the respective district)

Hence from the total result of 1988 election in GP election (table 6.5), it may infer that out of the total electors, 98.96% of people cast their vote. Out of 42.5% Hindus, 41.5% cast their vote, out of 55.39% Muslims, 54.39% cast their votes and out of 2.01% members of other communities 1.07% cast their votes. In PS, the result shows that out of the total electors, 98.77% cast their votes. Out of 42% Hindu, 40.21% cast their vote, out of 57% Muslim voters 56.15% cast their vote and out of 1.2% members of other communities, .01% cast their votes in the election. In ZP result (table 6.5) out of the total electors 98.91% of voters cast their votes. Out of 38.36% Hindus, 37.27% cast their vote, among the Muslims of 60.6%, 56.29% of them cast their votes and out of 1.04% voters from other communities 0.05% voters cast their votes in the election.

**Table – 6.6**  
**Panchayati Raj Election Result - 1993**

Gram Panchayat		Panchayat Samiti		Zilla Parishad	
Total Electors and Percentage (%)	Votes Polled and Percentage (%)	Total Electors and Percentage (%)	Votes Polled and Percentage (%)	Total Electors and Percentage (%)	Votes Polled and Percentage (%)
<b>97490</b>	<b>96340</b> (98.82%)	<b>96957</b>	<b>95737</b> (98.74%)	<b>96952</b>	<b>96002</b> (99.02%)
<b>Hindu-36925</b> (37.97%)	<b>37.55%</b>	<b>Hindu- 32124</b> (33.13%)	<b>32.58%</b>	<b>Hindus- 34122</b> (35.19%)	<b>38.65%</b>
<b>Muslim-58443</b> (59.94%)	<b>59.29%</b>	<b>Muslim- 63701</b> (65.70%)	<b>65.16%</b>	<b>Muslim- 60698</b> (62.60%)	<b>62.37%</b>
<b>Others- 2122</b> (2.17%)	<b>1.98%</b>	<b>Others- 1132</b> (1.16%)	<b>1.1%</b>	<b>Others- 2132</b> (2.19%)	<b>2%</b>

**Source:** - 1. Panchayati Raj Journal October, 1993 No. 4,(30<sup>th</sup> May-28<sup>th</sup> June) and No.5, (November-December) Government of West Bengal, 2.Paschimbanga Panchayat Nirbachan Parisankhayan O Parjalochana, 1993 Kolkata, Government of West Bengal 3., Census of India, 1991, Series – 26 West Bengal

Part XII- B, Government of West Bengal, 4.District Census Handbook, 1991, Census Operation, Government of West Bengal.

Hence from the result of 1993 in GP election (table 6.6), it may infer that out of the total electors, 98.82% of people cast their vote. Out of 38% Hindus, 36.71% cast their vote, out of 60% of Muslims, 58.78% cast their votes and out of 2 % members of other communities 1.01% cast their votes. In PS election out of the total electors, 98.74% cast their votes. Out of 33% Hindu, 32.04% cast their vote, out of 66% Muslim voters 64.61% cast their vote and out of 1.6% members of other communities, .09% cast their votes in the election. In ZP result we find that out of the total electors 99.02% of voters cast their votes. Out of 35% Hindus, 34.23% cast their vote, among the Muslims of 63%, 61.64% of them cast their votes and out of 2% voters from other communities 1.23% voters cast their votes in the election.

**Table – 6.7**

**Panchayati Raj Election Result - 1998**

Gram Panchayat		Panchayat Samiti		Zilla Parishad	
Total Electors and Percentage (%)	Votes Polled and Percentage (%)	Total Electors and Percentage (%)	Votes Polled and Percentage (%)	Total Electors and Percentage (%)	Votes Polled and Percentage (%)
<b>98314</b>	<b>88314 (90%)</b>	<b>97914</b>	<b>85699 (87.52%)</b>	<b>97832</b>	<b>85417 (87.40%)</b>
<b>Hindu- 33905 (34.48%)</b>	<b>30.96%</b>	<b>Hindu- 36206 (36.97%)</b>	<b>32.35%</b>	<b>Hindus-38408 (39.25%)</b>	<b>32.26%</b>
<b>Muslim-62261 (63.32%)</b>	<b>56.87%</b>	<b>Muslim- 60406 (61.69%)</b>	<b>54.17%</b>	<b>Muslim- 58254 (59.54%)</b>	<b>52.01%</b>
<b>Others- 2148 (2.18%)</b>	<b>1.99%</b>	<b>Others- 1302 (1.32%)</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>Others- 1170 (1.19%)</b>	<b>1.03%</b>

**Source:** - 1. Panchayati Raj Journal October, 1998 No. 4, Government of West Bengal, 2. Paschimbanga Panchayat Nirbachan, 1998, Kolkata, Government of West Bengal, 3. Census of India, 1991, Series – 26 West

Bengal Part XII- B, Government of West Bengal, 4.District Census Handbook, 1991, Census Operation, Government of West Bengal.

Hence from the result of 1998 in GP election (table 6.7), it may infer that out of the total electors, 90% of people cast their vote. Out of 35% Hindus, 24.32% cast their vote, out of 63.32% of Muslims, 53.16% cast their votes and out of 2.18 % members of other communities 0.98% cast their votes. In PS out of the total electors, 87.52% cast their votes. Out of 37% Hindu, 24.51% cast their vote, out of 62% Muslim voters 59.23% cast their vote and out of 1% members of other communities, 0.04% cast their votes in the election. In ZP result out of the total electors 87.40% of voters cast their votes. Out of 39.25% Hindus, 26.57% cast their vote, among the Muslims of 60%, 56.86% of them cast their votes and out of 1.19% voters from other communities 0.49% voters cast their votes in the election.

**Table – 6.8**  
**Panchayati Raj Election Result - 2003**

Gram Panchayat		Panchayat Samiti		Zilla Parishad	
Total Electors and Percentage (%)	Votes Polled and Percentage (%)	Total Electors and Percentage (%)	Votes Polled and Percentage (%)	Total Electors and Percentage (%)	Votes Polled and Percentage (%)
<b>98740</b>	<b>88572</b> <b>(89.70%)</b>	<b>98367</b>	<b>86258 (88%)</b>	<b>98368</b>	<b>89051</b> <b>(90.52%)</b>
<b>Hindu-33071</b> <b>(34%)</b>	<b>30.49%</b>	<b>Hindu- 34152</b> <b>(34.71%)</b>	<b>30.43%</b>	<b>Hindus-32231</b> <b>(32.76%)</b>	<b>29.65%</b>
<b>Muslim-63569</b> <b>(64%)</b>	<b>57.31%</b>	<b>Muslim- 62073</b> <b>(63.10%)</b>	<b>55.36%</b>	<b>Muslim- 64384</b> <b>(65.45%)</b>	<b>59.27%</b>
<b>Others- 2100</b> <b>(2%)</b>	<b>1.99%</b>	<b>Others- 2142</b> <b>(2.17%)</b>	<b>1.9%</b>	<b>Others-175</b> <b>(1.78%)</b>	<b>1.6%</b>

**Source:-** 1.Panchayat 6<sup>th</sup> Election Result -2003, West Bengal State Election Commission, Kolkata, Government of West Bengal, 2.Director of Census Operation, 2001, Census of India; 2001, Series-A, Vol. Maldah, Murshidabad, Bardhaman, Nadia, Kolkata, Government of West Bengal, 3. Statistical Abstract, 2008, Bureau of Applied Economics and Statistics, Kolkata, Government of West Bengal (Data given Religion wise and Block wise of the respective district)

From the result of 2003 GP election (table 6.8), it may infer that out of the total electors 89.70% of people cast their vote. Out of 33.49% Hindus, 23.2% cast their vote, out of 64.38% of Muslims, 62.02% cast their votes and out of 2.12 % members of other communities 0.17% cast their votes. In PS, out of the total electors, 88% cast their votes. Out of 35% Hindus, 22.42% cast their vote, out of 63% Muslim voters 60.18% cast their vote and out of 2% members of other communities, 0.10% cast their votes in the election. In ZP result out of the total electors 90.52% of voters cast their votes. Out of 33% Hindus, 23.29% cast their vote, among 65% Muslims, 58% of them cast their votes and out of 2 % voters from other communities 0.68% voters cast their votes in the election.

**Table – 6.9**  
**Panchayati Raj Election Result - 2008**

Gram Panchayat		Panchayat Samiti		Zilla Parishad	
Total Electors and Percentage (%)	Votes Polled and Percentage (%)	Total Electors and Percentage (%)	Votes Polled and Percentage (%)	Total Electors and Percentage (%)	Votes Polled and Percentage (%)
142938	131848 (92.24%)	101085	92138 (91.14%)	109444	100081 (91.44%)
Hindu- 45032 (31.50%)	29.05%	Hindu- 33124 (32.76%)	29.85%	Hindus-32916 (30.07%)	27.49%
Muslim- 94782 (66.30%)	61.19%	Muslim- 65775 (65.06%)	59.33%	Muslim- 74386 (67.96%)	62.17%
Others-3124 (2.18%)	2%	Others- 2186 (2.16%)	1.96%	Others- 2142 (1.95%)	1.78%

**Source:-** 1. Result of Panchayati Raj Election, 2008 (District Murshidabad), Election held on 8<sup>th</sup> May, 2008 and election commission of India website:- [www.ceowb.nic.in](http://www.ceowb.nic.in), 2. Director of Census Operation, 2001, Census of India; 2001, Series-A, Vol. Maldah, Murshidabad, Bardhaman, Nadia, Kolkata, Government of West Bengal, 3. Statistical Abstract, 2008, Bureau of Applied Economics and Statistics, Kolkata, Government of West Bengal (Data given Religion wise and Block wise of the respective district)

Hence from the total result of 2008 election in GP election (table 6.9), it may infer that out of the total electors, 92.24% of people cast their vote. Out of 32% Hindus, 23.76% cast

their vote, out of 66% of Muslims, 58.56% cast their votes and out of 2 % members of other communities 0.56% cast their votes. In PS election out of the total electors, 91.14% cast their votes. Out of 33% Hindu, 23.92% cast their vote, out of 65% Muslim voters 62.22% cast their vote and out of 2% members of other communities, 0.68% cast their votes in the election. In ZP result out of the total electors 91.44% of voters cast their votes. Out of 30% Hindus, 21.53% cast their vote, among 68% Muslims, 52.42% of them cast their votes and out of 2% voters from other communities 0.59% voters cast their votes in the election. The election results show that all the Muslim respondents in all the three tier election cast their vote. From 1998 till 2008 the data shows slight decrease in participation rate among the voters. We can infer that either the voters become apathetic towards democratic process of the country or they left the place in search for education or job opportunity but otherwise the election record shows fair rate of participation in Panchayati Raj election.

**Table- 6.10**  
**Result of Panchayati Raj Election – Suti II Block**

Year	Gram Panchayat				Panchayat Samiti				Zilla Parishad			
	Contested		Elected		Contested		Elected		Contested		Elected	
	Total	Muslim	Total	Muslim	Total	Muslim	Total	Muslim	Total	Muslim	Total	Muslim
1998	509	332	149	98	97	56	26	18	11	4	2	1
2003	530	317	141	88	93	56	26	18	5	2	1	1
2008	489	296	125	79	57	39	14	11	11	6	2	1

**Source:-** 1. Panchayat General Elections, 1998, West Bengal Government of West Bengal, 2. Panchayat 6<sup>th</sup> Election Result -2003, West Bengal State Election Commission, Kolkata, Government of West Bengal, 3.Result of Panchayati Raj Election, 2008 (District Murshidabad), (Election held on 8<sup>th</sup> May, 2008) and 4. Election commission of India website:- [www.ceowb.nic.in](http://www.ceowb.nic.in)

In the above table (6.10), the data shows that in the following years from 1998 to 2008 the Muslims are contesting the elections regularly and elected in all the three tiers of Panchayat raj elections. The result in Suti II block shows that competitive electoral politics has erode all the class solidarity of the community hence showing a fair turn up in registering their names in the elections.

**3.1. Reasons behind Political Participation of the Bengali Muslims in the District**  
Political participation is an important aspect of political culture and the individuals take part in the political process so that their actions are going to have an influence on politics in

some way. It is one of the ways in which the citizens can contribute to their communities and be an active member of society. Various forms of participation includes voting, attending a rally, signing a petition or sending a letter to a representative, contesting elections, taking part in election campaign, contributing to election fund, attending election meetings, distribution of posters, blogging about a political issue, joining as an activist, acting as interest group or public consultations. But the most common forms of political participation include voting, protest and public consultations.

In a democracy voting is the single most important form of political participation<sup>13</sup> that a person can take part in because it ensures that politicians are elected by the people rather than being assigned to their positions of power by someone else. Through protest individuals can express their opinions with the hope that their actions will influence or initiate change in a particular area of politics. Public consultations is another form where meetings are organized where ordinary citizens get the chance to meet with the politicians or elected officials in order to make their opinions and feelings known. This often motivates an individual to contest an election from the party of his own choice and to get elected as representative of the people. As long as the activity involves ordinary citizens expressing their opinions and views towards politics we can probably assume that it is a form of political participation. Political participation<sup>14</sup> gives opportunity to every citizen to express their political beliefs so that they might influence others. These civic activities are known as political participation and they are a critical part of democracy. Political participation includes knowledge and interest in politics, identification with the political unit, sense of political competence or efficacy, sense of civic duty and political behavior as well. Expressing support for government<sup>15</sup>, working in a government project, voting in ceremonial elections is considered as participatory acts.

From the West Bengal Panchayati Raj Election result, it must admit that the Bengali Muslims are taking part in the political process in maximum number in terms of contesting elections or through casting votes. In 1978, in first Panchayati Raj Election among 56.65% of Muslims voters, 56% of them cast their vote in Gram Panchayat election. Among 59.79% of Muslim voters, 59% of them cast their vote in Panchayat Samiti election. Among 62.03% of the total Muslim voters, 61.6% turned out in the Zilla Parishad election. Similarly the election results in these years – 1983, 1988, 1993 shows that the maximum Muslim voters cast their votes. But from the year 1998 till 2008 shows a slight declining in voting percentage. The Gram Panchayat election result of 1998 shows that out of 63.32% Muslim

voters, 56.87% cast their vote. In Panchayat Samiti election 54.17% votes polled, out of 61.69% of total Muslim voters. In Zilla Parishad election out of 59.54% of total Muslim voters, 52.01% cast their vote. Hence from the result it may be inferred that in the years in 2003 and 2008 there is a slight decline in voting percentage in the election among the Muslim voters. After studying the election results it may be concluded that from 1998 till 2008 there is a curtailment in delivering votes because the voters become apathetic towards democratic process of the country or they left the place in search of qualitative education or for job opportunity. Hence the election result shows the gradual decline in the voting percentage in the district. In the last 2008 election in Gram Panchayat result there is a curtailment of 5.11% votes, in Panchayat Samiti result there is a curtailment of 5.73% votes and in Zilla Parishad result there is the loss of 5.79% votes from the Muslim voters. Though there is a loss of nearly 5% to 6% votes still the Muslim voters cast their vote in the election showing the fair rate of participation in all three tiers of Panchayati Raj election. Hence the participatory attitude of the Bengali Muslims of Murshidabad in modern democratic societies prove their mindset that they are well establish in the democratic setup of Indian society and participating in all kinds of political activities especially by contesting elections, casting votes and associate them with political parties. They cast vote because participation<sup>16</sup> is not committed to any social goals but is a technique for setting goals, choosing priorities and deciding the process of the goal attainment. It not only communicates the needs and desires of the citizens to the government, but also has other more direct benefits that is receiving educational benefits and receiving the benefits of securing the rights in the society.

The Muslims voted to consolidate themselves politically<sup>17</sup> and for influencing the political process directly. The political leaders from minority community try their best to create a consciousness among the Muslims and make them aware of the problems which the Bengali Muslim community is facing at present. Turnout in election indicates rightly that they try to increase their bargaining power to protect the community rights. The Muslim voters of the district are continuing with their political support towards traditionally developed Congress party and other secular parties. They inculcate the belief among themselves that Congress as a national party will ensure the rights of the Muslim community. After the desolation of Muslim League, they developed a sense that congress as a national based party would ensure the rights of the Muslim community though the party were mostly dominated by the members of majority community. From 2008 election

onwards, the data shows the rise of other political parties<sup>18</sup> like All India United Democratic Front (AIUDF), Welfare Party of India (WPI) and Social Democratic Party of India (SDPI), but these parties could not secure a stable position in this district though these parties had a strong base in other parts of India. Perhaps Muslims in this district in order to make their political base strong do not support the newly formed party in the district. From the election result it may be opined that the Muslim populations with a commanding majority in the district want to influence the politics of the country in a significant way. This can be well interpreted with the election results of 1978 and 1983, where the Muslims supported the CPI (M) candidates but after that from 1988, 1993, 1998, 2003 and 2008 election<sup>19</sup> result shows Muslim's support for Congress party.

The participatory attitude of the Bengali Muslims of Murshidabad proved that they are well accomplished with the norms of democracy<sup>20</sup>. They believe in political participation as it is the way to express the needs and desires of the citizen to the government or as the means of receiving the benefits of the community<sup>21</sup>. Successful turnout in the election proves that competitive electoral politics has probably begun to breakdown the isolation of the Muslim electorate from the political process. More than one Muslim candidate contesting from the same constituency indicates that the Muslim community does not operate as a monolithic<sup>22</sup> entity (community isolated from other major community) in politics. It also proves that those who contesting the election do not depend on the support of the community but contest the election out of their own social needs. The election result also shows their change in mentality that is communal solidarity is clearly being pressurized by electoral competition. Contesting an election also broadens their horizons, extends their area of concern and hence promotes the slow integration<sup>23</sup> of the community with the secular society. As table no. 6.10 shows that in the years 1998, 2003 and 2008 election many candidate from Muslim community are contesting the election and are get elected in all three tiers. The Muslim community through their support towards national parties wants proper empowerment, governmental jobs, and educational facility and wants to get rid of inequality, social insecurity, all kinds of minority syndrome and want to achieve honor and prestige from society. Though political parties having minority overtone<sup>24</sup> sometimes misuse community's sentiment still the Bengali Muslims have faith in India's largest inclusive democratic tradition and hence try to remain with the political party in power.

Hence it may be rightly conclude that consociational theory of Indian democracy proves that participatory democracy can work successfully in plural multi-ethnic societies because autonomy and rights<sup>25</sup> of all groups are given priority. The Muslim community of Murshidabad district want to live in a secular and democratic society, they feel the need for inter-democratization in the society, and they even want to understand the dialectical relations<sup>26</sup> between majority and minority community and try to remove minority complexity from within the community to integrate with the Indian society. Electoral participation of the Muslim community of Murshidabad proves that the community is truly integrating<sup>27</sup> into the Indian society. Through voting they want to ensure a stable and secure government in order to secure their rights in the society. Participatory acts of this district prove that the electoral system is a pillar of Indian democracy and the community's participation in the election proves that they believe in Indian democracy and they have enough confidence in the election system.

The election result and the participation of the Muslim voters in this district shows that state is becoming a more important agent in social mobilization<sup>28</sup> of the electorate by creating political awareness, exposure to campaign, propaganda, political involvement through modern means of communication all motivate the voters to cast vote for national parties of their own choice. To be more precise it may say that electoral participation exposed the fact that the Muslims are merging towards integration because of their basic faith in the democratic regime. The Bengali Muslims remain so long marginalized within their own community<sup>29</sup> by upper caste Muslim elite (Ashrafs) and this marginalization of the Bengali Muslim community (Atraps) act as a political force for the wider participation in electoral process. Identities, individual or collective are always constituted in relation to a group or in imagination to a specific community. Here the interesting thing is that 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<sup>30</sup> between the Bengali and non-Bengali Muslims the Muslims citizens try to obtain a secure and stable position in the domain of Indian politics. Hence the Bengali Muslims of this district adopt the national values and integrate into political process. Bengali Muslims develop an integrative attitude towards Indian democracy<sup>31</sup> from very early times, where they are influenced by Bengal's syncretism, its tradition and its plural culture and hence after partition also they adopt an

integrative attitude - a concept to adopt every norm, ideas and principles of India's democracy. Hence their electoral participation proves that though there are inadequate Muslim representations in India, but in West Bengal (Murshidabad) it shows cent percent turnout in elections. Muslims in Murshidabad thus cast vote in all Panchayat elections and through political interaction they try to develop a good relation with politicians and bureaucrats to ensure their benefits in the society.

The Bengali Muslims of Murshidabad district develops a secular identity<sup>32</sup> and hence they no longer sustain the myth of 'collective monolithic group'<sup>33</sup> as portrait by non-Muslims and parties having communal or minority overtone rather the Bengali Muslims show secular mentality by supporting the national parties as it shows in all the election results of Panchayati Raj. They want to prove that active participation will make their position strong and they will able to act as a dominating force<sup>34</sup> in Indian politics. Our state through myths of origin (India is the land of both Hindus and Muslims), constitutional law and practices fosters an idea of citizenship within the Muslim community that erodes all kinds of distinctiveness from Muslim mind so that every single Muslim can adopt an idea of oneness. Hence through participation<sup>35</sup> in election, the Bengali Muslims shows that they adopt a unique and diversified culture of Indian tradition and integrate within the domain of politics.

Indian democracy possesses multicultural trend<sup>36</sup> and includes all cultural groups into one unit and the Bengali Muslims has integrated in the process. The Muslim society in Bengal is formed in an inclusive way within its own community. In India the faith and confidence of the minority community develops because our state provides fundamental rights and privileges for minorities as well as for all from article 25-30 in our constitution. Political rights of all individual are well secured by the Indian state. The process of growth and economic development creates huge pressure on the state and state fails to bridge the gap between the haves and the have-nots which result in unequal development and hence some groups lag behind in the developmental process. The Muslim community faces the challenge of higher levels of relative deprivation in different spheres of life and remain as under-privileged group. In studying the political participation of the Muslims in Murshidabad district where they are relatively in backward position in all spheres like in education, in economic sphere and cultural activities, it is find the community cast vote regularly in the panchayat elections to show their faith in the democratic governance. Sometimes the community becomes the victim of vote battle. The leaders ensure support to

the community representative but refused to give them formal recognition in all spheres of activity or in mainstream politics. Hence in 1971 and from 1972-1977 in West Bengal Legislative Assembly election<sup>37</sup> the Muslim voters supported the Muslim League candidates for example Khondokar Nazrul Hoque won the election from Beharampur. The Muslim League leaders remain successful in mobilizing the masses of the district in their favor to secure a favorable position in politics. These leaders make promises to satisfy the needs of the community like to provide good opportunity in education, jobs and to ensure various financial benefits like minority scholarships. They try to limit the cultural interaction which lead to homogenization of the community and make the gulf of majority and minority more prominent. To make the community distinct from others they tried to draw an artificial boundary of 'us' and 'they' in the society. But in the district with the exception of these years the leaders from secular parties has won the election. From 2006-2011 assembly election Moinul Hoq from congress, Toub Ali from CPI (M), Jane Alam from RSP, Abul Hasnat from RSP, Abu Hena from congress, Anisur Rahaman from CPI (M), Unus Sarkar from CPI (M), and Emani Biswas from TMC has won the election. This proves that the Bengali Muslim community of Murshidabad district possesses an inclination to cast vote for secular parties than parties having minority overtone.

A cursory view of the state of affairs among Muslims reveals that the community<sup>38</sup> by and large remains trapped in feudalized social mores, suffers from ghetto-mentality and inferiority complex and is unable to meet the challenges of modernity. It is indeed paradoxical that the community desires to live in a secular and democratic polity without democratizing itself and without visualizing any role for itself in the wider agenda of democratization of Indian society and state. The Muslim community of Murshidabad feels the need for inter democratization in the society and to understand the dialectical relations between majority and minority. Hence the community believes that they shall fight minority complex<sup>39</sup> from within the community so that they can remove their social differentiation from 'others' (majority) and to eliminate the existence of a single collective<sup>40</sup> 'Muslim mind', and can integrate with the plural majority of Indian society. Electoral participation of the Muslim community proves that they are truly integrating into the democratic fabric of the society at large. Hence it may infer that through participation in electoral process they organize themselves politically and express 'group solidarity' in a meaningful way. The community behaves as a 'cohesive political unit' and vote much more than other communities to influence the electoral process and to realize group goals.

Indian democracy may be a puzzle for those who support John Stuart Mill's proposition that democracy is next to impossible in multi ethnic societies<sup>41</sup> and in linguistically divided country. India's democracy is characterized by grand coalition government or consociation model that includes representatives of all major linguistic and religious groups and their rights were secured by the state. But in the district Muslims in political structure does not adhere to the consociational principles rather they were integrated with government's policy of grand coalition which is functioning quite smoothly in the state. Sacchar Committee report<sup>42</sup> states that functioning of the state in an impartial manner is an acid test of its being a 'just state'. But India's developmental process reduces economic and social gaps and provides the space for the minority groups<sup>43</sup> to make their own space. To boost developmental process state tries to reduce poverty level, increase the levels of literacy, education, health and hence state ensures confidence to the minority community. Hence from the election result from 1978-2008 it may infer that the Bengali Muslims show their confidence and faith in Indian state and democracy which ensures rights to all minorities guaranteed under constitutional provisions.

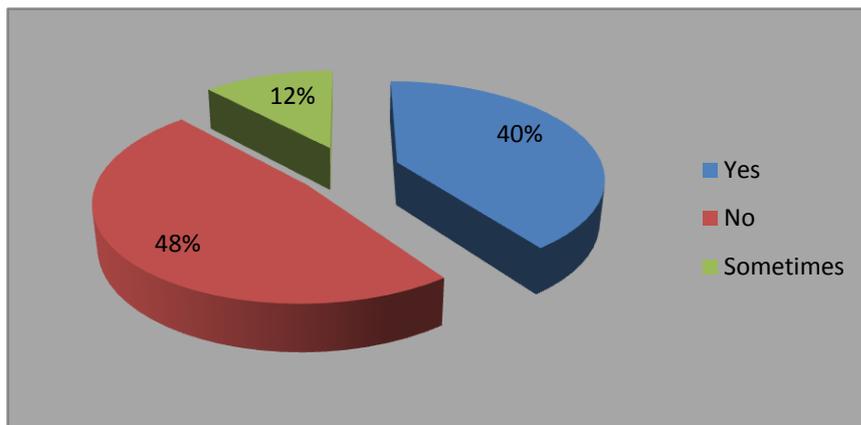
#### **4. Nature of Political Participation of the Respondent in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat - A Brief Empirical Analysis**

With a view to assess the political participation of Muslims in the district a survey research method with semi-structured schedule has been adopted by the researcher the primary objective being to study the political participation and 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 political participation and adequacy in representation in Panchayati Raj institution 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 political participation through the collection of voter list and applying

systematic random sampling method to obtain data from the respondent. 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 study respondent’s interest in politics, the degree of their political interest, political ambition, and political awareness, of Aurangabad 2 gram panchayat.

**Figure-6.1**

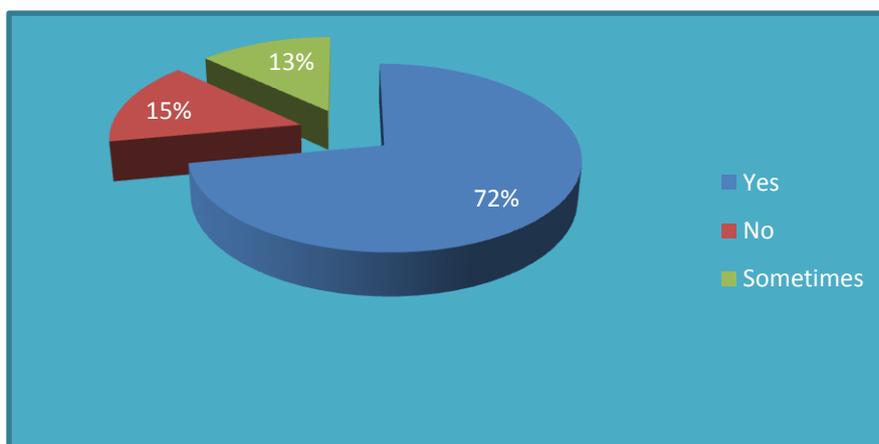
**Interest in Politics of the Respondents**



So far as the interest of people in politics is concerned, it shows that 40% express their interest towards politics, 48% shows no interest in politics and 12% give no answer to it. Those who show interest say that they have interest in election result; they even discuss politics with their friends, keep in touch with the political news watching television and listening to radio, and also express their desire to stand in elections with an objective to bring betterment of their community through political participation. Rest remain as a silent spectator and those who have little or no interest in politics say that politics is nothing but the wastage of time and they need to concentrate on their economic activities and career to ensure their betterment.

**Figure-6.2**

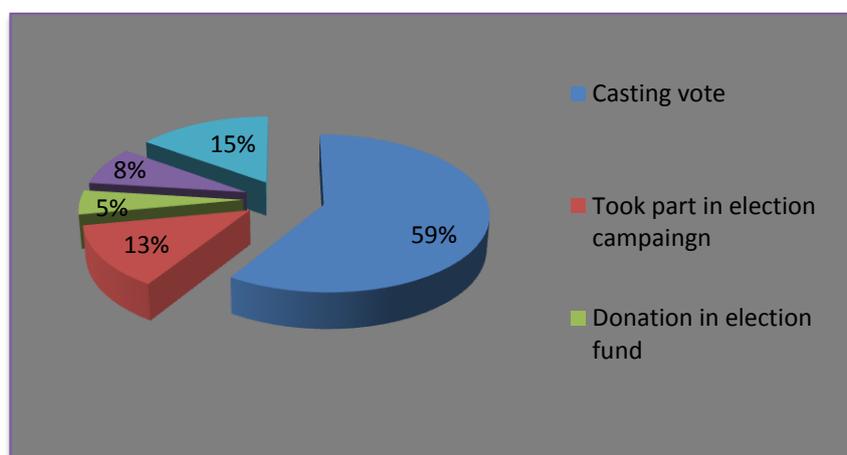
**Electoral Participation of the Respondents**



So far as the electoral participation of the respondent is concerned it is found that 72% of the voters cast their vote in periodic election, 15% do not cast their vote and 13% sometimes cast their vote in the elections. Those respondents who are out stationed participants do not vote regularly, but some who do not cast vote because of their apathy towards voting and lack of faith in democratic governance of the country.

**Figure- 6.3**

**Types of Participation in Politics of the Respondents**

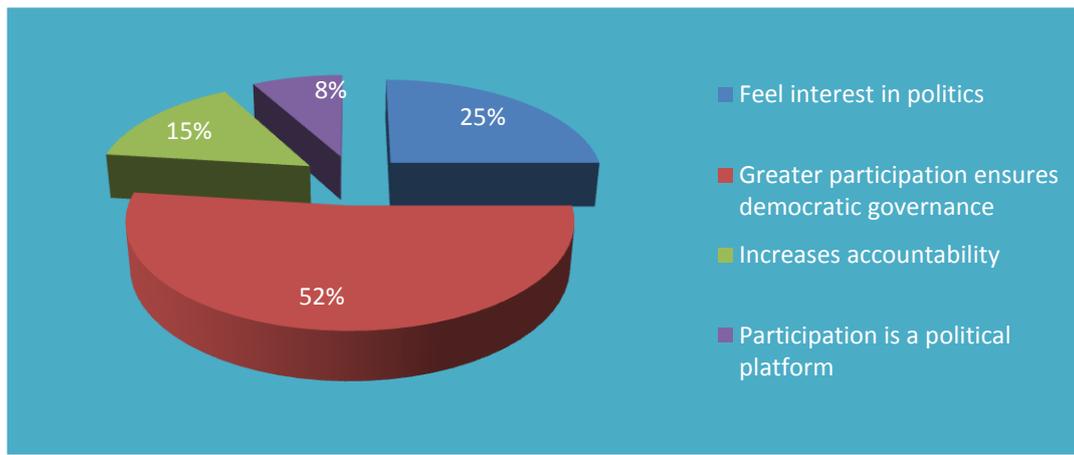


Participation in politics have different variations ranging from casting vote, taking part in election campaign, donate to party funds, selection of the candidate, request others to cast vote in favor of candidate of their choice and collect subscriptions for elections. So far regarding the types of participation in politics is concerned it is find 59% of the electors participate in politics by casting vote, 13% take part in election campaign, 5% donate to

party fund, 8% attend the election meetings and 15% prepare and distribute posters and slips of the respective political parties they work for. Some respondent attend the election meetings, help in organizing election meeting, campaigning the party agenda from door to door to raise political consciousness of the ordinary people towards political parties and elections.

**Figure- 6.4**

**Reasons Towards Political Participation Among the Respondents**

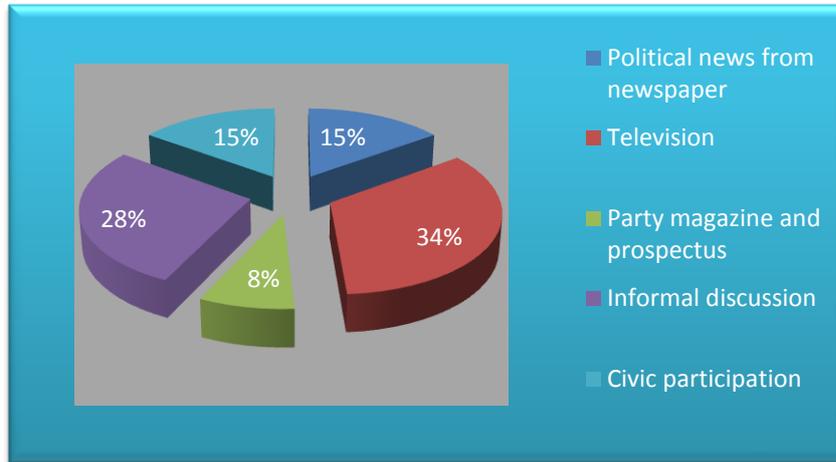


The voters participate in politics because they feel interest in politics, they believe that greater participation means better democratic governance and through attending the meetings of gram sabha, they can express their views and exchange their opinion regarding issues related to politics and elections. Most of the respondents take part in formal participation by casting vote, some in informal participation like donation to party funds or take part in election campaign. So far regarding the reasons towards political participation is concerned we find from the above figure that 8% of the respondent says that participation is a political platform, 15% says it increases accountability, 25% have interest in politics and 52% participate in politics because they believe that participation is a political platform through which their interests will be secured. Through participation in gram sabha meetings they can discuss their problems of their village, can suggest remedies for it and if possible can exchange their helping hands or to assist the government to implement developmental schemes or project for the people. Even through discussion and taking part in organized meetings of the political parties, the common people will be able to know about various schemes of rural developmental programmes and the ways to take maximum advantage from it. Hence people participate in politics. Casting vote according to the respondent is not

the only way to show citizen's responsibility towards government, but the people shall also engage themselves in two-way idea exchanging process between the elected representative and people to ensure better governance.

**Figure- 6.5**

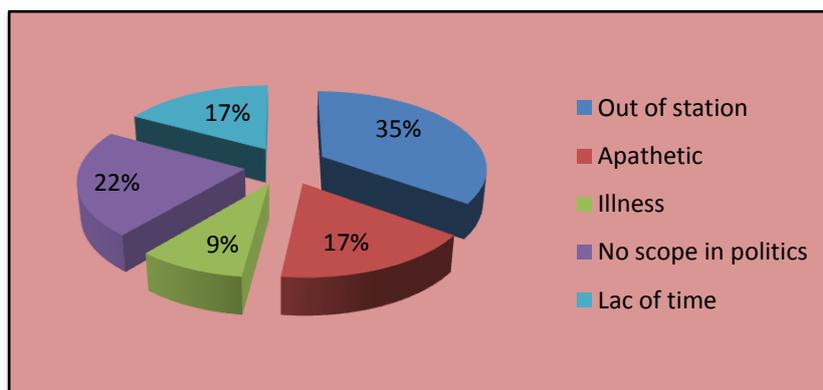
**Agencies that Increases Political Consciousness of the Respondents**



The agencies like newspaper, television, party magazines, informal discussion and civic participation increases political consciousness of the respondents. So far as political consciousness of the respondent is concerned 15% get aware through news in paper, 15% through civic participation, 34% through television, 8% through party magazines and 28% in informal discussion. All these agencies raise the political consciousness of the respondent in the district and motivate the voters to cast vote meaningfully in all elections.

**Figure- 6.6**

**Reasons for Lack of Participation of the Respondents**

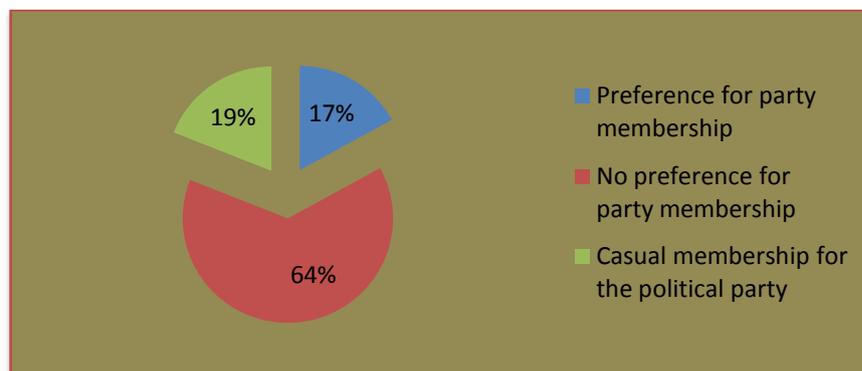


In conducting the interview in Aurangabad 2 gram panchayat, the researcher finds that out of 150 respondents, 23 of them do not cast vote. In the above figure 23 respondents is taken as 100% who do not cast vote. So far as reasons for lack of participation of the respondents

is concerned 17% do not vote due to lack of time, 35% do not vote because they are out station candidates, 17% are apathetic towards voting, 22% feel that there is no scope in politics and hence they feel no interest towards political participation because it is nothing but the wastage of time and 9% do not participate due to illness. Apathetic voters opine that politics give no scope to the citizen and they themselves have to find ways for their good future and casting vote will not simply change their life and status. Hence they believe that it's better to think to lead a better future, to find ways of economic development rather in wastage time in casting vote. This is also true that the respondents who do not reside in the village due to education or job purpose can not vote in all the elections. These are the causes for not participating in politics.

**Figure- 6.7**

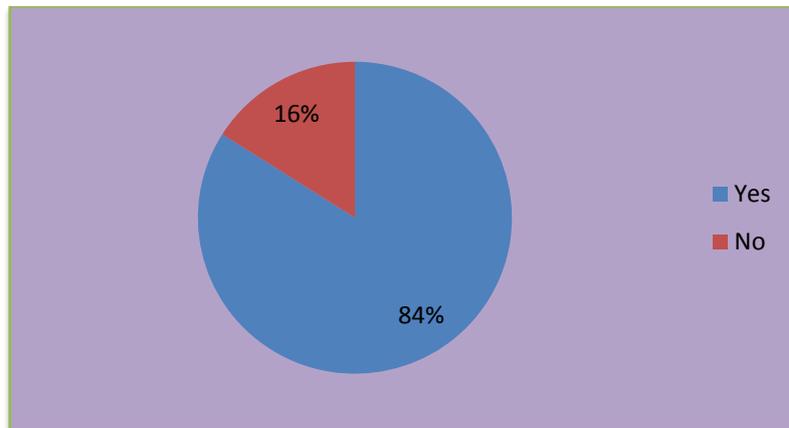
**Preference for Party Membership of the Respondents**



In this gram panchayat the voters are all aware of the parties contested and wined seat in last panchayati raj election in 2013 from their area. The respondents are all conscious of the name of their gram panchayat prodhan elected from their area, MLA from Suti 2 block and elected representative of Zilla Parishad and Sabhapati of Panchayat Samiti. The respondents are also aware of the party affiliation of the elected representative from their area and also aware of their political activities. To be precise the respondents are all politically conscious voters and are not strongly affiliated towards any particular political party. So far as preference for party membership of the respondent is concerned out of total respondents only 17% has party preference, 64% has no party preference and 19% has casual membership. Most of the respondent is casual party workers; they join party rally or campaign for the party, distribute slips, posters from door to door for some monetary gains. But most of the respondents try to remain aloof from politics. The respondents in this GP are politically conscious voters and change their views according to the activities of the party and elected representative in their area.

**Figure- 6.8**

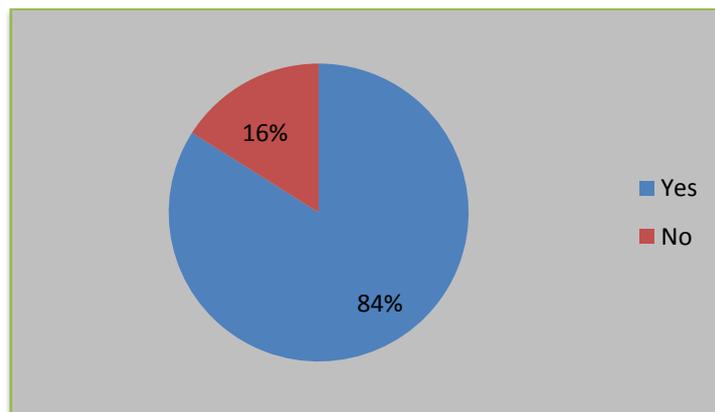
**Interest in Election Result of the Respondents**



So far as the interest of the respondent in election result is concerned 16% of the respondents opine that they have no interest in election result but 84% shows interest in election result. The respondents say that they are not satisfied with the candidate who stood in the election and they are not suitable to contest or win the election. Most of the people vote to a specific party and not to the candidate. Sometimes the elected candidates lack in administrative knowledge hence can not ensure benefits for the people of the area. Others who show interest in voting result remain satisfied with the election result because they believe that the elected representative will ensure benefits to the people.

**Figure- 6.9**

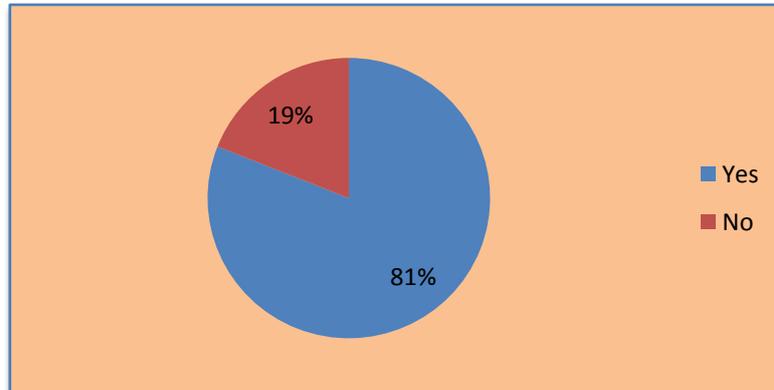
**Awareness of Rural Development Schemes Among the Respondents**



So far as the awareness of rural developmental schemes is concerned 84% of the respondents are not aware of these governmental schemes. Most of the people are literate in this gram panchayat and know all the rural schemes like IAY, MGNREGA, NSAP, and take advantage of these schemes like they receive house building loan, widow and old age

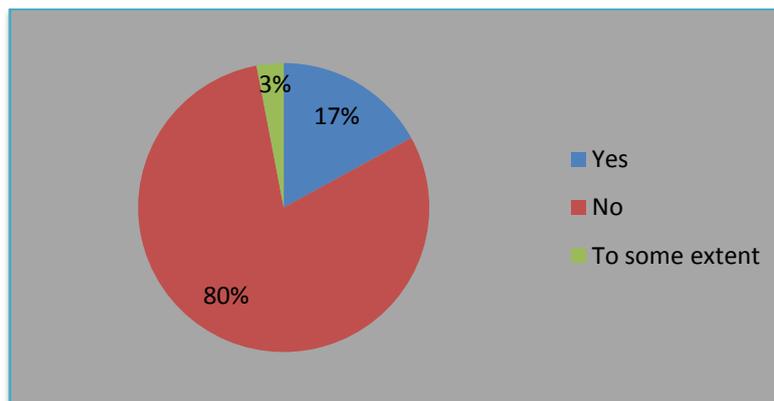
pension, receive medicines and dietary supplements for the children and pregnant women of the village from panchayat office and funds for house building purpose.

**Figure- 6.10**  
**Respondents Opinion of Receiving the Benefits of 100 days Work**



So far as the benefits of 100 days work is concerned 19% do not receive this benefits of 100 days work but 81% receive the benefits from the government. The migrant workers who do not reside in the village, their names have not been enrolled properly and they possess no job card. Rests of the respondent who possess valid job card receive the benefits of 100 days work in their area, and they are aware of various governmental schemes.

**Figure- 6.11**  
**Respondents Opinion of Receiving the Assistance from GP Prodhan in Economic**



So far as assistance from the prodhan in respective gram panchayat is concerned the respondents say that they are not getting any assistance due to central negligence in delivering funds to the state. 80% of the respondent says that the Gram Panchayat prodhan cannot help them in economic gains rather they have to find ways through their own initiative. 3% says that to some extent Gram Panchayat prodhan is responsible because he can channelize funds for 100 days work, 17% says that prodan is responsible for enrollment

of names of the individual, to provide them with job card and even responsible for creating job demand and space for the people so that apart from beedi making the people can receive the benefits of 100 days work from the government to ensure their economic gains in an area where there is lack of industry and agriculture.

To see the strong inclination towards participation on the part of the respondent in this gram panchayat, the researcher ask the people whether public opinion has any impact on the functioning of the government or individual's participation in politics and voting, the respondent agree with the researcher. Friends, family members, discussion of politics with aged person of the locality shapes individual's political attitude. Educational level also influences individual's political behavior. Public opinion sometimes motivates the functioning of the government for example in gram sabha meetings when some proposals are given meant for public welfare then it may or may not influences governmental decision. As the people of Aurangabad 2 GP is educationally and economically developed possess political consciousness and interests, joined gram sabha meetings regularly, keep touch with political news discuss politics with friends and civic participation is high in this area which make the respondent politically aware which we find among the respondents through their active participation in politics.

#### **4.1 Nature of Political Participation of the Respondent in Umrapur Gram Panchayat – A Brief Empirical Analysis**

Political participation determines and shapes the political life and hence participation is defined as a civic duty. Political participation implies those actions of citizens by which they seek to influence or to support government and politics. Realizing the importance of participation it must be mentioned that political awareness is the essential precondition for political participation. Here the researcher tried to find out political interest of the respondent which is closely associated with their political ambition. An individual with some positive interest in politics may have some political ambition it necessarily does not require any political background. The researcher also tried to analyze the degree of political interest among the respondent. In this study, the researcher also focused on the partisan preference which is the necessary prerequisite for political participation. It is partisan preference which actually provides the basic impetus for participation in politics.

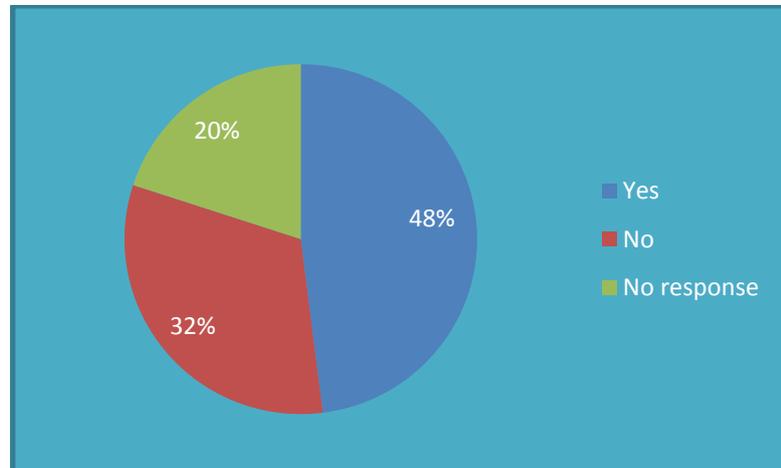
The researcher has attempted to examine the sense of political efficacy of the respondents because it is a kind of subjective feeling of individuals that if they so desire

they can affect the decision making process which is positively related to participation. Political efficacy is the feeling that political and social change is possible and that the individual citizen can play a part in bringing about this change. To make an analysis of political consciousness of the respondent, the researcher has undertaken a survey method to assess whether the opinion of the voters has any impact on government or whether they have a proper understanding about the working of panchayati raj institution.

Umrapur GP has been selected purposely by the researcher to study the nature of participation as the most underdeveloped gram panchayat in Suti 2 block. From this gram panchayat one gram sansad Sahajadpur Paschimpara has been selected 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 voter list. Here research has been conducted with both open and closed ended questionnaire to obtain an empirical analysis of political participation of the respondent in Umrapur gram panchayat.

**Figure- 6.12**

**Interest Towards Politics Among the Respondents**

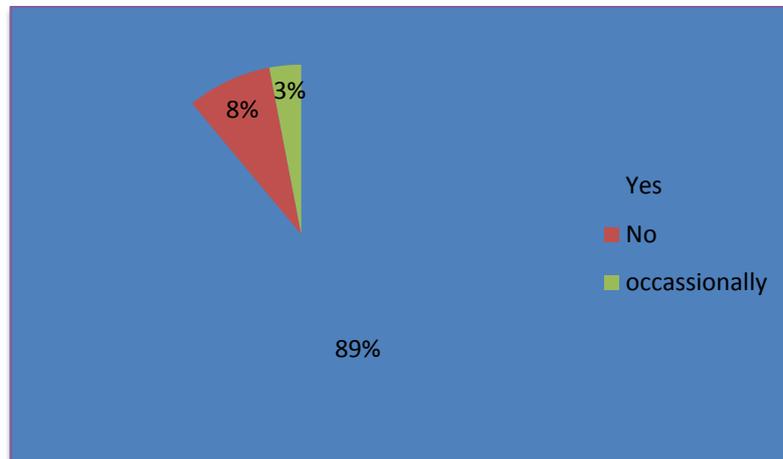


So far interest towards politics is concerned in Umrapur gram panchayat, 32% of the respondent express that they possess no interest in politics, 20% remain silent regarding their interest in politics and 48% says that they have interest in politics. Due to low political knowledge, low educational attainment the respondent could not provide any answer whether they possess any interest in politics or not. 48% voters say that they feel vote is their political right in a democratic country and hence they take part in active politics and

have lot of interest in political matters. Rest of the apathetic voter expresses no interest in politics.

**Figure- 6.13**

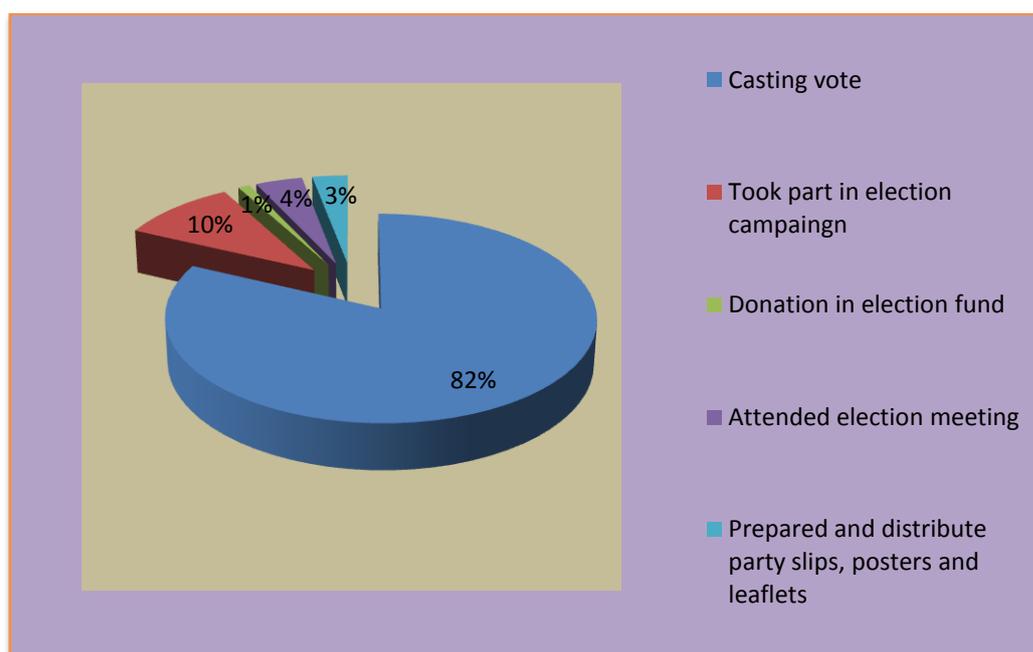
**Respondents Interest in Casting Vote in Election**



Umrapur gram panchayat is economically and educationally is in backward position. So far as electoral participation of the respondent is concerned 89% of the respondent cast vote as they feel that vote is the right of every citizen to express their ideas, 8% do not vote because they feel that vote makes no difference in their life and status 3% occasionally vote because they do not reside in the area but comes occasionally. Vote to these respondents of this area comes as an occasion, they like so much of gatherings, election campaigning for the party and they feel an urge to cast vote. They believe that through voting they can make a difference in the governmental work which will bring development in the area. It may be inferred that the respondents are very much loyal to the candidates and they cast their vote to express their opinion.

**Figure- 6.14**

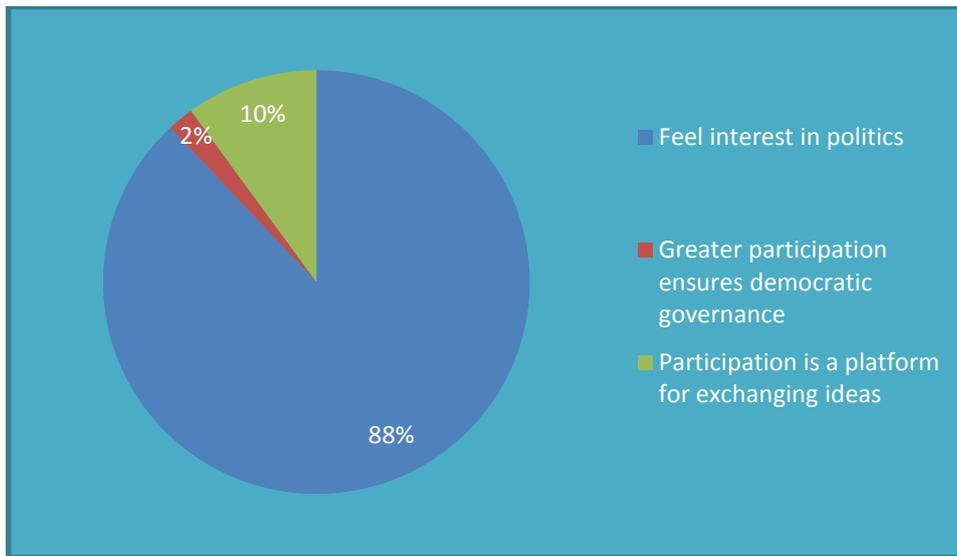
**Types of Participation in Politics Among the Respondents**



The respondent of this area participate in politics by casting vote, took part in election campaign, donate to election fund, attend election meetings and prepared posters and slips for the party and distribute it from door to door to make the people conscious about politics in this region. The respondents opine that through participation in politics the problems of their GP will be focused and proper attention will be given to bring development in the area. Most of the respondent is ignorant about good governance, the function of welfare state and are not conscious about their rights. They participate in politics but in a passive way. Most of the voters in this area are manipulate by the political leaders or mohalla leaders with whom the voters share their problems. The respondent cast vote to those candidates to whom they are directed to cast vote. In most of the gram sabha meetings the respondents remain silent or agree with the views of their elected representative in their gram panchayat. So far as a type of participation of the respondent is concerned 82% only cast vote but remain aloof from all political activities. 10% take part in election campaign, 1% make donation in election fund, 4% attend the election meeting or the meeting of the gram sansad to discuss political issues and 3% involve in preparing and distributing slips, posters and party leaflets at the time of election to raise political consciousness of the voters in this backward area.

**Figure- 6.15**

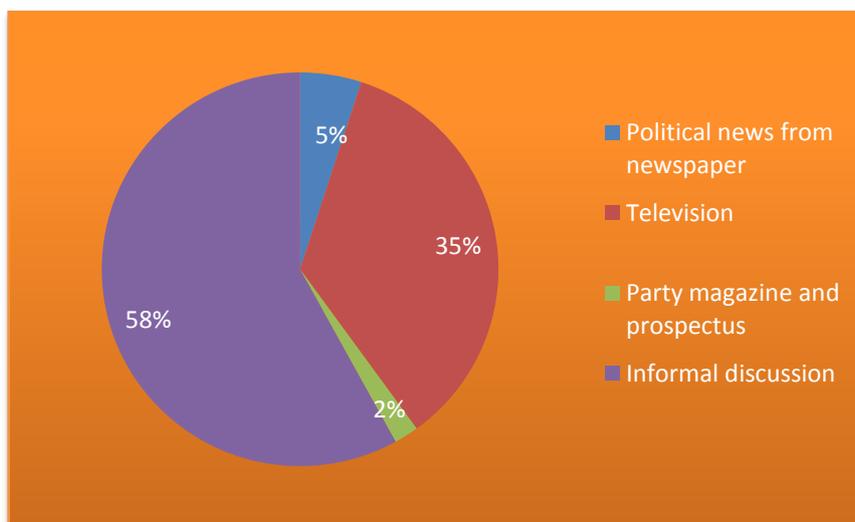
**Responses of the Respondents Towards Political Participation**



So far as the responses of the participants is concerned 88% have interest in politics so they participate, 2% feel that greater participation ensures democratic governance and 10% feels that participation is a platform for exchanging ideas within the elected representatives and the people for better functioning of government. Political participation is a way through which they can express their grievances and secure their rights.

**Figure- 6.16**

**Agencies That Increases Political Consciousness Among the Respondents**

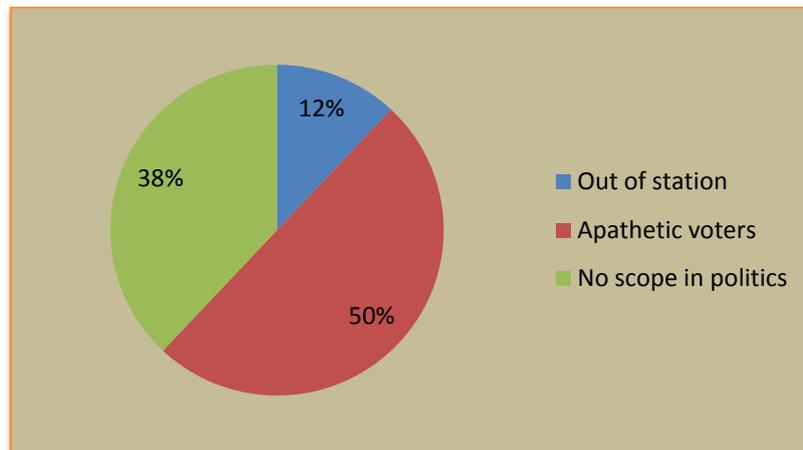


The above figure shows 58% gain political awareness through informal discussion, 35% through television, 5% from newspaper and 2% from party magazines and prospectus. Here civic participation plays an important role in rousing political consciousness of the people. People after regular prayer in mosque, gather together and engage in political discussion

through which they become aware of the activities and functioning of various political parties. Through this group discussion the respondents become aware of the national and international news to gain the political consciousness in this underdeveloped area.

**Figure- 6.17**

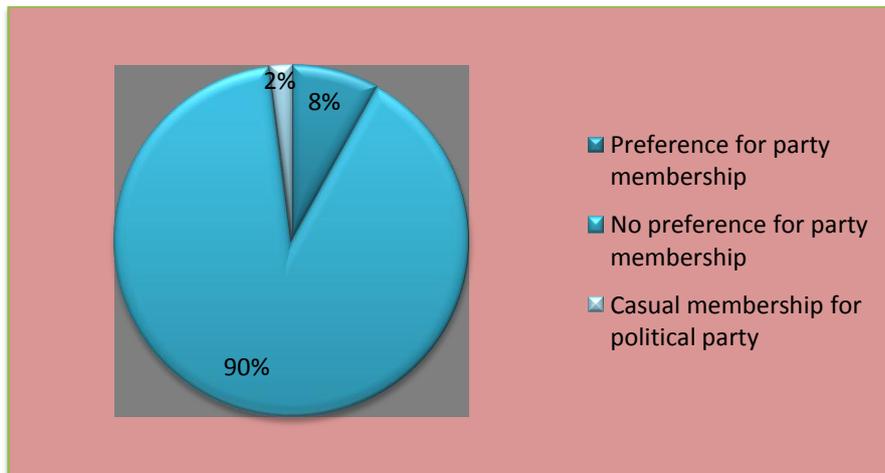
**Reasons for Lack of Participation Among the Respondents**



In conducting the interview in Umrapur gram panchayat, the researcher finds that out of 100 respondents, 8 of them do not cast vote. In the above figure 8 respondents is taken as 100% who do not cast vote. So far as reasons for lack of participation of the respondents is concerned in this gram panchayat 50% of the respondents are apathetic voters, 12% can not vote because they are outstation voters and 38% feel that there is no scope in politics. Some respondent do not vote because they do not like party candidate. Though they know that casting vote is their political right still does not vote because they possess no faith in democratic governance which is full of corruption. Some voters opine that due to family problems or illness they do not cast vote, and some of them say that they do not understand politics so they do not cast vote.

**Figure- 6.18**

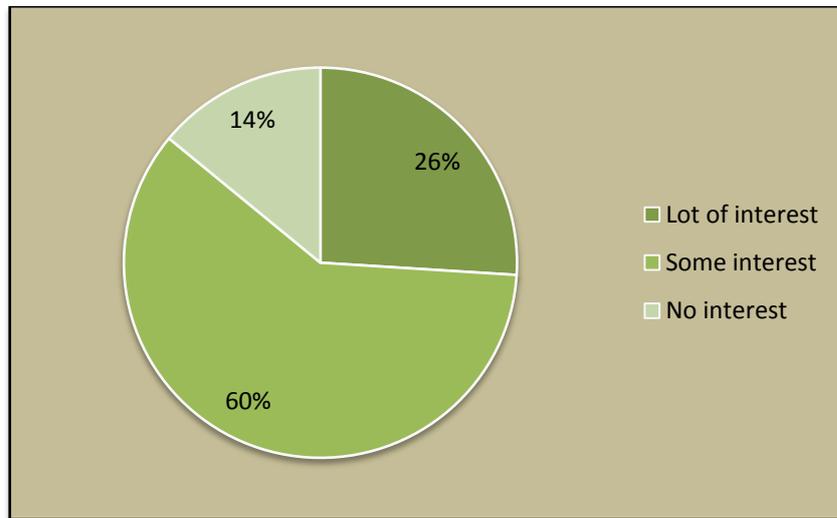
**Preference for Party Membership Among the Respondents**



So far as preference for party membership is concerned party loyalty in this GP is very strong. Here the CPI (M) candidate has won the panchayat election and the candidates motivate the people in such a way so that they develop a strong party preference in this GP. Moreover the educational attainment of the respondent is low so they get easily motivate by the party activist. Hence 90% of the voters have strong party affiliation, 2% possess casual party affiliation and 8% has no preference for any particular party. Most of the respondents in this area believe that the party they prefer will ensure development like construction of tube wells in their area, will run charitable society to provide ambulance at free of cost, provide safe and pure drinking water, maintain the roads which has been neglected by the state government so far and hence they possess a strong party loyalty and preference towards left party in this area. Those who possess little or no party affiliation feels that party affiliation or loyalty to one particular party hinders the way to elect proper political representative who will work for the benefits of the people in this backward region.

**Figure- 6.19**

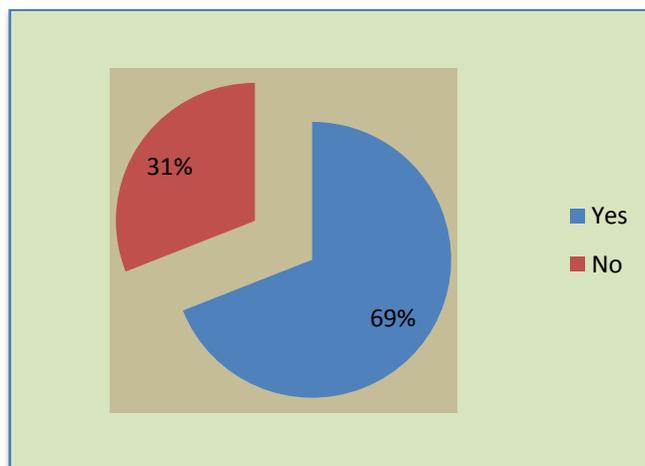
**Respondents Interest in Election Result**



The above figure shows that 60% of the respondent has lot of interest in election result, 26% has some interest and 14% possess no interest in the election result. The respondents are very much eager to hear the name of the winning candidate whom they cast vote and hence though they are not politically conscious still had lot of interest in election result. Those who have no interest in election result are the apathetic voters and possess no or little interest in politics. Some of the respondent has some interest in politics that is they are eager to see the levels of development in their area through the initiative of their gram panchayat prodhan.

**Figure-6.20**

**Respondents Awareness of Rural Developmental Schemes**

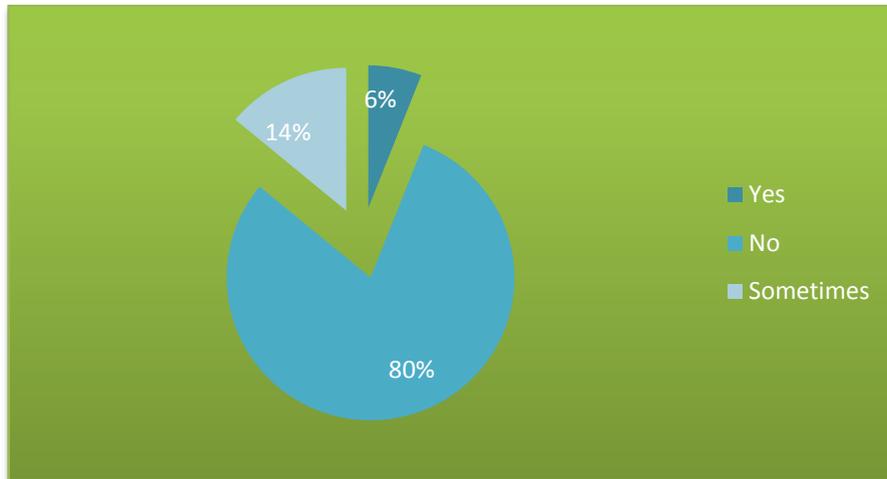


Among the total respondents of this area 69% are conscious about the rural developmental schemes and 31% are not conscious about the rural governmental schemes because of their

low level of political and educational attainment and hence deprived from receiving governmental grants like IAY, MGNREGA and financial assistance given in rural area for Nirmal Bangla Prakalpa mission to construct individual and community toilet.

**Figure- 6.21**

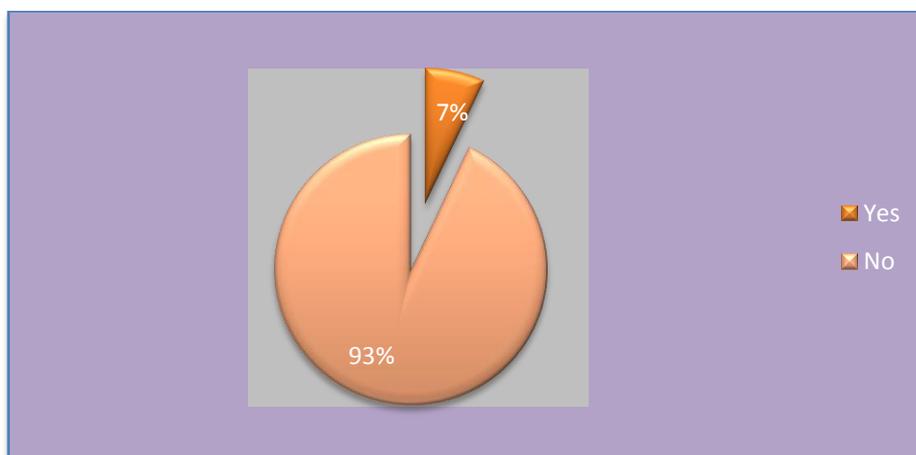
**Respondents Opinion Regarding Benefits of 100 Days Work**



So far as benefits of 100 days work is concerned in the rural area 80% of the respondents say that they do not receive the benefits of 100 days work, 6% says they receive the benefits and 14% says they receive the benefits sometimes. This is an obvious fact that some workers are casual workers they do not have any job card and hence receive no benefits at all, but most of the people receive no benefits because the entire schemes has withheld temporarily from the government and those who receive the aid actually receive it from GP prodhan at his personal initiatives which they misunderstood as governmental benefits in this GP.

**Figure- 6.22**

**Respondents Opinion Regarding Assistance from GP Prodhan in Economic Gains**



The above figure shows that 93% of voters opine that gram panchayat Pradhan do not help in achieving any economic gains and only 7% says that prodhan helps in economic gains of the respondent. The prodhan with his efficiency can divert funds for the area from state government or a central scheme to give aid to the people for building homes or to arrange funds in the pension schemes for the aged people from panchayat office.

To see the inclination towards participation or partisan preference, the researcher make an enquiry to the respondents that whether public opinion has any impact on the functioning of the government or influence individual's participation in politics or in casting votes. The respondents remain indifferent to give any answer to this question. Here the respondent does not participate very actively in gram sansad meetings. Lack of educational and political consciousness among the respondent fails to foster strong public opinion among them. Hence they are easily motivated by the political parties and hence the respondent develops a strong allegiance to party candidates. The respondent belong to the ordinary family and they have no political background nor their family members are involved in politics hence have little knowledge about what politics is and hence says that their prodhan with his own initiative and party funds ensures many benefits to them like help them to construct tube wells; provide drinking water to these remote areas of the district and provide medical facilities to the people. Hence without any judgments the respondents cast vote to these candidates in this gram panchayat.

#### **4.2 Variations in Political Participation in Aurangabad 2 and Umrapur Gram Panchayat – A Brief Summarization**

Competitive politics operating through the system of free elections has drawn millions of very differently situated people into the political process, opening up opportunities for them in sharing and controlling power and in claiming a share in the divisible benefits it offers. Hence people are politically motivated. Variations in political participation occur due to various determining factors or independent variables like participant's educational background, occupation, age and income. For the purpose of testing relationship between independent variables and participation reliance has been made on chi-square test to determine how the independent variables determine the political participation of the respondent in Aurangabad 2 and Umrapur gram panchayats. 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 greater than table value then null hypotheses is rejected and if chi-square value is less than the table value then null-hypotheses is accepted.

**Table- 6.11**

**Occupation and Interest in Politics in Aurabgabad 2 Gram Panchayat**

Occupation	Interest in Politics			Total	Percentage (%)
	Yes	Indifferent	No		
Beedi Workers	55	16	20	90	60
School Teacher	2	-	8	10	7
College Teacher	-	-	3	3	2
Private Job Holders	-	-	15	15	10
Doctor	-	-	1	1	0.5
Lawyer	-	-	1	1	0.5
Student	3	2	20	25	16
Governmental Clerk	1	-	4	5	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>

$$X^2 = 65.14, df = 14$$

In table 6.11, the researcher tried to find an association between occupation and interest in politics in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat. Here are two attributes A= classes of occupational groups and B= three kinds of orientation towards politics in the society. On the basis of above information, it is to test null hypotheses  $H_0$ ; among the respondent of eight occupational groups are independent against the alternative Hypotheses  $H_1$ : three different kinds of orientation towards politics are associated. The table shows that the observed  $x^2$  value (65.14) is greater than table value of  $x^2$  which is 23.685 and 29.141 both at .05 and .01 level of significance. Thus it may be concluded that chi-square value is greater than table value so null hypotheses is rejected. From the above test it may infer that there is significant association among various occupational groups and their orientation towards politics in the society in Aurangabad2 Gram Panchayat.

**Table- 6.12****Occupation and Interest in Politics in Umrapur Gram Panchayat**

Occupation	Interest in Politics			Total	Percentage (%)
	Yes	No	Indifferent		
Beedi Workers	32	40	20	92	92
Agricultural Labor	-	6	-	6	6
Doctor	-	6	-	1	1
Engineer	-	6	-	1	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

$$X^2 = 9.37, df = 6$$

In table 6.12, the researcher tried to find association between occupation and interest in politics in Umrapur Gram Panchayat. Here are two attributes A= classes of occupational groups and B= three kinds of orientation towards politics in the society. On the basis of above information, it is to test null hypotheses  $H_0$ ; among the respondent of four occupational groups are independent against the alternative Hypotheses1:= three different kinds of orientation towards politics are associated. The table shows that the observed  $x^2$  value (9.37) is less than table value of  $x^2$  which is 12.592 and 22.457 both at .05 and .01 level of significance. Thus it may be concluded 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 orientation towards politics in the society in Umrapur Gram Panchayat.

**Table-6.13****Income and Political Ambition in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat**

Income	Interest for Political Power			Total	Percentage (%)
	Yes	No	Indifferent		
Below 3000	2	16	36	54	36
30001-5000	8	13	33	54	36
5001-10000	8	11	5	24	16
10001 and Above	15	2	1	18	12
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>

$$X^2 = 62.05, df = 6$$

In table 6.13, the researcher tried to find association between different income groups and their interest to acquire political power in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat. Here are two attributes A= classes of income groups and B= three kinds of expression towards political power in the society. On the basis of above information, it is to test null hypotheses  $H_0$ ; among the respondent of four classes of income groups are independent against the alternative Hypotheses1:= three different kinds of orientation towards attaining political power are associated. The table shows that the observed  $x^2$  value (62.05) is greater than table value of  $x^2$  which is 12.592 and 22.457 both at .05 and .01 level of significance. Thus it may be concluded that chi-square value is greater than table value so null hypotheses is rejected and there is significant association among the income groups and their interest towards political power (political ambition) in the society in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat.

**Table-6.14**

**Income and Political Ambition in Umrapur Gram Panchayat**

Income	Interest for Political Power			Total	Percentage (%)
	Yes	No	Indifferent		
Below 3000	1	36	5	42	42
30001-5000	1	17	6	24	24
5001-10000	5	14	7	26	26
10001 and Above	6	2	-	8	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

$X^2 = 38.41, df = 6$

In table 6.14, the researcher tried to find association between different income groups and their interest in politics for political power in Umrapur Gram Panchayat. Here are two attributes A= classes of income groups and B= three kinds of expression towards political power in the society. On the basis of above information, it is to test null hypotheses  $H_0$ ; among the respondent of four classes of income groups are independent against the alternative Hypotheses1:= three different kinds of orientation towards attaining political power are associated. The table shows that the observed  $x^2$  value (38.41) is greater than table value of  $x^2$  which is 12.592 and 22.457 both at .05 and .01 level of significance. Thus it may be concluded that chi-square value is greater than table value so null hypotheses is

rejected and there is significant association among the income groups and their interest towards political power (political ambition) in the society in Umrapur Gram Panchayat.

**Table-6.15**

**Education and Political Awareness in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat**

Education	Political Awareness			Total	Percentage (%)
	High	Medium	Low		
MA	6	2	-	8	6
Graduation	19	11	5	35	23
Law Graduate	1	-	-	1	0.5
Doctor	1	-	-	1	0.5
Higher Secondary	8	12	-	20	14
Secondary	7	20	8	35	23
Upper Primary	6	9	16	31	21
Primary	8	3	4	15	10
Illiterate	-	3	1	4	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>

$X^2 = 64.14, df = 16$

In table 6.15, the researcher tried to find association between education and their political awareness in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat. Here are two attributes A= educational attainment of the respondent and B= three kinds of political awareness in the society. On the basis of above information, it is to test null hypotheses  $H_0$ ; among the respondent of nine different levels of educational attainment are independent against the alternative Hypotheses $1$ : = three different levels of political awareness are associated. The observed  $x^2$  value (64.14) is greater than table value of  $x^2$  which is 26.296 and 39.252 both at .05 and .01 level of significance. Thus it may be concluded that chi-square value is greater than table value so null hypotheses is rejected and there is significant association among the educational attainment and political awareness in the society in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat.

**Table-6.16****Education and Political Awareness in Umrapur Gram Panchayat**

Education	Political Awareness			Total	Percentage (%)
	High	Medium	Low		
MA	-	-	-	-	-
Graduation	1	-	-	1	1
Law Graduate	-	3	-	3	3
Doctor	1	-	-	1	1
Higher Secondary	2	4	1	7	7
Secondary	2	7	3	12	12
Upper Primary	2	3	2	7	7
Primary	-	3	1	4	4
Illiterate	2	22	34	58	58
Some Informal Education	-	-	7	7	7
<b>Total</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

$$X^2 = 46.88, df = 18$$

In table 6.16, the researcher tried to find association between education and their political awareness in Umrapur Gram Panchayat. Here are two attributes A= educational attainment of the respondent and B= three kinds of political awareness in the society. On the basis of above information, it is to test null hypotheses  $H_0$ ; among the respondent of ten different levels of educational attainment are independent against the alternative Hypotheses1:= three different levels of political awareness are associated. Here the observed  $x^2$  value (46.88) is greater than table value of  $x^2$  which is 28.869 and 42.312 both at .05 and .01 level of significance. Thus it may be concluded that chi-square value is greater than table value so null hypotheses is rejected and there is significant association among the educational attainment and political awareness in the society in Umrapur Gram Panchayat.

**Table-6.17****Age and Party Preference in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat**

Age	Party Preference			Total	Percentage (%)
	Strong	Medium	Low		
18-30	18	14	20	52	35
31-40	19	7	12	38	25
41-50	3	7	6	16	11
51-60	8	8	16	32	21
61-70	6	2	-	8	5
70 and above	4	-	-	4	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>

$$X^2 = 24.77, df=10$$

In table 6.17, the researcher tried to find association between age and party preference of the respondent in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat. Here are two attributes A= age of the respondent and B= three kinds levels of party preference in the society. On the basis of above information, it is to test null hypotheses  $H_0$ ; among the respondent of six different category of age groups are independent against the alternative Hypotheses  $H_1$ : three different levels of party preference are associated. Hence it is seen the observed  $x^2$  value (24.77) is greater than table value of  $x^2$  which is 18.307 both at .05 and .01 level of significance. Thus it may be concluded that chi-square value is greater than table value so null hypotheses is rejected and there is significant association between age and partisan preference in the society in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat.

**Table-6.18****Age and Party Preference in Umrapur Gram Panchayat**

Age	Party Preference			Total	Percentage (%)
	Strong	Medium	Low		
18-30	42	10	4	56	56
31-40	8	2	2	12	12
41-50	9	3	1	13	13
51-60	7	2	2	11	11
61-70	4	1	-	5	5
70 and above	3	-	-	3	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

$$X^2 = 12.41, df=10$$

In table 6.18, the researcher tried to find association between age and party preference of the respondent in Umrapur Gram Panchayat. Here are two attributes A= age of the respondent and B= three different levels of party preference in the society. On the basis of above information, it is to test null hypotheses  $H_0$ ; among the respondent of six different levels of age groups are independent against the alternative Hypotheses1:= three different levels of party preference in the society are associated. The observed  $\chi^2$  value (12.41) is less than table value of  $\chi^2$  which is 18.307 and 29.588 both at .05 and .01 level of significance. Thus it may be concluded that chi-square value is less than table value so null hypotheses is accepted and there is no significant association between age and party preference in the society in Umrapur Gram Panchayat.

**Table-6.19**

**Occupation and Forms of Participation in Politics in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat**

Occupation	Forms of Participation					Total	Percentage (%)
	Cast Vote	Election Campaigns	Donation to Party Fund	Party Activist	Join Election Meeting		
Beedi Workers	52	16	-	14	8	90	60
School Teacher	10	-	-	-	-	10	7
College Teacher	3	-	-	-	-	3	2
Private Job Holder	9	3	-	-	3	15	10
Doctor	1	-	-	-	-	1	0.5
Lawyer	1	-	-	-	-	1	0.5
Student	18	4	-	-	3	25	16
Governmental Clerk	5	-	-	-	-	5	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>

$\chi^2 = 21.4, df=28$

In table 6.19, attempt has been made to find association between occupation and forms of participation in politics among the respondent in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat. Here are two attributes A= classes of different occupational groups and B= 5 different forms of

participation in politics in the society. On the basis of above information, it is to test null hypotheses  $H_0$ ; among the respondent of eight different occupational groups are independent against the alternative Hypotheses1:= five different forms of participation are associated. The observed  $x^2$  value (21.4) is less than table value of  $x^2$  which is 41.337 and 56.893 both at .05 and .01 levels of significance. Thus it may be concluded that chi-square value is less than table value so null hypotheses is accepted and there is no significant association between different occupational groups and forms of political participation in the society in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat.

**Table-6.20**

**Occupation and Forms of Participation in Politics in Umrapur Gram Panchayat**

Occupation	Forms of Participation					Total	Percentage (%)
	Cast Votes	Election Campaigns	Donation to Party Fund	Party Activist	Join Election Meeting		
Beedi Workers	50	20	-	8	14	92	92
Agricultural Laborer	6	-	-	-	-	6	6
Doctor	1	-	-	-	-	1	1
Engineer	1	-	-	-	-	1	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

$$X^2 = 6.26, df=12$$

In table 6.20, the researcher tried to find association between occupation and forms of participation in politics among the respondent in Umrapur Gram Panchayat. Here are two attributes A= classes of different occupational groups and B= 5 different forms of participation in politics in the society. On the basis of above information, it is to test null hypotheses  $H_0$ ; among the respondent of four different occupational groups are independent against the alternative Hypotheses1:= five different forms of participation are associated. The observed  $x^2$  value (6.26) is less than table value of  $x^2$  which is 21.026 and 32.909 both at .05 and .01 levels of significance. Thus it may be concluded that chi-square value is less than table value so null hypotheses is accepted and there is no significant association between different occupational groups and forms of political participation in the society in Umrapur Gram Panchayat.

Hence while comparing the nature of participation in the two respective GPs it is found that educational attainment is an important variable in determining political consciousness among the respondent in the two GPs. Similarly, income age and occupational status influences the mode of participation and hence we find the differences in the two gram panchayat respectively. In Aurangabad 2 GP the researcher found that high educational level leads to good political consciousness, party preference varies according to age, people with good occupational status do not always take part in all forms of participation but possess high political ambition and people of high income groups have interest in politics have a desire to acquire good political status and possess high sense of political efficacy. On the contrary, respondent's age, income, occupation, education felt an impact on their participatory level. Low education results in low political awareness, no variations in party preferences is found according to the age, whatever is the respondent's occupation they take part in all forms of political participation as it is found in Umrapur GP where educational attainment is very low. Whereas respondent belong to high income groups want to acquire political power and shows much interest in politics. The respondents possess strong sense of political efficacy. Hence the researcher concludes that in electoral politics, respondent's educational level, their age their income and occupational status acts as a strong determining factor influencing the nature of political participation among the respondent and it motivates the respondent towards attending the electoral participations or in other forms of competitive politics in India's democratic system of governance.

#### **4.3 Comparative Study of Nature of Participation in Aurangabad 2 and Umrapur Gram Panchayat**

Democracy finds its meaning only when the politically conscious people participate in choosing the rule makers of the nation. Aristotle considers democracy as the worst form of government because to him democracy is the rule of the illiterate and unaware people. Hence, political consciousness is an important criterion for the successful running and working of a democratic government. In order to understand the quality of working of democracy, it is essential to study the political consciousness of the people because only the conscious people can make a democracy effective. Political; consciousness is not an isolated phenomenon; it includes political interest, sense of political efficacy and partisan choice. Hence, in this section an attempt has been taken to compare the nature of political participation in two gram panchayat – Aurangabad 2 and Umrapur purposely chosen by the researcher as one is developed and the other underdeveloped gram panchayat in Suti 2

block. The researcher intends to analyze the relationship between socio-economic attributes like age, education, occupation, income which creates or lessens interest in politics, political awareness and sense of political efficacy among the respondent in two gram panchayats.

**Table- 6.21**

**Education and Political Consciousness of the Respondent in Aurangabad 2 GP**

Education	Political Consciousness			Total	Percentage (%)
	High	Medium	Low		
<b>High</b>					
MA	6	2	-	8	6
Graduation	19	11	5	35	23
Law Graduate	1	-	-	1	0.5
Doctor	1	-	-	1	0.5
<b>Medium</b>					
Higher Secondary	8	12	-	20	14
Secondary	7	20	8	35	23
<b>Low</b>					
Upper Primary	6	9	16	31	21
Primary	8	3	4	15	10
Illiterate	-	3	1	4	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>

From the above table 6.21 it may infer that education is an important variable that increases political consciousness among the respondent. In Aurangabad 2 GP respondents with high level of education possess high political consciousness and hence it is not very easy for the party leaders to mobilize the respondents easily. The respondents are all aware of various kinds of rural developmental programmes like MGNERGA, IAY, 100 days work, old age pension schemes and pensions given to widow. Out of 45 respondents with high educational attainment, 27 of them have high political consciousness, 5 low political consciousness and 13 with medium political consciousness. Out of 55 respondents with medium level of educational attainment, 15 have high, 32 have medium and 8 have low level of political consciousness. Out of 50 respondents with low educational attainment, 14 have high, 15 have medium and 21 have low level of political consciousness. Hence political consciousness varies with educational attainment.

Electoral participation is also high where the electors possess political knowledge. The voters are well concern about the candidates who contest elections from various political parties, can express their interest regarding the electoral result, the developmental works done in the GP by the leaders or the negligence of the GP prodhan in bringing development in the gram sansad. The voters are well aware of the functioning of the government. The electors participate as a conscious voter that is why they are exercising their voting rights and they are well aware whom to cast vote. The voters knew that vote is their political right which gives them the opportunity to choose right and responsible government. They had some expectations that through elections they can choose right and responsible government who will ensure development in the GP like improvement of roads, electricity, drainage system, drinking water, improved schools, medical facilities in the block, facilities in the primary health centers by providing trained nurses, life saving drugs, doctors to ensure benefits for the people. Through party magazine, reading newspaper, watching television (political news) and through civic participation the respondents are well aware of politics. The respondent attends gram sabha meetings to express their views for area development programme, point out the problems of the gram panchayat and even suggest measures to adopt by GP prodhan to ensure development in the area.

**Table- 6.22**

**Education and Political Consciousness of the Respondent in Umrapur GP**

Education	Political Consciousness			Total	Percentage (%)
	High	Medium	Low		
<b>High</b>					
MA	-	-	-	-	-
Graduation	1	-	-	1	1
Law Graduate	-	3	-	3	3
Doctor	1	-	-	1	1
<b>Medium</b>					
Higher Secondary	2	4	1	7	7
Secondary	2	7	3	12	12
<b>Low</b>					
Upper Primary	2	3	2	7	7
Primary	-	3	1	4	4
Illiterate	2	22	34	58	58
Some Informal	-	-	7	7	7

<b>Education</b>					
<b>Total</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 6.22 shows that in contrast to Aurangabad 2 gram panchayat in Umrapur there is low political consciousness and low educational attainment among the respondents. Out of 5 respondents attending high educational level, 2 have high and 3 have medium consciousness, out of 19 with medium level of educational attainment, 4 have high, 11 have medium and 4 with low consciousness. Among the respondent of 76 with low educational attainment, 4 have high, 28 have low and 44 have low political consciousness in this GP. Due to lack of education, the respondents are not aware of various governmental projects. The respondents are subject to political mobilization by the leaders also. The respondents do not attend the gram sabha meetings and are not very much aware of the functioning of the government. This is true that all the respondent cast their vote but not according to their political knowledge but they cast vote for the candidate of their choice unanimously in the desire that they can overcome their economic problems. There is very little political apathy in this GP and to the respondent vote comes like an occasion and so they all cast vote though they have very little political knowledge. People with low educational level think that politics is difficult which is beyond their reach and understanding, so they cast vote to the candidate whom they prefer most in their GP. Though this GP is underdeveloped, lacks in all facilities like proper schools, roads and communications, medical facilities, electricity and affected in flood so the respondent lacks proper political environment hence gets easily motivate by the party leaders. Respondents belong to high educational and high income groups lacks in political consciousness in this area. The respondents having good economic status provide their children qualitatively good education outside the district and hence those respondents gradually become apathetic towards politics in the long run even though they are highly educated.

**Table- 6.23****Income and Interest in Politics in Aurangabad 2 GP**

Income	Interest in Politics			Total	Percentage (%)
	Yes	No	Indifferent		
<b>Low</b>					
<b>Below 3000</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>30001-5000</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>Middle</b>					
<b>5001-10000</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>High</b>					
<b>10001 and Above</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>

The above table shows that income is another important variable in political participation. In table 6.23, in Aurangabad 2 GP, we find that people in high income groups have interest in politics. Among 18 respondents of high income groups, 16 have interest in politics, 1 has no interest and 1 remains indifferent to politics. Among 24 respondents of middle income group, 15 have interest, 3 have no interest and 6 are indifferent to politics. Among 108 respondents of low income group, 29 have interest, 68 have no interest and 11 remains indifferent to politics in this GP. The respondents, who possess interest in politics cast vote, take part in election campaigns, attend political meetings, attend gram sabha meetings, discuss political issues with friends and relatives, and study political news. Some take part in active politics by motivating the people in casting vote as they think it as their political rights. Respondents belong to high income groups are expose to different media, internet facility and get aware with the political news and hence develop their interest in politics where the people belong to middle and low income groups are deprive from these facilities. Interest in politics also includes political ambition and political efficacy which is also high in this GP among the respondents of high income groups mainly due to high educational attainment which make the respondent politically aware and which creates interest in politics among the GP people. Respondents belong to high income groups also possess high level of political efficacy. Political efficacy may be defined as the feeling that individual's political action does have or can have an impact upon the political process. 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 respondent which makes the sense of political efficacy strong among the respondents.

**Table- 6.24**  
**Income and Interest in Politics in Umrapur GP**

Income	Interest in Politics			Total	Percentage (%)
	Yes	No	Indifferent		
<b>Low</b>					
<b>Below 3000</b>	17	16	9	42	42
<b>30001-5000</b>	13	5	6	24	24
<b>Middle</b>					
<b>5001-10000</b>	12	10	4	26	26
<b>High</b>					
<b>10001 and Above</b>	6	1	1	8	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

The above table shows that 48% of the respondents possess interest, 32% possess no interest and 20% are indifferent towards politics in this area. Here from the above table 6.24 it may say that out of 8 respondent of high income group, 6 have interest in politics, 1 has no interest and again 1 respondent is indifferent to politics. Among 26 of middle income group, 12 have interest, 10 have no interest and 4 remain indifferent to politics. Similarly, among 66 respondent of low income group, 30 has interest, 21 has no interest and 15 is indifferent to politics in this GP. Those who are indifferent to politics or possess no interest at all argue that they lost their faith in all governmental activities or in the fake promises of the elected representatives since no development is ensured in the GP which is still consider as most underdeveloped GP in the block. The responded think that casting vote or taking part in politics is nothing but the wastage of time.

In Aurangabad 2 GP the people have interest in politics want to achieve power or to exert their influence on decision making process of the government and want to make other people too politically conscious about their voting rights and political participation. But in Umrapur GP, the respondent of high or middle income group want to achieve political power, have interest in politics but do not have the strong 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 respondent who belong to high and middle income groups have political interest but do not have much interest to rouse political consciousness of the community at large. Rather it is found respondents who belong to high income groups maintains a little distance from the general mass in this area but in Aurangabad 2 GP 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 the respondents gets politically motivated by the leaders due to lack of political knowledge. Though the respondent 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. Educational level is low in Umrapur GP and hence no proper mental development and political awareness developed within the respondents. They failed to realize the fact that as a voter they could create a difference in the working of government. Hence they very often attend or do not attend the Gram Shaba meetings out of their political ignorance which acts as a platform for expressing their views to the elected representative. Though the respondent have the desire to acquire high political status, but political ambition is not so strong among the respondents even among the people belong to high income group due to the fact that the GP is mostly underdeveloped with low educational attainment of the respondent and lack of political motivations and knowledge. Most of the respondent in this GP has to work hard for their survival and has to face so many challenges that they do not have sufficient time and opportunity to discuss about politics even for the people who belong to high and middle income groups though many of them possess political ambition.

**Table- 6.25**

**Occupation and Participation in Politics in Aurangabad 2 GP**

Occupation	All Forms of Participation in Politics			Total	Percentage (%)
	Yes	Indifferent	No		
Beedi Workers	52	11	27	90	60
School Teacher	4	-	6	10	7
College Teacher	1	-	2	3	2
Private Job Holders	-	-	15	15	10
Doctor	-	-	1	1	0.5

<b>Lawyer</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0.5</b>
<b>Student</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>Governmental Clerk</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>

The above table 6.25 shows that 18 respondents remain indifferent towards participation and feel that participating actively in politics is the wastage of time and energy, 64 of them participate in all kinds of political activities and 68 never take part in any kind of political activities. Hence it may be inferred that occupation does not determine all kinds of participation in politics of the respondent. In this GP respondents like doctor, engineer do not show their interest in all forms of participation. But at the same time some white collar Job holders and students show their interest in politics like school teachers, college teachers and government official. This area is considered as most developed area in Suti 2 block. The respondents who belong to professional section having good status maintains distance from others in the area or stay outside the district for job and thus except casting vote in the election they find no interest or no time for participating in election campaigning, distributing posters, slips of the party in election, donation to election fund or distributing party manifesto from door to door or arranging and attending party meetings. But the other white collared job holders like the government employee, school and college teacher feel that it is their social duty to rouse the consciousness of the local people of the GP and hence take part in all forms of participation.

**Table- 6.26**

**Occupation and Participation in Politics in Umrapur GP**

<b>Occupation</b>	<b>All Forms of Participation in Politics</b>			<b>Total</b>	<b>Percentage (%)</b>
	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Indifferent</b>		
<b>Beedi Workers</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>92</b>
<b>Agricultural Labor</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Doctor</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Engineer</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

From table 6.26 it may be inferred that in this underdeveloped GP it is found that ranging from white collar professionals to agricultural laborer or the beedi workers take part in all forms of participation in this area to increase political consciousness of the respondent. Hence in this GP occupational status do not hinders political participation. Though political efficacy and political ambition is low among the respondent of this GP, but due to the interest in politics the respondents take part in all possible forms of political participation to rouse political consciousness in this underdeveloped and backward region. Rather it is found the agricultural laborers, and the beedi workers express no interest in participation due to their shortage of time or political ignorance.

**Table 6.27**  
**Age and Partisan Preference in Aurangabad 2 GP**

Age	Party Preference			Total	Percentage (%)
	Strong	Medium	Low		
<b>Low</b>					
<b>18-30</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>31-40</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>Middle</b>					
<b>41-50</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>51-60</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>16</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>4</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>

From the above table 6.27 it may be inferred that age is another important variable which determines partisan preference in the two respective GPs. In the above table it is found that respondent in varied age groups shows different levels of party preference. Respondents in younger age do not have strong party preference; they change their party preference whereas the respondents in old age have a strong party preference. The respondents of younger age possess more political consciousness, they are aware of political happenings could compare the work of the political parties by studying party ideology and hence change their party preference in compare to the aged voters of this gram panchayat.

**Table 6.28****Age and Partisan Preference in Umrapur GP**

Age	Party Preference			Total	Percentage (%)
	Strong	Medium	Low		
<b>Low</b>					
<b>18-30</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>56</b>
<b>31-40</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>Middle</b>					
<b>41-50</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>51-60</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>High</b>					
<b>61-70</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>-</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>73</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

From the above table 6.28 shows that in this area, the respondent does not have any party preference, here age is not the determining factor. The respondent of both the younger and old age more or less possess a strong party preference. The researcher inferred that due to low educational level, lack of proper exposure to political environment the respondent are easily get politically mobilized and hence fails to develop their own opinion for preferring or not preferring the party. They are guided by the traditional stigma of the society to support the party of majority preference in this underdeveloped gram panchayat.

In this study of political participation of the respondent in these two respective gram panchayat it is found that there are differences in modes of participation in both the gram panchayat – one which is most developed model and the other the most underdeveloped model in Suti 2 block in Murshidabad district and the variables like the respondent's income, education, age and occupation strongly determines the various modes of participation of the respondent in the district.

### **5. An Empirical Study of Participation of the People's Representative of the District**

The concept of leadership is one of the basic and perennial issues of politics. Personality of the leaders, their dominating role and their functions influences the political participation of the voters. Here in this section, the researcher tried to focus on political participation of the

elected representatives of Suti II block. Here an interview has been conducted with the 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 role in satisfying the expectations of the people.

The GP prodhan of Umrapur Rakibul Islam opine that he possesses suitable environment to enter in politics at the age of twenty eight. He organizes gram sabha meetings to know the problems of the people. He tries his best to channelize funds from state government to ensure development in his area. He takes initiatives to receive funds from state government allotted for backward area for development of roads, to improve communication, and to set up primary schools. According to him development of the area depends on political awareness of the leader and he tries his best to impart party's ideology within the people in a right way to build a corruption free political environment. Efforts are taken by him to improve agriculture and irrigation, health centers and to give medical facility in his region. According to him he tries to reduce the gap between the elected representatives and people to run the governmental machinery smoothly. In other GP, in Umrapur and Kasimnagar the prodhan who are elected from CPI (M) party opine that though the region is treated as backward among all the gram panchayats so they receive money from Nirmal Bharat Prakalpa, state funds for building primary schools and to improve the health centers in this region. But they are of opinion that the area is underdeveloped due to poor communication, no well constructed roads, houses, drinking water, and the state government does not pay any attention to bring development in this region, in spite of their demand set forth before governmental representatives and officers. The next underdeveloped GP is Kasimnagar, the prodhan says that he starts politics from 2000 and wins the election in 2013 from congress party. The prodhan Masiur Rahaman says that in Baliaghata and Kasimnagar region, he initiate steps to prevent flood, development of roads, and development of educational institution and arrange medical camps for eye treatment by channelizing funds from state government. He wants to remain as GP prodhan from Congress party and will try to receive funds from state government for developmental schemes for the underdeveloped area.

The GP prodhan of Lakhmipur Alkez Hossain and Bajitpur Farida Yesmin, the prodhan of Mahesail II Nabirul Islam, prodhan of Aurangabad 2 Bablu Hossain win the

election from congress ticket but join TMC later on. The prodhan of Laxmipur Alkez Hossain joined politics at early age but he has wined the elections in 1993, 98 and 2013 as Congress member, but could not bring development in the GP and hence joined TMC to ensure betterment in the GP. As elected representative he says he is bound to ensure development in the area especially to give medical facility to the area people. He channelizes the fund from state government to develop roads after joining TMC and hence intend to bring betterment for the people in the long run. The GP prodhan of Bajitpur Farida Yesmin though wined from congress but joined TMC to bring more funds in her GP. She says she will try her best to deliver ration card to all the people of her GP. She herself faced a lot of trouble in conducting her education due to poor communication and the schools are far from her village, hence she joined TMC, the party in power to motivate government to construct schools for girls and to bring development of the area. The GP prodhan of Mahesail II Nabirul Islam in order to bring betterment in the area intends to provide drinking water, health facility, to stop child marriage and to foster education in the area. To ensure development he later on joins TMC party. He joins the ruling party to receive funds for the developmental program. He has a mentality to work for all members of the GP hence demand 100 days work and registration of the names of the job card holders properly. The GP prodhan Bablu Hossain of Aurangabad 2 GP has change his party membership to initiate developmental and welfare programmes for his GP members. The GP prodhan told the researcher that the people took active part in electoral participation, as their democratic rights and did not face any problem in delivering vote. The leader tries to mobilize the masses during elections in right way. The leader never impose his decision on the common people but try to understand their problems through mutual discussion in gram sabha meetings or by visiting from one house to other.

In Mahesail I GP Rashmoni Das, the prodhan wined the election from congress party and did not change her party affiliation. She opines that she will try to bring the scheme of 100 days work in her GP. She organizes party meetings regularly to rouse the consciousness of the people. The GP prodhan of Aurangabad I Sabina Yesmin from congress, in Jagtai II Krishna Das from congress and in Jagtai I Jadav Singha from congress give the researcher the same answer that they want to bring development in the area. The GP prodhan also face no problem in conducting their duties in their area or in the GP office. But all the 10 GP prodhan of this block told the researcher that developmental schemes are all given by state or central government to the higher authority like zilla parishad and panchayat samiti

member so they all tried their best to bring development, but their power is so limited that they could not solve the problems of the GPs and had to depend upon the governmental funds for the developmental purpose. The prodhan try to motivate the voters to look at politics from positive angle so that through election democratic government can work successfully in the rural areas. The GP prodhan says that true decentralization of power will not be ensure as long as the GP prodhans will be given the economic powers to ensure developments in the area.

Most of the panchayat prodhan opine that they join politics because they have interest in politics and ideological belief of the party. They have a favorable political environment which inspires them to join politics and to ensure development for the people. But most of them have no family background in politics; they just compell to join politics out of party pressure and inspiration or having some motivation to receive political benefits. Most of the GP prodhan has change their party membership after winning the election to get political privileges or to work better for the people. It may be infer that in order to hold more power in politics the gram panchayat prodhan changed their party affiliation. This is true that the leaders tries to bring political consciousness among ordinary masses, organize gram sabha meetings regularly tries to bring development for their area, organize party meetings and organize electoral campaigns. This is very true that the democratic governmernts have been serving with much difficulty due to the mass appeal of the leaders and the exercise of their broad political powers. By personifying new national values and giving adequate attention to developmental activities the leaders encourage the masses for participating in politics. The GP prodhan of Bajitpur, Laxmipur, Mahesail I, and II, opine that centrally sponsored schemes are really helpful for the people of the area, but some scheme has curtailed for the time being for enrolling the name of the candidates in governmental registrar. In Jagtai I and II prodhan told that funds received from central government can not be utilized due to lack of schemes and requirement of work can not be placed properly so the money has to be given back. GP prodhan of Aurangabad I and II say though people are not receiving the benefits of 100 days work but they are receiving benefits from centrally sponsored schemes like house building loan, loan to built toilet in individual house and widow and old age pension.

Anikul Islam, Sabhapati of Panchayat Samiti (Murshidabad district), a CPI (M) candidate has a sound political background. He has come to politics because of inspiration from his father who was a party activist. According to him two-way communication will be

possible through high rate of people's participation. It is through arranging gram sabha meetings it is possible to rouse political consciousness of the people. According to the leader all centrally sponsored schemes shall be utilized properly to give maximum benefit to the people and to increase better governance. He is elected as panchayat samiti sabhapati from CPIM party in 2008 and 2013. From then onwards he channelizes state governmental funds for agricultural development; he undertakes door to door campaign to make people aware of their democratic rights and to increase their motivation towards casting vote during election. He argues that it is true that the Muslims believe in secular politics and extend their hands in successful working of democratic government. He tries to develop good communication in backward area especially in Umrapur and Kasimnagar region and he tries to motivate state government to construct a bridge from Baliaghati to Umrapur for easy communication which is temporarily connected by ferry. He arranges gram sabha meetings regularly to discuss the problems of the area. He tries to enlist the names of those candidates who are not included in BPL list. He says development lacks due to shortage of funds. Government shall share power and funds with the elected representatives so that they could ensure development in the area. Decentralization of power can reduce an invisible gap between the participants and government to ensure development of the district.

The elected representative of Zilla Parishad Mohidul Islam stood and wined the election from congress party and he himself took part in rousing the political consciousness of the people in Suti 2 block. To ensure community development, he tries to divert governmental funds for the development of roads, development of educational institution, arranging free coaching centre for the minority and other backward students of the area. According to the elected representative of the Zilla Parishad the people of the district take part in election, some shows interest for contesting elections and all of them take part in electoral participation. As a responsible citizen they cast vote to show allegiance to the state, they believe that through electoral participation community's overall development will be ensured. The respondent are also aware of the fact that through GP office they can receive the benefits of 100 days work, benefits from IAY (house building) scheme and benefits from MGNREGA scheme of government. It is the duty of the leader to safeguard the interest of the citizen. It is extremely difficult for the leader to generate consent by manipulating public opinion for that it requires a long political apprenticeship. Hence the representative inculcates within the people respect for democratic values and tries to fulfill

the aspirations of minorities. As the leader he tries to promote equal rights for all, and try to empower people politically.

Democracy is a system which accommodates the interest of all people even the minorities is not excluded. But the purity of politics in the post independent era is driven towards nepotism, political corruption and authoritarianism. Democratically elected governments are facing challenges by communal forces and riots. Failure of governmental institutions in promoting the security and protection of the citizen make democracy hollow. This situation compell the marginalize sections including minorities to seek alternatives and thus merge with non-congress coalition government in centre. Hence as an elected member of zilla parishad Mohidul Islam opine that the district people must remain aware of the political undercurrents to fight against the corruption in Indian politics. And he tries to raise the confidence of the people towards secular parties. Indian democracy is committed to social justice that is transparent, accountable to people and adopt constructive and peaceful means to secure the economic and political rights of its citizen. More awareness camp is to be organized to influence the voters to cast more votes to the national party who will promote development for them. He says that well constructed roads, electricity education and health facility shall reach to the remote areas of this block like Umrapur and Kasimnagar gram panchayat. Women's participation in politics is also an important factor in the district. As most of the people of the district belong to beedi workers family he tries his best to secure their future through various developmental schemes given to his office by government. As democracy ensures the political rights of the people it is the duty of the elected representative of the district, to raise political consciousness and direct the masses towards secular politics of the country.

MLA of the district Emani Biswas has elected from the congress ticket from Suti 2 block but later on joined TMC party. Regarding his view towards political participation, he says he himself undertake social work for the community and tries to bring betterment for all. He works as party convener in the district to promote political consciousness so that the Muslims can take part in mainstream secular politics. As a member of legislative assembly, he tries to bring state funds for development of agriculture and fishery in the district. To solve the area problem he joins TMC government to channelize funds for the betterment of the district. He says that the district has communal free atmosphere and all voters take part in election. It is his duty to make people aware of the responsibility of the government towards citizens and at the same time citizen's responsibility towards government. He

possesses grievances against BJP government as the people in the district fail to receive the benefits of 100 days work. He develops Motijhil Project and renews it for tourism industry. For development of the area, he built 4 primary schools and takes initiative to construct Agricultural Marketing Office, takes precaution to prevent river erosion and undertake developmental project in Umrapur GP. He takes several measures to improve health care centers in the area. His priority is to boost economic growth in the region. He says “we didn’t fight war of independence just to get rid of the British – the objective was not merely to alter the hands that were ruling, it was to change the style and way of ruling”. Hence, the mission of TMC government is to remove corruption and its irrepressible menace which corrupt the bureaucracy and governing process. As a people’s elected representative from the block he and his government try to form a well nexus between the ruling and the ruled and to remove all leaders of corporate mentality. As a leader he possesses an idea not of flawed developmental vision rather to develop healthy democratic society where multicultural democracy can work successfully and to produce a society capable of providing universal justice for all so that all the community people merge with electoral process of the country.

All the representative of the district argues the same thing that the Muslim respondent irrespective of their socio-economic status and their way of living, they take part in secular politics and supports the national leaders of their choice. Their attitude towards politics, Indian state and government is very positive. They possess a very strong sense of electoral participation. In the interview with the researcher, the leaders opine that the people cast vote since they feel that vote is a political right and the elected representative of their area will help to ensure development of the region. The agencies that raise political consciousness of the respondents are newspaper, television, magazine, party literature help in increasing and raising political awareness among the respondent. But some respondent do not take part in politics because they feel no improvement will be achieved by participating in politics. Their socio-economic, educational, political needs will not be fulfilled. They want to invest in earning money other than participating in politics. The area lacks in primary health centers, educational institution and people are economically, educationally backward and hence they believe that all their problems will be solved through taking part in election. By exercising their political right they want to secure a better standard of living and hence ensure their support towards democratic government.

## **6. Conclusion**

Thus to conclude the researcher pointed out that political participation is a term which is applied to the activities of people like casting vote to select political representative, took part in election campaign, contesting an election, donation to party funds, distributing party manifesto, posters, slips and much more. Sometimes the term is applied more to define political orientations than activities that are having interest in politics, having political ambition and having a sense of political efficacy. Political participation is a voluntary action aiming in influencing the selection of political representative. In this analysis in the district the researcher find to make participation effective, the political leaders sometimes manipulate the voters but the respondents also participate voluntarily.

The extent to which individuals participate in politics and their attitude towards participation depends to a large extent on the social circumstances like individual's education, their economic status, their profession and age respectively. Respondent's interest in politics, political orientation, awareness, partisan preference, and involvement in participation, interest in political news or in political discussions determine electoral participation. Hence it may be inferred that the Muslims of the district are politically aware and integrated into the democratic process as it can be interpreted from the election record of panchayat of the Suti 2 block in this district. It is the duty of the democratic government to protect the rights and ensure the scope for the development of these minorities so that they can participate in political, economic and cultural life of the nation. The secular framework of our country provides opportunities for the minorities to safeguard their interest and hence we find the support of the Muslim voters towards government, state and politics. It fosters a positive mentality within the Muslim mind which results in political integration of the community in the district. Electoral politics erodes the communal solidarity of the community and hence we find an increase rate of participation in politics in Murshidabad district. The elected representative of the gram panchayats try to ensure the rights of the people and try to bring development in the region to fulfill the expectations of the respondents in the district. Muslims active representation in politics and political participation proves that the community no longer remains as monolithic entity (though the community people are culturally heterogeneous), but proves themselves as homogenous group integrate with India's secular politics. The successful rate of political participation proves that the ideas and institutions that govern in their name were thoroughly de-feudalized. Hence in the context of Murshidabad district, it may be mentioned that the leaders or the elected representatives of the community try to remove the 'minority

complexity', from the minds of the respondents and hence can foster an idea which leads to the assimilation of the Muslims with the majority culture of our country. Hence in the district the researcher finds a picture of true electoral participation which proves the successful working of India's democracy.

## Notes and References

1. Sinha Niraj, (1994), Women in Indian Politics, New Delhi, Gyan Publishing House, pp. 62-63
2. Narain Iqbal, (1976), Cultural Pluralism, National Integration and Democracy in India, Asian Survey, Vol.16, No.10 (October), pp. 903-917
3. Assadi Muzaffar, (1998), Wooing Muslims: BJP's Minority Conference, EPW, Vol.33, No.23 (June 6<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup>), pp.1367-1369
4. Dasgupta Abhijit, (2009), On the Margins: Muslims in West Bengal, EPW, Vol.44, No.16 (April 18<sup>th</sup>-24<sup>th</sup>), pp.91-96
5. Bandopadhyaya Bijoy Kumar, 'History of Murshidabad District', in Bandopadhyaya Bijoy Kumar ed.(2003), Murshidabad Zilla Gazetteers, West Bengal, Ministry of Higher Education, Government of West Bengal Pub. pp. 80-81 (appendix)
6. Record from Suti II Block Office, Dafahat, Aurangabad, Murshidabad, Government of West Bengal
7. Census of India, (2011), West Bengal, Series – 20, Part XII – B, District Census Handbook, Murshidabad, Directorate of Census Operation, West Bengal (pp.26-32) Census of India website: - [www.censusindia.gov.in](http://www.censusindia.gov.in) , (2011) Report, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioners, India and Election Commission website: - [www.ceowb.nic.in](http://www.ceowb.nic.in) (57 Suti, Part No. 1-96) and Record from Suti II Block Office, Dafahat, Aurangabad, Murshidabad, Government of West Bengal
8. Record from Suti II Block Office, Dafahat, Aurangabad, Murshidabad, Government of West Bengal
9. Aurangabad II Gram Panchayat Office, Aurangabad (Anchal Office, Aurangabad)
10. Commission website: -[www.ceowb.nic.in](http://www.ceowb.nic.in) (57 Suti, Part No. 114-131)
11. Umrapur Gram Panchayat Office, Umrapur (Anchal Office, Umrapur)
12. Commission website: - [www.ceowb.nic.in](http://www.ceowb.nic.in) (57 Suti, Part No.1-22)

13. Ahmed Imtiaz, (1967), Indian Muslims and Electoral Politics, EPW, Vol.2, No. 10 (March, 11<sup>th</sup>), pp.521-23
14. Mahajan Gurpreet, (1998), Identities and Rights; Aspects of Liberal Democracy bin India, New Delhi, Oxford Press Publications, pp.33-34
15. Mann E.A, (1992), Boundaries and Identities; Muslims Work and Status in Aligarh, New Delhi, Sage Pub. Pp.168-73
16. Siddiqui.M.K.A, (1974), Muslims of Calcutta; A Study in Aspects of their Social Organizations, Calcutta, Government of India Pub. pp. 4-6
17. Ansari Iqbal, (2006), Political Representation of Muslims in India: 1952-2004, New Delhi, Manak Pub. Private Ltd. pp.387-89
18. Result of Panchayati Raj Election, (2008) (District Murshidabad), Election held on 8<sup>th</sup> May, (2008) and election commission of India website:- [www.ceowb.nic.in](http://www.ceowb.nic.in)
19. Panchayati Raj Journal October, (1988) No. 2, No. 3, Government of West Bengal, Directorate of Panchayat, Kolkata, Information and Cultural Department, Basumati Press Publications, Panchayati Raj Journal October, (1993) No. 4,(30<sup>th</sup> May-28<sup>th</sup> June) and No.5, (November-December) Government of West Bengal, Directorate of Panchayat, Kolkata, Information, Panchayati Raj Journal October, (1998) No. 4, Government of West Bengal, Directorate of Panchayat, Kolkata, Information and Cultural Department, Basumati Press Publications, Panchayat 6<sup>th</sup> Election Result (2003), West Bengal State Election Commission, Kolkata, Paschimbanga Rajya Committee, Communist Party of India Publications, Government of West Bengal, Result of Panchayati Raj Election, (2008) (District Murshidabad), Election held on 8<sup>th</sup> May, (2008) and election commission of India website:- [www.ceowb.nic.in](http://www.ceowb.nic.in)
20. Alam Anwar,(2003), Democratization of Indian Muslims; Some Reflections, EPW, Vol.38, No.46 (November 15<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup>), pp. 4881-4885
21. Shakir Moin, (1980), Electoral Participation of Minorities and Indian Political System, EPW, Vol.15, No. 5/7 (Autumn Issue, February), pp.221-223,225-26
22. Islam Rafikul, (2007), Ganatrantraer Prasadhani Paribartan, Janatar Adalat, Bengali Quaterly Journal (9<sup>th</sup>, January, Special Issue), pp.8-14

23. Rowena Robinson, (2008), Religion Socio-Economic Backwardness and Discrimination: The Caste of Indian Muslims, *Indian Journal of Industrial Relation*, Vol.44, No.2 (October), pp. 194-200
24. Khalidi Omar, (1993), Muslims in Indian Political Process; Group Goals and Alternative Strategies, *EPW*, Vol.28, No.1/2 (January 2<sup>nd</sup> -9<sup>th</sup>), pp.43-47, 49-54
25. Chatterjee Roma, (2007), *Living With Violence – A Anthropology of Events and Everyday Life*, New Delhi, Rutledge Pub. pp. 26-27
26. Shail Mayaram, (2005), *Muslims Dalits and the Fabrication of History; Subaltern Studies*, New Delhi, Permanent Black Publications, pp.1-9
27. Assadi Muzaffar, (1998), Wooing Muslims: BJP's Minorities Conference, *EPW*, Vol.33, No.23 (June 6<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup>), pp. 1367-1369
28. Kumar Sanjay, (1996), Muslims in Electoral Politics, *EPW*, Vol.31, No.2/3 (January 13<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup>), pp. 138-141
29. Rahim.M.A, (1978), *The Muslim Society and Politics in Bengal (1757-1947)*, Dacca, The University of Dacca Press Pub. Pp.96-98
30. Vasta Ellie, (2000), *Citizenship, Community and Democracy*, New York, Macmillan Press Pub. Ltd. pp. 9-11
31. Blair Harry. W, (1973), *Minority Electoral Politics in a North Indian State; Aggregate Data Analysis and the Muslim Community in Bihar (1952-72)*, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol.67, No.4 (December), pp.1275-1287
32. Besant Rakesh, 'Introduction', in Besant Rakesh ed. (2010), *Oxford Handbook of Muslims in India: Empirical and Policy Perspectives*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Pub. Pp.7-8
33. Gossman Patricia.A, (1999), *Riots and Victims; Violence and the Construction of Communal Identity Among Bengali Muslims (1905-47)*, USA, West View Press Pub. pp. 1-8
34. Brass Paul, (1991), *Ethnicity and Nationalism; Theory and Comparison*, New Delhi, Sage Pub. p.22

35. Kumar Sanjay, (1996), Muslims in Electoral Politics, EPW, Vol.31, No.2/3 (January 13<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup>), pp. 138-141
36. Md. Noor, “Indian Muslims”, in Md. Noor ed. (1999), Indian Muslims – Precepts and Practices, New Delhi, Rawat Pub. Pp.62-64
37. Banerjee Dilip, (1990), Reprint, (2009), Election Recorder – An Analytical Reference; Bengal and West Bengal (1862-2009), Kolkata, Star Publishing House, pp.934-935
38. Alam Anwar, (2003), Democratization of Indian Muslims: Some Reflections, EPW, Vol.38, No.46 (November 15<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup>), pp.4881-4885
39. Brass Paul, (1991), Ethnicity and Nationalism; Theory and Comparison, New Delhi, Sage Pub. pp. 22-24
40. Hamid Abdul, (1967), Muslim Separatism in India, A Brief Survey, Lahore, Oxford University Press Pub. pp. 77, 283-84
41. Raisuddin Md. (2009), Rajnitite Musalmander Utthan O Patan, Yubapratashya, Bengali Yearly Journal (11<sup>th</sup> August), pp. 9-12
42. Social, Economic and Educational Status of the Muslim Community of India (Sachar Committee) – A Report, (2006), (by justice Rajindar Sachar), 17<sup>th</sup> November), Prime Minister’s High Level Committee, Cabinet Secretariat, Government of India Pub. New Delhi.
43. Engineer Irfan, (1995), Politics of Muslim Vote Bank, EPW, Vol.30, No.4 (January, 28<sup>th</sup>), pp.197-200)

## **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 a 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 unhesitantly 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.

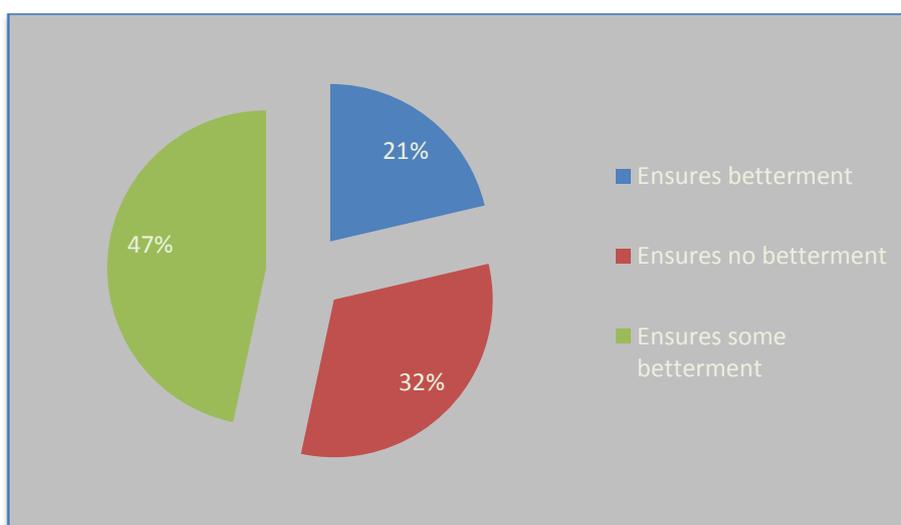
## **2. An Attitudinal Perception of the Respondents in Aurangabad 2 Gram Panchayat – a Brief Empirical Analysis**

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**

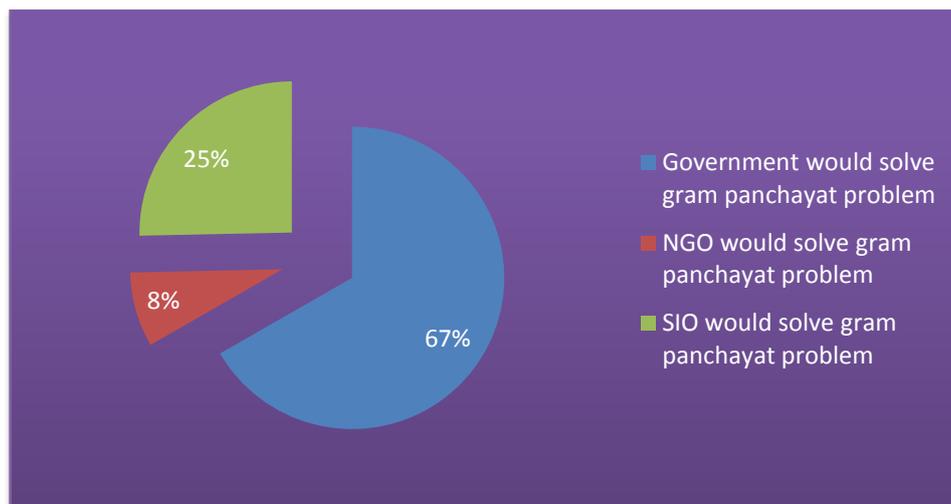


So far as the attitude of the respondents towards their party leader is concerned 21% says the leaders ensure betterment, 47% says they ensures some betterment and 32% says party

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**

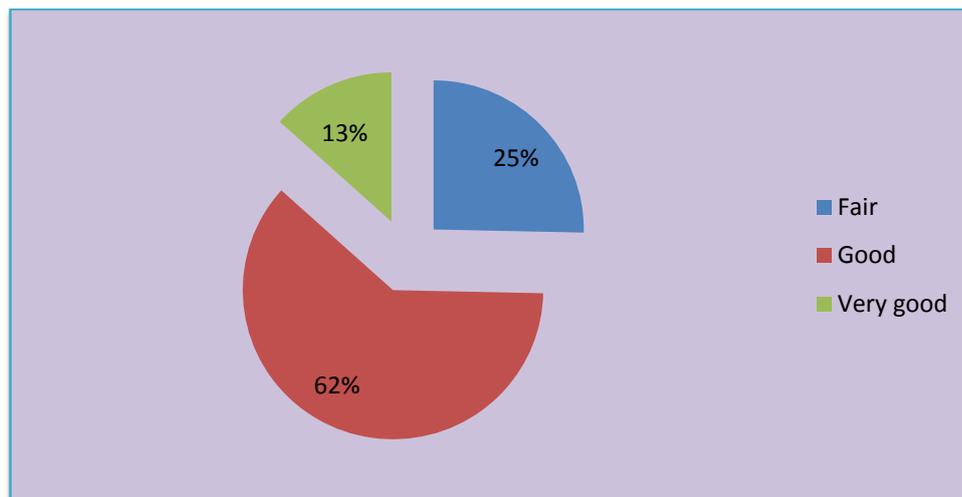


So far the attitude of the respondents towards Indian state is concerned 67% possess the view that state ensures the benefits for the people, 8% says development is ensure by the NGOs and 25% says the problem of the village will be solve by religio-social organizations like Jammait-i-Islami and SIO.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

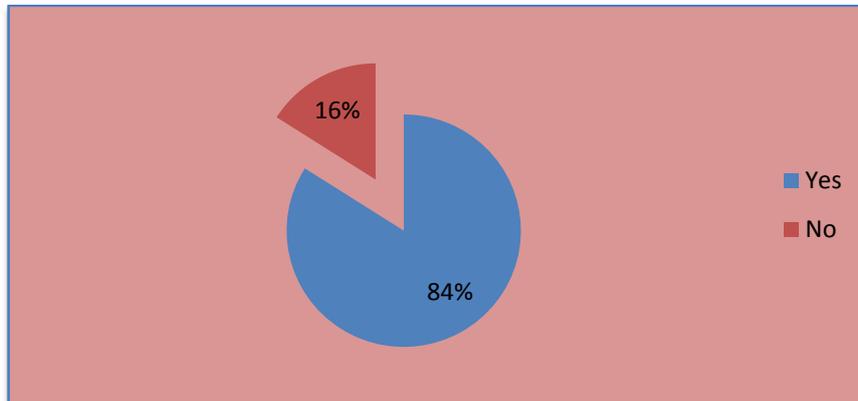


In this gram panchayat 62% respondents say the relationship among the community member is good, 25% says fair and 13% says relationship is very good in their area. All the respondents gladly say that there is no communal tension or no incidence of riots occurs within the area. The people participate 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**

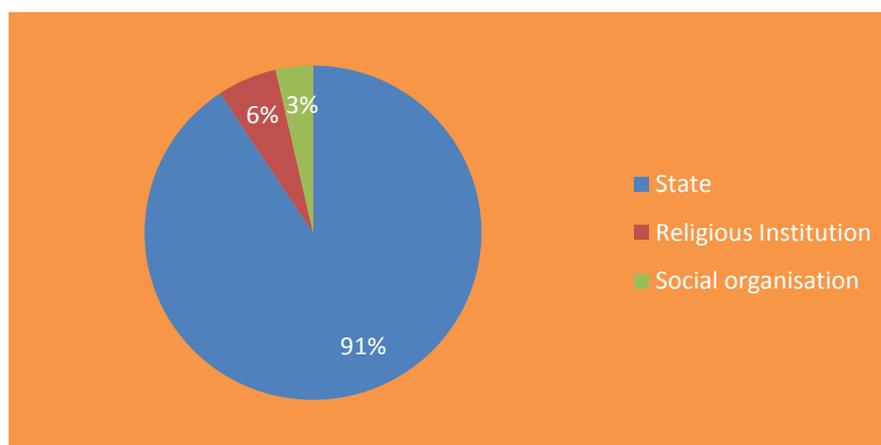
**Opinion of the Respondents Regarding Women's Participation in Politics**



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**

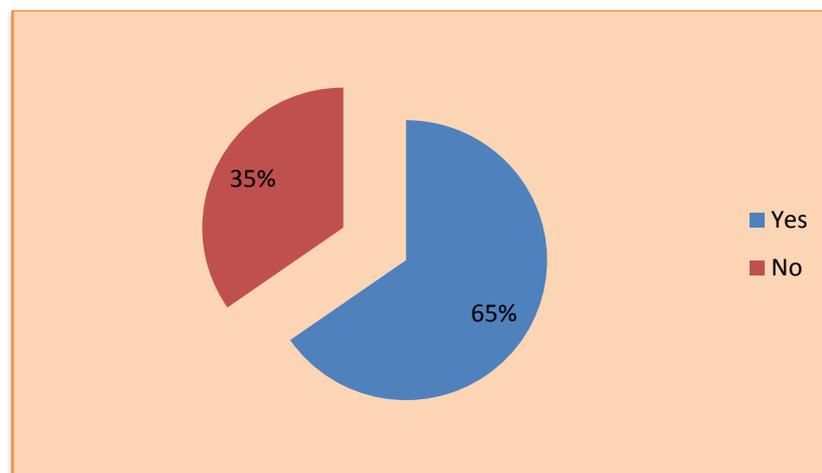


So far as respondents allegiance towards state is concerned 3% of the respondent shows their allegiance to socio-religious institutions, 6% to purely religious institutions and 91% to state. Most of the respondents show their loyalty towards state and its secular principles. No

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**

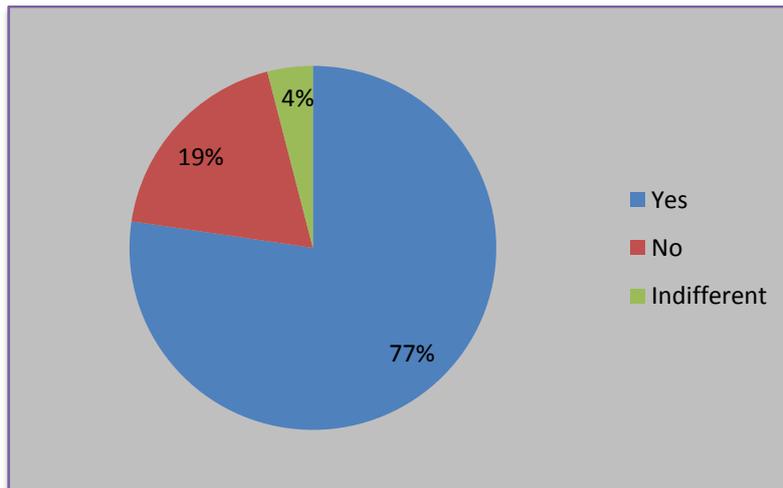


So far as attitude of the respondents towards reservation in job and in governmental educational institutions is concerned 65% respondent prefers reservation and 35% says there is no requirement for reservations for the development of the Muslim community. Reservations results in separateness among the 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**

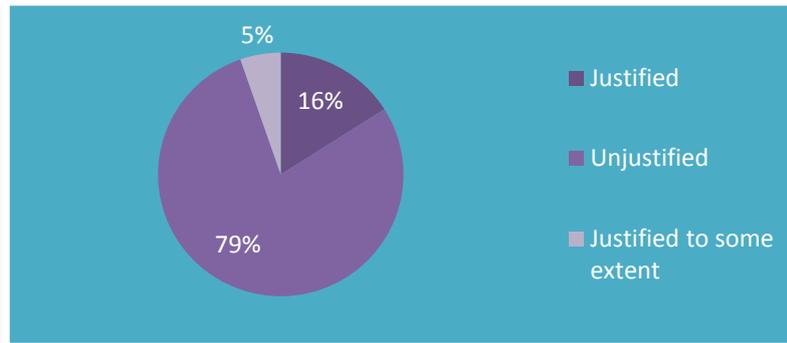
**Attitude of the Respondents towards AMU Status**



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**

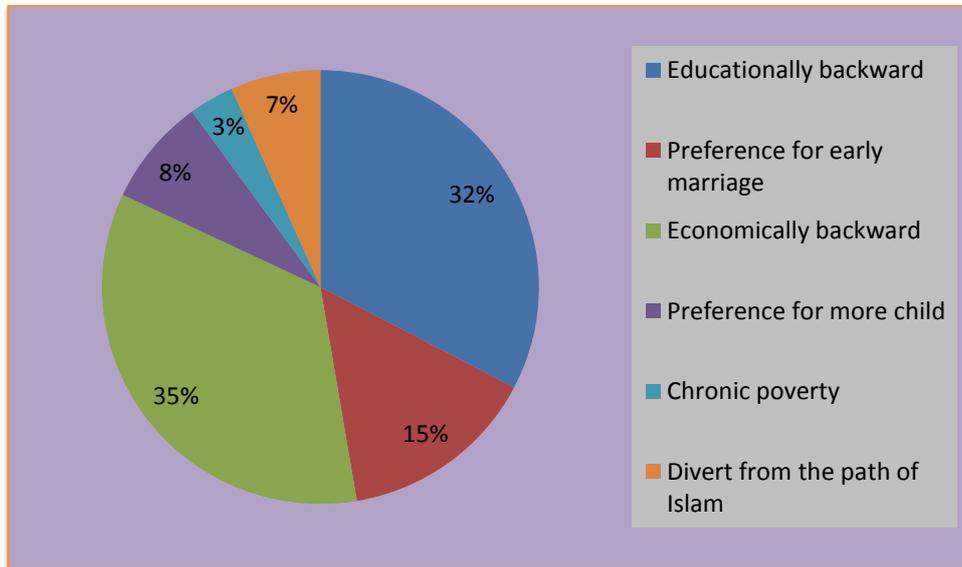
**Attitude of the respondents in Supreme Court's Decision on Babri-masjid Issue**



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**

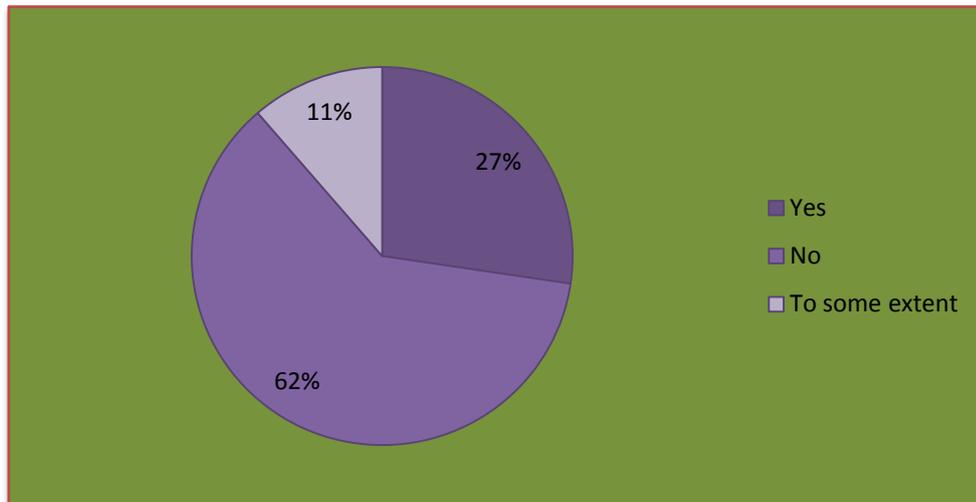
**Opinion of the Respondents Regarding Communities Backwardness**



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**

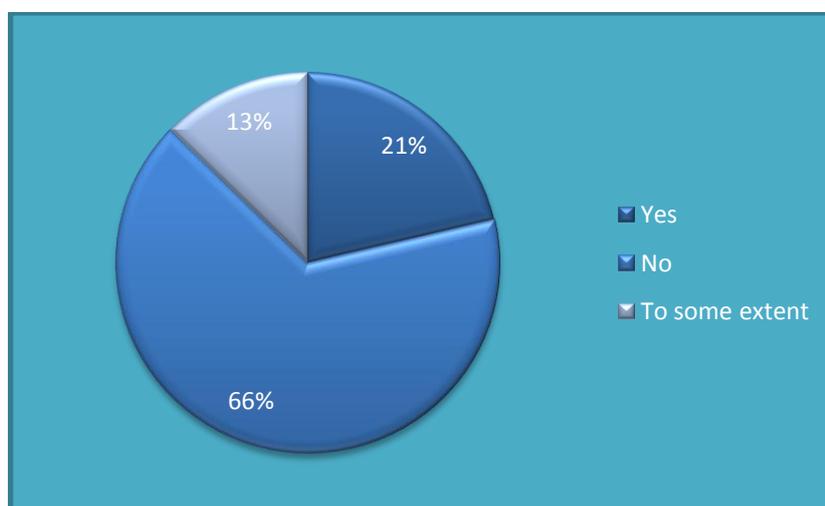
**Opinion of the Respondents Regarding Religious Belief Which Affects Politics**



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 religion 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**

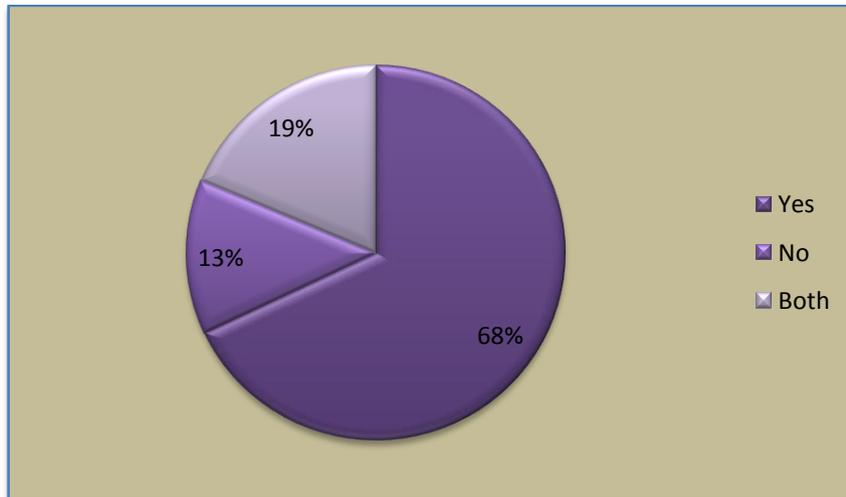


So far as respondents view regarding the impact of religion on social life of the respondent is concerned 21% of the respondent says religious dictates influences social life to some extent, 66% opine that religion influences the social life of the respondent and 13% says it influences to some extent 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**

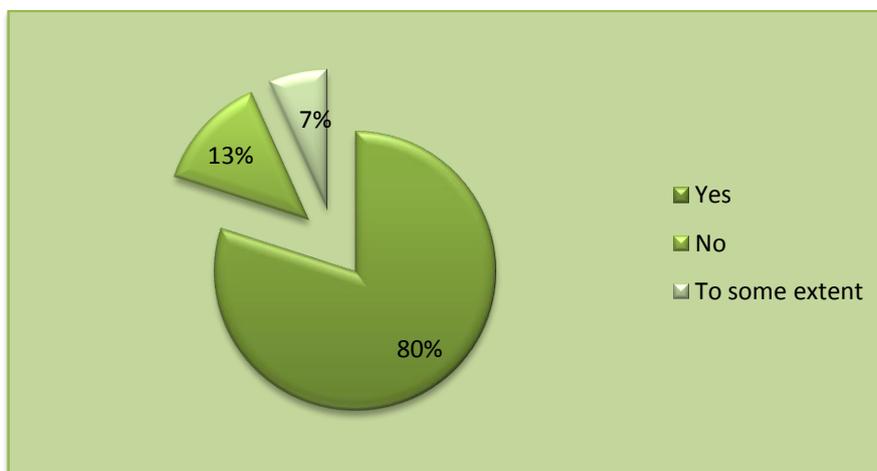
**Preference of the Respondents for MPL**



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.

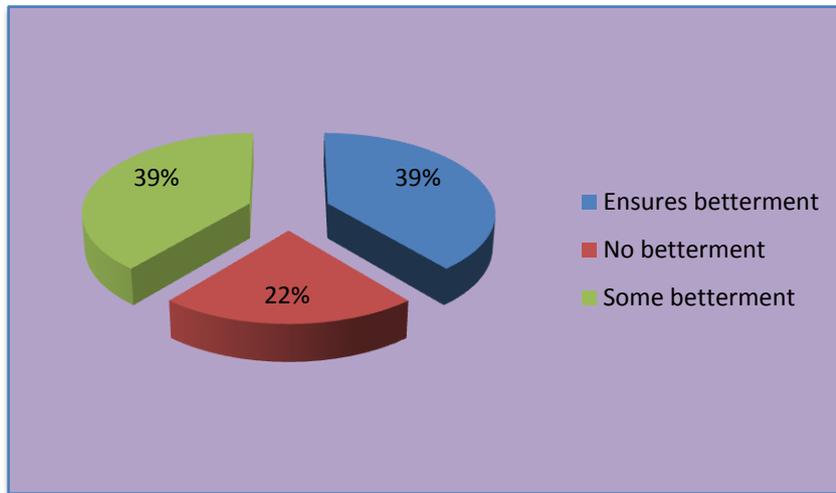
The respondent in this GP shows their mentality in accepting secular ideas of the country though they can well assess that minority issue is a complex and superficial term which exist in the community due to the evil intension of the political leaders and sometimes due to the mental perceptions of the 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**

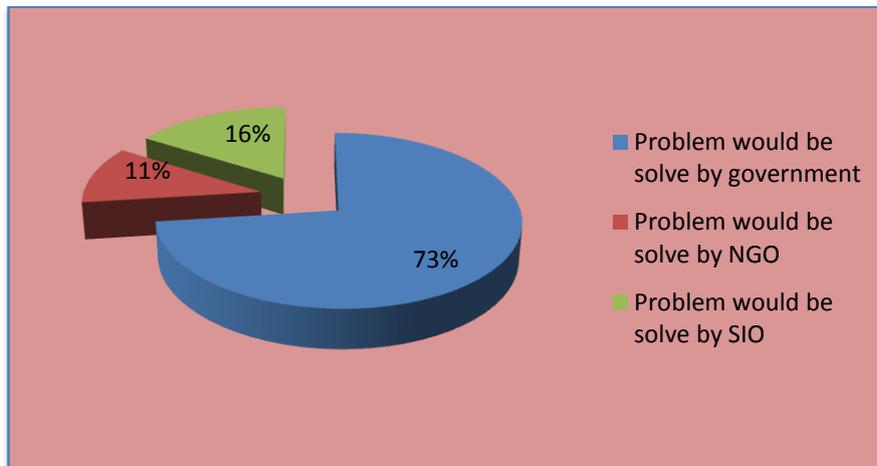
**Attitude of the Respondents towards Party Leaders**



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**

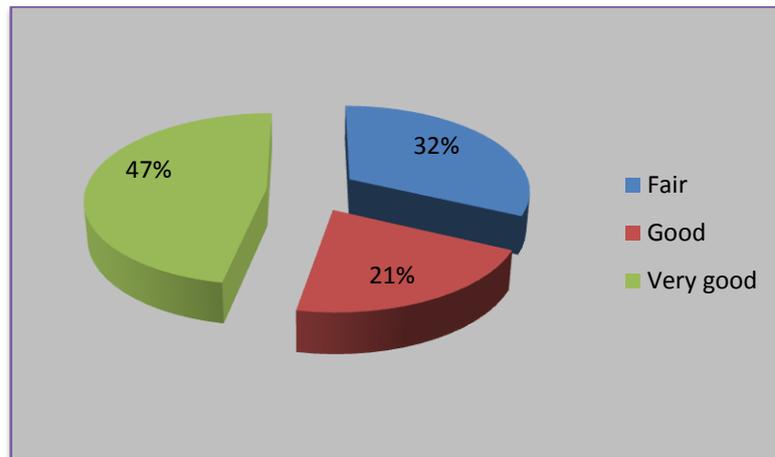
**Attitude of the Respondents towards State**



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**

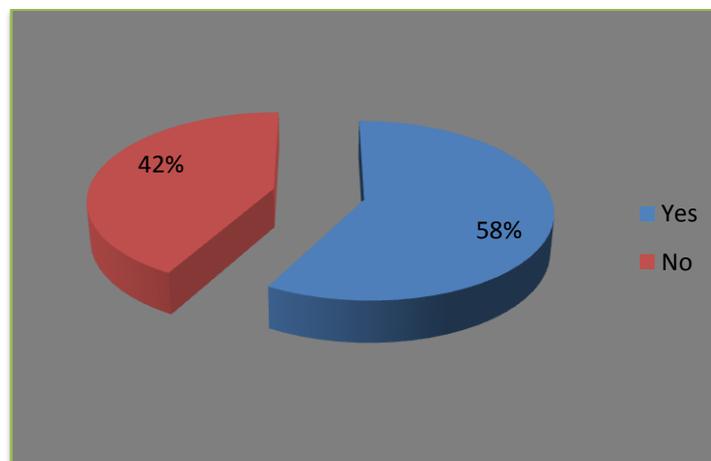
**Opinion of the Respondents Regarding Hindu Muslim Relationship**



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**

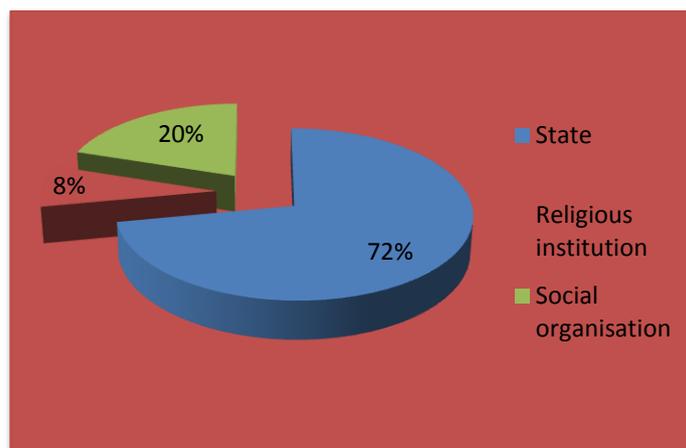
**Respondents Preference for Women's Participation in Politics**



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**

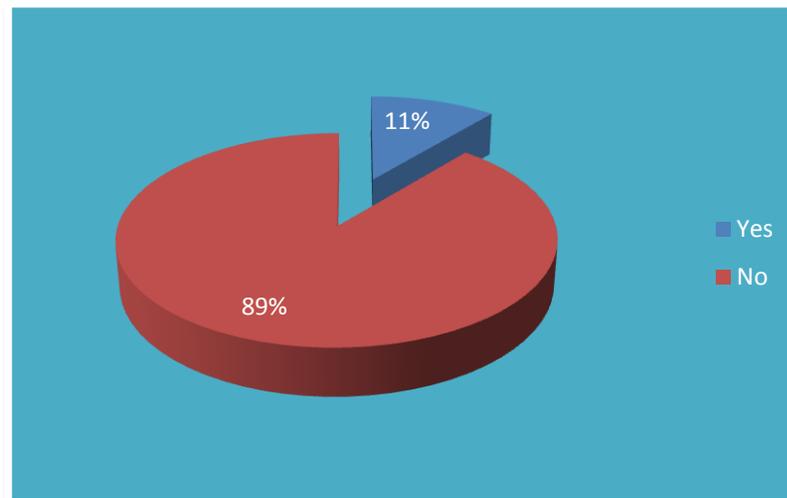


As far as attitude of the respondents is concerned in showing allegiance towards state 72% respondents says that they will show their loyalty first to the Indian state and then to other organizations. They even do not support any association having communal overtone and hence do not support Jammait-e-Ulema 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**

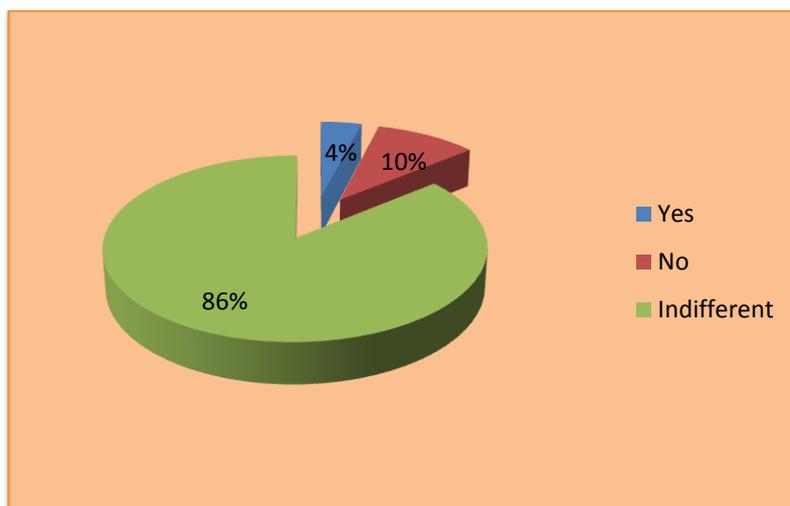
**Attitude of the Respondents towards Reservation**



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**

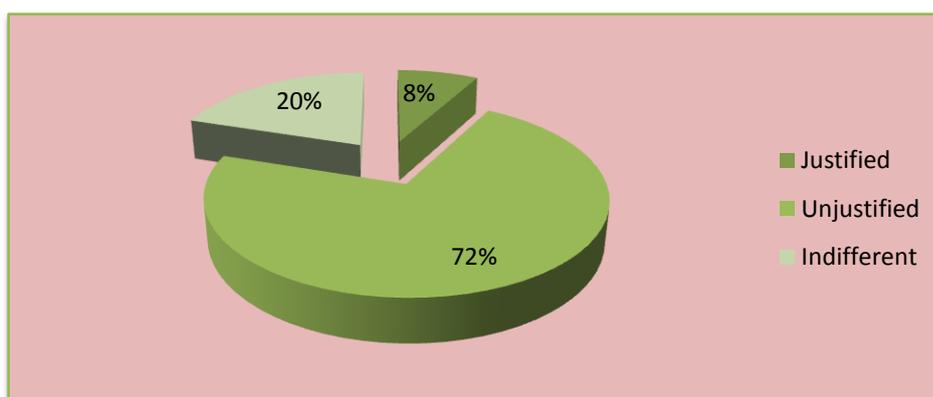
**Attitude of the Respondents towards AMU Status**



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**

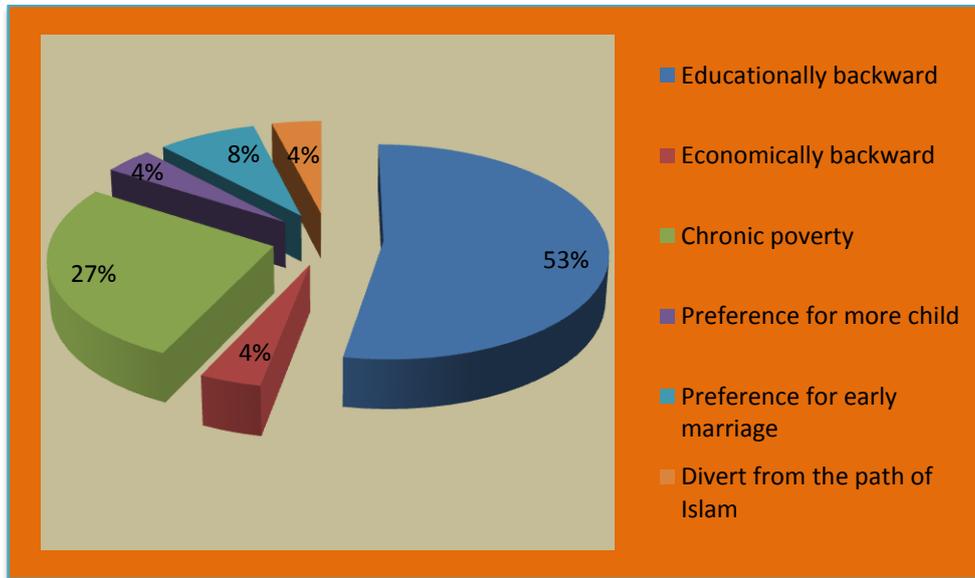


So far as the attitude of the respondents regarding Supreme Court's decision in Babri Masjid issue is concerned 20% of the respondents remain indifferent to the issue of Supreme Court's decision given to the most complicate issue of Rammandir-Babari Masjid question. 72% says that the decision is not 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**

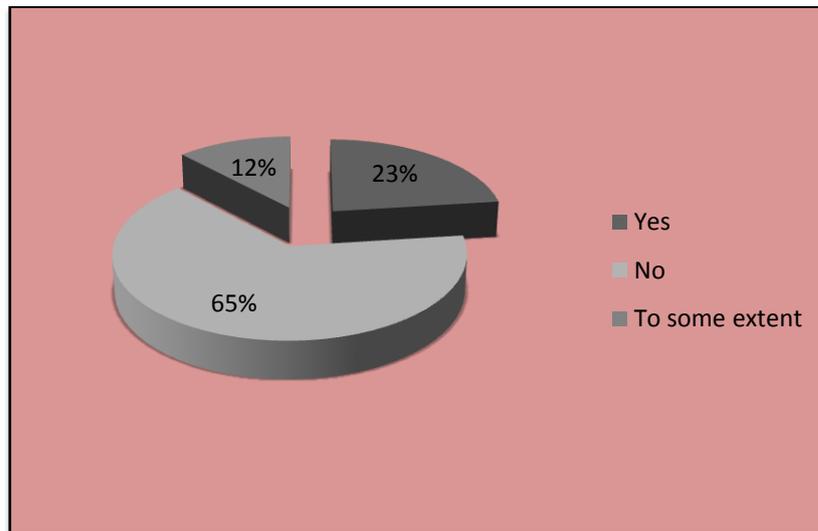
**Opinion of the Respondents Regarding Communities Backwardness**



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**

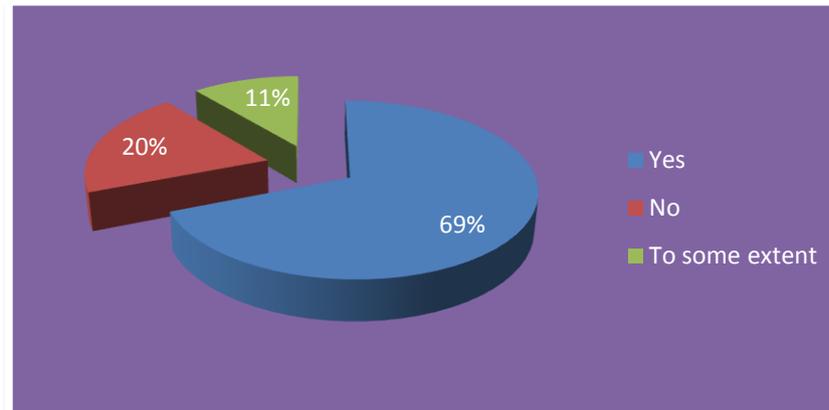
**Opinion of the Respondents Regarding the Influence of Religion on Politics**



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 Jammata and attend 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**

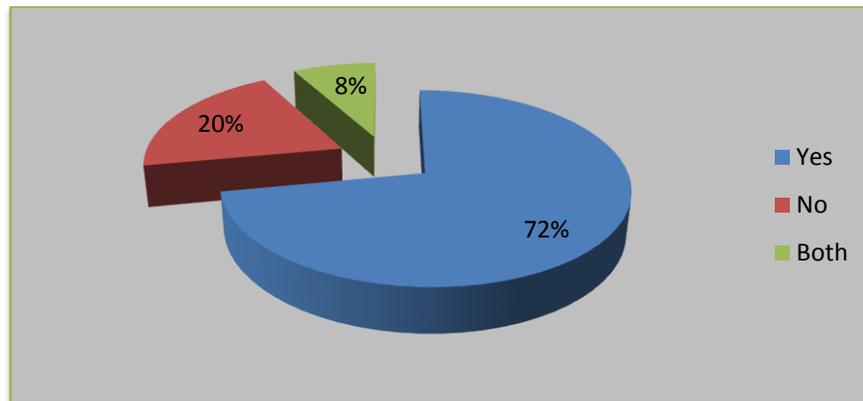
**Opinion of the Respondents Regarding Impact of Religion on Social Life**



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**

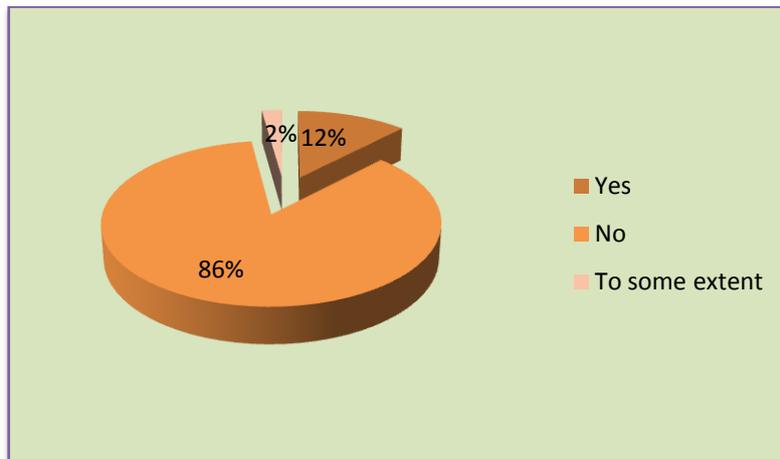
**Respondents Preference for MPL**



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 (Beharapore) 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 Hypotheses1:= 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		
<b>High</b>					
<b>MA</b>	6	2	-	8	6
<b>Graduation</b>	26	6	3	35	23
<b>Law Graduate</b>	1	-	-	1	0.5
<b>Doctor</b>	1	-	-	1	0.5
<b>Medium</b>					
<b>Higher Secondary</b>	8	8	4	20	14
<b>Secondary</b>	2	2	31	35	23
<b>Low</b>					
<b>Upper Primary</b>	1	11	19	31	21
<b>Primary</b>	-	4	11	15	10
<b>Illiterate</b>	-	-	4	4	2
<b>Total</b>	45	33	72	150	100

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 prefers 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		
Low					
18-30	30	11	11	52	35
31-40	32	6	-	38	25
Middle					
41-50	9	2	5	16	11
51-60	21	9	2	32	21
High					
61-70	6	2	-	8	5
70 and above	3	1	-	4	3
Total	101	31	18	150	100

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 Jammat-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.

## **Bibliography**

### **PRIMARY SOURCES**

#### **Gazetteers**

- Bandopadhyaya Bijoy Kumar ed.2003, Murshidabad Zilla Gazatters, West Bengal, Ministry of Higher Education, Government of West Bengal Pub.
- Banerjee Dilip, 1990, Reprint, 2009, Election Recorder – An Analytical Reference; Bengal and West Bengal (1862-2009), Kolkata, Star Publishing House.
- Bhattacharya, N.D, 1961, “A Study in Settlement Geography in the District of Murshidabad”, in Roy. B ed. District Census Handbook, West Bengal (Calcutta), Government of West Bengal Press Pub.
- Bose S.K and Mitra.A ed. 1958, West Bengal District Records, New Series, Murshidabad; Letters Received (1789-1803), West Bengal, Calcutta, Government of West Bengal Publications
- Census of India, 1981, Series-23 (West Bengal) Part V-A and B, Migration Tables, S.N. Ghosh, Indian Administrative Service, Government of India, 1985 (West Bengal, Murshidabad and Malda)
- Director of Census Operation, 2001, Census of India; 2001, Series-A, Vol. Maldah, Murshidabad, Bardhaman, Nadia, Kolkata, Government of West Bengal Press Pub, 2003
- Government of India, 1991, Census of India, 1991 Series 26 (West Bengal), Part VA and VB-D Series Vol.2 (Murshidabad), New Delhi, Directorate of Census Operation, Government of West Bengal Publications
- Government of West Bengal, 1953, Census of India 1951, West Bengal Statistical Handbook, Murshidabad, Calcutta, Government of West Bengal Publications
- Government of West Bengal, 1961, Census of India 1961, District Statistical Handbook, Murshidabad, Calcutta, Government of West Bengal Publications
- Government of West Bengal, 1964, West Bengal District Records, New Series, Murshidabad Nizamut Letters Received (1793-1856), Calcutta, Government of West Bengal Publications
- Government of West Bengal, 1965, West Bengal District Records, New Series, Murshidabad Nizamut Letters Received (1802-1831), Part I, Calcutta, Government of West Bengal Publications
- Government of West Bengal, 1967, West Bengal District Records, New Series, Murshidabad Nizamut Letters Received (1807-1855), Part II, Calcutta, Government of West Bengal Publications

- Government of West Bengal, 1969, West Bengal District Records, New Series, Murshidabad Nizamut Letters Received (1834-1872), Part II, Calcutta, Government of West Bengal Publications
- Government of West Bengal, 1979, West Bengal District Gazetters: Murshidabad, Calcutta, Government of West Bengal Pub.
- Government of West Bengal, 2003, District Statistical Handbook, Murshidabad (West Bengal), Kolkata, Bureau of Applied Economic and Statistics, Government of West Bengal Publication
- Government of West Bengal, 2011, Census of India; 2011, Vol. Murshidabad, Malda, Bardhaman, Nadia, Kolkata, Director of Census Operation, Government of West Bengal Publications
- Government of West Bengal, Census of India, 1981, Series – 23 West Bengal Part XIII- B District Census Handbook, 1981, Census Operation, Government of West of West Bengal, Calcutta, 1983
- Government of West Bengal, Census of India, 1991, Series – 26 West Bengal Part XII- B District Census Handbooks, 1991, Census Operation, Government of West Bengal, Calcutta, 1994
- Government of West Bengal, District Census Handbook, 1951, Murshidabad / West Bengal, Government of West Bengal Press: Alipore, Calcutta, 1952, (A Comparative Analysis of data of 1931 and 1941 of Murshidabad district)
- Government of West Bengal, District Census Handbook, 1961, Murshidabad/West Bengal, Government of West Bengal Press; Alipore, Calcutta 1964
- Government of West Bengal, District Census Handbook, 1971, Murshidabad/West Bengal, Government of West Bengal Press; Alipore, Calcutta 1977
- Hunter W.W, 1974, A Statistical Account of Rural Bengal, vol.9: District Murshidabd and Pabna, Delhi, D.K. Publishing House Pub.
- Hunter W.W, 1974, A Statistical Account of Rural Bengal, vol.9: District Murshidabd and Pabna, Delhi, D.K. Publishing House Pub.
- O'Mally L.S.S, 2012, Murshidabad District (1874-1941), UK, Gyan Books Private Ltd.Pub.
- Record from Suti II Block Office, Dafahat, Aurangabad, Murshidabad, Government of West Bengal
- Record from Suti II Block Office, Dafahat, Aurangabad, Murshidabad, Government of West Bengal
- Result of Panchayati Raj Election, 2008 (District Murshidabad), Election held on 8<sup>th</sup> May, 2008 and election commission of India website:- [www.ceowb.nic.in](http://www.ceowb.nic.in)
- Social, Economic and Educational Status of the Muslim Community of India (Sachar Committee) – A Report (by justice Rajindar Sachar), 17<sup>th</sup> November, 2006, Prime Minister's High Level Committee, Cabinet Secretariat, Government of India Pub. New Delhi

## DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

### IB Files

- IB File No. 805-46(1), 1946, Activities of Hindu Mahasabha Leaders of Murshidabad, DIG of Police, CID, Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch
- IB File No. 1056/46, 1946, Communal Matters, Hindu Propaganda (Hindu Mahasabha Leaders of Murshidabad), DIG of Police, CID, Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch
- IB File No. 717/46 (6), Communal Disturbances in Calcutta and Elsewhere Commencing from the 16<sup>th</sup> August, 1946, Consequences on the Declaration of Direct Action Day by the All India Muslim League, Leaflets Brought to the Notice of Bengal, Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch
- IB File No. 1034/46, 1946, Consequences on the Declaration of Direct Action Day by the All India Muslim League, Leaflets Brought to the Notice of Bengal, Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch
- IB File No. 717/46 (5), 1946, Direct Action Day of the League, Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch
- GB IB File No.1052/46 Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, 22<sup>nd</sup> March, 1946, 'Re-Md Khuda Baksh'.
- GB IB File No.971/46 Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, 1946, 'Re-Kazem Ali Mirza, An Muslim League Activist in pre and post partition era'.
- GB IB File No.805/46, Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, March, 1946, 'Re-Abdul Hamid (Beldanga) of Murshidabad, an Muslim League Activist and an anti-nationalist leader (MLA)
- GB IB File No.717/46, Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, 1946, 'Muslim League Activist of Murshidabad'.
- IB File No. 167/48, 1948, Communal Frichous in Murshidabad District, Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch
- IB File No. 1238/47, 1948, Note Showing the Developments in Murshidabad District since the Partition of Bengal, December 1<sup>st</sup>, Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch
- GB IB File No.381/48, Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, 1948, 'Re-Abdul Latif, Muslim League Leader of Beldanga, Murshidabad District'.
- IB File No. 1238-47, 1947, A Report on the incident in ' char Munshipara', Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch
- IB File No. 1144/47, 1947, 20th December, Dispute Over Char Lands in Murshidabad, Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch

IB File No. 1238-A/47, 1947, Fortnight Report on Murshidabad District, June, 1950, Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch

IB File No. 1238/47, 1947, Issues on Murshidabad District, October, 1950, Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch

IB File No. 1238/47, Pak Activities on the Border of West Bengal (Murshidabad), DIG (Deputy Inspector General) of Police, CID, Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch (IB)

IB File No. 1179/47, Border Dispute, DIG (Deputy Inspector General) of Police, CID, Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch (IB)

IB File No. 1238/47, Muslim League Agitators (Murshidabad), DIG (Deputy Inspector General) of Police, CID, Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch (IB)

IB File No.319/47, Border Dispute, DIG (Deputy Inspector General) of Police, CID, Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch (IB)

IB File No. 717/47, Communal Tensions in the Border Areas, DIG (Deputy Inspector General) of Police, CID, Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch (IB)

IB File No. 1138/47, Communal Matters, DIG (Deputy Inspector General) of Police, CID, Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch (IB)

IB File No. 1056/47, Communal Matters, DIG (Deputy Inspector General) of Police, CID, Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch (IB)

IB File No. 999-A/47, Murshidabad Affairs, DIG (Deputy Inspector General) of Police, CID, Government of Bengal, Intelligence Branch (IB)

GB IB File No. 1518-50/SS, Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, 1950, 'Draft Grounds of Arrest- Shri Syed Baddrudoza, M.A, B.L, Ex-MLA'

GB IB File No. 1518-50, Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, 1950, 'The Proceedings of All India Muslim Convention, Aligarh, 1953, Speeches Delivered by Syed Baddrudoza

GB IB File No. 1518-50/SS, Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, 1950, H.S. 'Folder of Syed Baddrudoza', 'Speeches Delivered in All India Muslim Convention, Aligarh, Nai Duniya'.

GB IB File No.4056-50, Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, 1950, 'Re- Muslim Affairs'.

GB IB File No.1518-50, Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, 1950, 'Re- Muslim Affairs', Memo No. 7548/391-50.

GB IB File No.KW1518-50, Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, 1950, 'All India Muslim Convention'.

GB IB File No.1518-50(1), Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, 1950, 'Report of District Intelligence Officer, Murshidabad'.

- GB IB File No.1518-50, Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, 8<sup>th</sup> March, 1957, 'Re-Murshidabad Affairs, Report of the Officer in-Charge, Jalangi,Murshidabad'.
- GB IB File No.2146-52, Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, 1952, 'Re- Muslim Affairs'.
- GB IB File No.1994-51, Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, 1952, 'Re-West Bengal Muslim Convention'.
- GB IB File No.3832-50, Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, 1952, 'Report on the Proceedings of the All India Muslim Conference at Jaunpur, 7th-8<sup>th</sup>, October'.
- GB IB File No.2146-52, Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, 1952, 'Re- Muslim Affairs'.
- GB IB File No.4056-50, Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, 1952, 'Re-Baddrudoza on Jail', Memo No. 7548/391-50.
- GB IB File No.1994-51, Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, 1953, 'West Bengal Muslim Convention for Reservation for Minorities', Memo No.2903/2-53
- GB IB File No.870/53(1), Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, 1953, 'Muslim Rehabilitation Association' (West Bengal)
- GB IB File No.870/53, F.322 (B), Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, 1953, 'Muslim Affairs'.
- GB IB File No. 1518-50/870-53 (1), Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, 1953, 'Speeches Delivered by Syed Baddrudoza in All India Muslim Convention, Aligarh'.
- GB IB File No.1518-50 (2), Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, 'Muslim Affair', 29th November, 1953
- GB IB File No.1464-50, Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, 'Muslim Affair', 29th November, 1953
- GB IB File No.1464-50, Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, 3<sup>rd</sup> April, 1955, 'Report of District Intellegence Officer, Murshidabad'.
- GB IB File No. 3214-56, Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, 1956, 'A Note on the Part played by Different Presses in Connection with the Agitation over the Publication of the Book, Religious Leader'.
- GB IB File No.1518-50 (1), Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, 'Muslim Affair', 2nd March, 1956
- GB IB File No.1518-50/SS, Superintend of Police, Intelligence Branch, West Bengal, 1961, 'H.S.Folder of Syed Baddrudoza, Muslim Affair,24<sup>th</sup> January, 1961.

## **Home Political Department Files**

- File No 13/41, 1941, Confidential Report on the Political Situation in Bengal during the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of December, 1941, Home Political Department, Government of Bengal
- File No. 13/42, 1942, Political Situation of the District of Murshidabad, Home Political Department, Government of Bengal
- File No. 13/42, 1942, Confidential Report on the Political Situation in Bengal during the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of December, 1942, Home Political Department, Government of Bengal
- File No. 39/43, 1943, The (Murshidabad) District Case study of Violence, Home Political Department, Government of Bengal
- File No -39/43, 1943, Fortnightly Confidential Report on the Political Situation in Bengal for the First Half of March, 1943, Home Political Department, Government of Bengal
- File No. 119/43, 1943, Fortnightly Confidential Report on Political Situation of Bengal, Home Political Department, Government of Bengal
- File No. 132/43, Activities of Hindu Mahasabha in the District, Home Political Department, Government of Bengal
- File No. No File/ 46/3, 1946, 16<sup>th</sup> August, Direct Action Day of the Muslim League Activists, Home Political Department, Government of Bengal
- File No. 171/47, 1947 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1947- 4<sup>th</sup> April, 1947, Direct Action Day of the Muslim League Activists, Home Political Department, Government of Bengal
- File No. 171/47, 1947, Communal Disturbances in Calcutta and Howrah and Murshidabad and Other parts of Bengal, 5<sup>th</sup> May-31<sup>st</sup> May, 1947, Home Political Department, Government of Bengal
- File No. 30/47, 1947, Communal Activities in the District, 1<sup>st</sup>- 30<sup>th</sup> June, Home Political Department, Government of Bengal
- File No. 22 (serial no.3-4)/1947, Music Before Mosque, Government of Bengal, Home Department Political, 1947
- File No. 22 of 1947, Serial No.3-4, Music Before Mosque in Murshidabad, and Question of Playing Music in Front of a New Mosque, 24<sup>th</sup> February, Home Political Department, Government of Bengal and File No. 12C-28, B Proceedings, November, 1945, No.215, Home Political Department, Government of Bengal
- File No. 383/1949 (serial no.1-5), Detention of Corps by East Pak Authorities, Government of Bengal, Home Department Political, 1947

## **Assembly Proceedings**

- West Bengal Legislative Council Proceedings, 1930, Vol. XXXV, No. II 43<sup>th</sup> Session, Calcutta,
- West Bengal Legislative Council Proceedings, 1931, Vol. XXXVI, No. I 44<sup>th</sup> Session, Calcutta, Government of Bengal Pub.

West Bengal Legislative Council Proceedings, 1932, Vol. XXXIX, No. I 45<sup>th</sup> Session, Calcutta, Government of Bengal Pub.Government of Bengal Pub.

West Bengal Legislative Council Proceedings, 1935, Vol. XLV, No. I, 48<sup>th</sup> Session, (Abdus Samad), Calcutta, Government of Bengal Pub.

West Bengal Legislative Council Proceedings, 1935, Vol. XLV, No. 3, 48th Session, Calcutta, Government of Bengal Pub.

West Bengal Legislative Council Proceedings, 1935, Vol. XLV, No. 2, 48th Session, Calcutta, Government of Bengal Pub.

West Bengal Legislative Council Proceedings, 1936, Vol. XLIX, No. I 49<sup>th</sup> Session, Calcutta, Government of Bengal Pub.

West Bengal Legislative Council Proceedings, 1937, Vol. LI, No. 3, 50th Session, Calcutta, Government of Bengal Pub.

West Bengal Legislative Council Proceedings, 1938, Vol. LIII, No. 3, 51st Session, Calcutta, Government of Bengal Pub.

Legislative Council Debate, 1939, Vol.I, No.2 52<sup>nd</sup> Session, Government of Bengal Pub.

Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, 1942, Vol.LXIV No.2 55<sup>th</sup> Session, Calcutta, Government of Bengal Pub.

Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, 1944, Vol.LXIV No.6 57<sup>th</sup> Session, Calcutta, Government of Bengal Pub.

West Bengal Legislative Council Proceedings, 1944, Vol. LXVII, No.6 57th Session, Calcutta, Government of Bengal Pub.

Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings on Partition of Bengal, 3<sup>rd</sup> June, 1947, Vol.LXXII, No.IV, Special Issue on Partition, Kolkata, Government of Bengal Pub, West Bengal Secretariat, 1947

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.1, No.2, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, (21<sup>st</sup> November-15<sup>th</sup> January), 1948

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.2, No.2, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, (8<sup>th</sup> September-30<sup>th</sup> September), 1948 Assembly House, West Bengal

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.2, No.1, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, (10<sup>th</sup> Feb-5<sup>th</sup> March), 1948

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.3, No.1, 3<sup>rd</sup> Session, (6<sup>th</sup> September-18<sup>th</sup> September), 1948

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.1, No.2, 1st Session, (1<sup>st</sup> -2stMarch), 1950

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.2, No.2, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, (9<sup>th</sup> March-31<sup>st</sup> March), 1950

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.2, No.3, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, (8<sup>th</sup> June-30<sup>th</sup> June), 1950

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.2, No.1, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, (28<sup>th</sup> October-20<sup>th</sup> December), 1950

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.1, No.1, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, (3<sup>rd</sup> Feb-28<sup>th</sup> February), 1950

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.3, No.3, 3<sup>rd</sup> Session, (8<sup>th</sup> February-19<sup>th</sup> April), 1951

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.3, No.2, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, (1<sup>st</sup> March-28<sup>th</sup> March), 1951

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.4, No.2, 4<sup>th</sup> Session, (23<sup>rd</sup> October-22<sup>nd</sup> November), 1951

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.2, No.1, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, (8<sup>th</sup> Feb-30<sup>th</sup> March), 1951

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.4, No.1, 4<sup>th</sup> Session, (17<sup>th</sup> September-22<sup>nd</sup> November), 1951

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.1, No.3, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, (4<sup>th</sup> October-30<sup>th</sup> October), 1952

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.6, No.3, 6<sup>th</sup> Session, (9<sup>th</sup> June-26<sup>th</sup> July), 1952

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.6, No.2, 6<sup>th</sup> Session, (22<sup>nd</sup> June-18<sup>th</sup> July), 1952

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.5, No.1, 5<sup>th</sup> Session, (12<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> March), 1952

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.8, No.8, 8<sup>th</sup> Session, (9<sup>th</sup>-27<sup>th</sup> November), 1953

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.6, No.4, 6<sup>th</sup> Session, (31<sup>st</sup> March-11<sup>th</sup> April), 1953

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.7, No.2, 7<sup>th</sup> Session, (2<sup>nd</sup>-25<sup>th</sup> March), 1953

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.11, No.3, 11<sup>th</sup> Session, (22<sup>nd</sup> March-6<sup>th</sup> April), 1954

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.9, No.2, 9<sup>th</sup> Session, (4<sup>th</sup> March-20<sup>th</sup> March), 1954

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.9, No.1, 9<sup>th</sup> Session, (15<sup>th</sup> April-6<sup>th</sup> April), 1954

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.13, No.4, 13<sup>th</sup> Session, (5<sup>th</sup> December-15<sup>th</sup> December), 1955

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.12, No.2, 12<sup>th</sup> Session, (30<sup>th</sup> August-12<sup>th</sup> September), 1955

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.14, No.3, 14<sup>th</sup> Session, (10<sup>th</sup>-27<sup>th</sup> March), 1956

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.15, No.2, 15<sup>th</sup> Session, (17<sup>th</sup>-31<sup>st</sup> July), 1956

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.14, No.1, 14<sup>th</sup> Session, (1<sup>st</sup>-23<sup>rd</sup> February), 1956

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.17, No.3, 17<sup>th</sup> Session, (2<sup>nd</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> July), 1957.

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.18, No.2, 18<sup>th</sup> Session, (6<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> December), 1957

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.17, No.1, 17<sup>th</sup> Session, (4<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> July), 1957

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.20, No.3, 20<sup>th</sup> Session, (3<sup>rd</sup> -17<sup>th</sup> July), 1958

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.21, No.3, 21<sup>st</sup> Session, (10<sup>th</sup> March-31<sup>st</sup> March), 1958

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.21, No.2, 21<sup>st</sup> Session, (15<sup>th</sup> December-2<sup>nd</sup> January), 1958

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.20, No.4, 20<sup>th</sup> Session, (1<sup>st</sup> July-4<sup>th</sup> August), 1958

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.19, No.2, 19<sup>th</sup> Session, (3<sup>rd</sup> -17<sup>th</sup> March), 1958

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.19, No.1, 19<sup>th</sup> Session, (17<sup>th</sup> Feb-28<sup>th</sup> March), 1958

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.22, No.2, 22<sup>nd</sup> Session, (20<sup>th</sup>Feb-12<sup>th</sup> March), 1959

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.25, No.3, 25<sup>th</sup> Session, (26<sup>th</sup> March-12<sup>th</sup> April), 1960

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.26, No.2, 26<sup>th</sup> Session, (9<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> May), 1960

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.28, No.1, 28<sup>th</sup> Session, (14<sup>th</sup> November-14<sup>th</sup> December), 1960

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.23, No.2, 23<sup>rd</sup> Session, (18<sup>th</sup> January-23<sup>rd</sup> February), 1961

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.13, No.2, 13<sup>th</sup> Session, (15<sup>th</sup>-26<sup>th</sup> September), 1961.

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.33, No.2, 33<sup>rd</sup> Session, (6<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup> November), 1962

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.36, No.3, 36<sup>th</sup> Session, (27<sup>th</sup> August-6<sup>th</sup> September), 1963

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.39, No.3, 39<sup>th</sup> Session, (17<sup>th</sup> September-1<sup>st</sup> October), 1964

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.38, No.2, 38<sup>th</sup> Session, (22<sup>nd</sup> February-11<sup>th</sup> March), 1964

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.35, No.3, 35<sup>th</sup> Session, (18<sup>th</sup> December-18<sup>th</sup> January), 1964

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.40, No.3, 40<sup>th</sup> Session, (8<sup>th</sup> February-11<sup>th</sup> May), 1965

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.45, No.2, 45<sup>th</sup> Session, (11<sup>th</sup> July-26<sup>th</sup> July), 1965

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.41, No.2, 41<sup>st</sup> Session, (22<sup>nd</sup> November-2<sup>nd</sup> January), 1965

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.40, No.1, 40<sup>th</sup> Session, (9<sup>th</sup>-25<sup>th</sup> February), 1965

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.41, No.3, 41<sup>st</sup> Session, (16<sup>th</sup> November-19<sup>th</sup> January), 1966

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.44, No.2, 44<sup>th</sup> Session, (8<sup>th</sup> March-7<sup>th</sup> April), 1966

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.45, No.2, 45<sup>th</sup> Session, (11<sup>th</sup> June-26<sup>th</sup> July), 1966

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.42, No.1, 42<sup>nd</sup> Session, (16<sup>th</sup> Feb-25<sup>th</sup> March), 1966

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.46, No.4, 46<sup>th</sup> Session, (8<sup>th</sup> March-7<sup>th</sup> April), 1967

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.45, No.2, 45<sup>th</sup> Session, (11<sup>th</sup> July-26<sup>th</sup> July), 1967

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.44, No.2, 36<sup>th</sup> Session,(8<sup>th</sup> August-30<sup>th</sup> August), 1967

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.47, No.1, 47<sup>th</sup> Session, (22<sup>nd</sup> March-14<sup>th</sup> April), 1968

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.49 No.3, 49<sup>th</sup> Session, (12<sup>th</sup> August – 15<sup>th</sup> September), 1969

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.48 No.2, 48<sup>th</sup> Session, (6<sup>th</sup> -25<sup>th</sup> March), 1969

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.48, No.1, 48<sup>th</sup> Session, (6<sup>th</sup>-25<sup>th</sup> March), 1969

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.50 No.2, 50<sup>th</sup> Session, (20<sup>th</sup> February – 10<sup>th</sup> March), 1970

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.51, No.2, 51<sup>st</sup> Session, (3<sup>rd</sup> May-17<sup>th</sup> May), 1971

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.52 No.2, 52<sup>nd</sup> Session, (30<sup>th</sup> March-15<sup>th</sup> April), 1972

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.53 No.2, 53<sup>rd</sup> Session, (5<sup>th</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> July), 1972

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.52, No.1, 52<sup>nd</sup> Session, (24<sup>th</sup> February-29<sup>th</sup> March), 1972

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.53 No.3, 53<sup>rd</sup> Session, (26<sup>th</sup> June-24<sup>th</sup> July), 1972

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.54, No.2, 54<sup>th</sup> Session, (7<sup>th</sup> February-29<sup>th</sup> March), 1973

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.55 No.1, 55<sup>th</sup> Session, (27<sup>th</sup> August-4<sup>th</sup> September), 1973

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.54, No.3, 54<sup>th</sup> Session, (9<sup>th</sup> February-10<sup>th</sup> May), 1973

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.56, No.3, 56<sup>th</sup> Session, (1<sup>st</sup> April-4<sup>th</sup> May), 1974

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.57, No.3, 57<sup>th</sup> Session, (1<sup>st</sup> -28<sup>th</sup> November), 1974

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.56, No.1, 56<sup>th</sup> Session, (2<sup>nd</sup> February-12<sup>th</sup> March), 1974

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.58, No.1, 58<sup>th</sup> Session, (21<sup>st</sup> February-7<sup>th</sup> March), 1975

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.60, No.2, 60<sup>th</sup> Session, (1<sup>st</sup> November-8<sup>th</sup> December), 1975

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.62 No.2, 52<sup>nd</sup> Session, (11<sup>th</sup> October-19<sup>th</sup> October), 1976

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.61 No.4, 61<sup>st</sup> Session, (5<sup>th</sup> February-23<sup>rd</sup> April), 1976

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.63, No.2, 63<sup>rd</sup> Session, (26<sup>th</sup> November-1<sup>st</sup> December), 1976

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.63, No.3, 63<sup>rd</sup> Session, (26<sup>th</sup> November-1<sup>st</sup> December), 1976

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.53, No.2, 53<sup>rd</sup> Session, (5<sup>th</sup>-28<sup>th</sup> July), 1977

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.54, No.2, 54<sup>th</sup> Session, (7<sup>th</sup> February-29<sup>th</sup> March), 1977

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.64 No.2, 64<sup>th</sup> Session, (23<sup>ed</sup> March-11<sup>th</sup> April), 1977

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.66 No.5, 66<sup>th</sup> Session, (28<sup>th</sup> September-5<sup>th</sup> October), 1977

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.67, No.4, 67<sup>th</sup> Session, (28<sup>th</sup> February-5<sup>th</sup> May), 1977

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.67, No.4, 67<sup>th</sup> Session, (28<sup>th</sup> March-20<sup>th</sup> April), 1978

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.69, No.1, 69<sup>th</sup> Session, (17<sup>th</sup>- 30<sup>th</sup> November), 1978

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.70, No.1, 70<sup>th</sup> Session, (7<sup>th</sup> -23<sup>rd</sup> February), 1979

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.70, No.2, 70<sup>th</sup> Session, (22<sup>nd</sup> February-8<sup>th</sup> March), 1979

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.70, No.3, 70<sup>th</sup> Session, (9<sup>th</sup> -22<sup>nd</sup> March), 1979

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.70, No.4, 70<sup>th</sup> Session, (23<sup>rd</sup> March-3<sup>rd</sup> April), 1979

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.72, No.3, 72<sup>nd</sup> Session, (17<sup>th</sup> March-26<sup>th</sup> March), 1980

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.72, No.4, 72<sup>nd</sup> Session, (27<sup>th</sup> May-11<sup>th</sup> April), 1980

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.73, No.2, 73<sup>rd</sup> Session, (18<sup>th</sup> August-9<sup>th</sup> September), 1980

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.74, No.1, 74<sup>th</sup> Session, (16<sup>th</sup> -27<sup>th</sup> February), 1981

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.74, No.2, 74<sup>th</sup> Session, (2<sup>nd</sup> Feb-12<sup>th</sup> March), 1981

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.74, No.3, 74<sup>th</sup> Session, (13<sup>th</sup> Feb-25<sup>th</sup> March), 1981

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.79, No.3, 79<sup>th</sup> Session, (3<sup>rd</sup> Jan-31<sup>st</sup> January), 1982

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.78, No.2, 78<sup>th</sup> Session, (21<sup>st</sup> September-8<sup>th</sup> October), 1982

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.79, No.1, 79<sup>th</sup> Session, (21<sup>st</sup> February-15<sup>th</sup> March), 1982

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.80, No.1, 80<sup>th</sup> Session, (21<sup>st</sup> February-15<sup>th</sup> March), 1983

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.79, No.3, 79<sup>th</sup> Session, (11<sup>th</sup> April-23<sup>rd</sup> April), 1983

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.81, No.1, 81<sup>st</sup> Session, (24<sup>th</sup> February-3<sup>rd</sup> March), 1984

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.81, No.2, 81<sup>st</sup> Session, (4<sup>th</sup> March-31<sup>st</sup> March), 1984

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.81, No.3, 81<sup>st</sup> Session, (4<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> April), 1984

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.81, No.4, 81<sup>st</sup> Session, (16<sup>th</sup> -27<sup>th</sup> April), 1984

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.83, No.1, 83<sup>rd</sup> Session, (11<sup>th</sup> March-31<sup>st</sup> March) 1985

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.83, No.2, 83<sup>rd</sup> Session, (1<sup>st</sup> April-9<sup>th</sup> April), 1985

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.83, No.3, 83<sup>rd</sup> Session, (10<sup>th</sup> April-19<sup>th</sup> April), 1985

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.85, No.1, 85<sup>th</sup> Session, (3<sup>rd</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> March), 1986

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.85, No.2, 85<sup>th</sup> Session, (19<sup>th</sup> March-4<sup>th</sup> April), 1986

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.85, No.3, 85<sup>th</sup> Session, (7<sup>th</sup> April-18<sup>th</sup> April), 1986

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.85, No.4, 85<sup>th</sup> Session, (21<sup>st</sup> April- 7<sup>th</sup> May), 1986

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.88, No.1, 88<sup>th</sup> Session, (16<sup>th</sup> May-29<sup>th</sup> June), 1987

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.88, No.2, 88<sup>th</sup> Session, (26<sup>th</sup> May-10<sup>th</sup> June), 1987

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.88, No.3, 88<sup>th</sup> Session, (16<sup>th</sup> June-24<sup>th</sup> June), 1987

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.90, No.3, 90<sup>th</sup> Session, (18<sup>th</sup> -29<sup>th</sup> April), 1988

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.92, No.1, 92<sup>nd</sup> Session, (27<sup>th</sup> February-27<sup>th</sup> March), 1989

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.92, No.3, 92<sup>nd</sup> Session, (12<sup>th</sup> -27<sup>th</sup> April), 1989

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.95, No.1, 95<sup>th</sup> Session, (13<sup>th</sup> March-17<sup>th</sup> April), 1990

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.95, No.3, 95<sup>th</sup> Session, (6<sup>th</sup> May-18<sup>th</sup> May), 1990

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.98, No.2, 98<sup>th</sup> Session, (26<sup>th</sup> -31<sup>st</sup> July), 1991

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.98, No.3, 98<sup>th</sup> Session, (1<sup>st</sup> -8<sup>th</sup> August), 1991

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.99, No.2, 99<sup>th</sup> Session, (25<sup>th</sup> March-2<sup>nd</sup> April), 1992

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.99, No.3, 99<sup>th</sup> Session, (3<sup>rd</sup> - 27<sup>th</sup> May), 1992

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.101, No.2, 101<sup>st</sup> Session, (22<sup>nd</sup> March-8<sup>th</sup> April), 1993

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.102, No.2, 102<sup>nd</sup> Session, (1<sup>th</sup> June-17<sup>th</sup> July), 1993

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.103, No.2, 103<sup>rd</sup> Session, (22<sup>nd</sup> March-8<sup>th</sup> April), 1994

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.106, No.3 106<sup>th</sup> Session, (10<sup>th</sup> April-17<sup>th</sup> May), 1995

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.106, No.3, 106<sup>th</sup> Session, (10<sup>th</sup> April-11<sup>th</sup> May), 1995

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.106, No.5, 106<sup>th</sup> Session, (27<sup>th</sup> July-11<sup>th</sup> August), 1995

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.107, No.1, 107<sup>th</sup> Session, (8<sup>th</sup> February-2<sup>nd</sup> March), 1996

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.108, No.3 108<sup>th</sup> Session, (5<sup>th</sup> -12<sup>th</sup> July), 1996

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.109, No.4 109<sup>th</sup> Session, (6<sup>th</sup> -19<sup>th</sup> June), 1997

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.112, No.2 112<sup>th</sup> Session, (26<sup>th</sup> June-6<sup>th</sup> July), 1998

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.98, No.2, 79<sup>th</sup> Session, (26<sup>th</sup> -31<sup>st</sup> July), 1998

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.116, No.4, 116<sup>th</sup> Session, (11<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> July), 2000

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Budget Speech of Anisur Rahaman, Demand No.49 and 50, August, Government of West Bengal, 2000-2001

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.117, No.1, 117<sup>th</sup> Session, (22<sup>nd</sup> January-14<sup>th</sup> February), 2001

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.118, No.1, 118<sup>th</sup> Session, (14<sup>th</sup> -27<sup>th</sup> June), 2001

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.122, No.1, 122<sup>nd</sup> Session, (5<sup>th</sup> – 21<sup>th</sup> March), 2003

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.127, No.1, 127<sup>th</sup> Session, (10<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> March), 2005

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.134, No.1, 134<sup>th</sup> Session, (9<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> March), 2009

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Budget Speech of Anisur Rahaman, Demand No.06, August, Government of West Bengal, 2008-09

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.137, No.1, 137<sup>th</sup> Session, (30<sup>th</sup> May-28<sup>th</sup> June), 2011

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol.139, No.2, 139<sup>th</sup> Session, (12<sup>th</sup> – 23<sup>rd</sup> December), 2011

West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Budget Speech, Demand No. 20, August, Government of West Bengal, 2011-2012

#### **Periodicals**

Amrita Bazar Patrika, August 19th, 1947

Amrita Bazar Patrika, August 20th, 1947

Amrita Bazar Patrika, August 25th, 1947

Amrita Bazar Patrika, September 18th, 1947

Amrita Bazar Patrika, September 22nd, 1947

Amrita Bazar Patrika, September 24th, 1947

Jugantar, August 23rd and 24th, 1947

Jugantar, August 28th and 29th, 1947

The Statesman, September 22nd, 1947

Ganasakti Newspaper, (4<sup>th</sup> June, 15th June), 1978

Ganasakti Newspaper, (29<sup>th</sup>, 31<sup>st</sup> May), 1983

Ganasakti Newspaper (1<sup>st</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> June), 1983

Ganasakti Newspaper, (29<sup>th</sup>, 31<sup>st</sup> May), 1983

Ganasakti Newspaper, (1<sup>st</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> June), 1983

Ganasakti Newspaper, 1983 (29<sup>th</sup>, 31<sup>st</sup> May), 1983

Ganasakti Newspaper, (1<sup>st</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> June), 1983

Vibrant, October-December, 2011, Quarterly Newsletter of SIO

Vibrant, July-December, 2012, Quarterly Newsletter of SIO

Vibrant, January-June, 2012, Quarterly Newsletter of SIO

Vibrant, January-June, 2012, Quarterly Newsletter of SIO

Vibrant, August, 2013- January, 2014, Quarterly Newsletter of SIO

Mizan, 2012, 2<sup>nd</sup> September, 9<sup>th</sup> December, 30<sup>th</sup> December,  
Weekly Newspaper Published by Tabliq Jamaat

Mizan, 2013, 22<sup>nd</sup> April, Weekly Newspaper Published by Tabliq Jamaat

Mizan, 2014, 23<sup>rd</sup> November, Weekly Newspaper Published by Tabliq Jamaat

Mizan, 2014, 14<sup>th</sup> December, Weekly Newspaper Published by Tabliq Jamaat

Mizan, 2014, 4<sup>th</sup> May, Weekly Newspaper Published by Tabliq Jamaat

Mizan, 2014, 30<sup>th</sup> November, Weekly Newspaper Published by Tabliq Jamaat

Mizan, 2014, 21<sup>st</sup> September, Weekly Newspaper Published by Tabliq Jamaat

Mizan, 2014, 16<sup>th</sup> March, Weekly Newspaper Published by Tabliq Jamaat

Mizan, 2014, 29<sup>th</sup> June, Weekly Newspaper Published by Tabliq Jamaat

Mizan, 2014, 4<sup>th</sup> May, Weekly Newspaper Published by Tabliq Jamaat

Mizan, 2015, 1<sup>st</sup> February, 8<sup>th</sup> February, 15<sup>th</sup> February,  
Weekly Newspaper Published by Tabliq Jamaat

Mizan, 2015, 16<sup>th</sup> November, Weekly Newspaper Published by Tabliq Jamaat

Kalam, 2014, 19<sup>th</sup> December, Daily Newspaper

Kalam, 2014, 26<sup>th</sup> December, Daily Newspaper

Kalam, 2014, 28<sup>th</sup> November, Daily Newspaper

Kalam, 2014, 5<sup>th</sup> December, Daily Newspaper

Kalam, 2011, 11<sup>th</sup> June, Daily Newspaper

Kalam, 2011, 20<sup>th</sup> August, Daily Newspaper

Kalam, 2012, 12<sup>th</sup> June, Daily Newspaper

Kalam, 2012, 21<sup>st</sup> January, Daily Newspaper

Kalam, 2014, 21<sup>st</sup> November, Daily Newspaper

Kalam,2015, 13<sup>th</sup> February, Daily Newspaper

Kalam,2015, 23<sup>rd</sup> January, Daily Newspaper

Kalam,2015, 30<sup>th</sup> January, Daily Newspaper

Kalam,2015, 6<sup>th</sup> January, Daily Newspaper

Natun Gati, 2<sup>nd</sup> June, 2014, Weekly Newspaper

## **SECONDARY SOURCES**

### **Governmental Journals**

Panchayati Raj Journal, January-December,1979, January-December,1980, January-July, 1981, Government of West Bengal, Directorate of Panchayat, Kolkata, Information and Cultural Department, Basumati Press Publications.

Panchayati Raj Journal, December,1982, Government of West Bengal, Directorate of Panchayat, Kolkata, Information and Cultural Department, Basumati Press Publications

Panchayati Raj Journal, December,1982, Government of West Bengal, Directorate of Panchayat, Kolkata, Information and Cultural Department, Basumati Press Publications, and

Panchayati Raj Journal Special Issue 1985 and 1986, Government of West Bengal, Directorate of Panchayat, Kolkata, Information and Cultural Department, Basumati Press Publications.

Panchayati Raj Journal Special Issue 1985 and 1986, Government of West Bengal, Directorate of Panchayat, Kolkata, Information and Cultural Department, Basumati Press Publications.

Panchayati Raj Journal Special Issue 1985 and 1986, Government of West Bengal, Directorate of Panchayat, Kolkata, Information and Cultural Department, Basumati Press Publications.

Panchayati Raj Journal October, 1988 No. 2, No. 3, Government of West Bengal, Directorate of Panchayat, Kolkata, Information and Cultural Department, Basumati Press Publications

Panchayati Raj Journal October, 1993 No. 4,(30<sup>th</sup> May-28<sup>th</sup> June) ,No.5, (November-December) Government of West Bengal, Directorate of Panchayat, Kolkata, Information Cultural Department, Basumati Press Publications

Paschimbanga Panchayat Nirbachan Parisankhayan O Parjalochana, 1993 Kolkata, Government of West Bengal Publication.

Panchayati Raj Journal October, 1998 No. 4, Government of West Bengal, Directorate of Panchayat, Kolkata, Information and Cultural Department, Basumati Press Publications

Paschimbanga Panchayat Nirbachan, 1998, Kolkata, Communist Party of India, Paschimbanga Rajya Committee, Ganasakti Press Publications

Panchayat 6<sup>th</sup> Election Result -2003, West Bengal State Election Commission, Kolkata, Paschimbanga Rajya Committee, Communist Party of India Publications, Government of West Bengal

### **Books**

A and Gutamann ed. 1994, Multiculturalism: Explaining the Politics on Recognition, Princeton, Princeton University Press

Ahmed Aijazuddin, 1993, Muslims in India, New Delhi, Inter India Pub.

Ahmed Ausaf, 1993, Indian Muslims; Issues in Social and Economic Development, New Delhi, Khama Pub.

Ahmed Imtiaz ed. 1983, Modernization and Social Change Among Muslims of India, New Delhi, Manohar Pub.

Ahmed Khazem, 2012, Paschimbangler Bangali Musalman; Anantahin Samashya, Kolkata, Udar Akash Pub.

Ahmed Makki Mukhtar, 2010, Educational Trends and Development among Muslims of India, New Delhi, Shipra Pub.

Ahmed Rafiuddin, 1987, The Bengal Muslims, 1871-1906; A Quest for Identity, Delhi, Cambridge University Press Publication

Ahmed Rafiuddin, 2001, Understanding the Bengal Muslims, New Delhi, Oxford University Press

Ahmed Sufia, 1974, Muslim Community in Bengal (1884-1912), Bangladesh, Oxford University Press Pub.

Ahuwalia B.K, 1985, Muslims and the India's Freedom Movement, New Delhi, Heritage Publication

Aiyar Mani Shankar, 2004, Confessions of a Secular Fundamentalist, New Delhi, Penguin Pub.

Alam Abu Yusuf, 2007, Khilafat Movement and the Muslims of Bengal, Kolkata, Raktakarabee Publications

Ali M. Kettani, 1986, Muslim Minorities in the World Today, London and New York, Mansell Pub.

Anam Khairul Md, 2008, Indian Freedom Movement and Murshidabad District (1905-1947), Kolkata, K.P.Bagchi and Company Pub.

Ansari Iqbal, 2006, Political Representation of Muslims in India (1952-2004), New Delhi, Manak Pub. Private Ltd.

Ansari M.T. ed. 2001, Secularism, Islam and Modernity, New Delhi, Sage Publications

Ansari. A. Iqbal ed. 1990, New Delhi, Sterling Pub. Pvt. Ltd.

- Ansari. A. Iqbal, 1990, Muslim Situations in India, New Delhi, Sterling Pub. Pvt. Ltd
- Appadorai A, 1944, Democracy in India, New York, Oxford University Press
- Azad Maulana Abul Kalam, 1978, India Wins Freedom, New Delhi, Orient Longman Publication
- Baig.M.R.G ed. 1974, The Muslim Dilemma in India, New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.
- Bandhopadhyay Sailesh Kumar, 2002, Ganatantri Bharate Hindu O Musalman, Kolkata, Biswabangio Prakasani Pub.
- Bandhyapadhyay Sekhar, 2006, From Plassey to Partition, A History of Modern India, Delhi, Orient Longman
- Banerjee Binay ed. 1994, Towards Communal Harmony, Calcutta, Germinal Publications
- Banerjee Dilip, 1990, Reprint, 2009, Election Recorder – An Analytical Reference; Bengal and West Bengal (1862-2009), Kolkata,Star Publishing House
- Basant Rakesh and Shariff Abusaleh ed. 2010, Oxford Handbook of Muslims: Empirical and policy perspectives, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Pub.
- Basur Rajesh. M ed. 2009, Challenges to Democracy in India, Oxford, Oxford University Press
- Basu Sugata ed. 1997, Nationalism Democracy and Development, New Delhi, Oxford Publication
- Bhargava Rajeev ed. 1998, Secularism and its critics, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publications
- Bharghav Rajeev, 2010, The Promise of India's Secular Democracy, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publications
- Bharucha Rustom, 2001, In the Name of the Secular, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publications
- Bhattacharjee Sukhendu , 2010 Thoughts on Democracy Enquiry Concerning Majority Rule Versus Individual Freedom, Kolkata, Firma KLM Pub. Pvt. Ltd
- Bhattacharya Atin, 2007, The Muslims of Bengal: A Psycho-Ideological Study in the Light of Political Movement (1905-1916), Kolkata, The Hallmark Pub.
- Bhattacharya Sibesh, 2002, Secular and Pluralistic Elements in the Idea of State in Early India, Shimla, Indian Institute of Advanced Study Pub.
- Bose Pradip Kumar ed. 1999, Urban Culture and Democracy; Politics in the City, Calcutta, Centre for Studies in Social Science Pub.
- Brass Paul, 1911, Ethnicity and Nationalism; Theory and Comparisons, New Delhi, Sage Pub.
- Brass Paul, 2003, The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India, Washington, University of Washington Press Pub.

- Chakraborti Atulananda ed. 1961, Nehru- His Democracy and India, Calcutta, Thachers Press Publication Limited
- Chakroborty Ashoke Kumar, 2002, Bengali Muslim Leterati and the Development of Muslim Community in Bengal, Shimla, India Institute of Advanced Study Pub.
- Chakroborty Bidyut ed. 2003, Communal Identity in India; Its Construction and Articulation in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Pub.
- Chakroborty Bidyut, 1995, Wither India's Democracy, New Delhi, K.P Bagchi and Company
- Chandal Bhuvan and Kucaradi Ioanna ed. 1998, Cultural Traditions and the Idea of Secularization, New Delhi, Centre for Studies in Civilizations in Association with International Federation of Philosophical Societies Publications
- Chande M.B, 1999, Betrayal of India's Democracy, New Delhi, Atlantic Publications and Distributers
- Chatterjee Aneek ed.2005, Indian Parliamentary Democracy in Transition, Kolkata, Presidency College Pub. Department of Political Science
- Chatterjee Joya, 2008, Reprint, 2011, The Spoils of Partition; Bengal and India,1947-1967, New Delhi, Cambridge University Press
- Chatterjee Rakhahari ed.1994, Religion Politics and Communalism, the South Asian Experience, New Delhi, South Asian Publication Private Limited
- Chatterjee Roma, 2007, Living With Violence – A Anthropology of Events and Everyday Life, New Delhi, Rutledge Pub.
- Chatterji Joya, 1994, Reprint, 2002, Bengal Divided, Hindu Communalism and Partition, 1932-1947, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press
- Chaube, S.K ed. 1999, Indian Democracy At the Turn of Century, New Delhi, Kaniska Publication
- Chaubey Kanta, 1990, Muslims and Freedom Movement in India, Allahabad, Chugh Pub.
- Cohn Ronald, Russell Jesse ed. 2013, Nawabs of Bengal and Murshidabad, United States of America, Miami Publications
- Cragg Kenneth, 1988, The Pen and the Faith, Delhi, George Allen and Unwin Pub. Ltd.
- Dalwai Hamid, 1968, Muslim Politics in India, Bombay, Nachiketa Pub.
- Das Debasri; 2008, Murshidabad, A Study of Cultural Diversity; From Early Eighteenth to Early Twenteith Century, Kolkata, Arpita Prakashani
- Das Suranjan, 1991, Communal Riots in Bengal ;1905-1947, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publications
- Dasgupta Abhijit ed. 2011, Minorities and the State; Changing Social and Political Landscape of Bengal, New Delhi, Sage Pub.
- Datta Prabhat, 1997, India's Democracy, New Challenges, New Delhi, Kanishka Pub.

De Amalendu, 1982, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition 2003, Islam in Modern India Agartala, Parul Prakasani

De Dhurjati Prasad, 1998, Bengal Muslims in Search of Social Identity (1905-47), Dhaka, The Dhaka University Press Publication Limited

Dean Vora Micheles, 2005, New Patterns of Democracy in India, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press

Dey Amalendu, 1974, Roots of Separatism in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Bengal, Calcutta, Ratna Prakasani

Dey Amalendu, 1975, Sadhin Banga Bhumi Gothoner Parikalpana, Kolkata, Ratna Prakasani

Dey Amalendu, 1988, Islam in Modern India, Calcutta, Maya Prakasani Pub.

Dhyani S.N, 1996, Secularism, Socio-Legal Issues, Jaipur and New Delhi, Rawat Publication

Donald Eugene Smith, 1967, India as a Secular State, Princeton, USA, University of Pennsylvania Publication

Dutta Abhijit, 1987, Muslim Society in Transition, Calcutta, Minerva Pub.

Eaton R.M, 1994, The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier (1204-1760), New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publication

Engineer Asghar Ali ed. 1984, Communal Violence in Post Independent India, New Delhi, Sangam Books Pub.

Engineer Asghar Ali ed. 1990, Babri Masjid Ramjanambhoomi Controversy, New Delhi, Ajanta Pub.

Engineer Asghar Ali ed. 2003, Gujarat Carnage, New Delhi, Orient Longman Pub.

Engineer Asghar Ali, 1985, Indian Muslims; A Study of Minority Problems in India, New Delhi, Ajanta Pub.

Engineer Asghar Ali, 1985, Islam and Muslim: A Critical Reassessment, Jaipur, Printwell Pub.

Engineer Asghar Ali, 1995, Lifting the Veil, Communal Violence and Communal Harmony in Contemporary India, Hyderabad, Sangam Pub.

Engineer Asghar Ali, 1998, Islam O Adhunikata, Kolkata, Pratikhan Pub. Pvt. Ltd

Engineer Asghar Ali, 1999, Essays in Contemporary Politics of Identity, Religion and Secularism, New Delhi, Ajanta Pub.

Engineer Asghar Ali, 2003, Communal Challenge and Secular Response, New Delhi, Shipra Pub.

Engineer Asghar Ali, 2004, Islam and Muslim in India, Problems of Identity and Existence, New Delhi, Orient Pub

Engineer Asghar Ali, 2011, Living Faith; Mu Quest for Peace, Harmony and Social Change, New Delhi, Orient Black Swan Pub.

Engineer Asghar Ali, ed. 2002, Islam in India; The Impact of Civilizations, New Delhi, Indian Council for Cultural Relations Pub.

- Engineer Ashgar Ali ed. 1990, Babari Masjid, Ramjanmabhoomi Controversy, New Delhi, Ajanta Publications
- Engineer Ashgar Ali ed. 1998, State Secularism and Religion- West and Indian Experience, New Delhi, Ajanta Publication
- Eugene Donald, 1958, The Political Thought of an Asian Democrat, Calcutta, Orient Longman Publication
- Gahrana Kanan, 1991, Right to Freedom of Religion; A Study in Indian Secularism, New Delhi, South Asian Publication Private Ltd.
- Gajendragadkar Prahlad Balacharya, 1975, Indian Democracy, New Delhi, B.I.Publication
- Gandhi Rajmohon, 1986, Understanding the Muslim Mind, Calcutta, Penguin Books Pub.
- Ganguly Sumit ed. 2009, The State of India's Democracy, New Delhi, Oxford Publications
- Gani H.A, 1978, Muslim Political Issues and National Integration, Delhi, Sterling Pub. Pvt. Ltd.
- Ghelot N.S ed. 1993, Politics of Communalism and Secularism, New Delhi, Deep and Deep Publications
- Ghosh Arun, 2010, The Moments of Bengal Partition, Kolkata, Seribaan Pub.
- Ghosh Barid Baran ed. 2005, Samakalin Sahitya Bongo-Vongo, Kolkata, Punoscho Publication, (pp.340-45)
- Ghosh Jayasri, 2000, Political Participation of Women in West Bengal – A Case Study, Kolkata, Progressive Publisher
- Ghosh S.K, 1984, Muslims in Indian Democracy, Calcutta, Ashish Pub. House, Law Research Institute
- Ghosh S.K, 2000, Secularism in India; The Concept and Practice, New Delhi, A.P.H. Pub. Corporation
- Ghosh Suniti Kumar, 2002, The Tragic Partition of Bengal, Kolkata, Radical Impression Pub.
- Ghosh. S.K, 1981, Indian Muslims Awake and Ponder, Kolkata, Law Research Institute Pub.
- Gore. M.S, 2002, Unity in Diversity, The Indian Experience in Nation Building, New Delhi and Jaipur, Rawat Pub.
- Gossman Patricia.A, 1999, Riots and Victims; Violence and the Construction of Communal Identity Among Bengali Muslims (1905-47), USA, West View Press Pub.
- Gottschalk Peter, 2001, Beyond Hindu and Muslim; Multiple Identities in Narratives from Village India, New Delhi, Oxford Press Pub.
- Government of West Bengal, 2007, Bengal Partitioned, Selections from Confidential Records, Kolkata, West Bengal State Archives, Higher Education Department Publication, Government of West Bengal

- Gupta Bishan Kumar, 1992, Political Movements in Murshidabad (1920-1947), Calcutta, Manisha Granthalaya Publications Ltd.
- Gupta Bishan Kumar, 2013, Murshidabad Phere Dekha, Beharampore (West Bengal), Print co Publication
- Gupta Soumendra Kumar, 2013, Paribartaner Sandhane Murshibader Bangali Mussalman, Kolkata, Udar Akash Pub.
- Hamid Abdul, 1967, Muslim Separatism in India, A Brief Survey, Lahore, Oxford University Press Pub.
- Hardy Peter, 1972, The Muslims of British India, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press
- Harris Sam, 2004, The End of Faith, New York, Library of Congress Cataloging - in - Publication Data
- Hasan Mushirul ed. 1998, Islam Communities and the Nation, Muslim Identities in South Asia and Beyond, New Delhi, Manohar Publications
- Hasan Mushirul ed. 2001, India's Partition, Process, Strategy and Mobilisation, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, Reprint,2008
- Hasan Mushirul ed. 2004, Will Secular India Survive, New Delhi, Imprint One Publication
- Hasan Mushirul ed. 2005, Living Together Separately, Cultural India in History and Politics, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Pub.
- Hasan Mushirul ed. Communal and Pan-Islamic Trends in Colonial India, New Delhi, Manohar Publications
- Hasan Mushirul ed. 1992, Islam and "Indian Nationalism; Reflexions on Abul Kalam Azad, New Delhi, Manohar Publications
- Hasan Mushirul, 1994, Nationalism and Communal Politics in India, New Delhi, Manohar Publications
- Hasan Mushirul, 1997, Legacy of a Divided Nation, India's Muslims since Independence, New Delhi, Oxford Pub.
- Hasan Qamar, 1987, Muslims in India; Attitudes Adjustments and Reactions, New Delhi, Northern Books Pub. Ltd.
- Hasan Zoya ed, 1999, Transforming India Social and Political Dynamics of Democracy, Delhi, Oxford University Press
- Hayat Abul, 1966, Mussalmans of Bengal, Calcutta, Zaheed Ali Publications Limited
- Hidayatullah M, 1965, Democracy in India and the Judicial Process, New Delhi Asia Publishing House
- Hunter W.W, 1964, The Indian Musalmans, Lahore, Premier Book House Publication
- Huntington Samuel, 1968, Political Order in Changing Societies, New Haven, Yale University Press Pub.

- Imam Zafar ed. 1975, Muslims in India, New Delhi, Orient Longman Publications
- Iraqi Shahbuddin ed. 2008, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan; Vision and Mission, Delhi, Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, Manohar Publication
- Jain Girilal, 1994, The Hindu Phenomenon, New Delhi, UBS Publications
- Jalal Ayesha, 1995, Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia, A comparative and Historical Perspective, New Delhi, Cambridge University Press
- Jalal Ayesha, 2000, Self and Sovereignty, Individual and Community in South Asian Islam since 1850, New York, Rutledge Publications
- Jayal Gopal Niraja ed. 1995, Democracy in India; Themes in Politics, New Delhi, Oxford University Press
- Jingram Saral, 1995, Secularism in India, A Reappraisal, New Delhi, Har Anand Publications
- Kabir Humayun, 1969, Muslim Politics and Other Essays (1906-47), Calcutta, Firma, K.L Publications
- Karim Rejaul, 2012, Prabandha Sangraha, Kolkata, Bangla Academy Publication
- Khan Md. Halim, 1957, Muslims in India After 1947, A Study in Political Geography, USA, Clark University Pub.
- Khan Mohammad Mohsin, 1973, A Bengal District in Transition, Murshidabad (1765-1793), Dhaka, The Asiatic Society of Bangladesh Pub.
- Khan Syed Ahmad, 2001, The Man and his Works, New Delhi, Om Publication.
- Khothari Rajni, 1998, Communalism in Indian Politics, Delhi, Rainbow Publishers Limited
- Kishwar Madhu Purnima, 2005, Deepening Democracy; Challenges of Governance and Globalization in India, New Delhi, Oxford University Press
- Kohli Atul ed. 2001, India's Democracy: An Analysis of Changing State-Society Relations, Hyderabad, Orient Longman Publication
- Kohli Atul, 1990, Democracy and Disorder; India's Growing Crisis of Governability, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press Pub. Part IV
- Kothari Rajini, 2005, Rethinking Democracy, New Delhi, Orient Longman Pub.
- Kumar Sunil, 2001, Communalism and Secularism in Indian Politics, New Delhi and Jaipur, Rawat Publications
- Kymlica.W, 2002, Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights, Oxford, Clarendon Press Pub.
- Lahiri Pradip Kumar, 1991, Bengali Muslim Thought (1818-1947); Its Liberal and Rational Trends, Calcutta, K.P.Bagchi and Company Pub.

- Latif Sk.Abdul, 1993, *The Muslim Mystic Movement in Bengal (1301-1550)*, Aligarh Muslim University, New Delhi, K.P.Bagchi and Company Pub.
- Lawrence Davidson, 2003, *Islamic Fundamentalism- An Introduction*, USA, Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication Data.
- Madan .T.N, 1997, *Modern Myths, Locked Minds; Secularism and Fundamentalism in India*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Pub.
- Madan T.N, 2007, *Images of the World; Essays on Religion, Secularism and Culture*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Pub.
- Madan. T.N ed. 2001, *Muslim Communities of South Asia, Culture and Power*, New Delhi, Institute of Economic Growth Pub.
- Madani Saeidi Mohsen, 1993, *Impact of Hindu Culture on Muslims*, New Delhi, M.D. Pub. Pvt. Ltd
- Mahajan Gurpreet, 2001, *Identities and Rights; Aspects of Liberal Democracy in India*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press
- Majumdar Prnna Chandra, 1905, *The Musnud of Murshidabad*, Murshidabad, Saroda Publications
- Mander Harsh, 2009, *Fear and Forgiveness – The Aftermath of Massacre*, New Delhi, Penguin Book Pub.
- Mann E.A, 1992, *Boundaries and Identities; Muslims Work Status in Aligarh*, New Delhi, Sage Pub.
- Marshall David, 1999, *God, Muhammad and the Unbelievers; A Quranic Study*, Great Britain, British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data,
- Masih Aejaj, 2004, *Secular Values and Curriculum*, New Delhi, Manak Publications Private Limited
- Maswood Shireen ed. 2011, *Between Tradition and Modernity, Aspects of Islam in South Asia*, Kolkata, K.P.Bagchi and Company Pub.
- Md. Bin Mahmood, 2001, *The Fundamentals of Fundamentalism*, New Delhi, Anmol Pub.
- Md. Noor ed. 1999, *Indian Muslims – Precepts and Practices*, New Delhi, Rawat Pub.
- Metcalf Barbara Dally ed. 2007, *India’s Muslims*, Delhi, Oxford University Press Publication
- Misra. R.S, 1996, *Hinduism and Secularism- A Critical Study*, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass Pub. Pvt. Ltd
- Mitra Sharmila Deb and Manisha M ed. 2009, *Indian Democracy; Problems and Prospects*, New Delhi, Anthem Press
- Moududi Sayyid Abul A’la, 2012, *Towards Understanding Islam*, New Delhi, Markazi Maktaba Islami Pub.

- Moududi Sayyid Abul Al'a, 1984, Reprint, 2000, The Quran, Divine Revelation or Forgery, Delhi, Ishaat-E-Islam Trust Pub.
- Mufti, Aamir,R, 2007, Enlightenment in the Colony, USA, Princeton University Press Publication
- Mukhopadhyay Prasad Kali, 2007, Partition, Bengal and After: The Great Tragedy of India, New Delhi, and Reference Press Publication,
- Mukhopadhyaya. S.C, 1988, British Residents at the Darbar of the Bengal Nawabs at Murshidabad (1757-1772), New Delhi, Gyan Publications
- Nanda Meera, 2005, The Wrongs of Religious Right; Reflections on Science, Secularism and Hindutva, New Delhi, Paperback Publication
- Naqavi S,M, 1967, Democracy in India, Calcutta. Cosmopolitan Publication
- Naqvi Md. Ali,1988, Islam and Nationalism, Iran, Islamic Propagation Organization Pub.
- Needham Anuradha Dingwaney and Rajan Rajeswari Sunder ed. 2007, The Crisis of Secularism in India, New Delhi, Permanent Black Publications
- Noorani.A.G ed. 2003, The Muslims of India; A Documentary Record, Oxford, Oxford University Press Pub.
- Padhi A.P ed. 1984, Socialism, Secularism and Democracy, Delhi, New Literature Pub.
- Pandey Gyanandra, 2003, Remembering Partition, New Delhi, Cambridge University Press
- Pandya Anandashankar, 1993, In Defense of Hinduism, Bombay, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Publication
- Panikkar K.N, 1996, Communal Threat, Secular Challenge, New Delhi, Centre for Historical Studies Publications; Jawaharlal Nehru University
- Puniyani Ram, 2010, Communal Threat to Secular Democracy, Delhi, Kalpaz Pub.
- Rahim Abdur Md, 1978, The Muslim Society and Politics in Bengal (1757-1947), Dacca, The University of Dacca Publication
- Rajan Nalini, 2002, Democracy and the Limits of Minority Rights, New Delhi, Sage Publications
- Robinson Rowena, 2005, Tremors of Violence – Muslim Survivors of Ethnic Strife in Western India, New Delhi, Sage Pub.
- Roy Anupama, 2010, Mapping Citizenship in India, New Delhi, Oxford Press Pub.
- Roy Ashim, 1983, The Islamic Syncretistic Tradition in Bengal, Chicago, Princeton Publication,
- Roy Atul Chandra ed. 1995, Murshidabad Affairs (1821-50), Records from the Berhampore Collector ate, Calcutta, K.P.Bagchi and Company Pub.
- Roy Ramashray, 2005, Democracy in India: Form and Substance, Delhi, Shipra Publication

- Roy. A.K, 1996, Religion and the Secular Man, Allahabad and New Delhi, Wheeler Publishing Co. Ltd Publications
- Rubbee Fuzli, 2008, The Origin of the Musalmans of Bengal, Kolkata, Sagnik Pub.
- Rudolph and Rudolph ed. 2008, Explaining Indian Democracy. A Fifty Year Perspective; 1956-2006, Vol.I, New Delhi, Oxford University Press
- Sahai Ratna ed. 1954, Muslims in India, New Delhi, Thomas Press Ltd
- Salamatullah, 1994, Education of Muslims in Secular India, New Delhi, Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development Pub.
- Sankhdher .M.M, ed. 1992, Secularism in India, Dilemmas and Challenges, New Delhi, Deep and Deep Publications
- Saran A.K, 2007, On the Theories of Secularism and Modernization, Varanasi, Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies Pub.Sarnath
- Sarkar Chandi Prasad, 1991, The Bengali Muslims: A Study in Their Politicization (1912-29), Calcutta, K.P.Bagchi and Company Pub.
- Sarkar Jadu Nath ed. 1948, The History of Bengal (vol.ii), Muslim Period (1200-1757), Dacca, The University of Dacca Publication
- Sarkar Jadunath, 1973, End of Muslim Rule in History of Bengal (1200-1757) Patna, Cambridge South Asian Studies Pub.
- Sarkar Jadunath, 1973, History of Bengal, Patna, Cambridge South Asian Studies Pub.
- Sarkar Sumit, 1977, The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal (1903-1908), New Delhi, Peoples Publishing House
- Saxena Vinod Kumar, 1987, The Partition of Bengal (1905-1911), Delhi, Kanishka Publishing House
- Seikh Rahim Mondal,1997, Educational Status of Muslims: Problems Prospects and Priorities, New Delhi, Inter India Pub.
- Sen Jahor, 2003, Purnamanab Rejaul Karim, West Bengal, Prabha Prakasani
- Sen Ronojoy, 2010, Articles of Faith; Religion, Secularism and the Indian Supreme Court, New Delhi, Oxford University Press
- Sen Shila, 1976, Muslim Politics in Bengal (1937-47), New Delhi, Impex India Pub
- Shah Mohammad, 1990, The Growth of Muslim Politics in India, New Delhi, Ashish Publishing House.
- Shah Mohammad, 1996, In Search of an Identity, Bengali Muslims (1880-1940), Calcutta, K.P.Bagchi and Company Pub.
- Shail Mayaram, 2005, Muslims Dalits and the Fabrication of History; Subaltern Studies, New Delhi, Permanent Black Publications

Shakir Moin, 1972, Muslims in Free India, New Delhi, Kalamkar Prakasani Pub. Pvt. Ltd.

Shakir Moin, 1983, Islam in Indian Politics, Delhi, Ajanta Pub.

Shakir Moin, 1985, Communalism in India, Delhi, Ajanta Pub.

Sharma Arvind ed. 2001, Hinduism and Secularism, Great Britain, Palgrave Publication

Sharma Geetesh, 2006, Wither Secularism? Kolkata, Dialogue Society Publication

Sharma, B.N.A, 2006, Hinduism Under Seige, New Delhi, Manas Pub.

Sharma, R.C, 1999, Secular India and Communal Politics, Jaipur, Book Enclave Publication

Shiva Vandana; 2005, India Divided, Diversity and Democracy under Attack, New York, Steven Stories Press Pub

Siddiqui M.M and Faraidi F.R ed. 1992, The Social Structure of Indian Muslims, New Delhi, Institute of Objective Studies Pub.

Siddiqui.M.K.A, 1974, Muslims of Calcutta; A Study in Aspects of their Social Organizations, Calcutta, Government of India Pub.

Singh Inder Anita,1987, The Origins of the Partition of India;1936-1947, New Delhi, Cambridge University Press,

Singh Jaswant, 2009, Jinnah: India's Partition Independence, New Delhi, Rupa and Company Publishing Corporation

Singh Karan, 1993, Essays on Hinduism, New Delhi, Ratna Sagar Publication

Sinha Niroj, 2000, Women in Indian Politics, New Delhi, Gyan Publishing House Pub.

Sinha.V.K ed. 1968, Secularism in India, New Delhi, Lalvani Pub.House

Smelser.J.Neil, 1970, Sociology; An Introduction, New Delhi, Wiley Eastern Private Limited Pub.

Smith Eugene Donald, 1967, India as a Secular State, Princeton, USA, University of Pennsylvania Publications

Srinivasan Nirmala, 1989, Prisoners of Faith, New Delhi Sage Pub.

Srinivasan T.N ed., 2007 The Future of Secularism, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publication

Sten Widmalm, 1997, Democracy and Violent Separatism in India, Sweden, Uppasala University Publications

Vajpayi Ananya, 2012, Righteous Republic: The Political Foundations of Modern India, USA, and Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

- Vanaik Achin, 1990, *The Painful Transition; Bourgeois Democracy in India*, London, Verso Publication
- Vanaik Achin, 1997, *Communalism Contested; Religion Modernity and Secularization*, New Delhi, Vistaar Publications
- Varshney Ashutosh, 1995, *India and the Politics of a Developing Countries*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press
- Varshney Ashutosh, 2002, *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Pub.
- Vasta Ellie, 2000, *Citizenship, Community and Democracy*, New York, Macmillan Press Pub. Ltd.
- Vats Poonam, 2004, *Political Participation and Attitudinal Transformation of Rural Women*, Delhi, Abhijit Pub.
- Vora Rajendra and Palsikar Suhas ed. 2004, *Indian Democracy ; Meaning and Practices*, New Delhi, Sage Publications
- World Brotherhood All India Committee, 1960, *Indian Democracy in the Asian Background*, New Delhi, Allied Publishers Private Ltd
- Zubair Alam, 1987, *Emergency Power in Indian Democracy*, New Delhi, S. K Publishers

### **Journals**

- Ahmad Imtiaz, *The Ashraf and Ajlaf Categories in Indo-Muslim Society*, EPW, Vol.2, No.19 (May 13, 1967)
- Ahmed Ahrar, *Participation and Constitutionalism; Political Crises and Democracy in India*, Asian Affairs, Vol. 26, No. 3 (1999)
- Ahmed Imtiaz, *India and the Muslim World*, EPW, Vol.40, No.9 (February 26<sup>th</sup>- 4<sup>th</sup> March)
- Ahmed Imtiaz, *Indian Muslims and Electoral Politics*, EPW, Vol.2, No. 10 (March, 11th, 1967)
- Alam Anwar, *Democratisation of Indian Muslims: Some Reflections*, EPW, Vol.38, No.46 (November 15<sup>th</sup> 21<sup>st</sup>, 2003)
- Alam Javeed, *The Contemporary Muslim Situation in India; A Long Term View*, EPW, Vol. 43, No.2 (January 12<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup>, 2008)
- Alam Sanjeer Md., *Wither Muslim Politics*, EPW, Vol.44, No.39 (September 26<sup>th</sup>-October 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2009)
- Alam Zaveed, *What Is Happening Inside Indian Democracy?* In EPW, vol 34, No.37 (September-11th-17th September), 1999
- Aleaz Bonita, *Madrassa Education, State and Community Consciousness: Muslims in West Bengal*, EPW, Vol. 40, No.6 (Feb. 5<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup>, 2005)
- Ara Arjumand, *Madrassas and Making of Muslim Identity in India*, EPW, Vol.39, No.1 (January 3<sup>rd</sup>-9<sup>th</sup>, 2004)

- Assadi Muzaffar, Wooing Muslims: BJP's Minorities Conference, EPW, Vol.33, No.23 (June 6<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup>, 1998)
- Berglund Henrik," Religion and Nationalism: Politics of BJP," EPW, Vol.39, No.10 (March 6<sup>th</sup>), 2004
- Beteille Andre, Secularism and Intellectuals, EPW, Vol. 29, No.10 (March, 5<sup>th</sup>, 1994)
- Bharghav Rajeev, "Giving Secularism Its Due", EPW, Vol.29, No.28 (9<sup>th</sup> July) 1994
- Bharucha Rustom,"The Shifting Sites of Secularism: Cultural Politics and Activism in India Today", EPW, Vol.33, No.4 (January-24<sup>th</sup>-30<sup>th</sup>), 1998
- Blair Harry. W, Minority Electoral Politics in a North Indian State; Aggregate Data Analysis and the Muslim Community in Bihar (1952-72), The American Political Science Review, Vol.67, No.4 (December, 1973)
- Chatterjee Jaya,"The Fashioning of a Frontier: The Radcliff Line and Bengal's Border Landscape, (1947-1952), Modern Asian Studies, Vol.33, No.1 (February, 1999)
- Chatterjee Partha, Bengal (1920-1947), The Land Question, The Journal of Peasant Studies, Vol. II, No.4, July-1984
- Chopra Rohit, The Cyber Presence of Babri Masjid; History, Politics and Difference in Online Indian Islam, EPW, Vol.43, No.3 (January 19<sup>th</sup>-25<sup>th</sup>, 2008)
- Choudhury Kameshwar, BJP's Changing View of Hindu-Muslim Relations, EPW, Vol.26, No.33 (August 17<sup>th</sup> 1991)
- Das Suranjan, Towards an Understanding of Communal Violence in Twentieth Century Bengal, EPW, Vol,23, No.35 (August 27, 1998)
- Dasgupta Abhijit, On the Margins: Muslims in West Bengal, EPW, Vol.44, No.16 (April 18<sup>th</sup>-24<sup>th</sup>, 2009)
- Dasgupta Anindita, Remembering Sylhet: A Forgotten Story of India's 1947 Partition, EPW, Vol.43, No.31 (August, 2-8, 2008)
- Datta.V.N, Iqbal,Jinnah and India's Partition: An Intimate Relationship, EPW, Vol.37, No.50 (Dec.14-20,2000)
- Dixit Prahat,"Secularism and Communalism: A Comment", EPW, Vol.4, No.44 (1<sup>st</sup> November), 1969
- Engineer Ashgar Ali, Democracy and the Politics of Identity, EPW, vol.33, no.13 (March 26<sup>th</sup>-April 3<sup>rd</sup>), 1998
- Engineer Ashgar Ali, Islam and Muslims in India; Problems of Identity and Existence, Oriento Moderno, Nuova Serie, Anno, 23 (84), No. 1, 2004
- Engineer Irfan, Politics of Muslim Vote Bank, EPW, Vol.30, No.4 (January,28<sup>th</sup>, 1995)

- Engineer Irfan, "Religion, State and Secularism", EPW, Vol.30, No.43 (October 28<sup>th</sup>), 1995
- Gaikwad.S.M, Ambedkar and Indian Nationalism, EPW, Vol.33, No.10 (March 7<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup>, 1998)
- Gil Anidjar, "Secularism", Critical Inquiry Journal, Vol.33, No.1 (Autumn,2006)
- Habib Irfan, Muslims in India: Some Issues for State Action, Social Scientist, Vol.34, No.3/4 (March-April, 2006)
- Hasan Mushirul, "In Search of Integration and Identity: Indian Muslims since Independence", EPW, Vol.23, No.45/47, Special Number (November, 1998)
- Hasan Mushirul, Adjustment and Accommodation; Indian Muslims after Partition, Social Scientist, Vol.18, No. 8/9 (August-September, 1990)
- Hasan Mushirul, Intellectuals, Institutions and the Post Colonial Predicament, EPW, Vol. 30, No. 47 (November, 25<sup>th</sup>, 1995)
- Hasan Mushirul, The Ulama and Khilafat Movement, EPW, Vol.16, No.20 (May 16<sup>th</sup>, 1981)
- Heller Patrick, Degrees of Democracy; Some Comparative Lessons from India, World Politics, Vol. 52, No. 4 (July, 2000)
- Jaffrelot Christophe, Setback to BJP, EPW, Vol.31, No.2/3 (January 13<sup>th</sup>-20, 1996)
- Khalidi Omar, Muslims in Indian Political Process; Group Goals and Alternative Strategies, EPW, Vol.28, No.1/2 (January 2<sup>nd</sup> -9<sup>th</sup>, 1993)
- Krishna Gopal, Electoral Participation and Political Integration, EPW, Vol.2, No.3/5, Annual Number (February, 1967)
- Kumar Sanjay, Muslims in Electoral Politics, EPW, Vol.31, No.2/3 (January 13<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup>, 1996)
- Lijphart Arend, The Puzzle of Indian Democracy: A Consociational Interpretation, The American Political Science Review, Vol. 90, No.2 (June, 1996)
- Md. Arif, Dilemma of Indian Muslims, Pakistan Horizon, Vol.51, No.2 (April, 1998)
- Metcalf.D. Barbara, Too Little and Too Much: Reflections on Muslim in the History of India, The Journal of Asian Studies, Vol.54, No.4 (November, 1995)
- Mitra Asok, Parting of Ways: Partition and After in Bengal, EPW, Vol, 25, No.44 (Nov.3, 1990)
- Mohanty Monoranjan, Democracy Limited, EPW, vol.31, no.13 (March 30<sup>th</sup>), 1996
- Mohanty Monoranjan, "Secularism: Hegemonic and Democratic", EPW, Vol.24, No.22 (3<sup>rd</sup> June), 1989

- Mujahid Sharif Ali, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Muslim Nationalism in India, *Islamic Studies*, Vol.38, and No.1 (spring, 1999)
- Narain Iqbal, Cultural Pluralism, National Integration and Democracy in India, *Asian Survey*, Vol.16, No.10 (October, 1976)
- Noorani A.G. Indira Gandhi and Indian Muslims, *EPW*, Vol.25, No.44 (March, 1990)
- Noronha Ernesto, “BJP: Cow as a Political Symbol”, *EPW*, Vol.29, No.24 (June 11th), 1994.
- Pantham Thomas, “Indian Secularism and its Critics”, *Journal, The Review of Politics*, Vol.59, No.3 (Summer), 1997
- Parekh Bhikhu, Nehru and the National Philosophy of India, *EPW*, Vol.26, No.1/2 (January 5<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup>, 1991)
- Puri Balraj, Autonomy and Participation: Dimensions of Indian Muslim identity, *EPW*, Vol. 13, No. 40 (October,7, 1978)
- Puri Balraj, Indian Muslims Since Partition, *EPW*, Vol.28, No.40 (October 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1993)
- Ralph Buultjens, “ India: Religion, Political Legitimacy and the Secular State”, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol.483 (January), 1986
- Robb.P.G, Muslim Identity and Separatism in India: The Significance of M.A.Ansari, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol.54, No.1 (1991)
- Rowena Robinson, Religion Socio-Economic Backwardness and Discrimination: The Caste of Indian Muslims, *Indian Journal of Industrial Relation*, Vol.44, No.2 (October, 2008)
- Roy Himanshu, Western Secularism and Colonial Legacy in India, *EPW*, Vopl.41, No.2 (January 14-20, 2006)
- Roy Krishna, Concept and Nature of Indian Democracy: A Theoretical Perspective, *Pratidhwani the Echo, A International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, Vol.VI, Issue III, (January, 2018)
- Roy Krishna, Distinctiveness of Indian Secularism, *A Quarterly Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol.44, No. 1-2, (June-September, 2016), Council for Political Studies
- Roy Krishna, Indian Democracy: A Contextual Model, *The West Bengal Political Science Review*, Vol.XVII, No. 1 and 2, (2014)
- Roy Krishna, Indian Secularism- Distinctive Ideas of Jawaharlal Nehru, *Bi-Annual Journal of Political Studies*, 9 Vol.11, (March-October, 2015), University of North Bengal
- Roy Krishna, The Bengali Muslims of Murshidabad District: An Attitudinal Perception Towards Secular State and Politics, *Cognitive Dioscourses, International Multidisciplinary Journal*, Vol.5, Issue 1 (July, 2017)

- Ruparelia Sanjay, 2008, How the Politics of Recognition Enabled India's Democratic Exceptionalism, in International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society, vol.21, no.1/4, Secular Imaginaries, (pp.40-42)
- Sarkar Sumit, "The Bomb and Aspects of Nationalism", EPW, Vol.33, No.27 (July 4<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup>), 1998
- Shah Ganasham, The Condition of Muslims in India, EPW, Vol.42, No.10 (March 10<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup>, 2007)
- Shakir Moin, Electoral Participation of Minorities and Indian Political System, EPW, Vol.15, No. 5/7 (Autumn Issue, February, 1980)
- Sharma Sanjeev Kumar, Ancient Indian Democracy- Studies, Research and Some Modern Myths, Indian Journal of Political Science, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, Vol.xxxix, No.3, July-September, 2005
- Syed Shahabuddin, Indian Muslims; Quest for Identity and Security, EPW, Vol. 18, No.29 (July 16<sup>th</sup>, 1983)
- Varshney Ashutosh, India's Democratic Challenge, Foreign Affairs, Vol.86, No.2 (March-April, 2007)
- Wright Theodore. P, Muslims and the 1977 Indian Election: A Watershed? Asian Survey, Vol.17, No.12 (December, 1977)

### **Seminar Proceedings**

- Roy Krishna, "Concept of Multiculturalism With Special Reference to Indian Model", Social Philosophy For The Realisation Of Globalisation, Multiculturalism and The International Order, 8<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Social Philosophy, (/November, 12<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup>, 2009), Dravidian University

### **Bengali Journals**

- Abedin A.R, Unnata Samaj Gathane Ismamer Bhumica, Alea-Hadish, Bengali Quaterly Journal, (December, No.6, 2012)
- Akbar.A.K, Islam O Samprodaikata, Janatar Adalat, Bengali Quarterly Journal (special issue, December 2007-January 2008)
- Ali Hossain Md. A Banger Musalmanra Aar Kotokal Ghumabe? Swadhikar Barta, Bengali Quaterly Journal, (1<sup>st</sup> March, 2008)
- Ali Md. Sultan, Siksha Sachetanata O Oikka, Janatar Adalat, Bengali Quaterly Journal (July-September, 2009)
- Anarul Islam, Hindutwa O Dharma Nirapeksha Samaje Musalmander Abosthan, Nabik, Monthly Journal, No.8 (August-September, 2011)
- Arif Hakim, Musalman Rajnaitik Tetader Dharmio Vandami, Natun Gati, Bengali Weekly Journal, (28<sup>th</sup> May-3<sup>rd</sup> June, 2012)

- Choudhury Aftab, Durniti Mukta Samaj O Rajnaitik Netritwa, Bangler Renaissance, Bengali Yearly Journal, (October 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2008)
- Hoq Enjamul, Khagragarh Bisphorone Musalmanra Dayee Noi, Swadhikar Barta, Bengali Quarterly Journal, (June, No.1, 2012)
- Hossain Abul, Rajnainik Prekhapate Musalmander Bhumica O Oesthitwa, Bengali Quarterly Journal (July-September, 2009)
- Hossain Emam, Narendra Modi, Unnayaner Kandari Na Hindutwater Rathajatri?, Unmesh, Bengali Quaterly Journal, (June-August, 2013)
- Islam Rafikul, Ganatrantraer Prasadhani Paribartan, Janatar Adalat, Bengali Quaterly Journal (9<sup>th</sup>, January, Special Issue, 2007)
- Ismail Sheikh, Musalmander Mone Kora Hoi Partyr Vote Bank, Nabik, Monthly Journal, No.12 (November-December, 2011)
- Md. Ismail, Islam O Udarota, Kalam Patrica, Bengali Yearly Journal (8<sup>th</sup> December, 2006) (pp.29-31)
- Md. Monsur Ali, Dharmer Name Musalmander Bikrito Sanskriti Carcha, Nabik, Bengali Monthly Journal, ( August- September, 2014)
- Mijanul Rahaman, Musalman Samaj O Arthanaitik Abonoti, Natungati, Weekly Journal, No.28, (12<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> March), 2011
- Nur.A.M, Musalmanra Ak Sathe Tader Unnatir Katha Bhabuk, Saralpath,Bengali Monthly Journal, (December, No.5, 2013)
- Rahaman Samidur, Swadinata Andolone Musalmander Bhumica, Satyabak, Bengali Quarterly Journal, (July-August, 2012)
- Raihan Ali Shahnawaz, Dharmanirapekhatar Uthsha, Swarup O Bikas, Mizan, Bengali Yearly Journal, (November,2009)
- Raisuddin Md. Rajnitite Musalmander Utthan O Patan, Yubapratashya, Bengali Yearly Journal (11<sup>th</sup> August, 2009)
- Rauf Abdur, Bartaman Samaj Hindu O Musalman Bivajan, Kalam Patrica Bengali Yearly Journal, (Id Volume, 2008)
- Sarkar Moinuddin, Islam O Paschattyar Songhat, Yubapratasha, Bengali Quaterly Journal,(December 2007-January 2008, 2008)

### **Website**

Website: - [www.censusindia.gov.in](http://www.censusindia.gov.in)

Website: - [www.ceowb.nic.in](http://www.ceowb.nic.in) (57 Suti, Part No. 1-22, 114-131)

Website: - [www.jamaateislamihind.org](http://www.jamaateislamihind.org)

Website: - [www.siowb.org](http://www.siowb.org)

Website: -[www.aiudf.org](http://www.aiudf.org)

Website: -[www.jamaateislamihind.org](http://www.jamaateislamihind.org)

Website: -[www.sdpi.in](http://www.sdpi.in)

Website: -[www.welfarepartyofindia.org](http://www.welfarepartyofindia.org)

### **Election Manifesto**

The Constitution of Jamaat-e-Islami Hind, 2014, New Delhi, Markazi Maktaba Islami Publication, and Public Manifesto for 2014 National Elections, New Delhi, Bharat Publication.

Policy and Programme- Jammat-e-Islami-Hind, 2015, March, New Delhi, Bharat Publication.

SIO- Student Manifesto, 2014, New Delhi, Student Islamic Organization of India Publication

## **APPENDIX –A**

### **QUESTIONNAIRE**

#### **General Information of the Respondent**

1. Name and residence-

2. Sex- male/female

3. Age- 18-30/ 31-40/ 41-50/ 51/60/ 61-70/ 71 and above

4. Marital status- married/ unmarried/ widow

If (married) number of children-

5. Number of family members-

6. Nature of the family- joint family/ extended family/ nuclear family

7. Religion- Hindu/ Muslim/ Christian/Jain

8. Caste- if Hindu (Schedule Caste/ Tribe/OBC) if Muslim (OBC/ General)

Sub Caste- for Hindu-

and if Muslim-

9. Occupation-

Service worker/ student/teacher/ officer/ business/ self employed/ professional/ agricultural peasant domestic maid/ unemployed/ retired/ laborer (daily labor/ job card holder artisans/ marginal worker/ bidi worker/marginalized peasants)/ others

10. Educational qualification-

a) no formal education

b) primary education (I to IV)

c) secondary level (V to X)

d) Higher secondary / undergraduate (XI- XII)

e) graduate

f) postgraduate

11. Family income per month-

a) below 3000

b) 3001-5000

c) 5001- 10000

d) 10000 and above

## Interview Schedule

### Political Participation

1. Do you have interest in politics? Yes/ no
2. If (yes) how much interest do you have in politics? A lot/ some/ little
3. Do you participate in politics? Yes/ no/ indirectly/ a little
4. If (yes) why do you participate in politics? State your opinion
  - a) feel interest in politics
  - b) greater participation meant better democratic governance
  - c) could exchange ideas during gram sabha meetings
  - d) cast vote
  - e) all of the above reasons
5. If (no) why don't you participate in politics - State your opinion out of the following reasons which is applicable to you?
  - a) very much busy
  - b) lack of time
  - c) domestic duties
  - d) family problems
  - e) no interest in politics
  - f) politics appeared to be complicated
  - g) no other reasons
  - h) all the above reasons
6. Would you participate in politics if you were given the opportunity? Yes/ no/ to be considered
7. i) Did you cast your vote in this last panchayat election? Yes/ no  
ii) If (yes) why do you exercise franchise?
  - (a) Vote is our political right
  - (b) to choose right and responsible government
  - (c) as a responsible citizen we should deliver our franchise
  - (d) through voting our economic/ social needs will be fulfilled
  - (e) all the above reasonsiii) If (no) why do you not cast your vote?
  - a) out of station    b) illness
  - c) occupied with some other engagement
  - d) apathy towards voting
  - e) voting means wastage of time
  - f) some other reasons
8. Out of the following forms of participation in which do you take part?
  - a) casting vote
  - b) election campaign
  - c) contesting in the election
  - d) selection of the candidate
  - e) attend political meetings at times other than election (gram sabha meetings)
  - f) discussion of politics
  - g) others
  - h) inapplicable
  - i) all the above reasons

9. Did you participate in the election campaign in this panchayat election? Yes/ no

10. If (yes) how did you participate?

- a) requested others to cast vote?
- b) requested others to cast vote in favor of a candidate of your choice
- c) donated to the election fund
- d) collected subscription for election
- e) attended any election meeting
- f) helped in organizing any election meeting
- g) participated in any election procession
- h) prepared slips/ posters/ banners etc
- i) distributed slips/ posters/ leaflets etc in favor of any candidate
- j) campaigned from door to door
- k) anything else
- l) all the ways

11. If (no) why did not you participate in the election campaign?

- a) no interest in politics
- b) don't have any scope
- c) lack of time
- d) indifferent
- e) some other reasons
- f) all the above reasons

12. Would you please specify the principal factors that stand in the way of people's participation in politics?

13. Is your member of your family involved in politics? Yes/ no

14. Do you face any problem in discharging your domestic duties due to participation in politics?  
Yes/ no/ to some extent

15. Do you keep in touch with political news? Yes/ no/ to some extent

16. Which of the following structures helps you the most in the matter of collecting political news?

- a) party magazine
- b) discussion with respectable persons
- c) newspaper

d) radio

e) television

f) anything else

17. Do you read newspaper? Yes/ no

18. Do you read it daily? Yes/ no/ once in while

19. Which part of the newspaper does you like the most? Political/ social/ national/ international/ sports/ economic/ entertainment

20. Do you discuss politics with your friend? Yes/ no/ under special circumstances

21. Some people think that politics and running of the government are so complicated that common people find it difficult to understand politics - what do you think? Yes/ no/ don't know/ to some extent

22. Do you consider that public opinion has any impact on the functioning of the government? Yes/ to some extent/ no/ do not have any idea

23. Does your desire for active participation in politics depend solely upon you? Yes/ no

24. Please mention the name of the parties contested for the last panchayat election

Congress/ TMC/ CPI (M)/ BJP/ RSP/ FB/ Independent/ WPI/ SDPI/AIUDF

25. Please mention which party in your gram panchayat has owned the election and what is the name of the candidate.

26. How much interest did you have in the results of this election? A lot/ to some extent/ not at all

27. Are you happy with the election result of the gram panchayat? Yes/ no

28. What is your attitude in this regard?

29. Who is your MLA from Suti II block?

30. Are you a member of any political party? Yes/ no/ refusal to answer

31. If (yes) which is the party?

32. If (party member) what is the degree of your attraction towards this party?

a) very strong

b) strong

c) medium

33. If you are not a member of any political party, is there any party to which you feel close? Yes/ no

34. If (yes) please state the name of the political party –

35. If (yes), what is the degree of our attraction towards the party?

a) very strong

b) strong

c) medium

36. If you have no objection, would you please mention the name of the party to which you feel close?

37. Before giving vote to this winning party what was your income and after coming this party in power, what was your income – is it increased? Yes/ no

38. Are you aware of various projects of Panchayati Raj System? Yes/ no

MGNREGA/ IAY/ICDS/NRLM

39. Are you getting 100 days guaranteed work from anchal office regularly? Yes/ no

40. How many in your family are getting this benefit of 100 days work? One/ two/ all/no one

41. Through these scheme whether you have economically benefited? Yes/no

42. Your present representative of panchayat (GP Prodhan) helps you to achieve economic gains? Yes/ no/ to some extent

### **Political Attitude**

43. Are you a member of any association? Yes/ no

44. What is the name of your association?

Jammait-i-Islami-Hind/ Jammait-e-Ulema-e Hind/ SIO/ Tabliq Jammait/ Ale-a- Hadish/ others

45. Do you contribute in these organization? Yes/ no

46. Do you feel that through these religious cum social organization your community will be benefited? Yes/ no

47. Do you feel that the leaders only seek votes and failed to give betterment to the community? Yes/ no

48. i) Do you face any kind of problem in your Gram Panchayat area? Yes/ no

ii) If (yes) please state those problems

a) discrimination between Hindu and Muslim

b) Prodhan or the gram panchayat workers (karmee) did not cooperate with the people

c) deny to give 100 days' work regularly to the people

d) failed to create mandate (job vacancy) according to the needs of the people

e) insufficient development

f) any other like health, sanitation, rural electrifications and poor communications, lack of educational institutions, and health care units.

49. How you feel could overcome your problem?

a) by getting help from government

b) NGOs

c) Islamic organizations (SIO)

50. Do you support this view that Muslim women (women representative in GP) should actively take part in politics? Yes/no

51. In this area what is the relation between Hindu and Muslim? Fair/ good/ very good/ tolerable/ not good at all

52. Do you participate in the festival of each other's community? Yes/ no

53. Which party do you favor? BJP/ TMC/ Congress/ CPIM/ SDPI/ WPI/ Independent

54. Why do you favor this party?

55. i) In what kind of school do you prefer to send your children?

a) government

b) non-government

c) madrassa

d) others

ii) If (others), when government has made all cost free for the student then why you prefer to send your children to other schools other than governmental schools?

56. Do you think that political parties which contest the election run only for securing vote and not for development of your community? Yes/ no

57. i) Do you know the political manifesto of Jammait-I Islami- Hind? Yes/no

ii) If (yes) do you support its manifesto? Yes/no

iii) If (yes) then please state reason why do you support it?

a) it is such an organization which acts as pressure groups to bring community betterment

b) a better option than any other party

c) don't know

d) other reasons

58. (i) To whom you will show your first allegiance?

a) religious-cum socio-political organization

b) to state

c) purely religious institutions

d) any other institution

(ii) How would you identify yourself in a secular country?

a) Indian first and then as Muslim

b) Muslim first and then as Indian

- c) Bengali first and then Muslim
- d) Bengali first and then Indian
- e) Indian (Bengali) Muslim
- f) other identity

59. i) Indian constitution guarantees right to equality for all its citizen – do you feel in this country government discriminate between Hindu and Muslim? Yes/no/sometimes

ii) Did you feel government (gram panchayat office), discriminate in giving 100 days work to Hindus and Muslims? Yes/no/sometimes

iii) India is a secular state it guarantees right to freedom of religion to all its citizen – do you think Indian state has a special bias in promoting a particular religion? Yes/no/sometimes

iv) Though India a secular state do you think in actual practice Indian state acts as a restricting factor in enjoining Muslim freedom of religion? Yes/no/sometimes

60. If there is apathy towards voting then state reason for such-

- a) your economic and social condition will not just change
- b) you could not took part in governmental programme
- c) you could not express your political views
- d) voting is one way communication that is the decision were imposed from higher level to the mass without giving them any choice
- e) any other reason
- f) all the above reasons

61. i) Indian state is secular state, it guarantees right to freedom of religion under article 25-28 and religion did not interfere in living pattern of the individual – thus did you feel that religious practice and dictates motivate your way of social life? Yes/no/sometimes

ii) Is this practice influenced political life? Yes/no/sometimes

iii) Do you feel that the social- economic changes in the society affect your voting pattern? Yes/no/sometimes

62. Do you feel that religious belief affect political decision? Yes/ no/do not know

63. Are you getting the same governmental benefits through various projects like the Hindus? Yes/no

64. In which governmental programme you want to participate yourself to bring betterment of your community?

65. Do you feel that it is unjustified to blame the Muslims for the outbreak of any riots in the country? Yes/no

66. i) Do Islam support any violent means or terrorist acts? Yes/ no

ii) Do you support Khaghragarh explosion by some of the Muslim hooligans? Yes/no

iii) If (yes) state reasons for that

67. What is your opinion regarding the demolition of Babari Masjid?

- a) the deed was justified
- b) unjustified act
- c) no one should hurt the religious sentiment of other community in a secular country
- d) don't know

68. Are you truly satisfied with the Supreme Court decision regarding the reconstruction of masjid and temple in the same premise? Yes/ no/to some extent

69.i) Do you prefer to take informal education from Maulavi (at least it will help in increasing the moral and religious spirit of their children),rather than formal education from school/ madrassa? Yes/no/sometimes

ii) If (yes) state reasons behind it-

- a) school too far away
- b) transport not available
- c) education not considered necessary
- d) failed
- e) need to devote more time for household work rather than going to formal educational institution
- f) devote time for bidi making to earn money for family
- g) family business
- h) no proper school facility for girls
- i) lack of fund and need to work as labor for daily cash
- j) early married
- k) required for work on farm

70. Some people get education without going to school so what is your case?

- a) learn at home
- b) went to non-formal educational institutional centre
- c) do not learn anything

71. Do you want to include Islamic culture, language as a medium of instruction rather than Bengali language in governmental educational institution? Yes/ no

72. i) As a member of Muslim community (backward community) did you face any problem which you overcame to continue your studies? Yes/ no

ii) If (yes) specify the obstacles that you overcome-

- a) financial constraints

- b) parents opposition
- c) any discrimination at school premise
- d) other factors

73. In your opinion should the girl be sent to co-educational institution (school/ colleges/ universities)? Yes/ no

74. i) Do you support the view that in a secular state structure there should be the inclusion of the term 'minority' with AMU (Aligarh Muslim University) or there should be reservations for the minority students? Yes/no

ii) If (yes) then state reasons for your support

75. i) Do you read or listen or want to write in newspaper or magazine? Yes/ no

ii) If (yes) please state the name of the newspaper or magazine –

76.i) Do you watch television? Yes/ no

ii) If (yes) then which kind of programme or channel?

77. Do you attend the discussion held at Tabliq Jammah? Yes/ no

78. i) Do you attend jalsa to here lectures delivered by learned men? Yes/ no

ii) What kind of discussion is done in Jalsa? Religious/ social/ political/ economic/ others

iii) If (yes) then do you ever deliver lectures in the jalsa? Yes/ no

79. Do you take part in the discussion (informal) among other Muslims and Moulavas in any religious gatherings or in the masjid after the prayer? Yes/ no

80. Why do you think that the community has remain underdeveloped?

- a) they did not get proper educational facility
- b) they diverted from the path of Islam that is Islamic ideology (took western ideology as the index of development and modernization than Islamic oriental culture)
- c) lack of fund to study
- d) chronic poverty
- e) other reasons    f) all the above reasons

81. According to you who is a political leader?

- a) wise and intelligent
- b) possess political farsightedness
- c) neutral in character
- d) possess no community biasness
- e) all the above qualities

82. What knowledge a leader should possess to bring betterment of the community?

- a) follow the path shown in Islam
- b) should possess the zeal to bring development to remove backwardness of the community and the district
- c) should be open minded and should ensure equal treatment for both Hindu and Muslim
- d) should follow a liberal path to ensure betterment of the community
- e) should bargain and channelize more funds for development of the district from both the state and the central government
- f) all the above qualities

83. Do you want reservation of seat for the community in education and in governmental job? Yes/ no

84. i) Can you recite Koran in original version or translated version? Yes/ no

ii) If (no) on whom you depend upon to know the interpretation of Koran? Maulavi/ religious teachers/ other learned men

85. Do you think the moulavi could interpret Koran in the right way? Yes/ no

86. Does any discrimination persist among the Hindus and Muslim in getting 100 days work? Yes/ no

87. In your GP (gram) do you think that in Muslim area development has not been done satisfactorily in compare to Hindu areas? Yes/ no/ no development in both the areas/ development rate is same/ insufficient or lack of development in both the areas

88. i) Are the girls being given marry in early age? Yes/ no

ii) If (yes) why early marriage is preferred in your opinion?

- a) to reduce the burden on parents
- b) its in Koran to give early marriage
- c) availability of good match at younger age
- d) to avoid chances of love affairs

89. Are you aware of the minimum legal age at marriage for boys and girls? Yes/ no

90. In your opinion what is the ideal age at marriage for girls?

91. Is this norm followed in your community of early marriage? Yes/ no

92. Do you think early marriage for both boys and girls reduce the scope of educational improvement and employment scope? Yes/ no

93. Do you think that there should be a proper family planning? Yes/ no

94. In which organization/ groups are you active?

- a) community groups
- b) religious groups

c) political groups

d) NGOs

95. i) Was there ever a communal riot/ or inter-religious riots in area or nearby area? Yes/ no/ do not remember

ii) If (yes) when did it take place last?

iii) If (yes) then after the last communal riot, have people moved in or moved out of your neighborhood? Yes/ no/ no change

iv) Do you know the reasons why the riots took place? Yes/ no/ no response

v) How are people affected by riots?

a) lost their homes and property

b) moral degradation

c) atrocity and violence

d) decaying of their emotion

e) all of the above

96. Jammāt-i-Islāmī-Hind in Bangladesh acts as a strong political force but not in India – do you want this organization to be as strong in India as in other countries? Yes/ no

97. Do you think that for bringing educational and welfare development in the society Islamic social wing SIO has taken active measures than government? Yes/ no

98. i) Do you want your Islamic law (shariat) to be the guiding force in Muslim affairs or secular law to be implemented universally? Yes/ no/to some extent prefers both

ii) If (yes) give reasons behind it

### **General Information of the Political Leaders**

#### **MLA/Gram Panchayat Pradhan, Panchayat Samiti Sabhapati, Elected Member of Zilla Parishad and Leaders of Political Parties**

1. Name and residence-

2. Sex- male/female

3. Age- 18-30/ 31-40/ 41-50/ 51-60/ 61-70/ 71 and above

4. Marital status- married/ unmarried/ widow

If (married) number of children-

5. Number of family members-

6. Nature of the family- joint family/ extended family/ nuclear family

7. Religion- Hindu/ Muslim/ Christian/Jain

8. Caste- if Hindu (Schedule Caste/ Tribe/OBC) if Muslim (OBC/ General)

Sub Caste- for Hindu-

and if Muslim-

9. Occupation-

Service (teacher, office staff)/ Professionals (doctors, engineers, advocate)/ Housewife/ Agriculture (marginal farmers, landlord, peasant)/ Businessman/ Others

10. Educational qualification-

a) no formal education

b) primary education (I to IV)

c) secondary level (V to X)

d) Higher secondary/ undergraduate (XI- XII)

e) graduate

f) postgraduate

11. Family income per month-

a) below 3000

b) 3001-5000

c) 5001-10000

d) 10000 and above

### **Interview Schedule**

### **Political Participation**

1. i) How long have you been associated with politics?

ii) Is there any member of your family associated with politics? Yes/ no

iii) . Why do you feel interested in politics?

iv) At what age did you start active politics?

2. i) Do you know the political view of your father?

Yes/no

ii) If (yes) what is/was his opinion?

3. i) Do you know the political view of your mother?

Yes/no

ii) If (yes) what is/was her opinion

4. Out of the following factors which helped you to enter into politics?

a) favorable environment

- b) family heritage
- c) personal interest
- d) ideological belief
- e) favorable inspiration
- f) under some pressure
- g) suddenly
- h) any other reason

5. i) Are you a member of any political party? Yes/ no

ii) If (yes) would you please mention the name of the party?

6. How long have you been a member of this party?

7. Would you please specify your role in the party?

8. Have you occupied any new membership (club/trade union/peasant union/ women's organization etc)? Yes/no

9. i) Have you ever changed your party allegiance? Yes/ no

ii) If yes would you please state the reasons behind change?

10. When did you first contest the general election?

11. Why did you decide to contest the election?

12. Were you declared elected in the first election that you contested? Yes/ no

13. How many times and for which party you have contested the election? Congress/ CPIM/ Independent/ BJP/ TMC/ others

14. How many times have you been declared elected or defeated?

15. i) Did you face any problem to contest the election? Yes/ no

ii) If (yes) would you please state those problems?

16. What is your present position and status- MLA/ Prodhan/ Party Activist/ Others

17. i) Do you face any problem in discharging your duties as an elected representative? Yes/ n

ii) If (yes) please state those problems-

- a) social problem
- b) problem of insecurity
- c) problem of inexperience
- d) problem of non-co-operation
- e) any other problem

18. Do or did you take any special step to handle such problems?

19. i) Are you serving or did you ever serve as member of any committee of the legislature/ GP/ PS/ ZP? Yes/ no

ii) If (yes) please state the name of the committee

20. Would you please describe your experience in the matter of participation of Muslims in politics?

21. Would you please point out the general problems faced by the Muslims in the matter of participation in politics?

22. Do you have any contribution towards raising the political status of Muslim participants?

23. Do you think that the Muslims will take part in mainstream secular politics? Yes/ no

24. In which area of discussion you take part in the GP (gram sabha meetings)/ Assembly/ ZP/Panchayat samiti meeting?

25. i) Did you attend all the legislature/ Gram Sabha/PS/ZP meetings? Yes/ no

ii) If (yes) please state reasons in favor of your regular attendance

iii) If (no) would you please mention the reasons of your absence?

26. What kind of discussion or step taken by you to bring community welfare or welfare of your area and people?

27. i) Do you believe in secular politics? Yes/no

ii) As a leader would you please state the attitude or the way of looking to politics by the Muslims?

a) positive

b) negative

c) indifferent

d) in between positive and negative

iii) Would you please explain the reasons behind such an attitude?

28. Does your party encourage the Muslims in the matter of participation in politics? Yes/ no/ indifferent/ to some extent

29. i) What are the roles of different mass media in involving the Muslims in politics? Positive/ negative/ indifferent/ in between positive and negative

ii) If (yes) would you please arrange the importance of media accordingly-

a) newspaper

b) radio

c) television

d) magazine

e) party literature/ prospectus f) cinema

30. Some Muslims do not take part in politics so what is your opinion in this respect?

- a) they feel no improvement will be achieved by participating in politics
- b) their socio-economic, educational, political needs will not be fulfilled
- c) they want to invest time in earning money other than participating in politics
- d) other reasons
- e) do not feel interest in politics

31. Some Muslims do actively take part in politics so what is your opinion in this respect?

- a) casting of vote
- b) for the purpose of contesting election
- c) they know that through GP they could get benefit of 100 days work, IAY scheme, MGNERGA and other centrally sponsored scheme
- d) as a responsible citizen they should vote to show allegiance to the state
- e) community's overall development will be ensured
- f) responsibility of the government towards its citizens will be increased
- g) other reasons
- h) all the above reasons

32. Would you please suggest measures that should be taken to raise the participation of the Muslims in politics?

33. Do you think that through all the centrally sponsored schemes all the community members are benefited? Yes/ no/to some extent

34. You are aware of Sachhar Committee report regarding the status of Muslims in India and West Bengal obviously in your district. So as a people's representative what do you feel necessary steps to be taken by the government or facility to be given to the rural mass to ensure their betterment?

35. In which way do you think both true people's participation and governmental responsibility will be increase?

- a) fair way assessment in decentralization process
- b) arrange of gram sabha meetings regularly to rouse political consciousness
- c) centrally sponsored scheme and state governmental schemes all schmes to be utilized properly
- d) increase in transparency in governance e) all the above ways

36. Are you personally satisfied with governmental measures and schemes of development? Yes/ no

37. In your area is there any discrimination between Hindus and Muslims for getting 100 days work? Yes/no

38. Do you feel till today democratic governance lacks that is there is a gap between participants and government which result in failure and in the overall development of the district and the community? Yes/ no

### **Political Attitude**

39. i) Are you a member of any association? Yes/ no
- ii) If (yes) what is the name of your association-
40. Do you regularly contribute in this organization? yes/no
41. Do you feel that through these social-cum religious organizations your community will be benefited? Yes/ no
42. What kind of problem do you find in your GP/ZP/ Block?
43. How do you feel to overcome your problem?
- a) by getting government aid
- b) by NGOs
- c) Islamic organizations
- d) others
44. Do you support the view that Muslim women should actively take part in politics or give leadership (as Prodhana, MLA, Sabhapati)? Yes/ no
45. In your area what is the relationship between Hindu and Muslim? Fair/ very good tolerable/ not good at all
46. Do you participate in the festival of each other's community? Yes/ no
47. Which party do you favor? BJP/ TMC/ Congress/ CPIM/ RSP/ FB/ SDPI/ WPI/AIUDF
48. Why do you favor this party?
49. i) In which kind of school do you prefer to send your children? Government/ non-government/ madrassa/ others
- ii) If so then please state reasons behind the schooling
- 50.i) Do you support the political manifesto of Jammait-i- Islami? Yes/ no
- ii) If yes please state reasons behind it
- a) it is such an organization which acts as pressure groups to bring community betterment
- b) a better option than any other party
- c) it could ensure rights of the Muslims
- d) all the reasons mentioned above
- e) any other reasons
51. How do you perceive our present BJP government?
- a) party to bring development
- b) to promote Hinduism
- c) any other view
- d) party possessing corporate mentality

52. As a political leader to whom you will show your first allegiance? Religious institutions/ state/ social institution/ ngos/ others
53. Do you feel in this country government discriminate between Hindu and Muslim? Yes/ no/to some extent
54. Do you feel that the socio-political changes in the society affect the attitude and participation of the Muslims? Yes/ no
55. Do you feel that religious belief affect political decision? Yes/no/to some extent
56. In your area are the Hindus and the Muslims getting the same governmental benefits? Yes/ no
57. i) Do you think (communal)/ riots turn to be a 'sign of dynamism and of secular changes that are taking place in the Indian society as a result of economic development and modernization – yes/ no
- ii) If (yes) do you feel that it is unjustified to blame the Muslims for the outbreak of any riot in the country? Yes/ no
- 58.i) Do you support Khagragarh explosion and the development of unauthorized madrassa (which act as base for terrorist activities in West Bengal) by some of the Muslims? yes/ no
- ii) If (yes) state reasons for that
59. (i) What is your opinion regarding the demolition of Babari Masjid/ Godhra riot ?
- (ii) Do you think that the deed was justified? Yes/ no
60. Are you truly satisfied with the Supreme Court decision regarding the reconstruction of Masjid and temple in the same place? Yes/ no/to some extent
61. Do you prefer formal education from state sponsored school or Madrassa and not informal education from Moulavi? Yes/ no/to some extent
62. i) As a member of Muslim community did you face any problem which you had overcome to continue your studies? Yes/ no
- ii) If (yes) please specify the obstacles that you overcame?
- a) financial constraints
- b) parents opposition
- c) any discrimination at school premise
- d)any other reasons
- e) social discrimination within the community
63. In your opinion should the girl be sent to co-educational school/ college? Yes/ no
64. i) Do you support the view that in a secular state structure there should be the inclusion of the term 'minority' with AMU(Aligarh Muslim University) or there should be reservations for the minority students? Yes/no
- ii) If (yes) then state reasons for your support
65. i) Do you study newspaper daily? Yes/ no
- ii) If (yes) then what kind of newspaper or journals?

- 66.i) Do you express your feeling through writings in newspaper or journals? Yes/ no
- ii) If (yes) then what kind of journals?
- 67.i) Do you watch television? Yes/ no
- ii) If (yes) then what kind of channels?
68. Do you held the discussion or participate to deliver lectures in Tabliq Jammait? Yes/ no
69. Do you attend jalsa? Yes/ no
70. Why do you think that the community has remained underdeveloped?
- a) did not get proper educational facility
- b) they divert from the path of Islam
- c) lack of funds
- d) chronic poverty and deprivation e) other reasons
71. i) Do you think the community lacked in proper leadership after partition to bring progress for the society? Yes/ no/to some extent
- ii) If (yes) then according to you what role should a leader play to deliver goods to the community?
- a) find developmental scope for the community
- b) to secure rights and privileges of other community too
- c) modernize the society by providing educational scope, training for specialized governmental jobs, training to qualify professional exams like joint entrance
- d) reservation of seat in medical and engineering colleges
- e) possess a neutral character and try to prevent communalization of politics and its ill-effects
- f) curve all communal forces like VHP/RSS/SIMI/Majlis-e-Ittehadul(Hyderabad)/ Majlis-e-Mushawarat
- g) all of the above
72. i) Do you want reservation of seat for the Muslims? yes/ no
- ii) If (yes) then why?
73. Do you think all the moulavis could recite or interpret Koran truly to the people? Yes/ no
74. Do you think that misinterpretation of Koranic verses creates an adverse impact on the community? Yes/ no
75. Do you think it right that among the Muslim community the girls are married at early age by denying them from education? Yes/ no
76. Do you think early marriage for both boys and girls reduce the scope of educational and employment scope for the community? Yes/ no
77. Do you think there should be proper family planning for all Muslim family? Yes/ no

78. i) Was there any communal riot in your area? Yes/ no

ii) Do you know the reasons why the riots took place? Yes/ no

iii) If (yes) then state the reason for the outbreak of riot.

79. Do you want Jammait-i-Islami to work actively in India as it worked in other countries like Bangladesh or to act only as social and religious organization? Yes/ no

80. i) Do Islam support any violent means? Yes/ no

ii) Do you support any violent means? Yes/ no

81.i) Do you want your Islamic law (Shariat) to be the governing force in Muslim affairs or secular law? Shariat/ secular/both to be considered

ii) If (shariat) then state reasons behind it

82. What is in your opinion regarding Muslim displacement overall India and outside- is it justified/ unjustified act?

83. Do you support the act done by the Muslims of Kashmir towards the Kashmiri pundits? Yes/ no

84. i) Do you think Muslims consider India as their motherland? Yes/ no

ii) How would you identify yourself in a secular country?

a) Indian first and then as Muslim

b) Muslim first and then as Indian

c) Bengali first and then Muslim

d) Bengali first and then Indian

e) Indian (Bengali) Muslim

f) other identity

iii) Are they suspicious about their nationality in India? Yes/ no/to some extent

iv) If (yes) it is due to

a) deprivation result due to lack of development and backwardness of the community

b) sometimes the community looked upon suspiciously to be anti-national due to terrorist acts or treated as communal by the non-Muslims

c) do not get governmental support in a right way for community development

d) Undue stress on 'Indianness' assumes the totalitarian form which truly undermines Muslim identity in a multicultural plural society and hence refuses to merge into the national mainstream and maintain a separatist posture.

85. i) Do you have any antagonistic attitude towards the government? Yes/ no/to some extent

ii) If (yes) do you think that this attitude towards government influence in any way the secular attitude of the Muslims towards secular state?

86. Once before partition the Muslim League leaders and supporters demand for Pakistan, a newly Muslim state and the inclusion of Murshidabad in Pakistan mainly for getting good opportunity – do you support that view – yes/ no/ to some extent

87.i) Do partition of the country even today increases socio-political complexity of the community? Yes/ no/to some extent

ii) Since the community support partition, so they look upon suspiciously in these days – do you support this view? Yes/ no/to some extent

88. As a leader what you will prefer?

- a) religious and cultural consideration more to ensure development
- b) focus on developmental issues and to bring betterment of the community
- c) help to build secular, non-communal attitude of the people
- d) community harmony and to curve all communal forces
- e) all of the above issues

89. Do you feel it necessary to give importance of ML or other minority parties like AIUFD/ WPI/SDPI rather than secular parties to bring development for the community? Yes/ no

90. What according to your opinion will help to develop national integration?

- a) to develop communal harmony
- b) economic development of the community
- c) ensure greater participation
- d) rejection of all communal forces
- e) to remove minority syndrome
- f) assimilation with the society that is to develop an national identity and not identity based on own community
- g) fulfill the aspirations of the minority groups
- h) equal treatment to all citizens irrespective of caste/ religious/ linguistic groups
- i) all the above option
- j) any other views

APPENDIX - B

PHOTOS OF MURSHIDABAD DISTRICT



Hazarduari Palace



Hazarduari Palace

It was constructed by Humayun Jha in 1836



Imambara constructed by Feradun Jha in 1848



Imambara constructed by Feradun Jha in 1848



Tope

In 1627 it was constructed by Janardan Karmakar according to the advice of Subedar Islam Khan. During the reign of Shah Jahan in 1637, his court men Subedar Md. Islam Khan constructed this Kaman.



A Historical Watch inside Hazarduari Palace



**Katara Mosque**

In 1723 it was constructed by Murshid Quli Khan.



**Katara Mosque**



**Katgola Palace**

It was constructed by Singh Dugar and Laxmipath Dugar in 1837



**Katgola Jain Temple**



**Wasif Manzil**

In 1906 it was constructed by Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad Wasif Ali Mirza.



**House of Jagat Seth**

This house was given by Ali Vardi Khan to one of his most trusted soldiers Jagat Seth.



### Nasibpur Rajbari

In 1761 it was constructed by Raja Kirti Das and Lochan Das with the initiative of the then dewan Debi Singha and his family.



### Nasibpur Akhra



### Chawk Mosque

In 1767 it was built for Munni Begum in Chawk bazar.



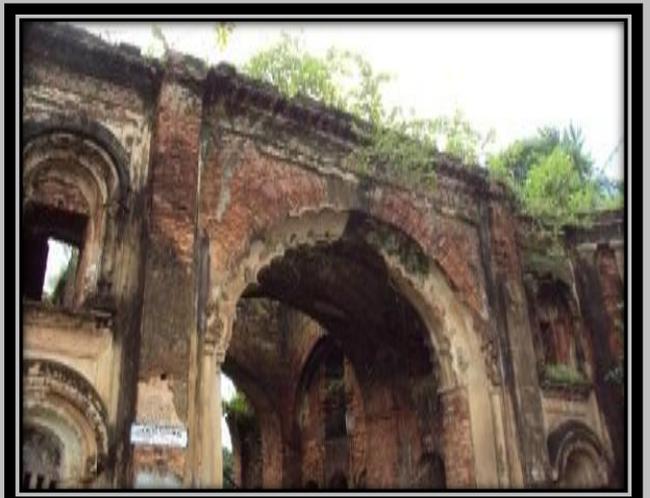
### Tomb of Azimunnessa Begum

It was built by Srijajduallah in 1738-39 for his beloved wife.



### Jufaganj Cemenry

It was constructed in 1750 after his death.



### Mrijafar's House

It was constructed by Mirjafar Ali Khan



**Footi Masjid**  
In 1740 it was built by Sarfaraj Khan.



**Dutch Cemetery**  
It was built by the British after their victory in Murshidabad in 1759.



**Armenian Church**  
In 1758 it was built by London Missionary Society in Saidabad under Beharampore subdivision.



**Kasimbazar Rajbari**  
In 1763 it was built by Babu Narasingha Roy for his beloved wife Swarnamoyee.



**Jagabandhu Dham**  
In 1336 it was made by Sripada Kunjadas Babaji in Dahapara for idol Radha Krishna.



**Kereteshwari Mandir**  
In 1278 it was established by the raja of Azimganj.



Motijhil Lake



Motijhil Mosque  
In 1750 it was made by Manjesh Md. Khan.



River Bhagarathi



Khoshbagh Srirajudullah's death place



Gate of Khoshbagh



Garden inside Khoshbagh Cemetery



Cemetery of Srirajduallah  
In 1740 these cemetery are constructed by the members of Sriraj's family.



Cemetery of Srirajduallah's Family



Srirajduallah's Tomb  
In 1760 it was made by the member of Sriraj's family.



Mosque inside Khoshbabg Cemetery  
It was made by Srirajduallah in 1770.



Nimtita Rajbari

In 1843 jamidar Gourisundar Chowdhury and Dwarakanath Chowdhury built this palace but at present it turned into a delapidated building.



Nimtita Rajbari Thakurdalan

APPENDIX -C

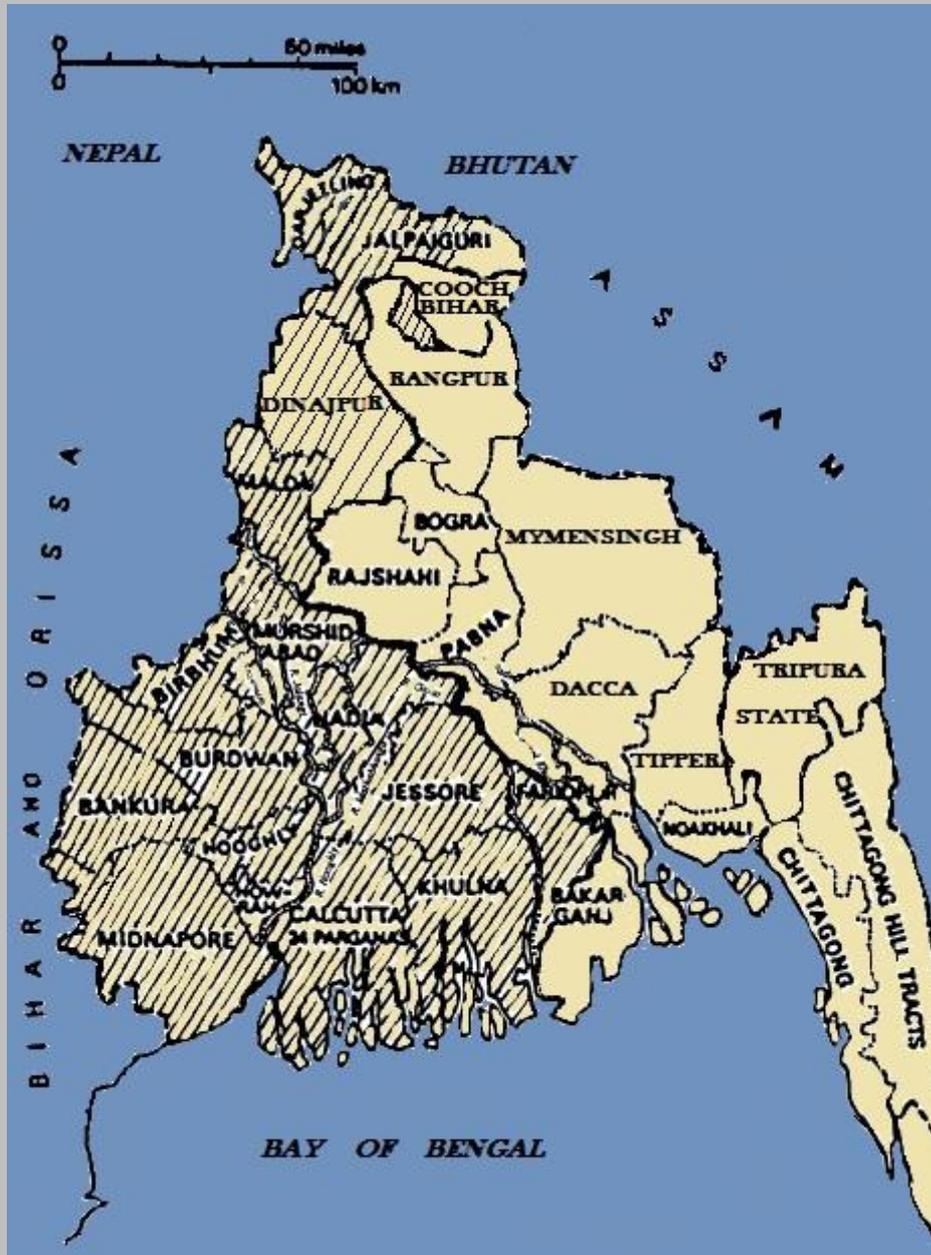
**MAPS OF MURSHIDABAD DISTRICT**

MAP - I



The Boundary Line Proposed by the Muslim League. (the shaded area shows the proposed limits of West Bengal).

MAP - II



The Boundary Line Proposed by the Hindu Mahasabha and the New Bengal Association. (the shaded area shows the proposed limits of West Bengal).

### MAP - III



The Boundary Line Proposed by the Congress. (the shaded area shows the limits of West Bengal in the Congress scheme. The dotted area shows the limits of West Bengal proposed in the Congress plan).

MAP - IV



The Boundary Line Proposed by the JatiyaBangaSangathanSamiti. (the proposed area shows the proposed limits of West Bengal).

MAP - V



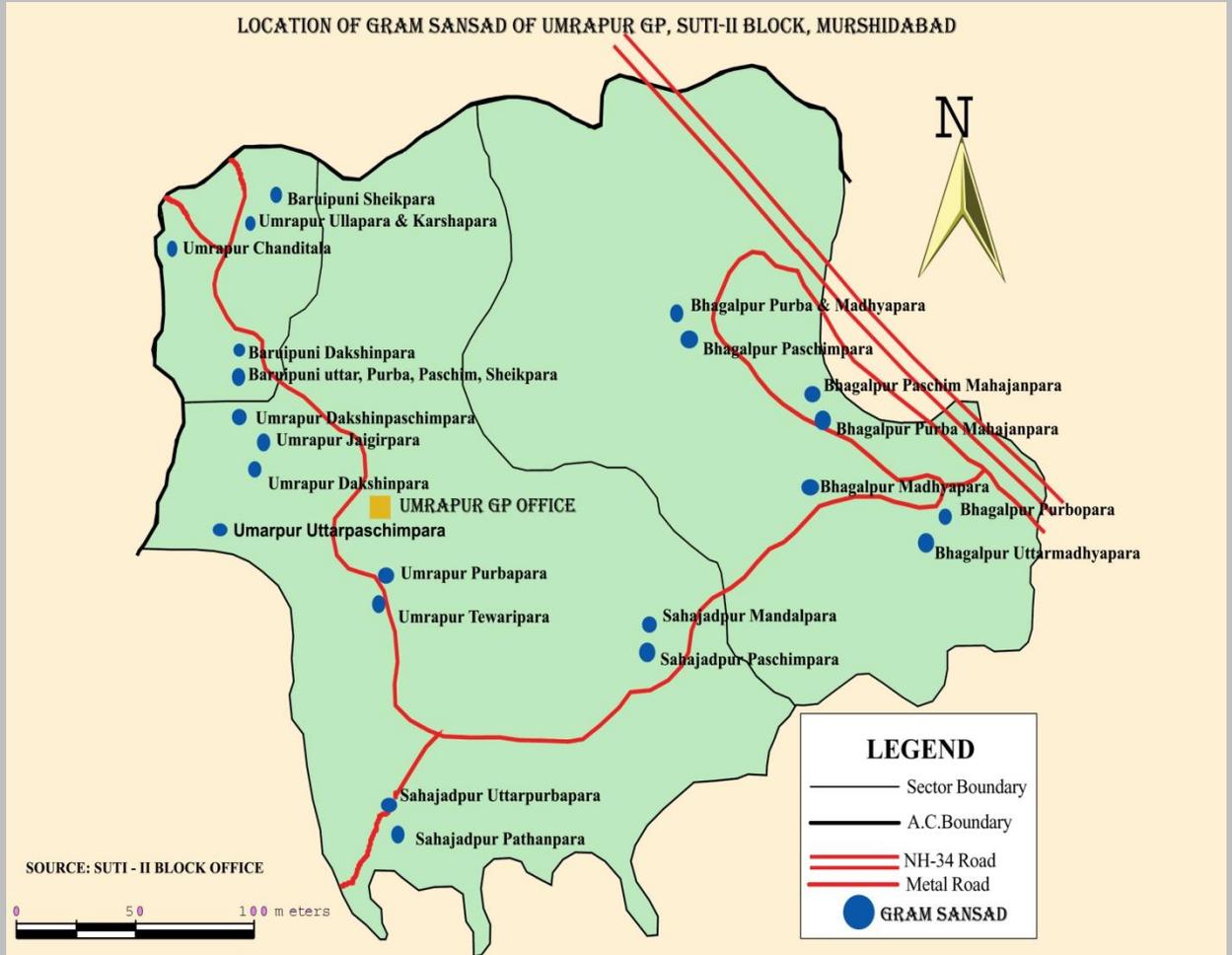
The Radcliff Line. (The shaded area shows the territory awarded to West Bengal and the final demarcation of boundary limits of East and West Bengal).

**MAP - VI**



Area Demarcation of Aurangabad II Gram Panchayat and the location of the Gram Sansads

**MAP - VII**



Area Demarcation of Umrapur Gram Panchayat and the location of the GramSansads



## INDEX

<b>Terms</b>	<b>Page</b>
Accommodate	9, 13,48,72,77, 89, 91, 121, 131, 139, 149, 178, 333
Accountability	70, 88, 294
Activity	8, 9, 20, 24, 26, 28, 39, 62, 63, 64, 65, 72, 74, 77, 78, 84, 85, , 335, 349, 390, 401, 402, 407, 416, 418, 419, 420
ADMK	79, 85, 294
Age	3, 4, 8, 11, 42109, 119, 120, 130, 144, 151, 159, 160, 169, 173, 174, 175, 178, 181, 188, 189, 193, 196, 206, 210, 212, 217, 222, 224, 225, 227, 230, 231, 237, 243, 250, 251, 252, 254, 264, 265, 269, 273, 284, 285, 289, 292, 296, 297, 303, 305, 324,326, 331, 46, 63, 105, 115, 167, 250, 271, 274, 298, 310, 315, 316, 318, 319, 320, 327, 328, 329, 330, 332, 335, 371, 373, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 386, 387, 388, 396, 397, 398, 418
Agriculture	43, 166, 169, 170, 220, 230, 231, 235, 239, 240, 242, 245, 246, 247, 249, 250, 251, 255, 272, 299, 329, 333, 354, 361, 389
AIUDF	5, 286, 407, 465, 477
Allegiance	7, 88, 309, 332, 350, 351, 363, 380, 381, 382, 399, 402, 404, 406, 408, 418
Apathy	7, 46, 269, 292, 322, 351
APL	269, 272
Ashraf	3, 4, 6, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 32, 34, 59, 166, 171, 193, 287, 424, 456
Assimilation	481, 325, 336
Association	11, 66, 78, 79, 110, 119, 121, 140, 156, 178, 180, 185, 186, 217, 219, 265, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 363, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 446, 477
Athenian	64, 65, 98
Atrap	3, 4, 6, 21, 24, 26, 27, 37, 166, 171, 193, 288, 342
Attitude	2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 25, 27, 28, 32, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 48, 49, 57, 75, 76, 85, 93, 94, 102, 115, 123, 177, 182, 195, 206, 215, 218, 222, 226, 229, 230, 231, 232, 236, 243, 244, 247, 248, 253, 255, 270, 273, 288, 290, 299, 334, 335, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 351, 352, 353, 355, 358, 359, 360, 361, 363, 364, 365, 370, 371, 372, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 384, 385, 386, 389, 390, 391, 392, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 417
Authoritarian	18, 29, 30, 36, 67, 71, 72, 73, 75, 419
Autonomy	29, 62, 71, 86, 87, 90, 96, 99, 108, 118
Backward	12, 15, 22, 24, 26, 27, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 61, 70, 77, 79, 86, 91, 116, 122, 145, 146, 167, 171, 174, 216, 229, 230, 244, 251, 269, 288, 301, 302, 305, 326, 328, 331, 333, 338, 341, 342, 343, 346, 347, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 357, 362, 364, 365, 368, 369, 386, 388, 390, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 404, 412, 413, 414, 420
Balance	2, 8, 19, 20, 30, 36, 85, 88, 92, 95, 137, 174, 252, 396
Beedi	43, 46, 169, 245, 267-269, 271, 273, 274, 298, 309, 310, 316, 317, 324, 325, 326, 332, 353, 364, 380, 381-383, 386, 389, 390, 395, 399, 402

Benami	225, 228, 234, 235, 238, 239
Bengal	239, 241, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 275, 277, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284-290, 298, 299, 301, 302, 305, 336-344, 348, 354, 355, 396, 398, 401, 402, 405, 406, 408, 413-415, 419, 421
Bhadrolok	181, 182
Bharat	79, 81, 134, 216, 328, 458
BJP	16, 37, 38, 39, 61, 82, 83, 84, 86, 91, 95, 96, 134, 135, 162, 163, 333, 336, 338, 356, 365, 387, 396, 398, 399, 401, 402, 403, 405, 453, 454, 455
Block	11, 15, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 170, 242, 243, 252, 265, 266-268, 270, 272, 273, 275-278, 281-283, 290, 295, 299, 318, 320, 323, 325, 327-331, 332, 334, 336, 343-346, 357, 395-97, 399, 402, 404, 405, 414, 415
Bourgeoisie	17, 18, 23, 39, 71, 77, 87, 108, 417
BPL	241, 251, 269, 272
British	1, 8, 14, 15, 16, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 32, 52, 91, 105, 112-114, 116, 133, 137, 166, 171, 173, 176, 177, 179, 181, 256, 266, 333, 340, 412, 413
Budget	62, 251, 262, 263, 437, 438
Bureaucracy	7, 71, 78, 333
Campaign	11, 78, 128, 178, 184, 205, 264, 284, 287, 292, 293, 301, 302, 322, 330, 331, 334, 347, 413, 417, 420
Caste	5, 6, 8, 9, 13, 14, 18, 19, 22, 25, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 68, 76, 84, 89, 91, 92, 93, 95, 96, 97, 105, 111, 115, 117, 120-22, 123, 129, 132, 136, 142-46, 148, 150-56, 166, 167, 170, 175, 181, 220, 222, 229, 231, 287, 340, 343, 362, 410, 416, 418
Citizen	1, 4, 5, 9, 10, 13, 15, 16, 19, 28, 34, 36, 38, 39, 40, 62, 64-67, 70-73, 76, 81, 87, 88, 93, 94, 96, 105, 108, 109, 110, 112, 114, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 124, 125, 128, 131, 132, 134, 136, 138, 140, 141-45, 148-154, 156, 190, 195, 196, 197, 218, 220, 221, 228, 231, 232, 234, 243, 254, 264, 265, 276, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 293, 295, 299, 301, 322, 331, 332, 333, 340, 341, 344, 349, 356, 362, 367, 369, 387, 388, 390, 400, 401, 405, 410, 412, 416, 417, 418, 421, 422
Collective	1, 13, 89, 129, 132, 142, 287, 288, 289, 340, 406
Contextual	2, 10, 13, 18, 19, 48, 96, 97, 141, 153, 154, 155, 340, 406, 412, 417, 418, 422
Cultural Data	18, 103, 174, 186, 287, 334, 342 11, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 54, 200, 203, 204, 256, 265, 266, 275, 278, 281, 282, 283, 290, 291, 328, 338, 345, 395, 397, 401
Democracy	2, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 26, 29, 30, 31, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 75, 76, 77, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84, 86-104, 118, 122, 124, 125, 131, 139, 147, 149, 150, 155, 156, 157, 159, 160, 162, 163, 215, 221, 223, 251, 254, 264, 265, 284, 286,

	287, 288, 290, 318, 332, 333, 335
Disadvantaged	1, 88, 140, 264, 343
Discrimination	3, 7, 12, 13, 36, 38, 39, 77, 78, 105, 130, 132, 140, 141, 143, 145, 147, 153, 177, 356, 368, 386, 387, 388, 392, 398, 402, 406
Displaced	219, 220, 224, 225, 226, 232, 233
Ecclesiastical	105-107, 109, 110, 117, 120
Election	4, 5, 8, 11, 36, 37, 43, 49, 67, 73, 77, 79, 81, 82, 88, 91, 92, 123, 175, 180, 183, 232, 264, 265, 275, 290, 291, 292, 294-96, 301, 302, 305, 306, 309, 319, 320, 322, 325, 328, 329, 331, 332-34, 341, 342, 349, 356, 361, 381, 395, 397
Electoral	11, 12, 29, 34, 37, 40, 41, 70, 78, 82, 87, 91, 93, 94, 143, 244, 265, 283, 286, 287, 288, 289, 292, 301, 318, 319, 320, 329, 330, 331, 333, 334, 335, 341, 405
Elite	22, 68, 69, 77, 81, 88, 89, 91, 92, 104, 125, 126, 130, 170, 287, 341, 418
Emergency	72, 73, 74, 75, 96, 231, 418
Empirical	11, 41, 49, 106, 114, 265, 266, 290, 300, 328, 338, 344, 357, 369, 395, 405, 415
Equality	7, 9, 10, 16, 17, 28, 31, 62, 64, 65, 66, 67, 70, 71, 79, 88, 89, 90, 95, 96, 109, 112, 120, 122, 124, 132, 133, 134, 137, 139, 141, 142, 143, 147, 148, 149, 151, 154, 155, 156, 194, 234, 286, 350, 356, 369, 398, 409
Ethical	94, 114, 115, 117, 122, 142, 149, 152, 228, 410
Exploitation	43, 69, 79, 85, 114, 226, 234, 245, 269, 340, 353, 416
Federal	9, 76, 81, 90, 244, 247, 253, 340
Festival	114, 267, 347, 369, 395, 397, 419
Governance	8, 9, 12, 16, 17, 18, 20, 25, 29, 40, 41, 64, 65, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 76, 79, 82, 88, 93, 94, 95, 129, 231, 288, 292, 293, 294, 302, 303, 304, 318, 331, 388, 409, 416, 417
Homogenous	8, 11, 84, 334, 342, 344
Ideology	16, 20, 26, 28, 36, 63, 78, 80, 82, 84, 95, 106, 113, 115, 117, 121, 125, 126, 128, 133, 134, 138, 140, 147, 166, 181, 204, 242, 255, 326, 328, 342, 343, 344, 387, 396, 398, 399, 412, 419
Illiteracy	14, 30, 64, 88, 273, 416
Inclusive	13, 17, 30, 89, 91, 92, 109, 115, 117, 286, 288, 417
Integrate	11, 12, 13, 27, 69, 93, 94, 111, 124, 125, 193, 206, 242, 243, 265, 270, 287, 288, 289, 334, 340, 344, 357, 379, 383, 401, 405, 406, 413
Justice	9, 10, 16, 28, 31, 39, 62, 66, 67, 71, 75, 82, 90, 93, 96, 107, 112, 113, 115, 124, 137, 141, 144, 148, 179, 185, 215, 219, 223, 224, 226, 227, 233, 234, 236, 240, 244, 254, 332, 334, 341, 350, 369, 405, 416
Liberty	6, 28, 31, 39, 65, 105-109, 111, 115, 118- 120, 124, 139, 140, 141, 148, 152, 155, 156, 171, 177, 215, 218, 220, 222, 223, 226, 229, 338, 402,

	420
Livelihood	43, 68, 170, 194, 249, 269
Migration	23, 48, 124, 197, 205, 246, 255, 412
Monolithic	13, 108, 286, 288
Multiculturalism	15, 88, 103, 222
Nawabs	16, 52, 168, 169, 170, 180, 208, 216, 410, 441
Nehruvian	29, 62, 125, 127, 131, 409
Outflow	203, 204, 234
Polity	2, 6, 17, 19, 20, 23, 27, 30, 41, 81, 108, 111, 127, 289, 339, 342, 414, 415
Pratha	9, 121, 122, 128
Principled	128, 139, 149, 150, 151, 153-156
Quranic	14, 52, 215, 256, 446
Radcliff	1, 32, 35, 60, 184, 187, 189, 211, 217, 451
Reformation	106, 107, 108, 128
Republic	106, 146, 236, 338, 449
RSS	82, 83, 84, 112, 116, 125, 133, 134, 222, 340
Samabhava	20, 105, 125, 139, 147, 235, 247, 338
Sufi	4, 5, 23, 24, 48, 56, 166, 171, 175, 193, 215, 417, 439
Tolerance	8, 9, 10, 19, 67, 109, 110, 111, 114, 117, 122, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 134, 141, 152, 155, 265, 402, 410, 418, 422
Uniform	109, 112, 123, 136, 148, 149, 153, 226, 335, 367, 401, 411
Unique	10, 29, 30, 49, 64, 65, 80, 91, 96, 97, 121, 133, 152, 155, 171, 288, 341, 343, 418, 419
Voting	7, 11, 37, 77, 264, 284, 285, 287, 292, 296, 298, 301, 320, 323, 357
Welfare	5, 62, 63, 68, 74, 78, 92, 111, 112, 124, 143, 144, 175, 176, 227, 235, 237, 245, 253, 286, 298, 302, 329, 403, 405, 410, 416, 418, 422
Zilla	237, 266, 275, 276, 277, 278, 280-85, 295, 328, 330, 331, 332, 346, 395, 399, 401, 402, 415



**GIFA** 0.876  
GLOBAL IMPACT FACTOR

pISSN 2321- 1075  
eISSN 2347- 5692

# COGNITIVE DISCOURSES

## INTERNATIONAL MULTIDISCIPLINARY JOURNAL

Indexed / Listed In



July 2017  
VOLUME 5 ISSUE 1

## THE BENGALI MUSLIMS OF MURSHIDABAD DISTRICT- AN ATTITUDINAL PERCEPTION TOWARDS SECULAR STATE AND POLITICS

Krishna Roy<sup>1</sup>

---

### Abstract

*The partition of the country was the tragic culmination of the communal politics of the pre-independent days. In post partition era the Bengali Muslim community of Murshidabad district has tried their best to integrate with the gigantic process of democratic secular federal nation building in the continental 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. The important place held by religion in Indian society and its pluralistic character helps to develop religious toleration in terms of equal regard for all religions. The impact of partition riots, the fear and anxiety, the mental trauma which created an artificial and invisible boundary of majority and minority syndrome among the community members gradually blurred away in contemporary era and Muslims have integrated with mainstream national culture and politics.*

**Keywords:** *Secularism, Plural society, Religious freedom, Cultural diversity, Bengali identity.*

---

### 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 nation building in the continental 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

---

<sup>1</sup> Assistant Professor, Dukhulal Nibaran Chandra College (Department of Political Science), Aurangabad, Murshidabad (West Bengal)

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.

## INDIAN SECULARISM

The idea of secularism was first self-consciously discussed by nationalist leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji, Surendranath Bannerji, Pherozshah Mehta and Gopal Krishna Gokhale who were engaged in the twin tasks of fighting British colonialism and developing a blueprint for a united Indian nation. It became especially relevant for them as a tool to combat the disruptive communal forces which later resulted in the partition of the subcontinent. Subsequently secularism and the idea of a secular state were seriously proposed as a national policy with two specific purposes – first, to combat communalism and second to provide a basis for the development of a socio-political framework for the democratic functioning of the state and for the integration of various religious communities into a harmonious society. The framers of the Indian constitution were certain that secularism and the secular state do not necessitate the elimination of religion. The important place held by religion in Indian society and its pluralistic character helps to develop religious toleration in terms of equal regard for all religions that is 'sarva-dharma samabhava' and this idea was projected as a desirable tool for achieving national integration<sup>2</sup>.

The secular state says D.E.Smith<sup>3</sup>, "is a state which guarantees individual and corporate freedom of religion, deals with the individual as a citizen irrespective of this religion, is not constitutionally connected to a particular religion nor does it seek either to promote or interfere with religion". The Indian state is secular in the sense that its constitution guarantees full religious liberty to all individuals and groups and forbids discrimination against any citizen on grounds only of religion, and caste. It is just as well that it is not secular in the western sense of complete separation between church and state, for it reserves to itself the right to intervene in the interest of necessary social reforms in matters which customarily come under the preview of religion.

The preamble of our constitution clearly marks India as a 'Sovereign, socialist, Secular, Democratic Republic'. In the ideal sense in a 'secular democracy, religion must be kept out of all political discourse. But in India's multicultural, multi-religious and multi-linguistic setup it is difficult to divorce religion and politics. In the words of Nehru who is considered the philosopher of Indian secularism, the secular state protects all religions but not favour one at the expense of others and does not accept any religion as the state religion. Secularism is a normative doctrine<sup>4</sup> which envisages a society that is devoid of inter-religious and intra-religious domination. It promotes freedom of religion and equality for all. In India one religious community does not dominate another, that some members do not dominate other members of the same religious community, that the state does not enforce any particular religion nor take away the religious freedom of individuals. The Indian state works in various ways to prevent the religious domination – first, it uses a strategy of distancing itself from religion. The Indian state is not ruled by a religious group and nor does it support any one religion. In India, government spaces like courts, police stations, government schools and

offices are not supposed to display or promote any religion; second, Indian secularism works to prevent the religious domination through a strategy of non-interference. This means that in order to respect the sentiments of all religions and not interfere with religious practices, the state makes certain exceptions for particular religious communities, thirdly, Indian secularism works to prevent the domination through a strategy of intervention. For example: banning of untouchability by the Indian Constitution, in which one community of the religion indulge in exclusion and discrimination of the other weaker community. Indian secularism equally opposed the oppression of dalits and women within Hinduism, the discrimination against women within Indian Islam or Christianity and the possible threats that a majority community might pose to the rights of the minority religious communities. This is its important difference from mainstream western secularism. Western secularism takes into account only the mutual exclusion of religion and politics, Indian secularism instead seeks to achieve its goals through different forms of policies. So Indian secularism shows respect to all religions following an ideology of 'sarva dharma samabhava' than separation of state and religion.

### PROFILE OF THE DISTRICT

Murshidabad a district of West Bengal in eastern India lies between 23<sup>0</sup>43' and 24.52' north latitude and 87<sup>0</sup>49' and 88.44' east longitude covering an area of 5.341km<sup>2</sup>(2,062 sq mile)<sup>5</sup>, and having a population 5.863m<sup>6</sup> is a densely populated district and the ninth most populous district in India. Beharampur town is the head quarters of the district. The district of Murshidabad enjoys rich cultural heritage<sup>7</sup> which owed its origin due to the confluence of various religions, and linguistic crosscurrents within the main stream culture of the district. Though the district is located in Bengal, it has a rich tradition of Persian and latter Urdu literature which flourished there on account of the patronage given by the Muslim Nawabs.

Among the Muslims of the district<sup>8</sup> almost 90% are Sunnis governed by the Hanafi law. Old and established Sunni families, claiming to have Jagirdari functions and Zamindari rights from medieval times are regarded as Ashrafs who are rich elite and belong to noble and propertied class of Muslims and are distinguished from the common masses of Muslim peasants and artisans converted into Islam from lower Hindu castes. But the largest number of Muslims of the district are Sheikhs who mainly are peasants and artisans and regarded as Azlafs (or Atrap) or no gentry.

Murshidabad is the only district in West Bengal where the followers of Islam form the single largest religious community in the district. As of 2001 census report<sup>9</sup> Murshidabad district had a total population of 5,863, among which Muslim consists of 63.67%, Hindu consists of 35.92% and Christians consist of 0.23%. As per census 2011, the total population is 7102 lakh and the literacy rate is 63.88%. Murshidabad has a large concentration of minority population may be more than 66% of the total population. Among the total population of the district, 7102430, male population consist of 36, 29,595 and female population comprises 34, 72,835. Population density is 1334/square kilometer. As per as census report decadal growth varies 21.07%. It is a educationally backward district. As per as

record shows male literacy rate is 61.25% and female literacy rate is 55.04% of the total population of the district.

In the India, some of the Sufi cult<sup>10</sup> came closely in the wake of Islam and brought a new mystic idealism. The district with its historical specificity, the trend of Sufi culture proved to be a unique example of establishing communal harmony in pre and post partition period. Even today; 'Majhar' festival<sup>11</sup> in Salar region of the district is an excellent example of Hindu Muslim unity. The grand celebrations of 'Bera Utsav' are conducted at Lalbagh. Hazarduari Mela is conducted by West Bengal Tourism Department along with the Murshidabad district administration. The Mela also includes songs of Bauls and Fakirs of the district. In this district we find a trend of cultural diversity - a district identified as multilingual, multicultural and multi religious society.

The history of Bengali Muslim society as traced is seen as static<sup>12</sup> and increasingly sterile reaffirmation of the 'basic contradictions' and 'inherent ambiguities' between true Islam and the Bengali reality. Bengal Muslim was portrayed as victims perpetually trapped in a dilemma of identity forever between their (irreconcilable) Bengaliness<sup>13</sup> and Muslimness. Rafiuddin Ahmed, in his enormously influential and learned study of the Bengali Muslims, actually insists that 'a Bengali identity was in no way inconsistent with their faith in Islam'. Rafiuddin Ahmed writes that 'Bengal, particularly the low lying districts of eastern and southern Bengal where Islam found most of its adherents has been a peasant society for the whole of her recorded history, agriculture has provided the foundations of the region's distinctive<sup>14</sup> culture. British historian Peter Hardy apprehends the fact that Bengali Muslim faced a crises<sup>15</sup> as far their identity is concerned. Mainly the Bengali Muslims were converted Muslims, that is they were forced to embrace Islam but at the same time could not come out of their own Hindu culture, customs, idol worship which they practiced before this conversion. According to Ashim Roy<sup>16</sup> the impact of Sufi culture was great in all over India and West Bengal and hence Indian or Bengali Muslims did not start with orthodox Islam so there was a great reverence for pirs or saints in Bengal and Bengali Muslims adopt this Sufi version of Islam and hence termed as atrap by the ashrafs.

#### **ATTITUDE OF BENGALI MUSLIMS TOWARDS INDIAN STATE AND SECULARISM**

The constitution was drafted<sup>17</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>18</sup> incorporates ethnic and national identities in one framework. Rege<sup>19</sup> suggests that the concept of secularism 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>20</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, we must mention that there lies a quest of self-identity<sup>21</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 believe to establish a culturally plural society and committed wholeheartedly to the process of nation-building based on the principles of democracy, secularism, national unity and social justice. We must mention in case of West Bengal Muslims there is the merger of relatively small identities into new and bigger identities<sup>22</sup>. The Bengali speaking Muslims though treated as atrap (low graded Muslim), they remain confined with their Bengali identity, having Bengali as their medium of instruction and were different from north Indian Muslims in terms of linguistic and cultural homogeneity<sup>23</sup>. The Bengali Muslims solely adhere to preserve the unity and unique culture of India and assimilated into a larger cultural periphery of Bengal. In Murshidabad district integration<sup>24</sup> between political elite and rural mass result in integration of the Bengali Muslims with mainstream national culture. The elite-mass interaction<sup>25</sup> in the district help in better integration through elections and democratic decentralisation popularly known as Panchayati Raj, which ultimately help the process of elite mass integration by bridging the gulf between the centre and the periphery. Thus the political representatives help in reconciliation of various competing claims of the community and help the community to integrate with mainstream politics. The community believe that state will ensure economic improvement and finally an overarching sense of national identity seems to be emerging and religious group, cultural identities have voluntarily merged with the national identity within the Bengali Muslims of the district. The community possess strong national<sup>26</sup> sentiment in the district which makes the community more loyal towards Indian state. They perceive Indian state as their protector and they could overcome their backwardness and minority syndrome.

The Bengali Muslims in the district develops a concrete social bond within the society which never hinders in the path of integration of the community. Though the north Indian Muslims still believe that they are treated as second class citizen, been discriminated in various governmental jobs but the attitude of the Bengali Muslims in this matter is different. They viewed Indian state as the protector and guarantor of their rights. The Muslims solely believe that state government does not discriminate on religious grounds<sup>27</sup> they enjoy freedom of religion under the constitution. Each election and electoral politics makes the Muslims more conscious of their political importance, thus drawing them gradually into the national mainstream.

The Muslims of Bengal are not a homogenous community<sup>28</sup> – were divided in many ways by their varied ethnic origins, occupations sects and status. Even the Bengali Muslims of economically backward section denied to stay with ‘bhadrolok’, who are literate, educated,

well settled Muslims (both Bengali and non-Bengali origin). These Muslims preferred not to live cheek by jowl with their ruder co-religionists in Calcutta or in proper town rather these illiterate, poor, class 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 tried to remain alienate from the rest of the community. Hence we must mention that the sense of grievances, hostile attitude against the state did not grow within the Bengali Muslim rather they seek state as their sole institutions for removing their backwardness. The Bengali Muslims of the district were 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, suffered heavily in education and culture apparently remain backward in employment which resulted in total backwardness of the Muslims of the district compare to others. In context of West Bengal, we should also mention that the economically and culturally backward Muslims settled in the district, shares Hindu culture which eroded unparalleled diversity within the two communities. Bengali Muslims<sup>29</sup> has been immensely diverse from non-Bengali Muslims in culture in language, in ideology and hence Indian Muslims cannot be homogenised. Hence the communal forces which are at work in disintegrating our composite culture like RSS, VHP, felt less or no impact on the minds of the Bengali Muslims and thus they do not possess hostile attitude towards Indian secularism.

Indian and Bengali Muslims invoke secularism<sup>30</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 were 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 were not very much responsive towards court's decision. But interestingly the secular ideology<sup>31</sup> motivate the Bengali Muslim in such a way that with a 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 believed that reservation<sup>32</sup> could remove irrational sectarian hatred and will lead to the integration of the community with cultural pluralism of Indian state. In country like India, we cannot think to have the existence of small middle class Muslims by and large with 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. Hence the large section of Bengali Muslims of the district viewed Indian state as the protector of their rights as it is egalitarian in character and preserve the group (community) and individual rights of the people. The decision of the court to grant alimony to

Shah Bano shows that it is a justifiable need of an Indian citizen to live a life of dignity. But this decision of the court undermines the cultural survival of Muslims in India. But for the sake to secure the rights of the minority community Supreme Court enacted a law that effectively made provisions of the Shariat an integral part of secular law. In October 2015, Shayara Bano who was given divorce by her husband filed a petition against triple talaq and challenged the controversial practice before India's top court. On August 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2017 the Supreme Court<sup>33</sup> struck down instant triple talaq (divorce) calling it unconstitutional and against the tenets of Islam. A woman cannot be given divorce over email, or through letter which is against article 14 of the constitution which guarantees the right to equality. Here we find that instead of securing community specific or group right, stronger emphasis was laid on universal individual right of Muslim women by Indian state to give them honor and respect. Secularism aims to ensure real equality among citizens and modernization of culture and hence present government pledges for uniform civil code a progressive move that guarantees the same rights in marriage, divorce, inheritance and adoption to Indian women. It is controversial as it brings Muslim women's personal laws onto a secular footing and goes against the right of the Muslims community but secures the right of the Muslim women.

In case of Bengali Muslims of the district, vast Muslim population shared Gandhi's vision for the new India – a resolutely secular nation with freedom and equal rights of citizenship<sup>34</sup> for people of every faith, community caste and gender. There was also influential mass support for more state sponsored radically egalitarian and democratic ideologies. 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 people of diverse faith of the district with their vulgar ideas. The Muslims till today showed their respect for all faiths and secular law of the country. The Muslim community in Bengal adopt a mixed culture<sup>35</sup> and identity (though a Muslim but aligned with Hindu Bengali language, live together in co-operation with each other, showed rational behaviour with the Hindus, had economic co-operations) and called them as Indian Bengali Muslim. As the Bengali Muslims signified 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>36</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 as a mechanism to achieve national unity and identity as a homogenous undifferentiated entity.

Indian society is culturally diverse<sup>37</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. In our word we should say that there exist multiple identities but only with singular representations – which shows that Muslims are integrated truly with Indian state and society or state promotes all democratic aspirations of the minorities.

In a democratic polity majoritarian<sup>38</sup> discourse cannot prevail and all communities would like to be recognised as separate religious or cultural entities. A democratic set up has to be in other words, pluralistic<sup>39</sup> in nature. The minorities should 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 not tempered with. We must admit unhesitantly that the Bengali Muslims possess faith towards Indian state and integrated 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 be use for political gains.

## 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 its citizens without any discriminatory attitude. Secularism should neither be reduced to 'pseudo-secularism' as the BJP has sought to do, nor should it be reduced 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. Secularism is not only to be strengthened politically by fighting communalism, but also socially by advocating progressive social change in every religious community. Some changes are required for the secular modern and democratic society which ushers changes for betterment of the community. This state intervention or change has been opposed by some section of people who opposed 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.

India tried to build a composite Indian culture and tried to preserve it through religious tolerance, accommodation of all religious groups, by maintaining neutrality and sometimes through state intervention in religious affairs. The distinctiveness of Indian secularism lies in its explicit multi-value character, strict neutrality, given importance to moral reasoning, uniquely combines some aspect of religion and respecting some aspect of religion and it is the only secularism that deals with intra-religious oppression and inter-religious domination. Democracy stands for freedom of conscience and belief, tolerance and mutual respect. India being a plural society with multi-religious faiths, diverse creeds, castes and cultures secularism promotes fraternity and amity with dignity of person as its constitutional policy. The state guarantees individual and corporate religious freedom and deals with an individual as citizen irrespective of his faith and religious belief and does not promote any particular religion nor profess against another. Indian secularism is grounded in the notion of equality, equal concern and respect for other religion. Indian secularism seeks neutrality towards all religion and hence Indian constitution provides religious liberty to an individual and associations of individuals united by common beliefs, practices and disciplines. Individual's freedom of religion is guaranteed in article 25-28 of Indian constitution. The constitution thus declares that every person has a fundamental right not only to hold whatever religious beliefs commend them to his judgment (freedom of conscience) but also to manifest his beliefs or to propagate its tenets among others. In our whole analysis, we find that the Bengali Muslims in the district pose an integrative character and accept India's plural culture. They believe in the functioning of the Indian state and viewed the state as the sole institution to secure their rights, to ensure development and to bring welfare for the overall community people. The community shows their allegiance towards Indian state and government and attributed fully to Indian nation and considered 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 created an artificial and invisible boundary of majority and minority syndrome among the community members gradually blurred away in contemporary era and Muslims of Murshidabad have integrated with mainstream national culture and politics.

## REFERENCES

1. Hasan Mushirul, "In Search of Integration and Identity: Indian Muslims since Independence", EPW, Vol.23, No.45/47, Special Number (November, 1998) (pp. 267-72)
2. *Smith Eugene Donald, 1967, India as a Secular State, Princeton, USA, University of Pennsylvania Publications (pp5)*
3. *Bharghav Rajeev, Introduction, in Bhargava Rajeev ed. 1998, Secularism and its critics, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publications (pp.26)*

4. Neera Chandhoke, "Representing the Secular Agenda for India", in Hasan Mushirul ed. 2004, *Will Secular India Survive*, New Delhi, Imprint One Publication (pp.81-82)
5. Barbara Metcalf speaks of her wonder at having approached..... The core of what has given the Islamic tradition its resilience throughout time and places of such increasing diversity. She insists not only that there is one Islam (the teachings of Islam are one) but that there is a general term 'adab' shared widely in Muslim society both by Bengali speaking and non-Bengali Muslims in the society at large.  
Metcalf Barbara Dally, 'Introduction', in Metcalf Barbara Dally ed. 2007, *India's Muslims*, Delhi, Oxford University Press Publication (pp.12-13)
6. According to R. Ahmed, there are certain basic tenets of faith that characterize Islam, that Bengali Muslims for the most part, were semiliterate with a bare knowledge of the rudiments of Islam, their faith was dominated by the un-Islamic practices such as pir worship and idolatry and that despite a century of reformist efforts they are very little closer to seeing the light today. Inevitable for Ahmed, there was something curiously self contradictory in the Muslim masses quest for an Islamic identity.  
Ahmed Rafiuddin, 2001, *Understanding the Bengal Muslims*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press (pp.269)
7. Dasgupta Abhijit, *On the Margins: Muslims in West Bengal*, EPW, Vol.44, No.16 (April 18<sup>th</sup>-24<sup>th</sup>, 2009) (pp.91-96)
8. Hunter W.W, 1964, *The Indian Musalmans*, Lahore, Premier Book House Publication (pp.112-113)
9. Roy Asim, 1983, *The Islamic Syncretistic Tradition in Bengal*, USA, Princeton University Press (pp.82-84)
10. Bhattacharya, N.D, 1961,"A Study in Settlement Geography in the District of Murshidabad", in Roy. B ed. *District Census Handbook, West Bengal (Calcutta)*, Government of West Bengal Press Pub. (pp.139)
11. Director of Census Operation, 2001, *Census of India;2001, Vol. Maldah, Murshidabad, Bardhaman, Nadia, Kolkata*, Government of West Bengal Press Pub.
12. Latif Sk.Abdul, 1993, *The Muslim Mystic Movement in Bengal (1301-1550)*, Aligarh Muslim University, New Delhi, K.P.Bagchi and Company Pub. (pp.68-74)
13. Gupta Soumindra Kumar, 2013, *Paribartaner Sandhane Murshidabader Bangali Musalman*, Kolkata, Udar Akash Publications (pp.25-38)
14. Government of West Bengal, 2001, *Census of India; 2001, Vol. Murshidabad, Malda, Bardhaman, Nadia, Kolkata*, Director of Census Operation, Government of West Bengal Publications

15. Eaton R.M, 1994, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier (1204-1760)*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Publication (pp.289)
16. Das Debasri; 2008, *Murshidabad, A Study of Cultural Diversity; From Early Eighteenth to Early Twentieth Century*, Kolkata, Arpita Prakashani (pp.105-116)

*Attitude*

17. Shah Ganasham, *The Condition of Muslims in India*, EPW, Vol.42, No.10 (March 10<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup>, 2007) (pp.836-839)
18. Banerjee Binay, Introduction, in Banerjee Binay ed. 1994, *Towards Communal Harmony*, Calcutta, Germinal Publications (pp. 7-8)
19. Gore. M.S, 2002, *Unity in Diversity, The Indian Experience in Nation Building*, New Delhi and Jaipur, Rawat Pub. (pp.222)
20. Ansari M.T , *Islam and Democracy*, in Ansari M.T. ed. 2001, *Secularism, Islam and Modernity*, New Delhi, Sage Publications (pp. 275-76)
21. 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)
22. 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)
23. Md. Noor, “Indian Muslims”, in Md. Noor ed. 1999, *Indian Muslims – Precepts and Practices*, New Delhi, Rawat Pub. (pp.62-64)
24. Engineer Asghar Ali, 2011, *Living Faith; My Quest for Peace, Harmony and Social Change*, New Delhi, Orient Black Swan Pub. (pp.86-88)
25. Narain Iqbal, *Cultural Pluralism, National Integration and Democracy in India*, Asian Survey, Vol.16, No.10 (October, 1976) (pp.903-917)
26. Ara Arjumand, *Madrassas and Making of Muslim Identity in India*, EPW, Vol.39, No.1 (January 3<sup>rd</sup>-9<sup>th</sup>, 2004) (pp. 34-36)
27. Narain Iqbal, *Cultural Pluralism, National Integration and Democracy in India*, Asian Survey, Vol.16, No.10 (October, 1976) (pp.903-917)
28. 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)
29. Narain Iqbal, *Cultural Pluralism, National Integration and Democracy in India*, Asian Survey, Vol.16, No.10 (October, 1976) (pp.903-917)
30. Engineer Asghar Ali, 1999, *Essays in Contemporary Politics of Identity, Religion and Secularism*, New Delhi, Ajanta Pub. (pp.124-25)

31. Bandhopadhyay Sailesh Kumar, 2002, Ganatantri Bharate Hindu O Musalman, Kolkata, Biswabangio Prakasani Pub. (pp.89-92)
32. Md. Noor, "Indian Muslims", in Md. Noor ed. 1999, Indian Muslims – Precepts and Practices, New Delhi, Rawat Pub. (pp.62-64)
33. www.hindustantimes.com
34. Jalal Ayesha, 2000, Self and Sovereignty, Individual and Community in South Asian Islam since 1850, New York, Rutledge Publications (pp.153)
35. Varshney Ashutosh, 2002, Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life, New Delhi, Oxford University Press Pub. (pp.23-24)
36. Jalal Ayesha, 2000, Self and Sovereignty, Individual and Community in South Asian Islam since 1850, New York, Rutledge Publications (pp.32-34)
37. Kymlicka Will, 1996, Multicultural Citizenship, New York, Clarendon Press Pub. (pp.2-3)
38. Roy Anupama, 2010, Mapping Citizenship in India, New Delhi, Oxford Press Pub. (pp.1-3)
39. Shakir Moin, 1983, Islam in Indian Politics, New Delhi, Ajanta Pub. (pp.17)

CDIMJ

This document is downloaded from <http://cdimj.naspublishers.com/>

The page numbers displayed here may not be the same as in the hard copy of the journal.

This article was submitted to the Journal by agreeing the terms and conditions published on journal website.

Plagiarisms, if any found in this article, the author is the responsible, not the editor or editorial of the journal, and the article will be removed from the journal when it is reported to the editor.

If any copyright violation is found later, the article will be removed from our journal without any intimation to the author.

cdimj.naspublishers.com

Welcome to CDIMJ  
Good Morning!

Search this website

9:17:12 Wednesday, June 15, 2016

# COGNITIVE DISCOURSES

INTERNATIONAL MULTIDISCIPLINARY JOURNAL

piSSN 2321-1075  
eISSN 2347-5692

Open Access  
Print/Online

HOME EDITORIAL DESK CURRENT ISSUE SUBMIT ARTICLES GUIDELINES FOR AUTHORS JOIN REVIEW DESK SUBSCRIBE CDIMJ CONTACT



**BUY BOOKS HERE**



**WELCOME TO CDIMJ**

Submit article for the next issue on or before  
20/06/2016

Scholars are invited to  
[join our editorial review desk](#)

The mission of the CDIMJ is to promote excellence in leadership practice by providing a venue for academics, students, and practitioners to publish current and significant empirical and conceptual research in the arts, business, humanities, social sciences, economics, international relationships, literatures, education, medicine and other areas that tests, extends, or builds leadership theory.

CDIMJ is Indexed/Listed in





**VOLUME 3**

- Issue 1 July 2015
- Issue 2 September 2015
- Issue 3 November 2015
- Issue 4 January 2016

**VOLUME 2**

- Issue 1 July 2014
- Issue 2 September 2014
- Issue 3 November 2014
- Issue 4 January 2015
- Issue 5 March 2015
- Issue 6 May 2015

**VOLUME 1**

- Issue 1 July 2013
- Issue 2 September 2013
- Issue 3 November 2013
- Issue 4 January 2014
- Issue 5 March 2014
- Issue 6 May 2014

CDIMJ is available at: <http://cdimj.naspublishers.com>



ISSN 0970-8863

---

# SOCIALIST PERSPECTIVE

JUNE-SEPTEMBER 2016

Vol. 44 No. 1-2

---

**A Quarterly Journal of Social Sciences**

---

- AVATAR: A CINEMA SPEAKING ABOUT EXTRACTIVE CAPITALISM AND CONTEMPORARY IMPERIALISM
- DISTINCTIVENESS OF INDIAN SECULARISM
- SISTER NIVEDITA ON INDIAN WOMANHOOD
- SUPREME COURT'S HISTORIC JUDGMENT ON THE RIGHT TO PRIVACY
- COMINTERN: THE LENIN ERA. A REVIEW ESSAY
- READINGS ON CONTEMPORARY ISSUES



**Council for Political Studies  
Calcutta**

*Rupees One Hundred only*

---

## Distinctiveness of Indian Secularism

*Krishna Roy\**

In sub continental cultures it is difficult to separate the religious from the non-religious practices. A secular state follows the principle of non-establishment which means the state is separated not merely from one but from all religions. Thus in a secular state a formal or legal union or alliance between state and religion is impermissible. There is no official status of any religion and no religious community in such a state can say that the state belongs exclusively to it. Hence the separation of religion from politics is required to give the pursuit of good life which defines the right of every individual in the society.

Critics of secularism like T.N. Madan, Ashis Nandy and Partha Chatterjee have all argued that the external threat to secularism is only a symptom of a deeper internal crisis. Secularism in their view has long faced internal threat in the sense that the conceptual and normative structure of secularism is itself terribly flawed. According to Madan, removal of religion from public life is simply a western ideal which claims scientific management of state and rational principles (Godbole 2016: 1-22). Religion and secular views are contradictory and in India secular principles are inappropriate because Indian culture is dominated by religion. Secondly any attempt to forcibly evict religion from the public sphere provokes a strong cultural resistance where the secular state needs to use its coercive apparatus. According to Nandy, religion is a way of life, it is not only a faith but it is also an ideology to secure socio-economic interests of the citizen (Bhargava 1998: 522-526). By modern statecraft Nandy means the scientific management of state institutions. The public realm is a contested arena between religion on the one hand and science on the other. To ask believers to expunge their faith from the public realm is to compel them to lead meaningless lives.

---

\* *The author is Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Dukhulal Nibaran Chandra College, Aurangabad (Murshidabad), West Bengal.*

Religion is not a private matter of preference, rather it possesses immense importance. So the public-private distinction becomes irreverent and religion inevitably enters public life through the back door. Partha Chatterjee claims that Indian secularism is western as it introduces direct involvement of state in religious and social matters of different communities, for example, laws to reform personal laws of the Hindus, Muslims, Christian and Parses (Bhargava 1998: 530-531).

According to Bhargava, these critics fail to see that India developed a distinctively Indian and differently modern variant of secularism. Bhargava (1998: 529) holds that the Madan-Nandy thesis views separation only as exclusion, and identifies it as absolutism. It finally fails to identify the principle of 'principled distance' of Indian secularism. According to Bhargava, the church-state model is culture specific and has two dimensions: first, it reflects a struggle for power and proposes the sharing of power, and second, to fight religious absolutism. Separation of power does not entail sharing it with people with radically different religious beliefs and practices. It is true that secularism derived from the church-state model cannot accommodate deep diversity and hence Indian secularism promotes religious faiths of all communities, allowing them full liberty and grants them equal citizenship rights by making religious affiliation irrelevant to one's citizenship. Secularism is definitely modern, because of its commitment to liberty and equality. The absence of church-state model does not affect the development of secularism in India which Madan and Nandy fail to grasp. Chatterjee too fails to accommodate the idea of principled distance to have room for the view that to promote religious liberty and equal citizenship, the state may have to treat different religious communities differently. Indian secularism is committed to the notion of equal respect, which does not always entail equal treatment; rather it means treating individuals or groups as equals. Equal respect may entail differential treatment. Chatterjee is unable to see this and he believes that differential treatment entails a departure from secular principles.

According to Neera Chandhoke, to understand secularism it is important to situate it in the wider conceptual context of which it forms part and unravel its meaning in relation to equality, freedom and democracy (Jayalal Mehta 2010: 24-26). Indian version of secularism is rooted in the principle of *sarva dharma samabhava* which requires equal respect for all religions. The premise of equality of all religions is problematic in multi-religious society where religious communities are divided on the basis of majority and minority and some minorities are weak and extremely poor. In this

background the idea of secularism as equality of religion when employed by the Hindu Right puts pressure on religious minorities. Chandhoke employs the principle of substantive equality to ensure both inter group and intra group equality and defends protection of minority rights. This principle demands recognition of institutionalized inequalities in society within the communities and to rectify them by accommodating minority rights. Chandhoke offers a normative theory of minority rights based on the shift from secularism to the universal principle of moral equality.

Gurpreet Mahajan (1998: 160-164) discusses the relationship between state and religion in India with the assumption that secularism requires a commitment to the principle of separation and that the ideology of separation is a central attribute of secularism. Yet, a strict separation of the two domains of religion and state is neither possible nor even desirable. Democracies in India and Europe may have followed different policies but the end pursued was the same, namely, religious non-discrimination. It means no citizen would be disadvantaged or discriminated against on grounds of religious affiliation. Mahajan argues that the relationship between the policy and the concept can be understood best in terms of the relationship between forms and the universal. The latter represents the end—the shared aspirations that permeate particular expressions and policies embody the different paths that countries take to realize that shared end. The underlying idea of secularism in America or democracies in Europe or India is not to discriminate or disadvantage on grounds of religious identity or beliefs. This shared norm was followed by different countries through different policies which were shaped by different political and historical experiences and context. In India the policy of secularism created a situation in which constant involvement of state in religious matters became a norm. According to Mahajan, India gave specific meaning to the idea of religious liberty through three important dimensions of religious liberty: right to profess, practice and propagate religion, right to set up religious institutions and minority educational institutions. Religious liberty was valued because it entailed condition of non-discrimination and ensured religious communities autonomy to determine their religious and cultural life.

According to Amartya Sen, the principle of secularism does not require that the state must steer clear of any association with any religious matter whatsoever (Bhargava 1998: 467-472). Rather what is required is to ensure that in so far as the state has to deal with different religions and members of different religious communities there must be a basic symmetry of

treatment. The virtue of this approach, he emphasizes, is that the requirement of symmetric treatment leaves open the question as to what form that symmetry should take. Sen's theory of basic symmetry of treatment illustrates that the theoretical inadequacy of the secular discourse is largely due to lack of stability in the essential conceptual distinction between the religious and the secular. Sen defends secularism as part of more comprehensive idea of India as an integrally plural country made up of different religious beliefs, language groups and divergent social practices. It is part of a bigger project of recognizing this heterogeneity. Hence, while interpreting Indian secularism, Sen argues that the state does not owe loyalty to one religion, it is not irreligious or anti religion, gives equal freedom to all religions and the religion of citizen has nothing to do in matter of socio-economic problems. In *Bommai vs. Union of India* Justice Sawant said that the concept of secularism as religious tolerance and equal treatment of all religious groups included an assurance of the protection of life, property and places of worship of all religious groups. The important core features of secularism are freedom of religion for citizens, non-discrimination, equality of treatment, no established religion of the state; opposed to institutionalized religious domination is the Indian understanding of secularism which has been enumerated as a special historical and social construct.

#### **Features of Indian Secularism**

The character of the Indian Constitution was shaped predominantly in response to the deteriorating Hindu-Muslim relations. The Indian state excluded religion on contextual grounds, for example, by refusing to allow separate electorates, reserved constituencies for different religious communities, reservations for jobs on the basis of religious classification and the organization of states on the basis of religion.

Secularism universally is required to check the growth of fanaticism and to manage inter-religious conflicts. It must everywhere prohibit the persecution of religious groups and individuals but in India it has had to take on the additional burden of ensuring that conflicts between religious communities even when they are not purely religious in character. In India, we can mention that a secular state has tried to ensure certain values:

- a) It ensures the liberty of members of all religious communities to possess their core beliefs and practices;
- b) It grants non-preferential treatment to all members of every religious community that the state respects.

- c) The individual is free to criticize the religion to which he belongs and to reject or embrace it or to embrace another religion of his choice or to remain without anyone.
- d) No specific religion will tend to dominate the other religions.
- e) It ensures physical security, material well-being of the individual and no individual should interfere in the private sphere of other. State promotes the value of equal citizenship where every individual irrespective of religion will be treated equally.
- f) All citizens are recognized as equal participants in the public domain. Secularism tried to convey a community wide acknowledgement of equal respect for everyone in the political domain.
- g) In multi-religious society, a secular state gives maximum liberty and equality to all its citizens. The Indian Constitution appears to possess all the above features (Bhargava 1994: 52).

Article 25(1) of our constitution specifies the right to freedom of religion (Basu 2010: 119–123). All Indian citizens are allowed freely to choose their own religion, to profess and practice it, as well as to propagate it to others. Freedom is not absolute but subject to the orders of the state regarding public order, morality and health. Religious customs such as human sacrifices and widow burning (*sati*) are, therefore, unacceptable to the state. In Commissioner H.R.E vs. L.T. Swammiar, the Supreme Court held that religion is a matter of faith and it should lay down a code of ethical rules for its followers to accept; it may prescribe rituals, ceremonies, modes of worship, dress code which will be regarded as integral part of religion.

Article 26 states that in case of various collective religious rights, the rights extend beyond individuals to religious denominations (Basu 2010: 129). Religious denomination is allowed to establish and maintain institutions necessary to practise their religion, to own property and administer such property and it permits a denomination to manage its own affairs in matters of religion. The Supreme Court held that Arya Samaj, Ananda Marg, Vaishanave, the followers of Madhawacharya and other religious teachers, though not separate religions, yet are separate religious denominations and enjoy the protection under Article 26 of the Constitution.

Similarly article 30(1) gives to all religions or linguistic minorities the right to establish and administer their own religious educational institutions (Basu 2010: 121). This adheres to the principle that religion is not a matter of the state but is purely individual and private.

Article 27 of the Constitution forbids the state to collect taxes for the purpose of promotion or maintenance of any particular religion or religious denomination (Basu 2010: 119). State cannot support economically any specific religion; hence we can say there is no official state religion.

Article 28(1) implies that no religious instruction shall be provided in any educational institution wholly maintained out of state funds (Bhargava 1994: 220). Thus we can say that religion is prohibited in state supported or funded institutions. Article 28(3) states that no person attending any educational institution shall be required to take part in any religious instruction or attend any religious worship that may be conducted in such institution.

Article 14 and 15(1) deal with equality of the citizens of India (Bhargava 1994: 209-211). It states that the state shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them. Every person has free access to all public places and to use public goods (well, tanks, roads, public resort) maintained partly or wholly out of state funds or dedicated to the use of the general public.

Article 16(1) and (2) prohibits discrimination with regard to employment or appointment to any office under the state and article 29(2) prohibits discrimination with regard to admission into any educational institution maintained by the state or receiving aid out of state funds (Bhargava 1994: 209).

Article 325 of the Constitution declares a general electoral roll for all constituencies and states and no one should get priority on grounds of religion (Bhargava 1994: 201). Hence articles 14, 15(1), 16(1) and (2), 29(2) and 325 deal with equality of citizenship.

It is frequently claimed that Indians have a natural, traditional affinity with secularism. We have historical instances of multiple establishments of religions. Asoka embraced Buddhism; it might also have been an aspiration of the Mughal king Akbar. Perhaps another example is the fourteenth century Vijaynagar kingdom that granted official recognition not only to Shaivites and the Vaishnavites but even the Jains. Hence we must say that Indian secularism is not a single value idea rather it is a complex multi-value doctrine.

#### **Contra-Secular Features of Indian Secularism**

Indian Constitution aims not only to give the Indian citizen freedom of conscience and choice of religion, but also it keeps religion and religious

affairs out of the business of the state, whether state employment or education. The constitution also aims at keeping the state out of matters of religion. Despite its clarity on the separation of state and religion the constitution contains several inconsistencies in the matters of religion and state. The aim of the Indian state is to secure to all its citizens social, economic and political justice as well as equality of status and of opportunity. India traditionally was a very stratified society, in which social differences have been considered by the religiously legitimated caste system which hinders upward social mobility of the lowest social classes of Indian society. To ensure justice and equality is a complicated and difficult task.

Though article 25 confers freedom of conscience and religion on the individual citizen, article 25(2) allows the state to limit the freedom of religion (Smith 1967: 163-168). Under this article the state may regulate or restrict any economic, financial, political or other secular activity which may be associated with religious practice to provide scope for social welfare. The State interferes in matters of religion for social welfare. Accordingly article 25(2) provides broad sweeping power of interference to the state in religious matters and reflects the peculiar needs of Indian society. It is important to mention here that law providing for the very extensive supervision by the state about temple administration has been enacted by virtue of this provision. Here it would not be out place to state that the extensive modifications of Hindu personal law (marriage, divorce, adoption, succession) have been affected by legislation based on the provision permitting measures of social welfare and social reform. For the validity of the Bombay Prevention of Hindu Bigamous Marriages Act of 1946, High Court delivered its judgment that polygamy is an integral part of Hindu religion, Hindu religion recognizes the necessity of a son for religious efficacy and spiritual salvation, the religion also recognizes the institution of adoption and hence provides for the continuation of the same. The state is empowered to legislate on the practice of monogamy among Hindus as a measure of social reform. Harijan temple entry laws have been enacted, the Central Untouchability (Offences) Act of 1955 providing that any attempt to prevent Harijans from exercising their right to enter the temple is punishable with imprisonment or fine or with both. Therefore, it must be clear that a secular civil law is equally applicable to all Indian citizens.

Though article 26 guarantees to every religious denomination the right to manage its own affairs in matters of religion in *Venkata Ramana Devaru vs. State of Mysore*, the Madras Temple Entry Authorization Act threw all

Hindu public temples, even Venkata Ramana temple, to Harijans. The trustees of this denominational temple refused admission to Harijans on the ground that people of low caste were not allowed to enter temple premises and under article 26(b) of the constitution they had the right to manage their own affairs in matters of religion (Smith 1967: 203-205). But when it faces inter-religious conflict, Supreme Court approved a compromise arrangement heavily weighed in favour of rights of Harijans and a token concession to the right of a religious denomination to exercise internal autonomy. Further 26(c) and (d) recognize the right of a religious denomination to own or acquire and administer movable and immovable property in accordance with law. However, it was held in *Surya Pal Singh vs. State of Uttar Pradesh* that with Abolition of Zamindari Act it expropriated the agricultural land dedicated to the maintenance of a Hindu deity but some compensation was paid to the landlord and High Court held that there was only a change in the form of the property.

Article 17 is an uninhibited robust attack on the caste system, arguably the central feature of Hinduism, by abolishing and by making the enforcement of any disability arising out of it an offence punishable by law. But articles 17 and 25(2) intervene in religious affairs of the citizen (Basu 2010: 125).

Article 30(2) commits the state to give aid to educational institutions established and administered by religious communities. It also permitted religious instruction in educational institutions that are partly funded by the state (Basu 2010: 125).

These are significant departures from the 'wall of separation' view of the secular state. Even article 30(1) recognizes the rights of religious minorities to administer educational or religious institution, but it is a community based right and may be taken away for the interest of the greater (Basu 2010: 125). These features of the Indian Constitution mark a departure from the stereotypical western model. Firstly, unlike the strict separation view that renders the state powerless in religious matters, they enjoin the state to interfere in religion; and more importantly, secondly, by giving powers to the state in the affairs of one religion, they necessitate a departure from strict neutrality or equidistance. Articles 17, 25(2), 30(1) and (2) compromise the secular principle of the Indian state. According to T.N. Madan, Ashis Nandy and Partha Chatterjee, the presence of these features in the Indian Constitution shows why the Indian state cannot be really secular. By accepting community based rights for religious minorities and endorsing state-intervention in religion, the constitution departs from secular principles.

Article 15(4) states that nothing shall prevent the state from making any special provisions for the advancement of any social and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes (Basu 2010: 123-124). By the first Constitutional Amendment Act of 1954 the state, in fact, was allowed to perform reverse discrimination, especially on behalf of the scheduled caste and tribes, which are among the lowest in India's social order.

Article 16(4) of the constitution permits the state to provide for reservations of appointment or posts in favor of any backward class of citizens which in the opinion of the state is not adequately represented in the services under the state (Bhargava 1998: 209-210). Article 15(4) specifically allows the state to favour scheduled castes and tribes and other socially backward classes with regard to employment in state institutions.

Under articles 330(1) and 332(1) there will be no communal electorates to the House of People and to the state assemblies (Ghosh 2000: 162-63). Both articles say that there are reserved seats for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes to the mentioned assemblies.

As we have already mentioned the constitution prohibits the collection of taxes for any particular religion (Article 27). This, however, is challenged by article 290A which has been inserted by the 7<sup>th</sup> Amendment Act of 1956 and which states that a specified yearly sum is to be transferred from the states of Kerala and Madras to two religious funds for the maintenance of Hindu temples in those states (Ghosh 2000: 162-163). This clear breach of the overall sentiment of the constitution can perhaps be explained as a remnant of the tradition of the old princely states of Travancore and Cochin, in which it was customary for the king to support Hindu temples. After the integration of these states in the Republic of India this custom was allowed to persist first in the state of Travancore-Cochin in 1949 and later in the state of Kerala in 1956.

In the years 1955 and 1956 a series of laws regulating marriage, divorce, adoption and maintenance for Hindus were passed by the Indian state. This regulation and codification of Hindu personal law established the right to divorce and abolished the right of Hindu men to have more than one wife. This Act was severely criticized by orthodox Hindus. The Special Marriage Act of 1872 was passed in 1954 which specifies rules for a religiously neutral marriage (marriage in other religion) before a marriage officer. It may or may not be accompanied by religious rituals. Muslim personal laws

have not, however, completely escaped codification by the state. As a result in 1985, in the Shah Bano case, divorced Muslim women applied to Supreme Court and in contrast to Sharia law, won the right to maintenance. The Rajiv Gandhi government in order to please the Muslim opinion in 1986 succeeded in getting the so-called Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Divorce) Act passed in parliament. The Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act from 1939 for the first time codified an aspect of Muslim Sharia law (Universal Muslim Laws, 2004). Hence all these cases point to the state's intervention in religious or personal matter of the community which justifies the contra-secular features of Indian secularism – a departure from mainstream western secularism.

### **Distinctiveness of Indian Secularism**

The Preamble of our constitution clearly marks India as a “Sovereign, Socialist, Secular, Democratic Republic”. In the ideal sense in a secular democracy, religion must be kept out of all political discourse. But in India's multicultural, multi-religious and multi-linguistic makeup it is difficult to divorce religion and politics. In the words of Nehru who is considered the philosopher of Indian secularism, the secular state protects all religions but does not favour one at the expense of others and does not accept any religion as the state religion. Secularism is a normative doctrine which envisages a society that is devoid of inter-religious and intra-religious domination. It promotes freedom within religions and equality between, as well as within religions. In India one religious community does not dominate another, some members do not dominate other members of the same religious community, the state does not enforce any particular religion nor does take away the religious freedom of individuals.

The Indian state works in various ways to prevent the religious domination. First, it uses a strategy of distancing itself from religion. The Indian state is neither ruled by a religious group, nor does it support any one religion. In India, government spaces like courts, police stations, government schools and offices are not supposed to display or promote any religion. Second, Indian secularism works to prevent the religious domination through a strategy of non-interference. This means that in order to respect the sentiments of all religions and not to interfere with religious practices, the state makes certain exceptions for particular religious communities. Third, Indian secularism works to prevent the domination through a strategy of intervention. For example: banning of untouchability by the Indian Constitution, in which one religious community indulges in exclusion and discrimination of another

weaker community. Indian secularism is equally opposed to the oppression of *dalits* and women within Hinduism, discrimination against Muslim or Christian women and possible threats that a majority community might pose to the rights of the minority religious communities. This is its important difference from mainstream western secularism. The latter takes into account only the mutual exclusion of religion and politics, Indian secularism instead seeks to achieve its goals through different forms of policies. So Indian secularism shows respect to all religions an ideology of '*sarva dharma samabhava*' than separation of state and religion.

### **Secularism is a Multi-value Doctrine**

The distinctiveness of Indian secularism can be understood only when the cultural background and social context in India is properly grasped (Sankhdher 1992:89-92). First, there exists huge diversity of religious communities in India. Such diversity may co-exist harmoniously but it may generate conflicts over values. Second, greater emphasis is placed on religious practices rather than belief. A person's religious identity and affiliation are defined more by what the individual has with and in relation to others, than by the content of beliefs individually held by them. Third, many religiously sanctioned social practices are oppressive by virtue of their illiberal and inegalitarian character and deny a life of dignity and self-respect. Therefore, from a liberal and egalitarian standpoint they desperately need to be reformed by the institution with enormous social power such as state. As a form of movement secularism removes the excessive influence of religion from society (Ghosh 2000: 52-54). Thus secularism undermines religious orthodoxies, frees individuals from the clutches of religion and empowers people to live their life in rational ways. Moreover, there is a constitutional meaning of secularism which requires the Indian state to maintain distance from religion policy making. In case of inter-religious conflicts or the struggle against oppressive communities, state follows liberal principles without abandoning the sentiment of the communities. State secures the religious liberty of the community by granting them religious freedom; but to secure the values like equality and justice state intervenes in religiously sanctioned social customs. Indian state undertakes several reforms within Hinduism by making polygamy illegal, introducing the right to divorce, abolishing child marriage, legally recognizing inter-caste marriages and introducing temple entry for *dalits*, the state intervened in religious matters to protect the ordinary but dignified life of its citizens. Intervention in Hinduism by state, for example, the legal ban on the prohibition of *dalits* into the temple is illegitimate

interference in religious affairs and, therefore, compromises secularism but in other way the state protects the religious liberty and equality of all socio-religious groups.

#### **Secularism secures the right of specific community**

Marc Galanter argued the state in India continues to embody a model of secularism (Bhargava 1998: 519-521). State entails a character of uniform rights but the commitment of secularism to equal citizenship compels the state to secure the rights of each community example personal laws of each community is secured.

In India the courts have frequently interpreted religion from a wholly rationalist standpoint and conducted its reform purely on that basis (Sen 2010: 131-133). They have rationally determined both the essential tenets of Hinduism and the religious identities of people. One such case has been discussed by Galanter. A puritanical Vaishnavite sect called Satsangis reacted to the temple entry act and disallowed Harijan's entry into the premise. But court declared Satsangis as Hindu, not separate from Hinduism and motivated them not to distort true teachings of Hinduism and to remove all superstition and ignorance and thus convinced them to accommodate with Harijans who are also Hindus. The decision of the court to grant alimony to Shah Bano was seen as justifiable need to enable all Indian citizens to live a life of dignity. To secure the rights of the minority community Supreme Court enacted a law that effectively made provisions of the Shariat an integral part of secular law.

In October 2015, Shayara Bano who was given divorce by her husband filed a petition against triple *talaq* and challenged the controversial practice before India's top court. On 22 August 2017, the Supreme Court struck down instant triple *talaq* (divorce) calling it unconstitutional and against the tenets of Islam. A woman cannot be given divorce over email, or through letter which is against article 14 of the constitution which guarantees the right to equality. Here we find that instead of securing community specific or group right stronger emphasis was laid on universal individual right of Muslim women by Indian state to give them honor and respect. Secularism aims to ensure real equality among citizens and modernization of culture and hence present government pledges for uniform civil code a progressive move that guarantees the same rights in marriage, divorce, inheritance and adoption to Indian women. It is controversial as it brings Muslim women's personal laws onto a secular footing and goes against the right of the Muslims community but secures the right of the Muslim women.

### ***Secularism follows a principle of principled distance***

Principled distance does not demand total exclusion and the relation between religion and politics requires neither fusion nor complete disengagement (Gharana 1991: 9-12). The boundaries of religion and politics are distinct and each is valuable in its own right, and respects one another's limit. To understand this principled distance we must define what political and ethical secularism means. Political secularism justifies the separation of religion from politics either by excluding from politics all ultimate ideals (democracy, equality, autonomy) or by an appeal to the principle of political neutrality.

Political secularism excludes the controversial ultimate ideas from the coercive public sphere for the protection of ordinary life to rule out big evils (Bhargava 1994: 1784-1791). But some competing and controversial ideals must be allowed to enter the public sphere so that in the common space they are freely scrutinized by public with reason. But ideals cannot be totally excluded from public sphere; so we need to clarify the relationship between the right and the good. Bhargava holds that it does not follow that any particular good has priority over the right or that the good has priority over the right no matter what the context. The right is required in order to realize the good. Both right and good can claim priority and both can be correct depending on the context. By providing a framework of rules, the right both limits the good and makes a stable life for the individual. Hence, according to Bhargava, the pursuit of good life is impossible without the right. Principled distance is different from strict neutrality. It rests upon a distinction drawn by the American philosopher Ronald Dworkin, that is, equal treatment and treating everyone as an equal. The principle of equal treatment means that the state treats all its citizens equally in the relevant respect, for example, in the distribution of a resource of opportunity.

The principle of treating people as equals entails that every person or group is treated with equal concern and respect. But treating people or groups as equals is entirely consistent with differential treatment which we may be identified with principled distance. For example, the state may interfere in one religion more than in others, depending on the historical and social condition of the religions. For the promotion of a particular value, i.e. to promote equality, social mobility of *dalits* and to secure their rights the state fails to maintain strict neutrality (Bhargava 1998: 498). Hence the state interferes in caste-ridden Hindu society (which undermines the good of the upper-caste Brahmins but secures the rights of the *dalits*) more than Islam or Christianity.

Democracy is a means for citizens to achieve the best capability that they can achieve, so it requires laws and policies to be citizen-centric. But since we live in society too much individual centrism could hamper the integrity of community, as one will form an individual centric universe around oneself. So democracy can also be seen as means through which negotiation between 'I' and 'We' takes place to maintain the coherence between society and individual, while giving sufficient space for the individual to grow his or her potential. Previously religion was a tool for streamlining the society and imparting certain values and restraining individual's freedom as the member of community. Religion limits the scope of a person to utilize its capacity through religious dictates. State destroys this power structure by imposing certain rules on the community for creation of society which is equal and where each member can grow his potential to its maximum. Secularism hence tries to prevent intra-religious domination (for example, by abolition of untouchability) where one group within religious community dominates other group within community. In this regard we can justify the Supreme Court's decision (August 2017) on instant triple *talaq* issue calling it unconstitutional.

There is vocal support for the establishment of Universal Civil Code (UCC), as a secular set of laws will ensure gender equality and protect the right of women. Secularism means taking out all traces of religion from family law and submitting to a single civil code that applies to all Indians. All religious laws discriminate against women and the state owes its citizen a single, gender equal set of laws. Hindu succession act was reformed by Parliament in 2005 and Christian divorce rights were made gender equal in 2001. The court has steadily affirmed women's rights of maintenance, adoption in various judgments and reforms in minority communities. Hence the Supreme Court struck down instantly triple *talaq* calling it unconstitutional. In a religiously heterogeneous state like India, the democratic system secures the rights and liberties of minority groups by applying the principle of strict neutrality.

The Indian state has not always been neutral in all cases. For good or bad, it has deviated from the principle of neutrality on a number of occasions. It had done so when it carried out a series of reforms within Hinduism. For example, it changed Hindu personal law quite significantly: polygamy was made illegal, the right to divorce was introduced, child marriage was abolished, inter-caste marriages were legally recognized. Furthermore, it prohibited animal sacrifices within the precincts of a temple,

abolished *devadasi* dedication, regulated the activities of criminals masquerading as holy men, introduced temple-entry rights for Harijans and reformed temple administration. Here, before deciding whether it was necessary to enact a special provision for the Hindus, the legislature took into account their social customs and beliefs. Similar laws for Muslims were simply redundant. Secondly, law in liberal democracies requires legitimacy and the consent of the representatives of communities. So in Shah Bano case the state supported the Shariat. If the state is the march of God on earth (according to Hegel) then all its actions are justified. Hence all state actions like entry of *dalits* into temples or ban on cow slaughter on objection from North Indian Brahmins are justified (Srinivasan 2007: 21-23).

Finally, it is perfectly within the competence of the legislature to curb all social evils. If the legislature enacts a special provision in regard to say, bigamous marriages among Hindus, it cannot be said that the legislature was discriminating against Hindus only on grounds of religion rather for the purpose of eradication of the social evils prevalent in Hindu religious practices and to secure the rights, even though the policy was targeted at specific communities. A state interfering in one religion more than in others does not automatically depart from secularism, which is termed as principled distance. Indian secularism rejects the assumption that one size fits all. Principled distance states that state may intervene in the affairs of the state if such intervention promotes freedom, equality or any other value integral to secularism. Religion may get into the affairs of the state when the state is compelled to recognize religious communities to secure community rights and social goods.

Ethical secularism separates religion from politics for the sake of an ultimate ideal (Bharucha 1998: 167-180). Like John Rawls, Raz has shown us that ethical secularism is linked to a distinct conception of toleration. In a pluralist community one tolerates the other not despite one's disagreement but on the understanding that commensurable values cannot always be realized at the same time in the same sphere and thus one has to tolerate the limitations of others. It is frequently claimed that the state in India is secular because Hinduism is tolerant and it protects all minority communities and Hinduism alone can sustain communal harmony. Hinduism is marked by religious harmony, tolerance and intra-religious oppression, shows equal respect for all religious and uniquely combines an active hostility to some aspects of religion. It promotes an idea of establishment of all religions to promote a distinct plural community and uniquely shows respect to all

religious values. Ethical secularism promotes a strong sense of community: a conception of togetherness (Beteille 1994:559-566). While political secularism promotes an idea of living together, ethical secularism promotes an idea of living together well.

To live together well one needs a high degree of community, but living together is possible with a relatively low level of community. Under conditions of conflicting diversity ethical secularism focuses on community rights (any religious community) and not on citizen's rights in order to ensure progress of the society like political secularism. Ethical secularism relies on the particular conception of good life. An example is the decision of the court to grant alimony to Shah Bano though it could easily have been determined by the more justifiable need to enable citizen's right to live a life of dignity. But the decision was widely seen to undermine the very cultural survival of Muslims of India and it goes against the good or community-specific rights. Hence the government set the decision of the court aside and enacted a law that effectively made provisions of the Shariat an integral part of secular law. Similarly a ban on cow slaughter satisfies the right of a particular north Indian Brahmin community. This is an example where the boundaries of state and religion are respected, which is the other form of principled distance (religious liberty means distancing the state from the practices of religious groups) in Indian secularism (Bhargava 1994: 1784-1791). The minorities (specifically minority community) are granted certain privileges and immunities in order to ensure their cultural survival (special provisions for ST, SC and OBC) and hence ethical secularism by its more positive defense to secure community rights and goods to different religious and cultural groups. When introducing the system of reservation, the goal was to ensure groups that had previously not had a chance to gain access to education and governmental jobs. While there are challenges faced with the reservation system there is no doubt that this positive discrimination ensures the benefits of specific minority groups for their economic prosperity. If religion and caste is divorced from the state, then it is difficult to ensure equitable progress. Hence strict neutrality is not feasible and government will have to introduce policies which are targeted at specific religions or communities.

Each religious community in India has certain unique practices in family laws from marriage to inheritance and from marital separation to maintenance and adoption. Although many of these are unfair to women in different ways still India allows each community to practice its personal law to secure community rights. There are also civil alternatives like Special Marriages Act

which any citizen can opt to follow. The Hindu Marriage Act of 1955 and acts relating to succession and marriage provide special considerations for Hindus living in different geographical regions and belonging to different castes and ethnic groups (Vanaik 1997: 46-47). For example, in some communities in Southern India marriage between an uncle and niece is allowed and such unions are preferred whereas such marriages are proscribed and viewed as incestuous by Hindus in North India. The Hindu inheritance laws like 'Mitakshara' and 'Dayabhaga' are accepted in most parts of India except West Bengal and Assam. Article 44 of the Constitution says that "the state shall endeavor to secure for citizen a uniform civil code throughout the territory of India," but exceptionally the people of North East India like Nagaland, Mizoram, Manipur, Tripura, Meghalaya and Arunachal Pradesh have their distinct religious and social practices and are guided by distinct customary laws and procedures. The Christian Catholics of India strictly adhere to the Canon Law concerning marriage, recognized as the personal law of Catholics. Similarly the abolishing of personal laws of the Muslim community and passing of universal civil code will go against the ethos of religious freedom guaranteed in the Indian Constitution. Through the principle of 'principled distance' Indian secularism promotes strong sense of community feeling, conception of good life and secures the right of each religious community.

### **Conclusion**

Secularism in India is context specific and is based on the idea of principled distance, defined as contextual secularism. The policy of principled distance entails a flexible approach on the question of inclusion or exclusion of religion and the engagement or disengagement of the state which depends on the context, nature or current state of relevant religions. This means that religion may intervene in the affairs of the state if such intervention promotes freedom, equality or any other value integral to secularism. Principled distance allows for differential treatment. It may even require state intervention in some religions more than in others considering the historical and social condition of all relevant religions. For example, to promote social equality this requires undermining, in part, the caste hierarchies and it may be necessary for the state to interfere in caste ridden Hinduism much more than Islam or Christianity. According to Bhargava, secularism is fully compatible with the defence of differentiated citizenship rights and secularity of the state does not necessitate strict intervention, non-intervention or equidistance but any or all of these as the case may be.

Ironically, we may infer that, while the torch bearers of universal civil code call themselves saviours who are carrying the baton of peace, they fail to understand that any attempt to impose universal civil code will be suicidal as it will be detrimental to communal harmony of India. The notion of universal civil code is baseless in India and is equally disadvantageous for other minorities and Hindus who will not like their cultural and customary laws being annulled.

If we are to define an Indian model of secularism, it would be one where state gives all religions equal importance. It is not a system where religion and state are two separate entities or religion is restricted to personal space, given the layers of diversity and identities Indians witness in interaction between religion and political discourse. For minority groups the democratic system is the means by which their rights are safeguarded and their voice is heard. Removing religion entirely from political discourse will not be in the interest of our representative system. India's secular democratic system will be one where different religions have a separate personal law and our present civil code is most suited to ensure the freedom to practise one's religion.

As a multi value doctrine contextual secularism encourages accommodation, not the giving up of one value for the sake of another but rather their reconciliation and possible harmonization, that is, to make each work without changing the content of incompatible values. It promotes an idea of living together well by recognizing the values of the community; focuses on community rights (made provisions of the Shariat an integral part of secular law, provisions for the acceptance of personal laws of all religious communities instead of applying universal civil code, made special provisions for underprivileged class, made entry of the *dalits* in temple premise), promotes strong sense of community and inculcates an idea that in the same sphere one has to tolerate the limitations of others. A puritanical The Satsangi sect reacted to the Temple Entry Act of 1947 by filing a suit alleging that its temples were not covered by this Act and that, therefore, it was not obliged to permit Harijan entry into temple premise. In 1950, it even challenged that Act by not only claiming that every religious denomination had a right to manage its internal affairs as it deemed fit, but also that it was a separate and distinct religious sect unconnected with the religion of the Hindus. When the matter was brought to the Supreme Court, it conducted an enquiry into the scope of temple entry power or to examine the much broader question concerning the distinctive features

of Hinduism, then declared the Satsangis as Hindus and enjoined them to be good Hindus by not mis-constructing the true teachings of Hinduism or guided by superstition and ignorance. Hence the state encourages accommodation of all the people with this particular sect to restore possible harmonization in the society on one hand and secure the interest of the minority specific rights on the other by allowing their free access in the temple premise and hence solve inter-religious conflicts. Reconciliation and accommodation is done by removing dogmatism in all spheres and by securing the best values. Hence Article 25(2) gives state the absolute power to interfere in religious matters, for example, extensive modification of Hindu personal law in marriage, divorce, adaption, succession. Even article 26(b) makes the state interventionist as a guardian of social reform, when it favours the right of Harijans to enter the temple premise in spite of strict objection from high caste community members.

This model of contextual secularism is built into a commitment to participatory democracy and openness to a future common good which ultimately removes all conflicts. It fairly brings divergent conception of good into the political process. The good life conceived by any society includes satisfying the basic needs of everyone in the form of right. For example, in certain context the good of the small community has to be protected not only against the whims of its own members but also against the so-called common good for the larger community and the state. State institutions have to play a crucial role by guaranteeing several safeguards to secure the rights of smaller 'endangered communities': for example, court order to make entry of *dalits* in temple or to declare that no person shall be denied using any public places maintained by state.

Features that make Indian secularism distinctive are its explicit multi-value character. It values religious liberty, equality, peace and toleration, respects and recognizes community specific rights and its commitment to a different model of moral reasoning and opens up the possible path of multiple secularism of different societies to work out their own secularisms; it follows a principle of principled distance, that is, it is not mutual exclusion of state and religion or strict neutrality but it accepts a disconnection between state and religion by following an idea of principled distance and it attends to the issues of intra-religious oppression and inter-religious domination. State in a heterogeneous society like ours tries to safeguard the goods and rights of all communities against the whims of their own members as well as others. In Indian society right based politics, politics of common good

could prevent intra-religious conflicts, what Hobbes called 'the war of all against all'.

India tried to build a composite Indian culture and tried to preserve it through religious tolerance, accommodation of all religious groups, by maintaining neutrality and sometimes through state intervention in religious affairs. Democracy stands for freedom of conscience and belief, tolerance and mutual respect. India being a plural society with multi-religious faiths, diverse creeds, castes and cultures secularism promotes fraternity and amity with dignity of person as its constitutional policy. The state guarantees individual and corporate religious freedom and deals with an individual as citizen irrespective of his faith and religious belief and does not promote any particular religion. Indian secularism is grounded in the notion of equality, equal concern and respect for other religion. It seeks neutrality towards all religions and hence Indian Constitution provides religious liberty to an individual and associations of individuals united by common beliefs, practices and disciplines. Individual's freedom of religion is guaranteed in articles 25-28 of the Indian Constitution. The constitution thus declares that every person has a fundamental right not only to hold whatever religious beliefs he espouses, guided by his conscience, but also to express his beliefs or propagate its tenets among others. In contemporary political scenario, India adopted a contextual model distinct from the western notion of church-state separation. Thus we find that the principle of 'principled distance' secures group rights and the rights of a religious community. Hence we can safely infer that Indian secularism has successfully adjusted to Indian multi-religious plural society in spite of its challenges and criticism.

#### REFERENCE

- Basu, Durga Das. 2010. *Introduction to the Constitution of India*. Nagpur: Lexis Nexis Butterworths Wadhia Publications.
- Beteille, Andre. 1994. "Secularism and Intellectuals". *Economic and Political Weekly* 29, no. 10.
- Bhargava, Rajeev. 1994. "Giving Secularism Its Due". *Economic and Political Weekly* 29, no. 28.
- Bhargava, Rajeev (ed.). 1998. *Secularism and its Critics*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Bharucha, Rustom. 1998. "The Shifting Sites of Secularism: Cultural Politics and Activism in India Today". *Economic and Political Weekly* 33, no. 4.

- Gahrana, Kanan. 1991. *Right to Freedom of Religion: A Study in Indian Secularism*. New Delhi: South Asian Publication.
- Ghosh, S. K. 2000. *Secularism in India: The Concept and Practice*. New Delhi: A.P.H. Publication.
- Godbole, Madhav. 2016. "Is India a Secular Nation?" *Economic and Political Weekly* 51, no. 15.
- Jayal, Niraja Gopal, and Bhanu Pratap Mehta (eds.). 2010. *The Oxford Companion to Politics in India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Mahajan, Gurpreet. 1998. *Identities and Rights: Aspects of Liberal Democracy in India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Sankhdher, M. M. (ed.). 1992. *Secularism in India: Dilemmas and Challenges*. New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications.
- Sen, Ronojoy. 2010. *Articles of Faith: Religion Secularism and the Indian Supreme Court*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Smith, Donald Eugene. 1967. *India as a Secular State*. Princeton: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Srinivasan, T. N. (ed.). 2007. *The Future of Secularism*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Vanaik, Achin. 1997. *Communalism Contested: Religion, Modernity and Secularization*. New Delhi: Vistaar Publication.