Chapter IV

Discussion and Conclusion
The foregoing results of this study indicate that the sample population of the three towns (Nehtaur, Seohara, Kiratpur) of Bijnor district are broadly divided into Ansari and non-Ansari castes. The non-Ansari are further divided into Ashraf (comprising Syed, Shaikh, Mughal and Pathan) and Ajlaf (comprising Lohar, Ansari, Nai, Dhobi, Qasai) as indicated in chart A. The population of Bijnor district was 23,520 in 1931 and 14,90,185 in 1971 (see Census 1971). This unprecedented increase in population was accompanied by a number of socio-economic changes with the growth of sugar factories, crushers, mechanized farming, cottage industries and special incentives given to cloth weaving. The results indicate that weaving is the main occupation of Ansaris.

Nehtaur is well known for its Khadi production and the Khadi industry is mainly dominated by the Ansaris. This handloom industry provides livelihood to thousands, but the non-Ansari castes are reluctant to take this occupation as they consider it to be a 'lowly' occupation. The economically weaker sections of the non-Ansaris prefer to pull rickshaws or work as hired labourers. Syeds are socially and politically dominant in Nehtaur.
Seohara town is famous for sugar and country made liquor production but most of this business is controlled by the non-Muslim population. However, a number of non-Ansaris work on the sugar cane farms as hired labourers or cultivate their own land — other work in sugar factories or operate crushers.

Almost the entire weaving trade is dominated by Ansaris. It is perhaps due to the monopoly of the Ansaris in weaving trade that this group is politically dominant in the area. Their numerical strength coupled with their collective identity and economic prosperity has enabled them to send their representatives to the legislative assembly and Parliament.

The main occupation in Kiratpur is cultivation of ground-nut and sugarcane. The Muslim population is mainly divided into Ansaris and Qazis. Qazis are big land owners and the other occupations like teching, government service etc. They are much respected by all. There are a few other Ashraf (Shaikh Siddiqui, Pathan) and Ajlaf (Lohar, Nai, Dhobi, Qasai) castes: The Ansaris of Kiratpur make their livelihood by weaving khadi cloth.
Traditionally, Bijnor district is rich in sugarcane production (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1936, Vol.3) and prior to Independence, cultivation of land was the main occupation. In addition to these agricultural activities, Bijnor district was well-known for handicraft such as wood-carving work, cane-work, cloth weaving and printing etc. In the past, a significant number of the non-Ansari inhabitants practised unani medicine (Hikmat) and this brought in much revenue. The non-Ansari population, so to say, was economically far more prosperous than the Ansaris, who, as has been indicated above, were a down trodden group of people in pre-independent India. A high percentage of the non-Ansari population migrated to Pakistan during 1947-48. Paradoxically, almost the entire Ansari population, who pledged their allegiance to the Congress Party, not only opposed the Pakistan, but refused to vote in favour of the Muslim League. Thus, while the non-Ansaris migrated, the Ansaris were hailed as the patriots and subsequently they purchased the evacuate property of the non-Ansaris which was auctioned by the government. After partition, the government introduced welfare programmes for the backward classes and Ansaris were classified as backward class. In the meantime, the demand for khadi and other handloom products was on the increase and thus, the handloom industry received a tremendous
upward push. This was then the beginning of the economic prosperity of the Ansaris.

On the contrary the position of the non-ansaris was not as economically lucrative as it was before the Partition. Those non-ansaris who had migrated did not do so perhaps because of their landholdings or because of their inability to do so. With the introduction of land reforms and the abolition of the arrable land, the big land-lords suffered a setback. The professional Hakims were in grave competition with the modern medical doctors and thus the practice of Hilgnat declined. On the whole, the condition of the non-ansaris was deteriorating while the economic position of Ansaris slowly gaining ground.

The data for this study indicate that the Ansari sample is economically in a better position than the non-ansaris and this prosperity was gained simply by zealously pursuing their traditional occupation. Weaving industry is characteristically labour intensive which allows the artisans to work in their own houses. Thus, entire families (men, women and children) are in one way or the other engaged in weaving. This not only saves wages which would have to be given to labourers, but also the production is increased
because a number of people are involved. Another peculiar feature is the relationship between the artisan and the owner. The artisans do not have a permanent relationship with any particular owner or exporter. They are free to select any owner who is ready to provide the artisan with the handloom. The handloom can be either used on the premises of the owner, or the artisan may be allowed to take it home with him. While this has some advantage, the disadvantages cannot be ignored. Since there is no organization, the artisans have to use middle-men or personal contacts to obtain contracts from owners or exporters. This, many a time, leads to the exploitation of the artisans (who are uneducated and illiterate) by the owners and exporters. The rates of payment regulated by government are easily flouted by the exporters and owners who take advantage of the ignorant artisans. But despite these disadvantages, the data reveal that the Ansaris are economically more prosperous than the non-Ansari sample.

The non-Ansari population is engaged in various types of occupations such as farming, shop-keeping, masonry work, tailoring, hair cutting, hired labour and as teachers in schools and colleges. Though all these occupations have a higher prestige value, as compared to weaving, the economic benefits are much less.
It is interesting to note that a large percentage of both Ansari and non-Ansari sample house-owners or live with their parents. But material possessions of the non-Ansari group is far less than that of the Ansari group. This factor coupled with the expenditure of both the samples is indicative of the fact that the Ansaris are far more economically prosperous.

Having established the economic prosperity of Ansaris, let us now examine the educational pattern of the two samples. On a comparative basis, the results have shown (Table II) that 10.4% population is educated. This shows that there is less inclination towards improving their educational qualifications. An additional fact that can be pointed out here is that the ratio of non-Ansaris as against Ansaris studying at the Aligarh Muslim University is 20:1.

However, on the whole, in all the three towns, the literacy rate of the non-Ansaris is higher than that of the Ansaris. This reveals the fact that despite economic prosperity, the values associated with education have not yet been inculcated in the Ansari population. This finding has important implications, in that the often accepted hypothesis that the economic betterment enhances desire for education
is not true for the Ansari sample of Bijnor district. Often, desire for education is hampered by economic constraints but it appears that there is no desire for education among the Ansaris of Bijnor district. A detailed discussion with the Ansaris reveals that they do not consider education important because it would have no future benefits. Since their traditional and hereditary occupation is weaving, their children would automatically enter this trade and education would be of little value. The practical experience gained by the young boy by his presence and association with the elders would enable him to handle the family business more effectively. Almost the entire Ansari group opposed the idea that their children should entering other trade or services. "Mulazmat se kya faida."^2 is what the many Ansari respondents told the investigator.

The results on various aspects of marriage and family reveal that despite the lack of religious sanctions, the Ansaris prefer endogamous cousin marriages. The sample under study revealed that a high percentage (85%) of respondents preferred marriages within their own biradri. Of these, 52% preferred bridegrooms from their own cousin groups. However, the data reveal that 55.7% respondents had married their
paternal cousins while 44.2% had married their maternal cousins. Thus, 99.9% of the entire sample had contracted marriage with their parallel and cross-cousins. This indicates that the Ansari are an endogamous group. The data also showed that non-Ansaris can no longer maintain the endogamous pattern even though they preferred to do so. The fact that both Ansari and non-Ansari groups prefer endogamous marriage, but that the Ansari group is able to maintain the tradition, while non-Ansaris had to deviate, brings to light certain important factors which must be thoroughly examined.

In the past, marriages among Syeds were strictly endogamous. (Misra 1964). Marriages were contracted only after thorough examination of the Shajrah (family genealogical record) and a "najibut Trafain" match was sought. The Syeds complain that the shortage of Syed grooms was one of the reason for the breakup of endogamous marriages. The short supply of grooms perhaps resulted from the heavy migration to Pakistan at the down of Partition. This not only affected the endogamous pattern but rather also eliminated the possibility of cousin marriages. The Syeds soon realized that if they did not desire their daughters to remain spinsters they would have to marry outside their
own biradri. Thus, they had to modify their rule of endogamy and contracted marriage with other Ashraf castes. Practically then, Syeds would prefer to contract marriage with Shaikhs, Mughal and Pathan and vice versa. All castes within the Ashraf category could contract marriage with other castes in the same Ashraf category. While endogamy is preferred, by force of circumstances they have to make inter-caste matches. It is a matter of social honour for the caste groups to contract a hypergamous marriage with a Syed. However, none of the Ashraf castes would contract marriage with the Ajlaf and especially with an Ansari. The interviews with members of the Ajlaf group revealed that they too preferred endogamous marriage and maintained their endogamy. Each caste, barber, butcher, or lohar preferred to marry within his own biradri. In fact, no cases of inter-caste marriage alliances were reported in the Ajlaf category. It appears that they too would like to retain the tradition of endogamy. What was interesting to note was that the Ajlaf would not mind contracting marriage with any of the Ashraf castes but they would not wish for a marriage alliance with an Ansari or any other caste in their own Ajlaf group. Even the butchers and barbers, who are considered lower by the Ansaris, refused to contract marriages
with the Ansari caste. Their distaste for such a match is amply explained in the expression "hum kabhi julahon mein shadi nahin kar saktey."

What one can conclude from the above discussion is that while traditionally both the Ashraf and Ajlaf were endogamous groups, the Ashraf have been forced into exogamous marriages and marry within other Ashraf caste groups. But interestingly enough all caste groups within the Ajlaf category continue to maintain their caste endogamy. The Ansaris have maintained the cousin marriage pattern wherever possible but have made no attempts to contract marriages with the Ashraf. This is a significant point to note because Hindu caste studies reveal that hypergamous marriages enhance the status of the caste and hastens the process of sanskritization (Srinivas 1962). Other forms of caste mobility through hypergamy are cited by Barth (1971) in his Swat Study. He has treated hypergamous marriages as esteemable, since the woman moves up in the caste hierarchy. Contrarily, hypogamous marriages are "frowned" up on and considered a shame for the woman's family" (Barth 1971: 133-135).

The results of the present study do not display this pattern. Once the rule of endogamy was broken by the Syeds,
they were both wife-givers and wife-takers. No sense of shame was expressed by Syeds in contracting marriage with a Shaikh or Pathan. However, they expressed strong resentment for marriage alliance with any Ajlaf and even refused to accept a hypergamous alliance with a Ajlaf woman. So the special form of social mobility resulting from hypergamous marriages is ruled out in this study. This further reiterates the fact that since marriage across caste lines is not acceptable, kinship links between different castes is not possible. The development of such links is prevented because of the strong pattern of endogamy.

The Ansaris, like other castes are a patrilineal group. They prefer to maintain their endogamous character. Wife giving or wife taking from non-Ansaris is not known. No individual cases of such alliances were reported by the sample. This shows that the principles of status ascription are wholly congruent with the functioning of the caste system. This also indicates the fact that there is a strong association between caste and occupation among the Ajlaf groups because it appears that all occupational castes are rated in accordance with 'izzat' accorded to each occupation.
Social links across Ashraf – Ajlaf caste groups cannot be established. So the Ashraf and Ajlaf maintain the structural distance while retaining their specific "cultural" identities. These "cultural" identities can be cautiously defined not only in terms of the distinctive life styles of the two groups (Ashraf – Ajlaf), but also at the various caste levels within each group. For instance, the Ansaris are recognizably (almost as if it is an instinct or an intuition) different and this is determined by their linguistic style, their occupation, marital rites, religious rituals and the overall appearance. Similarly, a Syed or Qazi is recognizable by his distinctive life style but this appears to be a strictly cultural phenomenon. The present study deals with the fact that such cultural identities affect the structural position of people. Since status groups have particular cultural identities, their various customs, values, norms are also distinctive. This has been displayed by the sample under study.

Customarily, in Bijnor district all marriages are arranged by proxy; and the qualities sought after in the bride are caste family background and her appearance. Traditionally, the bride and the groom are not expected to see or meet each other before the marriage ceremony because
of the strict observance of Purdah rule. Apart from this the rules of Mehr and dowry are clearly defined. Payment of Mehr is incumbent on every Muslim male at the time of marriage. But there is considerable variations regarding the payment of Mehr between caste groups. Since the minimum or maximum amount of Mehr is not specified in the Holy Quran. The same is the case with dowry. As far as plural marriages are concerned the Muslims are generally thought to support such marriages. Divorce is another sensitive issue and has been examined carefully.

The results of the present study indicate that caste, character, and economic position of the spouse-to-be were important criteria for marriage. None of the married Ansaris regarded education as an important criterion for a spouse. However, the sample of unmarried respondents gave importance to beauty and house-keeping talent and a very few (5%) wished to marry an educated girl of their own community.

The respondents did not give any strong opinion about payment of Mehr. They were rather vague and indifferent. Dowry, on the other hand, was an important aspect. Observations have shown that higher dowry payments are made by the higher castes and this has become a status symbol. Traditionally
among the Ansaris, however, the Jamatbandi had imposed a restriction of dowry payments—seven copper utensils and Rs. 51/- is the ideal dowry for an Ansari. As discussed above, the Ansari respondents indicated that the amount of dowry payment ranged between Rs. 100 - 500, and infact 71.6% respondents disliked the idea of dowry. Yet some cases of high dowry payments among some rich Ansaris were observed by the present investigator. This points to the fact that certain double standards prevail among the Ansaris. On the one hand, the rich Ansaris are trying to emulate the high dowry payments as given by non-Ansaris in order to gain social recognition, but the economically weaker Ansaris do not appreciate this. On the other hand, the majority of the weaker Ansaris make dowry payments as prescribed by the Jamatbandi and complain that some members of their biradri have deviated.

Plural marriages (polygamy) and divorce in Islam have remained debatable. Both these practices are permitted by Islamic law, but there is much variation in their practice. The results of this study indicate that both these practices are almost absent from the entire sample. A majority of Ansaris believe that polygamous marriages are not necessary as one wife is all that a man can handle. They also
emphasized that disputes between spouses should be settled amicably. This indicates that marriages are successfully organized and the Ansaris maintain well-knit alliances within their own caste. Such strong marriage ties give rise to lasting family relationships. In Islam, blood ties and marital bonds form the true foundation of the family. However, structural forms of a family are not defined in the Holy Quran nor have they been described by the various exponents. However, the rights and duties of various members of the family are very clearly specified.

The results obtained on family organization show that only 42.9% of Ansaris live either in extended joint families as compared to the 57.1% who live in nuclear families. This shows, that there is a slight increase in the number of Ansaris who prefer nuclear families because family disputes are minimized. But what the data did not reveal was association between economic prosperity and the type of family. Such information can only be elicited from a larger stratified sample. This aspect should however be examined under a separate study.

The dominance of Ansaris in politics is now becoming a well-known fact. In the three towns under study, the
Ansaris in Seohara are politically dominant as opposed to Syeds and Qazis of Nehtaur and Kiratpur. This fact needs to be analyzed carefully. Historically, the Ansaris were a down trodden group of people. In Bijnor district they came into political prominance when they openly opposed the Muslim League and supported the Congress Party. As a result, almost none of the Ansaris from Bijnor district migrated to Pakistan. In 1976, Mr. Abdul Waheed Ansari of Seohara was able to obtain a congress ticket for the U.P. Legislative Assembly. The entire Ansari population of the constituency voted for their candidate and he won hands down. This push encouraged the Ansaris to become politically active. Hence, the Ansaris of Bijnor district continue to be active in politics and form an important vote-bank for the congress Party.

The situation in Nehtaur and Kiratpur is, however, different. Here the Syeds and Qazis are politically active and their opinion and support form an important basis for vote catching.

A majority of the respondents, on the whole, indicated that they would support the political party on the basis of whip issued by their biradri. They also expressed a desire
to support a contesting candidate from their own biradri, thereby declaring that caste alliances was more important than party alliance. The results also showed that almost the entire sample was politically conscious. This is in contrast to the other Ajlaf castes which did not display any such consciousness. The political awareness of the Ansaris is evident from the fact that not only Ansari representative is apparent in the assembly and parliament, but also the united demands of Ansaris problems related to weaving industry have been highlighted by the Press. In U.P. the working Committee of the weavers and the All India Weavers' Federation highlight the problems of Ansaris and make efforts to pressurize the government to protect their rights. The year 1984-85 was declared as "Year of the Handloom" and the government on its central level, declared that the importance of handloom industry was next to agriculture (Qaumi Awaz, Feb. 8, 1984). Subsequently, the Secretary of the U.P. Momin Conference proclaimed that the government was trying its best to help the uplift programme of the weaving craft (Qaumi Awaz, March 17, 1984). No such unified political awareness is displayed by non-Ansaris of Bijnor district.

Despite the fact that the Ansaris display political awareness, their exposure to mass-media is very limited.
In fact, the data reveal that the majority of the respondents did not read the newspaper (obviously because most of them were illiterate) and had no liking for radio and television programmes. They were only interested in Muslim religious renderings, Qawwalis and news.

Those Ansaris, who owned television sets watched all programmes but almost none of the sample claimed that he had visited cinema halls. Contrary to this the non-Ansari had a higher rate of interest in mass-media. Thus, we see that the position of the Ansaris vis a vis the position of non-Ansaris is juxtaposed.

This discussion shows that, because of their collective identity, the Ansaris have been able to mobilize and arrange themselves into a strong political lobby. They have, therefore, been able to become a part of the political mainstream. Reports from other districts in U.P. also show the overwhelming organized participation in politics, but this would have to be carefully studied before entering into making generalizations. No other minority group among Muslims is perhaps as politically viable as this.

While the Ansaris are politically active, their zeal for their religion is not diminished. About 50% of the sample
had completed reading the Holy Quran, and majority of them offered Namaz regularly and occasionally. Only 21% of them did not pray at all, perhaps because of their ignorance. A large number of them wished to perform Haj if means permitted and about 66% kept fast in Ramazan. Almost all respondents were eager to fight for their religion and were ready to sacrifice themselves whenever necessary. Once again this indicates their political zeal. A very high percentage of respondents opposed any change in Personal Law.

To finally conclude, then, the foregoing discussion has brought to bear the social and economic organization of the Ansaris of Bijnor district. It has clearly been shown that the system of social stratification in the towns under study is quite clearly defined and recognized by the inhabitants. The Syeds occupy the highest position followed by Shaikhs and Pathans and then the lower Ajlaf castes. It is interesting to note that though the caste rank of Nai and Qasai is lower than that of an Ansari, the Nai or Qasai caste bears the same contemptuous attitudes against Ansaris, as displayed by their flat refusal to contract marriage with Ansaris. Unlike the cases stated by Barth (1971) and Madan (1981) the distinctions between Ansaris and non-Ansaris, though based on occupation, are not stigmatized due to its
"impure" or defiling nature. Weaving is considered a lowly occupation but butchery, hair cutting or iron smelting though equally low, are not as stigmatized as weaving, even though the products are used by all ranks and files of society.

Unlike other caste groups, the Ansaris are constantly ignored by all non-Ansari groups without exception. This is evident by the fact that a few years ago a dispute arose regarding the appointment of a Sheher Qazi in Nehtaur. The dispute turned into a tense situation on the occasion of Eid prayers. The Ansaris put up an Ansari candidate while the non-Ansaris pushed up their own candidate. The non-Ansaris were much agitated and refused to offer prayers behind the Ansari Qazi. Consequently the Ansaris walked out of the Eidgah and offered Eid prayers in a separate mosque in their own locality. Traditionally and according to Islamic law any believing Muslim can lead the namaz. But this dispute between the Ansaris and non-Ansaris defies all such law.

However, the dispute was resolved as a non-Ansari had been appointed as Sheher Qazi (who belonged to Nai caste) and the Ansaris had accepted his authority.

The stigma factor is also reiterated by the refusal of non-Ansaris to contract marriage with even rich Ansari,
so much so that the lower Ajlaf groups who are poor do not wish to make any marriage with Ansaris.

The investigator also observed that the Syeds and Pathan labourer enjoyed a higher prestige than the Ansaris, and, in fact, it is incumbent upon the Ansari owners to respectfully address the Syed labourers in Ansari owned factories, as "meer Saheb" and the Pathan labourer as "Khan Saheb". These examples amply show that respect and honour are accorded not on basis of economic prosperity (i.e. class considerations), but on basis of social prestige (status).

These results support Weber's classification of status groups and shows, as Barth (1971) has shown that status identity is more important than class identity. Peculiarly, the Ansaris have organized all their economic activities around the occupation of weaving. Only a very marginal percentage of Ansaris are involved in any other trade or occupation. They have in fact monopolized. The handloom industry in Bijnor. Their progress is hampered by the short supply of weaving thread and they complain that the government has made no efforts to guard their interests. Another factor in their slow progress is the lack of education.
Unlike Ansaris in the eastern part of Uttar Pradesh — especially, Azamgarh and Banaras, the Ansaris of Bijnor are uneducated and easily exploited.

The fact that Ansaris of Bijnor are uneducated and illiterate, while Ansaris of Azamgarh and Banaras are surging ahead in education, needs to be analysed. Azamgarh, which has an overwhelming Ansari population, had the distinction of organizing their education. This is evident from the zeal with which Muslim educational institutions for both males and females, right from the primary to postgraduate level have been established in Azamgarh and Banaras. Even in the small town of Bhadoi (famous for the excellent carpet industries owned by Ansaris), educational facilities are available (see Shah, S.S. 1982-83, Educational survey Report on Muslim managed schools and colleges in India.)

Apart from this, large numbers of the Muslim population from Azamgarh and Banaras have moved to Aligarh for higher studies and in search for employment. In the Aligarh Muslim University itself, they form the largest student and staff section of the University population. A great many have entered law practice. It can then be deduced, that a very large proportion of Ansaris are also perhaps included in this University population from Azamgarh and Banaras.
(unfortunately caste-wise or district-wise classified
data are not available).

However, this aspect needs further examination
because it would enable us to understand why the Ansaris
of Bijnor are uneducated, and ‘religiously’ adhere to their
classical occupation, while Ansaris of Azamgarh and
Banaras are increasingly entering educational institutions
and giving up their traditional occupations. A separate
study would have to be undertaken to examine this aspect.

But lack of education has not left the Ansaris of
Bijnor, politically deprived. Amongst all other high and
low castes, the Ansaris are the most politically aware and
motivated group of people. They are able to mobilize
themselves, and the otherwise defunct Jamat bandi, awakes
from its slumber when the collective identity and interests
of Ansaris are threatened. The whip issued by the Jamat
Bandi on such issues is almost revered as the word of God.

Their economic prosperity notwithstanding, the
Ansaris, however, have not become socially mobile. Like the
Swat Muslim, they cannot say that "last year I was a Julaha,
this year I am a Shaikh and next year ... I shall be a
Saiyed." (Barth, 1971, p. 130). The results also do not
reveal direct attempts of Ansaris to Islamize their style of life and claim a higher status. In fact, the marginal attempt at Islamization is the giving up of dance and music at weddings, but this in no way has given them a higher position in society. It seems that the only evidence of their proclamation of a high caste status identity was when they en masse discarded the 'unrespectable' appellation of Julaha and called themselves Ansaris (perhaps claiming descent from the Ansars of Arabia). Today, they wish to be addressed only as Ansaris but not as Jalaha (which they consider insulting). But paradoxically enough they are proud to proclaim that they, as their forefathers before them, follow the occupation of weaving and would induct their future generations into this as well.

It also appears that lack of education and mass-media exposure have not kept them back from making progress in politics. To a certain extent, some changes in their socio-economic organization have also taken place.

The hypothesis of this study, that due to economic betterment and new opportunities, the Ansaris have moved up the economic hierarchy stands verified. But this
economic mobility has not enabled them to either Islamize their style of life, nor has it allowed them entry into the higher status echelons of society. The other castes of continue to bear a contempt against them. This shows how the unremitting continuity of the caste system is dominated by caste values associated with certain occupations. This leads us to reiterate the fact that values play a very important role in matters concerning social stratification. Structural positions, it seems, then are culturally determined and in order to bring about change, the value system must change first.
NOTES

1. **QAZI**: refers to a "Judge" among Muslims. The term connotes group of people whose ancestors had been once upon a time appointed Qazi because of their sagacity. Qazis, therefore, command much respect as they are considered to be descents of the original Qazis.

2. **EDUCATION**: is of no use because our children will not seek employment (Translation), implying thereby that they will pursue their traditional occupation.

3. **NAJIBUT TARAFAIN**: is a Persian term which indicates the purity of descent on both the paternal and maternal side. According to this, both parents should be descendants of the same caste group. This criterion was necessary for the Syed match-making.

4. We can never contract a marriage alliance with a weaver (translation).

5. **IZZAT**: means caste pride and respect accorded to high castes.

6. **CONFERENCE**: held in Feb, 16, 1984 at Deoband (Saharanpur) under the chairmanship of Mr. Saeed Ahmad Ansari, M.L.A. see Appendix-D.

7. **SHEHAR QAZI**: is the elected Muslim judge who according to the law of Sheriat (guiding principles of Islam) not only solves various problems of Muslims but also can issue a Fatwa (interpretation according to the Quran and Hadith on a particular problem or issue). Apart from this, he also leads the Eid prayers and in fact also proclaims the visibility of the Moon for various religious festivals.

8. see Appendix-D.