Chapter VII

SUMMARY

The problem of nation building was faced by many countries with the beginning of the era of democratization, civil liberties and liquidation of colonial empires. Forging unity among different ethnic, linguistic and religious groups under the democratic system is the greatest problem of nation building because in multi-ethnic societies, some segment of the society particularly the minorities may feel alienated from the national mainstream, due to a number of factors.

The present study is concerned with the question whether Indian Muslims are more politically alienated than other social categories constituting the Indian nation and if so, in what respect and for what reason?

Indian Muslims may be suffering, to different degrees, from the feeling of political efficacy, they may not subscribe to the norms of democracy and participate in the political processes due to a number of reasons. These reasons can be of three kinds: (1) historical and ideological, (2) psychological reactions of Muslims vis-a-vis
the allegations and demands from the majority community, and (3) real or perceived discrimination and real and perceived unjust treatment by the majority community, bureaucracy and law enforcing agencies.

The psychological variables which seem to be relevant to the understanding of political alienation are: Policy evaluation, Just Deserts Frustration, Subjective Rank Disequilibrium, Treatment evaluation and System affect. These variables are assumed to form a sequence of cause-effect relations which ultimately lead to alienation. The flow model of the political system proposed by Easton (1964) helps us to conceptualize the sequence of relationship.

Political process is a dynamic process and it is rather difficult to envisage the antecedence consequence sequence. However, we can make distinction among the variables involved in the political process on the basis of situational fluctuations/stability. There are some variables which are more quickly influenced as against these. There are some variables such as system affect which are outcomes and counter-balancing of different forces and hence, are not subjected to momentary changes.

A recursive causal model is envisaged to explain the relationship of the variables with the three aspects of political alienation namely, Political powerlessness, Political normlessness and Political isolation.
The causal analysis is presented with the help of diagram in which arrows are drawn to represent the causal processes.

In the proposed model, Reservation policy, Language policy, Policy for Centre-State relations, Defence policy, Welfare policy, Educational policy, Policy for rural development programme, Policy for law and order and Economic policy constitute the set of exogenous variables. These exogenous variables are expected to have direct and indirect effect on the dependent/critarian variable, i.e., different components of political alienation. The indirect effect of these variables is visualized through subjective rank disequilibrium, Just deserts frustration and Treatment evaluation which in their turn are expected to have both direct effect and indirect effect mediated through system affect.

The samples drawn for the study comprised of 300 students of Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, enrolled during the session 1986-87. The sample of Muslims included 180 male and female students of undergraduate and postgraduate classes, and the sample of Hindus included 120 male and female students of undergraduate and postgraduate classes. Appropriate scales were used for the measure of policy evaluation, Just Deserts Frustration, Subjective Rank Disequilibrium, Treatment Evaluation and System
Affect. Nandy's (1974) scale of Alienation was used for the measure of the three components of alienation.

The data collected was analysed separately for Hindu and Muslim samples. Mean, Standard deviation, Correlation and Path coefficients were obtained. The three components of alienation are predicted one by one.

The main findings of the study are:

The two groups differ significantly with respect to the following policy stance of the government: Language, Centre-State relations, Defence, Cultural and Rural Development programme. They also differ with regard to JDF, SRD, Powerlessness and Normlessness. The variables which are better predictors of different components of alienation among Muslims are not the same as the predictors of the components of alienation in the Hindu sample. Of the three components of alienation variance of powerlessness is best accounted for in the sample of Hindus (25%).

The indirect effect of the exogenous variables were found to be slightly greater in the Model I as compared to Model II.

While 21 % and 22.7 % Muslims reported JDF and SRD respectively, none of the Hindus reported JDF and SRD. Of those among the Muslims who reported JDF, 79.4 % of them have attributed responsibility to the Government and 9.5 %
to the majority community for JDF. The data was found to fit the model as indicated by the statistical test.

The findings of the study enabled us to answer the following questions:

1. Are the three aspects of alienation accounted for by the same factors?

2. Do the same factors account for the three aspects of alienation among Hindus and Muslims?

3. Do the paths of influence envisaged in the causal model fit the data?

In order to account for greater amount of variance of the three components of alienation future studies are to be carried out in which other relevant situational and psychological variables are to be included.