Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

With the beginning of the era of democratization, civil liberties and liquidation of colonial empires, the problem of nation building was faced by many countries where the emergence of parochial loyalties and diversities posed a problem. Forging unity among different ethnic, linguistic and religious groups under the democratic system is the greatest problem of nation building. These groups do not feel equally affiliated to the nation or nation state in spite of the fact that they live together for decades under the same system. Though the various groups coexist in the nation state, some of the group members do not merge totally in the national mainstream, such sections of the people feel marginal. This feeling of marginality may be due to the contacts between groups and persons of high technological development, and persons and groups following more traditional lines. Changes in social patterns have usually followed this culture contact and in turn there is a psychological reaction or adaptation to these cultural and social changes. Persons who are caught in two cultural systems are marginal to both.
Different groups which coexist in the nation state expect a just and equitable share in the resources. They expect equitable distribution of power, wealth and economic prosperity. Such a sharing is quite elusive even in the modern democratic systems which proclaims to be egalitarian but in practice are not capable of regulating the proper distribution of resources in different segments of their population. It is more true of third world countries where the resources are limited and population is larger. In the absence of adequate resources the dominant section of a society not only appropriates a lion's share for itself, but it would also exercise pressure on the political institutions for the purpose of preventing it from reappropriation of the resources to the subordinate groups. Pressure may also be exerted for impeding the programme of the upliftment of the down trodden because acquiring necessary capability and clout the weaker section would extract a greater share for themselves.

Problems of assimilation or integration of different ethnic groups is not only common to third world nations but also it is found in old nation states. A large number of Asian and African countries which were unified under the colonial rule were not really consolidated either politically or culturally. Perhaps the main reason of their becoming under the rule of the colonial power was that they, even before coming under the domination of colonial power of the
same territory over centuries, could not forge unity among themselves and as a consequence became the subjects. The establishment of foreign rules, economic and administrative unification, establishment of rule of law and spread of modern education which exposed the people to modern political thought, contributed to some extent towards the arousal of political consciousness and nationalism among people. But parochial loyalties continued to remain the main factor in shaping the inter-group behaviour of the fragmented people.

The contact between the different cultures either through migration or through colonial subordination, leads to a number of consequences for the individuals as well as for the groups. The following are the possible outcomes of contact between different cultures at the group level:

**Genocide**: It occurs when one group, usually in the majority, kills all members of another group with whom they come into contact. There have been many ethnic groups who have been systematically and ruthlessly exterminated by a more powerful group in the ancient and recent times.

**Assimilation**: It occurs when a group or an entire society gradually adopts or is forced to adopt the customs, beliefs, folkways and life styles of a more dominant culture. At the intra societal level after a few generations of assimilation minority members become culturally and physically indistinguishable from the mainstream of national life.
ultimately results in the disappearance of the minority culture. At the inter societal level differences between cultures become eroded, diversity in life style is reduced, traditional pattern tend to disappear and there is an irreversible push towards global homogeneity in cultural manifestations. The policy of assimilation implies a superiority of the majority culture as compared to the minority. It denies any worth to the minority culture that is being absorbed in the main culture.

Segregation: It is a policy of separate development. At the intra societal level, the impetus can come from the dominant majority or the minority groups can actively seek separatism with demands for separate states, cultural enclaves, special schools, etc. At the inter societal level the impetus comes from protectionist policies aimed at keeping unwanted people, ideas and influences out either by preventing their entry or by disallowing indigeneous persons from becoming contaminated through travel abroad. In practice segregation usually does not work very well. Groups and individuals who have been segregated by a dominant or powerful culture do not find the process psychologically satisfying. Because they perceive their freedom to be curtailed (Richmond, 1973), self segregated groups may find their status initially exhilarating, with a new found sense of pride, identify and worth.
Integration: It occurs when different groups maintain their cultural identity in some respects but merge into a superordinate group in other respects. Integration here means cultural pluralism, where different ethnic groups coexist within the dominant sector of most communities. Differences in the form of worship, political philosophy, recreational preferences, occupational activity and many aspects of life all coexist within the broader framework of a unified identity and a shared set of broad values, rules and goals. In multi-racial societies where the principle of cultural pluralism is prevailing different racial and ethnic groups would maintain their separate and distinct identities and cultures within a framework of equal opportunity and mutual tolerance. But it is still doubtful whether such societies exist or can be created.

The outcomes of cultures in contact at the individual level can be passing when the different groups coexist in a multi-racial society one of its effects on the individual may be that the individual loses his ethnic identity by rejecting the culture of his origins and attempting to (pass' to new culture; may embrace the second culture which results in his self-denigration. The effect of passing its effect on society is assimilation and erosion of the passers' culture. There is another kind of a response which the individuals may give after coming into contact with a new culture; they may reject
the new culture and become militants and chauvinists leading to intergroup friction in the society. There are many men and women who are members of or aspire membership in two racial or cultural groups that have mutually incompatible norms, values or entrance qualifications. Stonequist (1973) used the term 'marginal' in connection with the inability of such individuals to become or remain full members of either group, therefore, finding themselves on the margin of each. Such persons, unless they can resolve their conflict, are doomed to vacillate between their two cultures unable to satisfy the contradictory demands that their two reference groups make upon them. Consequently the effect on the individual is conflict, identity confusion and over-compensation. Its effect on society is reform and social change.

There is evidence that some individuals can select combine and synthesize the appropriate features of different social systems without loosing their cultural cores or myths (Ritchi, 1981). Bochner (1981) had called such individuals mediating persons, people who have the ability to act as links between different cultural systems, bridging the gap by introducing, translating, representing and reconciling the cultures to each others. This leads to personal growth of the individual. Its effect on society is intergroup harmony, pluralistic societies and cultural preservation.
One of the consequences of the coexistence of different multi-racial or multi-ethnic groups in the society is alienation. In those societies where different ethnic groups coexists some segments of the society, particularly the minorities, may feel alienated from the national mainstream. The reason of alienation may be varied and multi-faceted and it may be generated by a number of factors.

While a nation state can afford the existence of groups which are culturally unassimilated or unintegrated, it cannot afford the disaffiliation of a section of people from the political institutions of the nation state. Because such a state of affair has implications for negation of rule of law, state violence, anarchy and chaos. Those who have studied multi-ethnic states in different parts of the world have reported that when attempts of melting and merging of ethnic identities could not be successful, the creation of pluralistic society and humane incorporation of different groups of people is the only hope for the survival and prosperity of the nation. However, institutional arrangements are successful in keeping the people eagerly affiliated to the institutions if they perceive that the rule of the games are being faithfully observed and there is an equitable share of different kinds of resources among the people.

The present study is concerned with the question whether and why Indian Muslims are more politically alienated than other
social categories constituting the Indian nation. There are a number of reasons to believe that Indian Muslims may not be as much affiliated into Indian political institutions as other groups particularly the majority community. 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, (3) real or perceived discrimination and real or perceived unjust treatment by the majority community bureaucracy and law-enforcing agencies.

Muslims are said to be suffering from the legacy of sense of lost glory because their coreligionists ruled India for centuries. Their sense of insecurity exacerbated by the communal politics of Muslim League which led to the partition of the country in 1947, coupled with the sense of their role in the division of the country and the message which is still communicated to them that they have already availed their share and should not expect double benefit make them concerned about their acceptability as full-fledged citizen of India. They are, therefore, likely to hesitate in participating in political processes in the capacity of effective citizens. However, the new generation of Muslims which was born and brought up after partition do not consider themselves responsible for the partition of the country and they have a streak of assertiveness with regard to their equality of status as citizen vis-a-vis the member of majority community.
Nevertheless, some sections of the majority community and occasionally even responsible serious journalists undermine their sense of citizenship by making statements which imply that Muslims have forefeited some of their rights after the creation of Pakistan.

The greatest apprehension about Muslim's acceptability of secularism is expressed by those who find that the basic tenets of Islam do not allow its followers to believe that (1) morality should be based solely in regard to the well being of the mankind in the present life, (2) relationship between state and its citizen should not be mediated and regulated by any other agency, and (3) the sovereignty is vested in people and is to be exercised by their representatives in the interests of the people.

According to Smith (1957) Muslims' lack of experience of sharing power with others and their aspiration to establish Islamic society are the two main barriers in the way of their acceptance of secularism. He referred to the historical fact that Muslims lived as either rulers or as the subjects and that living as citizens in the democratic secular state is the unique situation to which they have to adjust without guidance from the past precedent. In India their coexistence with their non-Muslim counterparts as co-citizens is a new experiment for the whole world. Muslims who either wish to deny the lack of compatibility between their faith and
secularism or want to assert that Islam is for peaceful co-existence of the followers of different religions rely on Jamiat-ul-Ulema's concept of 'Muah'dah'. The concept of 'muahdah' (covenant) furnishes legitimate theological justification for its acceptance. The covenant between Jews and Muslims during the life time of the Prophet was evoked by Maulana Azad and others to advance the thesis according to which Muslims and other communities agreed to make India a secular state. Azad and other liberal Muslim scholars do not agree with Maulana Maududi's contention that Muslims can realize the Islamic ideals only in a theocratic state.

The Muslims in India, because of their real and perceived unjust treatment at the hands of different agencies of the government may have developed a negative attitude towards the political system especially the police who is the most important and visible symbol of the administration and government. According to Easton and Dennis (1967) the policeman performs a critical function for the political system. It incorporates among the children a sense of legitimacy of external authority outside the family. The belief that the police is biased, ineffective, hostile, corrupt and brute undermines the sense of political efficacy and becomes the source of cynicism. Allegations of partiality and hostility of the police are often made by the weaker section and minorities of India. Though all the sections of Indian society are not favourably disposed toward the police, the grievances
of Muslims against the partisan role of police is of great concern at present. The alleged behaviour of policy before, during and after communal riots turns the Muslims hostile against police. They perceive the police as a threat to their security because it has been found that the State policy like Bihar Military Policy in Bihar and Provincial Armed Constabulary in Uttar Pradesh have played partisan role during the break-out of communal riots.

The prevalence of communal ideology and recurrence of communal riots are two inter-related factors which are likely to reinforce the lack of trust of Muslims in the political institutions of the nation. Bipin Chandra (1985) observed that the prevalence of communal ideology is more dangerous trend than the occurrence of communal riots. He insists that the absence of communal riots in a region for a prolonged period is not necessarily an index of the strengthening of secular forces. According to him communal ideology comprises of the following beliefs one succeeding the other: Firstly, according to communal ideology people who follow the same religion have not only common religious beliefs or values but they also have common political, economic, social and cultural interests. This is the first bedrock of communal ideology, from this arises the notion of religious community. According to Bipin Chandra a person who talks about the Hindu community or the Sikh community or about their interests is taking the first step towards communalism.
The second step is taken when in a multi-religious society it is said that the secular interests—that is, economic, social, political and cultural interests—of the followers of one religion are different from the interests of the followers of another religion. When one says that the interests of the Hindu community are different from the interests of the Muslim community or the Sikh community, then one has taken the second step towards communalism.

The third step is taken when it is said that not only are the interests of the followers of different communities different but are hostile to each other, that is, what is economically, politically, socially or culturally in the interests of Hindus is not so in the interests of Muslims or in the interest of Sikhs, that the groups cannot have common economic, social, political interests, that their secular interests are bound to be opposed to each other. This is extreme or fascistic communalism.

Looking at the history of rise of communalism in India, Bipin Chandra (1984) observed that communalism is the outcome of false consciousness that is a "distorted or pervasive reflection of reality" (p.30). The reality that was misrepresented in false consciousness of Indians in general and Muslims in particular was that in the early years of 20th century young men with sound academic record were face to face with limited possibility of gainful employment. The situation was further deteriorated during the years of depression from
1929 to 1941. Added to the economic misery, gap between aspirations and opportunities and threat to existing position, was the urge to maintain social position and identity. The combination of frustration, sense of deprivation and threat to identity created a climax in which "the petty bourgeois identity and ego got tied up with the cow or peepal tree protection and music before mosque; protection of such supposed rights -- a cow must not be sacrificed, a music procession before a mosque must become silent -- was seen as a life and death question because it came to represent symbolically the preservation or destruction of the petty bourgeois ego" (Chandra, 1984, p.36).

Bipin Chandra (1984) has not ignored the factors which contributed towards misrepresentation of economic difficulties as communal struggle for power, status and cultural identity. Attribution of responsibility of one's misfortune to some out group, disguise of business rivalry in the name of communal conflict, attempt to mobilize Hindus with the help of communal symbols and consciousness, minority complex (comprising feelings of uncertainty and anxiety about the numerical superiority of Hindus) the Hindu tinge in the working and thinking of national leadership, British imperialism and absence of active political and ideological struggle against communalism are listed by Chandra as the promoters of communal hostility. The following observations regarding
ideological struggle against communalism are noteworthy:

"The inadequacy of the nationalist effort to generate a new national consciousness on the basis of a new modern culture led to the spread of communalism and caste ideologies and consciousness and therefore, dialectical relationship evolved between the imperfect, uneven and slow process of the nation in the making (or national integration) and communalism" (Chandra, 1984, p.131).

The Muslims in India feel that sometimes false allegations are made against them by certain section of the majority community with the intention to malign them (Hasan, 1977). Some of the allegations that appear in the sectional press may be identified as follows:

(1) Muslims are brutal by nature, upbringing, they lack mercy, compassion, etc.

(2) Muslims have extra-territorial loyalties. They are involved in a network of international kinship and as such, when it comes to making a choice between national and fraternal interests they are most likely to betray national interests.

(3) Muslims are making deliberate attempts toward explosion of their population; within a few decades they will relegate the majority community to the status of minority community.

(4) Muslims are insolent and assertive in their attitudes and behaviour.
(5) Muslims have a tendency to blow up their grievances out of proportion.

(6) Due to their feelings of superiority and contempt for the other community, Muslims not only want to maintain their separate identity but also repudiate cultural heritage of India.

(7) Due to number of reasons coexistence of Hindus and Muslims is impossible. Muslims should be subdued to such an extent that they are unable to acquire threatening postures.

Iqbal Ansari (1989), in his paper 'Discrepant perception of Hindu and Muslim on communally sensitive issues' describes certain issues differentially perceived by the two communities. Following are some of the issues to which the two groups differentially perceive:

The distorted communal readings of medieval Indian folk history while creates a sense of hurt pride among Hindu it leads to a false sense of pride and glory among Muslims. The Hindus on being termed as 'kafirs' by the holy Quran have made efforts to ban the book. The Muslims feel outraged at this effort. While the Muslims' self-image is that of the chosen people of God ordained to establish righteousness in the world, the Hindus consider themselves as the most peace loving and tolerant people.

Certain section of Hindus seek to define Indian nationhood and nationalism in terms of religious connotations which is unacceptable for the Muslims, they on the other hand, reject
even the non-religious elements of Indian history and culture. While certain section of Hindus blame the Muslims for the creation of Pakistan, the Muslims try to highlight the role of many secular Hindu stalwarts whose own nationalism was Hinduised.

Any sign of Muslims’ affluence is resented by certain section of Hindus and is attributed to petro-dollars from the Gulf. It is reported in a manner as if Muslims are the only beneficiaries of the Gulf money and they utilize it either in acquiring arms or promoting conversion of Hindus to Islam. On the Muslim Personal Law the two groups have opposite opinions.

The question of distributive justice, the equitable sharing of the benefits of development by all the communities arouse fear and suspicion in the Hindu mind. Any idea of special privilege by way of compensatory discrimination for the Muslims in view of their backwardness by the government is resented and perceived as Muslims’ appeasement. The very low representation of the Muslims in positions of prestige and influence or in high offices is viewed by Hindus as Muslims’ aloofness and self-ghettoization. Muslims on the contrary, perceive it as a result of gross injustice, prejudice and discrimination against them.

The most tragic perception of Muslims is their bracketing of all Hindus into one category who are out to assimilate
them and deny their political and economic rights.

In addition to the sensibilities of Muslims to the allegations made against them by the fanatic section of the majority community, Muslims are sensitive about the evidence and the situation which can be perceived to be the indication of their inequality as the citizens of India. Any model of national integration which envisages the cultural assimilation of the minorities is not only unacceptable to Muslims, but is also perceived by most of them to be coercive, provocative, chauvinistic and the negation of the principle of secularism and unity in diversity. Muslim's bitter experience with the law enforcing agencies have made them so distrustful that a section of Muslims has started to think of making arrangement for their own security.

Perhaps the greatest dilemma with which a large section of Muslims are confronted with, has to do with looking towards the government for the improvement of their lot, or to mobilize the internal resources of the community for improving the quality of life. Of late they have begun to realize that the government, due to the fear of being accused of appeasing the minority, may not be able to do much for them in the form of affirmative action and welfare schemes. The fear of loosing support of the majority of electorates is the fact which could prevent any political party from doing something exclusively for the minorities in spite of the presence of the lot of
secular minded and well-meaning persons among their fold.

Majority of the Muslims are poor and belong to low socio-economic status. The significance of poverty for inter-group relationship has been stressed by Singh (1988). He observes that "poverty and economic inequality in India produce economic competitions and intergroup rivalries. This is accentuated by the growing political consciousness in the hitherto exploited and discriminated group."

Muslims are educationally backward, have got low representation in public employment and lucrative occupations. Although few systematic sample studies have been done to study economic backwardness of Muslims, there is some indirect evidence regarding Muslims' low representation in high income groups. A study conducted by Navalakar of the Institute of Economic Growth, has revealed that in Delhi 1.52 per cent telephone connections were in Muslims' names. This percentage is far below their proportion of population in Delhi.

The economic and educational backwardness of Muslims have two consequences for the community. It may make them to suffer from the feeling of worthlessness, self hatred and motivational deficit which may hold from striving for achievement and better quality of life. When Muslims happen to compare their living with the living of other sections of society, they find themselves to be living in dirty mohallas and
dilapidated houses located in the midst of filth. They complain that Municipal department of sanitation seldom care to clean their surroundings. The attribution of low representation in salaried jobs, both high and low, to the discrimination may be a defense mechanism to keep intact the feeling of self-worth and self-esteem, one of the ingredients of which may be the alleged sense of the feeling of superiority of belonging to those who ruled the country for centuries. Irrespective of our inability to determine the relative contribution of Muslims' lack of relevant social and cognitive skills and their motivational deficit on the one hand, and social injustice in a parochial society on the other, the fact remains that social comparison may make them suffer from the feeling of relative deprivation and the associated feeling of ineffectiveness.

The above discussion of factors that may contribute towards Muslims' political alienation was mostly couched in layman's language. We can make an attempt to reformulate the discussion in terms of the psychological variables. Keeping in view Singh's (1986) observation regarding the professional narcissism of psychologists, we have considered in the present study the variables which are anchored to real life situation. While the relevance of the psychological variables like just desert frustration, subjective rank disequilibrium, treatment evaluation, policy evaluation and system affect
have been brought out in Chapter II, we propose to present a recursive causal model envisaged to explain the relationship of the variables with the three aspects of political alienation, namely, political powerlessness, political normlessness and political isolation.

Before describing the proposed model it is to be made clear the term causality in a causal model, has a different meaning. Selltiz et al. (1959) specified three conditions that must be made in order to infer the causal relationship between two variables. These conditions are (1) covariation between the variables, (2) temporal assymetry or time order between the variables, and (3) the elimination of other possible factors that may produce relationship between the variables. A causal analysis does not strictly fulfill the second and third conditions. The investigator has to visualize antecedent consequent sequences and out of the potentially infinite universe of the factors that may be the source of relationship between a pair of variable, he has to make a choice of variables which are to be included in a model in the light of theoretical insights into the problem under investigation. Causal analysis is carried out by presuming many things because we cannot proceed without 'as if' basis. Blalock (1964) argues that, "No matter how elaborate the design, certain simplifying assumptions must always be made. In particular we cannot at some point assume that the effects of confounding
factors are negligible. Randomization helps to rule out some of such variables, but the plausibility of this particular kind of simplifying assumption is always a question of degree" (p.26).

Causal analysis begins with the construction of an arrow diagram reflecting the causal processes. Making a model requires specifications of exogeneous and endogeneous variables and the proposal regarding the direct and indirect effect of independent variable on the criterion. While specifying the exogeneous and endogeneous variables, the only plausible criterion is to consider nearer to the life variables which can be easily influenced by the external environment. It is to be mentioned that the causal model may be recursive or non-recursive. In the recursive model the cause-effect relationship between the variables is considered to be one way whereas in the non-recursive model the line showing relationship between two variables has two arrowheads at the ends showing that the cause-effect relationship between two variables is mutual. The causal relationship between the variables which have been considered in the present study, is shown in the diagram No.1.

The diagram No.1 shows that satisfaction-dissatisfaction with reservation policy, language policy, Centre-State relations, defence policy, welfare policy for the disadvantaged/minorities, educational policy, cultural policy, policy for rural development programme, policy for keeping law and order
POLICY EVALUATION
RESERVATION
LANGUAGE
CENTRE-STATE
DEFENCE
WELFARE
EDUCATION
CULTURE
RURAL DEV.
LAW & ORDER
ECONOMIC

CAUSAL MODEL I

POLITICAL ALIENATION

JDF = Just Desert Frustration
SRD = Subjective Rank Disequilibrium
TE = Treatment Evaluation
SA = System Affect

--- Direct Effect  ------- Indirect Effect
CAUSAL MODEL II

POLICY EVALUATION
- RESERVATION
- LANGUAGE
- CENTRE-STATE
- DEFENCE
- WELFARE
- EDUCATION
- CULTURE
- RURAL DEV.
- LAW & ORDER
- ECONOMIC

CAUSAL MODEL II

JDF = Just Desert Frustration
SRD = Subjective Rank Dis-equilibrium
TE = Treatment Evaluation
SA = System Affect

Direct Effect
Indirect Effect

POLITICAL ALIENATION
- POWERLESSNESS
- NORMLESSNESS
- ISOLATION
in the society and economic policy (taxation and distribution of resources in different sections of people) constitute the set of exogeneous variables. These exogeneous variables are expected to have both direct and indirect effect on the dependent/criterion variables, i.e., different component 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.

We can slightly modify the model shown in the figure by moving treatment evaluation in place of the system affect and vice versa, implying thereby, that the effects of just deserts frustration and subjective rank disequilibrium are mediated either through system effect or through the treatment evaluation. This alternative model would enable us to evaluate which of the two models fit the data better.

Using the model shown in the diagram, the data collected from the samples of Hindus and Muslims would be analysed separately. In all there shall be six analyses, three for the samples of Hindus in which the three aspects of alienation will be predicted one by one and three parallel analyses for the sample of Muslims. The comparison of direct and indirect path coefficients would enable us to know the contribution of different variables in determining the three aspects of alienation among Hindus and Muslims.