CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND METHODOLOGY
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Harold D. Lasswell (1948) was the pioneer among behavioural scientists who picked up where Wallas and Bentley, had left off, and made Political behaviour approach stand on its own. He insisted on the need for minute inquiry and microscopic studies of the political process carried on by scientific methods. His work inaugurated the application of dynamic psychology and the concepts of personality to an understanding of political interaction. In his paper, ‘Power and Personality’, he summarizes the fundamental elements of his theory of political personality and the political process which is grounded in psychoanalytic formulation.

Wood and Roper (1950) charted several aspects of participation by means of a national sample survey, chiefly in connection with the electoral participation. His findings are pioneering work in functional analysis of democratic institutions in U.S.

Eldersveld (1951) surveys, classifies and evaluates the voting behaviour studies in his scholarly paper. His focus is directed towards specifying the political, social and psychological correlates of individual and group decisions in the electoral arena.

Bernard Berelson (1952) attempts to evaluate the findings of the prodigious contemporary public opinion research from the point of view of a viable political theory. As a result, description gives way to a functional analysis of the political beliefs relevant to the successful operation of a democratic political system.
Campbell, Gurin and Miller (1954)\(^5\) constructed an index of Political efficacy—a measure of a person’s estimate of his own political influence. They find the close link between this motivational factor and political participation.

Heinz Eulau (1955)\(^6\) brings out recent developments like effect of class basis of voting behaviour as a crucial dimension of the election process, in reference group theory on the classical problem of the relationship between social class and political party in the decision making behaviour of the electorate. Findings in the 1952 presidential elections confirmed that there exist a significant relationship between social class position and voting behaviour with a majority of the middle class preferring the Republican party and a majority of the working class preferring the Democratic party.

Eldersveld (1956)\(^7\) makes an effective use of controlled experiment in a field setting to test the usefulness and efficacy of different propaganda techniques. It was found that the activation effect of personal contact was greater than that of mail propaganda, but it too was of limited success. Overall, there is practically no advantage of one personal contact technique over another. Further, that voting was increased by personal contact for those only with high school education, those who lived in small household or lived alone, and those who moved in the place from somewhere else.

Milbrath (1975)\(^8\) using the survey research centre’s 1956 election data, presents the relationship between party contact and what he has called ‘gladiatorial activity’(engaging in at least one type of activity beyond voting). He found that in U.S. 20 to 25% contacted or canvassed by the party organization are campaign actives, while 10% or less of
those not contacted are active. The two patterns of political involvement—exposure to party process and involvement go together. Personal contact by the party seems similarly efficacious.

Ahmed and Eldersveld (1976) analyzed the Indian citizen's involvement in the Democratic political process in 1967 and 1971 national elections and found that Indian masses—apolitical, mainly illiterate, poor, rural—had become a politicized citizen committed to democratic norms and active participants in democratic practices. Further, the study revealed that, inter alia, the linkage between political efficacy and activity is most pronounced among those with a small amount of education. The major new discovery here is that for lower caste groups, particularly the Harijans and Tribals, have extremely high level of participation.

Goel (1974) explored the political participation pattern in India and how they vary among different social and psychological groups. The study revealed that voter participation at the polls and other kinds of political activities should be treated separately. For voting is a special kind of act, and some people, educated and modernized elite, are likely to engage in more demanding forms of participation but at the same time they are less likely to exercise their franchise. Contrary to political behavioural research—education and mass media exposure (measure of modernism)—led to fall in voter turnout.

Bean (1991) examines a model of political participation and political protest using sheaf coefficients method to test the relative explanatory power of three sets of determinants of participation and protest: social background characteristics, general orientations toward politics, and attitudes toward issues, and finds that the connection between orthodox participation and protest weakens as the style of protest
becomes more unorthodox, and that none of the separate modes of conventional participation are directly related to 'radical protest'. Also, that issues are repeatedly weaker than the other two groups of variables in predicting conventional participation but have relatively strong effects on political protest, particularly compared with political orientations, while social structure is consistently influential.

**McAllister and Makkai (1992)** use Australia—an established liberal democracy with large immigrant population—as a case study to evaluate the resource and social learning theories to conclude that these theories sufficiently explain the variation in the levels of political participation among different social groups, and that the immigrants socialized in countries lacking continuous democratic traditions have greater political trust, but also display more authoritarian values, and that these theories are complementary rather than exclusive explanations for political participation.

**Gupta and Singh (1992)** developed an expected utility model to explain some of the anomalies in the structural theories of collective rebellious behaviour as it can explain only why people rebel in the face of structural imbalance, and the rational choice theories which can explain why they may choose not to rebel. The authors derived the individual and aggregate behavioural profiles and established the theoretical connection between the proposed micro behavioural theory and the aggregate structural theories.

**Achen (1992)** extends the previous argument that a simple prospective model of voting and party identification subsumed much of the social-psychological and retrospective voting literatures, in the sense that it rigorously implied their key findings and added many new ones as well. He showed that the same prospective voting model has drastic
implications for conventional statistical specifications in voting research. **First,** linear models should be discarded in favour of a particular nonlinear specification. **Second,** demographics should be dropped from the list of independent variables.

Miller (1992)\(^{15}\) analyzed the decline in aggregate voting turnout in the United States between the 1950s and the 1980s and attributed the decline to changes in the generational composition of the electorate. In particular, the post-New Deal generation, which continues to grow in size, votes at a rate well below that of older generations, which was attributed to generational difference in party identification and social connectedness.

Johnston (1992)\(^{16}\) considers the role of party identification in the 1988 Canadian General Election campaign and found that they exhibited party commitments remarkably like those of U.S. respondents. These commitments shaped respondents’ reaction to the events of the campaign. Issue positions lined up with party identification, as did perceptions of the one leader rehabilitated by the campaign. But the campaign also cut through party groups. The author concludes by arguing that academic observers in the U.S. should take campaigns more seriously than they have to date and that they should consider adopting some of the measurement and analysis strategies of the 1988 Canadian study.

Theiss-Morse (1993)\(^{17}\) uses combination of methods to explore relationship between a person’s view of citizenship and his or her political participation. The author employed Q method study on four citizenship perspectives of democratic theory: elitist, pluralist, citizenship and participatory, and found striking difference in how people define the participatory responsibilities of a good citizen, and that the four citizenship perspectives are significantly related to political behaviour,
even when socioeconomic status and attitudinal variables related to participation are controlled.

Sobel (1993)\textsuperscript{18} hypothesizes that, other things being equal, occupational involvement, such as authority and participation at work, generates wider political participation, and that this influence occurs most strongly across levels of similar formality between the occupational and political spheres. He found that the work participation, in fact, generates political participation, and that the connection is strongest along a hierarchy of formality connecting participation from the workplace to politics.

Bowler and Donovan (1994)\textsuperscript{19} examine mobilization and conversion perspectives of opinion change during election campaigns, and found reflection of mobilization of awareness more than conversion on opinion. Further, little support was found for the hypothesis that media spending affects opinions, and that many voters are able to use cues other than advertising when making decisions.

Lien (1994)\textsuperscript{20} examined ethnicity and its impact on political participation among Asians and Mexican Americans in California, and found that the two groups, despite a huge socioeconomic gap, bear similar ethnicity and participation structures. For both groups, acculturation increases participation; attachment to homeland culture does not necessarily discourage participation; and the role of group consciousness is much more complex than previously conceived.

Shamir (1994)\textsuperscript{21} analyzed the general election in Israel to compare the relationships between voting preferences and two predictors: voters' ideological position and the perceived charisma of political leaders, under two conditions: partisan elections and personal elections, Also whether these relationships are moderated by the ideological extremity of the
parties standing for election and by voters' personal disposition to ascribe importance to leadership. It was found that voters' ideological position was strongly related to leaders' perceived charisma and to voting preferences, but leaders' perceived charisma added significantly to the prediction of voting preferences, especially under conditions of personal elections. In combination, voters' ideological position and leaders' charisma perceptions predicted voting preferences very accurately. These relationships were not affected by the two hypothesized moderators.

Tam (1995) predicted the voting behavior of Asians in U.S., treating Asians as a single homogeneous group in line with past studies. However, he found that the underlying assumption of homogeneity can produce fallacious results when the group Asians is not homogeneous. In fact, it is often the case that the separate ethnicities act as separate groups with their own unique political perspective and identities.

Jankowski and John (1995) examined the factor structure of indicators used in composite indices of voting and campaign participation, confirming the Verba and Nie findings with respect to voting and campaign participation that the notion of political participation is not unidimensional, and finds that the structure of participation is stable across age groups, cohorts, and periods, confirming that composite indices of voting and campaign participation are not confounded by age, cohort, or period effects.

Simon (1995) examine the assumptions of rationality that the public choice theory employs by focusing on three issues: the nature of the rationality assumption, the orthogonality of rationality and selfishness, and the possibility of altruism. He found that the human rationality is much more complex than it is portrayed to be in neoclassical and public choice theories, and that much less can be derived by
deductive means from the (amended) assumptions of rationality than has been supposed by the exponents of those theories.

Freie (1997)\textsuperscript{25} assesses the effects of campaign participation on the attitudes and opinions of a group of young people, particularly attitudes of alienation. By comparing the result with a control group it was determined that campaign participation does result in greater attitudinal shift for participants than for non participants; however, the change that occurred resulted in shifts away from alienation (as participatory democratic theorists have long claimed that political participation improves citizen and helps to integrate them into the political community).

Lau and Jack (1998)\textsuperscript{26} discussed the application of behavioural decision theory (BDT) to two areas of political science research: voting behavior and international relations. First, the focus was on decision making by the mass public, and in the second on decision making by political elites. However, it was found that the mass—elite distinction may not be as important as the different situations or contexts in which voting and foreign policy decisions are typically made.

Carlos et al. (2004)\textsuperscript{27} examined the voting behaviour of today’s generation of youth at Indiana State University to determine voting attitudes and behaviour. The result showed that youth are interested in the democratic process and in voting, but they lack information on absentee voting requirements and candidate issue stance.

Blais, Young and Lapp (2000)\textsuperscript{28} tested the rational choice model with the help of two surveys, conducted during the 1995 Quebec referendum and the 1996 British Columbia provincial election, in which
very specific questions measured each element of the model. The study also included two other factors that can affect the propensity to vote—respondents’ level of political interest and their sense of duty. It was found that, B (instrumental benefits), P (probability), and C (costs of becoming informed and going to polls) each matter, but only among those with a relatively weak sense of duty. The rational choice model is useful, but only in explaining behaviour at the margins of this important norm.

Bartels (2000) assessed the extent of ‘partisan voting’ in American national elections since 1952 against the backdrop of the assertion that ‘parties in America are on the decline’. He found that the impact of partisan loyalties on voting behaviour has increased in each of the last six presidential election, reaching a level in 1996 almost 80% higher than in 1972—and significantly higher than in any presidential election in at least 50 years.

Green and Shachar (2000) examined the hypothesis whether casting a ballot in one election increases the voter’s propensity to go to the polls in the future. Voter turnout patterns in the 1972-76 and 1992-96 American National Panel Survey, as well as published experimental research, indicated that the effects of past voter turnout on current voting propensities are sizeable.

Crowley (2001) draws attention to the ethnic problem existing within Western liberal democracies. He shows the manner in which numerically small ethnic groups are recognized, either positively or negatively, promotes specific forms of marginalization in democratic system. The author calls attention to the theoretical and empirical difficulties of assigning a presumptive capacity for collective consciousness and action to ethnic categories. However, the problem was
analyzed using the tools appropriate to other instances of unequally
distributed citizenship rights, and it expresses both the ideal and the
inherent limits of citizenship rights.

**Goldstein and Ridout (2002)** identify and evaluate three possible
ways in which mobilization might have affected levels of turnout over
time: (a) aggregate rates of mobilization may have declined, (b) the
effectiveness of mobilization contacts may have declined, and (c) the
targeting of mobilization may have changed. No evidence of a decline in
mobilization activity was found, nor have the mobilization techniques
become less effective. Further, it was found that the campaigns are less
likely to target habitual voters in recent years; this pattern of behaviour
can only explain a small amount of the overall decline in turnout.

**Ainsworth (2002)** creates a game theoretic, micro level
foundation for macro level interest group behaviour to study political
efficacy which is, traditionally, measured at the individual level and
studied as an individual level attribute in isolation from macro level
event. In many studies, political efficacy is viewed as largely static,
affected primarily by levels of income and education. The author uses a
simple participation game to model a form of individual level political
efficacy and detail the empirical implications of the hypothesized
individual level behaviour for the aggregate levels of group membership.
The results suggest that empirical studies of the effects of political
efficacy on collective efforts are susceptible to sampling and
measurement problems.

**Greene (2002)** undertakes a comprehensive examination of the
social - psychological theory behind the concept of partisanship and
addresses how well contemporary measures, especially the ubiquitous
NES / Michigan measure, accord with contemporary theories of measurement, attitudes, and group identification. After a brief empirical demonstration of the utility of these newer measures, recommendations are made for using new theory and new measures to improve our understanding of the role of partisanship in influencing political behaviour.

Jackson (2003)\textsuperscript{35} assesses socio-demographic influences on the registration status and turnout of Latino citizens in the U.S, and whether and how the influences on electoral participation differ between Anglos and Latinos. It was found that Latinos’ deficits on socioeconomic status and social-connectedness largely account for their lower levels of participation. Whereas formal education and marriage demonstrate greater influence on the participation of Anglos, Latinos reap greater participatory benefits from age.

Michelson (2003)\textsuperscript{36} used randomized experimentation to study municipal election in central California examining the effects of face-to-face canvassing on voter turnout. Two kinds of appeals were made to potential voters: one emphasized ethnic solidarity; the other emphasized civic duty. Canvassing was remarkably successful; voters who were contacted were significantly more likely to vote. The mobilization effort had a particularly large effect on the turnout of Latino Democrats.

Fournier et al, (2003)\textsuperscript{37} demonstrate that there is a significant interaction between performance evaluations and issue importance. People concerned about an issue assign more weight to their evaluations of the government’s performance on that issue when making up their mind. Issue importance mediates the impact of public policy issues on electoral decisions. Individuals who consider that an issue is important
are more likely to rely on their attitudes toward that issue when evaluating candidates and deciding for whom to vote.

**Gimpel, Dyck and Shaw (2004)** examined the effect of social and political context on turnout. The results were that one’s neighborhood has a relatively minor impact on the decision to vote. However, authors found that neighborhoods influence voting by interacting with partisan affiliation to dampen turnout among voters we might otherwise expect to participate. Most notably, the Republican partisans in enemy territory tend to vote less than expected, even after accounting for socioeconomic status. Regarding campaign strategy, it is suggested that the campaign targeting efforts could be improved by an integration of aggregate-and individual-level information about voter.

**Joanne and Krosnick (2004)** The research examined here the effect of two potential motivators of political activism—Policy change threat and Policy change opportunity. Different version of a letter were sent by a political lobbying organization to political contributors. One version highlighted threat of undesirable policy changes; another version highlighted opportunities for desirable policy changes, and the third version did neither. Policy change threat increased the number of financial contribution made to the interest group, but policy change opportunity did not.

**Leigh (2005)** what impact do income and other demographic factors have on a voter’s partisan choice? Using the post-election surveys of 1400 voters in 10 duration elections between 1996 and 2001, the author explored the impact the individual, local and national factors have on voters’ decisions. The poor, foreign-born, younger voters, voters born since 1950, men, unmarried are more likely to be left-wing. Over the past
35 years the partisan gap between men and women has closed, but on three dimensions—between young and old, between rich and poor, and between native born and foreign-born—it has widened. At neighbourhood level voters who live in richer neighborhood are more likely to be right-wing. While those in more ethnically diverse or unequal neighborhoods are likely to be left-wing.

Hillygus (2005) tests three competing hypotheses explaining the enduring link between higher education and political behaviour. The results suggest that the content of higher education is influential in shaping participation in American democracy.

Panagopoulos (2005) examines the widespread presence of compulsory voting and the significant impact these laws appear to have on voting behaviour, and how mandatory voting alters the decision making calculus of individual voters in this system. The author adapted rational choice models of participation in elections for compulsory voting system to find that the level of penalties countries impose for non-compliance and the degree of penalty enforcement impact turnout rates. Voters in mandatory voting system abstain least when both the penalties and the likelihood of enforcement are high and abstain most when both meaningless.

Samuel and Brian (2005) test internet as an evaluative technique to assess the representativeness of political participation patterns. To incorporate it the author drew upon resource theory to inform two-stage ordered - logit models of online and offline political participation. The result suggests that the factors predicting online participation often differ from the factors that predict offline participation. Further, those from higher socioeconomic background tend to disproportionately possess
these online determinants. The author, further, investigated whether online participators’ opinions reflect or distort those of the general population. Overall, the finding was that online participation tends to relate moderately with liberal preferences. However, because offline participation relates to political attitudes similarly, the internet only marginally advantages the political voices of liberals.

Yuval and Herne (2005) address the issue of sincere and sophisticated voting under majoritarian and non-majoritarian voting procedures. By conducting experimental voting games, a common majoritarian procedure—Plurality Voting (PV) with a non majoritarian procedure, Sequential Voting by Veto (SVV)—were compared. Two different aspects of the subject—the likelihood of sophisticated voting under each one of the voting procedures and the conditions that foster sincere and sophisticated voting under these procedures—were focused. The results highlighted the significant differences between majoritarian and non-majoritarian voting procedures as a key factor in determining the tendency of voters to use sincere and sophisticated voting. Clearly, the sincere model was dominant in SVV games while sophisticated voting dominated the PV games. The extent of sophisticated voting can counter to the group size, a tendency that was stronger under SVV than under PV. By demonstrating the advantages of the minority principle, when voter are small in number, the author hopes to encourage the development of a solution that will enable the use of SVV in general elections.

Chong and Rogers (2005) analyzed the trend that the racial group solidarity which boosted the rates of political participation among African Americans in 1960s and 1970s has moderated in 1980s, if not faded entirely. The author hypothesized that decline in solidarity was due to
dilution of measures of group solidarity in recent studies, which should incorporate both psychological ‘identification’ and the ideological beliefs that comprise ‘consciousness’. Moreover, the effect of solidarity will vary across forms of participation and be greatest on political activities that require group co-ordination. The author re-analyzed the 1984 NBES and found that recent studies used the more narrowly circumscribed measures of the concepts like—identification and consciousness—which might have led to underestimating its influence on political participation. It was also found that these two concepts had modest effect on voting turnout in 1984, but a significant influence on participation in several traditional campaign activities, petitioning government officials, and especially participation in protests and boycotts.

Harris, Sinclair and Mckenzie (2005) analyzed the positive effects of black political empowerment and the negative effects of economic and social distress on black political participation, and combined effect of these factors on aggregate-levels of black civic activity in the time period from 1973 to 1994. It was found that the positive influence of black political empowerment on macro levels of black civic activity is countered by economic and social factors that swamp the benefits gained from black political success.

Ikeda and Richey (2005) test influence of social networking as one of the three aspects of social capital—others being trust, and norms of reciprocity—on political behaviour. Also, the effect of involvement in formally organized voluntary associations and informal social networks. The authors also examine whether hierarchical networks have a different impact on participation than equal relationships. To determine if networks with bridging or bonding social capital affect participation differently,
they also measure the openness to outsiders of these networks. It was found through negative binomial regression model that there is a strong positive relationship between formal and informal social networking—including network hierarchy and some forms of openness—and political participation.

**Geys and Heyndels (2006)** asserted empirically analyzed the 2000 Flemish municipal elections showing that a higher number of parties competing in the election lowers turnout. The size inequalities between the parties exert a positive—though insignificant—fluence on voter participation.

**Man and Heath (2006)** analyzed the question about the relative influence that husbands and wives have on each other’s political behaviour. The married women’s class identity and political behaviour are borrowed from her husband and are primarily influenced by her husband’s characteristics.

**Lowndes, Pratchett and Stoker (2006)** argue that political participation is shaped by locally distinctive ‘rules-in-use’, notwithstanding the socio-economic status or level of social capital in an area. The authors focus on a third factor—the institutional rules that frame participation. The institutional determinants of participation are more malleable as compared to resources and social capital. The result shows how institutional factors have shaped the environment within which citizens make their decisions about engagement, resulting in demonstrable effects upon levels of participation.

**Hayes, Scheufele and Huge (2006)** argue that in a polarized opinion climate, people may refrain from participating in public
observable political activities that make them vulnerable to scrutiny and criticism by others who hold opinion that differ from their own. The authors test this claim by determining whether people who are relatively more influenced by the climate of opinion when choosing whether or not to voice an opinion, are also relatively less likely to engage in public political activities. The results showed that even after controlling for interest in politics, political ideology, ideological extremity, political efficacy, attention to political news, dispositional shyness, frequency of political discussion, and demographics, dispositional self-censors reported having engaged in relatively fewer public political activities over the prior 2 years compared to those less willing to censor their own opinion expression.

**Killian, Schoen and Dusso (2007)**\(^52\) analyzed whether citizens turnout to vote because of changes in their personal financial situation or they are influenced by the nation’s economic performance. After analysis of data from 1978 to 2004, based on a reference-dependent model of voter turnout, it was found that those who perceive that over the last year their own financial situation has improved relative to the economy are less likely to vote than those who view the economy as outperforming their own financial situation.

**Listhang and Gronflaten (2007)**\(^53\) analyzed the electoral turnout in Norway which has been declining over a long period for local elections and, at the four most recent sorting elections. The authors investigated whether the fall in turnout generalize to other forms of political participation and political involvement. Data from the Norwegian Election studies 1965-2001 and the Norwegian Value studies 1982-1996 are analyzed. In contrast to the decline of turnout, the authors find that the
broader political activity of citizen has increased. The rise in political involvement and activism is quite widespread, covering dimensions like political interest, political discussion, and political action. Education is strongly associated with most forms of civic participation and the rise in educational levels normally leads to an increase in participation rates. Data show that women are now as active as men in most dimensions of participation. In Norway, turnout at elections display one pattern over time, while other indicators of political participation and involvement show different trajectories. There is no general civic decline.

**Adman (2008)** focuses on the hypothesis put forward by Carole Pateman and by Sidney Verba and colleagues that state that by practicing civic skills and democratic decision-making at the workplace, citizen become more active in politics. The findings contradict previous empirical research as no impact on political participation was discovered. The study points to the importance of using panel models when investigating the causes of political participation.

**Claassen (2008)** explores the relationships between campaign participation and three variables typically parameterized as predictors of participation: receiving a contact, ideological extremism, and strength of party identification. The effect of strength of party identification on campaign participation proves robust; however, all of the association between contacts and participation and ideological extremism and participation appear to extend from, not into, participation and past participation.

**Platt (2008)** offers an opportunity model of participation to study how policy goals shape individual participation and how aggregate participation shape policymaking. The central argument is that
individuals' policy goals allow them to recognize those moments when it is most efficient and/or effective to take action. Examining black participation from 1980 to 1994, the author shows that black Americans are more likely to participate when they face external threats, are embedded in social networks, and have greater access to policymakers. Most importantly, the recognition of these opportunities varies according to individuals' resources.
HYPOTHESES:

The present research was planned to investigate the changing pattern in the Political Behavior of Muslims in Uttar Pradesh. The change in trend or pattern in political behavior will be seen on various factors delineated in foregone pages. In the light of available research literature reviewed in this chapter, related directly or indirectly with the proposed study, the following research hypotheses are formulated.

$H_1$: Urban residents will exhibit more political activity than their rural counterparts.

$H_2$: Male Muslims will be more politically active than females.

$H_3$: Change in the level of education will lead to commensurate change in political participation.

$H_4$: Voting turnout will be higher among older Muslims.

$H_5$: Muslims belonging to high income group will be more involved in voting participation.

$H_6$: Political Information Index- a dimension of cognitive orientation will be higher in urban Muslims than the rural.

$H_7$: Political Trust- a dimension of evaluative orientation will be higher among urban than the rural Muslims

$H_8$: Campaign participation- a dimension of affective orientation will be higher among urban Muslims.
METHODOLOGY

The research design of a study is bound up with its purpose and nature of the variables to be probed. Research investigators must take utmost care on selecting the samples so that sampling errors can be avoided to a greater extent. Regarding research some explanations have been made by some prominent researchers who suggested how one can pursue a scientific investigation in the field of behavioural sciences.

Lindquist (1956)\textsuperscript{57} stated that “the researches are designed to proceed in a planned manner to control variance and to answer pertinent questions”.

Edward (1968)\textsuperscript{58} gave his explanation regarding research that “in research we don’t haphazardly make observation of any and all kinds, but rather our attention is directed towards those observations that we believe to be relevant to the question we have previously formulated. The objective of research, as recognized by all sciences, is to use observation as a basis of answering questions of interest”.

The above referred definitions specify very clearly that in every scientific investigation the researchers try to describe, explain, predict and control the phenomena with which they deal and through these processes they enhance the objectivity of research endeavor.

The purpose of the present research was to ascertain “Changing Patterns of Political Behaviour of Muslims in Uttar Pradesh since 1991”. In this study an attempt is being made to map the prevailing trends and patterns of political behaviour of Muslims in Uttar Pradesh, to understand the behavioural patterns of the community, to get an insight into the psyche of Muslims mental make-up. In this study some independent variables like beliefs and psychological / attitudinal aspects
were examined by assessing the joint impact of all these variables on political behaviour of Muslims of Uttar Pradesh. Taking into consideration the delicacy of the study and paucity of study on the subject, the following steps were taken to make this piece of research more explicit and purposeful.

SAMPLE:

It has always been difficult or rather impossible task for any researcher to cover the whole population for the purpose of study, hence, sample from a population is used. A sample is a small group of a population representing the characteristics of the entire population. Mohsin (1984) contended that, “sample is a small part of the total existing events, objects or the information”. Kerlinger (1983) stated that “sample is a portion of population or universe as to be representative of that population or universe”. Thus, sampling is a process of drawing a small portion of population representing the characteristics of the entire population. The purposive random sampling technique was used to select sample for the present research. The appropriate sample makes it possible to draw reliable inferences and to make generalizations about the population from where samples are drawn.

The research topic of present study warranted to select the samples from amongst the whole of the state of Uttar Pradesh, consisting of 18.5% of Muslim population. Although, the western part of the state consists some of the Muslim majority areas, but as we go towards eastern part of the state the Muslim population in the state starts getting sparse. Even the quality of population also starts getting diluted. The level of literacy and income status starts falling as we move from west to east in U.P. However, this fact did not affect the sampling procedure, as equal
representation were given to both western and eastern, and even central region was given adequate representation.

The total number of 1200 samples were drawn from the different parts of the state. In all 840 males were sampled, out of which 480 males were taken from urban areas-like state capital and district towns and cities and 360 males were taken from rural areas- like villages and regions around district towns and cities. Similarly, in all 360 females were interviewed, out of which 240 were in urban centers and 120 were from rural areas.

Table 3.1
Break up of the sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>No. of Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban Male</td>
<td>480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Male</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Males</td>
<td>840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Females</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Females</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Females</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Sample</td>
<td>1200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides, Male-Female, urban-rural characteristics, the total sample was further divided into groups based on following characteristics- Education, Age and income. Thus, in all five Socio-Economic independent variables were used. In short, Sex, Region, Education, Age and income were the various groups in which the whole sample was divided. On the basis of education further two groups- education up to high school and education above high school- were made. Similarly, on
the basis of age two groups- age from 36 to 50 years and age above 50 years were made; on the basis of income three groups- lower income, middle income and high income- were made. The lower income group consisted of those having income up to Rs. 5000/ per month in urban area and Rs.3000/ per month in rural area. The middle income consisted of those having income up to Rs.20,000/ per month in urban area and Rs.12,000/ per month in rural area. And the high income group consisted of those having income above Rs.20,000/ per month in urban and income above Rs.12,000/ per month in rural area.

### Table 3.2
Sample Characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Male – urban / rural</td>
<td>1. Upto High School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Above High School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female – urban / rural</td>
<td>_____ do ________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Male – urban / rural</td>
<td>1. From 36 to 50 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Above 50 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female – urban / rural</td>
<td>_____ do ________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>Male / Female - urban</td>
<td>1. low - upto 5000/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. middle-upto 20,000/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. high above 20,000/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male / Female - rural</td>
<td>1. low upto 3000/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. middle-upto 12,000/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. high above 12,000/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TOOLS USED:

Perhaps there is no single psychological test which can tell us about all the aspects of behaviour. Since human being is a composite of numerous behavioral patterns so, for measuring each behavioural aspect an independent psychological test is used. The questionnaire method is one of the important psychological test which has been used in the present investigation as it is most convenient to administer. A questionnaire contains numerous statements and the respondents are required to answer each statement according to the instructions given to the subjects. It was quite inconvenient to find that there is not a single scale of political behaviour as such that is inclusive of all the aspects of political behaviour. However, the questionnaire used by centre for studies in developing societies (CSDS) in its various pre-poll and post-poll surveys for assembly and national election survey (NES) came very handy tool in preparing a questionnaire that suited the requirement of the thesis. The questions indicating psychological orientation like- cognitive, affective and evaluative- and other aspects of political behaviour were picked and choose from CSDS questionnaire.

Political Behavior Questionnaire:

The questionnaire measuring the behaviour of Muslims political aspects was determined by seventeen dimensions. The psychological orientations like cognitive- contained four dimensions, the affective orientation-contained another set of four dimensions and the evaluative orientation- contained another four dimensions.
Besides these twelve dimensions, five more dimensions were measured to encompass the political behavior in totality. In all it took ten pages (appendix-I) and 66 questions in informal language, so worded as to be understood by persons with a reading knowledge. However, the questions were read aloud to subjects along with the answer options.

The answers of the respondents were meticulously tick marked in the questionnaire sheet itself. The answer options ranged from simple ‘Yes’ or ‘No’, ‘agree’ or ‘disagree’, to ‘fully agree’, ‘somewhat agree’, ‘somewhat disagree’, ‘fully disagree’ and ‘a great deal’, ‘somewhat’, ‘not at all’ etc. The purpose of such a wide answer options was to record even the most minute of detail.

The following table gives details about the question number and its dimensions to which it belonged.

**Table: 3.3 Details of questionnaire**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No</th>
<th>Dimensions</th>
<th>No. of questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td><strong>Cognitive Orientation</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a) Political Interest</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) Political Information Index</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c) Issue and Problem Awareness</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d) Symbol and Heritage Awareness</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td><strong>Affective Orientation</strong></td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a) Voting Turnout/Participation</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) Campaign Participation</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c) Communal Activity</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d) Political Action</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. **Evaluative Orientation** 16
   a) Attitude towards System 06
   b) Attitude towards Candidate 02
   c) Political Efficacy 05
   d) Political Trust 03

4. **Other Political Aspects** 10
   a) Mass Media Exposure 04
   b) Mobilization 03
   c) Party Affiliation 01
   d) Voter Preference 01
   e) Opinion Decider 01

**Biographical Information Blank (BIB)**

For recording background information of respondent's Biographical Information Blank (BIB) was prepared that includes respondent age, sex, qualification, place of residence and total income. (Appendix-II)

**Statistical Analysis:**

For converting the questions on political behaviour into numerals, first of all, the various answer options to a question were graded according to number of answer options available in a question in a descending order, with answer option showing greater political behaviour
given more number. For example, if a question reads, ‘Are you interested in politics?’ and answer options are ‘Yes’ or ‘No’. the ‘Yes’ answer option showing greater political behaviour will get more marks i.e. ‘Yes’ gets 1 marks and ‘No’ gets 0 marks. Thus all the questions were graded and total marks were obtained. Similarly, individual respondent’s marks were obtained and tabulated in already categorized groups on the basis of region, sex, education, age and income.

In the First phase, the tables so obtained were combined with the dimensions as was required, and thus, various dimensions were permuted and combinations were calculated. In this way, percentages of all the dimensions were calculated.

In the second phase, Bar diagrams were made computing these tables on the SPSS package.
References


