ABSTRACT

The purpose of the present research is to study, “Changing Patterns of Political Behaviour of Muslims in Uttar Pradesh since 1991”. Keeping in view the intricacy of the objective of the present study, it is necessary to explain various aspects of political behaviour of Muslims of Uttar Pradesh.

The chapter I of the thesis incorporates the geographical and ecological profile of the Muslims of Uttar Pradesh. It deals with the geographical features, climatic conditions, morphology of physical terrain of Uttar Pradesh, and demographical growth of Muslims, their ethnic and linguistic composition, their educational aspects. The historical growth of the present state of Uttar Pradesh and the historical background of Muslims since the inception of the state is also delineated upon.

This chapter also includes the economic conditions of Muslims and the rise of political consciousness among them after the independence of the country. It an accepted fact, that the growth and the progress of a country is consequent upon the overall growth of its citizens. The concept of inclusive growth includes in its fold, both the majority and the minority communities living in the country. The Muslims are a minority community in India and in the state of Uttar Pradesh. It becomes incumbent upon the state to make its minorities feel secure and protected. It keeps the minorities away from the feeling of alienation, and makes them political active and contribute in the wholesome growth of the nation. This holds true for the Muslims as well.

The chapter II of the thesis discusses the conceptual framework of the political behaviour. It also includes discussion about the different cultural orientations, different approaches to the study of political
behaviour, and various factors influencing the changes in the trends of political participation.

Chapter III includes the review of literature on the influence of various factors on political behaviour of Muslims. Methodological details of the thesis are also discussed in this chapter. In the methodology of thesis, a sample of 1200 Muslims was drawn randomly from the different parts of the state. In all 840 males were sampled, out of which 480 males were taken from urban areas and 360 from rural areas. Similarly, 360 females were interviewed, out of which 240 were in urban centers and 120 were from rural areas.

To measure the political behaviour of Muslims, a questionnaire used by the Centre for Studies in Developing Societies (CSDS) in various pre-Poll and post-Poll surveys was used by the researcher. It contains 66 questions and in all measured 17 dimensions of political behaviour. It also evaluates cognitive, affective and evaluative orientations of the respondents.

Data, thus, obtained from different groups of Muslims were analyzed in two phases on the bases of socio-economic variables like region, sex, education, age and income. In the first phase percentages of all the dimensions were calculated. In the second phase, Bar diagrams were made on the SPSS package.

In the chapter IV of the thesis, the results and its discussions were incorporated. This chapter deals with five different aspects of socio-economic status. It included urban-rural difference, education, level of income, age and sex difference that influences the political activities among Muslims. In the analysis it was found that the rural Muslims are more politically active then their urban counterparts. Educational and
income difference were found to be a crucial factors in decision making. The role of sex and age in political involvement was also decisive.

The political behaviour like – voting participation, campaign participation and level of political interest of rural Muslims are much greater than that of urban Muslims. It is found that the rural Muslims might be backward as compared to their urban counterparts in terms of political information level, symbol and heritage awareness and their exposure to mass media but as far as their involvement in political activities is concerned their attitude towards candidate (ATC) and attitude towards democratic system (ATS), political efficacy (PE) and political trust (PT) - all are much higher than that of urban Muslims. As a result, rural Muslims are more politically mobilized (M) than those of urban Muslims.

Regarding voting preference (V.Pre) the overwhelming rural majority opted for party (74%) than candidate. In Party Affiliation, rural population is more outright and clear cut in making their minds than that of urban. Among urban Muslims’ choice of party affiliation (P.aff) the Samajwadi Party (49%) has an edge over Bhaujan Samajwadi Party (27%) and Congress (24%) but in the rural Muslims’ psyche the congress still haunting as an initiator of Babri movement. As a result, only 19% rural Muslims favour congress. As regard to, the Opinion Deciders (OD), opinions of friends(OD f), caste groups (OD c) and co-workers (OD cw) play heavily over the minds of Muslim voters in both rural and urban areas. Almost 75% voters in rural areas and 64% in urban make up their mind due to these factors.

Regarding male-female differences among urban and rural Muslims. It was found that women voted less than men by 3.43% points. It is reasonable to expect as women are less active politically as compared
to their male counterparts as they remain confined to domestic chores.
The difference in campaign participation (C.P), communal activity (C.A),
political action (P.A) and mobilization (M) between male and female is
quite large. This shows females are discouraged from actively
participating in politics. In opinion decider (OD), males are more guided
by friends (34.2%), caste groups (29.7) and co-workers (27.5) and
females are dependent on family members (44.1) and spouses (41.3) in
deciding about whom to vote.

Differences in the political behaviour of urban and rural Muslims
due to education showed that voting participation (60%), campaign
participation (38.3%) along with political information index (43.0%) and
political interest (36.2%) all were fairly higher among rural Muslims as
compared to those of urban Muslims, with literacy level below high
school. Only in two dimensions –symbol and heritage awareness (SHA)
and attitude towards system (ATS) –the rural Muslims are lower than
urban. The mobilization of Muslims in rural area is phenomenal with
57.7% involved in this activity.

The voting preference (V.pref.) among urban Muslims is heavily
loaded in favour of party than in candidate, with 77.5% supporting party
candidate. The party affiliation (P.aff.) in rural Muslims shows a clear
bias towards Samajwadi party. In opinion decider (OD) dimension,
family members (fm) play a more meaningful role in urban area (12.0%)
than in rural whereas in both the places the combination of friends, caste
and co-workers play a decisive role in make up of mind for voting.

When we analyze the political behaviour in rural and urban
Muslims above high school, we find a lot many surprises in store, the
political interest (PI) level has fallen up to 7% point. The mobilization
(M) activity fell up to 4% point, only attitude towards candidate (ATC)
and political trust (PT) shows an upward movement. The awareness about issues and problems (IPA) in both the rural and urban area has remained untainted by the increase in the level of literacy.

In the category of Muslims' education above high school, urban preference for voting to party remains of same higher trajectory but among rural preference for candidate over party takes a clear precedence. Nevertheless, the preference for Samajwadi party remains intact as usual. In opinion decider (OD), yet another new trend is visible, in rural Muslims with education above high school, caste group (39.1%) plays decisive role in determining voting choice, whereas role of family member is almost negligible. Among the urban Muslims, the role of friend (34.5%) and co-workers (30.0%) takes an upper hand in opinion decider.

When two groups aged between 36 to 50 years and above 50 years were compared on the different dimensions of political behaviour. It was evident that both the age groups of urban and rural Muslims differed on various dimensions. Voting participation (VP) of urban Muslims increases from 50% to 53.1% with advancing age. The greater voting turnout among the older persons may also be as a result of "faith in parliamentary system". It was found that variation in age is not significantly related to campaign participation (CP), political interest (PI), political information index (PII). Overall the difference is insignificant but between rural-urban comparisons, it was found that rural masses are more active in all these activities.

Advancing age was also positively related to mobilization (M) to attending meetings, contacting officials to influence decision. The mass media exposure (MME) was found to be less with advancement in age; this could be as result of elderly being less internet savvy and restricting
to oral communication of information. In making voting preference (V.pre.) between party and candidate, it was found that party was given precedence over candidate in both the age groups of urban and rural Muslims. In making choice about party affiliation (P.aff.), Samajwadi Party (SP) was preferred by majority of Muslims cutting across the age divide and rural-urban difference.

So far as opinion decider (OD) is concerned, family members (17.7%) and spouse (21.6%) played a decisive role among the urban Muslims between 36 to 50 years age group. Whereas, in above 50 years age group rural Muslims- the family members alone play a decisive role in 29.4% of Muslims while caste group plays role in 28.3% of rural Muslims. Spouses in rural masses, in both the age groups (3% & 3.8%), play almost second fiddle which verges close to insignificant contribution.

When we compare political behaviour of urban and rural Muslims across lower, middle and higher income groups, it was found that the Muslims who are in the highest economic status classification in urban area vote somewhat less than those who have a lower and middle income status. But Muslims in the middle income group (57%) in urban area vote 15% more than lower income group (42%).

In cognitive activities like- symbol and heritage awareness (SHA), attitude towards system (ATS), and mass media exposure (MME) the people of both rural and urban areas showed a positive relationship with income, i.e, with increase in income, these cognitive activities also increased. So far other forms of political participation were concerned there was no symmetrical impact of increase in income on these forms of behaviour. It was found that in urban area the activities like- political interest (PI), issue and problem awareness (IPA), attitude towards system
(ATS), attitude towards candidate (ATC), political efficacy (PE) showed positive correlation with income.

The Voting preference (V.Pre) for both rural and urban Muslims, in all the three categories was Party, not candidate; and Party affiliation (P.Aff), was found with Samajwadi Party (SP) to lesser or higher extent in all the three income categories. As regard to Opinion Decider (OD), urban Muslims find guidance in friends and spouse whereas the rural Muslims of low income groups find guidance in friends, caste group and co-workers whereas high income group find friends, caste group and family members as ideal combination to help decide about whom to vote in elections.

Chapter V deals with cultural orientations of political behaviour of Muslims. These orientations are classified into- cognitive, evaluative and affective types. Cognitive orientation is a very potent determinant of Political behaviour in which dimensions like –political information index (PII), issue and problem awareness (IPA), political interest (PI) and symbol and heritage awareness (SHA) were included. Since urban people are more literate as compared to rural people, and their exposure to mass media in urban centers are more than that of rural ones, so PII of urban Muslim was 29% and rural Muslims only 22%.

Another dimension measuring cognitive orientation and which is directly influenced and determined by the level of education is symbol and heritage awareness (SHA), the urban Muslims had SHA of 28% and rural Muslims had SHA of only 8% which was abysmally low. Nevertheless, the rural Muslims had high issue and problem awareness (IPA) of 20% and high level of political interest (PI) of 22% as compared to issue and problem awareness (IPA) of 18% and political interest (PI) of 14% of urban Muslims.
To measure evaluative orientation another set of four dimensions like- attitude towards system (ATS), attitude towards candidate (ATC), political efficacy (PE) and political trust (PT) were measured in both urban and rural areas. Urban Muslims had more positive and supportive attitude towards the democratic system of representation and governance as compared to rural Muslims which was 25% in urban and 21% in rural area respectively. The increase of 4% point in urban area could be due to the positive and more visible fruits of system in the form of better development and availability of economic opportunities.

In the second dimension of evaluative orientation i.e. attitude towards candidate (ATC), rural Muslims seemed to take special and personal interest which was 25% point in contrast to only 12% of urban Muslims. It showed that rural Muslims had more positive attitude towards candidate and take the capability of candidate to perform into reckoning while making voting decision.

The political efficacy (PE) and political trust (PT) both show leaning towards higher side. The political efficacy might be same (17%) in both rural and urban areas, but the political trust among the rural Muslims was much higher at 37% points than those of urban Muslims of 25% points, which shows strong commitment of Muslims vis-à-vis democratic institutions.

For the measurement of affective orientation, four dimensions namely, voting participation (VP), campaign participation (CP), communal activity (CA), political activity (PA) among the Muslims residing in urban and rural centers were investigated. In all the four categories, the rural Muslims showed higher level of affective orientation than that of urban Muslims. Rural Muslims look politically awake as their overall affective orientation was high. Urban Muslims showed less
interest in campaigning and communal activities than that of rural populace. This could be due to the life-style of urban people who remain less interested in affairs of others.

In Chapter VI the political behaviour of Muslims had been studied in three phases. In the first phase urban Muslims were examined to find political behaviour on seven dimensions. Voting participation of four groups of urban Muslim males across high, middle and low income groups. It was found that with 38% of VP in lower income group, 42% of VP in middle and 40% of VP in higher income group, the general level of voting participation in group I was average.

The group II category of Urban Muslims, on the contrary, showed very encouraging level of voting participation (VP). It consisted of all those Muslims in urban area who are above 50 years and educated up to high school. The increase in the age from 36-50 to above 50 has brought about 4% of increase in the voting participation of lower income group, 6% of increase in the voting participation of middle income group and about 10% of increase in the higher income group.

In the group III, urban Muslims with education above high school and age between 36-50 years were considered across high, middle and low income groups. VP was remained higher when education was high and income group was of middle category.

In the group IV of urban Muslims with education above high school and age above 50 years in urban area, the results show a high voting percentage (VP) of 44% for middle income group and lower voting percentage (VP) of 39% for high income group and 40% of voting percentage for lower income group.

An examination of political information index (PII) of urban males across high, middle and low income groups in four different
groups. The low income Muslims of group I had PII of 39%, which was lowest when we compare it with Middle and higher income Muslims.

The middle income category presents a consistently increasing trend of 47% in the Group II and 49% in Group III, but the lower and the higher income category Muslims show a fluctuating trend. However, the Muslims of group IV, reversed the trend of previous three groups. In the Group IV the low income group Muslims, showed highest PII.

The level of political trust (PT) among the Muslims of U.P showed a changing trend of increasing confidence on the government and political representatives of their respective constituency. As the income levels of Muslims living in the urban area, increased the political trust among them showed a positive effect. In the 1st group the percentage of political trust (PT) for low income group was 32%, for the middle income category was 49% and for the high income was 53%, it presents a consistently increasing pattern.

In the group II, III and IV the trend of political trust was almost similar to that of group I. This showed that with increase in Income of the people the political trust also increased.

After investigating the level of attitude towards system, it was found that in the group I of Muslims, as the income level of Muslims increased from lower to high, their attitude towards system as well became more and more positive.

The group II and group III of Muslims as well showed the similar pattern as that of the group I. The increase in the level of income led to the increase in the attitude towards system of the urban Muslims of U.P.

In the IV group the trend changed. It showed increase in ATS as the income category of Muslims increased from lower to middle, but then
the attitude towards system shows a steep fall of 7 percentage point in the high income group.

Investigation of the level of political efficacy of Muslims of group I showed steep rise from 30 percentage point to 44 percentage for the Muslims of middle income category.

The II group Muslims as well showed the similar pattern as that of the first. In the III group the pattern of political efficacy (PE) remained similar to that of group I and group II. It showed that the increase in the level of income leads to increase in the political efficacy of the urban Muslims of U.P. In the group IV as well a similar pattern was found wherein with the increase in the level of income, the political efficacy of the Muslims increased as well.

After examining the level of mass media exposure (MME) of Muslims, it was found that in the group I of Muslims, as the income level of Muslims increased from lower to higher, their mass media exposure as well became more and more positive.

The group II of Muslims as well showed the similar pattern as that of the first. The increase in the level of income led to the increase in the mass media exposure (MME) of the Muslims of U.P.

In the group III of Muslims, as the level of income increased the MME showed a steep rise of 17 percentage point from 33% to 50% as the income level rose from lower to middle. But for the higher income category, the level of MME fell to 1 percentage point from 50% to 49% which is insignificant.

In group IV as well a similar pattern was found wherein with the increase in the level of income from lower to the middle income category leads to steep rise in the MME from 39% to 46.5%.
After analyzing the level of mobilization \((M)\) of urban Muslims, it was found in group I that as the income level of Muslims increased from lower to higher, their mobilization became more and more negative.

The group II Muslims as well showed the similar pattern as that of the first. The lower income category of Muslims had the mobilization participation of 55% which reduced to 40% point as the level of income increased to the high income group.

In the group III, as the level of income increased the mobilization reduced to 45% for the high income category from 59% for the low income category. The group IV of Muslims as well showed a similar pattern of increasing mobilization level except for the high group of Muslims where the total mobilization level remained stable at 45% mark. The pattern that is found is that with increase in age, and income level the level of mobilization also increased.

Rural Muslims were studied in second phase on similar seven dimensions of political behaviour. Voting participation of rural male Muslims of group I showed that the Muslims of lower income group had a higher voting participation (61.5%) than the middle (50%) and high income category (59.5%) of rural Muslims of U.P. It indicated that the level of income plays positive role for those Muslims who are in low and high income categories. On examining the group II it was found that the lower income category of Muslims had a higher voting percentage (64%) than the middle (45.5%) and high income (49.5%) category. On examining the group III it was found that the lower income group of Muslims had higher voting participation of 66% and the middle and the higher income category had 38% and 45% of voting participation respectively.
Political information index (PII) of rural male Muslims in group I showed that low and high income groups had 61% and 62% of political information index (PII) respectively and 40% of political information index (PII) for the Muslims in the middle income category. In group II of rural Muslim male, it was found that the higher and the lower income category showed higher political information index (PII) of 56% and 64%, however unlike group I, in this group the lower income group had highest 64% Political Information Index than those of higher income group unlike the case in group I. On examining the group III consisted it was found that it represented the trend of previous group wherein the low income category of Muslims had 59% of PII which was 16% point more than those rural Muslims who were in the higher income category of 43%.

On examining the group I on attitude towards system, it was found that the high income category of Muslims showed 50% of ATS, 31% for middle and 37% for low income category. The attitude towards system (ATS) in group II was lowest among low income group unlike the first group wherein it was the middle income category of Muslims in rural area that showed the lowest ATS. The group III of Muslims with education above high school and age from 36 to 50 showed similar trend as that of group I.

On political trust (PT) among rural Muslims, it was found that low and middle income groups had 46% and 38% of political trust respectively and 57.5% of political trust for the Muslims in the high income category. In group II of rural Muslim males it was found that the high and the low income category showed higher political trust (PT) of 54% and 50%, and like group I, in this group also the high income group had highest 54% Political Trust. The group III represented the trend of II
group wherein the high income category of Muslims had 58% of PT which was 24% point more than those rural Muslims who were in the middle income category.

Political efficacy of rural Muslims in the low and the high income category was same at 40% point where as the political efficacy of middle income category of Muslims was at 25%. The group II also showed the similar pattern as that of the group I. In group III the low income category of Muslims had higher PE of 46%. And as we move from the low income to the middle income category, we noticed that the PE fell from 46% point to 30% point, but it increased to 38% from 30% as we move from middle income category to high income category.

It was found that low income category of Muslims had mass media exposure of 26%, which increased to 27% as we move from low to middle income group. The level of mass media exposure (MME) increased to 30% as we move from middle income to high income category. In the group II the low income category of Muslims had mass media exposure of 20%, the middle income category had MME of 25% and the high income group had the MME of 28%. In the group III the level of mass media exposure increased with increase in the level of income.

In group II the Muslims of low income category had mobilization level of 60 %. The group II as well had a similar trend in the level of mobilization as that of the group I, the Muslims of low income category had a mobilization level of 59%, the Muslims of middle income category had a mobilization level of 64% and the high income category of Muslims had 55% of level of mobilization. The group III exhibited almost similar patterns and trend. As we move from low
income category to the high income category, we found that the level of mobilization also increased.

In the third phase both urban and rural Muslims are compared to study party affiliation, voting preference and opinion decider aspect of political behaviour. An examination of **party affiliation** of rural and urban Muslims in the state of Uttar Pradesh showed that the Muslims with the level of education up to high school, whether living in urban or rural centers, had a strong predilection for Samajwadi Party (SP) as 46% urban and 61% rural Muslims supported it. The support for Bahujan Samajwadi Party (BSP) in both the areas-urban as well as rural- was almost \( \frac{1}{4} \) of the total population, but the Muslim supporters for Congress Party were more than double in the urban areas than in the rural ones.

In the group II the support for both SP and Congress was reduced and BSP was the real gainer. In group III the rural support of the Muslims for the Samajwadi Party (SP) marginally increased from 58% to 60%. It seemed that this group of Muslims who were in the age group from 36 to 50 years, had a special liking for Congress party as in both the urban and the rural areas the support base for the Congress Party increased.

Group IV consisted of Samajwadi Party (SP) supporter- in both the urban and the rural areas. So far as income groups were concerned, in both low and the middle groups, the majority of Muslims were Samajwadi Party (SP) supporters in first choice and the Bahujan Samajwadi Party (BSP) supporters in the Second choice. However the trend and pattern of party affiliation for those Muslims who were in the high income groups were more prone towards Congress.

**Voting preference** (V.Pre.) among the Muslims in both the rural and the urban areas showed that in education, both the groups showed
preference for party than candidate. In the two divisions of age groups, it was found that most of the Muslims preferred ‘party’ than ‘candidate’ while voting in parliamentary and assembly elections. In the income category, the majority of Muslims in low income group, consisting of 84% in the urban area supported ‘party’. In the middle income category, it was found that 79% of Muslims living in urban area supported ‘party’, in comparison to those Muslims living in the rural area.

After examining the role that various factors like family members, friends, caste groups, co-workers, and spouse play in shaping the opinion of the Muslim voters in the urban and the rural areas. It was found that friends, caste and co-workers play a significant and decisive role in the decision making of both the rural and urban Muslims. The role of family members was contributive in decision making of Muslims in urban area but not so in the rural area. With regard to the spouses it was found that in the urban area, their opinion has some role, however in the rural area, the role of spouse in decision making is negligible.

Last part of the thesis incorporates suggestions along with conclusion of the present research. These suggestions may help the future researchers to carry on their research on similar topics with certain other aspects included, that may yield better results.