AN ANALYTICAL STUDY OF THE ECONOMIC EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF THE MUSLIMS IN THE DISTRICT OF MALDA (W. B.)

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY IN SOCIOLOGY

BY

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TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to certify that the dissertation on "AN ANALYTICAL STUDY OF THE ECONOMIC AND EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF THE MUSLIMS IN THE DISTRICT OF MALDA (WEST BENGAL)" submitted by Mr. Mohammad Sish Nabi in the fulfilment of M.Phil. degree in Sociology is his own contribution. He has completed his work under my guidance and supervision in accordance with the rules and regulations of the statutes.

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CHAPTER I

AN ANALYTICAL STUDY OF ECONOMIC AND EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF THE MUSLIMS IN THE DISTRICT OF MALDA (WEST BENGAL)

INTRODUCTION

The present investigation is a modest attempt to study the Economic and Educational status of the Muslims of Malda District, West Bengal.

Modern history of India witnesses the economic and social life marked by stagnation and dependence on the past. There was, of course, no uniformity in those aspects all over the country. Nor did all Hindus and all Muslims form two distinct societies. Peoples were divided by religion, region, caste, tribe and language. Moreover the social life and culture of the upper classes, who formed a tiny minority of the total population, was in many respects different from the life and culture of the lower classes. These lower classes in Bengal were largely constituted by India's Muslim population who were basically weavers, peasants or mere tillers as implied from many nineteenth and twentieth century - writings, like Sarat Chandra Chatterjee's 'Mahesh', and so forth.

However, economic activities of the people of Bengal had to suffer a lot from dire consequences of British occupation of Bengal destined at and by the Battle of Plassey (1757) which was worded in Nabin Chandra Sen's writing by

"a night of eternal gloom for India". This gloom did more devolve upon Bengal, and as a result, the victory of East India Company’s army enabled the Company and its servants to amass untold wealth at the cost of the helpless people. Thompson & Barrett remarked: "To engineer a revolution had been revealed as the most paying game in the world. A gold lust unequalled since the hysteria that took hold of the Spaniards of the Cortes' and Pizarrds' age filled the English mind. Bengal in particular was not to know peace again until it had bled white." As Colonel Malleson has put it, the single aim of the Company's officials was "to grasp all they could; to use Mir Jafar (the successor of Sirajuddaula) as a golden sack into which they could dip their hands at pleasure."

However, after the Battle of Plassey and the victory of the Company, the pattern of the Company's commercial relations with India underwent qualitative changes. The Company could use its political control over Bengal to push Indian trade. Moreover, it utilised the revenues of Bengal to finance its export of Indian goods. This process as termed by historians as Economic Drain of Wealth led to the ruin of artisans and craftsmen, peasantry and indigenous industries which had culminated after the Permanent Settlement (1793) and the Revolt of 1857. It is fairly enough

to note that this had resulted into the fact that people in general, and Muslims in particular, in Bengal were forced to the state of beggary and starvation or to a mere subsistence level, which by and large, exists in the Bengali Muslim community to the present day.

Education was not completely neglected in the eighteenth century-India, but it was on the whole-defective. It was traditional and out of touch with the rapid developments in the West. It was, therefore, never concerned with a factual and rational study of society. In all fields original thought was discouraged and reliance was placed on ancient learning. Higher education was based on Sanskrit learning and was mostly confined to Brahmins. Persian education being based on the official language was equally popular among the Hindus and the Muslims. Among the Hindus, elementary education was imparted through town and village schools while among Muslims through the Maulvis in maktabs situated in mosques.

Muslims in the modern age with ancient type of learning which sufficed for limited purposes, were totally opposed to Western education along modern lines for some strong reasons. Most important one, besides their financial constraints, is their traditional notion that English education being

organised by the Christian government would certainly imperil their Islamic religion. The so-called 'fanaticism' and 'anti-foreign' mentality was preached through the 'Wahabi Frontier Wars and conspiracies of the 1860s. This had a great impact on Muslim masses in Bengal and, therefore, they kept away from the touch of modern education for a good many years.

More specifically the call through the Aligarh Movement of 1860s of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1718-1798) did hardly reach all Muslims of India. It fell on deaf ears of the Bengali Muslims in particular and met a cool reception there for some vital reasons. Social and political elite of North India, both Hindus and Muslims, did not want Bengalis to be at the M.A.O. College in any capacity, especially in employment. College employment during that time began to be secured on Public Services Commission basis, which was largely dominated by the educated Bengalis. The elite, in order to persuade the Government to force out them, started vehemently criticising at once voice, the Commission which manned the College stuff by the Bengalis. What they argued was that "neither Mahomedans nor Hindus would succeed, but only Bengalis would get all", and, therefore, "the services ought not to be recruited by examination unless this was done on a strictly provincial

> Modern India 1885-1947
basis. Inclined to ease and appease his fellow-comrades, Sir Sayaid Ahmad Khan did also announce that "our country is not fit for competitive examinations; there is marked disparity in the educational attainments of various people — Muslims are educationally backward; the Hindus of this province are backward compared to the Bengalis." He, therefore, preferred nomination to be a method of selecting men.

The above socio-economic historical background of the Muslims has been adopted as the premise of the present study. Moreover, the present study will also serve as an explanatory comparability between the past and the present conditions of Muslims of Malda.

It is a well-known fact that progress and prosperity in the field of educational and economic activities of a nation can be studied by the entirety of its social and economic attainments encompassing every unit — bigger and smaller. Thus man as a unit of society and one of the most important components holds membership of one of the other social organisation. It may be a village community, it may be an urban community. Similarly, it may be a religious community or some other community, like political, economic

or cultural. Whatever it may be, but every human community or group has to be studied in the whole complex of his varied associations. These associations or groups should be regarded as man's social and economic determinants which will help in focusing on his behaviour and activities.

Social organisations, in turn, play a very important and significant role in the regulation and control of human conduct and activities. The social environments or organisations or groups with their individual associations provide philip for aspirations and adequate development. On the other hand, man as a productive member of society thrives to achieve some positions or statuses in the society in order to fulfil his all aspirations. Therefore, man's educational and economic accomplishments are regarded as the index of his status in the society.

However, status of individual is viewed in many walks of life — economic, cultural, political, educational and so on. His activities, therefore, are sought to determine his respective statuses in the society. For example, one who is interested to know somebody's status-position, needs to study one's entire area of activities and their outcomes. Similarly, the present study in which Muslims' educational and economic status has been singled out for investigation, has been to provide an account of area of
their activities in various fields. For, it is necessary
to be clear of what is meant by status in this study. There
are a good number of scholars who have studied various
phenomena of the Muslims and given them a concept, status.
Haralambos, one of those scholars, whose perception of this
concept suits most to this present study defines it as a
number of social positions occupied by all members of
society. On the basis of this definition, an individual
is a father in his family, clerk at his work place, a
cricketer in his sport club and so on. Thus, his entire
course of actions and occupations do influence his all
social and economic positions, and that he is, accordingly
ranked in the society. In other words, his all social
positions are conditioned by the extent of his entire acti­
vities. In this way, these activities of his fetch him
certain ranks and positions in all spheres of life which
are his statuses.

Subsequently, thing remains that what positions or
statuses Muslims of Malda district are enjoying in the field
of educational and economic activities. In other words,
the present study is to bring all ingredients relating to
socio-economic activities into consideration to which man
as a member of the society is, to any extent, attached just

in order to focus on the actual positions which the Muslims occupy in comparison to those occupied by their counterparts in the district.

Many a study of this nature and type, often comparative, has concluded that the Muslims are lagging behind the Hindus in those spheres and has shown a sharp disproportion between the total numerical strengths and educational and economic attainments of the Muslims. This view is not acceptable to many scholars in the light of the regional variations. Some scholars have provided counter-arguments for specific regions. They argue that Muslims might be backward in one region, but might not be backward in all states of the country. But larger number of them here argued that Muslim community as a whole is lagging far behind the Hindu community from time immemorial. Considering this view to be true, they have also highlighted various reasons why in the field of social and economic (and also political) activities which require sound educational and economic solvency, the positions of Muslims are considerably insignificant as compared to those of the Hindus.

Such a lag or backward state of the Muslim masses in Malda has impelled them to perceive that they are thoroughly discriminated against, and deprived of, their constitutional rights and legitimate dues. This perception of them has created great fear and dismancy among them and as to why they
believe themselves to be the prey of incessant discrimination. This feeling or belief of the Muslim community has culminated in Imtiaz Ahmad's writing. To quote Imtiaz Ahmad, "... important thing is not that there is discrimination against Muslims in the economic structure. What is important is that Muslims have felt so insecure as to believe themselves to be the target of continuous economic discrimination."

Such a feeling which in the course of time became popular among the Muslims has created a stir among them, and therefore, they came to believe themselves to be treated as 'Second Grade Citizens'. This phenomenon has attracted many contemporary researchers. S. Roy, e.g. being one of those writes, the complaint of the Muslims in India that they are considered Second Class Citizens is not totally baseless. Their loyalty to this country is doubted and they are alleged to be harbouring extra-territorial loyalty. Abuses are hurled on them for their supposed link with Pakistan. "The ninety-seven percent of the Pakistan-supporting Moslems continue to live in India. They have compromised nothing of their religion or culture ... the behaviour makes it quite clear that these people have their loyalty elsewhere and not in this country of ours."

However, such statements of the researchers have great impact on the Muslim community on several courts. Interference with Urdu, as they believe, is one. They, therefore, believe that Urdu their religious mouth piece, has been tremendously oppressed in the hands of Hindi, and accordingly interference with this language is deeply felt among them. In other words, interference with Urdu is almost same as with their religious ways of life, means and rights. Urdu, therefore, is considered not as a particular section's but as a language of all Indian Muslims. They even claim that Urdu, though not spoken by all Muslims of the country, is now considered, by and large, the language that relates itself to the cultural survival of the whole community, irrespective of those who write, read and speak it.

Likewise, the recent interference with Muslim Personal Law is another important threat to them. What they consider the interference by the Government with the Personal Law is a sheer onslaught on their religious beliefs and practices. Demand for uniform civil code is no less than that. Exponents of uniform civil code include many, like K.M.Munshi, who puts it, "there is important consideration which we have to bear in mind and I want my Muslim friends to realise this —— that sooner we forget this isolationist outlook on life, will be better for the country. Religion must be
restricted to spheres which legitimately appertain to
religion, and the rest of life must be regulated, unified
and modified in such a manner that we may evolve as early
as possible, a strong and consolidated nation.

Now it has been a matter of great satisfaction for
the community that a Muslim Personal Law Board has been
brought into existence. The Board is now expected to
provide safeguards to the community. And the Civil Code,
on the other hand, must be based on Koran as claimed by
the Muslims. Ameer Ali explains "The Mahommadan Law is
founded essentially on the Koran. It contains the funda­
mental principles which regulate the various relations of
life, the religion which provide for the Constitution and
continuance of the body politic....."

All India Muslim Political Convention held at Delhi
in 1970 passed resolution: "The Convention urges a clear
announcement should be made at an early date by Central
Government that no attempt would be made to change the
Personal Law of any community especially that of Muslims."
But they did not become operative in the teeth of strong

10. Munshi, K.M., Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol.VIII,
12. Mahmood, Tahir, 'Common Civil Code, Personal Laws and
Religious Minorities', Minorities and the Law (ed. by
unfavourableness of the Government, and thus this faint hope which the community had rested on has been totally shattered.

Some states of the country like West Bengal had long been fostering, to the best possible extent, the communal harmony. Even this state earstwhile used to be cited as an example for its capability of maintaining peaceful terms and brotherhood between Hindus and Muslims. But now things have changed with sudden change in politics of the Central Government. As a result, there now and then, takes place communal differences, and people of both the communities are bent on to make evils and wrongs to one and another. Inter-Communal behaviour of the people began to assume completely a different dimension and colour. Peace-loving people from both the religious communities took an anti-congress attitude and view, and as a consequence, they now have established a non-Congress Government in the state of West Bengal by way of a measure of teaching a lesson to the Congress Party. And it seems, that people of West Bengal, especially the Muslims, have largely benefitted by this state of political affairs, and besides all reactionary sporadic upheavals, there came to exist a sense of security among all citizens in this state.
However, all these factors have and had largely contributed to the backward state of the Muslim community, and that the Muslims still fail to keep pace with the Hindus.

Therefore, keeping in view all these factors this study has been sought to test the proportion or the extent to which the community is lagging behind the Hindu community in matters of educational and economic attainments.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Muslims constitute an important segment of the population of India because of their role in shaping the history and culture of the country. In view of this importance, a large body of literature has appeared on the Muslims in the sub-continent and they have been studied by historians, political scientists, sociologists and social anthropologists. Each discipline studies as an aspect of the problem from its own perspective, and it is difficult to review the whole of the material here. While historians have concentrated upon the political and cultural role of the Muslims from the time of their advent in the eighth century A.D., political scientists have been interested mainly in the political role of the Muslims for the last one hundred years culminating in the partition of the country. Sociologists and social anthropologists have been interested in the events of post-partition. India with reference to the role of the Muslims in moulding an integrated society and a composite culture. Their rank has focused upon the Muslims in various regions of the country in order to find out in what way they constitute the same socio-cultural milieu. Several comparative case studies in different regions have appeared analysing the family structure, the stratification system and many rituals.
For the purpose the present assignment, it is necessary to limit the study only to such studies that define Muslim situations of the particular regions in terms of their cultural and economic characteristics. Politics is rooted in the socio-cultural milieu of the regions, and therefore, there is a study of cultural and economic characteristics into the political behaviour as well. The problem of the relationship between the socio-economic characteristics and education can then be its proper perspective as one of the functional interdependence. Then socio-economic characteristics will lead to ascertain the level of participation in education and politics which will vary from region to region. Recent studies have traced the behaviour of the Muslim community to the socio-economic roots of the region from which they come.

As this study is basically concerned with the educational and economic status of the Muslims, it has come to be supported by a good number of literature whole of which complies, one way or the other, with the hypothesis that the Muslims are educationally and economically backward. And these sorts of scholarly work do also trace reasons contributing to their backward state in those spheres of life. Some of the scholars also differ, to a degree, on some regions. But the larger number of scholars acknowledge Muslims’
country wide backwardness. In view of such differences, the scholars can be categorised into the two following sections:

(A) The first section consists of those scholars who deny Muslims' country-wide backwardness; they are:

(i) Anil Seal
(ii) Paul Brass
(iii) Aparna Basu and
(iv) Madhvi Yasin.

(B) The second section is composed of those scholars who agree with Muslims' country-wide backwardness, they are:

(i) Rafiuddin Ahmad
(ii) S. Shamim Shah
(iii) Peter B. Mayer
(iv) Moin Shakir
(v) S. Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi
(vi) W. W. Hunter
(vii) W. C. Smith
(viii) D. E. Smith, and
(ix) S. K. Ghosh
Anil Seal (1971) who opposed in his book "Emergence of Indian Nationalism", the country-wide backwardness among the Muslims, thinks that "the Muslims in India differed from the Hindus in being part of an accuminical community stretching from Morocco to Chinese Turkistan." He points out "a religious crisis among the Muslims "followed by the blows of European expansion that is, overthrow of Turkey.

The community was not homogeneous. Language, caste and economic standing worked together to divide Muslim from Muslim no less than Hindu from Hindu. Besides division on the basis of caste, race, language or any other social positions at the doctrinal level also there were divisions between Sunni Muslims and minority sects of Shia, Bohras and others. There were furthermore divisions at a social level: town dwellers and rural-dwellers, landlords and tenants, majority and minority were all divided. Above all, the Muslims were by no means a subordinate community everywhere in India and to state that Muslims were backward throughout India is meaningless.

More than half of the Muslims in India lived in Bengal, and they differed profoundly from Muslims in other parts of the country. Seal here accepts that the Muslims of lower

1. Anil Seal, Emergence of Indian Nationalism, 1971: 298.
2. Ibid. , 1971: 300.
socio-economic strata, who were to embrace Islam, were only backward. The working of Permanent Settlement (1793) step by step expropriated most of the Muslim landlords, and the Resumption Proceedings after 1828 accelerated their decay. By the later nineteenth century most of the land was onward by Hindus.

By sweeping away the old structure of administration, Cornwallis and his successors had edged the Muslims out of the revenue-collecting system. With this Urdu and Persian learning Muslims began to be squeezed out because English was needed in public services and the high courts. In 1867 Muslims held 11.7 per cent of government jobs in Bengal stuffed by Indians, 20 years later they had less than 7 per cent. In 1871, they had about 12 per cent of the gazetted appointments; a decade later their share had dropped to just over 8 per cent. There were only 53 Muslim officers in the unconvenanted judicial and executive service of Bengal, or in 12 among Indians. In the law, Muslims had been in a relatively strong position during the first half of the century. Until 1851 there had been more Muslim pleaders in Calcutta than Hindus and Christians combined. In 1869 among the attorneys, proctors and solicitors there were 23 Hindus, but there were no Muslims. In both administration and the professions Muslims were being forced out.
Educational qualifications were growing more and more important in occupations of this sort by 1887, for example, almost all the unconvenanted officers in the judicial and executive service of Bengal had passed some University examination, one-third had degrees. Therefore the small Muslim share in higher education goes far to account the small Muslim share in higher employment.

In Upper India the Muslims were in a strikingly different position. In Agra and Oudh, the Muslim notables—the Pathans, Mughals, and Saiyids who claimed descent from the Conquerors—were far more numerous than in the outlying province of Bengal. Out of 337 Talukdars in Oudh in 1883, 78, or almost a quarter, were Muslims. Even the overhaul of the administration in the region had not been much drastic, and consequently, the Muslims could retain their earlier positions, even in the public services with their knowledge in Urdu language.

Muslims from the North-Western provinces and Oudh were public servants in other part of Upper India, in the Punjab and in Hyderabad. In Lucknow the bar was composed almost wholly of their men, while the Bengalis had found an entrance in Allahabad Court. In the North-Western Provinces,

the Muhammadans are vastly outnumbered by the Hindus, but in as much as the unlettered multitudes are mainly Hindu, while the Muhammadans as a class belong to the middle and higher strata, the latter possess much more than the Government employment.

As for enrolment of Muslim pupils, as one Director of Public Instruction in Oudh noticed, Muslims were more ready to avail themselves of its benefits than the Hindus were, whatever the case in Bengal on elsewhere, it is not so in Oudh.

British occupation by way of a means of victimisation was explained by Hunter as a cause of Muslims' despair in Bengal (The Indian Musalmans). It was true that in Bengal, a generally forward region in terms of education and economic change, the Muslims were generally backward. But in Upper India, a generally backward region in terms of education and economic change, they were, if anything, generally backward. So great were the differences between positions of Muslims in one part of India and another that their standing only at a local level. Only in regions where Hindus and Muslims alike were backward in the new education and where interest in new politics was small, were Muslims in fact influential and well-placed.

5. Ibid., 1971: 308.
Paul Brass' study is very much similar to that of Anil Seal in respect of arriving at the same conclusion. Therefore, it is clear that Brass also disowns Muslims' country-wide backwardness in socio-economic spheres of life. Brass, however, not only disowned this but also challenged some studies showing that Muslims are lagging behind their co-religionists in all parts of the country. Thesis of Rafique Zakaria is an example to this end. Major finding of Zakaria that the foundation of Aligarh School was conditioned by the growing backwardness among the Muslims. But Brass hardly agreed with this objective of the Aligarh Movement (1860s), rather contradicted with his own finding. Brass. However, in a detailed examination of data drawn from the census reports for Uttar Pradesh has shown that Muslims were far more advanced and well-placed in the administration than Hindus, and that indeed their fight at their turn of the country was for preserving their conditions. And thus he threw some light on the reason why there was Aligarh Movement. He believed that the Movement had become the precursor of the later Muslim League and naturally it occupied a major place in the annals of modern Muslim politics. The Movement mainly was concerned to eradicate educational backwardness among Muslims arose in Uttar Pradesh, where the Muslims were generally more advanced and occupied a socially privileged position.

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Brass, however, furthers his argument by his following findings. The British system of economic development, administration and education affected both Hindus and Muslims leading to the formation of the middle-class. This impact can be examined in two regional contexts for understanding the differences between the Hindus and the Muslims and the formation of the middle-class. In Bengal the middle-class contained a far larger portion of Hindus than Muslims because the Muslims belonged mostly to lower strata of the society. The British had replaced the Muslim aristocracy from judiciary and administrative positions, and so were suspicions of the Muslims and discriminated against them in recruitment to positions.

English was introduced as the language for examinations and administration in 1837 and the Muslims kept away from it owing to bitterness and resentment. Their deterioration was exacerbated by the Permanent Settlement (1793) which favoured the Hindu zamindars and gave them an average in education and administration.

In U.P., the Muslims had a larger portion of the Ashraf or the notable castes. In addition, the Muslim aristocracy was more influential, more prosperous and better educated. Muslims, by and large, lived in urban areas and many of those in rural areas were zamindars/landlords. They
retained their dominant positions in administration and in land even after the British gained power. The reforms in the bureaucracy with the introduction of English, the land reforms in the wake of the Permanent Settlement (1793) and discrimination against Muslims immediately after the Mutiny (1857) had hardly any impact in U.P. The Muslims constituted only 13 per cent of the population of U.P. but they had a much higher representation in education, rate of urbanisation, literacy and employment.

Brass further says that the Muslims were backward in Bengal and Muslims in U.P. were entrenched in top positions, and that the latter created a myth of Muslim backwardness as a whole in order to defend their own interests. They projected the situations of the Muslims in Bengal as the situations of the Muslims community of India as being the same, and on this basis, they made demands for concessions and safeguards from the British in education, administration and legislature.

Basu Aparna (1919-1939) statement in her book "Growth of Education and Muslim Separation, 1919-1939)" is of sound support to Brass. It is fairly a clear intensification of Brass' argument that all that has been done for improving the lot of the Muslim community in India especially in U.P.,

7. Seal, Anil, Emergence of Indian Nationalism, 1971; 304.
8.
was just to avoid growing backwardness among the Muslims in the country. In other words, she wishes the students of Muslim backwardness to be with the view that the Muslims in this region were clever enough to realise their own socio-economic positions and the said growing backwardness among the Muslims in India, and therefore they adopted all possible means to protect their privileged positions and to keep away from countrywide growing backwardness.

Basu tells further that in U.P. Muslims were far advanced than elsewhere and had a lead over Hindus in college-going, in government and in professions from 1868 onwards. This was because they were a highly urbanised, non-agricultural and professional community. They could not overcome the fear of minority status in a Hindu dominated job-market, and this was the reason for Muslim separation to develop here first.

Madhvi Yasin, like Paul Brass, Anil Seal and Aparna Basu, outright rejected theses of those who tried to trace out backwardness among Muslims throughout the country. Like Seal, she also criticised Hunter's findings in his The Indian Musalmans and viewed Muslim backwardness only in some particular regions of the country. She says that Muslims were (educationally) ahead of the Hindus in the North-Western

Provinces and Oudh as reported by Mr. Nesfield, Director of Public instruction of Oudh. She puts it, "the North-Western Provinces Oudh had been a centre of Muslim power since the turn of twelfth century. The ratio of the population between the Muslims and Hindus was 13.4 and 86.3 respectively in 1881, but on the whole the former was more influential, more prosperous and better educated than their co-religionists in the rest of British India. The talukdars of Oudh consolidated their position after 1850 and numbered 337 of whom seventy-eight were Muslims ... the Muslim monopoly did not break. The Government employed Muslims in the subordinate administrative services. In 1885, in the district of Benaras, Battia, Ghaziapur and Jaunpur, 134 persons paid land revenue above Rs.1,000/- per year. One-third of them were the "new men" who had made their fortunes under the British, and mainly as administrative officers. These "new men" were, by and large, Muslims. Among the twenty-nine highest payers of the revenue, fifteen were Muslims. Here the Muslims were educationally ahead of the Hindus...

The Director of Public Instruction of Oudh, Mr. Nesfield, pointed out that the English Schools in conservative Muslim towns flourished more easily than those in Hindu towns, like Ayodhya. The Muslims were not backward even in higher education. Taking into account all types of institutions in their totality, in each 10,000 of the
population of the school-going age of the Hindus and the Muslims, the average was 1550 and 851, respectively."

Madhvi Yasin also provided data Madras Presidency which are, for the Muslim community are much encouraging. "In Madras, between 1871-72 and 1880-81, while the number of Hind pupils doubled, the number of Muslim pupils quadrupled. The respective percentage for the Muslims, Hindu Brahmins and Hindu non-Brahmins and other Hindus was 22, 73, 18 and 4, respectively. Thus it made out that one out of every 64 Muslim boys, and one out of 76 Hindu boys went to school. The percentage of the Muslim boys in schools to the total percentage of those of school-going age was 15.1, while that of the Hindu boys was 13.7."

Madhvi Yasin also provides facts and figures for the Muslim community lived in the Bombay Presidency. Muslims are shown by her to have made a sharp contrast and disproportion between their memerical strengths and representation in education." In every division of Bombay, except in Sind and in almost every district of Gujarat, the percentage of Muslim pupils was higher than their percentage in population. For example, in Broach district in government and private aided schools in 1877 the percentage of the Brahmins and Muslims was 9.7 and 19.43 respectively. In Gujarat, Bohras, Shias and Sunni Musalmans were quite advanced in
education as they were from trading class and minimum level of education was essential for their livelihood. Thus Bombay Presidency showed a moderate increase in the number of the Muslim pupils. It was remarkable that the greatest success had been attained in Northern Division of the Presidency.

Yasin has rightly pointed out Bengal Presidency and the Punjab as an exception to be the backward Muslim pockets in the country. Here she, especially on Bengal, could see eye to eye with Hunter and others. She gave out huge data on education conditions and Muslim performances in Bengal and the Punjab and where most of them were converted Hindus thus hanging in the lowest ladder of social hierarchy who received, on the basis of change in religion, no economic relief and were predominantly agriculturist having very few Muslim schools in the Muslim majority areas, respectively. Deep adherence to religious tradition, hostility of the Hindu privileged class, to the local converts, British policy of strengthening the hold of Hindus upon land and administration, very little size of Muslim aristocracy, Permanent Settlement (1793) of Lord Cornwallis, abortion of Muslim monopoly in the military and in some branches of civil services. The Resumption Proceedings after 1828 which acted as a death blow to the Muslim aristocracy, the
substitution of English for Persian and thus derecognition of their old system of executive service thus leading to economic bankruptcy and narrowing down the scope for Muslim employment and many others and the factors which made this religious denomination backward on almost all courts. Even conditions of Muslim economic and social state in Bengal in the course of time came to widely differ from that of the Muslims in the Punjab. "The attitude of the British Government towards the Muslims underwent a radical transformation after 1870. From 1880, the British government made sustained efforts to encourage education among Muslims as they had come to realise the political significance of the community in India as a means to perpetuate their rule. Promoting education among the Muslims formed a pivotal administrative policy of the government under the Crown. Thus the Muslim backwardness in education emanated from being poor and generally agriculturists and not from aversion of the English education, which was common to both the Hindus and the Muslims."

Rafiuddin Ahmad (1981), of those who differ from the first section - scholars talked a lot that "the Muslims lagged far behind." His book entitled "The Bengal Muslims 1871-1906: A Quest for Identity, has viewed the conditions of the Muslims at the various stages and in various spheres of life. The book witnessed that in Bengal in the 19th
century, the high caste Hindus had been the connoisseurs of education and learning on modern lines, not merely to pursue knowledge but to seek government jobs. Muslims came to the scene of Western education very late in the 19th century, by then the Hindus had already left them far behind. In order to counterbalance the advantages, the Hindus by dint of their educational capacity already gained concessions from the government which were sought by the elites, and this way, there came to exist a perpetual rivalry between Hindus and Muslims. Throughout the 19th century, efforts were made to trace the practical reason of their present conditions, and it implies from the findings of scholars that the Muslims were less number than the Hindus, were less ready to seize opportunities offered by the Western education and less quick to adapt themselves to changing conditions under British rule.

In this connection, Ahmad quotes Sayyid Abul Fazl who puts it in his "On the Mohammedans of India". While the Hindus were crowding English schools and colleges, the Muslims seclapart and held back by the conservation of Islam. Hunter blamed this system as a whole for miserable conditions

of the Muslims. He writes, "The truth is that our system of public instruction which has weakened the Hindus from the sleep of the countries and quickened the inert masses with some noble impulses of a nation is opposed to the traditions, unsuited to the requirements, and lateful to the religion of the Musalmans (Hunter 1945: 177).

Ahmad further seeks to present Rev. Long's argument that Muslim community did not have the same aptitude as the Hindus for acquiring a knowledge of English therefore, they needed special facilities." The resulting inquiries revealed that it was primarily in Bengal that Muslims' education had suffered most. Bengal is the classic example of Muslim backwardness in education. The higher the education, the rarer are the Muslims. In 1875, of the total number of college students in the Bengal Presidency only 12.5 per cent were Muslims and 93.9 per cent Hindus.

At the higher levels Muslims lagged for behind their Hindu neighbours. This was partly because of economic depression of the upper class Muslims. Others soon found themselves shut out of government employment when Persian was superceded in 1837. Thus several important sources of income which would enable them to take advantage of any higher education were blocked.

12. GRPI, p. 123; Also Second Quinquennial Review of Education in India, 1887-1892, pp. 322-23.
Many could not kindly take to a system considered thoroughly un-Islamic and believed to be a medium for the propagation of Christian ideals. Others, convinced of the infallibility of their own system, basked in the memory of past glories and made little efforts to acquire and education without which they gradually lost position of privilege.

English language as the medium of instruction which the Muslims were quite alien to war the another problem in taking modern education, and was able to deepen and intensify Muslim backwardness.

Wahabi Trials (1870-71) greatly caused inspiration in the minds of the Muslims to Sheen Christian education. The Muslim position with regard to jobs was mirror image of their relative backwardness in education. In 1871 of the total 734 government officials in executive and subordinate positions posted in the various district headquarters of Bengal proper, 44, or 5.9 per cent were Muslims, 311 or 4.1 per cent Hindus and rest mostly Europeans (Calculated from the Quarterly Civil List for the Lower Provinces of Bengal xviii (new series) Calcutta 1871, pp.11-80). In 1887, they occupied only 3.18 per cent of the total positions in subordinate judicial service. In the Education Department which was one of the largest employees of educated persons,

Muslims were to be found primarily in the madrassah and executive Muslim schools. As late as 1893, of the total 144 teachers in government schools in Bengal proper, not more than half a dozen were Muslims (Bengal Education Proceedings, 1894 (April), Letter from DPI Bengal to the Government of Bengal, 23 June, 1893, also GRPI 1883-84, p.145). This was the basic reason why the Muslims witness before the Public Service Commission in 1886 opposed the principle of competitive examinations in appointment of statutory services.

J.N. Farquhar argues that the transference/power of Muslim to British hands produced wide spread degradation among the former rulers and the whole community sank with the empire. Without the support of princely patronage, or at a lower but broader level, that of officials and zamindars, the old Muslim education system gradually declined. And "for many decades the Muhammadans failed to take advantage of the new education planted by the conqueror." Modern Religious Movements in India. It is also obvious from the writing of Philip Hartog that the abandonment of Arabic and Persian had greatly contributed to their fear of being Christianised by new education system. Farquhar again points out that besides Muslims' reluctance to eschew

traditional way of learning and lack of proper scopes for English education (until 1829) which Government preferred, the relative position of the Hindus and Muslims gradually changed. The change of the official language brought great progress in English which fetched Hindus immense wealth and positions, while Muslims decline in all wake of life. By way of special considerations a large endowment fund bequeathed by Haji Muhammad Mohsin of Hooghly, the English College, entitled Hooghly College, was opened in 1836. This college in the year 1850 got only 5 Muslim students of the total 409. Philip Hartog says that "...though Muslim were educationally backward, they were not intellectually backward, but there were several things which hampered the progress of the Muslim community in the higher stages of education. The main causes were the poverty of the community, their linguistic difficulty, the lack of sufficient number of Muslims employed in Education Department and Muslims continued demand for religious instructions. As a consequence, it was noted in 1882-83 that "in the colleges the Mahommedans form barely 5 per cent of the pupils, and in the high schools barely \( \frac{1}{10} \) per cent ..." C.A. Mastin officiating Director of Public Instruction, showed that the same disparity between the Hindus and Muslims existed in employment of

16. ORPI in Bengal 1883-84, p. 145.
teachers in Zilla Schools of several Divisions. In the Presidency Division there were 36 teachers all of who were of Hindus. Out of 18 teachers in the Dacca Division, none were Muslims. In the Chittagong Division out of 72 teachers there were only 2 Muslims. In the Rajshahi Division there were 51 teachers yet only 2 were Muslims. In the Burdwan Division out 17 teachers only 1 belonged to the Muslim community.

In our examinations of the economic conditions of the Muslims in Bengal irrespective of places where they formed minority, we must find them to be mere tenants having their zamindars with few exceptions to be Hindus. Census of 1881 shows 62.81 per cent of them being husbandmen and 49.28 per cent Hindus to be the same. "In every 10,000 Muslims no less than 7,316 were cultivators but only 5,555 amongst the same number of Hindus. But the proportion of landowners as only 170 in 10,000 in the case of Muslims as against 217 in the same number of Hindus."

Toynbee gives an evidence about the Muslims economic conditions that "the classes, who possess any kind of proprietary rights, or any occupancy right in the land which is duly respected by the landlord, are generally raised above

the reach of famine. Many of them are in debt owing to
pernicious custom of the country which entails an expendi­
ture or marriage and other religious ceremonies quite out
of proportion to the means of the person incurring it, and
who have generally to borrow at high rate of interest to
meet it. Tenants-at-will and those whose rights of occu­
pancy are not respected even if they possess them, live,
it must be confessed, from hand to mouth. The value of a
tenants annual produce would be estimated at about £ 15.
But most of these agriculturists were heavily in debt to
the pitty traders, and the Mahajans (Money-lendârs). Mahajans
were mostly Hindus since Muslims take no interest. Toyabee
before the Indian Famine Commission of 1880.

In the district of Nadia where the Muslims numbered
58.75 per cent of the population, it was found that more
than 75 per cent of the agriculturists were the clients of
Mahajans. The average amount that a client owed in a year
was not less than £ 7 including a change of £ 2.10s. as
interest.

The cultivators in Central Bengal were mostly in
debt and it was noted that "indebtedness in Central Bengal
is the rule. In the district of 24 parganas it was found
that an average debt of a cultivators family was Rs.72 per annum. The people of Burdwem district are rack-rented; there was no margin of bad seasons and for the cost of marriage and funeral rites, which cannot be omitted without social degradation. Hence it is not surprising to find a debt averaging Rs. 84 per family, or more than a year's income F.H.B. Skins : Memorandum on the Material Condition of the lower order in Bengal from 1881-82 to 1891-92, para 98.

At all the rural industries mentioned handloom weaving was the most widespread in Bengal. "Next to agriculture", it has been marked, "it provides employment, directly or indirectly, to the vast majority of the people. The weaver class among Muslims occupied a very low social position among their own community. The usually marry within their own class. Inter-marriages with their to religionists and regarded as improper and indignified and are not allowed to except on the payment of special penalties. As a result of introduction of machine-made goods this industry had suffered a setback and consequently the economic position of the weavers also had become unsatisfactory. The great majority of weavers have, however, given up their hereditary occupations and have now taken to cultivation and

other remunerative pursuits. Those that still work at the loom are in more or less indigent weaving circumstances and are not able to depend on weaving as the sole means of their subsistence.

In emphasising educational importance S. Shamim Shah (1982-83) on the basis of his "Educational Survey Report on Muslim-managed schools and colleges in India, 1982-83 (Hamdard Education Society, Hamdardnagar, New Delhi) shows that educational backwardness is important for overall backwardness of the Muslims. He also emphasised that no progress can be made in the socio-economic status without attainment of education. On the basis of this hypothesis, one can also view coincidental facts prevailing at the place under study. And these data will certainly make as calculate the degree to which our whole society has to advance in education in order to attain other goals aimed at. His entire debate is based on the fact that only those communities and/or countries are seen to be progressed in all walks of life i.e. social, economic, political or cultural, which have already made enormous progress in Science and technology, Art & craft and so on.

Shamim Shah also points out "the process of degradation of the Muslim community" since independence, which

is every now and then located in the Civil Services Examinations, or High School, Higher Secondary, University and Professional examinations, or in the lack of confidence and courage, economic resources, intellectual leadership of Muslims, or in the feelings of insecurity or in the gradual tendency of obliteration and extraction of language of culture, fear and uncertainties, etc.

Like some other scholars, Peter B. Mayer also points out the havoc caused by partition of the country which caused "deep frustration and disillusionment in the minds of Muslims in India", who strongly feel that they are "Second Class Citizens" in India. Ranjit Gupta in a sarcastic manner put some imaginary changes and their explanations in matter of pro-Pakistan sympathy of the Muslims of India that the Indian Muslims are still unchanged in their attitudes in connection with national sentiment, and most of them "look forward to Pakistan and pay lip-service to our confrontation with Pakistan."

While coming to the economic structure of the Muslims, Peter B. Mayer extracts from Ansar Harvani (1968) and Zinkin (1966) who reveal the fact that Muslim community even after two decades of Independence did not get any avenue in the economic structure of the Indian society.

Imtiaz Ahmad opined that "the important thing is not that there is discrimination against Muslims in the economic structure. What is important is that Muslims have felt so insecure as to believe themselves to be the target of continuous discrimination. This fact has been crucial to their social adjustment in the country.

Peter B. Mayer also views cultural threat to Muslims which has penetrated into the deep of their assessment of things, i.e. extrusion of Urdu from cultural scene, etc.

Moin Shakir viewed that for the last one hundred years it has been the tragedy for the Muslims community which even could not perceive of their socio-economic backwardness in terms of securing jobs for the educated middle class by leaving the cause of the suffering ones in the community. Leadership within the community has always been extortionate and misleading with a view to safeguarding its political survival. Besides the above, Purdah is another instrument to contribute to educational backwardness, which is concomittant of the lack of utility of birth control (Family Planning or Planned Parenthood) and polygamy being a great freight to the Hindus as an instrument of another division of country.

All these factors have been hindering Muslim community from coming to the mainstream of Indian national development,
and as a result, "4 1/2 crores of people....become inimical, a drag and drgim on it."  

S.N. Faridi emphasises the economic situation to be "chaotic, abnormally pathetic and hopeless." Since economic stability is basic factor progress in social political matters can not old considerably done. He, therefore, finds three major wants contributing to this backwardness among Muslims, which are following: (a) lack of economic organisation, (b) lack of a powerful leadership and lack of capital. Moin Shakir also traced economic problems to migration of Muslims industrialists that caused Muslims to face indefinite, starvation and Wakf institutions (Regd) which were valued Rs. 100 crores having an annual income Rs. 5 crores to fail due to many reasons, one of which as most important is the dishonesty of the Muslim organisers of them. Moin Shakir also viewed some contributing factors at the partition of the country: "insecurity, frustration and uncertainty" and doubt in the "validity of existence as a community" of the Muslims who were already deprived of "reservations in services, adult franchise and common electorate, the zamindari system and so on." He says, in some states recruitment of the Muslims in police was stopped under ministerial orders on the plea that they were over represented in past. The evacuee property law

was used to define Muslims of their property on a wide scale. There was a connected attempt to compel the Muslims to leave the country." Girish Mathur also came forward with the issue of partition which makes inner conflict among different sects of Muslims. Shia-Sunni not in 1969 at Lucknow, Sunni-Wahabit conflict in Karala, difference between Bohras and Momens and difference between the Khojas and so on, have largely contributed to weakening the community resulting immense plunder, burning of houses, attack on religious places, stabbing at mosque-priests loss of huge property at Lucknow, separation in congregational prayers in Kerala and so on.

Like other scholars Moin Shakir also holds elimination of Urdu as a cultural threat to the Muslim community which fatally weakened Muslim education in India. It was D.E. Smith, who believes that Urdu has been the cause of educational stagnation in the community which was much late to merge in the Indian mainstream with the urge of modern education. D.E. Smith writes, "Urdu fared badly in India during the first decade of independence. Throughout large areas of northern and Central India (in the states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan) Urdu was virtually eliminated as a medium of instruction in schools." Smith proceeds further with the issue of employment crisis.

for, and discrimination against, the Muslims. He relies on Mohammad Ismail, President of All India Muslim League, who in 1955 declined that "the number of Muslims being recruited to various services was dwindling in a fearful manner."

He points out that in the most recent list of the candidates selected for Administrative and Foreign services, not a single Muslim name appeared. Similarly, among several hundred candidates in Madras area for clerical jobs in the Post and Telegraph Department, there was only one Muslim. A similar view enriched by evidence appears from S. Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi's (1980) note. He notes, "...the strength of Muslims in Delhi Police Force in 1946, was 1470, now it has dwindled to 56. Since 1946, only two Muslim constables and one head Constable have been recruited. The total strength is 2058." In other words, from 1946 to 1952 only three Muslims had been taken in Delhi Police Force.

Regarding discrimination against and the charge of which is made by, the Muslims, Smith writes "although in the administration of examinations there might exist no-discrimination against Muslim candidates, yet in the Commissions

29. S. Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi, Muslims in India, p.139.
interviewed with candidates, there is, of course, opportunity for communal bias to affect the evaluation." The result obtained from "speaking with a number of people closely connected with the working of the Union Public Service Commission sought to reveal more discrimination on communal ground to exist in some of the State Commissions than in the Union Public Service Commission." He also speaks about the picture of Muslim education, "This educational gap between the Hindus and Muslims has always been wide and continues to be reflected in results of Civil Service Examinations. For some time after Partition, a substantial number of young Muslims found government jobs in Pakistan after graduation from Indian Universities. Also the sense of frustration which gripped many Indian Muslims in first few years of independence prevented many from even applying for government jobs. This failure to try, based on the assumption that they are bound to be discriminated against is still a significant problem. ....

Although D.E. Smith's assessment was acceptable that ...."Indian Muslims have quickly realized that their future welfare depends squarely on secularity on the state." "Nevertheless, it has to be recorded in sorrow that in the field of education the secular ideal of the Constitution has remained

on paper. He stated that the curricular that one introduced are not at all reasonable from the secular point of view as they only contain every thing of Hindustan other than the matter of Muslim glories and exploits. Even the Prophet's deeds and character have also been distorted and blurred in some books which are also to be swallowed by the Muslim pupils too." It has posed a most serious threat to their religious and cultural solidarity and the religious survival of third future generations." His arguments also focus on the socio-economic conditions of the Muslims in India who are considered "Yuwans" meaning 'unclean' or 'foreigners'. Economically Muslims are at "the level of a backward and depressed people" as they were already robbed of their all economic resources, like, zamindari, government services, higher branches of trade, and reservations in services as well.

Wilfred Countuel Smith (1979) who falls in this section of scholars traces economic and cultural backwardness of the Muslims to the fact that they have been the prey of discriminating social and political attitudes of the Government during British regime. This finding of Smith involves a

33. S.A.H.A.Nadwi, op.cit., p. 130.
34. S.A.H.A.Nadwi, op.cit., p. 130.
number of factors. One of the major factors is uneven distribution of power. He puts it, "All competent observers agree that the Government of India singled out the Muslim community for deliberate repression for the first decade or so after the Mutiny. What they mean is that the Government repressed the Muslim Upper Classes, and the sections from which the middle classes would have been drawn. (The peasants were and always have been repressed; no new policy was devised for them and their treatment was quite indistinguishable from that meted to any other peasants, Hindu or whatever). The British policy was based on the grounds that the Muslim upper classes had been primarily responsible for the Mutiny, attempting to rehabilitate their Mughal Empire. As early as 1843, a governor-general had given the warning to London and suggested the use of communalism to preserve imperialist rule. 'I cannot close my eyes to the belief that race (Mohammadans) is fundamentally hostile to us and our true policy is to reconcile the Hindus.'

The Mutiny was barely quelled before the governor of Bombay was saying, "Divide at impera' was the old Roman motto, and it should be ours. 'The policy, though perhaps not the motto was adopted; and as an another British official

later said, "During and for long after the Mutiny, the Mohammedans were under the cloud. To them were attributed all the horrors and calamities of that terrible time. A fairly full and very convincing indictment of the government policy was presented by another British official, W.W. Hunter, when the policy had been carried so far as to be getting dangerous. In the last section of his book on the Indian Musalmans, he gave extensive facts and figures showing the discrimination against Muslims. The Mohammedan population is .... shot out alike from official employ and from the recognised profession." The author admitted also the spoliation and extermination of the old Muslim educational system, and gave example of misappropriation. The repression of the Muslims that is indicated above --- keeping them out the administration and of the medical, legal and other such professions, and in general and educating them was, clearly a policy affecting the upper class and the potentially middle classes. It was at this time that the clerical and professional classes among the Hindus were developing and beginning to wield power. The India Office was afraid to that same power to the Muslims, whose upper classes, as the Mutiny supposedly showed, already wielded more power than was comfortable for the foreign.

37. Monsluart Elphenstone, Minute of 14 May, 1859 quoted in Dutta, India To-day, p.389 and in many other national workers.
More especially, it was afraid to allow that power to both groups at the same time.

This political policy of the government would have been less successful than it was, had there not been powerful economic factors operating to reinforce it. Communalism would not have proved so effective a decisive force, nor could the upper classes Muslims have been so effectively repressed, had the Muslim and Hindu sections of the classes concerned been at the same economic level. But they were not. Economic development within British imperialist system benefited a group of Indians of whom a far larger population were Hindus than Muslims. The Indian bourgeoisie still today is predominantly composed of Hindus (and same is others, e.g. Persis); its Muslim members are relatively few, and, taken collectively, poor. This is sometimes stated in the form that the Muslim middle class is much weaker than its rival; or still less accurately, that the Muslim community economically and culturally backward.

Besides a good number of resolutions to protect the rights of the minorities in India along with certain favours and facilities provided in its constitution, Muslims have been gripped in sound measure by backwardness necessitated

by several factors. Not only resolutions but also Muslim hold in the cabinet as Smith records have not been useful enough to protect Muslims and Muslim interests so that they could avoid backwardness from happening to them.

Smith, however, records a number of resulting factors which contributed to the present conditions of the Muslims in India. He, however, considers discrimination as one of them, but does not regard it as the chief explanation for this regrettable situation. But why was backwardness? The public service Commissions, both central and state, have developed as sound a system of recruitment as could be desired. The competitive examination is the means of the system, and it has never been contended that there was discrimination in the administration of the examinations. In the Commission's interview with the candidate there is, of course, the opportunity for communal bias to affect the evaluation. However, most of the commissions must be counted as fair-minded men and include in their numbers of members of the minority communities. The author's own conclusion, after speaking with a number of people closely connected with the working of Union Public Service Commission is that there is exceedingly little communal discrimination at that level. In some of the state commissions there is possibly more.
On the other hand, in Mysore state the Muslims representing 10 per cent of the population hold 13 per cent of the I, II and III posts in government service. In South India the principle of communal reservation (for a caste as well as religious communities has a long history and has resulted in a state kind of judicial and communal reservation except for the scheduled castes and tribes and other backward classes, is now unconstitutional, but in Mysore the Muslims have been classified as backward.

The educational gap, Smith points out, between Hindus and Muslims has always been wide and continues to be reflected in the results of Civil Service examinations. For some time after partition, there has been developed a sense of frustration among Muslims in getting jobs in India. As a result, a substantial number of young Muslims sought jobs in Pakistan after graduation from Indian Universities. This sense of frustration caused Muslims to dwindle down in academic pursuits. For this sense even prevented many Indian Muslims from even applying for government posts. This failure to try, based on the assumption that they are bound to be discriminated against, is still a significant problem.

These factors have undoubtedly contributed heavily to the present situation, but communal discrimination - Hindu
against Muslim—has also been at work, especially in the lower posts filled by department heads and by district and municipal boards. In May 1958 Nehru began a personal campaign of vehement exhortation to the majority community to abandon discriminatory practices against the Muslim. A resolution adopted by the top-level working committee of the Congress Party urged that the minority communities should be given full opportunities to enter the public services. But all this did not work properly to favour the Muslim community.

The numerical representation of the Muslims in legislatives, on the other hand, has generally been poor. They represented about 9.9 per cent of the total population; after the 1951-52 elections Muslims held about 4 per cent of the seats in the Lok Sabha (22 only 500 seats). In the 1962 elections 20 Muslim candidates were elected to the Lok Sabha, and 3 others were given nominated seats. Muslim representation in the Rajya Sabha has been very close to the population ratio. But it is the situation in the Lok Sabha, with its superior powers and prestige, which is of decisive importance for the Muslims or any minority. There are legitimate reasons which partly explain the inadequate representation. "Most of the Indian Muslims with political experience were members of the Muslim League, and many opted
for Pakistan in 1947. Those who remained were discredited by their past associations and found but limited opportunities within the Congress Party, the organisation which has dominated Indian politics since independence. With the exception of those (like Abul Kalam Azad) who had been identified with the Congress why before independence, then, the older generation of Muslim politicians has found it difficult to function in the new situation (1963: 419-420).

(W.W. Hunter is among those agreeing with Muslims country-wide backwardness, however falling into the Second category of scholars.

This book of Hunter is an instance of his comprehensive study of various conditions that the Muslim community in Bengal had been undergoing. He found Muslim community deeply overwhelmed in backwardness, and therefore, gathered huge data on the community explaining various aspects of life. By virtue of post that he had adorned in Bengal, he could view things around him concerned with the Muslims in Bengal and described reasonable and responsible factors which were widening by leaps and bounds, the socio-economic dysjunction between the Hindus and Muslims therein.

Hunter however came to represent Muslim community as having received a fatal onslaught on it provided by British occupation. Pondering on the Muslim resentment
which had led to the Wahabi conspiracy, Hunter explained this by their despair at being the chief victims of the British occupation. Yet most of the evidence for the Muslim decline cited in his work.

British occupation made great impact on Muslim community in Bengal on several counts. Transfer of zamindari from Muslim to the Hindus affected Muslim community at both mental and economic levels and thus, it combined with the Permanent Settlement of 1793 caused reverse economic depression. Hundreds of ancient families were ruined, and the educational system of the Muslims, which was almost entirely maintained by rent-free grants, received its death-blow. Moreover, the Resumption Proceedings impoverished many families .... But a larger number of families became poor by the substitution of English for Persian. It was not merely that Mohammedans lost the monopoly over the courts and several branches of the Executive Service, the old system of education was also rendered useless, and the proved disastrous from a pecuniary point of view.

Between 1852-1868, however, not one of the pleaders admitted to the rolls of the high court in Calcutta was a Muslim. In 1869 among the attorneys, Proctors and Solicitors,

41. H. Blochman to J. Satchiff, Principal, Calcutta Madrassa, 9 October 1871, RDPI (Bengal) 1871-2, p.73.
there were twenty seven Hindus, but there were no Muslims. Thus, in both administrations and the professions Muslims were being forced out.

When the National Mahommedan Association complained in 1882 about the present impoverished condition of the Mahommedans of India, as compared with their last prosperity, and when in 1888 its Secretary again deplored 'the state of utter disintegration into which Musulman society has fallen within the last century', it was the Muslims of Bengal they had particularly in mind, although by suggestion falsi, it was the Muslims of India of whom they appeared to be speaking.

Moreover, in 1871 the Muslims had about 12 per cent of the gazetted appointments, a decade later their share had dropped to just over 8 per cent. Though, there were only fifty-three Muslim officers in the unconvenated judicial and executive service of Bengal, or in one among twelve among Indians, in law, the only secular profession open to well-born Mohammedans the Muslims had been in a relatively strong position during the first half of the century, there after the entire community began to lag far, behind its counterpart throughout the country.

42. Memorial of the National Mahommedan Association, 6 February 1882, Muslim Selections, Part 3, p. 237.
43. Ibid., 1945: 161.
44. Ibid., 1945: 163.
S.K. Ghosh (1987), one those scholars who considered Muslims to be backward throughout the country, provided in a brief manner with some resulting factors for the backwardness among the Muslims in India. To quote him, "Under the Mughals there was no politics and, in the democratic sense, politics commenced when the Muslims found the British manned the administration overwhelmingly by the Hindus and the prevailing permanent settlement, step by step, expropriated the Muslim landlords and by the nineteenth century most of the land was owned by Hindus. Reluctance of the Muslims to read English made them educationally backward before the British. Greatly distressed by the backward state of Muslims, the Muslim leaders fell into the trap of the British policy of "divide and rule" and with a view to secure more benefits for the community worked for separate Muslim identity."

Whatever the Muslim leaders worked for, it is now clear from the foregoing paragraph, is the fact that the social status positions of the Muslims were below those of the Hindus. As a result, all their efforts, according to Ghosh, had been to persuade the British government to bridge the gap between these two religions communities.

It is evident from the foregoing studies that the backward status of the Muslim community is not a country-wide phenomenon and is therefore, confined to the regional boundaries in consideration. Thus it becomes clear that the condition of the Muslims in Bengal is not the same as that of the Muslims in Uttar Pradesh. There are some scholars whose findings distinguished Muslims of Uttar Pradesh from the Muslims of Bengal or of the Punjab. They have shown that Muslims in Northern India were more prosperous, more influential and better educated than elsewhere. British occupation did not make any adverse effect on Muslim community or on the privileged positions of the Muslims in Northern India.

On the other hand some scholars hold that the Aligarh Movement led by Muslim elite was not to eradicate Muslims' backwardness, but to protect their privileged positions at socio-economic levels in view of growing backwardness among the Muslims in the country. However Muslims were never backward in this region so far as 19th century is concerned.

The other section of scholars argue that backwardness among the Muslims is a problematic phenomenon all over the country. Hunter and others hold that Muslim community was fatally affected by British occupation. Transfer of zamindari
from Muslims to the Hindus, deliberate discrimination against the Muslims in administration of examinations and selection of recruits to employment caused great frustration among the Muslims in the country. Moreover, this frustration was followed by great insecurity after 1947 partition. Some of the scholars argued that many Muslim educated youth sought employment in Pakistan in the wake of large scale migration of Muslim industrialists from India. Some other scholars viewed that poor performances in education greatly debared the Muslim candidates from being selected in employment.

Some scholars showed that independent Government of India, even after many years of independence did not provide any economic avenues to this minority community, rather the Muslims are being oppressed and threatened even in their cultural ways of life, besides social and economic. However, substitution of English for Persian, oppression of Urdu or the other is that kind of threat to their cultural ways of life.

All the more, many scholars feel, that the Roman 'motto, divide et impera' which was adopted by the British as their own had also greatly censed disharmony in socio-cultural interactions between Hindus and Muslims in the community and thus all communal conflicts and riots every now and then taking place have the prolific outcomes of it
claiming thousands of human lives.

Some of the scholars pointed out uneven distribution of power by the British Government which badly affected this minority community in matters of administration.

Some scholars viewed Wahabbi Trials as a major contribution to the cause of Muslim backwardness, since they remained for long out of touch in the modern education organised by Christian Government in India.

Some of the scholars have expressed that, Muslims are being treated as Second-Class citizens in India. For this reason or the other, they still sustain a sense of minority-identity in a Hindu predominated environment.

To sum up, it can be put forth that all these factors, by and large, effectively worked to force this community out of the mainstream of the country's socio-political scenario and thus assumed a backward status in many parts of the country. In almost all ... walks of life.
CHAPTER III

RESEARCH PLAN AND PROCEDURE

The present study is sought to test a hypothesis that the Muslims of Malda are economically and educationally a backward community. Backwardness among Muslims, like in other parts of the country, does not occur in the district for no reason or for a single reason. Accordingly, Muslims' backwardness in this district involves multi-dimensional factors which ultimately placed the community at a state of socio-cultural or econo-political lag behind the Hindu community and made it a drag on the whole society. Naturally, such a low position or rank of this religious community does claim a headful look at it, and that various community Development Programmes are, every now and then, conducted for the betterment of the whole society. Further their low social positions seem, to a degree, to frustrate all public and philanthropic efforts, and they would remain deprived as before. For this reason or the other, such an study on empirical basis set up on the Muslim community of which Malda district is very much corresponding to those organised by the Government officials has been undertaken. Therefore, this study contains some important objectives in order to vividly look through the problem and its contributing factors taken into consideration in this study.
OBJECTIVES:

A scientific study on any problem is ever conditioned by a number of scientific objectives. Without objectives, any study corresponds to a ship in the sea without anchor. This study, therefore, has a number of objectives as an essential part of scientificity.

However, (i) One of the major objectives is about the actual status position in matters of educational and economic attainments of the Muslims in the District of Malda, and about the extent to which the positions are lower than those of the Hindu individuals of the same area.

(ii) Another objective is that whether it is education that this community talk in itself which gradually or rapidly widens the gap between the Hindu and the Muslim communities, or it is the economic insolvency prevailing in the community which drags it away from the economic level of the Hindu community.

(iii) The third objective is that if the Muslims are backward and are lagging behind their counterparts in matters of educational and economic attainments, then what sorts of remedies will be required for their educational and economic betterment so that they may be able to keep pace with their counterparts.
(iv) The fourth and final objective is that in view of educational and economic handicap of the religious community, what steps towards redressing the handicap should be taken by the Governments, State as well as Central.

However, the above mentioned objectives are duly based on the following hypothesis:

**HYPOTHESIS:**

(a) Muslims in the district of Malda and economically backward and are lagging the Hindus in the district. In view of such a low economic position, the community exists as economically a dependent one in almost all counts.

(b) The resultant factor relating to the Muslims' economic backwardness in the area under study is the deliberate discrimination against this community in the economic structure i.e. employment, business organisations or so. This greatly causes stagnation in all social activities.

(c) The Muslim community in the district of Malda is educationally a backward community and also is lagging behind the Hindu community. The backward status seems to be most obvious in data drawn of on higher education, i.e. post-graduation or so. Number of school-going children also seems to be lesser among the Muslims than that among the Hindus.

(d) This state of educational activities may greatly be caused by financial constraints, and other family problems,
like, high fertility, sustenance of costly luxuries, lavish food habits, or so.

**RESEARCH TOOLS AND TECHNIQUES USED:**

In order to meet all the requirements of the study first of all, required a standardised schedule method consisting of sixty groups of questions (many of the question - items contained more than one question). Since the main thrust of the study was to determine the actual status/positions that the Muslims hold in the area under study, the data, to any extent, concerned with the social and economic variables or somehow related themselves to those determinants of educational and economic conditions of the Muslims (and also of the Hindus) have been only drawn up from the whole lot obtained in the schedule.

This schedule has been characterised by varied types of questions, that is, open-ended questions, close-ended questions, simple verbal technique, projective technique, fixed alternative questions and so on.

Besides schedule method, this study has also employed informal interview technique in view of shortfall of time, energy and patience of the respondents, irrespective of old-aged and/or indifferent ones.

Sometimes, interview method has been followed by keen observation, and hence, it was made possible, to an extent,
to check or cross-check the replies provided by non-sensitive respondents.

Some other techniques which are not possible to be termed sociologically or scientifically have been of considerable help for gathering data and for cross-checking the obtained data. However, these techniques, requiring any term and awaiting any scientifically high sounding circumference neither could only be evaluated, in full, in local situations and not in all places, by reason of certain variations in local values and mores of different settings.

In addition to all mentioned above, some secondary sources of information in terms of review of relevant existing literature, designing of the study, making hypothesis feasibility of the task etc., showed not be lost sight of.

The field of study selected for the investigation has been constituted by fourteen groups of villages from the south-west and Southern parts of the Malda district headquarters. Most of the groups consisted of a number of different but adjoining villages. This involves an important reason which is following. This study was in need of informative replies from the respondents undertaken. In order to gain this object, the study spread to those
places only where sensible and educated persons usually gathered. These places were schools, government offices, workshop, factories and some other intellectual assemblages. However, most of the villages were selected for the reason that the sampling spots were mostly existing within them, and able to prove them representative for the whole area under investigation. In addition, areas of activities are almost the same as the extent of those fourteen groups of villages.

**SAMPLING:**

Since it was not possible for this study to contact all the inhabitants of the Malda district. On the basis of any other sampling technique(s), it had to employ a scientific technique which seemed to be best suitable for making itself a scientific and logically authentic study, which, however, could only be possible through sampling technique. Keeping in view the representativeness of the study and limitation of the investigator, purposive sampling technique has been adopted to study the whole universe.

Adoption of this particular technique, i.e., purposive sampling, was prompted by the following reasons. Besides purposive sampling, random sampling technique looked much feasible and suitable. Under this method, all the units of the Universe have equal probability of being undertaken.
In this process, there was much probability for the illiterate and ignorant folk to be sampled while a good number of educated and wise persons could be left out.

Adoption of this very technique was prompted by the following fact of sound importance. Village people, especially illiterate ones, are usually away from the notion of what a research is like, and what information they ought to provide. As a result, it was preconceived that larger number of uneducated villagers would be to spoil the sanctity and thrust of the study. Therefore, a small number of qualitatively informative village people have been undertaken. However, undertaking of this small number of them was strictly conditional by the local acquaintance of the field researcher.

The total number of respondents representing the total numerical strengths of the Universe is 166 belonging to both, male and female, sexes. Of the total number of respondents, 131 are Muslims and 35 are Hindus. The data drawn from the replies of the Hindu respondents are intended to be utilised as a scientific step to make a comparative analysis of the educational and economic attainments of the individuals, Hindu and Muslim, and thus to view and determine their actual status positions. This will finally lead this study to arrive at a conclusion, whether Muslims
are relatively backward in the areas of their educational and economic activities. Thus the data from the Hindu respondents constituted a 'control group'.

Galaxy of respondents are of different ages, between 16 and 80 years. No individuals below 16 years of age have been engaged for sampling. Variations in occupations, marital status, education levels, or any other traits and qualities acquired by individuals have not been any criteria for sampling.

ACTUAL FIELD OF STUDY:

The field of study has covered fourteen groups of villages located in the South and the south-western parts of Maldatown. Each of the groups of villages contains a number of hamlets. These consolidated groups are codified in the following manner along with their exact group-wise numbers of respondents undertaken:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Name of Group</th>
<th>No. of Respondents Undertaken</th>
<th>Codes Given</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>BAISHNABNAGAR</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>KRISHNA-PUR</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>SHAGABANPUR</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>GOLAPGANJ</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>DIARH</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The rationale which worked behind assembling the hamlets in such group-forms was the managableness and feasibility of the study.

**CATEGORISATION OF INDIVIDUALS:**

All the individual respondents have been categorised on the basis of their total per month family incomes, and thus they have been distributed among five distinctive income categories. They are, however, as follows: The first income-category has been constituted by those individuals whose per month income is upto Rs.500/-. The second category consists of individuals having their monthly income above Rs.500/- and upto Rs. 1000/-. The individuals with monthly income above Rs.1000/- and upto Rs.1500/- are falling in the third income-category. The fourth category

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Name of Group</th>
<th>No. of Respondents Undertaken</th>
<th>Codes Given</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>GOLABARI</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>SAHABANCHAK</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>WESTERN - RURAL MALDA</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>KAMALPUR/BABLA</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>KALIACHAK</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>16 MILES</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>RAJNAGAR MODEL</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>SOUTHERN - RURAL MALDA</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>LAKSHMIPUR</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 166
contains those individuals whose total family income is more than Rs. 1500/- and upto Rs. 2000/- per month. The fifth category covers those respondents whose total family income per month is above Rs. 2000/-. The number of respondents falling in those income categories has been shown in the tables separately.

However, categorisation of individual respondents is rationalised by the assumption that financial income of a family contributes primarily towards the attainment and maintenance of its educational and social status.

CODIFICATION, TABULATION AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA:

The data drawn from the schedules have been duly codified in order to make tabulation feasible and logically practicable. The codes used are sometimes in figure, while mostly in English script.

Codification involves an important reason. The data provided by the respondents were earstwhile in a comprehensive manner, and it was not possible to set them into the table. Therefore, the device of codification has been adopted.
The five income categories have been reported in five different tables, while remaining two tables contain comparative assessment of various calculated ingredients relating to economic and educational positions of the Muslims and Hindus, which have been presented in the concluding chapter.

All this, finally, leads to interpretation and analysis of data tabulated for each income category separately presented in the following Chapter.
CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

As has been mentioned in Chapter III that the area under study covered for field work comprised fourteen groups of villages which are located in the South and South-West of Malda Town. They are situated at a distance of 20 and 30 kms. from Malda town. A bus journey from the villages takes between one and two hours and costs around four rupees. On account of their general economic insolvency, the villagers are not able to move out frequently from their villages towards the Malda town and elsewhere for the pursuit of employment and any other economic resources. This peculiar feature of this area has considerably precluded rural-urban interaction and also prevented growth of rural-urban occupation and life-style developing in many other parts of the country.

Furthermore, Malda town itself is an underdeveloped administrative centre, rather than an industrialised commercial township. There are no medium-scale industries, no business houses or their offices. Consequently, neither there are industrial labour-force, nor are modern middle-class, schools, colleges, Universities and any modern markets. The villages under study are thus dependent on their meagre resources. No generalisations about the Muslims residing in other areas in India can be made on the basis of this study.
FIRST CATEGORY

Codes Used

1. A - (Baishnabnagnagar) The particular group of village;
   25 - Serial No. of individual responded
   M. - Muslim; M - Male; M - Married, 46 - age of
   respondent i.e. A25MMM - 46 ; B - the particular group of
   villages; 3 - Serial No. of individual responded ;
   H - Hindu, F - Female; U - Ummarried; 25 - Age of the
   respondent.

2. 13 - Financial Constraints;

3. SBF - Service in Bidi making Factory;

4. FCB - Farming - cum - Small business;

5. DTP - Department and Politics

6. AGC - Agriculture

7. CLB - Casual Labour/Begging

8. WCL - Wage earning/casual Labour

9. WEN - Wage earning

10. N - Nuclear (Family)

11. J - Joint (Family)

12. DPD - Dependant
ANALYSIS OF DATA

In this chapter, first of all, the variables which are considered to be the most important determinants and indicators of economic and educational status is of individuals have been analysed. These variables have been presented in all the six tables along with responses to them by the respondents. However, the variables dealt with in the tables are (a) total family income per month in rupees; (b) occupation of the respondents; (c) total family members; (d) type of family Joint/Nuclear; (e) number of rooms in the house; (f) source of water supply (g) consumption of electricity; (h) presence of TV, Radio, motor like, car or any other electrical appliances in the house; (i) education of the respondent; (j) Number and kind of newspapers/journals/periodicals/magazines being subscribed by the respondents' household; and (k) number of books in the house.

Responses of the respondents presented in the tables have been duly codified. Separate lists of codes used in the tables have been followed by each table separately. Illustration of codes represents the exact replies of the respondents.
The first category of respondents is the smallest one so far as the number of respondents are concerned. It, however, consists of only 9 respondents whose total family income is up to Rs. 500/- per month, to the maximum. This income category is represented by 5 groups of villages, —— AB PG and I. All the respondents in this category are Muslims, while it does not preclude the probability of Hindus to be found in this category. However, it indicates the probability of a larger number of Muslim households falling under this category. However, the data in this category of lowest income group of individuals reveal as under.

The families seem to belong to the humblest and the most deprived section of the village communities under study. Their family income ranges from Rs. 200/- and Rs. 500/- per month.

Occupations of these households are hazardous and irregular, namely casual labour begging, serving in Bidi making factory etc. One of the respondent has inferred that agriculture is his occupation but he also supplements his income from tilling others' land by engaging himself in sundry activities.

Possession of electric facilities, television set, radio refrigerator, car or motorbike etc. is a cry in the
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Possession of electric facilities, television set, radio refrigerator, car or motorbike etc. is a cry in the
wilderness on the part of these householde as none possess either of them.

Rooms in their house vary in most cases from 1 to 2. Only 1 family has 5 rooms and one has 3 rooms. Exception is with a joint family having 20 mud rooms, and these rooms are also shared by domestic animals.

None of these 9 households has got any type of toilet facilities in their houses.

With only 1 family in exception, none of them has its own water arrangements in the house. All of them, therefore, depend on community pumps.

Coming to education, it is found that education is nil in 4 cases, from class IV to VIII in 4 cases and 1 solitary respondent with education upto Pre-University level.

None of these respondents informed of collection of books in the house. Therefore the number of books in their houses is nil.

No training of any type and kind was informed to be undergone by any of the respondents.

Similarly, regarding journal reading habits, it is also clear that they do not subscribe to any reading materials, regularly or irregularly.

There are only 2 joint families in this category, but are appearing 7 nuclear families. The size of the joint family ranges from 6 to 20 members while the size of nuclear families ranges from 4 to 10 members.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code Used</th>
<th>Second Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. A.D.W.</td>
<td>Archal Development Work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. L.D.C.</td>
<td>Lower Division Clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. T.S.P.</td>
<td>Teaching Service in Primary School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. C.O.M.</td>
<td>Co-operative Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. T.S.H.</td>
<td>Teaching Service in High School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. H.S.</td>
<td>High School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. S.R.V.</td>
<td>Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. G.S.T.</td>
<td>Gram Sevak Training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. R.S.T.</td>
<td>Rearing of Silkworm Training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. J.B.T.</td>
<td>Junior Basic Training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. M.C.E.</td>
<td>Mechanical Engineering Training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. C.R.D.</td>
<td>Car Driving Training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. A.T.A.</td>
<td>Agricultural &amp; Technological Assistant Training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. C.M.T.</td>
<td>Co-operative Managers' Training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. B.P.Ed.</td>
<td>Bachelor of Physical Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. A.L.S.</td>
<td>Amanat (Land) Survey Training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. W.E.D.</td>
<td>Work Education/Work Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. 14</td>
<td>Family burden/shock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. 13</td>
<td>Financial Constraints</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. 15</td>
<td>Marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. 16</td>
<td>Joining Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. O.P.M.</td>
<td>Organising a Teaching Post in Madrasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. L.O.E.</td>
<td>Lack of Environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. P/L</td>
<td>Political/Literary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. R</td>
<td>Religious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. MCH</td>
<td>Mechanic Cycle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The second income category of the sample is larger than the first one in respect of number of respondents. It has 36 respondents representing A, B, C, D, E, F, G, I, J, K and L groups of villages. Out of these 36 respondents, there are 31 Muslim and 5 Hindu respondents who total family income ranges from above Rs. 500/- to Rs. 1000/- per month.

Out of the total number (i.e. 31) of Muslim respondents, there are 19 families having their income of Rs.1000/- per month each - that is the highest income under this category. Others having income from Rs.700/- to Rs. 900/- per month. A single family appearing in this category is having Rs.600/- income per month.

Out of the total number of Hindu respondents, there are 3 families having their income of Rs.1000/- per month each, while remaining 2 families having income between Rs.800/- to Rs. 900/- p.m. per month.

Occupations of individuals in this category are varied and many being a combination of rural and urban occupations showing a pattern of rural urban employment. Out of the 31 Muslim respondents, 9 are serving in government jobs, 5 in
teaching - Primary and High Schools, 4 as Lower Division Clers, 2 as IV Grade employees while 8 respondents are self-employed carrying on as small retailers or as repairers, 3 are agriculturists and 2 are housewives.

As for the occupations held by the Hindu respondents of this category, 2 respondents are High School teachers, 1 respondent is Primary School teacher, 1 cycle mechanic and 1 agriculturist.

Coming to consumption of electricity facility in the houses under the category it is clear that not a single household of either community is having electricity in their house.

There are 16 Muslim households possessing 1 radio set each in the house and 1 household is possessing 2 sets. Of them 4 families are also having 1 tape recorder each.

There are only 3 Hindu households having 1 radio set each and they do not have any tape recorder.

There has been found no household of either community under this income-category possessing television set, refrigerator, motorbike, car or any other costly domestic articles.
Number of rooms in house of the Muslim respondents are deficient. However the number ranges among them from 2 to 9 rooms only.

Among the Hindu households, the number of rooms ranges from 2 to 3.

Toilet families among Muslim household are also limited, only 6 Muslim households are having 1 lavotary each with no bath room except one.

There is only 1 Hindu household having 1 lavatory with no bath room in the house.

There are 19 Muslim households which are having their own water facilities in their respective houses.

There are 4 Hindu households which are having their own water resources. The rest of the both communities depend on community pumps for water the procurement of water.

As for educational attainments of the Muslim respondents, it is clear that 9 Muslim respondents are educated upto graduation level, 1 upto M.A. level, 11 upto H.S./P.U.C. level and the rest that is,
10 respondents, are educated below High School level.

Among the Hindu respondents, 2 are educated upto graduation level, 1 upto High School level and 2 are below High School level.

As far number of various books in the Muslim houses of the respondents, it is found that it ranges among the Muslims from 10 to 400 books. There are also 10 Muslim households which have no books at all, in their houses.

Among the Hindu households, the number varies from 40 to 200 books. There are 2 Hindu households possessing no books in their houses at all.

As regards to training under-gone by the respondents, it is reported that there are 9 Muslim respondents who have
obtained professional training. But their trainings are not always relevant to their callings in some cases among these 9 respondents i.e. as some agriculturists have undergone vehicle Driving training or mechanics training etc. Except 3 teachers, 1 Lower Division Clerk, 1 Co-operative Manager, and 1 Amdal Development worker, all took some irrelevant trainings.

Among the Hindu respondents, 3 are duly trained, 2 of them are High School teachers with work Education training and Bachelor of Physical Education training respectively, and the remaining 1 as a Primary School teacher with Junior Basic training.

There have been found 11 Muslim households subscribing to reading materials 1 newspaper each, except 4 households contributing to 2 newspapers each.

Among the Hindu households, only 2 are subscribing to reading materials. Out of them, 1 household is contributing to 1 newspaper and another to 2 newspapers.

Regarding the type of the family under the category there are 19 nuclear families and 17 joint families. Among the Muslims, 15 respondents belong to nuclear family and 16 to joint family.
Among the Hindus, 4 respondents belong to modern family and a single individual belong to joint family.

As for the size of family, it is seen that among the Muslims the number of family members ranges from 3 to 11 in the nuclear families and from 4 to 25 in the joint families.

Among the Hindus, it is found that the size of family ranges from 4 to 6 in nuclear families and the single joint family has only 4 members.
Third Category

1. TSH - Teaching Service in High School
2. HW - Housewife
3. LDC - Lower Division Clerk
4. OPM - Organising a Teaching Post in Madrasa
5. TSP - Teaching Service in Primary School
6. 
7. KNS - Knitting and Sewing
8. IMW - Inspector, Minimum Wages
9. CA - Community Assistant
10. AGT - Agricultural Technology
11. BT - Bachelor of Training
12. B.Ed. - Bachelor of Education
13. J.B.T. - Junior Basic Training
14. ALS - Amanat (Land) Survey
15. ADW - Anchal Development Work
16. PGBT - Post Graduate Bachelor of Training
17. 13 - Financial Constraints
18. 14 - Family burden/Shock
19. 15 - Marriage
20. 16 - Joining Service
21. 
22. APA - Admission Problem
23. LIE - Lack of Importance of Education
24. TSE - To some Extent-Financial Constraints
25. BTA - Basic Training Appended
26. CNTD - Continuing Disaster in the Family
27. AGJ - Assurance in getting job in a school
28. URE - Unfavourable Result in Examining
29. UNW - Unwillingness
The third income-category is the largest in respect of the number of respondents. There are 50 respondents falling under this category represented by the first 13 groups of villages, i.e. A to M. Out of 50 respondents, 40 respondents are Muslims and 10 respondents are Hindus, whose family income ranges from above Rs.1000/- and upto Rs. 1500/- per month.

Out of the total number of Muslim respondents 40 under this category, 10 Muslim respondents are having their total family income upto Rs.1500/- per month. The remaining 29 Muslim respondents are between Rs. 1015/- and Rs. 1450/- per month.

As for incomes held by the 10 selected Hindu respondents under this category, there are 5 respondents having income of Rs. 1500/- each per month. The rest 5 respondents are within the incomes ranging from Rs. 1100/- and Rs.1300/- per month.

As for occupations of the respondents under this category numbering 50, there are 30 High School teachers including 1 in High Madrasa, and 5 Primary School teachers. Out of 30 High School teachers and 5 Primary School teachers, there are 23 Muslims serving in High Schools (including High Madrasa) and 4 Muslims are working in Primary schools, respectively. The remaining 3 Muslim respondents are in some lower occupations, like, agriculture, lower Division clerk, IV Grade
employee and so forth.

In connection with the Hindu respondents in this category numbering 10, these are 7 High School teachers and 1 Primary School teacher, while the remaining 2 respondents are housewives (non-working).

The electric facility enjoyed by the households under this category, there are only 8 respondents having the electricity provisions in their houses. Out of these respondents 4 are Muslims. But no Muslim household possesses television set refrigerator or car, motorbike etc. in their house. But 26 Muslim respondents have radio sets in their houses some of them have more than 1 set. Still some also have tape-recorder in their house.

There are only 4 Hindu household under this category which are having electricity facilities in their houses. None of them has television set refrigerator or car, motorbike etc. with them. But 9 of them have radio sets in their houses. Still some also have tape-recorder.

Number of rooms in the houses of the respondents falling under this category is a bit larger ranging from 2 to 20. However, the number of rooms among the Muslim households vary from 2 to 20 including those rooms which are exclusively meant for domestic animals, and for strange purposes.

Number of rooms possessed by the Hindu households are much lesser ranging from 2 to 5 only.
As for toilet facilities out of 40 Muslim households under this income category only 13 Muslim households are having such essential facilities and the remaining 27 Muslim households do not have such facilities.

However, comparatively toilet arrangements among the Hindus households are much better. There are 7 households having such facilities in the house, while the remaining 3 are not having such facilities in their houses.

Regarding water facilities, only 12 Muslim households are having their own water pumps while the remaining 28 are taking water from the community pumps.

Water procurement facilities among the Hindu households are comparing better as all the 10 households under this category are having their own water arrangements in their house.

Coming to educational attainments it is found that among the Muslim respondents 5 respondents have studied upto M.A., 19 upto graduation, 14 upto Pre-University and remaining below High School levels.

Regarding educational attainments among the Hindu respondents, 1 has studied upto M.A., 6 upto graduation 1 upto Pre-University and remaining 2 below High School levels.
As for collection of books, the number of books among the Muslim households ranges from 8 to 500 books.

Number of books among the Hindu households ranges from 20 to 200 books.

Many of the respondents under this category are trained professionally. 23 Muslim respondents are teaching in High Schools, 13 are trained and are holding B.Ed./B.T. degrees remaining 10 respondents are not trained but are teaching High Schools. All the 4 P.S. teachers are trained and holding Junior Basic Training Certificate. Remaining Muslim respondents have also underwent training in Agricultural Technology training, Amanat Land Survey Training, Anchal Development Work Training, etc.

As to training undergone by the Hindu respondents 5 Hindu High School teachers are with relevant training and are possessing B.Ed./B.T. degrees and 1 Primary School teacher is holding Junior Basic Training Certificate. The remaining 4 Hindus respondents in this category have not undergone any kind of training, and thus are pursuing occupations which does not require and professional training.

Regarding the contribution towards the purchase of Journals, newspapers, magazines etc. which focus on the general reading habits. It is found that 15 Muslim households are regularly subscribing to such reading materials.
Among the Hindus respondents 4 households are contributing to various reading materials regularly.

In this category, there are 27 joint families and 23 nuclear families. However, 20 Muslim respondents are hailing from joint family and the remaining, 20 from nuclear family.

Among the Hindu respondents, 8 belong to joint family and 2 to nuclear family.

So far as Muslim family size is concerned the number of family members in the joint family ranges from 6 to 36 and in the nuclear family the number various from 3 to 14 members.

Among the Hindus the number in the joint family ranges from 6 to 8 and in the nuclear family it varies from 2 to 5 members.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code Used</th>
<th>Fourth Category</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. L.D.C.</td>
<td>Lower Division Clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. C.S.B.</td>
<td>Cycle Selling Business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. B.H.S.</td>
<td>Bhumi Sahayak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. H.W.</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. T.S.H.</td>
<td>Teaching Service in High School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. O.A.A.</td>
<td>Organising an Academy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. M.C.S.</td>
<td>Manager, Cooperative Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. T.S.M.</td>
<td>Teaching Service in High Madrasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. T.S.P.</td>
<td>Teaching Service in Primary School</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. O.P.S.</td>
<td>Organising a Teaching Post in H. School</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. R.L.I.</td>
<td>Relief Inspector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. S.A.E.</td>
<td>Sub Assistant Engineer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. A.D.O.</td>
<td>Additional Development Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. 13</td>
<td>Financial Constraints</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. 14</td>
<td>Family burden/shock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. 16</td>
<td>Joining Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. U.N.W.</td>
<td>Unwillingness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. DWH</td>
<td>Dissatisfaction with Plane course (i.e. without job-oriented course)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. LIE</td>
<td>Lack of Importance of Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. LOE</td>
<td>Lack of Environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. CDB</td>
<td>Disgust with Communal Difference in Bangladesh (East Pakistan - Formerly)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. P/L</td>
<td>Political/Literary</td>
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</table>
23. R - Religions
24. CMT - Co-operative Managers' Training
25. EET - Electrical Engineering Training
26. ASL - Ananat (Land) Survey
27. TPN - Typing
28. B.Ed. - Bachelor of Training
29. PFT - Progressive Farmers' Training
30. DELT - Diploma in English Language Teaching
31. JBT - Junior Basic Training
32. PGST - Post Graduate Bachelor of Training
33. AMT - Agricultural and Mechanical Training
34. RIT - Relief Inspectors Training
35. BT - Bachelor of Training
36. MCE - Mechanical Engineering Training
37. LCE - Lack of Environment
38. CDT - Civil Defence Training
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column 1</th>
<th>Column 2</th>
<th>Column 3</th>
<th>Column 4</th>
<th>Column 5</th>
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<td>Value 57</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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*Note: The table above is a representation of the data present in the image. The actual content may vary.*
The fourth income-category is the second largest and therefore stands rests to the third category. However, it contains 42 respondents whose total family income ranges from above Rs. 1500/- and upto Rs. 2000/- per month. This category has been constituted by the A B C D E F G H I J K M and N groups of villages. These are 35 Muslim and 7 Hindu respondents under this category.

Out of the total number of 35 Muslim respondents in this category, there are 23 respondents whose total family income is Rs. 2000/- per month. The income of the remaining of Muslim households ranges from Rs. 1600/- to Rs. 1800/- per month.

Similarly, out of their total numerical strengths of 7, there are 4 Hindu households having their income of Rs. 2000/- per month each, while the remaining 3 respondents are having their family income of Rs. 1628/- to Rs. 1700/- and Rs. 1800/- per month respectively.

As for occupations of the respondents associated with this category, it shows a varied occupational groupings.

Among the Muslims, there are 10 Muslim High School teachers and 4 Primary School teachers, 3 Lower Division Clerks, 6 agriculturists, 1 Additional Development Officer, 1 sub-Assistant Enginer etc. Others are in other nominal
occupations, like tailor Manager in Cooperative Society, cycle scooter etc.

Among the Hindu respondents/out of 7 respondents are teaching in High Schools, 1 Lower Division Clerk, while the rest are Bhoomi Sahayak, Stationary retailer and housewife etc.

Regarding electricity facilities available to the respondents under this category, only 1 Muslim household is having such facility. But not a single household has any television set refrigerator or car, motorbike etc. in the house. There are 30 households possessing radio sets; and 4 of them have 2 sets each and 1 has 3 sets, only one household has 1 tape recorder.

Electricity facilities among the Hindu households under this category are still better. However 2 households have electricity provisions in the house. But no household among the Hindus has any television set, refrigerator, car, motorbike etc. in the house. All the 7 households falling under this category are having radio sets; 2 of them have 2 sets each. Among the Hindus there is only 1 household having a single tape recorder.

As to the number of rooms in the houses, it is found that among the Muslims it is little larger. However the number of varies from 2 to 20 rooms which are not all pakka.
Among the Hindus, the number is relatively small, and accordingly it ranges from 2 to 7 rooms only.

Regarding, toilet facilities among the Muslims, it is found that 14 households are having such facilities in their house.

Among the Hindu households, toilet facilities are comparing much better. There are 5 households having toilet arrangements in their houses. The remaining 2 households are not having such facilities in their houses.

Concerning water arrangements, it is found that 21 Muslim households are having their own water facilities while the rest have to depend on community water pumps.

Among the Hindus, water facilities appear comparative better. There are 5 households out of 7 having water facilities of their own, and only 2 households fulfill their water requirements from community pumps.

Coming to the educational attainments by the Muslim respondents, it is seen that 10 are educated upto graduation, 14 upto Pre-University/I.A. and rest below High School levels. No Muslim respondent under this category has studied beyond graduation level.
Among the Hindu respondents educational attainments there are 1 M.A., 2 Graduates, 1 Matriculate and 3 below High School.

Collection of books in the house is relatively fair in this category. It, however, ranges among the Muslim household from 10 to 0500 books.

Likewise among the Hindu households the number of books ranges from 10 to 500 books.

As far as professional training is concerned, there are in all, 17 Muslim respondents, out of which 3 are High School teachers with B.Ed./B.T. degree, 3 Primary School teachers with Junior Basic Training, 1 Sub-Assistant Engineer holding LCE training 2 Managers in cooperative society with cooperative Managers' Training, 1 Lower Division Clerk with typing training and the remaining have also obtained training but not relevant to this category.

Among the 7 Hindu respondents, 2 High School teachers are with B.Ed./B.T. degree and PGDT degree (respectively) and others with some trainings which is not relevant to their callings.

Subscription to reading materials under this category seems to be quite encouraging. There are 23 Muslim households regularly subscribing to various reading materials.
Similarly, among the Hindus respondent there are 5 households subscribing to Journals and newspapers etc regularly.

So far as the type of family is concerned, there are, 34 joint families and 8 nuclear families.

There are 23 Muslim respondents belonging to joint family and the remaining 7 to nuclear family.

Similarly, 6 Hindu respondents are hailing from joint family and the remaining 1 belong to nuclear family.

Among the Muslim households, the size of family ranges from 4 to 27 members in the joint families and 5 to 8 members in the nuclear families.

Among the Hindu households, the family size ranges from 5 to 24 members in the joint family, while the remaining 1 nuclear family has 7 members.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code Used</th>
<th>Fifth Category</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V.F.A.</td>
<td>Veterinary Field Assistant</td>
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<tr>
<td>H.W.</td>
<td>House wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.S.H.</td>
<td>Teaching Service in High School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.S.P.</td>
<td>Teacher in Primary School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.D.C.</td>
<td>Lower Division Clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.S.I.</td>
<td>Business for Supplemeting Family Income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OMD</td>
<td>Organizing a Modern Medical Dispensary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EGSE</td>
<td>Extension Officer for Social Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WLB</td>
<td>Wholesale Business</td>
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<tr>
<td>FCW</td>
<td>Family &amp; Child Welfare Training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JBT</td>
<td>Junior Basic Training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.T.</td>
<td>Bachelor of Training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.Ed.</td>
<td>Bachelor of Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VMS</td>
<td>Vernacular Mastership</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Financial Constraints</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Family Problem/Schock</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>Joining Service</td>
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<td>DOM</td>
<td>Death of Mother</td>
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<tr>
<td>BTA</td>
<td>Basic Training Attracted</td>
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<td>IIB</td>
<td>Involvement in Business</td>
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<td>P/L</td>
<td>Political/Literary</td>
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<td>R</td>
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<td>M.B.K.</td>
<td>Motor Bike</td>
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<td>Job Post Training</td>
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<td>Data 1</td>
<td>Data 2</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The fifth and final category is composed of 29 respondents hailing from A B C G I J K L and M groups of villages whose total family incomes are more than Rs. 2000/- per month. Out of the total number respondents in this category, there are 16 Muslim and 13 Hindu respondents.

The income among the Muslim households ranges from Rs. 2092/- to Rs. 4000/- per month whereas among the Hindu households it ranges from Rs. 2200/- to Rs. 10,000/- per month.

Occupationally, out of the total number of respondents under this category, there are 18 respondents who are engaged in Teaching profession (Primary and High School). Out of these 18 teachers, 10 are Muslims. Among other Muslim respondents 2 are Lower Division Clerks, 1 Veterinary Field Assistant, 2 housewives, and 1 is having small chemist shop.

Among the Hindu respondents under this category, 4 are teaching in High Schools and 3 in Primary schools. Among other respondents, 2 are having wholesale business 1 is working as Extension Officer for Social Education, 1 Lower Division Clerk, 1 agriculturist and 1 Deed Writer in the Malda District Land Registration Office.

As far as electricity provisions are concerned, only 4 Muslim households are in a position to avail themselves of
these facilities, and only 1 Muslim household is possessing television set. There are 13 households having radio sets, and only 4 households among them have 2 sets each. These are also 7 households possessing 1 tape recorder each.

Among the Hindu households, 6 households are having electricity facilities and 3 of them is having 1 television set each and 1 household is having 2 sets. There are 12 households possessing 1 radio set each, and there is 1 household having 1 tape recorder also.

As far as the domestic articles which generally manifest persons' status in society are concerned, only 3 Muslim households are having 1 car and 1 motorbike each.

Among Hindu respondents, only 1 respondent is having 1 car and 3 motorbikes, and another respondent is having 1 motorbike also. Only 1 Hindu household is having 1 refrigerator.

Among Muslim respondents as for number of rooms in the house arrangement, they range from 3 to 16, but all of them are not pakka. On the other hand, this variation range from 2 to 21 rooms among the Hindu households.

Only 10 Muslim households are having toilet facilities in their houses, and the remaining are not having such arrangements in their houses.
Among the Hindu households, 10 are having toilet facilities, while the remaining 3 are not having such arrangements in their houses.

In all 14 Muslim households are having their own water pumps/well to meet their water requirements, while the remaining 2 households are taking water from community water pumps.

Among the Hindu households, 12 are having their own water pumps, while the remaining 1 households takes water from community pumps.

Educational levels of the respondents, both of Muslim and Hindu, are as follows.

Among the Muslim respondents, 1 in below High School, 6 upto Pre-University, 3 upto graduation and 1 upto M.A.

Similarly, among the Hindu respondents, 2 are below High School, 6 upto Pre-University, 2 upto graduation and 3 upto M.A, levels.

Regarding possession of books in the houses, the number ranges from 15 to 500 books among the Muslim households, whereas, among the Hindu households the range varies between 50 to 600 books.

Regarding professional trainings 5 Muslim are High School teachers with B.Ed./B.T., 3 Premiary School teachers
with Junior Basic Training. Others are having Veterinary Field Assistant training, Vernacular Mastership, Family & Child Welfare Training etc. Out of 16 respondents, only 11 have received occupational training.

Among the Hindu respondents 4 are High School teachers and 2 Primary School teachers are duly trained with B.Ed./B.T. degree and Junior Basic Training respectively. Among others, 1 respondent is holding Job Post Training. Out of 13 respondents, only 7 are engaged in the professions for which they underwent professional training. The remaining 6, though undergone some professional training, are not utilizing their trainings in the occupations in which they are engaged at present.

Regarding reading habits, 13 Muslim households are subscribing to various newspapers and reading materials.

Among the Hindus, there are 11 households contributing towards journal reading materials.

Under this category, 18 respondents belong to joint family and 11 to nuclear family.

Among the Muslims, 12 respondents belong to joint family and 4 to nuclear family. The size of Muslim joint family ranges from 6 to 30 members, and of nuclear family it ranges from 3 to 13 members.

Among the Hindu households, 7 respondents represent joint family and 6 to nuclear family. The size of joint family units ranges from 6 to 16 members and on the other hand, the size of nuclear family varies from 5 to 7 members.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS, DISCUSSION AND SUGGESTIONS

The major hypothesis of the present study is that the economic and educational status of the Muslims of Malda district is lower than that of the Hindus. The entire data of the study have been analysed on the basis of economic categories.

In the first income category based on total family income of Rs. upto 500/- per month, it is found that the average income of the 9 Muslim households is Rs. 306.6 per month only, the average family size is 7.5 members and their average residential accommodation is 3.6 rooms which are also shared by domestic animals used in agriculture. It can be concluded that there are great imbalances between their income and family size and residential accommodation. Moreover, these households do not possess any domestic articles, like television, radio, refrigerator, car, tape recorder, motorbike etc. It indicates that the Muslims under this income category are economically poor since non-possession of such material goods are generally considered as the indicators of poor living.

The educational attainment of average of these 9 respondents is almost nil as 80% of them got education below High School and only 20% have studied upto Pre-University
level. It can be concluded that under this income category Muslims are educationally and economically backward. In this category there is no Hindu respondent.

In the second income category (from Rs.500/- to Rs.1000/- p.m.) which consists of 31 Muslim and 5 Hindu respondents, it is found that the average income of the Muslim households is Rs. 892.6 per month, and the family size is 8.06 members whereas the residential accommodation is 4.50 rooms.

On the other hand, the average income of the Hindu households in this income category is Rs. 940/-, family size is 4.8 members and residential capacity is 3.4 rooms. It can be concluded that there is great disproportionateness between the income and family size and residential accommodated among the Muslims as compared to those of the Hindus.

As regards the possession of domestic articles, Muslims in this category are in possession of 0.56 radios etcs. and only 0.13 tape records. On the other hand, Hindus are in possession of 0.6 radiosets only. It can be concluded that comparatively Muslims spend more on such articles than Hindus, fostering their economic insolvency.

Regarding educational attainments under this category 16% of the Muslim below High School 48% upto Pre-University,
32% upto graduation level and only 3% upto post-graduate level are educated. Hindus are 20% below High School, 40% Pre-University, 40% graduate level and 0.1% post-graduate level. It can be concluded that under this category the educational attainments are not significantly distinct, but if graduation is taken to be the criterion of educational attainment then it can be submitted that Muslims are comparatively backward.

In the third income category (Rs.1000/- to Rs.1500/- p.m.) there are 40 Muslim and 10 Hindu respondents. The average monthly income of Muslims is Rs. 1288.3 per month, family size is 8.14 members and residential accommodation is 5.55 rooms. It can be concluded at keeping in view the average income (Rs. 1288.3 p.m.), it is difficult to maintain the family as well as to accommodate them in the present living accommodation.

On the other hand, the average income of the Hindus under the category is Rs.1330/- p.m., the average family size is 5.9 members and the average residential accommodation is 4.2 rooms where no animals share them. It may be concluded that Hindus are better off as far as average monthly income, family size and residential accommodation are concerned.

Regarding possession of domestic articles, there seems to be no significant difference between the Muslims
and the Hindus, but it is clear that though Muslims' average income is lower and family size is greater than those of the Hindus, yet they spend equally on the domestic luxury things.

Regarding educational attainments 25% below High School, 36% upto Pre-University, 49% upto graduation and 12.5% upto Post-graduation level are educated among the Muslims.

Among the Hindus, on the other hand, 20% below High School, 10% upto Pre-University, 60% upto graduation and 10% upto post-graduation level. It can be concluded that educationally Hindus are comparatively advanced, and Muslims are lagging behind.

Under the fourth category (Rs.1500/- to Rs.2000/-) containing 35 Muslim and 7 Hindu respondents, the average income of the Muslim households is Rs. 1928.6 per month, the average family size is 12.5 members and residential accommodation is 7.29 rooms. It can be concluded that keeping in view the average income, family size and residential accommodation that the position of Muslim respondents is not satisfactory in comparison.

As regards Hindus under this category the average income is Rs. 1589.7, size of family is 9.7, and housing
capacity is 4.43 rooms. It can be concluded that the Muslims are economically better than the Hindus under this category.

With regard to domestic articles, Muslim households possess 1.03 radio, 0.03 tape recorder and 0.03 motor pipes, whereas 1.29 radio and 1.4 tape recorders are possessed by the Hindus. It can be concluded that Muslims are in possession of more domestic articles than Hindus are. This also indicates one of the reasons that fosters their economic insolvency.

Regarding educational attainments under this category, 18% Muslim are below High School, 27% upto Pre-University, 52% upto graduation and 3% upto post-graduation levels.

Among the Hindu respondents, there are 29% below High School, 29% upto Pre-University, 29% upto graduation and 13% of upto post-graduation levels. It can be concluded that under this category, as far as higher education is concerned, the number of Hindus is higher than that of the Muslims.

Under the fifth category (above Rs.2000/- p.m.) containing 16 Muslim and 13 Hindu respondents, the average income of the Muslim households is Rs. 2824.5 per month,
family size is 12.44 members and residential accommodation is 7.63 rooms. It can be concluded keeping in view the size of family, that the residential accommodation and income are not adequate, and that the Muslims are suffering economic calamities.

Among the Hindu households the average income is Rs. 4042, family size is 9.7 members and residential capacity is 7.3 rooms. It can be concluded that under this category Hindus position is somewhat better than the Muslims.

Regarding domestic articles Muslims are in possession of 1.12 radio, 0.37 tape recorder, 0.188 television, 0.188 motorbike and 0.188 car, while the Hindu households have 0.93 radio, 0.07 tape recorder, 0.21 television, 0.06 refrigerator, 0.28 motorbike and 0.07 car. It can be concluded that as far as possession of such goods are concerned, there seems to be no significant difference between Muslim and Hindu households under this category.

Under this category, there are 6.25% below High School, 37.5% upto Pre-University, 50% upto graduation and 6.25% upto post-graduation level among the Muslim respondents. Among the Hindu respondents, there are 14% below High School, 50% upto Pre-University, 14% upto graduation and 22% upto post-graduation. It can be concluded that
Hindus in this category also are on the higher side as far as education above graduation from Pre-University level are concerned.

The analysis of the above variables indicate that the total average income of the Muslim households (131) in the total sample is Rs. 1485.9 per month, while on the other hand, the average income of the Hindu households (35) is Rs. 2333.71 per month. It can be concluded that the average income of the Hindus is higher and the Muslims are indeed economically lagging behind the Hindus.

Regarding size of family the results show that Muslim households on an average are having 10.2 members whereas on an average the Hindus are having 7.8 members. It can be concluded that the size of family is greater among the Muslims than among the Hindus. The question arises that how the Muslim are able to meet the familial economic and other social obligations. The lower average income also confirms the general belief that their standards of living would also be lower than the Hindus. The average family size itself thus indicates to be a major cause of their economic and educational indegence.

As for residential accommodation both Muslim and Hindu households possess almost the same housing capacity,
i.e. 5.9 rooms. But most of the Muslim households share their residential facilities with their domestic animals used in agriculture. This is also indicative of the fact that Muslims are not hygienically aware and also reflects their poor standards of living.

Regarding possession of domestic articles, the conditions of both Hindu and Muslim households are similar. Muslim households possess .9 radio, .9 tape recorder, .02 television, .03 motorbike and .02 car, and Hindu households have .91 radio, .14 tape recorder, .05 television, .1 motorbike, .03 car. Keeping in view the income positions of the Muslims, the question arises that how they with such meagre income spend on such costly luxury items. It reflects that the Muslims are extravagant and wasteful as compared to their counterparts.

As to educational attainments there seems to be little variations up to graduation level among the Muslims and Hindus. Among the Muslim respondents (131), 24.41% below High School, 35.11% up to Pre-University, 35.11% up to graduation and 5.34% up to post-graduation levels. Among the Hindu respondents, 25.71% are below High School, 25.71% up to Pre-University, 34.28% up to graduation and 14.28% up to post-graduation levels. Thus, it can be concluded that the Hindus do lay greater importance on higher education while
the Muslims on the other hand are found to be complacent with education up to graduation at the levels. The whole study, however, can further be analysed and assessed in the following manner taking into consideration the income level and education level.

The following Tables (6) and (7) present the income and education levels of Muslims and Hindus separately as for a comparative analysis and assessment.

**Table 6**

**MUSLIM RESPONDENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income level</th>
<th>Education</th>
</tr>
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<td>School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Category</td>
<td>Upto Rs. 500/- p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Category</td>
<td>Upto Rs. 1000/- p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Category</td>
<td>Upto Rs. 1500/- p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th Category</td>
<td>Upto Rs. 2000/- p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th Category</td>
<td>Above Rs. 2000/- p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total of Muslim</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondents income(p.m.) and education level wise</td>
<td>78.91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7

HINDU RESPONDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income level</th>
<th>Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below</td>
<td>Upto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upto</td>
<td>P.U.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduation</td>
<td>Graduation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1st Category
- Upto Rs.500/- p.m.

2nd Category
- Upto Rs.1000/- p.m.
  5 14.28%
  2 5.71%
  1 2.85%
  2 5.71%

3rd Category
- Upto Rs.1500/- p.m.
  10 28.57%
  2 5.71%
  1 2.85%
  6 17.14%
  1 2.85%

4th Category
- Upto Rs.2000/- p.m.
  7 20%
  3 0.57%
  1 2.85%
  2 5.71%
  1 2.85%

5th Category
- Above Rs. 2000/- p.m.
  13 37.14%
  2 5.71%
  6 17.14%
  2 5.71%
  3 8.57%

Total of Hindu Respondents income (p.m.) and education level wise.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income level</th>
<th>Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below</td>
<td>Upto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upto P.U.C.</td>
<td>Graduation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduation</td>
<td>Graduation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above tables (6) and (7) reveal that in the First Income category (upto Rs.500/- p.m. income), there are no Hindu household appearing in the Table (7), whereas there are 6.87% Muslim households of Malda being represented in the First income category located in the Table (6).
However, the average monthly income of the total Muslim households (131) is Rs. 1485.9, whereas the average monthly income of the total Hindu households (35) is Rs. 2333.7. It indicates that the Muslims in the area under study are economically backward and are, therefore, lagging behind their counterparts in the area.

Muslims of Malda district are also lagging behind the Hindus in educational attainments. On an average there are only 5.34% Muslims who are educated above graduation level whereas, on the other hand, there are 14.28% Hindus who are educated above graduation level.

As for educational attainments of people of both the religious communities, it should also be noted that educational achievements of the Muslim masses in the district are not comparatively so good as could be located within the study. Probability lies that the Hindu-Muslim ratio in education is much wider than obtained. In other words, Hindus are considerably leading over the Muslims at the levels of educational activities. Thus it can be submitted that Muslims not only are backward economically but also ineducational activities, in general, and in higher education, in particular.
DISCUSSION

Apart from the above information collected through formal techniques and methods, this study has also been assisted by informal discourses held with various village elders and youth of the area under study. In the light of their emotive and informal description and analysis of facts, the following points being considered as the major factors have been deepening and intensifying the economic and educational backwardness among the Muslims.

One of the most important and basic factors, as most of the village elders and youth have elaborated, is the financial constraints. Because of lack of enough economic resources, stagnation and poor performances in educational attainments often grip Muslim community. Poor guardians in spite of having strong desire fail to meet out the needs of their academy-going children, on the one hand, and to allow them for education in stead of earning a living, on the other. It means that children of Muslim households are relentlessly put into grind-stone of work for wages at a very tender age and are hardly allowed to take to education and learning. Unreasonable price-rise of commodities which claims more earning has also been considered by them to be supplementing this fact.

Another most important factor is the deep ignorance of the Muslims about the various governmental programmes for
upliftment through various schemes and projects, like NABARD, IRDP etc.

As recorded by many informants, this ignorance is there among the Muslims because of the dishonest and careless government officials who never care to contact the masses judiciously. They are mostly on the look-out for such persons who can easily be prey of illegal gratification. They have also alleged that majority of the ruralites who are unable to oblige the concerned officials always remain deprived of government assistance.

On the other hand, people of the privileged section even do not utilise the loan-money and other assistance which they get easily. "Ill got, ill spent"! After getting funds from banks, they do not take care of what they took loan for, how to utilise it and how to pay it off. Rather, they celebrate joy and ecstasy of others' failure and sorrows who fail to get it.

As pointed out by the village elders and youth, another most important factor is the food-habits of the Muslim masses in general. In this regard, they think that Muslims are quite wasteful and lavish. Their food-habits stand in sharp contrast to their economic capacity. Though their earnings hardly win them bread twice a day, yet their ration purchase knows no law. As a result, their purchases go beyond their financial capacity.
This phenomenon that prevails widely among the Muslims includes their mental and psychological set-up. Most of the rural folk who are with little or no literacy at all, are projected by themselves to be superior or inferior by their food-habits. However, status-positions of the rural Muslims are determined, more by how much they could spend on lavish food-stuffs than by any other factors. Thus their food habits work for them as a major status symbol.

Another major factor pointed out by the informants is the high fertility-rate in the Muslim community. This clearly indicates that Muslims are having large numbers of dependents a few earning hands and so unable to meet their needs because of severe economic insolvency. Therefore it is like saying, "after meat, comes mustard."

However, such a high fertility-rate with irregular earnings obviously result into low education, lack of hygienic atmosphere in the house, improper up-bringing of children, truancy and delinquency among school-going children, ill-health of mothers caused by repeated pregnancies and by ill-nourishment, various diseases, inanimation and so on.

In spite of such clamorous conditions in the house, Muslim fathers, regardless of illiterate, are stubbornly keeping away from birth control being available through government schemes under Family Planning Programme. Their reluctance in
this direction springs from their religious notion that birth control is prohibited in Islam. But what they can easily depend on with complacency is that He (Allah) who bestows offspring on them will make every required arrangement for up-bringing their children.

Many of the villagers have pointed out that the village areas are having lesser number of education centres than essentially required. In those centres existing sporadically in the villages, there is stiff competition in which Muslim pupils fail to cope with the Hindu pupils. Therefore, the villagers argue that what the Muslim community lacks for improving education within itself is the minority institutions.

Same is the case with the educated youth in securing employment where there is, according to them, very tough competition and favouritism. Poor educational standards that they have had, on the one hand and absence of favour on the other, again result into their ghastly failure. As informant records, such a failure causes deadly unwillingness among the Muslim guardians as to furthering education and learning.

As regards much more backwardness among Muslim women in the villages, the village people pointed out observance of Purdah as the major factor. However Purdah, not only afflicts them at education level, but also at economic level. Because of very poor education among village women, they also fail to take up an economic role and to assert themselves in decision-making.
The village elders and youth also feel that Muslims even today after forty years of Indian independence feel insecure as far as their life and properties are concerned. They have also supported this conviction by referring to communal riots in the country. They hold political parties responsible for occurrences of communal violence, and express their dissatisfaction with Central Government in handling such situations.

The last thing which could be drawn from the discussions with the elderly people and youth in the area under investigation is the fact that the Muslims in general still cherish a feudal outlook with an allusion to the past glories based on the exploits of the Muslim rulers of Delhi. Such a feudal outlook seems to retard them from realising the concept, 'dignity of labour' or so. Because of this reason or other, Muslims' representation divulges a sober number in those assorted economic activities which are taken up by their co-citizens with great satisfaction and enthusiasm.

RECOMMENDATIONS & SUGGESTIONS

The following are some recommendations and suggestions drawn from the information and conversations allowed to this study by the elderly people, educated youth and various respondents and informants in order to uplift and bring the Muslim community at a par with the majority community in the Malda district.
In view of deep ignorance and careless attitudes of the Muslims in the district about the various governmental schemes and projects sponsored through NABARD, IRDP etc., it is suggested that the illiterate Muslims should be properly educated along social and economic orientations, so that a socio-economic awareness may develop among them. To this end, education up to High School should be made compulsory, and vocational education should widely imparted. This can, to some extent, be achieved if people's organisations or associations are established in order to put checks on irresponsible and corrupt officials.

Keeping in view the backwardness among the Muslims in the area under study, it is suggested that adequate academic centres should established and properly run in the villages, some of them must be purely minority institutions. Older academic establishments should be revamped and properly funded by Governments.

To raise female literacy among the Muslim there should be some Muslim girls' academies, and the practice of Purdah should confined to a certain extent, and should not be, by any means, a barrier in the way of Women's education.

As for hygienic considerations, it is suggested that Muslim masses should be educated about the creation and
sustenance of hygienic environment in the house. They should also be instructed not to keep animals with human members within the same walls. In this connection their should be introduction of new chapters relating to such things in the syllabi to be taught in the lower classes, so that they may be imbued with a sense of responsibility about the creation and maintenance of hygienic atmosphere and cleanliness. Audiovisual shows should be of great help in this regard.

Keeping in view high fertility rate among the Muslims, it is suggested that they should be informed and educated through audio-visual shows and wide pamphleteering about the hazards and dire consequences of their fertility. In addition, there should such a law to guard against this social evil as operative in countries like China. On the other hand, proper wisdom should, by all means, be instilled in them about their lavishly extravagant food-habits so that they may cut their coat according to your cloth.

As to the sense and fear of minority identity of the Muslims in West Bengal, certain reasonably effective measures by way of organising inter-communal fairs and shows, intercultural functions and so on should be taken by the Governments, so that they feel themselves equal to their Hindu brethren in all walks of life. In order to achieve this goal, Governments should be much active in blotting out all discriminatory policies and practices from all levels — top to bottom.
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