

CHAPTER-8
SUMMARY DISCUSSION
AND
CONCLUSION

Summary discussion

The study on Islam women and citizenship was carried out in two neighboring cities with a view to understand the citizenship behavior of women of a minority community in two contrasting situations. One of the study areas is Cuttack city, with a rich cultural history for more than thousand years where Muslims have been living for centuries together with Hindu majority. Although Cuttack is declared as a city, but by making close observations one finds the present city culture is built on a traditional village life having mutual cooperation and harmony in daily life, like a traditional Indian village. The dependency among various ethnic groups is clearly marked among the residents of Cuttack. The cooperation is demonstrated in people of both the communities supporting each other during ups and downs of life, the brotherhood relation (*bhaichara*) acts as shock absorber of the vehicle of cultural syncretism at the time of tension and conflict, which is a special component of Cuttack. All the inhabitants of Cuttack city irrespective of religious differences are identified as *Katakia* that symbolizes the 'we feeling' among them, marks solidarity, identity and above all the mechanism to command respect.

On the other hand, the capital city of Bhubaneswar is of recent origin and the city life accelerated after shifting of capital from Cuttack to Bhubaneswar. Old Bhubaneswar was famous for the 10th century built Lingaraj temple and the temple traditions of adjoining areas, which was a place of religious tourism. The magnificent architectural work of different temples of the city attracts lots of tourists. The city is also used as a transit point to Puri, located at fifty five kilometers away from Bhubaneswar. Before being the capital city, Bhubaneswar was not preferred for settlements because of rocky and hilly terrain with a dense forest cover harnessing wildlife. The wild animals at times were spotted in adjoining villages of Bhubaneswar. But after it became the capital city people from distant places came and settled here with varied interest. Gradually the city expanded due to the expansion of various opportunities and the demand of settlement in Bhubaneswar also increased. Hence the city experienced multiculturalism, individualism and disunity within unity which is a feature of cosmopolitan life. The feature of voluntarism is more prominent than cooperation.

The research was undertaken with an objective to prepare ethnography of the Muslim women by analyzing their prescriptive and proscriptive behavior in the areas of social, economic, religious distribution and utilization of power and allied areas. The ideal and actual behavior of Muslim women, the cooperation and conflict and gender relations are studied and analyzed in proper context. The rights and duties, that were the major concern of citizenship, continued to remain the focus of research. The research tools of different kinds that are pertinent to present qualitative research are carefully selected and used for undertaking present study. The qualitative data are analyzed with the help of analytical tools relevant to qualitative research. At the same time, some quantitative data are collected and analyzed by using simple statistics to support the qualitative data. Hence the study has used a kind of mixed methodological approach which is conventionally applied by many researchers of social sciences including anthropologists.

The review of literature relevant to problems and objectives were conducted in order to understand the previous and ongoing researches in the field. The literature pertaining to concepts, methodologies, variables are analyzed and selected for the present research. Similarly, the issues of multiculturalism, shifting of focus into different components of citizenship in view of westernization, globalization and migration are reviewed in right perspectives. Although in India, the concept of citizenship is new to the field of Anthropology, the earlier contributions of researchers of other fields like Political science (Mitra, 2010), Law, History (Roy 2005, Sabiha 2007 etc.), are also taken into consideration to provide a broad picture about the issue of citizenship in multidisciplinary context. Finally, the constitutional provisions of India with regards to citizenship including various amendments, foreign citizenship problem of North Eastern states and dual citizenship of overseas Indians (Chakrabarti and Vergese, 2016) are discussed to provide the reader about the domestic situation about citizenship. At the same time the unsolved debates between judiciary, legislature and between individual rights and communal interest (Coomarswami 2002, Shabiba 2007) are also discussed at length.

The research findings in Cuttack are different from that of Bhubaneswar and at the same time not very similar with other cities /state of India having Muslims in higher concentration. In other localities of India, during pre-independence movements and after partition, the communal politics generated hatred among the two ethnic

groups. But Odisha in general and Cuttack in particular has demonstrated a tolerant culture for which the peaceful communal settlement is possible. This is particularly a bright side of cultural life of the city which is almost free from communal riot since independence of the country although many states of India like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and West Bengal etc. have experienced communal riots leading to loss of life and property. But in Bhubaneswar, most of the Muslims are not native, rather are immigrants. In Jadupur area of Bhubaneswar majority of residents are Muslim. In the studied locality which is a slum area, the inhabitants are exclusively Muslims who are from different parts of Odisha and neighboring states. The Hindus who are referred as *Odia loka* by Muslims are limited to one sahi/hamlet namely Jadupur Odia sahi, situated at a distance of half kilometer from the Muslim habitational site. The interpersonal relationship among the Muslim is not strong as they are from different localities. The earliest dwellers of Jadupur take dominant role to bring peace and harmony among the residents, but the relationship continues to be very formal. The Hindus do not have any economic relation with Muslims or vice versa. The Hindus and Muslims residing in the same locality feel like two unknown and independent groups. However, some degree of interaction is limited only to the educational institution and workplace.

Cuttack though in today's context is a commercial city but it has a long and rich history behind it as the centre of power and seat of Muslim administration. Islam first arrived in Odisha in 1568 when it's last Hindu king Mukunda Deva was defeated by Kalapahada, the general of Afghan ruler of Bengal. But the Afghan rule was short lived and over thrown by Mughals in 1578 A.D. The Mughals ruled over Odisha for about two centuries before the state passed to the hands of Marathas. The Muslim rulers are not colonizers rather invaders and hence their descendants continued to reside in the state. As a result, the Muslim population included a few people from Afghan descent, descendants of common soldiers and some converts.

The long and intimate interaction of the Muslims with the Hindu majority of Cuttack is reflected in an ideal community living. The dress, ornament, food habit, art and culture of both the communities are deeply influenced by each other. The Muslim women of both Cuttack and Bhubaneswar look similar to that of Hindu women except the use of vermilion and Bindi on their forehead. Most of the married ladies are seen to use the *mangala sutra* (bead necklace used by Hindu females as a marriage

symbol), glass bangles and toe rings. Muslim women particularly, the middle aged and old aged prefer to wear saris. Likewise, Muslims also introduced new trends in dress making, dressing of hair and use of various kinds of perfume to Odia culture. The women of rich Hindu families also accepted Muslim dress to demonstrate their affluence.

The influence of Muslim saints in the life of Hindu child is expressed in *Satyanaran* Pala. The unity among the Hindus and Muslims are also manifested in celebration of different festivals like *Dussahara*, Holi, Deepabali, Muharram and Eid-ul-fitre etc. The association and contribution of Muslims in celebration of *Dussahara* festival from day one to the end is symbolic of Hindu Muslim hybridity in Cuttack.

The Muslim population in Cuttack also includes many converts (Arnold, 1913). Converts who were previously Hindu, although continued to live with a new identity, but in the core of their culture, their behavior, continued with their former faith. The long association of Muslims with the Hindu cultural life has expressed tolerant behavior in many occasions. Some of these converts did not get the adequate support and recognition from pure Muslim brothers who maintained distance from converts (Eaton, 1993). As a result, these people although had Islam as new religion in ideology, but continued to be in transition stage with domination of Hinduism in the innate core. Their dressing patterns changed, place of worship changed but the food type (except beef eating), service relation continued to be the same as before with no major differences from Hindus.

The Muslims experienced different factionalisms among themselves like *Deobandis* and *Barelvis*, who claim to be superior to the other. One does not visit the Mosque of other. The Muslims of Qadam Rasool belong to *Barelvi* sect, whereas in Jadupur area of Bhubaneswar, *Deobandi* sect predominates. The *Barelvis* are more liberal and modern who believe in holy people, sacred places and shrines. The *Deobandis* on the other hand do not believe in anyone living or dead as being a channel for divine will and power. As they say, these saints themselves praying to Allah, thus why to pray or worship Almighty through an intermediary saint. They claim superiority over *Barelvis* as they believe they have retained purity and traditionality. The lifestyle and cultural practices of *Barelvis* of Cuttack are more liberal and Hindu type. Hence, these Muslims did not experience any difference from

their Hindu neighbor in respect of hierarchy, domination and superiority complex. To cite an example, they use different shapes of caps on head like round shape for *Deobandis* and long shape for *Barelvies*. This shows although they are the follower of the same God Allah, but in practice have different lifestyle including restriction of intersect marriage.

The new religious identity did not bring new economic opportunity rather it continued to remain as a part of existing occupation. The *Dussahara* festival brought their artistic skill on paper color adornment to prominence, and became a good source of income and prestige. They eagerly wait for this festive period of the year to get the job. At the same time Muslim women also prepare marriage head gears for Hindu brides and grooms. Hence, both men and women got economic opportunity by preparing paper color adornments while females worked in home.

The majority of Muslims who are engaged in business sector are employed in butchery. It was seen in Patiagarh near Bhubaneswar that the local chief invited about twenty Muslim families for settlement in Singhada village. These Muslims settled in a hamlet who provided meat to the Hindus of Patiagarh. This shows Muslim residents became a necessity for Hindus who became adapted to meat. In Cuttack, the butchery of mutton is mainly carried out by Muslims. There was a slaughter house (keel Khanna) used for the production of meats that was exclusively controlled by the Muslims. This creates the mutual dependency on each other like Muslims require Hindus to sale their products whereas Hindus are the main costumers of these products of Muslims.

The Muslim women like Hindus are not encouraged to work outside. They are encouraged to learn Urdu to read Quran at Madrasa or from a teacher at home, but not English as it is thought as non-religious. Now, the girls and women feel the need to have job and to be economically independent but improper schooling and early marriage prove to be hindrances.

In the celebration of festivals like Ramazan, Eid-ul-fitre, Eid-ul-Juha, the Muslims invite the Hindus to participate. In some cases, the bond of friendship and ritual kinship develops between them. In marriage occasions Muslims invite their Hindu friends and neighbors and vice versa. It is seen Muslims arrange food for the Hindus separately and for Muslims, the sharing of food from Hindus is not a problem.

Muslims avoid eating meat at Hindu weddings as the meat used is not obtained by *Halal*. Cleaners are employed by the Hindus to clean and remove soiled plates of Muslims. On the other hand, when Hindus dine in Muslim's feast, the latter takes away the used plates of Hindus as a token of respect.

The Muslims gradually engaged Hindu barbers and washer-men in their mortuary rites like Hindus due to long association with them. Hence, the service relationship developed. The Muslims who are engaged as menial laborers in Cuttack city have minimized the demand of labor from nearby villages. Hence both Hindus and Muslims in Cuttack became necessary for mutual interest that became the fertile ground for unity and cooperation which is another element of *bhaichara* relations.

The development of Sufism and spread of *Satyapir* ideology around Cuttack is another contributory factor of inter religious tolerance (Mishra, 2013). The predicaments in life know no religious boundary. The Hindus visit *Durghas* of Muslims when they find themselves in hard times and pledge offerings for their request fulfillment by the Almighty. Even in few cases they engage themselves in providing service to the Sufi saint's shrine, as in Qadam Rasool. The place has become a popular and sacred institution for both Hindus and Muslims that subsequently emerged as a tourist place.

The magnificent architectural buildings in Cuttack became a pride possession of the State. Even the British rulers, who came subsequently were highly impressed by the craftsmanship during Muslim ruling period. This brought name and fame to Cuttack and subsequently the Hindus also introduced the arched shaped constructions in their buildings. This is a testimony of interethnic borrowing of technological skill.

It is seen the tolerant nature of Cuttack and Bhubaneswar accommodates the interest of both ethnic groups. Both Hindus and Muslims in Cuttack respect each other's cultures and traditions. They take part in each other's festivals and celebrations. People of one religion have provided protection to the other during the period of ethnic disturbances. Both Hindus and Muslims visit the *Durghas* of Kaipadar, Qadam-E-Rasool, Jahaniapir of Astarang etc. during predicaments. When other states of the country were burning in the flame of communal violence, Cuttack remained a case of example of tolerance and mutual harmony. During *Dussahara*, the participation of Muslims throughout the puja process has shown harmony and

cooperation. The study area comes under the Durgha Bazar *Durga Mandap*. Muslim members play a vital role in organizing the *Dussahara* festival. In the farewell procession the Muslims pay homage to the Durga idol by offering flower garlands, fruits and sweets to the idol and commemorative shawls to the members of organizing party when it passes in front of their Mosques as a token of respect. Muslims of Cuttack also enjoy other Hindu festivals and they also provide them good business opportunities.

The Hindus and Muslims have been residing in Cuttack for several generations. There were occasional tensions but that did not turn to riots. Even some sectarian leaders from other parts of the country have tried their best to influence the residents for polarization to achieve political mileage, but such efforts have not been successful. The Muslims in Cuttack express their happiness for residing peacefully and remaining involved with Hindus which is a great achievement for cultural syncretism in India. For that Cuttack can be cited as a strong example.

Bhubaneswar became the new capital of Odisha state in 1948. It owes its name to the temple city's chief deity, the Lingaraj: the Lord of the three worlds, Tribhubaneswara. Previously, it was a religious place for Hindus due to the presence of many temples. It was not densely populated as Cuttack during 1940s. After shifting of the capital from Cuttack to Bhubaneswar, the importance of area has increased progressively. Initially the new inhabitants of Bhubaneswar were mostly employees of government, who came from different districts of Odisha and neighboring states. Subsequently, some business men came here to cater the need of these employees. With spread of markets and construction of buildings, both skilled and unskilled laborers came here and settled in slums who supplied menial labor and involved in petty business. The government attracted the people to make the population grow in Bhubaneswar by allotting habitation sites and constructed houses with allied facilities. Subsequently, the establishment of different educational institutions, better health care facilities and employment opportunities the city became a major attraction for people from different parts of India.

Previously identified as a tourist place, Bhubaneswar changed to a cosmopolitan with less importance given to cultural and neighborhood relation. The individual identity replaced the collective with competition and contract relationship. Most of the dwellers of the city are employees in different sectors who had stronger

official acquaintances than brotherhood relationship. The establishment of youth club houses became the main organizers of different cultural programs in the locality. Since, the employees of the government changed their place of stay due to transfer pertaining to their jobs the floating population of Bhubaneswar increased as against permanent residents. The individuals who constitute the members of the floating population have alienated from the rest of the population and now with the increase of apartment culture, the residents of apartment are further insulated against better community life. The residents of Bhubaneswar particularly employees, used to have three to four types of relations. One at office with colleagues, second with neighbors, third friends at market places, fourth with relatives of own family, but with transfer of job the first three kind of relationship keeps on changing except the last category. Hence most of the relationships are transitory and the relationship among family and relatives became fragile.

Muslims in Bhubaneswar as described earlier inhabit in three locations such as Sundarpada/Kapila Prasad, Jharapada and Jadupur. The Muslim areas in two locations like Kapila Prasad and Jadupur have historical reference whereas Jharapada area is comparatively smaller and recently development. The Jadupur and Kapila Prasad were prominent for housing Dalabehara (or their kins), the chief of local military, appointed by the kings who were Hindus to protect the kingdom from enemy. These Dala Beheras were Muslims and chief of regiment whose members were Hindus in majority played the role of leaders and not dictators. But with the eclipse of kingship, the prominence of Dala Behera also almost got eclipsed but the remains of relationship between Hindus and Muslims are still demonstrated in some ritual occasions.

The occupations of Muslims of Cuttack and Bhubaneswar are not spectacularly different. They prefer business over the employment under some employer. They mostly are associated in selling meat through the business. The females in Cuttack also want to be educated and employed to contribute to the family financially but are not encouraged by their family members due to financial problem and traditional orthodoxy.

At the same time some families with high social status do not encourage their girls or women to be employed in such jobs that goes against their reputation. The

women and girls of common Muslim families due to lack of proper education have resorted to tailoring on contractual basis to earn some amount for personal and household expenses. The young girls spend such amount in purchasing mobile sets, new dresses or visiting beauty salons to beautify themselves.

The active participation of Muslims in Hindu rituals is another beauty of inter religious relationship. The organization of *Dola* festival in Chhanagiri, Rampur villages of ancient feudatory kingdoms of Odisha have provided the platform of communal harmony in undivided Puri district in which Bhubaneswar was included. Similarly, the patronization of Durga puja (a Hindu festival) by Muslim *Dala Behera* family still reminds the kingship of earlier years. The *DalaBehera* is brought to Durga puja pandal in a procession as a representative of king of early days and he presides over the Puja that gives consent to celebration of Puja. So here, the secular power has an edge over the sacred power in the state. The donation made by Muslim individuals for sacred thread ceremony of Brahmin boys through *Mukti Mandap* of Jagannath Temple at Puri perhaps is the most significant aspect of mutual respect.

The participation of eminent political leaders in cultural programs like *Kawali* competition, *Iftar* party during Ramazan month demonstrates the group solidarity, at the same time it also gives the message of nearness to power center by the organizers. By organizing such programs and events, the Muslim organizers feel secure and motivated to participate in the political arena of the state.

The status and respect in Bhubaneswar are based on achieved class with experience, individual possession of wealth and nearness to power. As a result of cosmopolitan life, the individual achievement becomes prominent irrespective of age. The participation in different social gatherings with wife wearing expensive ornaments and costumes demonstrates the status of her husband although no body enquires about the source. The prominence of individual overrides the position and status of family. On the other hand in Cuttack the position of Maulavi at religious shrine and Masjid, the position of *Shardar* in village panchayat, are customary by nature. They train one of their sons to be the next *Shardar* or religious head. Both the affluent and common people live a simple life without unnecessary exaggeration. All are in a steady day-to-day life with a reciprocal relationship which provides security and moral support at every step of life.

The spontaneous participation and involvement of women in support of their preferred candidate in Municipal election is an acknowledged citizenship behavior, in Bhubaneswar ward no 64. The collective spirit of women was demonstrated to elect the candidate for whom they were obliged. This may be a lone example but spread of such participation at a wider level in near future cannot be ruled out. At the same time, the force behind the party accredited candidate becomes faint against the individual sacrifice, involvement, and achievement. This gives the message that although the voters are not very concerned about middle or highest level in three tier election, but are very much active in the grass root level. This is due to the fact that the government policies are implemented at grass root level and people are concerned about the benefits of the programs for which, dependable leadership is required.

The fragmented behavior of the residents is crystallized at the time of tension. The occasional rift with Hindu neighbors at Bhubaneswar brings solidarity among the Muslims. But the diffusion of tension requires the interference of government mechanisms like police, court and highest political body of Muslims in the district.

The traditional political organization *Panchu* of the locality is more active and prominent which monitors the identity of new comers. Every married person is a compulsory member of hamlet/village. This promotes brotherhood, monitors marriage relationship but the important contribution is the allotment of place in burial ground of respective member in the village.

This traditional Muslim political organization is basically a three tier system. At village level it is known as "*Panchu*", at wider village level it is *Halqa* consisting of few villages and at district level it is known as *Anjuman*. *Halqa* in Urdu means 'assembly' or 'fraternity' or 'a circle of a villages'. Whereas *Anjuman* in Urdu language means 'a society' or 'an association'.

The disputes of social, economic and religious nature are initially reported to the local political council for redressal. If the matter is not solved, the issue is then referred to the higher level for decision. If the matter continues to remain unsolved the aggrieved party reports to the *Anjuman*, the highest body in the district level to solve the issue. The Muslims of both the study area prefer the traditional conflict settlement mechanism to modern courts because the modern courts are time consuming, unknown and incurs large expenditure. Whereas in *Anjuman*, they get own people and

the decision comes early with less investment. The apprehension of ostracism is also there as a punishment.

The delineation of above facts can be summarized broadly into four major fields; such as social field, economic field, religious field and political field. In the social field, the Muslims at Cuttack demonstrate a community life, a group within larger Hindu community having tolerance and mutual respect. The status of *Sahi* is above the status of individual whose contribution further the image of *Sahi* in which he inhabits. But in Bhubaneswar it is opposite with emphasis on individual status and position, a part of cosmopolitan life.

During my fieldwork it is observed that the Muslims in Cuttack are spotted in groups having good interaction with Hindus and Muslims in the *Sahi*. Their approach to each other is very much informal and cordial. One can see them behaving in a relaxed mood almost every time of the day. On the other hand, in Bhubaneswar even the neighborhood relation in *Sahi* is very formal. People are spotted mostly in their respective houses and come out at the time of need.

In Cuttack city, the Muslims live in a known environment for centuries and in a secured environment with Hindu neighbors. Hindus although see Muslim group as different religious group but due to long '*bhaichara* relationship' they are viewed as another caste group having service relationship to them in daily life.

The women at Cuttack do not use *Burkha* rather cover only head with small scarf even while moving in the city. Whereas the Muslims women in Bhubaneswar use *Burkha* to cover entire body while going to the public places. This is due to the fact that Muslim women in Cuttack feel more secure and liberal in the known local environment, whereas in Bhubaneswar they are not native and are orthodox being the Deobandis. Their neighborhood relation is not as profound as in Cuttack. Hence, the cosmopolitan life of Bhubaneswar has not much influenced the Muslim women here so far as use of *Burkha* is concerned.

In the economic field, although Muslims in both localities are involved in similar type of profession but in Bhubaneswar, they are relatively outward looking. The Muslim females in Cuttack are very much inclined to stereotypical work like working in the households, makeshifts shops at home, tailoring from home, with

lesser degree of educational qualification. On the other hand, in Bhubaneswar some of girls have better educational status and are working, coming out of their residence. A few Muslim families here are better concerned with the education of their girls, which seems to be an emerging positive trend for women education and employment. Hence it can be concluded the Muslim women in Cuttack although are developing from economic point of view but the line of development usually is linear in nature, on the other hand the Muslim girls in Bhubaneswar are more educated and engaged in different sectors whose development can be viewed as divergent in nature.

In the religious field, although both of the Muslims belong to two different sects, each claim to be superior to other. They avoid visiting each other's mosque, but the tension between two sects of believers is not seen. At the time of inter religious tensions they forget interfaith differences and unite as Muslims. Now a days the intersect marriage is getting approval at the cost of religious sectarian differences due to development of class status.

In the political area, the participation in election and particularly casting of votes is almost similar both in Cuttack and Bhubaneswar which is related to benefits that brings security at the time of need. In Bhubaneswar the demonstration of good turnout at the time of election, provides the basis for vote bank politics for different political parties and on the part of voters, since they are not native people, use it as a weapon of the weak for survival.

Conclusion

The research was conducted in two contrasting situations to study the citizenship behavior of Muslim women. Primarily there was two intention; firstly, to assess the citizenship behavior of Muslims who are said to be categorized as minority against the Hindu majority. Secondly, the women in Muslim community, to study whether enjoy equality in respect of citizenship in ideal and actual terms with their male counterparts. Keeping these two broad issues in view, the present micro study was undertaken to compare and contrast the citizenship behavior of a minority community from gender perspectives.

The *bhaichara* (brotherhood) relationship in Cuttack is demonstrated in day-to-day activities of the people belonging to two major communities. Cuttack is popularly known as a city of '*Bauna bazar tepanagali*' (conglomeration of 52 bazars and 53 lanes/Sahis). This is interesting to note that the Sahis or Bazars have both Hindu and Muslim names. Some sahis are with Hindu names like *Ganga Mandir*, *Banka Bazar*, *Sati Choura* and *Odiya Bazar* but the residents are Muslim. Similarly, the Hindus also reside in Sahis having Muslim names like Bholamian Bazar, Qadam Rasool, Muhammadia Bazar, Alamchand Bazar, FakirSahi etc. The name of the sahis whether Hindu or Muslim, is not the choice of residence that shows the harmony instead of polarization of communal behavior.

The terminological expression in addressing each other while greeting is another aspect to be delineated. The Muslims greet Hindus with '*Ram, Ram*' or '*Namaskar*' whereas Hindus reciprocate them with '*Namaskar*'. Most of the Muslim males are having Hindu nicknames which sometimes generate confusion to know the religion of the person. The belief of purity and pollution is expressed in accepting food by the Hindus, whereas Muslims are not stubborn in this regard. Both the community invites each other in family functions and festivals and takes care of each other's limitation.

In another picture of Bhaichara relationship, it is seen that although the study area Qadam Rasool area is strongly dominated by Muslim population, the Brahmins are staying there in a lane like one of the caste group of a village. The Hindus reside in the houses adjacent to the Muslims. The Brahmins do not complain about the loud

sounds from the Mosques rather have become accustomed to it without paying much attention.

The Qadam-E-Rasool shrine receives a good number of Hindus, who feel their wish will be fulfilled there, when the wish is fulfilled it is seen they are arranging community feasts for the inhabitants. Maulana sahib of the shrine and other Muslim devotees give moral support to the Hindus. The visiting of religious shrines by both Hindus and Muslims is an important factor that demonstrates the interethnic relationship.

On the other hand, Muslims are not welcomed to the Hindu shrines because they don't follow proscribed food habit. The Muslims associate themselves in decoration of Puja pandals during Durga puja festival but are restricted from touching the deity. Some of the Muslims address Durga as Maa (the mother) along with Hindus, but mostly they refrained themselves from coming closer to the deity. It is also seen that some Muslim women while passing in front of the Hindu temples also pay obeisance to the deity. The Muslim shamans sitting inside the Qadam-E-Rasool *Durgha* is seen counselling the Hindus at the time of their crisis.

All these above-mentioned day to day interaction between both the communities show the existence of strong level of brotherhood or *Bhaichara*. Varshney (2002) proposes a theory based on contact hypothesis in social psychology. According to his theory the degree of inter religious interaction or civic engagement explains the experience of interethnic disturbances. In other words, the higher degree of interreligious interaction for civic engagement results to lower degree of interreligious disturbances, which is appropriate here in Cuttack. The day-to-day close socio-cultural and economic interaction and living-together cultural habits of the Muslim and Hindu ethnic communities and above all the very accommodative and tolerant Odia culture have prompted the citizens of Cuttack city to become more tolerant. It may be said here that Odisha is considered to be the confluence of two distinct traditions, both south Indian and North Indian. At a socio-cultural level, Odisha is unique as a State in the Indian Union. Hindus although see Muslim group as different religious group but due to the 'long and intimate relationship' they are viewed as another caste group having service relationship to them in daily life.

Another fact that can be highlighted in Cuttack is that in 1966 and 1992 during the period of ethnic disturbances, different political parties attempted to consolidate Hindus and Muslims against each other but have failed to do so. At the time of crisis, the eminent Hindu personalities have condemned the attack on Muslims and vice versa, which prevented communal riots in many occasions. Even the leaders of respective groups who came from other states to promote politics by division have failed to do so, rather admired the uniqueness of *Bhaichara* relations of two groups. It is to be noted that inspite of ethnic minority, the attempt at polarization of sentiments of Muslims was not successful (Kanungo, 2012).

The participation in voting in the study areas at the lowest level in three tier election is the highest for both Cuttack and Bhubaneswar. This shows the loyalty to nation is demonstrated in terms of relationship with the candidate and the degree of expected benefits. The people come to vote in greater number for Municipal election as they have close contact with the contesting candidates and at the same time expect extension of benefits from the government to them. Since the elected members are instrumental in extending governmental benefits, the participation of voters is highest at grass root level.

The above social setting of Cuttack shows, a strong base of social democracy. Here the members of the community experience their citizenship rights and duties at the level of family and community. The Muslim community being the minority is included as the rightful citizens of the community, who also have shown their obligations to the locality. They have inclined more towards duties to bring a peaceful, harmonious environment. Here, they have given priority to the duties and obligations over rights.

In contrast to the above scenario of Cuttack, the new capital Bhubaneswar reflects a relatively isolated Muslim settlement. People from different areas of Odisha and outside of the state, reside here, who shares a very formal type of social behavior. The Hindus here are staying away from the Muslim settlement. Sometimes the area sees some rift between the Hindus and Muslims, which is usually addressed by the Police, local heads and with the interference of the *Khordha Islamia Anjuman*.

The availability and use of economic opportunity from gender specific perspectives is another important aspect of study. It is seen that the economic activities of females are limited to the house and closer proximities. Some women in Cuttack are engaged in shopkeeping in the makeshift shops of the veranda of their own house. Other women are engaged in rearing of cattle, goat or chicken around their residential areas, along with other activities of home without much hassle. Similarly, young girls and women after getting limited training in dress designing are engaged in tailoring service from their house. They earn some cash although not big, but get free hand to meet personal expenses, without depending on family budget or curtailing family interest. Hence the work place and the home continue to be same. Even some Muslim women who are engaged in the preparation of marriage headgear as family business also work in the home but the products are marketed by male members of their family. Some of the women are engaged in preparation of food items to be sold by their husband who have small hotels and food shops. Hence the point to be noted here that, the Muslim women prefer to work inside the home although aren't reluctant to contribute to family budget depending on their capacity. The woman are not encouraged to work outside as per *Quranic* law that says a woman should remain at home, and not go out except for necessary purposes. Allah says "And stay in your houses, and do not display yourselves like that of the times of ignorance" (al-Quran al-Ahzaab 33:33) (2008, Almunajjid).

The male members in both the study areas of Cuttack and Bhubaneswar, prefer business to service as prophet Mohammad himself was a business man initially. The boys help their father in shops and get inclined to family business instead of going to school for education. They feel, success in business requires expertise and experience but not academic degree. The slow and gradual interest of family business results to school or college drop outs and subsequently better employment opportunity becomes remote. As a result, quite a small percentage of male members are found to be engaged in low paid service categories. The male members are not found to be engaged in the sectors that are forbidden in Quran like business in alcohol, narcotics, weapons and school and banking sectors as well as very profit-making business.

Another area of controversy is emerging among the educated females of Muslim community although their number is small. The family head of the educated

girls sometimes feel uncomfortable to see their girls working with male colleagues or having low paid office job. Although these males do not restrict females to be employed but emphasise on the occupation with better status as per their own family which is more challenging. This again promotes status unemployment of educated females.

The inheritance of property by the females is a matter of compromise and competition among three principal agencies like legal provisions of India, Muslim Personal Law and local political council. The legal provisions of India grant equal rights of property to women as a citizen. It is a fact the *Quran* also has provided independence and right to women in all aspects. It clearly talks of daughter's right to own 1/3rd property irrespective of being movable or immovable agricultural land is not an exception. "Allah commands you regarding your children. For the male a share equivalent to that of two females" (Quran 4:11) (Morgan, 2010). But usually it is observed that they worry about the reaction of family and society and about the spoiling relationships with parental family members before thinking about their fundamental rights.

Sometimes when a Muslim female approaches the modern court of law to redress her grievance on inheritance, the Muslim personal law board contests the judgement on the basis of interference of their religion. The Muslim Personal Law is also not free from biasness as it is criticised for male chauvinism. But, the decision of local political council is regarded as it is in accordance with the socio-economic condition of an individual's personal life to solve the problem and hence it enjoys comparatively better appreciation among the common Muslims.

In Cuttack, the cases of divorce and polygamy marriage are virtually absent, which is a testimony to cordial relationship in the family. The Muslims of Cuttack behave very similar as Hindus in their day to day family life. Consciously or subconsciously they follow the Hindu ideologies in their lifestyle. The Muslims of the Bhubaneswar study area also show an almost similar kind of behaviour in marriage and divorce, which implies that living within the tolerant Odia culture, the inhabitants are also accepting the same in their life.

At the time of marriage, the girl gets a portion of her mother's ornaments and the required items from her parents to start a new home. It is a case found both in Cuttack and Bhubaneswar. But the problem arises at the time of dissolution of marriage or death of husband.

In Islam, *mehr* is mandatory to be paid to the bride at the time of marriage that legally becomes her property. At the time of divorce, the wife has the right to get her *mehr* dues cleared, but in some cases the local political council interferes to settle an alimony to be paid to the divorcee wife depending on the economic status of her husband. The amicable decision of *Panchu* members keeping the interest of both the parties in view provides a better solution at the time of divorce.

The research has also taken care to understand the Muslim women's decision making in the sphere of political participation, family welfare and marital alliance. The ideological prescription of Muslim women is to take care of the domestic front. She is in charge of family member's comfort and welfare. She along with her husband take decision about her family size and birth spacing for the betterment of family life. In Cuttack the strong association of the Anganwadi workers, ANM and Asha with Muslim women during the pregnancy, delivery and neonatal period have built a strong trust for exchange of reproductive health problems and their solutions. This resulted in 90 percent women accepting the birth spacing methods, which is a remarkable achievement. But at times of accepting a permanent birth control method, usually it needs to be a family decision. On the contrary in Bhubaneswar, the women go directly to the doctor with their husband. The effort of Anganwadi and ANM, is not significant in motivating the women for adoption of appropriate family planning device. The Muslim women lack trust on the health workers that make them dependent on the decision of husband and family even while using the temporary birth control method. This difference of decision making is clearly reflected on the family size of Muslim women of both Cuttack and Bhubaneswar which is 2.62 and 2.96 respectively.

In both the study areas, the immunization of children has shown poor performances. Even the strong motivational programmes and door campaigning are not able to change their orthodox outlook. Initially, the people were hesitant to

immunize their children against polio fearing its adverse effect on male reproductive power and hence it was against their religion.

Muslim women of both the study area have the right to take decision in selection of her life partner and in deciding the *mehr* amount. If she does not feel comfortable and compatible with her marriage relation, then she has been given the rights to ask for the divorce (*Khulla*). The society supports a widow or a divorcee to take a decision for remarriage. Apart from this she is equally involved with her husband in taking decision on matters of education of children, preparation for social functions and festivals, maintaining kinship relationship. She tries her best to promote solidarity among the family members, while playing these roles she always gives priority to her duties and obligations and sacrifices her individual rights for the well-being of the family, neighbourhood and community.

The participation of Muslim women in governmental development schemes is a promising factor for economic development of the family. Women take loan through micro finance schemes to promote her family's financial interest. In Bhubaneswar, Muslim women members are better organised into self-help groups than in Cuttack. This also reveals the fact about the economic pressure of cosmopolitan life both on male and female to maintain the family and at the same time the women in Bhubaneswar are better aware of the availability of different schemes due to their exposure and residence in capital city.

As quoted by Dalton (2008), a participatory public has been a defining feature of a state's politics and historically strength of the political system. Social scientists maintain that political participation is the heart of democratic theory. Without public involvement, democracy lacks both its legitimacy and its guiding force. For political participation, one should be involved in the voting process of State's elections. Mitra's study (2010) shows that the feeling of Indian citizenship of Muslims in Kashmir valley is more than 50 percent inspite of insurgency. In comparison to this, the Muslims in Bhubaneswar have demonstrated the feelings of citizenship to a better degree than Muslims of Kashmir valley with cent percent participation in civic, Assembly and parliamentary election.

The degree of participation of Muslim women in voting decreases in Cuttack in Assembly and Lok Sabha elections. Some voters did not participate in voting for various reasons like apathy, domestic problems, lack of proper campaign etc. On the other hand, in Bhubaneswar, it is interesting to note that the turnout of voters in Assembly and Lok Sabha elections is almost hundred percent. The reason for highest turnouts can be attributed to location of study area, which is a slum, secondly apprehensions of the inhabitants to lose the benefits like ration cards, free electricity, free water supply etc.

The promotion of education by sending the children to government/ private school is argued to be one of the agents for the development of citizenship (Mitra 2010), but in Bhubaneswar in general which houses more number of educated people, the turnout in Assembly and Parliament elections is less. The polling percentage in Assembly constituency was (44 percent) that raises concern and reconsideration for further research on the association of education with promotion of citizenship.

The decision regarding the selection of candidate and the party to vote is another important aspect of citizenship. It is revealed from the present research that the choice of the candidate or party is a family decision for women. The individual choice does not gain ground although some degree of individualization is achieved due to economic development of Muslim girls and women. This shows that the individual preference is subordinated to family preference. In other words, the forces of gender equality have not yielded much to the growth of females as an independent identity rather the old family norm still continues both in Cuttack and Bhubaneswar inspite of nuclearisation of family.

The citizenship behavior demonstrated in three areas like membership of political party, involvement in campaign and lastly casting of votes in election as described by Ruchi Singh (2013), is more applicable to the male members of Cuttack and Bhubaneswar. Majority of males in both the study areas have membership with some political party. They are involved in fund raising, campaigning for promotion of party interest. Some of them also contribute to the party fund. The involvement in party membership at grass root level shows the awareness of citizenship of local members. At times it leads to antagonism and disruption of personal relations but the social relationship is not compromised particularly in Cuttack.

It is seen that the membership of political party by Muslim women in Cuttack is absent. During campaign, the Muslim women usually do not come out in group to public, as they prefer to remain inside the home due to their social proscription. Although a few women join procession for campaign at the time of election, they work in cooperation with or under the leadership of male folk. In Bhubaneswar, a few Muslim women having political background, are registered members of some political party. At the time of election, they lobby for tickets from respective parties to file their candidature. This shows the Muslim women in the study area of Bhubaneswar are comparatively better active in political participation.

The issue of “security” or “protection” as described by Bodin (cf. Turner, 2014) as the indicator of citizenship is better appropriate in Cuttack than Bhubaneswar. In Cuttack, the residents in general and Muslims in particular have better degree of security and protection as they have been residing sharing a profound bonding. The identity of person is related to his father and grandfather because of permanent nature of residence. Although the people come and purchase vacant plots for construction of house, but the availability of such land is remote in *Sahis*/hamlets of Cuttack. Individuals and families are better protected in the locality in which they reside and even a common man can tell the identity of all residents of the locality. Hence, they have better acquaintance with each other that helps to maintain traditional social relationship unlike the residents of Bhubaneswar who are susceptible to insecurity because of their temporary nature of residence and a very formal relationship within the community. As a result, the Muslims of Bhubaneswar depend mostly on government agencies for security.

“Citizenship links the individual with the collective” (Lister, 2007). The very purpose of understanding citizenship is to see how an individual is linked himself to the difficult areas of society. In Cuttack Muslim males and females are very much concerned with maintaining their status and in different social institutions like birth, marriage and death. As the member of the community they are much concerned in maintaining their rights and duties at interpersonal relationships. At the time of life cycle rituals and crisis, the participation of kin members is the source of strength. The life at social level is needed for social protection at every stage of life. The rights and

obligations are demonstrated at family level, neighborhood level and community level.

At the grass root level, the functioning of local territorial council provides security and acts as an agent to solve the disputes. Even if people remain away from their native place and settle at Bhubaneswar, they continue to remain in touch with their native village council. It is seen from the above discussion that both Muslim men and women are better concerned for their social citizenship. In the context of political citizenship, they are more involved in the civic pole at the lowest level from which they derive direct benefit. At Cuttack they identify them as *Katakias* and at the highest level they develop belongingness to Odisha and Odishan culture. They feel secure and happy as citizens of Odisha. In contrast, Bhubaneswar is a place for economic opportunity and political participation is a form of compulsion without much fellow feeling among the residence.

In the “post socialistic age” as Fraser says “citizenship is not only a matter of social rights or socio-economic redistribution but also a matter of “recognition and belonging” (Fraser, 2007). The social pluralism, migration, have resulted new debates on belonging and communitarianism that finds a place in local level, with stronger social cohesion in the neighborhood and also at the national level. In Cuttack the Muslims have demonstrated stronger social cohesion with a dominant Hindu culture, thus by maintaining own identity in a new “cultural citizenship” (Pakulski, 1997).

Suggestions for improving quality of life of Islam women

The Muslim men and women of both the study areas believes that Islam; the religion is their identity. Islam is a lifestyle. The two fundamental sources of Islam are the *Quran* (the word of God) and the *Hadith* (verbal translation of the message of the Prophet). They follow the *Hadith* at every step of life. The day to day life, the etiquette and behavior, the lifestyle, the life cycle rituals, the kinship relationship and every small aspect of life has guidelines written in the *Hadith*. They follow the teachings of the Prophet as expressed in *Hadith*. They believe if they will be negligent in this respect, they will be answerable before Allah.

The religious head and clergy man in Muslim’s life play a vital role. Thus the government should take interest to involve the clergymen in the development

activities, which will make them play an active role in introducing changes in the society. The Muslim men and women of both the study area see the society through the eyes of religious heads. Even if the government is introducing many developmental schemes for the education, health and economic betterment, the response is not adequately marked. So, when the religious heads will be involved in execution of developmental programmes, success rate will be higher.

The implementation of development programs at the grass root level like Anganwadi and ANM (Auxiliary Nurse Midwifery) directly involving Muslim women at the participatory level can bring change in the Muslim women's life and in their stance as rightful citizens.

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Endnote

Ahamadias	A sect of Muslim
Allah	The Almighty
Amruta Manohi	Food offering to Lord Jagannath
Anganwadi	Anganwadi is a type of rural child care centre in India started in 1985 as part of the Integrated Child Development Services program
Anjuman-Islamia Ahle Sunnat-o-Jammat	Highest level committee consisting Muslim villages Administrative blocks to solve different issues of Muslim community
Ansari	A caste of service providing Muslims
Arua	Rice prepared from raw rice grain
As Salam walekum	Greeting meaning may peace be upon you
Azhan	Islamic call to prayer
Barakoli	A type of berry
Barelvi	A sect of Sunni muslim
Barshi	The first death anniversary
Bati	A units of land measure
Begum	A Muslim woman of high rank in the society
Bhaichara	Brotherhood
Bhajan	Devotional songs
Bhakti rasa	Attachment, participation, fondness for, homeage, faith, love, devotion, worship, purity
Bindi	A decorative mark in middle of forehead by Hindu women
Bishwa	Twentieth day of death
Biwi	Wife
Brundabati	The platform to worship Basil plant in Hindu households
Burkha	A long, loose garment covering the whole body from head to feet worn by Muslim women

Chaharam	Fourth day of death
Chalisha	Final ritual performed on thirty sixth or forty day of the death
Chapati	An indian flat bread popularly known as roti made from wheat flour
Chhatua	Mixed powder of cereals and sugar
Chilla	A birth cycle ritual
Dashwa.	Tenth day of death
Dawat-e-Islami	A belief of Bareilvis emphasizing on one Muslim organisation promoting religious practices
Deobandi	A sect of Sunni muslim
Dhobi	A washerman
Didi	An older sister or acquaintance
Durgha	The tomb of a Muslim saint
Durgha	Is a shrine built over the grave of a revered religious figure, often a Sufi saint
Eidgha	Open air enclosure meant for prayers during Eid-ul-fitre and other festivals
Fateyha	Offering of food made to the Almighty
Fatwa	Legal pronouncement based on the Islamic law, issued usually when someone seeks to know the legal position on a particular issue.
Gawah	Witness in the Nikah
Ghoshal	Islamic ritual of bathing the dead body
Goshaldenewali	The Muslim female who bathes the dead body of deceased female
Hadith	A collection of traditions containing saying of Prophet Muhammed which accounts of daily practice
Hafiz	A Muslim who knows the Quran by heart
Halal	Lawful in Islam
Halwa	A sweet dish
Haraam	Anything unlawful prohibited in Islam
Hartal	Nonviolence protest

Jamait-ul-ullema	One of the leading Islamic organisations in India
Jhanja	Traditional hindu musical instrument
Kabar	Grave
Kabba	The Kaaba is the most sacred site and built around a sacred black stone that Muslims believe as a monotheistic house of worship.
Kafan	A white cloth that is used to cover the entire dead body except the face
Kalma	La ilahailla-llahu, Muhammad rasulallahi means 'that there is no God except Allah, and Muhammad is His Prophet
Kameez	Long tunic worn by Muslim female usually
Khadimdar	Person who bathes the dead body
Khajja Namaz	Untimely performed Namaz
Khairat	Free food
Khirichata	Ritual where child takes its first rice pudding
Khulla	Divorce sought by Muslim female counterpart in a marriage
Khutba	Primary formal occasion for public preaching in the Islamic tradition
Ladoo	A ball shaped dry sweet prepared from gram flour, oil, and dry fruits.
Lash	Dead body
Lungi	A traditional garment worn around waste
Madrassa	A religious primary educational institution aiming to train Muslim children in Urdu and to read the Quran
Mahasava	Larger religious organizations of Hindus
Mahram	A non-marriageable kin whois very close to a Muslim woman with whom he/she can interact freely
Makuta	Crown like
Mali	Gardener
Mana	A units of land measure
Mangala sutra	Holy necklace worn by Hindu women symbolising

	their marriage
Masjid.	A mosque
Mouja	Revenue village
Mazzar	Another name of Durgah
Mehendi rasam	A ritual in which henna leaves paste applied on the hands of the bride and the groom
Mehr	A mandatory payment made in form of money or possessions by groom to the bride at the time of marriage that becomes her legal property
Moulana/Maulvi	Muslim man revered for his religious learning or piety
Mufti	A Muslim legal expert empowered to give rulings on religious matters
Muhn Dikhai	Some amount of cash as a token of expression of satisfaction
Naat	Devotional songs of Muhammad
Namaz	Ritual prayers prescribed by Islam, to be observed five times a day
Naqab	A mask or veil or hood worn usually to hide their hair by Muslim women
NauJawan	A committee that ensure peace keeping and organisation of socio-cultural events in the Sahi
Nikah	Wedding in Islam
Nirguna or Nirakar	Form less
Nizam	provincial ruler in Moghul administration
Omm	Sacred sound and spiritual icon of Hindus
Paak	Pure
Pakhauja	Traditional hindu musical instrument
Pandavas	Five brothers from Mahabharata mythology
Patitapabana	One who can even purify a sinner, referred to Lord Jagannath
Piras/Pirs	A Muslim saint or holy man
Pitha	A sacred place
Puja	worship

Purana	Hindu Religious literatures
Puranic	According to mythology
Puskarini	A pond
	Marriage agreement bond where details of bride, bridegroom and their parents are given with the <i>mehr</i> amount. The signature of witnesses and village/sahi panchus and religious head make it a legal paper.
Qarara jawab	Qarara in urdu means consent.
	One who recites the Quran according to proper recitation rules
Qari	
Qazi	Person well versed in Islamic religious rites
Qibla	In the direction towards Mecca
Queresis	A caste mainly indulged in butchery
Quran	The holy book of Islam
Radha	Popular Hindu Goddess popular in Vaishnavism
Roza	Fasting
Rukhsat	The process in which bride leaves for her in laws place
Sadhus	A Hindu saint or holy man
Sahi	Hamlets
Sahu	Confectioner
	To bow down on their knees so that their touches the ground or the mat on which they recite their namaz.
Sajdaa	
Sajdah	Prostration to God in Kibla direction
Salwar	A pair of loose, light pleated trousers used by Muslim women usually
Sanat- I-Janazah	Special prayer near the grave before burial
Sanshitarakitab	A religious book referred for name giving
	A form of performing art involving ritual singing, drumming and dancing performed in religious places by Hindus
Sanskirtana	
Sardar	Head man of the village/sahi/hamlet council
Saru	Arum
Satya pir	A saint

Satyanarayan	Referred to Lord Vishnu
Saya	Petticoat
Seher Qaji	Islamic legal scholar or judge
Shaitan	Devil
Subedars	A mid level junior commissioned officer
Suhur	Pre-dawn meal after fazr namaz
Sunnis	A sect of Muslim
Swastika	Ancient geometrical figure used as religious symbol of Hindus
Talaq	Divorce sought by Muslim male counterpart in a marriage
Tazia	A replica of the tomb of Imam Hussain
Uthiari.	Ritual of first shaving of baby's head
Wakf Board	Board pertaining to the management of properties belonging to Islamic shrines and Mosques that can be used in public purpose but can not be sold.
Wakil.	Learned person in Islam
Walekum as salam	Formal greetings by Muslims
Wazu	Prayer is preceded by the lesser ablution consisting in the washing of the face and hands to the elbows and feet, in a prescribed manner.
Wazu Ghar	The place for corpse for ritual sanctification
Yavana	Muslim devotees of hindu Lords
Zarda	Sweet pudding prepared with milk, rice, sugar and coconut
Zari	is an even silver or gold coloured threads used in traditional Indian and Pakistani garments or to decorate pandals.