NATURE OF COMMUNALISM AND COMMUNAL POLITICS IN KERALA – A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF NADAPURAM AND MARAD

Thesis submitted to the University of Calicut for the award of the Degree ofDoctor of Philosophy in Political Science under the Faculty of Humanities

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DECLARATION

I, **Vinod Kumar C**., do hereby declare that the thesis entitled '**Nature of Communalism and Communal Politics in Kerala - A Comparative Study of Nadapuram and Marad'** is a bonafide record of research done by me and this report or any part thereof has not been submitted by me for the award of any other Degree, Diploma, Title or Recognition before.

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled '**Nature of Communalism and Communal Politics in Kerala - A Comparative Study of Nadapuram and Marad'** submitted for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of University of Calicut is a record of bonafide research carried out by **Vinod Kumar.C** under my guidance and supervision. No part of this thesis has been submitted for the award of any Degree before.

Dr. K.S. Pavithran

Place: C.U.Campus

Date:

In memory of my beloved Parents

Uruchalil Choyi and Madhavi

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Abbreviations

AICC	:	All India Congress Committee
AIML	:	All India Muslim League
AMU	:	Aligarh Muslim University
AP	:	Andhra Pradesh
APHC	:	All Parties Hurriyat Conference
AS	:	Araya Samajam
ASS	:	Abhala Samrakshana Samiti
ATS	:	Anti-Terrorism Squad
BBC	:	British Broadcasting Corporation
BDJS	:	Bharat Dharma Jana Sena
BJP	:	Bharatiya Janata party
BMS	:	Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh
CBI	:	Central Bureau of Intelligence
CPI	:	Communist Party of India
CPI (M)	:	Communist Party of India (Marxist)
CRPF	:	Central Reserve Police Force
DIG	:	Deputy Inspector General
DYFI	:	Democratic Youth Federation of India
FNR	:	Fort Nightly Report
INC	:	Indian National Congress
INL	:	Indian National League
INTUC	:	Indian National Trade Union Congress
IS	:	Islamic State
ISIS	:	Islamic State in Iraq and Syria
ISS	:	Islamic Swayam Seva Sangham/ Islamic Service Society

IUML	:	Indian Union Muslim League
JD	:	Janata Dal
KFFD	:	Kannada Forum For Dignity
KMFRA	:	Kerala Marine Fishing Regulation Act
KPCC	:	Kerala Provincial Congress Committee/Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee
KRA	:	Kerala Land Reform Act
KRS	:	Karshaka Raksha Samiti
KSKTU	:	Kerala State Karshaka Thozhilali Union
KSMTF	:	Kerala State Matsya Thozhilali Federation
KTDS	:	Kerala Theera Desa Sanghatana
LDF	:	Left Democratic Front
MC	:	Mahallu Committee
MCC	:	Muslim Cultural Centre
MES	:	Muslim Education Society
MGNREGS	:	Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Generation Scheme
MIS	:	Maunath- ul-Islam Sabha
ML	:	Muslim League
MLA	:	Member of Legislative Assembly
MNPOT	:	Manitha Neethi Pasarai Of Tamilnadu
MP	:	Member of Parliament
MSF	:	Muslim Students Federation
NCP	:	National Congress Party
NDA	:	National Democratic Alliance
NDF	:	National Development Front
NGO	:	Non-Governmental Organization
NIC	:	National Integration Council

NSS	:	Nair Service Society
OCI	:	Orissa Citizen's Initiative
PAC	:	Provincial Armed Constabulary
PDP	:	People's Democratic Party
PFI	:	Popular Front of India
PSP	:	Praja Socialist Party
RAF	:	Rapid Action Force
RDO	:	Revenue Divisional Officer
RSS	:	Rashtriya Swayam Seva Sangham
SC	:	Scheduled Caste
SDPI	:	Social Democratic Party of India
SFI	:	Students Federation of India
SGPC	:	Shiromani Gurdwara Prabhantak Committee
SIMI	:	Students Islamic Movement of India
SJPS	:	Sadhu Jana Paripalana Sangham
SKSSF	:	Samasta Kerala Sunni Students Federation
SNDP	:	Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam
SPSS	:	Social Programme for Social Sciences
SRC	:	Socio Religious Centre
ST	:	Scheduled Tribe
UDF	:	United Democratic Front
UP	:	Uttar Pradesh
USA	:	United States of America
VHP	:	Viswa Hindu Parishat

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Chapter 1
INTRODUCTION

The modern State of Kerala has emerged as a result of the merger of erstwhile Travancore, Cochin State, with the Malabar District and Kasargod Taluk of former State of Madras. The State was formed on 1st November 1956 on the basis of the State Reorganization Act of 1956. In ancient days Kerala did not exist as a separate political entity. Instead of that, most of the parts of Kerala were under a Tamil kingdom. The Geographical peculiarities of Kerala have created relatively the political isolation of the State from other places of India up to the modern period. But Kerala society maintained strong and smooth relations with the outside world than with the other parts of the country from the very early days.

Prior to the formation of Kerala State, there was a wide range of social evils and ruthless economic exploitation prevailed. Social evils like untouchability, taboo, superstitions and other inhuman activities were practiced in the social life of the people. All these kinds of practices were based merely on the basis of caste and religion. During this period, the life of common people was not better than animals. People like Vikunda Swami questioned these sorts of social evils and economic exploitations. But these were isolated efforts that were brutally suppressed by the rulers and dominant classes. The influence of caste, religious rituals and customs were more rigid and powerful in the native states of Cochin and Travancore than Malabar, which was under the direct control of British Raj. But in the last quarter of 19th century, Kerala society witnessed various social and religious reform movements. The society was awakened by its age-old slumber by the efforts of such movements. Gradually society began to exhibit the sign of a social renaissance. Colonial administration, through political and economic supremacy, accelerated these renaissances. In addition to this, western education, printing and communication facilities were also contributed to the growth of new social awakening among the people of this region. These newly emerged movements in

Kerala society during the 19th century were exactly revolutionary in their ideological plane.

The most celebrated personality in Kerala to promote social reforms was Sree Narayana Guru. He stood for the emancipation of all sections of people in the society without considering any sort of discrimination. His initial attempt was to uplift the social, economic and religious status of the lower castes in the society. His social reform movement among the Ezhava community had inspired other lower castes to struggle for social acceptability and equality. 'One caste, One Religion and One God for men' were the universally vibrated message of Sree Narayana Guru. Another popular social reformer Ayyankali was a contemporary of Sree Narayana Guru. He devoted his life to the well being of the most suppressed and oppressed Pulaya caste in the society. With the inspiration and support of Narayana Guru, he restlessly fought against the social discrimination and naked economic exploitation of the poor section in the society. He led a revolutionary role and used force to address the very enemy force.

Another notable reformer of those days was Chattambi Swamikal who initiated reforms among the Nair community. He tried to put an end to the Brahmin domination in the religious rituals and ceremonies. He very strongly condemned the caste system and other social evils. The name of Vagbhatananda needs special attention in the course of discussion regarding the social changes in Kerala. He gave a new meaning to the philosophy of Hindu religion and severely criticized the practice of the caste system, superstition and blind faith, especially among the Hindu community. In the social reform movement outstanding contribution was also given by Vakkom Abdul Qader Maulavi, who was a powerful social reformer among the Muslim community in Kerala. He relentlessly fought against superstitions and ignorance of the vast majority poor Muslims in the society and encouraged the community to send children to school even though he had to face stiff resistance from the orthodox section of the Muslim community. Other remarkable personalities to lead reforms were V.T. Bhattathirippad, Sahodaran Ayyappan, C. Krishnan etc. They enthusiastically involved in different streams of reforms in Kerala. Their

efforts and outstanding contribution to the society paved the way for the cultural renaissance of Kerala. Following this, the State attained a covetable position in any respect.

The result of renaissance movements reflected in the social life of Kerala. The State experienced progressive trends. These positive elements reflected in all walks of life in the society- for the State known for deep-rooted Left force and tradition. Kerala is the State where the Communist party came to power through ballot box for the first time not only in India but also in Asia. The State was projected as the role model in India, with many respects like scientific temper, social justice, educational mobility, financial status, political consciousness and secular attitude etc. But the State has experienced various ideologies from time to time extending progressive to revolutionary, from revolutionary to reactionary like extending communalism to Naxalism and from Naxalism to communalism.

In this transformation process reactionary forces like casteism, religious fundamentalism and conservatism retracted all the radical advantages of reform movements brought in Kerala society. Fundamentalist elements restricted and arrested all progressive strides attained by the society. These anti-social forces very tactfully made an unholy alliance with political parties. Consequently, these anti-social and anti-radical elements penetrated to the key centres of the political and administrative sphere. These reactionary forces apparently projecting the progressive face with secular commitment, but in real life these forces were pseudo-secular and anti-progressive. They are really a great challenge to communal harmony and co-operative social life in the State. These elements are doing all the anti-social and mischievous role behind the curtain of democracy.

If we examine the last few decades of the history of Kerala, we can understand that reactionary, fundamentalist powers gradually and systematically nurturing communal, criminal and political violence in Kerala society. To attain their narrow interest, they are using and distorting religion and community life. These anti-social forces are ready to go any extent to get political power and economic benefit. Several places like Thalassery, Mattanchery, Nilakkal, Panur,

Poonthura witnessed their shrewd play and recently the riots in the Nadapuram and Marad witnessed communal disparity and political violence in this respect.

I. Research Problem

Kerala was considered as a paradise of communal co-operation and religious amity. The State once exhibited a high degree of political awareness. However, the State has been witnessed some communal conflicts between different communities in Tellichery, Nilakkal, Vizhinjam, Mattanchery, Kasargod, Punthura, Panur, Taikal and in its worst form in Nadapuram and Marad. During last few decades, the role and influence of communal formations have considerably increased in Kerala. Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh (RSS) and Viswa Hindu Parishad (VHP) have now established its stronghold in several parts of the State. When A.K.Antony was the Chief Minister of Kerala VHP undertook the distribution of '*tridents*' as the religious symbols for mobilization and created self-confidence rooted in religious identity. A similar tendency has developed among the Muslims as well. After the demolition of Babri-Masjid, a group of Muslim youth felt rather reluctant and dissatisfied with the pacifist attitude taken by the existing political and social formations. These groups were attracted to the militant outfits like Islamic Service Society (ISS), the National Development Front (NDF) and Students Islamic Movement of India (SIMI) etc. There are also many other fundamental forces active in different fields of social and political life. These militant forces have been steadily on the increase now-a-days.

The incidents at Nadapuram and Marad indicate that extreme communalism has arrived in Kerala in different forms. It is a proof that a stage of proto communalism which has a long period incubation, is over. During this period, a sense of religious division has slowly and steadily socially articulated through organized religiosity. Various communal organizations tried to exhibit their strength by bringing the believers to the street. The religious practices have now spilt over from the domestic and sacred places to the public and political spaces, discarding the process of distinction between religious belief and religiosity. The participation in organized religious function is a source of psychological satisfaction and it creates a

sense of solidarity. Godman and woman, widely patronized by political leaders, giving legitimacy to the blind beliefs and superstitions around them. Crisis-ridden middle class and poorer section of the community were attracted to the magical powers managed by them to escape from the pressure of 'globalized' life. The social hegemony of religious discourse legitimizes religious and social division. Consequently, different communities especially Hindus and Muslims have emerged as separate entities not only in the personal and domestic life but also even in social existence. As a result, a transformation from communitarian to the communal has been taking place, gradually but steadily as in Nadapuram and Marad. This kind of violence is occurring in many parts of Kerala. The study is intended to grasp the undercurrents and factors which led to the communal conflicts in Nadapuram and Marad and describes the difference between these two incidents. These two different regions have Hindus and Muslims as its central point of discussion and analysis, hence, the importance of identity on religion is the fundamental basis of the study.

II. Objectives of the Study

The main objectives of the study are:

1. To understand the reason for the rise of communalism, communal politics and political violence and their interrelations in the Kerala context.

2. To examine undercurrents of communal violence of Nadapuram and Marad and its political linkages.

3. To examine the relationships between communal problems and changes in socio-economic relations of the people in both the region.

4. To find out the extent of degenerations occurred in the civil society in Nadapuram and Marad during the last few decades.

5. To understand the causes of different aspects and its effects on wide social canvas.

III. Hypotheses

The study has the following Hypotheses:

1. Socio-economic imbalance during the last four decades led to communal unrest in Nadapuram and Marad

2. There is a direct relationship between political criminalization and communal violence

3. Impact of Gulf money widens communal divide in Nadapuram because the income generated is not distributed properly across the society

4. Political parties and their leadership have a negative role in arresting communal disharmony in these regions

5. Education plays a constructive role to bring in communal harmony and peace among Hindus and Muslims

IV. Review of Literature

There are a number of studies on various aspects of communalism, communal violence, secularism and politics at the national level. However, there are dearths of literature in the context of Kerala. *In Political Violence: The Behavioral Process* written by H.L.Neiburg (1969), *Communalism in Modern India* by Bipan Chandra (1984), *Communalism in India*: *A Historical and Empirical study* by Asghar Ali Engineer (1995), *Communalism Contested: Religion, Modernity and Secularization* by Achin Vanaik (1997), *Secular India and Communal Politics* by R.C.Sharma (1999) are worthful.

H.L.Neiburg in his work *Political Violence: The Behavioral Process* examines the difficult dichotomies as well as gradual changes of order and disorder of the present system. He gives the idea of a rational choice model between violence and peace. He treats societal urges toward integration, and points out how these urges are defined to become scientific and not political religiosity. He also

explained that all political violence as abnormal, insane or unaccountably freakish is not correct.

Bipan Chandra in his *Communalism in Modern India* enquire in to the history of the causes of communal violence, social roots of communalism and the role of ideological, social and cultural elements in it. He further enquires into how the British policy accentuated communal divide in India.

Asghar Ali Engineer in his *Communalism in India: A Historical and Empirical Study* explains that communalism is a very complex phenomenon. For him, communalism cannot be identified only in the present social and political scenario. It has its historical antecedence in the medieval and modern period. In an earlier work, *Communal Riots in Post-independence India* (1991), Engineer points out that since 1960's, India has witnessed some of its worst communal violence. Although religion appears to be the cause of these riots, in reality, it is the tension between different communities because of political, social, economic, cultural or linguistic factors; that causes violence. Communal violence and role of police and communal violence on women and children are also examined by him in this study.

Achin Vanaik in his work *Communalism Contested: Religion, Modernity and Secularization* deals with various features of growing communalism and violence. This book by one of India's leading Marxist intellectuals who have been constantly involved with serious questions of contemporary Indian politics, especially communalism and communal violence discusses how religion works as an ideology, role of Hindutva as an anti-secularism and anti-modernist stridence. Vanaik emphasizes the importance of the struggle against communalism and a battle for the soul of Indian nationalism. He argues that Indian nationalism must rest on secular foundations.

R.C.Sharma in his work *Secular India and Communal Politics* explains how communalism has acquired an unprecedented political centre stage in India since partition. He emphasizes the role of communal political parties and the appeasement attitude of the mainstream political parties and ruling elites towards vested interest

of religious leaders and fundamental forces are serious challenges to the secularism in India.

In addition to these works, there are some other studies which deal with the problems of communalism, secularism, political and social issues in India and Kerala.

S.K.Ghosh in his book *Political Violence: Dawn of a Dangerous Era* (1992) argues that domestic violence is the failure of democracy and points out that the seeds of violence have been systematically developed by politician ever since last few decades of our independence. This book enquires into economic, social, political and religious motives that are responsible for the spread of violence. Communal carnages, according to him are more dangerous because they are organized. There are numerous reasons and innumerable lose of human life, besides tearing apart the society. In another title *'The Muslim in Indian Democracy'* (1984), Ghosh speaks about the ongoing dialectics in Muslim outlook, which, on the one part, change on to tradition and on other part, seeks to adapt to the changed contest of democratic politics. He narrates this process as 'change and continuity'.

Fred R.Von der Mehden makes an attempt to define political violence in his work, *Comparative Violence;* (1973). The book deals with various types of violence and rationale for violence. *The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India* (2003) by Paul R.Brass looks at how the ideology was transformed and the central role of communal organization and political parties into the communal riots. Prakash Chandra in his work *Changing Dimensions of the Communal Politics in India* (1999) explains how the communal forces had acquired decisive hand in the Indian politics and central administrative authority.

Rajeev Bhargava in his book *Political Theory- An Introduction* (2008) tells on political secularism that only a separation of state and religion can fulfill the freedom and equality. Political secularism opposes all forms of religion-centred states, i.e. theocracies. *Religious Politics and Communal Violence* (2005) edited by Steven I. Wilkinson discusses why religious issues became prominent in politics in some occasions but not in others, and why religious mobilization leads to communal

violence and policies in some cases but not in many others. This study provides sociological, psychological, economic and political explanations for events of communal riots in Gujarat.

Jyotirmaya Sharma's work *Hindutva* (2015) explores the ideas of Hindu nationalism. He explains that Hindu nationalism was a relatively modern phenomenon and that it could be clearly realized if one observes at the tension that a dispute between tradition and modernity produces. *Communalism in Postcolonial India* edited by Mujibur Rehman (2016) explains the idea of communalism in independent India. It reveals the changes of politics and religion in the country from the colonial times to the modern period and makes an important intervention in understanding the relationship between communalism and communal violence. This book also reveals the role of various agencies in the state in connection with the communal violence.

Communal Identity in India (2003) edited by Bidyut Chakrabarty describes communal identity as a matter of serious question and discussion in the current scenario. This identity is negotiated always the volatile combination of influences relating on the nation, region, religion, gender, language and citizenship.

A.Sreedhara Menon in his work, *History of Kerala* (1967), obviously explains the history of the social and economic condition of north Malabar. The book discusses the customs and their traditional conventions, origin and role of peasant movement. It also narrates the nature of Pazhassi's revolt against the British and the way of support attained by the Pazhassi from *adivasis*. The book also explains the role of Nadapuram in the national freedom struggle. William Logan's *Malabar Manual* (1887) covers the history, culture, economy and geography of Malabar in detail. It is the most significant book ever written about the history of Malabar, especially in Northern Malabar.

Ramadas.P in his article *Community and Communalism Understanding Marad (*2016) emphasize the transformation process of Puthu-Islam and Arayas into *Muslims and Hindus*. He explained how the fishermen communities of Marad were linked with their co-religionist in the mainland through various cultural discourses.

Sukumar Azhikode in his article *Oru Desathinte Katha* (2013) in Varthamanam Daily criticized the Government of Kerala's irresponsible attitude to handle the first and second Marad issues. He also warned the extreme level of growing communal and fundamental forces in the Kerala contest.

P.K.Yasser Arafath in his article *Nadapuram Enigma: A History of violence and Communalism in North Malabar (1957-2015),* (2016), opined that the complexities of communal proliferations in Nadapuram are the products of entanglements of caste, conversions, economic mobility and land relationship. Political discourses at the global stage and efforts in building identity- based alliance have a direct bearing of this region.

Thufail.P.T in his article, *Violence leaves North Kerala bloody as Political equations change* (2016), in Hindustan Times gives a picture of series of bloody political and communal violence in Nadapuram between CPI (M) and IUML. He also mentioned the role of RSS and NDF in this issue. He added that recently this trend in Nadapuram is spreading to other parts of Northern Kerala.

Kamala Prasad's Enquiry Commission Report on Ayodhya issue pointed out that how political leadership and administrative officers helped and nurtured communal violence. Another Commission report by Justice B.N.Srikrishna describes the violence that ravaged in Bombay in December 1992 and January 1993. Without all these, retired judges of Bombay High Court, Justice Daud and Justice Suresh conducted an independent enquiry. Their report revealed the atrocities against Muslims done by Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS), Viswa Hindu Parishad (VHP) and Shiva Sena. Thomas P. Joseph commission Report reveals the nexus between communal leaders and political leadership. It also reveals the failure of the government machinery to take necessary action on proper time. The Commission also condemned the direct involvement of political leadership in the Marad first and the second massacres.

V. Major Concepts Used

To understand the core problem of the research, clarity of identification plays a significant role in social science research area. These concepts are highly useful in analyzing the problems in a definite manner, as they give the needed information about the dynamics of social and political problems. For the purpose of this study, following concepts are used.

V.1. Communalism

Communalism usually refers to a system that integrates communal ownership and federations of highly localized, independent communities. Communalism means a particular section of people who are emotionally attached with a particular religion. It is fundamentally an ideology of political dependability to a religious community, as a principle decisive group in the polity. Communalism foresees other religious communities as opponents within the polity and a nation. One of its main dimensions is the political agenda opposed to nationalism as an operation of unification of the multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-lingual communities. It basically belongs to the group of politics, whereas religions are a member of the group of faith and salvation. Real religious beliefs do not necessarily leads to communalism.

V.2. Communal Politics

The interpretations of 'communal' is something distributed or decided by all individuals of a given community, while 'communal politics' would be how a community controls itself with the gradual contract of all members of community. Communal politics is based on the concept of religion. It is the fundamental basis of social community. Communalism involves thinking that the followers of one religion must belong to one community. Communal politics is unlike communal tension, because communal politics stands for a long time and continuous process. Communal politics injects communal and caste ideologies, mainly to poor section of that community.

V.3. Communal Violence

Communal Violence is a type of violence which includes conflicts, riots and other forms of violence between communities of different religious belief or racial origins. According to Thomas Hobbes, the conflict between society and individual appetite for pleasure lead to frustrations, which are the basic causes of social conflicts. The process from the development of discontent than the politicization of that discontent then gets its expression of violent action against political objects and actors (Gurr, 1979:35). Communal violence occurs as a result of mobilization of people of various communities, against each other and holding the mind of animosity, emotional fury, grudge, social disparity and social ignorance. Communal violence is mainly based on hostility, malignity and vengeance. Communal violence has increased quantitatively and qualitatively, ever since politics came to be communalized. Communal violence is more politically targeted than instigated by religion. Besides the political benefit, economic concern also plays a crucial role in the communal violence.

V.4. Secularism

Most usually Secularism is explained, to make sure that the social and political system is free from institutionalized religious supremacy, such that there is religious freedom, freedom to exit from religion, inter-religious equality and equality between believers and non-believers. Secularism in India means equal treatment of all religions by the state. In India, we have no official religion. The term 'secular' inserted by the 42nd Constitutional Amendment Act, 1976 highlights that the state shall have no religion of its own and all persons shall be equally entitled to freedom of conscience and right to freely profess practice and propagate religion. It was not used by the framework of the constitution and its omission was rather deliberate because Dr. B.R.Ambedkar perhaps thought that the principle of secularism are already enshrined in the chapter of fundamental rights. The provision of Right to freedom of religion ensuring freedom of conscience, practice and propagation of religion, freedom to manage religious affairs and right to equality clearly implied that India is a 'secular' Republic. Looking at secularism from a broad and rational perspective, it could be indispensible in a multi-cultural, multi-

religious society. Diversities and difficulties in a society like India have to be handled in a non-antagonistic fashion and secularism provides the best approach to resolve them (Pavithran, 2012, 62). Secularism is committed first to the view that whether or not they exists elsewhere, all human beings exists on the secular plane. This view is assumed, presupposed or actually believed by all human beings. Second view of secularism presupposes that in the absence of secularism any human institutions in this world can turn oppressive or inegalitarian (Bhargava, op., cit, 275-276).

V.5. Identity

According to Social Science Encyclopedia, the term 'identity' denotes fundamentally to an intra-subjective sense of continuous being and secondarily to a sense of oneself in a collective and a social framework (Kapur and Kapur, 2004:478). The kinds of identities that people selects for themselves and to fall generally into following sections; national, regional, religious, racial and linguistic. This, however, does not mean that other identities- for example civilization, culture, class, caste etc., are not relevant. Yet, these factors have their own significance; other identities are much stronger than these. Identities based on religion are the typical example in this regard. Religion plays a significant part in the social relations and even in cultural formations. This religious intervention is always not positive in social and cultural formations.

V.6. Social and Political Changes

Both these changes refer to the basic changes in the social structure, models of culture and political behaviour (Wal, 2009:S9). Social, economic, political and cultural aspects are not always stagnant in a society. It uplifts the people to develop their conduct in various guided ways that lead to social and political change. It is believed that change is fundamentally the outcome of the operation of forces within the society (Kuppuswamy, 1990:23-24). These changes are the result of different challenges faced by the society from time to time. Social and political changes happen through different governmental legislative acts and executive orders, or through various social and political movements or by the movement of people from one culture to another (Scott and Marshall, 2009:501). Gidden argues that changes

can be brought about mainly through human agency, it is not evolutionary like natural selection, mutation or adaptations, but it is ubiquitous- the modern world can be defined as a world of changes (Bert and Sydie, 2002, 387). These changes are directly proportional to the intensity of conflicts within the society (Judge and Sharma, 1997:17). The political consciousness and literacy alone can exert positive changes within the society.

VI. Universe of the Study

Universe of the study is Nadapuram and Marad, which are in Kozhikode District of Kerala. Nadapuram is one of the Legislative Assembly constituencies of Kerala Legislative Assembly, which consist of ten Panchayats. The population of the constituency is 2, 38,901 as per 2011 census, and it constitutes all the major religions in Kerala. Marad is a small coastal area of Kozhikode District, coming under ward 49 of the District Corporation. It comprises of a total population of 7909 as per the census of 2011. Both regions are highly communally and politically sensitive areas.

VII. Brief Profile of the Respondents

Table 1.1

A Brief Profile of the Respondents in Nadapuram

Gender and Age-wise Distribution						Total
Male	Female	18-35	36-50	51-60	Above 60	
113 (56.3)	87 (43.7)	61 (30.3)	98 (49.1)	27 (13.7)	14 (6.9)	200
Education-wise Distribution						
Illiterate	Primary	Secondary	Degree	Diploma	Higher Education	
6 (2.8)	19 (9.4)	76 (38.2)	66 (33.2)	12 (5.8)	21 (10.6)	
Religion-wise Distribution						
Hindu	Muslim	Christian		No Religion Specified		
108 (53.8)	76 (38)	13 (6.6)		3 (1.6)		

Notes: Figures given in brackets indicate percentage distribution.

Table 1.1 indicates the profile of the respondents of Nadapuram and it shows that they belong to different age, gender, education and religious wise categories. In terms of gender 56.3% are males and 43.7% are females. In terms of age-wise distribution, 30.3% of the respondents belong to 18-35 years of age. The majority of the population belongs to 36-50 years, which consist of 49.1%. The people of the age group 51-60 years are of 13.7% and above 60 is only 6.9%. The literacy rate of Nadapuram is 97.2%. Among the respondents, primary education is attained by 9.4%, the secondary education is obtained by majority of the   population (38.2%). Degree is attained by 33.2% and Diploma holders are 5.8%, while the higher education rate in the area is 10.6%. The religious-wise classification shows that, Hindus are majority in the area with 53.8%, while Muslims are 38%. The Christian community constitutes 6.6% and 1.6% of population did not specified their religion.

Table 1.2

A Brief profile of the Respondents in Marad

Gender and Age-wise Distribution						
Male	Female	18-35	36-50	51-60	Above 60	Total
58 (72)	22 (28)	18 (22.25)	29 (36.5)	16 (20)	17 (21.25)	80 (100)
Education-wise Distribution						
Illiterate	Primary	Secondary	Degree	Diploma	Higher Education	
7 (8.75)	25 (31.25)	40 (50)	5 (6.25)	2 (2.5)	1 (1.25)	
Religion-wise Distribution						
Hindu		Muslim		Christian		
44 (55)		34 (43)		2 (2)		

Note: Figures given in brackets indicate percentage distribution of the respondents.

The profile of the respondents of Marad indicates that, among the 80 respondents selected, 72% are males and 28% are females. In the age-wise

distribution, populations are categorized to four groups. Population of 18-35 years is of 22% and the majority of 37% belong to 36-50 years. The age belongs to 51-60 years of people constitutes 20% and above 60 years are 21%. Considering the brief account of education-wise profile, secondary level is attained by half of the population. Primary education is obtained by 31.25%, Degree holders are 6.25%, Diploma by 2.5% and higher education is attained by only 1.25% of the people. 8.75% of people here are illiterate. On religion-wise analysis, 55% in the area are Hindus, 43% are Muslims and 2% belongs to Christian community.

VIII. Methodology

The present study is based on historical and empirical analysis. Both primary and secondary data have been used to understand the crux of the problem. Primary data were collected on the basis of an extensive field survey conducted by the researcher among the various sections of the people in Nadapuram and Marad. In both places, Hindus and Muslims are the major communities. For the purpose of collecting primary data, 200 respondents from Nadapuram and 80 from Marad were selected. Respondents were selected from the electoral roll of the State Legislative Assembly poll, 2016, on the basis of stratified random sampling and were interviewed with detailed questionnaire.

Nadapuram constituency as a whole had a 1,79,213 voters spread across ten Grama Panchayats, out of them 214 samples were selected based on stratified random. Among the pre-listed samples, 14 persons were not available due to various reasons like death, missing, migrations and few did not cooperated in answering the questionnaire. Likewise in Marad, out of the 7909 voters, the researcher selected informations from 86 respondents. Out of which, six persons were either missing or not cooperated in answering the questionnaire. Hence the survey result was based on the opinion of fully cooperated 80 persons. The data so collected were analyzed by the application of Statistical Programme for Social Sciences (SPSS).

Both study areas and number of samples were selected by giving due emphasize to factors like geographical, political, educational and economic considerations. For example, six Panchayats of Nadapuram - Valayam, Vanimel,

Edacheri, Chekkiad, Thuneri and Nadapuram are categorized into high tension areas and four Panchayats - Maruthonkara, Kayakodi and Naripatta are categorized into comparatively communally and politically low-tension areas. Among these, the places like Bhoomivathukkal, Thiruvamparambath, Kallachi, Muthangachal, Chittarikkal etc are the most sensitive areas for violence.

In addition to the sample survey, Personal Interviews were also conducted with selected persons working in various fields such as education, politics, social organizations, religious organizations etc., by using stratified interview schedule.

Observations and discussion methods were also applied in the study. Official records such as government documents, inquiry commission reports, booklets, palmlets and party publications were also collected and verified for the study.

Secondary data such as Newspaper reports, Medias reports, books, magazines, journals, periodicals, internet sources, unpublished monographs and previous works on the related topics also were applied. A serious academic effort has been taken to evaluate the reliability and consistency of the data at all stages of the study.

IX. Plan of work

The work is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter deals with the introduction, objectives and hypotheses. The Chapter also covers the research problem, major concepts, review of the literature, the universe of the study, profile of the respondents and methodology applied.

The second chapter, *The Communal Secular Divide- A Theoretical Analysis* deals with the theoretical discussion on communalism, political violence and secularism. The title of the third chapter is *Communal Politics in India: A Historical Backdrop*, which explained fundamental issues relating to communal violence during the pre and post-independence period. Chapter four narrates the *Socio-Economic and Political Profile of Nadapuram and Marad*. It deals with geographical peculiarities, social customs and cultural heritage of the regions. The

chapter also discussed the economic status of various sections of the people. Chapter five provides the *Anatomy of Communal Violence in Nadapuram and Marad* respectively during the last five decades. It comprises beginning and growth of peasant struggles and how these struggles acquired communal dimension in Nadapuram. Similarly, social, economic and political unrest and civic society's gradual development of religious fundamentalism in Marad.

The sixth chapter, *Response of Civil society Towards Communal Violence: A Quantitative Study* deals with the response of civil societies of Nadapuram and Marad regarding the communal, political and various social and economic issues. It highlights the response of different sections of people, groups and parties. The seventh chapter i.e, the major findings and conclusion examines the objectives and hypotheses and put forward certain positive suggestions to prevent criminalization of politics and communal violence.

X. Limitations of the Study

One of the serious limitations of the study is the complicated social and political issues in Nadapuram and Marad. Next one is that comparatively Nadapuram is a Legislative Electoral Constituency which consists of ten Panchayats, while Marad is a smaller ward of Kozhikode Corporation. On the basis of the findings obtained from Nadapuram and Marad an attempt is made to draw conclusions about the macro social reality. This projection of micro reality to the macro level filled with certain limitations which are always involved in generalizations. Another basic problem confronted in survey research is that usually women are reluctant to respond to the questionnaire and more over, in some occasions male members intervened when women are giving answer to the questionnaire. In addition, the fundamental issues involved in survey research that deals with human material also need to be reckoned with.

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Chapter II

THE COMMUNAL SECULAR DIVIDE –
A THEORETICAL ANALYSIS

Communalism in India was one of the by-products of colonialism. Colonialism produced a condition which favoured internal division and antagonism within the society. Defining communalism is a difficult effort because it reveals itself in different forms and manifestations. In very simple and common terms, communalism means using religion for political violence. Bipan Chandra defined communalism as the faith, that because a set of people come behind a distinct religion they have, as a result of general, social, political and financial interests (Chandra, 1984:1). Rasheeduddin Khan conceptualized communalism as a perversion of religion from a moral order to the temporal arrangement of contemporary convenience, from faith into the constituency, from a strategy of living, into tactics of politics, from an end into means (Khan, 1989:138). Religion in statecraft, could be used for different purpose and have different objectives. It could be an instrument of legitimacy for the regime, could be utilized for justifying the status quo in terms of policies and postures or could act as a politically mobilizing part to articulate, dissent. It, therefore, incorporates the act played by the religious establishments and political groups, sponsored by religious organizations. Thus, religion is only an instrumental reason, not a fundamental reason for communalism; the real reason for communalism is political. Religion is used as an instrument as it has great emotional appeal and hence has a mobilizatory potential. Like religious role other generic cause of communalism was on account of what can be described for want of better term, has as 'structural shift' both in economy and polity.

The colonial economy and polity replaced the feudal economy and polity. Both feudal polity and economy were non-competitive. It was non-competitive in as much as the production was mainly for local consumption and need. And not, unlike the modern capitalistic economy, for the market. The colonial politics, as well as

economy, were competitive and it is partially the phenomenon of competitive polity and economy during the British period, which gave rise to the communal phenomenon (Engineer, 1995: II-XII). A Communal person is obsessed with his or a section of his communities interest, particularly the interest of the upper class of that particular community.

Communalism is basically, an ideology of political allegiance to a religious community as a primary decisive group in the polity. It envisages a religious community along as its base and the universe of its political ambition and action. It perceives other religious communities as enemies within a polity and within a nation. Communalism is a political adaption that identifies religious community and not the nation or nation-state as the pivotal point of the political loyalty. Therefore, communalism is a political strategy opposed to nationalism as a process of integration of multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-lingual communities. That is why communalism strives for division within a polity and a nation on religious line and not on any other basis like political, ideological, party or class consideration, which is the hallmark of the modern political system (Hansraj, 1990:615). Communal approach to history not only distorts but also arose religious passion. In addition, communal minded politicians use religion as a powerful tool to mobilize voters on Communal lines.

Communalism essentially belongs to the category of politics, whereas religions belong to the category of faith and salvation. The communal view asserts that the religious distinction among Indians is the most important or fundamental distinction or distinguishing identity. Not nation or nationalities, linguistic groups or classes but religious communities are seen as the fundamental social units of the Indian milieu (Chandra, *op.cit,* 2). Thus in Indian context, Communalism was not a remnant of the past but a modern ideology that incorporated some elements and aspects of the past ideologies, institutions and historical background to form a new ideological and political discourse or mix. It was not the consumption of social realities, but it represents false consciousness. It reflected reality in a distorted way.

In Harbans Mukhia's understanding, "Communalism is the phenomenon of

religious differences between groups leading to tensions and even rioting between them". In its not so violent manifestations, communalism amounts to discriminate against religious groups in matters of employment or education....the focus of communalism is placed at the point of tension either in from discrimination or in the extreme form of a riot. But tensions/riots are merely overt manifestations of a phenomenon which also manifested itself as its other end in a silent almost imperceptible form and the two together constitute a spectrum in which communalism could get expressed at any point (Mukhia, 1983: 1664).

The real roots of communalism lay in the competition for jobs and political favours between the elites of the two communities. Religion was not the substantive issue in the whole fight at all. It was, if at all, incidental, of course, religion did not play a role in community formation. Religious belief does not necessarily lead to communalism. The best examples are Mahatma Gandhi and Moulana Abul Kalam Azad. Both were deeply religious in their own ways and yet both were against communalism. Both supported secular nationalism. On the other hand, Vir Savarkar and Mohammed Ali Jinnah were quite modern and westernized and both were opposed to secular nationalism as they were more concerned with political and economic interests of an upper class of their respective communities. More than, consciousness rising, it was not at the root of the genesis of communalism. The Britishers supported and encouraged one or the other community in its demand and need for greater favours depending on its own political exigencies.

I. Communal and Community

The fundamental relationship between communal and community has to be understood in terms of their religious roots. The most notable aspect of primordiality is its community orientations. Community means a group with distinctive racial or cultural characteristics and those by implying a religious bond in terms of belief systems, values and ritual practices. In sociological literature, Blaire.E.Merca views "human communities as a functionally related aggregate of people, who reside in a specific geographical area, at a specific period, share a typical culture, locality arranged in a social format and exhibit an awareness of their uniqueness and

separate identity as a group"(Merca,1960:27). On this basis, generally, 'community' is used in three ways

(a) Group of people living in a locality or territory

(b) As a particular social system i.e., a subsystem of a nation, the former not in a position to   reproduce itself in all aspects and

(c) Any group potentially and in actually capable of developing a   'we feeling', example, caste, and religion.

The notion of community is used in India in the third sense. Our practical definitions approximate to what Robert Hardgrave Jr. says about community. To him, In India "community usually refers to a racial, caste, linguistic or religious group, rather than to locality as in the United States" (Hardgrave, 1993:5). The emphasis here is that community has little reference in usage to ecological settings. We must take note of the fact that there are situations in India where this term has a territorial or ecological meaning also, for instance, that a co-terminality between language and territory, or caste and territory exists. Thus in the case of a linguistic community, it is quite possible that most people who use a common language are concentrated in a single locality, so also may a caste or cultural group be located. William Petersen in a study of sub-nations of Western Europe points out that, "community is etymologycally excellent compared to an ethnic group" (Petersen, 1975:18). Ethnic sanctions are used to designate a variety of entities; religious denominations, races, the smaller subdivision of races and so all. The benefit of the notion of community is that it summarizes all this social collectiveness and at precise in its connotation. Thus, it is significant to explore the possibilities of using the term ethnic group in particular Indian context. We shall use the term 'communal' in our study, except in case of peculiar context where ethnicity usage becomes relevant. Thus in Indian cognitive map, communal is often, not a value- neutral term. De Smith is nearer to this truth, when he says that sometimes communal has neutral adjectival form as used in communal representation, but it is generally associated with a narrow selfish, divisive and aggressive attitude of the part of the religious group" (Smith,1963:454).

II. Politics and Violence

Violence is the use of "great physical forces". The United State's National Commission on the causes and prevention of violence defines "violence as the threat or use of force that results or is intended to results, in the injury or forcible restraint or intimidation of persons or the destruction or forcible seizure of property". Rousseau in his 'Social Contract theory[1],' stated that man is by birth noble but for the corrupting influence of the society, he became immoral and cruel. Conversely, Thomas Hobbes presents a model of the man who is essentially brutal and selfish. Anthropologists, historians and political scientists tell us that violence has been present in every society as in every age. Arnold Toynbee sees technology and overcrowding as dehumanizing influences, which provoke frustrated individuals to violence (Toynbee, 1934:61).

Violence has been extensively considered as characteristics of the society in a period of political and social transition. A society that is rapidly changing produces a great deal of violence mainly because of the absence of settled ways, bringing about social change. We must bear in mind that the type of structure of our society changes rapidly over the years and changes are affecting in one or other directions, the most important interests- economic, political, social and religious.

Political violence, to do of interruption, demolition, bruise, whose purpose, choice of object or victims of surrounding environment, execution and effects, have political importance, that is moulding to qualify the behaviour of others in bargaining situations that has consequences for the social system (Neiberg,1969:18). Political violence can be explained as the 'exercise of physical force so as to inflict, injury on or cause damages to person or property action or conduct characterized by the treatment or usage tending to cause bodily injury or forcibly interfering with personal freedom (Mehden, 1973:11). Robert Gurr generally, classified political violence into five basic types:

- Primordial
- Coup oriental

- Separatist or secessionist

- Political issues or personally oriented

- Revolutionary and counter- revolutionary

Although the individual employing primordial type of violence may not be attempting to influence political decision making, the ultimate impact can be highly political in nature. Coup oriental is the abrupt change in the leadership and political direction of the country, organized and carried by members of the armed force. The separatist's conflicts are a particular form of primordial violence related to efforts by groups to achieve independence, autonomy or special communal rights from the central government. The political issue- oriented violence includes cases of public violence, which are primarily oriented towards a particular issue, or a set of issues, individuals or groups. This particular type is further subdivided into three categories.

a. Student activists
b. Electoral politics and
c. Social issues such as strikes for governmental reforms, land reform conflicts etc.

Revolutionary and counter- revolutionary violence is a limited classification that considers only political violence which took place during the efforts to overthrow a regime and to establish a state moulded upon a significantly different economic and political model.

Another type of violence is establishment violence. According to Max Weber, "Authoritative violence in the service of the state is a crucial concept in political theory, that is meant to exercise political power and that power is maintained only through force and violence. The state has the exclusive right to use violence. Therefore establishment violence is the violence caused by the state or its agents - police, military and bureaucracy etc" (Weber, 1983:407). Ethin B. Mencil says that violence has always cloaked itself in the garments of some means of making it legitimate (Mencil, 1916:155). Many people on ethical grounds have not considered violence as desirable. The tendency to resolve conflicts by bloodshed is omnipresent in some societies. When class and racial struggle, local rivalry and

political clashes are settled by bloodshed, we are moving outside the realm of politics. Thus Maurice Duverger succinctly remarked that, politics ceases to exist when violence begins (Duverger, 1966:97). He further elaborated that, man and organizations that meet in political conflict use various weapons. One or other predominates according to the era, the type of society, the institutions, the culture, in theory, is ruled out; that is, the weapon which imply the use of physical violence. The first aim of politics is to replace bloodshed with less brutal forms and struggle. Politics begins beyond the boundaries of war, civil or international. It is a form of combat. This later characteristic is never absolute. Politics lends to eliminate violence, but never manages to do so entirely (Duverger, *op.cit*. 166).

Many scholars justify political violence in different ways. It is justified as a means for achieving political goals. Violence is considered necessary to protect the group, particularly from the authorities. Violence is demanded as contribution for past acts against the group. It is a specific kind of response to specific conditions of social existence. Several ideologies of 20th century explained the rate of political violence. Lenin said that the state is the product of the irreconcilable class antagonism. It is obvious that the liberation of the oppressed class is possible only through violent revolution (Lenin, 1932:52). Mao-Tse-Tung proclaimed political power through the barrel of a gun. Nevertheless, one fact to be noted is that, although traditional Marxism noted the need for conflicts in order to successfully overcome the enemies of the people, it saw violence in instrumental terms and placed no emphasis whatever on mere killing, maiming and the infliction of pain.

Anti-colonial movements have also produced some of the most eloquent and emotional justifications for the necessity of political violence in the post-war era, although most leaders of independence movements have not seemed the need to employ raw force to achieve their goals (Mehudan, 1993:130). Frantz Fanon, in his 'Wretched of the Earth' pointed out that resurrecting of downtrodden individuals and people has become completely participating in violent parties. A class can be resurrected through violence. Violent acts and words produce political awareness.

The democratic procedure is more moderate, gentler and less brutal means of expressing political controversies than physical violence. Majority rule is more civilized and less brutal than the rule of the might. The choice is between the rule of the members and the rule of brutal force and military strength. Some violence is bound to occur in a free society, be it in the form of the demonstration wrath; or the old minor assault. The resolution of conflicts, it is said, is the function of politics and violence is one of the responses that offered too many of the issues confronting the society. However, the motivated killing of individuals is an extreme form of political violence which a free society can permit only at the cost of its values. Political parties and leaders require muscle power to counter opponents fight in elections and electoral challenge in constituencies, although it is doubtful that this proposition could be applicable to the Kerala condition. On the areas where a political party lacks sufficient foot hold, it tries to penetrate and establish its political strength. In such a struggle, one has to face formidable resistance from rival parties and their allies. Then violence occurs as the inevitable means. Politicization of police and administration further worsens the situation. The presence of more and more muscleman and toadies, included into politics in the last two decades, has left its mark on public life. It is doing so now to an unusual extent that has left its mark on public life i.e, wrenched politics itself out of its old moorings. Never before politics, has at least, in some states, been systematically criminalized as it is today.

Parliament and state legislatures have been captured by riff-raff and people denuded of moral scruples and values. Muscleman and criminals are hired to eliminate rivals in all lifestyles (Ghosh, 1992:7). Politicians are playing politics in giving their support to criminals and it looks as if all virtue has gone out of the Indian political system. So murky is the political climate today that the danger of lumpen elements seeking entry into political life on a much more massive scale and hastening the process of decay of the party system itself cannot be ruled out. Thus it is not a simple matter to make a theoretical diagnosis of the conditions and causes of political violence. Violence can be tackled only by social and moral force, collective efforts and indomitable will of the people. Thus, constant vigil from all quarters and pragmatic measures are needed to curb the menace.

III. Theories of Political Violence

The crucial problem that the political systems all over the world, face irrespective of whether they are democratic or not, is that of violence. Many states and parts of states regularly confront this and are often torn apart as a consequence. It is not merely racial, ethnic or religious violence that the State has to put up with, but also political violence. In fact, the later is most significant as it revolves around the question of power and authority. As ideas based on political conduct fails, political parties and social groups become prepared to go to the maximum to capture the power and authority. Here violence comes in as an easy method. It is naïve to argue that violence is only the by -product of a shared sense of disempowerment held by social groups or political parties. While this is often a crucial *raison d'être* for it, this is not the only reason. In the present social systems, violence is also unleashed by the political parties as a means of terrorizing people or their opponents though the ultimate aim of such deeds remains the same viz, capturing/retaining power. Here violence becomes the manifestation of the failure of politics or coherent programmes. In a sense this has assumed the shape of new political culture today. That more than any time before, democratic political systems are falling into this trap contemporaneously, violence is related to the use of great physical force. It involves Unrestrained or unjustifiable force or outrage as the most direct and severe form of physical power. It is a force in action. Its use as a continuation of the bargaining process began long back and is used by the state, private groups or by individuals (Neiberg, *op.cit.* 18-19).

Theories of violence vary on the basis of the reason of violence and their nature and magnitude. For our purpose of the study, they are at least four theoretical categories could be identified.

- Instinct theory
- Frustration-aggression-anger theory
- Power theory and
- Racist theory

The instinct theories of aggression represented among others by Sigmund Freud, qualified attribution of the impulse to the destructiveness or death instinct. All or most men have an autonomous source of aggressive impulses. This assumption is evident in Hobbe's political theory. The conflict between society and individual appetite for pleasure leads to frustration which is the basic cause of social conflict. Aggression results from the revolt of the frustrated instinct against a desexualized and inadequate world. Ted Robert Gurr categorizes the psychological assumptions about generic sources of human aggression. Gurr visualized the process from the development of discontent leading to the politicization of that discontent expressing it in violent action against political objects and actors (Gurr, 1979, 35).

The frustration-aggression-anger theory was developed with empirical evidence by John Dollard. In this theory, frustrations and aggression are connected in a reason and result relationship. Frustration is the cause of aggression and aggression is the result of frustrations. Samuel P.Huntington's theory of modernization also refers to violence in the backwardness but fragmented societies. It holds that it is not poverty, the desire to become rich that breeds violence and instability (Huntington, 1965:393). The poverty thesis fails because people who are really poor are too poor for politics and protest. They are indifferent, apathetic, and lack exposure to media.

Generally, exploitation, poverty and inequality are the primary and root causes of violence in society. Politics and other causes such as revenge, lust for power, instinct for dominations and ambition are only secondary by-products. The more the exploitation, more intense will be violence (Singh, 1996). It is the institutionalized nature of exploitation that brings forth various forms of mass violence. Exploitation aims to preserve the concretization of dominant interest. Unemployment and inflationary conditions lead to the decline of purchasing power failure to overcome famine, default in implementing land reforms etc, and that become breeding grounds for discontent and transformed into militant demagogy followed by organized violence.

There are two theories which make biological factors important: the Power Theory and Racial Formation Theory. The former refers to the human society that is Charles Darwin's doctrine of the evolution of species, according to which each individual has to fight for his survival. Only the fittest do so successfully. Racial Formation Theory is pertaining to sociology. Promoted by Michael Omi and Howard Winart that is used to estimate the race as a socially created identity, where the content and significance of racial classes are determined by social, economic and political forces. They viewed the racial meanings pervade in the United State's society, racialism takes these ideas from the individual to the collective sphere (Neiberg, *op.cit,* 42-43).

IV. Communal Politics and Communal Violence

Communal violence is not political violence. Nevertheless, the basic reason underlying political violence, like the structural imbalance and legitimacy crisis of institutions, is the same for communalism also. While in political violence, frustrations, anger and discontentment of the group are directed towards the political system itself, in communal violence they are directed towards another community. In the case of the later, common interest are defined narrowly as community's interest. So, one community or other community as in order to protects the ínterest of the concerned community. The victim community retaliates in the form of counter- violence. Thus, communal riots are concrete, conjectural manifestation of communalization of society and politics (Chandra, 2014:189). The recurring communal violence among the people is often generated and actively promoted by unscrupulous politics at the top (Singh, 1993:213).

In recent history, the Indo-Pakistan war of 1965 had adverse consequences upon Hindu-Muslim relations. Following this war, Muslim patriotism was questioned by a section of Hindu community. It is also interesting to note, however that it was around the late 1960's that many Muslim families had begun to do somewhat better economically than in the previous decade and a half. It is equally important, though that the condition of economy as a whole was extremely poor. The changing as well as unsettled politics and economic condition in India allowed

the process of communal polarization to grow (Sharma, 1999:16). Some of the worst communal riots occurred in 1968 and 1969, in which according to Home ministry reports, there were 865 incidents of communal disturbances. At the basic cause of communal disturbances is the communal atmosphere prevailing in the country and the communal tension built up between the two communities. This communal environment gave a fertile soil for the communal persons to precipitate the communal animosity and foster them until the bitter harvest of communalism is reaped. In this context, Asghar Ali Engineer pointed out that, "communal philosophy and ideas constantly propagated in communal papers and journals and from communal platforms have so poisoned the mind of the ignorant sections of the two communities and even of certain sections of the educated and literate class that every action of a member of the opposite community is looked upon with distrust and suspicion. In some cases, officials whose duty is to hold the balance evenly between the two communities are not found free of this taint" (Engineer, 1984:47).

According to Rafiuddin Ahmed, Hindu-Muslim conflict is the result of the general social conflicts due to certain internal and external communal riots, caste disparities and other forms of sectional upheavals. He added that, the age-old disputes between the two communities in the Indian polity and society is the main reason for the communal and social violence happening today. Ahmed, however, used Hindu-Muslim riots as prismatic manifestations of numerous factors, like historical and political. He creates a number of statements and reminds to subsequent sociologists and political scientists against classifying communities as monolithic slabs. Ashuthosh Varshney, on the other hand, argues that the conflict between Hindus and Muslims is the terrible outcome of the absence of civic ties across communities. He classified certain cities as 'riot-prone' after careful observations of variants in the frequency of the occurrence of such violence (Milligazette/archives). Ahamed succinctly points out that the well to do and educated among the Muslims were now keen to contact the masses as potential supporters in the increasing rivalries with Hindus. The *Mullahs* and the religious tracks could be useful aids in these efforts. The landowners and the affluent now actively organized the *anjuman*[2] in towns and rural areas, as centers of social and

religious propaganda. That such propaganda was crucial for the political mobilization of the masses had evidently being realized (Ahmed, 1981:95).

Periods of social and economic transition, especially if the transition is capitalist in nature result in upheavals among the oppressed at the grass roots, rooted in forms of resurgent religious consciousness. In addition, violent forms of communalism make a ready appeal to the urban, poor and urban lumpen elements that are the by-products of this sort of transition. The social outrage and vexation of this multitude and impoverished millions always make expressions in abrupt violence and, loot and plunder when circumstance comes. A communal riot provides an opportunity make use of them. Unemployed youth also gets easily attracted to communal riots. This people are not 'villains', but victims of the system. Communal violence never discriminates between the innocent and the guilty. Here the logic of terror is not the logic of punishment. Anyone may be a victim no matter what action he chooses. Innocence is irrevalent. Thus, communal conflicts are definitely anti-people and anti-society.

V. Secularism in India

The successful democratic states in the Europe and United States of America (USA), consider that a modern State system should be separated from religion and its role of influence from state's sphere. However, in India, even after seven decades of experiment with democratic institutions and the establishment of the network of educational institutions, the basic aim of creating a secular state remains an aspiration rather than a reality. Secularism was from the beginning made a fundamental component of the nationalist ideology and strong and special significance was laid on Hindu-Muslim unity in India. Secularism was adapted as one of the basic principles for the development and growth of democracy in India. Jawaharlal Nehru is known as the chief architect of Indian secularism. The constitution of India contains his philosophy about the religiously neutral state. Indian secularism pronounced by Nehru and inserted into Indian Constitution, contains three important features.

a) Indian secularism is liberal in the way that Nehru wanted it to compact

communalism with social welfare politics while maintaining religious neutrality and make sure religious equality and liberty to all minorities living in India.

b) Indian secularism is not absolute in its nature, that is, it is qualified in the meaning that religious freedom given to all religions are subjected to all the conditions of public order, morality and welfare of the citizen and the state authority may impose restriction on any of the freedom or rights guaranteed in Article 25 of the fundamental rights in our constitution.

c) Nehru's concept of secularism is both progressive and dynamic as it allows the religion to play a role in the social life. He strongly believed that our nation could strengthen only if the secular polity divorced itself from all communal pulls and fanatic chauvinism[3]. A pluralistic and liberal society could survive by unifying the large cultural diversities. He believed that India can only become great if she preserves that composite culture which she has developed through the ages (Mushirul, 1997:135-136).

Nehru's understanding of secularism was the product of personal attitudes, historical circumstances and compulsions of policy. Being a conventional believer in his youth, in his middle age he was transformed into a severe critic of organized institutional religion due to the influence of Western socio-political thinkers and the communal riots further reinforced this aversion. Nehru was against rituals and mysticism and did not consider himself as a religious person. Any impressions of his boyhood experiences of Brahminical beliefs and rituals were erased by his readings of the works of Karl Marx, Bertrand Russell and other similar thinkers. Nehru was opposed to traditions and superstitions and believed that the pre-requisite for the successful adherence to secularism in the country which was suffering from the virus of communalism was industrialization and economic development.

The Nehruvian perspective of secularism meant first, the separation of religion from political and economic aspects of life. Religion is treated as purely personal matter. Second, dissociation of the state from religion; third, full freedom to all religion and tolerance of all religions. Four, equal opportunities of followers of all religion, and no partiality and discrimination on a ground of religion. He did not

want the state to be identified with any particular religion. Naturally, Nehru strengthened his faith in secularism at the height of communal disturbances. He told the Nation: "We will not tolerate any communalism in the country and where every citizen has equal liberty and equal opportunity" (Tharan, 1974:5).

Nehru's secular ideals are one of complexity and aim to harness the plural nature and the diverse range of religious beliefs and traditions in India. His secularism is in opposition to the framework of secularism found in Europe and America and is of great importance to the country today- given the perversion of his ideology which has been routinely misrepresented by his successors (Bhargava, 2017:25). Nehru's concept of religion and secularism, indeed even his considered political practice, were entirely different from those espoused under the "Nehruvian Secularism" that came soon after his death. Nehru was at the helm of affairs for seventeen years during 1947 to 1964. He led the Congress party to spectacular victories in three successive general elections. Through these elections, Nehru tried to provide a secular base for the Congress party. Nehru is considered as the official representative of Indian National Ideologies and secularism was one of the important ideologies that coined with Nehru's name, for Nehru, secularism was not only an ideology but also a way of life of the Indian people, a basis of nationalism and a message that gave to the coming generations of India (Pavithran, 2012, 66-67).

Thus the best way to understand the animating principle of secularism is to see it in opposition to religious hegemony, religious tyranny and religious and religion-based exclusion. The object of secularism is explained as to ensure that, political and social conditions, is released from organized religious superiority, so that, there is a religious freedom, freedom to endure from religion, inter-religious equality and equality between believers and non-believers. Thus, religion defines the scope of secularism. The cardinal point of secularism is lost either in the absence of religion or if it removes itself from its suppressive, dictatorial, inequality or exclusionary characteristics. If religion is exhaustively defined in terms of these oppressive features, then the goal of secularism is to eliminate religion altogether. However, since religion is not necessarily tyrannical or oppressive, we might see the

objective of secularism as the reform of religion but from the vantage point that is non-partisan. Secularism may then be seen not as intrinsically opposed to religion but as advocating critical respect towards it (Bhargava, 1998:488). It was in this sense, S.Radhakrishnan remarked that secularism does not mean irreligion or atheism or even stress on material comforts. It declares that, it is emphasized on the general, spiritual and moral norms that may be obtained by different paths (Hansraj, *op.cit,* 116).

In order to develop a theory of Secularism, Rajeev Bhargava distinguishes its two principal forms, one that is called political secularism and the other ethical secularism. Further, he emphasize that believers of different faiths can live with one another and with atheists[4] in the society guided by political secularism. Recall that political secularism justifies the separation of religion from political, either by excluding from politics all ultimate ideals or by an appeal to the principle of political neutrality. Political secularism seeks independence from or is neutral towards all ultimate ideals, and it stands good chances of gaining the allegiance of believers.

This is possible because excessive demands are not made on any group and such modifications are required which do not threaten its identity or existence. Ethical secularism requires that the believers give everything of significance. Political secularism demands only that everyone – believers or non-believers give up a little bit, of what is of exclusive importance in order to sustain that which is generally valuable (Bhargav, *op.cit.,*414). He further argues that political secularism has little or no conception of community. It is non-communitarian. From this, we must prepare a careful mix of political secularism and non-secular communitarians. His contention is that the pluralist version of ethical secularism, which is both secular and communitarian, is worth exploring and enriching. It is superior to political secularism though the level and quality of motivation that it requires are not always easy to obtain. Ethical secularism is better but different, political secularism is somewhat less attractive.

Secularism relates to the separation of the 'church from the state', giving the state a position of neutrality between different religions, while at the same time

guaranteeing a citizen the right to profess any one of them. In some ways, the word secular is used as a contrast to the word 'religion'. This has sometimes led people to believe that secularism is opposed to religion and divorced from all religious or religion has nothing to do with the conduct of state affairs. In the Indian circumstance, secularism implies neither irreligious nor anti-religious. Nehru pitted scientific reason against religious belief. No wonder then, Nehru also exposed for a secular state- a state that separated itself from religion and was indifferent, if not hostile, to it. Nehru was neither comfortable with the terms, "religion" nor "secular". For instance, on religion, he says in his autobiography, "the word 'religion' has lost all precise significance (if it ever had it) and only causes confusion and gives rise to interminable debate and argument. It would be far better if it was dropped from use altogether". In this respect it is important to make distinction between secularism as a closed system of belief and secularization as a social process. A radical understanding of secularism, therefore, rejects sacred, a mythological transcendent world view and hierarchical social system and substitutes for it the promise of a 'fully scientific, humanistic, empirical, relativistic, evolutionary world view, and open, egalitarian social system (Saran,1971:11). As a doctrine, it finally bases itself on historical and rational authority without reference to surpassing, divine and mystical. 'It proclaims the autonomy and centrality of man. Needless to say, the systematic formulation of secularism in this sense can be found in Marx (Setalvad, 1965:3).

The discussion above leads us to the two strands which define secularism in a much more open way

    a) emphasis on materialistic behavior with the guidance of morality and some religious principle, and

    b) stress on spiritualism guided by non-religious morality.

In our country, although there are individuals and groups which have adopted secularism as a way of life, the idea of secular is used predominantly in connection with our understanding of a secular state. It may be noted here that secularism in the west has the philosophical understanding as a way of life of the

individual or groups of individuals without much reference to state and religion. A secular state must protect each of the places of worship and guarantee religious practices. It must protect freedom of religion and conscience, including, of course, the freedom for those who have no religion. Indeed, Nehru goes a step further and says that the state must honor all faiths equally and give them equal opportunity. Of course, this is the duty of a secular state in a religiously diverse society and the duty of both minority and majority communities, to not jeopardize the ideals of the secular state.

In short, secularism should connote the eradication of all attitudes and practices derived from or connected with religion which impede our development and regard our growth into an integrated nation. Thus, Indian constitution deliberately inserted pattern of planning which included not merely economic growth but also a programme of social justice based on 'egalitarian', 'secular', socio-political and normative legal institutional measures rooted in the notion of equality of all citizens. To generalize, even more, the state must keep away itself from all religion in order to perform its basic function; to ensure faith and confidence between different religious communities. Put more generally, a secular state must enhance sociability and foster a certain quality of relations among religious communities. The term Nehru uses for this is 'co-operation'. To nourish cooperation between different religious communities is a constitutive aim of a secular state.

Secularism in India also presumed that the state wedded to secularism and the welfare of all its citizens would actively spread norms and values and elaborate institutional and media mechanism which would generate a human, equalitarian, scientific, rationalist and anti-superstitious climate and would elaborate, economic, political and social institutional framework which cut at the roots of the decease of caste, communal, sexists and class exploitative relationships among citizens of a secular democratic India (Desai,1984,24-25). In an interview with Jawaharlal Nehru and Andre Malraux, a French novelist, art theorist and Minister of cultural affairs, notes the following:

"What has been your greatest difficulty since independence?" I asked him.

His reply was instantaneous, although up to this point he had spoken as if he were groping in the dark.

"Creating a just state by just means, I think…"And, after a brief pause:

"Perhaps too, creating a secular state in the religious country. Especially,   when its religion is not founded on an inspired book" (Joshi, 1995:2).

This character of the Indian constitution was decisively shaped not only by diffused social-democratic impulse but also by contextual secularism[5], predominantly in response to deteriorating Hindu-Muslim relations. Secularism was justified not only to sustain inter- communal solidarity but to protect the structure of ordinary life. The same motive propelled the Indian state to undertake the reforms of Hinduism on these contextualize (ethical grounds) (Bhargava, *op.cit,* 51). India, adopted secularism as a fundamental ingredient of its version of a new society including it in the preamble of its constitution; the secular objective of the state has been specifically expressed by inserting the word "secular' in the preamble by the constitution (42nd Amendment) Act, 1976. This amendment has made secularism one of the legitimizing principles of the new nation- state. Secularism is a part of the basic structure of the constitution. India is thus significantly by its proclaimed commitment to secularism as the guiding principle of state policy and action. In another sense, Indian secularism is not just an intellectual abstraction. However, the demolition of Babri Masjid not only brought into sharper focus the estranged relations between Hindus and Muslims in India today but also the larger issue of whether or not people belonging and deeply committed to different faiths can live together. Moreover, demolition was widely believed by non-religious people to be a frontal attack on the secular constitution of India (Bhargava, 1998:456).

The analysis of characteristics, features or ideology of communalism, communal violence in contrast to the secular values gives us the idea that the constitution makers visualized India as a secular nation. The chief architect of this vision was Jawaharlal Nehru. However, the Indian socio-political conditions demand interpretation of secularism on the basis of plurality. And, then, the idea of secularism in India negates any kind of communalism and communal politics.

VI. End Notes

1. Social Contract theory predicates a state of nature neither political nor social. To escape from Hobbe's state of nature, people unilaterally made an agreement. The condition of the state of nature was nasty, brutish and crooked.

2. Anjuman is the association for the religious, social and educational welfare of Islam, which was founded in Lahore on 24th September, 1884. The founder was Khalifa Hameed-ud-Din. It was a result of the Aligarh movement founded by Sir Syed Ahamad Khan.

3. An extreme religious group of persons having aggressively and blindly patriotic, especially a group devoted to military glory. This can be defined as an irrational belief in the supremacy or dominance of one's own group or people.

4. Atheism is in a wider sense, the total rejection of belief in the existence of deities, while in a narrow sense; atheism is particularly the position that there are no deities. This is contrasted with theism, which in its most common method is the belief that at least one deity exists.

5. Contextual secularism is an account not only because it seizes the principles that are the short form and crux of secularism will vary from one explanation to another and from place to place.

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Chapter III
COMMUNAL POLITICS IN INDIA:
A HISTORICAL BACKDROP

The communal problem in India is a modern phenomenon. Communalism is one of the by-products of the colonial nature of Indian economy, i.e, the inability of colonialism to develop the Indian economy. The consequent economic stagnation and its impact on the lives of the Indian people, especially the middle classes, produced conditions which were conducive to division and antagonism within Indian society as also to its radical transformation. Hindu-Muslim communal animosity continued with the British rulers consolidated their rule and political hegemony (Engineer, 1995:1). There was hardly any communalism in India before the last half of the 19th century. As we convinced that, Hindus and Muslims had fought shoulder to shoulder in the revolt of 1857. British Raj and its shrewd policy of Divide and Rule[1] brought special responsibility for the growth of communalism in Modern India, though it is also true that it could succeed only because of internal, social, economic and political conditions.

Communalism emerged as a consequence of the rise of modern politics which marked a sharp break with the politics of the ancient or medieval or pre-1857 periods. The problem of communalism has signified Hindu-Muslim conflict. Only recent years have the diffused conflicts between Hindus and Sikhs become crystallized into communal conflict. Even though occasional instances of rioting between Hindus and Muslims are known to have occurred as early as in the eighteenth century, it is from the late nineteenth century that the problem becomes more endemic. In pre-modern politics, people were either ignored upper-class based politics or were compelled to rebel outside the political system and in case of success, their leaders associated with the old ruling classes. This was accepted by many perceptive Indians. Jawaharlal Nehru, for example, noted in 1936: 'One must never forget that communalism in India is a latter-day phenomenon which has grown up before our eyes' (Nehru, 1961:69).

In India, the communal forces invoke medieval history for legitimating their acts today. Thus Babri Masjid sought to be reclaimed on the grounds that Babar, an outside invader, had 'demolished' the 'Ramjanmabhoomi' Mandir located at that place. Also, it is maintained by the communal forces that the Muslim rule was a period of unceasing tyranny and humiliation for the Hindus. They argue that the period was characterized by the humiliation of Hindus and 'demolition of their temples and destruction of their culture'. They feel that the pre-Islamic period of Indian history was a 'Golden period'. Historical facts negate the projection of either the pre-Islamic or the Islamic period as an ideal period. No period of history can be projected as a "Golden period" (Engineer, *op.cit,* 34*).* It can be political misuse of history. K.N.Panickar holds that the new democratic, egalitarian and secular state is not built upon the foundations of ancient India; it is equally true that India's ancient past does indicate definite secular trends. Communally minded, Hindu historians distort Indian history by simply glorifying it. They feel ashamed that they were ruled for several centuries by Muslims and hence indulge in revealing that period, as the period of 'slavery of Hindus' (Engineer, *op.cit,* 1).

Once the term communal riot referred only to Hindu - Muslim violence, but now it has to be spread to cover Hindu-Christian and Hindu-Sikh conflicts. Nevertheless, the overwhelming majority of these riots still involve primarily Hindus and Muslims. The frequency with which they break out has risen exceedingly in recent times. According to official sources, the killed and injured each year have risen dramatically. This shows that even now, free India fails to resolve, increasing communalization and to inspire a re-examination of widespread conceptions regarding the presumed antinomy between communalism and rationalism. The supposed incompatibility between stable bourgeoisie democracy and low levels of secularization are the root causes of communalism.

While emphasizing certain problems of the communal politics, we face two important questions. First, what is the communal appeal? Though the distress and disorientation of an urban middle class enduring modernization and semi-westernization has made them responsive to such appeals, the origin of such appeals

generally has been elitist and their purpose secular. There is a reasonable authority in the instrumentalist's argument that religion, whether in the sort of belief or ideology, has few to do with the development of such appeals beyond the clear point that some of its symbols, myths and devotional themes are selectively misappropriated (Vanaik, 1999, 35). Here,'materialists'[2] examine the origin of communalism in the role of the colonial state which was intentionally exacerbating the communal divisions. Competitions for jobs created hard relations between Hindus and Muslims, urban middle-classes and elites.

The second question related to communalism is Why the success of the communal appeal? Communal politics is unlike communal tension, because communal politics stand for a long time and continuous process. In communal riots, the main actors were lower-class and poor sections of the society. Most occasions the victims were poor innocent people. But in the communal politics, no physical fight takes place against the members of other community. But ideology in political form is found expressed in the political field. The basis of communal politics is the more personal political rivalry. Communal politics injected communal ideology to the poor sections during some occasions. The process resulted in communal tension and communal riots. Both types are interrelated. This also occurred on a large scale in India, but not uniformly among all the Indian people. Notably, religious awareness was changed into communal awareness in some places of the country and among some sections of the people. This was because there were some factors in the Indian situation which favored its growth; it served the needs of a certain section of society and certain social and political forces.

I. Why Communalism and Communal Violence?

Generally there are a number of questions confront us when we ask the questions, why did communalism succeed in growth during the 20th century? What aspects of Indian situation favored this process? Which social classes and political forces did it serve? Why did it become such a pervasive part of the Indian reality? Though it was not inherent or inevitable in the situation, it had socio-economic and

political roots. There was a social situation which was fuelling it and without which it could not have survived for long.

The British had smelt the threat to their survival if the Hindus and Muslims were united. British exploited the jealousy and hatred of elite Hindus against Muslims. The collapse of the Sultanate still accentuated the fear of Muslims in India who found it hard to reconcile with the rule of infidel masters. Even though the Muslims in India differed from their community elsewhere in the world, they had the psychic insecurity no less prominent than their fellowmen. At other point, communalism always distorted or misinformed about the social unrest and class conflict between the exploiters and the exploited. While the discontent and clash of interests was real and was due to non-religious or non-communal factors, because of backward political awareness, it found a distorted expression in communal conflict. C.G. Shah has observed that, under the force of communal advocacy, the people are not able to identify the actual root causes of their ill-treatment, suppression and suffering and conceive a fake communal base of their origin (Shah, 1963:18). Muslims in India were not homogenously distributed over the country, neither were they united, in language, caste or ideology. There was a wide difference between the status and social position of the Muslims and the Hindus. For example, the alienation from the Hindus was resentment among the Muslims of Bengal due to their deprivation of prized posts in judiciary and revenue collection with the introduction of English as the official language. Compared to Hindus and Christians, Muslims were in more numbers in these services till 1851 which gradually decreased. Table 3.1 below shows the number of employed among the Hindus and Muslims in the unconventional services during 1871 – 1881.

Table 3.1

Hindus and Muslims Employed in Unconventional Services

Cities	Total Employed	Hindus	Muslims
Bengal	623	522 (83.7%)	53 (8.5%)
Bombay	384	328 (85.4%)	21 (5.4%)
Madras	345	297 (86%)	14 (4%)
All India	2588	1866 (72.1%)	514 (19.8%)

Source: Snehalatha Pande, *Indian Politics: A Study of People's Involvement,* New Delhi, Archives Publishers, 1988, pp.86-87

It is obvious that the British policy of Divide and Rule could succeed only because something in the internal, social, economic, cultural, political conditions was remarkably favorable for the rise and growth of communalism. Communalism could grow not only because it served the political needs of colonialism but also because it creates the social needs of some sections of Indian society. (Chandra, 1984:238). Communal demands were easily accepted, thus politically strengthening communal organizations and their hold over the people. For example, the Congress could get none of its demands accepted from 1885 to 1905, the Muslim communal demands were accepted in 1906 when the Muslim leader met the Viceroy and demanded the following:

- Separate electoral constituency
- Representation of Muslims in their constituency
- Reservation for Muslims in state services
- State initiate for opening Muslim Universities
- Preferences for Muslims for nomination into Governor General's Council.

In 1932, all the major Muslim communal demands of the time were accepted by the British authority. During World War II, the Muslim communalists were given a complete veto[3] for any political advance. The British spokesperson stood for 'Muslim communities', while the Nationalist leaders were treated as representing a

microscopic minority. Separate electorates served as an important device for the growth of communal politics. Enthusiased with the help of Britishers, the Muslims started a separate political organization named 'Muslim League'[4] in 1906. The leaders like Muhammad Ali Jinnah supported the Congress, initially by opposing communal representation.

The politics of representational Government after the 1920's brought the communal issue to the centre stage. Communal quotas, communal representations, communal electorate[5] and community-oriented federal system –all these were openly debated between the Muslim League and the Congress. Thus it is clear that communalism has acquired political centre stage in India much before independence. At the beginning of the 20th century, conservative Hindu-tinged Nationalism was another strong factor in the growth of communalism. In the freedom struggle, many of the extremists introduced strong Hindu religious elements. For example, to awaken nationalism among the masses, Tilak used Ganesh worship, Shivaji fair and other Hindu cultural aspects; and even the movements against the partition of Bengal was commenced with the dips in the Ganges. Muslims were referred to as foreigners by Bankim Chandra Chaterjee and many other writers in Bengali, Hindi, Urdu and other languages in their stories, poems and novels. This attitude to produce resentment among literate Muslims and estranged them from the emerging National movement. Moreover, vague Hindu aura overspread much of the national struggle because of the use of Hindu myths, idioms and symbols. Gandhi's use of religious terms and symbols made its own contribution in this respect.

Gandhi's politics were of course fully secular and his basic appeal to the people was made on economic, political and moral grounds, and never on religious grounds. He really created to the new secular conscience based on non-violence. Still, his political thought was couched in the language of religiosity. He often used Hindu terms and symbols, even though their use by Gandhi was seldom offensive to the followers of other religion. Apart from these, there were exceptions with Jawaharlal Nehru, the communist parties and a handful of liberal politicians. It is,

therefore, not accidental that during the 1930's, the young Muslim intellectuals were attracted by left nationalism and not by conservative Hindu-tinged nationalism. This slight Hindu feeling also made an ideological support for Hindu communalism and it created onerous for the Nationalist movement to eliminate Hindu communal, political and ideological elements within its own ranks. It also helped the spread of Muslim tinge among Muslim nationalists.

While the Indian National Congress (INC) provided a common platform for all communities to fight for the country's independence, the British government spared no strategy to generate communal disharmony between Hindus and Muslims. In the process, it introduced the communal electorate system and encouraged Jinnah's two-nation theory that fuelled communal politics (Ghosh, 1987:1). Colonial control was built upon the existing interfaces in society. The emergence of urban/semi-urban centers of trade and production along with the other aspects of colonial modernization transferred the situation. British conquest decisively undermined the power and wealth of the Muslim upper classes who had administrative but no hereditary control over territories; in contrast, the Hindu business and commercial elite proposed through this separation of political power and economic wealth, giving rise over time to significant economic communities, communal distinctions could thus more easily became antagonisms reinforced by inter -elite competition (Sabarwal, 2008: 27).

The Hindu, as well as Muslim communalists, tried to inculcate the psychology of fear among Hindus and Muslims - the fear of being deprived, surpassed, threatened, dominated, suppressed, beaten down and even exterminated. It was during these years that *Sangathan* and *Shuddhi*[6] movements among Hindus and *Tanzeem* and *Tabligh*[7] movements among Muslims, working for communal consolidation and religious conversion, came up. The Nationalists were openly reviled as apostates and as enemies of their own religion and co-religionists. The most vicious expression of communalism was communal riots which broke out in major North Indian cities during 1923-24. According to the Simon Commission Reports, nearly 112 major communal riots occurred between 1922 and 1927.

Romila Thapar, one of India's most outstanding historians, describes the notion of Hindu community as it is defined today, became necessary when there was a competition for political access to economic resources between various groups in colonial situation there was need to change from segmental identity to a community which cut across caste, sex and region. This social need also required a reformation of Hinduism which was attempted in various socio-economic reform movements of the nineteenth century (Thapar, 2010:36). One era of communal politics thus came to an end with the antagonism between communalism and nationalism resolving itself by creating the avowedly religion-based state of Pakistan and another secular state India (Chandra, 1999:18). During the transfer of power some voice was raised in favor of a separate homeland for Sikhs but the issue was resolved fairly and quickly and a potential Hindu-Sikh confrontation was diffused.

Many liberal Muslims, during the Khilafat movement, led by Jinnah was opposed for lending support to the Khilafat movement[8]. But many prominent Muslim leaders like Ali brothers, Maulana Azad and several other Ulamas[9] supported this movement wholeheartedly. In fact, this movement drew millions of Muslims nearer to Congress. As pointed out earlier, the ideas of nationalism and secularism were alien to the Indian people (Engineer, *op.cit,* 61). Religion in India, in general, and in Muslim politics in particular, has always played a crucial role. As widely noted by contemporary observers, a formidable Hindu political opinion continued to hold the Muslims, even those who stayed back in India responsible for the partition. Muslims were, in their turn, baffled and insecure under the new circumstances and to the reality that parts of their own families were now to be citizens of another country. Besides, for many, the economic support structures that they had taken for granted had collapsed.

A. R. Desai[10] elucidates that the theme of communal violence in the post-partition India has acquired crucial significance in contemporary Indian society for a number of reasons. The most important among them are:

> The Indian National Congress [INC] and all those who bargained for
> independence on the basis of the partition of India on communal lines. The

Indian society to be reshaped under the constitution and plans should be liberated from this cancer which had corroded the national liberation struggle against British rule. Secondly, the INC's philosophy, which discriminates the spirit of caste hierarchy including its most heinous form i.e, 'Untouchability' (Desai, 1991:10-11). Even among Congress men, a section was supportive for partition plan in the last days of British Raj. Maulana Azad thus to say, "among Congress men, the greatest supporter of partition was Sardar Patel. Even he did not believe the partition was the best solution to the Indian problem. He threw his weight in favor of partition out of irritation and injured seriously" (Engineer, *op.cit,* 18).

The communal peace that obtained between 1950 and 1960 can be explained in the following terms. At first, in the aftermath of partition, Hindu communal forces were kept in check by national leadership, while in Muslim community there is a lack of such leadership. Secondly, an accommodation was worked out between the remnant Muslim elite and the Congress to the extent that certain symbols of Muslim culture would be protected. In addition, constitutional guarantees were given to all minority religious sections. Finally, there was an adherence by the Congress leadership to the principle of secularism, but with the understanding that secularism would be realized through a gradual process.

However, riots began in October 1961 with a scuffle between Hindu and Muslim students at the Aligarh Muslim University (AMU) in the aftermath of Students Union Elections, which had been fought wholly on communal lines. Rumors spread to the town that a student was killed in the University. Large mass from the town, mostly students from the Hindu college, burned some shops in the university market areas and attacked some university employees. Muslim conservatives on the faculty of the university, where there was an ongoing struggle against Hindu community, entered in the 1962 general elections, thereafter, joined with the opposition against the ruling Congress and this enabled for a major defeat of the Congress in the district as a whole in communalized election atmosphere. There was, therefore, a political cum communal rioting cum political sequence, from

university politics of rival students to communal confrontation to rioting in the city to the general election.

Atal Bihari Vajpayee, then the secretary of the Jansangh and leader of its parliamentary party, urged the Government of India to appoint a committee 'to investigate the state of affairs in the Aligarh University' and to shed its belief. "That the University can be allowed to retain its 'communal character' without jeopardizing national interests and the principles of secularism, he said" (Brass, 2003:112).

The riots in Jabalpur in 1962 also shook the whole nation. It was the first major communal riot in post-independence India. Jawaharlal Nehru was also shaken by this riot that he had decided to form National Integration Council[11] (NIC). It also disillusioned the Muslims who had developed faith in Indian secularism in general and Nehru in particular. This marked a new phase of Hindu-Muslim communal rioting. This riot was only the first of the series of major riots that followed. Most of these, riots took place during the mid-sixties in the eastern part of India like Ranchi, Jamshedpur, Durgapur etc., which were major industrial centers.

During this period the Jan Sangh was also growing in strength. The party's strength says, Anderson and Damle, continued to be concentrated in the Hindi speaking states, especially Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Union Territory of Delhi and the Hindu majority cities of Punjab-areas in which the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS) had already established a firm base of support in 1940's. The party started out from an urban support base in U.P, as it did in most states but made a concerted effort to build up support in rural areas (Anderson and Damle, 1987:165). Later, Balraj Madhok injected more militancy into the party. Also, the general conditions in the country were deteriorating. It was in fact, a period of economic downturn and industrial recession. The people were getting disillusioned with the Congress. In 1967, general elections, JanSangh performed well. The party secured 261 Assembly Seats. Apart from the Hindi belt Jan Sangh won assembly seats in West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, and Karnataka. It came out successful in 32 assembly and two parliamentary seats outside the Hindi belt.

During this period, challenges from above and below undermined the dominance of the Congress Party. Historically, the electoral base of the Congress was the Brahmins and forward caste, along with the core minorities of Muslims, Dalits and Tribals. The very success of Indian development during two decades transformed the situation. New rural elite from the middle and backward castes as they were also called emerged and pressed for their aims both within and outside the Congress party. At the same time, growing expectations made the support of large sections of the core minorities for the Congress increasingly volatile. The Congress itself had also transformed in the first two decades after 1947. It had moved from being a mass movement and organization to being an increasingly corrupted party of governance and patronage. Organizationally, it had become an electoral machine to be ranked up around the time of various local, regional and national elections (Vanaik, *op.cit,* 43).

After the demise of Jawaharlal Nehru, the dismal performance of Congress worsened the political and economic conditions in India and allowed the process of communal polarization to grow. Some of the notorious communal riots occurred in the years 1968 and 1969. According to the data, from the Home Ministry Reports, there were 865 incidents of communal clashes occurred during this period. In Bihar, between March 1967 and December 1971 there had been nine governments and 197 communal disturbances. In Gujarat, there were 217 incidents and 111 in Uttar Pradesh. The All India figure for 1970-71 was 842. In the following years up to 1977, the incidents minimized to half the figures for the years 1968-71. There was another upswing from 1979-80 onwards (Wikipedia-Data-from Home Ministry Reports, 2001).

Indira Gandhi had become the Prime Minister, after the death of Lal Bahadur Shastri in 1966. Mrs. Gandhi nationalized major Indian Banks and stopped Privy Purse[12] and she also was trying to strengthen her political base by appealing to both Scheduled Castes (SC's) and Scheduled Tribes (ST's) and also the minorities, especially the Muslims. This she could do by strengthening her secular appeal. During the 1971 general election, these sections, especially Muslims, supported the

Congress. The main reason for this seems to have been the insecurity caused by the riots of the preceding period. However, the even deadly riot occurred in the Parliamentary election in March 1971. The election in Aligarh was of great importance at this time because the years immediately preceding it had been marked by an upsurge in Muslim political activity centered on a list of grievances that included opposition to the central government's efforts to alter the character of the Aligarh Muslim University (AMU) and it was seen by Muslim political organizations to undermine its character as a minority institution (Brass, *op.cit.*, 84-85).

The election campaign had been marked by agitations at the AMU in favour of restoring its minority character and counter demonstration by students at the DS College organized by RSS. Finally, the identification and arrest by the local administration of a prominent leader of the Jan Sangh, Shiva Hari Sanghal for contributing to the outbreak of violence also show the direct relationship between the violent incidents and election campaign. In the election of 1980, which swept Mrs. Gandhi back to power, all the former components of the Janatha party, now split into various formations were marginalized. But Jan Sangh, between 1977 and 1979 was able for the first time to place its own people in many key posts of the central bureaucracy and to use state resources to benefit itself and its parent organization, the RSS. Yet, the 1980 election results were a great shock to them.

In the 1980's, the most important political factor responsible for the communalization of India has been the Punjab problem. The erstwhile Chief Minister of Punjab, Giani Zail Singh, with the encouragement of Mrs. Gandhi and her younger son, Sanjay Gandhi, promoted Sant Bhindranwala to challenge the Akali leadership. Through Bindranwala, the capture of Shiromani Gurdwara Prabhantak Committee[13] (SGPC) was attempted. Even though the attempt failed, Bindranwala has emerged as a fundamentalist factor in Sikh politics. This factor ignored by the Central Government began to raise a serious armed challenge to the Indian State. Mrs. Gandhi went a step further and said that minorities should learn to adjust in India under her leadership. For a fairly long period, the followers of

Bindranwala indulged in selective killings not only of political leaders such as Longowal and others but also innocent Hindus who were shot in buses, on the streets etc. The purpose was to ignite communal conflict, but this took a long time to come. However, the worst act of communalization was the assassination of Indira Gandhi in 1984. Her assassination unleashed a massive reprisal against the Sikh community in Delhi resulted in killing and burning of Sikhs. Sikh *Gurudwaras* in Delhi went up in flames, shops belonging to Sikhs were robbed and burnt and their houses looted (Sharma, 1999:39).

Another incident was the conversion of a group of Scheduled Caste Hindu's to Islam in Meenakshipuram in January 1981 sent shocking waves through the communalized Hindu-mind. Sankaracharyas and other religious leaders protested against it. Political leaders warned against the increasing power of petrodollars and Hindu '*Sammelans*' were organized to face this new threat from Islamic fundamentalism'. The Counter-conversion was also arranged in Rajasthan and other places in North India within a short span of time.

Some of the most gruesome and long drawn-out riots with the complicity of police and the administration in general, occurred between 1980 and 1984. The following are some of the instances. Moradabad (UP) 1980, Allahabad (UP) 1980, Godhra (Gujarat) 1980-81, Pune and Solapur (Maharashtra) 1982-83, Hyderabad (AP) 1983, Bhiwandi, Bombay (Maharashtra) 1984. These were all really major riots with many killings and with the destruction of property worth millions of rupees. Meanwhile, a close political relationship was forged between Congress and Shiva Sena in Maharashtra. The RSS leader, Bala Saheb Deors tilted the entire weight of the RSS in favour of Mrs. Gandhi and her party. After her death, the RSS openly backed the Congress in the 1984 General Election and this alliance continued into the assembly elections of 1985 (Chandra, *op.cit.,*66-67).

The riots were precipitated but the economic origins were clear. In fact, the Bihar Sharif riots are a typical example of violence between two upwardly mobile groups. Not only have the *Yadavas* here done well from potato cultivation and preservation, some Muslims too, as in Moradabad, has acquired a share in commerce

and trade with their own markets, cinema halls and cold storage. They have also set up schools, the economic rivalry between Dalit and Muslim laborers appears to have led them open to manipulation by communal elements in Ahmadabad in 1982. The Bhiwandi riots of 1984 were also the result of the economic competition between Hindu-Muslim power loom owners. But communal riots was according to Asghar Ali Engineer, fanned by the Shiv Sena chief, Bal Thakeray, who, on 22nd April 1984, delivered a virulently anti-Muslim speech that described Muslims as a cancerous growth in India, which needed to be operated upon (Sharma, *op.cit*.,1920). The rioting was sufficiently serious in both places to warrant the sending of Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) personnel to both Aligarh and Muzaffar Nagar towns. The curfew was imposed in both towns through the rest of the month. It is noteworthy that the situation in Aligarh despite its more violent history was kept under control, while that in Muzaffer Nagar was not. No further deaths were reported from Aligarh after the initial stabbings, but the Times of India reported in 1984 that 13 killed in Muzaffer Nagar and Khatauli by October 11. Then on October 11, there was further clash between a procession led by Chabra and an inner party peace March, leading to further violence. The Times of India editorial suggested further that the administrator's ability to control the rioting was hamstrung by the reported involvement of two powerful politicians and their supporter's (Brass, *op.cit*, 106).

II. Ayodhya Issue

The mosque was built in Ayodhya by the Mughal Emperor Babar in the 16th century. Recently *Hindutva* ideologues have demanded that the place on which Babar's mosque was built in the birthplace of Hindu God, Ram, and in order to achieve Ram Rajya in India, a temple is to be constructed there. The Babri Masjid-Ram Janma Bhoomi Andolan based on their argument was at its height during the 1990's. Muslims in the area had been tensed and they expected trouble. But the 'Black Day' called by the Muslims in protest against the re-opening of the Babari Masjid and the ensuing flag wars had passed off peacefully. During November 1992, Hindus from all over India began to assemble at Ayodhya with the stated intent of

destroying the mosque. The Kar Sevak's was facilitated by the local administration (Prasad, 1994:19-23). The Babri Mosque was destroyed by Hardline Hindu extremists during a political rally which turned into a riot on 6th December 1992. In the aftermath of destruction, Ayodhya's Muslim community was systematically attacked by Hindu mobs for two days. Muslims were physically attacked and their homes, shops and their religious building were burned down. Local politicians denied that Hindus had carried out the attacks. The State government ensuring that the destruction of Mosque would meet little resistance deployed the Provincial Armed Constabulary (PAC) in Ayodhya. The Central government also failed to use its force specifically deployed in the area to protect the mosque and the local Muslim community. Both governments made no effort to identify or detain those involved in the violence, even though the attacks took place in clear sight of state security forces.

III. Post Ayodhya Communal Violence

Images of the destruction of the mosque at Ayodhya spread throughout India via the Indian press and British Broad Casting (BBC) television. Muslims and advocates for secular India held both violent and peaceful demonstration protesting the failure of the state to intervene effectively. Unlike the attack on the Babri Masjid, such demonstration consistently met with a strong response from the police. In various centers throughout India, within two weeks of the destruction of the mosque, 227 were killed in communal violence in Gujarat, 250 in Maharashtra, 185 in Uttar Pradesh, 55 in Karnataka, 42 in Delhi, 23 in Andhra Pradesh and 14 in Kerala (The Week, 1992:24-25).

In Surat, Hindu hoodlums marked out series of the houses belonging to the minority community, which was then looted, ransacked and set on fire. At least 32 people perished. In the third gruesome incident, a passenger train was stopped near Udhna on the outskirts of Surat on 10th December. A mob stormed the coaches, hacked several passengers and raped women before killing them. And on all three occasion, the police were nowhere on the scene. Significantly, all the major

incidents of violence occurred in Bharatiya Janata Party strongholds (Nayar, 2002:54).

Despite the rising death toll across the country, the Central government did not intervene. The response of Central government was marked by unbelievable inertia. The political preoccupation of the ruling party, Congress (I), took precedence over the need to grip with the situation, which was assuming the proportions of a communal holocaust. As a result, police firings seemed to have claimed more lives than the communal clashes did. This indicates a plain inadequacy of deployments and the absence of directions from Delhi and the State capital (Ramakrishnan, 1993:105). The mainstream media and nongovernmental organizations systematically documented the failures of the State. Interview conducted by Human Rights Watch confirmed the role of the State in communal violence. According to Arun Sinha, a noted journalist from '*Illustrated Weekly of India*', to Muslims, the message from Ayodhya is clear. Hindu mobs can unleash terror where the state fears to intervene, forfeiting Hindu votes (Sinha, 1992:21).

III.1. The Killing in Bombay

In Bombay, rather than shouting warnings to the crowds to disperse or using tear gas or non-lethal weapons, the police open fire on crowds. Much Muslims have died mainly of bullet wounds on head and chest. According to Asghar Ali Engineer, "the post mortem report showed that out of the above 250 deaths (in December), 192 persons died in police firing, out of those more than 95% has suffered injuries above the stomach which reveals that the police fired in to kill and not maim or injure" (Engineer, 1994:838). The government to declare an inquiry into the violence that ruined Bombay, in December 1992 and January 1993, called upon Justice B.N.Srikrishna of the Bombay High Court. The commission accepted thousands of affidavits and interviewed hundreds of victims and witnesses before it was dismissed. By contrast, within three months of the riots, two retired judges of the Bombay High Court, Justice S.M.Daud and H.Suresh handled an impartial and independent enquiry which was published by the non-governmental Indian Human Rights Commission. This enquiry explicitly indicates the illegal role of the State

government, the police and the Shiv Sena in Bombay's communal violence (Daud and Suresh, 1994). The report by Daud and Suresh compiled the evidence of infringements of human rights done by the police against Muslims. The victims mentioned the names of the police officers who were directly involved in the riots.

III. 2. Godhra Violence

Even before the last flakes could burn out in the badlands of Gujarat, news were circulated, allegations were leveled, explanations and counter-explanations were advanced about the manner in which members of the minority community started the riots in the first place by sending the train up in flames in which 59 life's were lost. The subsequent murder and mayhem was then categorized by the Gujarat government (and the Central government as well with their silence on the Godhra incident), as an 'equal and opposite' reaction to the train burning at Godhra (Sengupta, 2004:4106). The BJP governments and the *Sangha Parivar* decided to teach a lesson to the Muslims, failing which, they will become more in numbers and powerful in State apparatus. Further, the '*Pakisthani' agents* that thronged the streets of Ahamedabad and Vadodara had to be shown their place. The politico- religious reasons given by those belonging to the governmental machinery in the state and the countrywide network of the Sangh Parivar failed to convince anyone. After all, they smacked off a lack of logic and compounded obduracy.

III.3. Aligarh Riots

In Aligarh on 5th April 2006, an incident of communal violence occurred between Muslims and Hindus. At least seven people lost their lives and many people were injured due to communal riots began during the Hindu festival of Ram Navami. One version of this impact is said to be the removal of decorations on Hindu temple by certain Muslims and another reason reported by the press was due to the objection of Muslims to the overnight celebration. Once again Aligargh became the hotbed of communal violence on 30th 2016. A clash started at night in the Babri Mandi locality of the city when members of two communities clashed with each other following a minor roadside altercation. In this clash, two persons were killed and at least eight were injured.

III.4. Doda Massacre

The Doda massacre occurred on 30th April 2006, at Doda, one of the largest district in Jammu and Kashmir, where twenty two unarmed villagers, mostly shepherds' and poor families were shooted by the terrorists. At the same day, the neighboring village (Lalon Galla, very near to Udhampur District), thirteen innocent shepherds were kidnapped and shot by terrorists. The attacks were an attempt to derail the upcoming talks between the Indian government and the All Parties Hurriyat Conference (APHC). Government of India blamed Pakistan based extremist group, Lashkar-e-Taiba, for the act (The Hindu, 2006). A dozen militants wearing army uniforms perpetrated the massacre and the victims included even a three year old girl.

III.5. Malegaon Bombings

On 8th September 2006, Malegaon, Near Mumbai, had a series of bomb explosion, in which 37 were killed and 125 people had been injured. The incident took place in a Muslim cemetery. Most of the Muslim pilgrims lost their lives in the explosion. The Maharashtra Anti-Terrorism Squad (ATS) immediately blamed the Students Islamic Movement of India (SIMI) behind the act, but a charge sheet filed in 2013 blamed the Hindu extremist group, Abhinav Bharat. On 25th April 2016, nine previously arrested Muslims were released (Times of India, 2006). Security forces spoke of "two bombs attached to bicycles", but other reports indicated that three devices exploded. A stampede ensued after the devices exploded. A curfew was declared in the town and paramilitary forces were employed in the sensitive areas.

III.6. Tumudibandh Violence

In August 2008, in Tumudibandh area of Orissa, five Hindus were killed by Christian extremists, followed by the killing of Viswa Hindu Parishad leader, Lakshmananda Saraswati. State wide protest launched by VHP and Bajrang Dal turned violent and led to widespread destruction of Christians in Orissa and many churches and their institutions were attacked (Press Trust of India, 2008). The Orissa

Citizen's Initiative (OCI) under Jesuit leadership called for immediate peace discussion and took measures for relief and rehabilitation.

III.7. Kandhamal Violence

Religious Violence in Odisha is civil unrest and riots in the remote forest region surrounding Kandhamal District in western parts of Odisha. On 25-28 August 2008, Hindu communalists raged by the murder of Swami Saraswati and four others, allegedly incited by Manoj Pradhan, leader of Bharatiya Janata Party encouraged the Hindu mob set fire to many Christian settlements, resulted in the death of 45 Christians. Around 18,500 Christians were forced to flee their villages to refugee camps at Kandhamal District in Odisha (NewYork Times, 2008). Hindu nationalist groups have blamed the violence on the issue of religious conversion.

III.8. Mumbai Massacre

A series of attacks took place in November 2008 at Mumbai when ten members of Lashkar-e-Taiba, an Islamic terrorist group based in Pakistan. This militant group, shooted and blasted bombs which lasted for four days across Mumbai. One hundred and sixty four people were killed and 308 were wounded approximately. On 29th November, India's National Security Guards conducted Operation Black Tornado to counteract the attackers (BBC, 2008). There have been many non-state attacks in Mumbai since the thirteen coordinated bomb explosions that killed 257 people and injured 700 on 12th March 1993. The 1993 attacks are believed to have been in retaliation for the Babri Mosque demolition.

III.9. Deganga Violence

The Deganga riot occurred on 6 September 2010 at the Deganga place in West Bengal. The riots were created by Muslim mobs against Hindus. They destroyed the several sacred Hindu places of worship, looted and burnt dozens of shops. The violence continued for several days. The situation finally calmed down on 9th September after hundreds of business establishments and residences had been looted, destroyed and burnt, dozens of people injured and several places of worship desecrated and vandalized.

III.10. Riots in Kokrajhar

In the month of July 2012, another major shameful communal riot occurred in Kokrajhar District in Assam, which is the heart of Bodo tribe's homeland in the State. A sudden outbreak of riots due to ethnic tension between Bodos and Bengali Muslims. Almost eighty people were killed, mostly Bengali Muslims and some Bodos (Subir, 2016). Four lakh people were moved to refugee camps. The situation was worst, that The Indian Army was ordered to 'shoot on sight'. Around 500 villages had been destroyed through arson in this riot.

III.11. Muzaffarnagar riots

Once again Mussaffarnagar became the centre of communal conflict between Hindu and Muslim communities. Due to the clash between the Hindu and Muslim communities in the District in August-September, 2013, at least 62 were dead, including 42 Muslims and 20 Hindus, 93 suffered injury and about 50,000 Muslims were migrated (Fayyaz,2013). This was one of 'the worst violence in Uttar Pradesh in recent history with the army being deployed in the state for the first time in last 20 years' (Utkarsh, 2014). Supreme Court while hearing petitions blamed the negligence of Akhilesh Yadav Ministry in the State and also blamed the Central government for its failure to provide intelligence reports to the State Government in time to help precautionary alerts.

III.12. Meerut riots

On May 10, 2014, violence started in Meerut in Uttar Pradesh, riot between Jain and Muslim communities over the construction of the fence around a well. *The New Indian Express* reported that installation of water facilitation centre was objected by members from Jain community arguing that it would affect their temple, which started the riots. Anyhow three people were killed and 50 injured (First Post, 2014).

III.13. Ballabhgarh riot

The conflict took place on May 25, 2015, in the village of Atali in Ballabhgarh, Faridabad in Haryana. An aggressive Hindu mob attacked 400 Muslim

villagers of Atali, over the dispute for a 30 year old mosque, which the Hindu villagers claimed to be the property of Panchayat, while Muslim said the land belongs to WAKF board. As a result of the conflict, Muslim shops and homes were looted (The Indian Express, 2015).

III.14. Hazaribagh Communal Violence

The Hazaribagh dispute began when prohibited slogans were played in connection with Ram Navami procession between Hindus and Muslims at Kud Rewali village near, Hazaribagh Railway station in Jharkhand on 17th April 2016. During the riot, till 24th April three deaths were reported. Dozens of shops and more than half a dozen vehicles were set the fire. Overall, six people died and two were injured in this riot, according to the report of the Police (The Indian Express, 2016).

III.15. Dulagarh riot

Dulagarh, a city 25 Km, West of Kolkata, boiled after a communal violence which began on 12th December 2016. When two groups- Hindus and Muslims clashed in connection with a procession carried out in the area. They hurled bombs at each other, and the angry mob of both sides looted and torched people's homes. On the next day, on the occasion of Milad-ul-Nabi, there were further clashes in the area. In connection with the incident, 58 arrests were made (Minhaz, 2016).

Between January 2011 and June 2015, Karnataka witnessed the highest number of communal clashes among the southern states of India. Union Ministry of home affairs sources shows there were 321 incidents of communal violence in Karnataka, injuring 939 people and killing 16. Of these, 36 incidents occurred between January 2015 and June 2015, leaving two dead and 123 injured. Among the Southern States, Karnataka is followed by Kerala (131 incidents), undivided Andhra Pradesh (114) and Tamilnadu (91).

The sharp upward rise in incidents of communal violence, between 2011 and 2016 - 580 (2011), 640 (2012), 823 (2013), 644 (2014), 751 (2015) and 703 (2016) are concentrated in eight states with the highest being in Uttar Pradesh. Bihar and Madhya Pradesh, in the north, Rajasthan, Maharashtra and Gujarat in the west; and

Karnataka and Kerala in the south remain acutely affected. Together they accounted for 2,512 incidents, over 85 per cent of recorded communal violence cases between 2013 and 2016. Figure 3.1 shows the incidents of communal violence in India during 2011-2016

Figure 3.1

Incidents of Communal Violence in India (2011-2016)
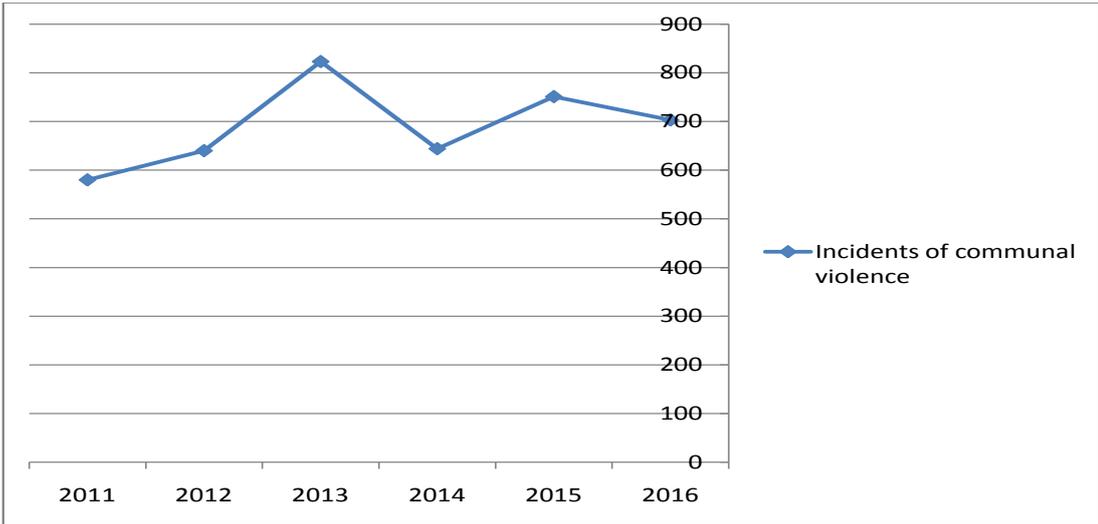
Source: Anubhav Jaiswal | Published on: July 6, 2017
https://www.sabrangindia.in/article/disturbing-upward-increase-communal-violence-under-modi-regime

IV. Major Communal Violences in Kerala

Kerala State comprising of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar was formed in 1956, as an outcome of the movement for an '*Aikya Kerala*'. Kerala, long known as one of the safest State in India, is also known for its uniqueness in religious diversity. By the beginning of the second decade of the twentieth century, it can be seen that there was no single caste or community in Kerala without an organization based upon the community. It became a paradox that the Keralites had more literacy and education when compared with other states of India and many communal organizations came up in Kerala itself. These communal organizations, emerged from special historical realities of Kerala, have influenced the Kerala society and their influence was sometimes progressive and at other times reactionary.

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Exploiting the socio-economic problems and growing inequalities in the state, various social reform movements have emerged in various parts of Kerala. The committee or 'Yogam' formed in 1899 for the administration of the Aruvipuram temple founded by Sri Narayana Guru, developed into a big, organization called 'Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam' (SNDP Yogam) within a short period. During the early stages of its formation, the aim of the SNDP Yogam was to spread the preachings of Sree Narayana Guru. However, within a short period, Yogam became a caste organization of the Ezhava/Thiyya community.

The social reform movement initiated by Chattambi Swamikal and others among Nair community later paved way for the formation of an organization of the Nairs called the 'Nair Service Society'(NSS) in 1914. It became the caste organizations of the Nairs in Kerala under the leadership of Mannath Padmanabhan. Likewise, the 'Sadhu Jana Paripalana Sangham (SJPS)' started by Ayyankali, was transformed later into a caste organization called the 'Pulayar Mahasaba' in 1938.

The Mappila Rebellion, also known as '*Mappila Lahala*' was an armed uprising in 1921 against British authority and Hindu landlords, in the Malabar region, of Kerala. The rebellion began as a reaction against heavy-handed crackdown on the Khilafat Movement by the British authorities in the Valluvanad and Eranad Taluks of Malabar. In the initial stage various minor clashes occurred between Khilafat volunteers and the British police, but immediately the violence spread across the region (Quresh, 1999:447). The Mappilas attacked and controlled police stations, government offices, courts and government treasuries. The largely *kudiyan* (tenants) Mappilas also attacked and killed Hindu landlords especially Nair and Namboothiri castes. In the later period of the uprising, Mappilas committed several atrocities against the Hindu community, who they accused of helping the police to suppress their rebellion (Desai, 1978:622).

In its magnitude and extent, it was an unprecedented popular upheaval, the likes of which has not been seen in Kerala before. While the Mappilas were in the vanguard of the movement and bore the brunt of the struggle, several non-Mappila leaders actively sympathized with the rebels cause, giving the uprising the character

of a national upheaval. In 1971, the Government of Kerala officially recognized the active participants in the events as "freedom fighters" (Miller, 1988:715).

The Hindu communal organization Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh was started in Kerala in 1942. It has slowly and steadily grown into powerful cadre organization. The sudden impact of militant minority communalism in the form of Islamic Service Society (ISS) had its impact on the latest incidents of communal violence in Kerala. Following the 1992 riots, ISS was banned but it incarnated in the form of People's Democratic Party (PDP). The fact that the RSS and PDP have considerable influence among the youth is quite alarming. The communal idea is thus well embedded in society. The social base of all secular parties has been eroded and a fairly large section of the population has become ideologically communal, even if not politically so. It is because communalism has not become a political alternative in the state. When it does, a reconfiguration of the electoral base of several political parties will take place.

When the first Communist ministry elected through the ballot box was dismissed in 1959 and elections were held, the Congress- Praja Socialist Party (PSP) - Muslim League combine fought against the Communists in the mid-term election held on February 1st, 1960 and come back to power. Pattom Thanu Pillai became the Chief Minister, R.Sankar, deputy Chief Minister and P.T.Chacko, Home Minister; thus satisfying the main communities. The Muslim League, the new communal factor in Kerala politics, was appeased with the Speakership (Mathew, 1989:151).

After a period, Kerala is witnessing increasing communal violence and political criminalization, which can be taken as the major obstacle before the progress of Kerala. Analysts say that the emergence of global financial and trading systems, and the dismantling of restrictions on the free flow of liquid assets within the state has fundamentally changed the context in which criminal organizations launder money into Kerala. Organized criminal gangs, supported by communal organizations, have increased their wealth and power in Kerala under the patronage of different political parties (Suseelan, 2006:10).

In the year 1971, Thalassery in Kannur District witnessed a communal clash between Hindus and Muslims. There was a perceived feeling in the mind of Hindus that the Muslim League which was the partner in the United Front government was taking advantage of its position. Then JanSangh and RSS tactfully exploited dissatisfaction of Hindu community. Gradually this feeling led to communal hatred and tension which resulted in the communal clashes. This was the first phase and this violence was pre-planned by Hindu communalists with the mass mind of Jansangh and RSS. The second phase was of the retaliation by Muslims. And the third was the retaliation by Hindus. During this occasion, Communist parties played a constructive role to check communal tension and they strongly stood for the maintenance of secularism and communal harmony. Justice Joseph Vithayathil, Commission of Inquiry, appointed by the Kerala government suggested that problems are sought to be solved not by discussion and dialogue alone but by the use of force in some occasion. It also suggests that government and political parties that believe in democracy should take concerted steps to check this tendency. Another notable point of the Commission on Thalassery is that the attitude adopted by the rank and file of the police in Thalassery during the disturbances showed that they were affected with the virus of communalism and that serious note should be taken in this matter. It urged that it is a matter of utmost importance, that in the maintenance of law and order, all sections of the public, particularly the minorities have confidence in the impartiality of the police (Commission Report, 1971).

In 1983, Nilakkal in Pathanamthitta District had become the stage for a Hindu-Christian confrontation. Some Christians unearthed a stone cross at Nilakkal which they claimed was the remains of a Church founded by Saint Thomas, the apostle. Christians insisted on building a church on the spot but Hindus objected saying it was in the grounds of Sabarimala, Kerala's most popular temple dedicated to Swami Ayyappa. After much negotiation, the government allotted Christians a plot of forest land to build the church four kilometers away from the temple (UCA News, 2011).

Mattancherry in Ernakulum District witnessed the worst hit of communal violence in November 1990. It was a dark 'Diwali' for the over 450 Gujarati and Marwadi families settled there. Instead of crackers, flames leaped into the sky as mobs went on the rampage for eleven hours, looting and then burning. In an unusual move, the merchants of Mattancherry suggested that looters be given a chance to surrender goods without penal action. The police announced that looted goods could be deposited at specific spots on the roadside. The strategy worked as many utensils, TV sets and music systems were returned.

Another Communal riot occurred in Vizhinjam in Trivandrum District, between Fisher folk owing allegiance to Christian and Muslim communities in the coastal area. The violence, lead to the death of two persons and injured nearly 30 others including seven women. The incident happened on May 1995, when a mob around 500 fishermen, belonging to Christian community gutted nearly 400 huts and destroyed many fishing boats and tools belonging to the Muslim community allegedly as a response to an attack on a couple of the Christian community. The police arrested 95 accused, in connection with the case on various charges including murder attempt, conspiracy, rioting and arson (www.thehindu.com, 2008).

Kasargod district, having the second largest Muslim population in Kerala witnessed a series of minor communal tensions. Broadly, there are two types of issues occur in Kasargod. First, incidents which are communal from the start itself and issues which start as political conflicts, but take a communal turn after some time. For instance, On January, 21st 2001, an issue started when Hindus started to construct a fence at Sri Kurumba Temple ground based on a court order. Some Muslims filed a case against it. Both Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPI-(M)) supported the Hindus movement whereas the Indian Union Muslim League (IUML) and Social Democratic Party of India (SDPI) supported Muslims. In the Nileswaram circle too, all the CPI (M)-Muslim League conflicts happened in the year 2001, gradually became Hindu - Muslim communal conflicts. The Deputy Inspector General's (DIG) report says that Congress and CPI (M) tried to exploit the communal issues happened at Kanjangad in the year 2003.

In 2008, a Hindu was killed alleging that he passed urine near to a mosque. Three other people were killed in the continuation. Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS) district vice president Suhas has murdered near to his office itself. Sinan and Muhammad also got murdered. On 15th November 2009, Muslim League organized to give a reception to their leaders at Kasargod town. Some infidel from the place launched an attack towards the Amay Hindu colony and destroyed flags and posters of other political parties. Two people died in this conflict. In 2010, another incident started when some miscreants painted green crescent moons on the front wall of Mallikarjuna Temple fence (Vijayan, 2012).

In another incident, two groups of people of different communities clashed at the communally sensitive Munattumukku area in Poonthura in Thiruvananthapuram District, on February 27, 2001. Numerous people including twenty policemen were injured in the melee. The chain of events which led to widespread violence and tension in the area was sparked off when some persons in the Masalatheruvu colony got into a fight with four fisher folk youth from the coastal area of Poonthura, who was taking a dip at the Munattumukku bathing ghat on the banks of Thiruvallam river. The allegation was that the youth were drunk and were bathing at the ghat which is used by members of both communities. Soon rumors spread at the Poonthura that the youth was mortally injured and two were missing. In an act of retaliation, nearly a hundred persons from Poonthura with aggressive weapon-stormed the Masalatheruvu colony. They made largescale destruction in the colony. As the news of the beatings spread, a mob of more than 500, armed with oars and iron rods rushed towards the S.M.Lock Junction from Poonthura. This led to a major face-off between armed members of both the communities in front of the police station.

In 2015, Nadapuram witnessed the murder of 19 year old Shibin Bhaskar and the 20 year old Aslam. The murder of Aslam was said to be the retaliation of the murder of Shibin. These cold-blooded murders, a personal settling of scores between two individuals was instantly communalized and in a manner that is reminiscent of

communal violence in other parts of the country especially in Muzaffarnagar communal riots in 2013. The Marad communal violence occurred in 2002 and 2003.

Kerala known for its relatively harmonious social relations has lately witnessed quite a few communal and criminal clashes between members of different communities. The Thalassery, Vizhinham, Poonthura, Nilakkal, Mattanchery, Marad and Nadapuram riots are the examples of major communal riots in Kerala. An analysis of the communal riots and criminalization which took place in the different areas of the State during the last decade shows that they are becoming more systematic in its organizations, in the targeting of its enemy and in the total dehumanization and brutality of its method. Fundamentalist organizations are springing up in the various parts of the State. The dull and distorted socio-economic development in the country provides a continuing social-material base for the production and re-production, sustenance and re-enforcement of all sorts of reliogisity, revivalism, fundamentalism, obscurantism and ideologies and practices like communalism. Communal terms in order to provide for the safety of persons and property and thus to generate a vicious circle. Moreover, a communal riot left certain emotional residue for legacy, which could be used later by the communal ideologues or politicians.

V. End Notes

1. Britishers were able to conquer entire India and ruled it about 200 years. The reason behind the success lies in their Divide and Rule policy. For example, in 1905, Lord Curzon divided Bengal into East and West Bengal mainly based on religion and another example is the Minto Morley Act of 1909 which created more rifts between Hindus and Muslims.

2. A person who is markedly more concerned with material things than with spiritual, intellectual or cultural values. Materialism is a form of philosophical monism which holds that matter is the fundamental substance in the nature, and that all things including mental aspects and consciousness are the result of material interactions.

3. Veto means a constitutional right to reject a decision or proposal made by law making body. Here, Muslim communities were enjoyed favourable rules from British authorities for their political, social and educational advance. Otherwise they have a power of rejection in the proposals.

4. Nawab Viqar Malik was the founder of Muslim League. League was founded on 30th December 1906 at Dacca, in the British Indian Empire. Its strong advocacy for the establishment of a separate Muslim majority nation state-Pakistan successfully led to the partition of British India in 1947.

5. The British Raj introduced demands of reservation in the government of India Act of 1909. The Act provided for the first time representation of Muslim community quota.

6. Hindu communal identities in colonial United Provinces in the early 20th century. It explores and identifies as to how the deployment of certain gender icons, images and themes as redefined by the Hindu militant organizations helped in constructing and negotiating a Hindu identity in the region, in this specific context of the *Sangathan* (Community defence) and *Suddhi* (reconversion from Islam to the Hinduism) and reclamation of lower castes into the Hindu caste hierarchy.

7. *Tanseem* and *Tabligh* were means to promote Muslim prayers, organization and culture. *Tabligh* movement started off-shoot of Deoband Movement in North India.

8. Khilafat Movement (1919-1922) was a pan-Islamic, political protest campaign launched by Muslims of India to influence the British Government not to abolish the Ottoman Caliphate.

9. Ulamas are scholars of almost all disciplines. These were educated in religious institution and contribute to the debate in the Muslim public sphere.

10. A.R.Desai was a renowned sociologist in India. His contribution is unique in the study of sociology. His contribution especially may be considered

imperative in the light of the growing dominance of western imprints on social thought.

11. The National Integration Council was set up in the early 1960's by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. The NIC aims at finding ways to address the problems of communalism, casteism and religionalism.

12. Privy purse was payment mode to the ruling families of erstwhile princely states as part of their agreement to first integrate with India in 1947 and later to merge their states in 1949 whereby they lost all ruling right. But in 1969 late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi put an end to this.

13. Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC) is an organization in India responsible for the management of Gurudwaras, Sikh places of worship in three states of Punjab, Hariyana and Himachal Pradesh and the union territory of Chandigarh.

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Chapter IV

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PROFILE
OF NADAPURAM AND MARAD

Nadapuram situated in the Eastern hill area of North Malabar in Kozhikode District of Kerala state and spread over an area of 20.44 Km. The Constituency consists of ten Panchayaths - Nadapuram, Valayam,Vanimel, Chekkiad, Kayakodi, Maruthonkara, Kavilumpara, Tuneri, Naripatta and Edachery. Geographically Nadapuram is located about 14 Km to the northeast of Vatakara town, about 21 km to the south-east of Thalassery town. Some Panchayaths of Nadapuram lies by the side of Vishnumangalam River, this is also called as 'Mayyazhi Puzha'.

Nadapuram has a tropical climate. During most months comparative to other areas of Malabar region, there is a significant rainfall. Dry season are very short in the area. Hermann Gundert in his book *Malayala Rajyam Charithrathodu Chernna Bhoomisasthram*, quotes that Nadapuram is two miles north east to Kuttipuram and that a Masjid and a market mainly concentrated on pepper business. Nadapuram Masjid, an old Masjid with more than 100 years of tradition and cultural background became famous throughout the state. The Thirikakkayam waterfalls near Karuvalam on the Vanimel mountain are an attractive tourist centre. Nadapuram has a unique history as the part of old Kadathunadu of Malabar Division. This area of land has witnessed many historical battles and movements – Tippu's Malabar invasion, Pazhassi Raja's resistance war, and Malabar peasant movements. Thacholi Manikkoth Kochothenan, Puthooram Unniyarcha and Aromal Chekavar were the superheros of this region. Koorrily Chekuan is considered as the brave local rebel who took cudgel against social and economic inequalities. This land witnessed for many *padayottam* of Thacholi Kunhi Othenan, Uunniyarcha and Tippu Sulthan in older days.

Artform like *Poorakkali, Kolkkali, Dafmuttu, Aravanamuttu* are very familiar to these areas. This place is also reputed for its martial arts. The land which is well

known as part of the ballad of Kadattunadu is known all over Kerala. In the 19th and early part of 20th century, Nadapuram region was famous for secular way of life among people and was a reputed centre for Islamic teaching. This region actively took part in the freedom movement. The land itself made proud because Nadapuram has much freedom fighting saga by donating its freedom fighters like Rairukurup, P. Krishnan Nambiar, Edavalath Kanaran master and Chingonth Kunhiraman Nair. It should be noted that Appukurup, a great freedom warrior tried to make an explosion at the Nadapuram Munsif court against British rulers.

Marad is a small coastal village lying to the southwest of Kozhikode town and west to the Beypore town. This coastal village is known in olden times as Marat. Muckati in Naduvattam of Beypore *amsam* (KRA, 1917). It lies in between Beypore port in the south and Kappakkal in the north. Beypore, a small port town at the mouth of Beypore river, lies 13 Km south-west of Kozhikode city, Naduvattam lies 4 Km north of Beypore and 2 Km east of Marad beach, Payanakkal and Kappakkan are very nearer fishing hamlets, situating north of Marad beach. Panniyankara is 4 Km north-west of Naduvattam. The northern part of the west coastal plain is known as Konkan plain and the southern part is known by the Malabar coast which is 550 Km long and 20-100 Km in width. The highest extension of the Malabar Coast is seen in the valley of Beypore. The coastal plain is an area where the interaction of the sea and land occurs; maximum people are seen to dwell in coastal areas all over the world. And thus major cities are situated near coastal areas. India has a long coastal line more than 7500 Km, of which about 10% is the part of Kerala. After Gujarat and Tamilnadu, Kerala is the next largest State of India having a long coastal area.

I. Historical Backdrop of Nadapuram

The unique geographical peculiarities turned this land of hills and forests as an area of migrant farmers before, 1980's. Peasants belonging to *adivasis*, lower caste of Hindus and Muslims through their hard work made this as land of rich agrarian settlers. At the beginning of 1940's Christian farmers also migrated to this land.

The economy of the Nadapuram was mainly depended on the cash crops. The main agricultural products are coconut, rice, rubber and arecanut. This area is known for the best seed variety of coconut. From time immemorial, Nadapuram has attracted many traders and merchants. They were attracted by ginger, turmeric and pepper and other spices produced in the homely plantations. High fertility of the soil and hard work of the people produced fine agricultural yield. These salient features brought glory to the land more fertile. Kuttiady river, Vanimel and Peringathur streams flown in graciously abundant water to the land. The settlements like Valayam, Kallachi, Vanimel, Vishnumangalm, Tuneri, Kaiveli, Nadapuram, Kumbalachola and Kuttiady have attracted migrants from far away parts of the state. The influence of gulf money is evident, as the major portion of Muslim community is working in Middle East countries. The region is greatly influenced by the luxuries of gulf regions and is reflected through magnificent houses with modern facilities. Once this region was renowned for fertile agricultural centre, where the people cultivated the cash crops widely. In those days, agriculture was the backbone of the economy of Nadapuram.

During the pre-independence period, the socio-economic system of this place was based on feudal means of production. There was an upper-class Brahmin settlement (Urrue) even during the Sangham period. The Brahmins, who had concentrated in settlements like Thinoor, Nettor, Aroor, and Vangoor had occupied vast land under their direct control. The upper-class landlords had their dominations in this fertile area (Logan, 1951:146). The land possessed by the Brahmin's was termed as *Devaswom* and *Brahmaswom*[1]. Devaswom land was managed by the Hindu upper-class landlords. But the majority of the farming populations of this area are from the backward communities like Thiyyas. The second numerous population are the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes living in the hilly area. The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are the followers of the Dravidian culture. It is inferred by certain historians that, there were migrations from the Mediterranean areas to the Indian subcontinent through Ceylon during the pre-Vedic period. These emigrants might have spread in the mainland and settled in different parts of this sub-continent. The Thiyyas of this land are believed to be the successors

of these emigrants (Menon, 1967:61). On the whole, this landless working class belongs to the Thiyyas, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. They were economically and politically very backward. The other communities were the Muslims and Nairs who had emigrated during the medieval period.

The Kadathnadu dynasty, the predecessors of 'Vatakara Vazhannor' said to be descended from the old 'Kolathunadu' dynasty. The present Vanimel, Nadapuram and Kallachi areas were under the control of Kadathandu 'Kovilakam' who ruled the desom with 'Kuttipuram' as their capital. This area was known as 'Velliyottidam'. The Velliyottidam was the most powerful among the thirty-one *amsams* of the old Kurumbranad (Logan, *op.cit*, 146). Like the feudal rulers of the past, the Kadathanad rulers also have given certain areas (*amsams*) to able and powerful Nair landlords. Thus the modern Nadapuram and Vanimel areas were land assignments given to 'Velliyottidam' Nairs by Kuttipuram Kovilakam (Kallachi, 1996: 4).

During the glorious days the Velliyottidam rulers had ultimate control over the vast area lying between Velliyottidam and the hills of Wayanad. With the invasion of the Mysore Sulthans and the consequent religious conversions many Nairs of this land fled to other parts of the kingdom. Sulthan's invasion led to the total decline of the power of the Velliyottidam. This was followed by the large migration of the Muslim immigrants to the eastern part of this kingdom (Nadapuram areas). The old Kadathanadu and Kurumbranad places were assigned to another caste Hindus by the rulers of Kadathanadu. The system of inheritance known as matrilineal system prevailed among the feudal lords. These were retained to prevent the partition and sub division of landed property.

II. Demography

Nadapuram Panchayat has a population of 40230, out of this, 18700 are males while female population consists of 21530. Female sex ratio is 1151against state average 1084. Child sex ratio in Nadapuram is around 1001, compared to state average of 964. In the case of Valayam Panchayath, the total population has 14328. Out of which 7521 are females and 6801 are males. Female sex ratio is of 1107

against state level average 1084. Literacy rate is 90.7%, which is below the state average of 94%. Vanimel Panchayath is the largest territorial area in the Nadapuram constituency. The total population is 25680, of which 13312 are females and the male population is 12368. According to 2011 census, the child sex ratio for the Vanimel is 1055, which is higher than the state average of 964. The literacy rate is lower compared to the State rate in 2011. As per the report released by the Census of India 2011, the total population of Chekkiad is 24246, of which 13052 are females and 11194 are males. Literacy rate of the panchayath is 90.74%, which is lower than the average rate of 94% of Kerala. According to the Census of India 2011, the total population of Kayakkodi village is 24578, of which 12951 are females and 11627 are males. Kavilumpara panchayath has a total of 19212 of population among which 9843 are females. This panchayath constitutes 1.41% are Scheduled Tribes and 1.28% are Scheduled Castes. Literacy rate of Kavilumpara is 93.7% compared to 94% of the State, where male literacy stands at 96.69% while female literacy was 90.65%. Tuneri has a total of 21780 as population out of which 10151 are males. The literacy rate of Tuneri panchayath is lower than the State rate. The total population in Maruthonkara panchayath is 23487. Overall sex ratio here has increased by 55 females per 1000 males during the years from 2001 to 2011, even though 19,000 people in the village are literate, among them 9704 are male 9685 are female. Naripatta and Edachery respectively have a total population of 21381 and 23979, while Naripatta village is having 11336 female and 10045 male and 12504 females in Edachery and 11475 males. Table 4.1 below shows the population and sex ratio of various Panchayaths under Nadapuram Constituency.

Table 4.1

Population, Sex ratio and Panchayath Administrations in Nadapuram

Name of Panchayaths	No: of Males	No: of Females	Total population	Panchayath Administration
Nadapuram	18700	21530	40230	UDF
Valayam	6801	7527	14328	LDF
Vanimel	12368	13312	25680	LDF
Chekkiad	11194	13052	24246	UDF
Kayakodi	11627	12951	24578	LDF
Maruthonkara	11306	12181	23487	LDF
Kavilumpara	9369	9843	19212	LDF
Tuneri	10151	11629	21780	UDF
Naripatta	10045	11336	21381	LDF
Edachery	11475	12504	23979	LDF

UDF- United Democratic Front; LDF- Left Democratic Front

Source: Census of India 2011, Kerala Series 33 part XII A, District Census Handbook, Kozhikode.

III. Culture and Civilization

As in the case of other agrarian society, the people of this area also had many rituals related to the believers associated with the agrarian means of production. The *Kavus* and *Mandapas* adjacent to agricultural land where the centers of prayer and worship of the people. There were many agricultural harvest festivals associated with these centers. The protest against the socio-economic oppression of this people was expressed through the main art form like *Theyyam* and *Thira* conducted as the part of the festival of the "Kavus" and "Mandapas". The art form known as '*Chammankkali*' is another example of the expression of the people (Raghavan, 1947:52-53). In this art form the villain often depicted as a Muslim landlord. During the medieval period there supposed to be many Kshathriya families in the Kadathanadu area, this was a period of battles and military expeditions. Thacholi Manikkote, Puthooramveedu, Edachery Kovilakam and Puramery Kovilakam were

some of the Kshathriya families of this area. Brave warriors born in these families were devoted to martial warfare. This middle age military culture created a 'militant mind' among the people of the Kadathanadu. At many times this egoism came up in action of new landlords to oppress the downtrodden masses, who were the owners of a tribal culture. Among Muslims, who had settled in Nadapuram from the medieval period also possessed militant temptations. Besides, the Muslim culture at many a time went in clash with the native Hindu culture. Mostly, the uncompromising orientations of culture lead to social conflicts. Even in art forms like 'Kolkkali', reflects the contempt towards the downtrodden masses. The myth of 'Koorilly Chekuan' is another example. The Koorilly Checkuan is said to have indulged in looting the wealth of the rich landlords. The looted wealth was distributed among the poor people, says a local folklore (Namboodiri, 1978:28).

The 'Kavoos' and 'Kovilakams' of Hindu families were purchased or captured by Muslim families in a large scale. As a result of this change in land ownership, 'Kavoos festivals' rituals and customs seemingly endangered. So that the socio cultural base of the laborers or the working class became shattered and many uprisings against land owning class occurred (Narayanan, 2016). K.N. Panikar, the renowned historian, has noted the fact that substantial contributions to the writing of historical novels relating incidents in Malabar area. He projects the story of Pazhassi Raja who fought against British power in Malabar. The novel *Kerala Sinham. 'Velluvakammaran'* by Chengalath Kunhirama Menon is a novel based on the true story of Nair converted to Islam during Haider Ali's invasion.

IV. Sociological Background

Tremendous changes took place, in the social structure of Nadapuram when the matrilineal system was replaced by patrilineal system among the caste Hindus. With the disorder and decline of *tharavadus* the Hindu feudal chief's lost their social domination. But the feudal means of production prevailed. New Muslim landlords emerged as a powerful class in this area. The Muslims who migrated to Nadapuram were traders and merchants and they were very rich people. The newly acquired wealth enabled the Muslims to extent their domination by purchasing more lands.

Apparently the old feudal Hindu upper classes were relegated to the rank of economic middle class (Menon, *op cit*., 72). They have to cope up newly relegated economic positions and old social vanity. At the same time the poor Muslims resorted to odd jobs and happen to be in certain theft or plunder. There are a lot of references in the Northern ballads about the mean activities of certain Muslim anti-socials. The Muslims were considered as enemies by the Thiyyas and Tribal people. The description of the '*Jonakha Army*' in the Northern ballads reveals this attitude.

The Muslim landlords who had dominated the social fabric ruthlessly exploited the tenants. The masses that had been destined to lead thin life in famine and utter poverty were not conscious of their rights and privileges. Moreover, there was no uniform custom or rule for wage and work. Even women and children were indiscriminately exploited by the Muslim landlords (Kallachi, *op.cit*.9). Thus sandwiched between two landed aristocracies (Nairs and Mappillas), Thiyyas started asserting both caste and the religious identity centered on Hinduism by the early 20th century. Bequeathed with the caste reformism and new economic possibilities, Thiyya caste assertion attained a new dimension in Nadapuram from the 1930's, as it did in other parts. Newly attained caste identity and social mobility of the agrarian Thiyyas, and the disjunction in the region reflected in *Mathamohini Kunjami Mala,* written in the early 1930's by a local Arabic- Malayalam poet, Puzhakkal Veetil Moideen. This is the first Mala text from the North Malabar region which talked about the tumultuous social relation between *kafirs* (Thiyyas) and Mappilas in the mid 20th century. Cheeru, a Thiyya woman converted to Islam after falling in love with a Soopy- a Mappila-was rechristened as Kunjami. Challenging the conversion, strongly Hinduised Thiyyas dragged her from the hideout and attempted to reconvert (Shuddhi) her back to Hinduism and kept her at Thiyya Mooppen's House; however, she escaped and remained as Muslim is the story.

V. Political Economy

The economy of Nadapuram is mainly based on agrarian economy and gulf money. But the wide inequality prevails in the socio-economic sphere due to a number of reasons. The major sector of economic power in the society is controlled

by both the Muslim landlords and caste Hindu landlords. The Thiyyas, Dalit and Adivasi workers who settled in the land were subjected to severe economic exploitation. William Logan's "Malabar-Manual" gives us the account of the tax imposed on the peasant class. For the paddy cultivation, the tax imposed was 65% of the production (Logan, 1885:732). In Kadathanadu and Kurumbranad, 100% was the tax rate for plantation crops. It shows that the rent fixed for cultivation was very high and laboring class was burdened with other taxes also.

With the coming of British, the land owning class joined with the foreigners and continued their oppressive policy. It was this anti peasant policies that made the labour class to render their wholehearted support to the Pazhassi Revolt. In the absence of an organized movement there were many protest movements even after the Pazhassi Revolt was failed. Koorully Chekaun and others continued their relentless opposition to many outdated social custom. They raised their voice for right and freedom of the downtrodden. This protest movement had great impact on the people of this area. The legend behind Koorally Chekaun and the festival in the temple known in his name, tell us the influence of the movement. Violence and exalted combat politics in the region cannot be removed from the deeply entrenched tradition of martial emotions and networks.

As is well known, the recorded martial tradition of the north Malabar goes back to the early 16th century when the local disputes between families and little kingdoms were solved by the *chekavans*[2] (mercenaries) from both Thiyya and Nair communities. *Kalari*, the physical exercise complexes of Nairs and Thiyyas, created a network of martial culture in Malabar from the medieval times (Barbosa, 2009:167). This promoted the system of *ankam* (combat) through which civil disputes were resolved and germinated another martial custom- *kudipaka*[3] (blood feud) (Arafath, 2016:49). The early landlords of the Nadapuram area were later passed into the hands of some Muslim traders through the system of 'Tharakue' (The right of trade). In the Kovilakam, the Muslims had no restrictions to enter, that also enabled them to take possessions of Kovilakom wealth also. Thus the landlords in Vanimel and Nadapuram were practiced the same policy of the 'Thamburkals'

and Velliyottidam Nairs towards the toiling masses. The British who followed the policy of the divide and rule, rendered help to the Muslim land owning class and was favoring them.

The assignment of company hills was another important cause for the rise of Muslim landlords. Sankara Varma Thampuran of Kadathanadu Kovilakam who was under the control of British, gave the places like Uratty, Koothali, Manghakunnaue, Madanchery to Ahmedkutty, Pothooramkandi Moosa and three other Muslims. Thus the Muslims in Nadapuram were not only traders but also landlords (Vanimel Smrithi, 1999:21), whereas, in other parts of Kerala they remained as traders. As landlords they exhibited all the evils of feudalism. In that sense, the latter struggle in Vanimel was having the character of class struggle. But landlords, tried to protect their interest by communalizing the struggles, and in that attempt, they succeeded to a large extent. For collecting and keeping the forest products from the company mala (hill) there was a centre known as "company peedika". The workers in the centres were the paniya adivasi families. The slave families brought from the "Palliyoor Kaavue" slave market of Wayanad were also brought to the area. Earlier the aborigines of the area were mainly "kuriachiars". Their main occupation was to do some work assigned to them by the company owners. They had to be satisfied with meagre wage that also was not in cash but was in the kind of tobacco or arrack. They were not allowed to contact with outside people. There were some instances of mild protest of this class. But the hegemonizing class ruthlessly suppressed all of them (Billan and Velukkan, 2016).

In fact, the majority of the people in Nadapuram were very poor. They worked under the landlords who possessed the hills and vast fields including the company hills. Most of them belonged to Thiyya caste. They were subjected to all kinds of exploitation. Even those who owned the land ceded the land to landlords for twelve years. Moreover, many cunning landlords through foul means got possession of vast estates. The peasants, who had to do even forced labour, were satisfied with small wage known as 'vally'. The Janmis treated them with contempt (Smrithi, *op.cit,* 17). The male workers were called 'chekkan' while the female

workers were called 'pennue'. Even today this is followed in many parts of the Nadapuram. Besides giving huge rent to the landlords, the workers were forced to give many other presents to the landlords. Those who failed to give such presents were even expelled from their land. These exploitation and oppression were followed by Muslim landlords also. The Muslim landlords also followed many Hindu customs and taboos. There were instances of sexual harassment. The conditions of the woman were no way better. Women of the upper castes and class persecuted women of the laboring class. The condition of Muslim women was also no way better.

VI. Emergence of Peasant Movements

In Nadapuram, the 1920's and 1930's witnessed the emergence of working class consciousness and the growing realization of need of the unity that led to such movements. These movements made them aware of social conditions and helped to cement their unity. The workers and the downtrodden class joined under the banner of the peasant and kisan organizations and gave leadership to anti-landlord movements. Such Communist led movements paved the way for first class struggle in Nadapuram area. The recent revolt (2001) and consequent violence in Nadapuram area have some dimensions of this class struggle. Revolutionary propaganda and agitation politics of the communists were instrumental to bring about positive changes in the field of agricultural and trade union activities. In 1923 itself tenants' agitation rose up in northern and southern Malabar. There was in North Malabar a tenants group which has worked since 1930. The success of the tenants meeting held in Puduppanam market was the beginning for the democratic solidarity in old Kurumbranad and Kadathunadu Taluks (EMS, 2004:221). The decline of the price of coconut was the effect of economic crisis during 1933-34 on the Kurumbranad and Kadathanadu. The agricultural workers had been getting only four edanghazhi (approximately 5Kg) rice for thousand coconuts. In such a social set up, the landlords were violating all boundaries of exploitation, which paved the way for the formation of associations among the agricultural workers.

A meeting in Nadapuram, in connection with golden jubilee of Congress in 1935 led to the formation of particular committees among the leftists who co-operated with Congress. Kurumbranadu Taluk Committee was thus formed and led by M. Gopala Kurup, T.C.Narayanan Nambiar, C.H.Kanaran and C.Kumaran. It was during this period that the Chirakkal Taluk Agricultural Committee was formed and it was headed by K.P.R.Gopalan and Vishnu Bharathiyan. N.G.Ranga, All India president of Kisan Sabha participated in those large conventions held in Vallikkad, Mokeri and other areas and instilled vigor into it. As a result of continuous effort, which extended from 1935 to 1939, Communist party was able to unite the unorganized agricultural workers of Malabar to an organized group (EMS, *op, cit*., 221). The situation of the unorganized peasants in those days was very pathetic. The formation of peasant associations and the messages put forward by the peasant activists gave strength to the *Punam Agricultural Workers* who took the consequences of feudal set-up as their destiny. Many people from different parts of the Taluk came to the eastern regions for agricultural work. These people used the land of great feudal lords like Mukkath Moideen Haji and Kuruvalathil Moideen, for cultivation. The peasants became destitute as a result of the cruelties unleashed by the landlords such as stealing of harvest by the Chettu Military, the collection of tax by the revenue officials etc. It was the situation that the Karshaka Sangham workers organized processions headed by M. K. Kelu towards the hill slopes (Smrithi, *op.cit*, 24).Those were the days that stirred excitement among the agricultural workers. The *Punam Agricultural Agitation* led by C.H.Kanaran, A.V.Kunjambu made the landlords agree with the terms put forward by the agricultural worker that is to give only 1/10 as lease. The agricultural agreement (of 1/10 as lease) which was accepted in the Kozhikode district as their first agricultural agitation became a success too.

The Communist party of Vatakara was formed towards the end of 1940. After the meeting where E.K.Vijayaraghavan was elected as secretary, group and cells of the Communist party was formed in areas like Kunnummakkara, Onjiam, Edachery, Nadapuram, Viladapuram, Kovukunnu, Mokeri, Valayam, Kuttiadi etc. When the unorganized agricultural workers started organizing themselves,

Nadapuram became the nerve centre of Kurumbranad agricultural movement. They raised their voice against the colonial government and the feudal landlords. Agricultural agitations occurred in this area till 1950's.

Though some activities happened in areas like Nadapuram and Vanimel, as part of the national movement there was no democratic participation for such activities (Smrithi, *op.cit*, 26). The Congress activities were mainly based on areas like Mokeri and Naripatta. But Congress was not able to establish politically in Nadapuram. Due to this, till the middle of 1930's the activities of the Congress in Nadapuram was going on a superficial level. Nadapuram became the part of the national movement through several incidents like, agitations against British imperialism in September 1940, agitation against "Jap" during Quit India Movement in 1942 and the Mokery incidents in 1947. Congress, as becoming part of the national movement and Communist party by organizing the agricultural workers, fostered political consciousness of the people of Nadapuram. By organizing the peasant's movement, Communist party established themselves in Nadapuram.

VII. Political Developments from 1940-2017

The Communist activities mainly centralized around Vatakara during 1940's. The farmers of Kurumbranade Taluk held a meeting at Mokeri in 1943. With this, Nadapuram area committee of Karshaka sangham was formed. Karshaka sangham survived in Nadapuram by strongly resisting the British imperialism and the oppression by feudal laws. In 1930's and 1940's peasants were socially and economically exploited by upper Caste Hindus and Muslim feudal lords with the help of British authority (Smrithi, *op.cit*, 31). Under the leadership of C.H.Kanaran, M.Kumaran Master, U.Kunhiraman and P.P.Sankaran, Karshaka Sangham attained great strength day by day. During this period Communist activists became more vigorous in spite of the ban and torture against workers and supporters of the party.

Epidemics like small pox and cholera created great disaster in Kurumbranad Taluk during 1952. The loss of lives due to these epidemics in the areas like Mokeri, Naripatta, Valayam, Vanimel created panic among the people. Due to illiteracy and superstition they even tried burning the sick alive. At this juncture, Communist Party

has done praise worthy role. The voluntary services done by the party during the time of cholera and the services provided to the small pox patients created good impression about them.

Political and social developments in Velliyote in Nadapuram during 1960's initiated social reforms in Nadapuram. Several superstitions like 'Theyyatu', 'Pulakuly', 'Thirutu Kallianam','Enna Manthram' existed there. As a result of the continuous efforts of the social reformers like C.H.Kanaran and M.Kumaran Master, such superstitions and evil customs were eradicated to a certain extent. The social reforms activities provoked the landlords and tenants and the Muslim landlords who were majority in the area. To overcome the protest and agitation of the working class, these Muslim landlords used religious card and they distorted religion for their vested interest. Later these provided the basis for communal conflicts and riots.

After the formation of Kerala state, based on languages in 1956, the Communist candidate C.H.Kanaran was elected from Nadapuram Assembly constituency in the first general election held in 1957. As a part of election campaigning the problem of the 'flag hoist' which was concreted by the Communist activists in Vilangad. The Congress workers and certain church officials removed the flag hoisted by the Communists. As a result of this, friction arose between two parties. This can be called as the first party based conflict in Nadapuram. The incidents that occurred in 'puzhamoola' were the beginning of the resistance activities under the leadership of the Communist party.

Under the leadership of Communist party several minor conflicts arose against the feudal landlords in 1960's. The employment issues and other problems were taken over by the Communist party. It became speck in the eyes of the landlords (Smrithi, *op.cit*, 36). The Communist party began to work on community basis and unity of the Muslims helped the growth of Muslim League. Naturally the Muslim landlords had great influence in the Muslim League and the League took up problems related to them. This sort of political interferences resulted in the creation of clear political polarization in Nadapuram (Sajeevan, 2018).

The land reform measures of 1967 caused revolutionary changes in Kerala's fundamental land relations and this changed the social outlook itself. The exceeding lands of the feudal lords were distributed among land less tenants. According to this Act, each landless person should hold ten cents of land. This act gave a way to new social situations in the state. But this reform Act was partially sabotaged at least in the territory of Nadapuram area. For instance, land property dispute in the Muthangachal is a case in point. A dispute regarding land property ended up in the murder of a person named Abdulla. Following this event, on March 1st 1974 a Communist Party worker named Alakkal Kannan was brutally murdered (Madhyamam Weekly, 2001:17-18).

The Nadapuram constituency witnessed the formation of an association named, *Luna Set*. This association was unconditionally supported by Muslim League. This Luna Set was formed for the Muslim landlords and they tried to settle land dispute issues in forcefully. Consequently on April 3, 1973, a Communist party worker C.M.Gopalan was murdered. Luna Set attacked Chamballiamparambath Chathu and Theeparambath Kadungan. Following this, the peasants strongly defended the attack of Luna Set. Peasants also turned against the Muslim feudal lords who whole-heartedly supported the Luna Set.

The 'excess land strike' during the time of 1970's influenced the social life of Nadapuram. Ignoring consequences and adverse circumstances, the tenants continued the strike. In 1971 the peasants besieged Thaivachaparambath Manti's house, plucked coconut and held at auction on it. Due to this incident six women belonging to the territories of Vanimel had to face imprisonment. A.C.Cheeru, Narambuparambil Kalyani, Aspathripoyil Paru and M.K.Manthi, Manthi's granddaughters were imprisoned. Thaivachaparambath Cheeru, Koomallaparambath Mathu were attacked by roudies of the Luna Set. This problem created worst situation in Nadapuram area (Chathu, 2016).

The Wage Declaration Act of 1973 was an important milestone in the history Nadapuram especially in Vanimel. This event was an indication of the self-surrender of the peasant group before the journey to freedom from the depths of large slavery.

The peasants were offered a meager amount of wages. This is not sufficient for their adequate living conditions. In this situation, the peasant convention under the leadership of A.Kanaran decided to raise the wages. It was also decided to determine proper working hours and primitive way of working a person day and night. It was A. Kanaran who proclaimed the Wage Declaration Act before an assembly of people in a place called 'Bhumivathukkal'. Another notable demand raised by the peasant movement to abolish the addressal of the peasants as 'Chekkan' and 'Pennu' by the feudal lords. Civil authority positively responded to this demand. Then the Kozhikode District Collector Raji K. Murthy abolished the addressal of the peasants as 'chekkan' and 'pennu'. This declaration was an unforgotten golden chapter in the history of peasant movement in Nadapuram (Kanaran, 2006:71).

Ration card strike in 1973 was another notable struggle of the peasant groups. In 1973, there was a rise in price of food products. As a result of the wage declaration, the landlords of Nadapuram refused to offer jobs to the peasants. In this circumstance, under the leadership of E.V.Kumaran, the Vanimel Service Co-operative Bank started distributing 2Kg rice for the peasant per ration card.

The Chittari workers strike that also took place in Vanimel on August 1981 brought on political shock all over Kerala. The strike started because the workers of Chittari demanded more wages. Thomas Babu was the landlord of Chittari estate. Workers were paid low wages and so they demanded a hike in wages. As the result of the strike, proclamation by the workers, the landowner dismissed them and brought new workers from Vaikom. Kerala State Karshaka Thozhilali Union (KSKTU) declared strike against the landowner Thomas Babu. To counter the KSKTU strike a small defense force was formed under the leadership of landlords of this area known as 'Karshaka Raksha Samiti' (KRS). This led to strong conflict between both sides. In this situation, Revenue Divisional Officer (RDO) intervened into this problem and finally the conflict reached a peaceful end. As a result of this, workers were given high wages. During the conflict, many agricultural properties of the landlords were destroyed and the landlords finally surrendered before the demands of the labourers. The decision taken under the mediation of RDO was

rejected by Thomas Babu. *Karshaka Raksha Samiti* attacked many of the KSKTU members. This was followed by the murder of Kananmala Mathew, who was one of the members of the defense force of landlords and consequently the conflict came to end. In 1987, the problem that arose in Vilangd and Vanimel was known as the land problem of Kuttallur. This problem was started due to the denial of *kutikitappu* (tenancy) rights of certain working class people. This issue was settled through a court order, which was in favour of the farmers.

Most of the violence and conflicts in the social structure in the mid 1980's in Nadapuram were the result of landlordism. Some violence had appeared on a communal colour. But by the end of 1980's tremendous changes took place in the social fabrics of Nadapuram and political extremism increased day by day. The area was dragged into a condition of political outburst. The 1980's witnessed gradual decrease of the social inequality and unorganized working class was able to establish their organization and identity. This class which had been suppressed and oppressed for long years was able to assert their social identity through the path of class conflicts.

The political revolt of 1988, which involved a series of conflicts and violence, is a typical example of political intolerance of Nadapuram. This violence started in Vanimel. Soon after it spread and engulfed, the whole part of Nadapuram constituency and surroundings, which resulted in the murder of nine innocent people. The political and communal murders of 1988 had no direct class interest at all (Mathrubhumi Daily, 2001).

The late 1980's and early 1990's witnessed another important development in this area. Large number of people, most of them from Muslim community went to the distant gulf country for seeking employment. The wealth that flowed from the gulf countries brought about great changes in the economic and social conditions of the Nadapuram area. The petro dollar led to the emergence of many commercial institutions. Nadapuram town emerged into a powerful commercial centre. Its reflection could be seen in the areas like Kakkattil, Kuttiady, Parakkadavu and Kayakodi. The petro dollar and the growth of commercial institutions made the

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Muslim community wealthy and influential economic power. This financial position and influence were used to extent their political power. This situation made working class and peasants lives, more terrible. Moreover, as a result of Globalization the price of agricultural products went down. This created crisis in agrarian field and the condition of the workers, common people and the middle class became more miserable. The decline in the price of coconut, which was the backbone of the Nadapuram economy and agrarian products made the withdrawal of the landlords from agrarian activities. There was a total decline in agricultural work and agriculture lost its importance as a means of livelihood in Nadapuram. During the period of political and communal violence there were instances of the deliberate destruction of plantations. This also made agriculture, economically insignificant, which in turn effected to the life of working class.

The growing reclamation of land and the increasing investment of petro dollar in construction works brought about the changes in Nadapuram economy. With the rise of construction activities, many agricultural workers entered into construction work. In addition, the Gulf war of 1990's affected the flow of gulf money. It had its negative impact in construction work. The economy of Nadapuram once again received set back. The new economic system in Kerala resulted into a new consumer culture in the society and this was also found in Nadapuram. According to Sathyan Mokeri (ex MLA and CPI Leader), the Globilization phase made the class division more unique in this area. The new economic order influenced the life of Nadapuram and increased the dissatisfaction of the entire society (Mokeri, 2018).

Majority of the farmers of the Nadapuram are Muslims. Most of them are middleclass farmers. Even the rich farmers were adversely affected by the decrease in the price of agricultural products. The service condition and wage rate attained by the agricultural workers through the constant struggle could not be retained. The number of working days decreased. In this situation in the agricultural sector, workers themselves are forced to demand low wages. The construction field was the only hope of the working class. The latest trend shows the decline in the flow of gulf

money and return of large number of gulf immigrants. This will create more social tension and some social and economic disturbances in future and it will also reflect in political life of Nadapuram.

Often the contradictions in the social relationship lead to political tensions. In this sense, the social and political under currents play a very important role in determining the nature of all tensions and conflicts. The role of political leadership in this struggle has to be carefully analyzed. The political consciousness and attitude of the leadership play significant role. In a tensed area like Nadapuram, the role of local bodies also has to be analyzed. They should play a positive role in pacifying the social tensions. The Pro-naxalate led cultural renaissance of 1970's and 1980's had brought about the great changes in the cultural sensibility of the people of this area. Many superstitions and unwanted rituals disappeared. Great changes took place the religious beliefs and practices of this people. With the intention of exploiting the dissatisfaction of the people, many temples of this area were renovated. Simultaneously, there was large-scale increase in the construction of mosques also.

Even though most of tension and conflicts between two communities were mainly political conflicts, on many occasions, religion became powerful factor in determining the nature of the conflict. Traditionally, leading Muslims in Nadapuram were landlords who support IUML, while the laborers were mostly backward Thiyyas who aligned with CPI (M). The class animosity projected by CPI (M) had therefore been directed against individual Muslim landlords. It had also sharpened the Hindu-Muslim division in Nadapuram. It is nakedly seen in the year 2000 when P.Santhosh, a DYFI worker was murdered by IUML workers, and the very next day, an IUML follower, Thayyullathil Moosa Haji, was killed.

In 2001, Nadapuram witnessed prolonged agitations by CPI(M) workers including indefinite sit-in agitations in front of Muslim houses (*Anthruhaji-makkal samaram),* in the name of seeking alimony to estranged wives of some individual Muslims in the area (Mukundan, 2016). This also led to the conflict between CPI (M) and IUML. The fact is that, Nadapuram virtually became a backdrop for rape,

molestation, arson and robbery, all in guise of settling political scores. While murder and mutilation characterized political clashes in Kannur and elsewhere, Nadapuram is registering an entirely new phenomenon, it is here that the honour of women and the innocence of children are scarred and marred (The Hindu, 2001).

An extreme organization developed in this background was the Pro-Muslim NDF. The NDF strategy of getting involved in the incidents of Muslim cause has first experimented in the Binu Murder case (2001); six of its activists were sentenced to life imprisonment by the court. After Binu's murder, Nadapuram has remained calm. Following the murder, large scale violence spread all over the constituency. During this period, state leaders of various political parties, especially CPI (M) and IUML, took initiative to maintain peace and communal harmony. The CPI -MLA, Vijayan played a commendable role to bring all the communities under the same roof. Local level committees were formed to check any minor incidents diverted to riots, through minor skirmishes. The area gradually remained peaceful till 2010. But during the time of election to the local bodies in October 2010, the panchayath president Narikkatteri Soopy and M.P.Soopi, both IUML local leaders suffered serious injuries when country bomb were hurled on them. Following this incident, houses and properties belonging to both sides come under severe attack. In February, 2011, five IUML supporters died in accidental bomb blast at Narikkateri, when they were making bombs, because large number of houses of Muslims was burned by CPM workers at Payanthogu, the previous day.

A fresh bout of violence began with the clash between the Muslim Student Federation (MSF) and Students Federation of India (SFI) activists at the MET Arts College. Students from both sides were admitted to the hospital with injuries. The situation worsened when clashes erupted at night near the residence of judicial first class magistrate when the Democratic Youth Federation of India (DYFI) workers were produced (Times of India, 2012). A major incident of communal conflict and unprecedented targeted destruction of properties of Mappila, the local Muslim community in Vellure and Thuneri, two villages in Nadapuram region witnessed on 22 January 2015. The episode began in Thuneri and Vellure, when a DYFI activist,

Shibin (19 years) was brutally murdered by members of the Indian Union Muslim League (IUML), who were known to have criminal antecedents and NDF background (Arafath, *op.cit*). As revenge to Shibin's murder, an IUML worker Aslam, accused in Shibins murder and was later acquitted by a lower court was brutally killed by CPM workers. Thus, Nadapuram has become notorious for its political barbarism and violence.

VIII. Geographical Features of Marad

Marad is in the Beypore Panchayath comprising Cheruvannur, Naduvattam and Beypore Village (http://visitbeypore.co.in). Beypore is one of the oldest port located in the town of Kozhikode district of Kerala, which was known as Vaypura/Vadaparappanad in ancient times. Beypore is located at 11.18^oN and 75.82^oE. It has an average elevation of 1 metre (INC Beypore). Now it became part of ward number 49 of Kozhikode Corporation. Beypore port is near Kozhikode port and is located around 10 km south of Kozhikode. The port land was obtained from Beypore Karippa Puthiyakovilakam in the year 1963-64. It is an excellent example for the estuary where Arabian Sea meets Beypore river. Being the second biggest port in the state next to Cochin, it lifts about 1, 00,000 tones of cargo and about 8500 passengers each year. Beypore is well connected by road which is just 11km away from Kozhikode. A stone paved long bridge called '*pulimuttu*' locally extends into the sea. It is made by piling stones like a pathway to sea (wikivoyage). Beypore light house is situated at the south east side of the port. Tourists are much attracted to this *pulimuttu*.

The Mysore ruler Tippu Sulthan named the town as 'Sultanpattanam'. Beypore port is one of the oldest port in Kerala, which is historically traded relation with the Middle East. Beypore is well known for building wooden ships known as '*Urus*' in Malayalam. *Uru* means 'broader boat', a generic name for large Dhow-type wooden ships made by Viswabrahmins. The model of *urus* was in great demand among Arabs which they used as vessels for trade and even now, these are exported to Arab nations on their demand (http://visitbeypore.co.in). Some Europeans were also fascinated by this. The woods, mainly teak for *uru* making

were brought from Nilambur, but now Malaysian teak is used. These ships were usually bought by Arab merchants for their trading and fishing, but now these are used for tourist purposes.

There is a sufficient indication of direct trade links between Beypore and Mesopotamia and has a conspicuous link on the marine silk routes. The art of Uru making on Northern coastal areas of Kerala, is as old as the country's trade with Mesopotamia. Uru, the biggest handicrafts in the world connects Kozhikode to the heyday of the spice trade. The craftsman's skill on wood and the sheds in which it was constructed greet the visitors to the islands along the Chaliyar river which have kept the unique tradition alive for over a millennium. The mopla-khalasis[4] dispatches the *urus* on the river and applies the ancient pulley-wheel mechanism to spin the boat on a bed of wood to float it out.

IX. Demography

As per the Census 2011, Marad of Kozhikode Corporation ward No.49 consists of a total population of 7909. Among them, 3717(47%) are male and 4192 (53%) are female. 94% of the population are from general castes, 5.81% are from Schedule Caste and 0.19% is Schedule Tribes. Child population (aged under 6 years) of this ward is 8%. Among them, 52% are boys and 48% are girls.

Table 4.2

Caste wise Male-Female Population of Marad

	Total	General	Schedule caste	Schedule tribe	Children
Total	7909	7434	460	15	666
Male	3717	3504	206	7	345
Female	4192	3968	216	8	321

Source: Census of India, 2011

Population of the ward is increased by 16.4%, in the last 10 years. In the Census Report of 2011, total population here was 7909, female. Population growth

rate of the ward is 15.5%, which is 2% lower than male population growth rate of 17.5%. As per 2011 census there are 1143 females per 1000 males in the ward. Sex ratio in general castes is 1145, in Schedule caste is 1110 and in schedule tribes is 1143. There 930 girls under 6 years of age per 1000 boys of the same age in the ward. Census of India reveals that there is a decrease in the sex ratio by 19 females per 1000 males from 2001 to 2011. Child sex ratio here has increased by 3 girls per 1000 boys during the same period.

Out of 7909 people, 7119 in the ward are literate, among them 3302 are males and 3817 are females. Literacy rate of this ward is 98%, 99% are male and 98% are female are literate here. Overall literacy rate in the ward has decreased by 1%. There is an increase in the literacy rate of females by 3% whereas, male literacy rate was decreased by 1%. It has 34% (2670) population engaged in fishing and its related works. 53% male and 17% female are working population. 52% of total male population are main (full time) workers and 1% are marginal (part time). While women 16% of total population are main and 1% are marginal. Administratively, the Kozhikode Corporation was formed on November 1st, 1962. It has divided into 75 wards. The coastal area of the corporation is about 1.2m above the sea level, whereas the eastern part of the city is about 15m above the sea level. The city has long sea shore of 15 Km which stretches from Beypore in the south to Elathur in North comprising of ten electoral wards.

X. Culture and Civilization

The lifestyle needs, ceremonies, practices, social activities, entertainments and all other cultural activities of the coastal folk are entirely different from other people. The mainstream people consciously do not intermingle with the fisherman community on personal or social reasons. These adversely affected the development of the coastal community.

Four kovilakams called Manayatt kovilakam, Nediyal kovilakam, puthiya Kovilakam and the Panangat Kovilakam belonging to the family of the Beypore branch of the Parappanad family belongs to Beypore *amsam*. So we have North and South Parappanad factions to start with, branching off the Parapur lordship. The

Northern section was again divided into Beypore, Cheruvannor and Panniyankara Kovilakoms. Considering that Raja Ravi Varma, the celebrated painter and artist and his brother mentioned Beypore and the specific Manayyat location. Thus, let us assume that Raja Ravi Varma hailed from the forerunners of the present Manayyat kovilakam. Raja Ravi Varma wrote in his diary that, "Near this 'Beypore' Kovilakam or house is a worship center of Vettakarumakan or the Hunter God whose present owners are the Manayam Rajahs who were once the part of Tattari kovilakam house, by which our family was known". Thus we would assume that the original Parappanad rajas named their home the Tattari kovilakam. It is from this resident, which frantically is again associated to the Kolathunad rajas (*Kolathiris*) that different ruler such as Marthanda Varma and associate as well as adoptees to the Travancore Kingdom originated.

The aborigines believe that the Siva temple at Beypore protects their kingdom. It is estimated that Romans streamed to Beypore first, followed by Chinese, Syrians and Arabs and finally by Europeans for trade and commerce. Beypore has ancient history of being a centre for ship building since the first century AD. It was further expanded under the East India Company during the early nineteenth century. The trade through Indian Ocean was marked from years back, and nourished at the medieval times. In ancient days, Malabar had direct trade with the Greeks and Romans, mainly on the exchanges with the Middle Eastern ports in the medieval times. This exchange of goods resulted also in transfer of people from their control and carried the trade with their brethren in Yemen, Basra and Egyptian ports. During the period of Zamorins, they imposed only the export and import duty and are considerably a free port. Moplah's, who were the communities of Arab men and local women, were the intermediaries between Arabs and Nairs. The clothes from this area were great demand in south east Malay regions that sent their ships for trade until British cloth took its place later in the 19th century. It was also a stay centre for Hajj devotees from South East Asia. The Arab pioneers in Malabar even had African slaves during that period. The internationally well known Tasara Creative Weaving Centre which fascinated textile artists and designers from all over

the world was situated in North Beypore which is just one Km away from the boat building yard (http://visitbeypore.co.in).

XI. Sociological Background

The coastal people mostly remained as socially backward section for centuries. They are separated from the mainland population geographically and living in the thickly populated coastal area for the convenience of fishing. They prefer to live close to the sea and generally not willing to mingle with mainstream population. Out of 14 districts in the Kerala State, 9 districts with 102 Panchayath and 222 villages in it are in the coastal region. 1991 Census estimate that 9.6 lakh people belong to fishermen community. As per the statistics of Fisheries Department, 40% of the fishermen folks belong to the Dheevara community, 35% to Latin Catholics and remaining 25% to Muslim community. These marine communities spread all over the coastal belt of Kerala. Among them, majority belong to backward classes or minority groups. The Muslims dominate the marine fishing villages in the northern area of Kerala coastal area. "Fishermen community means the society of those who are part of the ancestry and culture of fishing" (Menon, 1994). Mainly these sections are by religious composition in general and people of same religion living together in one area and another religion next to it.

Out of the 75 wards in Kozhikode Corporation; around 14 are in the coastal area of West Coastal Plain. Majority of the people in the Marad coastal line attained only primary level education. Only 3% reported in graduational level education and they are females. The institutional type, its availability and accessibility are influencing factors for the education of the society. The presence of the social reformation movements in this area are limited, compared to other sophiscated areas of the corporation. Among the social activities, a few voluntary organizations approach to these coastal area people for creating awareness among them on educational and social developments.

There were many local shrines (*Kavus*) in the Naduvattam and Kappakkal *amsoms* in Beypore. All these Kavus had their own ritualistic relationship with each other. Taking of *Kalasam* (Holy Water in pot) to purify the shrine of one or the other

Kavu on festival time was the relationship behind this network. There were many footpaths at the western part of Beypore connecting many local shrines and headed towards the beach. Karimakan Kavu of Beypore had a prominent position in this network since *Kalasam* to other Kavus was taken from this shrine. There was difference among Thiyya and Nair shrines here. It's a ritual that Nair shrines do not have to take Kalasam from the Karimakan Kavu because they had Namboodiri priests to offer their worship. But Thiyyas have to purify their shrines using the Kalasam which was taken processions by the devotees. Often these processions having religious touch created many law and order issues around the area.

The Arayas of Marad beach had their worshipping place at the *Sree Kurumba Bhagavathi Temple,* whose shrines were controlled by the Arayas which was known as *Vettakkorumakan Kavu.* This created a relationship ritually between fishermen and the people inhabiting in the East. The people of the East, especially the Thiyyas maintained close relations with the Arayas. Many little shrines of Beypore and around areas belonged to the Thiyyas. There is an important relation between the Sree Kurumba Kavu and the Karimakan Kavu. The fisher population believed that their forefathers who were arrested by British police on the charge of alcoholism were released from the jails breaking the chains, of blessings of the deity at Karimakan Kavu. Henceforth this deity was later known as *Changala Poliyan,* meaning 'Chain Breaker'. In token of gratitude Arayas offer *Villaku* during the festival. In certain Kavus the fisher folk had certain rights (*avakasams*).

The Nair shrines had some internal relations with Thiyya shrines because these shrines after all belong to Hindu religion. These relations removed earlier taboos which prevailed on the Arayas. There were many disputes during the processions that contributed the easy consolidation of these sections under the Hindu roof. These issues and burial ground conflicts developed 'Muslim community awareness' in the locality which paved the way for the communal conflicts later. Similarly, another attempt from the Muslims is that they put up a structure in Marad beach, which was very close to the temple near the sea wall. The Arayas questioned this movement and they considered it had a move against them, and complained that

this construction is without proper consent and may be used as a mosque. They gave written petition to the Panchayath committee and the committee conducted an enquiry resulting in the order of Panchayath secretary to stop construction on 14th November 2000.

Construction of mosques often became a problem for the outbreak of conflicts. Mosque is the centre of Muslim religious life and Muslims, being strong adherents to their religion, found mosque an integral part of their very religious life. William Logan in his report on 24th September 1851 invited the attention of the government over the disputes on the construction of mosques and burial grounds in the southern taluks and requested certain alternations in the laws regarding the acquisition of land for such purposes. The government gave the clarification for the report that: "the questions of sites for mosques and burial grounds with suggestions for a measure, rendering the grant of such sites compulsory under certain conditions, if such a measure appeared to call for".

XII. Political Economy

The economy of Marad and neighbouring coastal areas are based on fishing and *uru* building. But large level of inequality and injustice prevails in the socio-economic field due to a number of reasons. The major sector of economic power in the social sphere is controlled by few Muslims and Hindu traders. Major sections of both Hindu and Muslim communities suffer severe economic and political poverty and exploitation. The main source of income from the coastal areas is fishing. The fishermen community of this region provides remarkable contributions to the economic development and nutrition of the people under the Corporation. Till 1950, Puthu-Islams and Arayas were following the customary fishing practice. With the introduction of new technologies, changes occurred in Araya's economic base, while the illiterate Puthu-Islams hesitate to adopt new technologies. They followed traditional modes of fishing. However, the mid 1970's started new possibilities for financial investments at Marad due to Muslim expeditions into Gulf countries. The financial uprise among the Middle East migrants led to huge investment for new technologies that helped to restructure the life of Muslims in Marad. The new

generation of the Puthu-Islam, through the new investments, began to overcome their historical lag and come forward to gain high economic benefits and development.

By the early 1980's, the new generation of Muslims started sophisticating their craftsmanship and insisted their brethren to use new technologies. Later, the economically sound Puthu- Islam began to establish fishing syndicates. Soon, the young rich generation occupied the key-positions of the Mahallu Committee at Marad beach by replacing the elders. They extended financial aid to fishermen who were members of the Mahallu of Marad. These financing neo-rich identified with Mahallu committee on the area, now have the image of money-lenders. By the beginning of the 1990's, as the result of Globalization, the state-sponsored neo-liberal policies were introduced on the fishing sector. In 1991, the announcement of the policy on deep sea fishing facilitated the building of big factories, owned by Multi-National corporations in Indian waters. As a result, the local variety of fishes became rare. In addition to this, European Economic Union and United States, imposed sanction on the Indian fish export stating that they are unhygienic. Due to this, the export opportunities of the local fisherman became decreased. The fisherman community including the fishermen from Marad began to protest. The fisherman working with motorized boats criticized the trawlers, while the trawler workers launched criticism against the big factory trawlers of Multi- nationals. The fisherman community – Arayas and Muslims began to blame each other.

A few other developments in 1990's too need attention. The price of essential commodities for fishing including diesel and kerosene increased tremendously. State stopped supplying such products on subsidized prices. This in turn forced the fishermen to do black-market, which made the expenses double. This technology later known as *chundan vallam Purse-seine* combination as in the case of Puthu-Islams or the merchandised trawling as pursued by the Arayas, the fishing expenses increased. This eventually forced the fishermen to join either Mahallu committee or Araya Samajam. It is these organizations that maintain the indomitable dominations over the fishermen community of Marad. Money lenders

having a firm grip over their respective communities. In addition to this, each community felt its own protection. This is significant in the background of overseas market for fish and in a stage of depleting resources. This inverse relation between the market demand and the fish resource forced a competition of strange nature in the sea. The community had become the platform for the unusual competition. Even though mutual respect and amity existed between Muslims and Hindus, both the communities protected their identity within their own limits. The situation became worse due to later developments. The skirmishes took place in the beach testifies to regimentation process[5] from within the communities on this line. The outburst of communal trends, taking all the benefits of these developments anchored them in Marad and successfully launched propaganda to distance and liquidate the other.

XIII. Political Developments (1936-2017)

In 1936 and again in 1954, there were some social and political issues at Naduvattam in Beypore and these incidents were related with religious practise of 'Kalasam' procession. In 1936, the issue led to an inter- religious dispute at Naduvattam and near coastal areas of Marad. This incident settled with the intervention of local authorities and the constructive role played by the political parties. But this procession issue had become the reason for another dispute ov er the Muslim burial in a Hindu populated area. This issue was unsettled up to 1938 (KRA, 1936). Meanwhile, Beypore Panchayath President presented a submission to the District Collector of Malabar in 1936, stating that Muslims could be buried either at Beypore or the Marad Mosque. If it is inconvenient for the Muslims, he suggested 'arrangements for burial at sea shore'. Muslims of Beypore, Naduvattom and Meenchanda disagreed with this proposal because they did not like to bury dead bodies in Puthu Islam areas of Marad mosque or seashore. However in 1938, the burial dispute was resolved through the permission given by the collector to use a portion of East of the Naduvattom mosque as the burial ground for Muslims. It was very clear that the background of the 'Kalasam issue' of 1938 was set by this burial ground dispute.

In 1954, a similar incident occurred in Naduvattom, which led to the death of two persons, in the police firing. The incident developed around the dispute over a 'Kalasam procession (Mathrubhumi, 1954). The issue started when the procession was from 'Karimakan kavu 'towards 'Thaliyadath kavu'. This incidents played as catalysts for the communalization of the succeeding decades. The Naduvattam incident of 1954 is still fresh in the mind of old generation. According to them, Thambi Muthalali and Narimukhil Ahmedkutty represented the Hindu and Muslim sections respectively. Either of them appeared as a villain and as a hero in the current narratives of the said incidents, according to the interest of the narrator (Sreedharan, 2016). Another two incidents during the period in Marad were the prevention of marriage party at Kallai and the procession of *Kavadi*. During the same year, another drama occurred in Panniyankara where a marriage procession was obstructed before Panniyankara mosque under the instruction of Narimukhil Ahmedkutty. In this issue Ahmedkutty and fifteen other people were punished by the court.

In 1959, Hindus were permitted burial ground at Kappakkal, adjacent to srambi, the prayer place of Muslims. The decision created resentment among Muslims and led face to face clashes in the coastal area. All the above mentioned issues created a thaw in the relation between Arayas and Puthu Islams. In the course of the incidents narrated above, the community identities are merged with the respective meta-religious identities - the Araya with the Hindus and Puthu Islams with Muslims. After 1960's, with technological process in the fishing sector, the Araya Community established a strong, economic base in Beypore, Marad and other coastal areas. During this period, the Arayas formed the organization called as Araya Samajam, which had a strong hold among Arayas in Marad. Since the Naduvattam incident in1954, the Arayas systematically developed a community identity. Since then, the RSS tried to extend their active presence in the coastal belt. With different incidents, they established their strong base in the area, which later paved the formation of Bharatiya Janata Party at this place. Now BJP has a decisive influence in this coastal area. Earlier, Indian National Congress and CPI (M) also have considerable influence in this area. But after 1970's, Congress had lost their

space and this space was occupied by BJP, especially in the Araya section in the Hindu community. During the economic upliftment of Araya community and the economic set back of Puthu Islams, there emerged the Mahallu Co-ordination Committee, which generally called as Mahallu committee and they cherished the notion of community at the normative level.

From early 1980's, Muslims of outer borders of Marad had started entering into marriage relation with Puthu Islams. The role of Mahallu committee and opportunities of Middle East created a sound economic position among the Puthu-Islam in Marad and neighboring areas. The demolition of Babri Masjid also paved the Muslim consolidation. Young generation of Puthu Islams started to queue behind new outlets like Islamic Seva Sangham (ISS), Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), and National Development Front (NDF). At the same time the Araya Samajam, the organization of Arayas of Marad strengthened as a militant force with the support of RSS and BJP. Both these sections not only injected communal hatred among their fellow beings, but also stock piled weapons for use in an impending attack.

Marad beach, a fisher folk's colony is not a place of any historical importance but was noted by the major notorious events in the contemporary history of Kerala, first on January 3rd, 2002 and second in 2nd May, 2003. In these two incidents, fourteen lives were lost. This was a major blow to the secular and democratic fabric of Kerala. The religious feelings of uneducated inhabitants of Marad were cunningly exploited by extremist organizations and religious fundamentalists of Hindu and Muslim communities. Globalization and technological advancement also created some fundamental issues among the two communities. The major inhabitants of the area who had been subsisting upon fishing and were earlier been recognized as Puthu Islam and Arayans are now began to be identified increasingly as Muslims and Hindus (Ramadas, 2016:101). Exploring the *becoming* of Hindu and Muslim in Malabar, Dilip Menon argues that the community identity is contingent on history and it has a transient nature. Because of its transient nature, the conflicts of 1915 and 1936 in Kannur did not culminate in bloodshed or even in the emergence of militant communal identities.

Most recently, cultural programme at Marad during the New Year celebration of 2002 marked the beginning of the communal tension between the communities. During the programme, a boy, dancing, touched a girl of opposite community. The next day evening, there were some wordly altercations between the youths of both communities and this was taken up by the adults, and the clash took place between the two groups. After December 6th, the condition worsened and a massacre took the life of five persons- two Hindus and three Muslims, and a large destruction of houses and boats of the area (Panikar, 2003).

It was on Friday, May 2, 2003 when a group of Araya fishermen sat to chat ideally near the temple was suddenly attacked by some Islamic extremists with sharp weapons like swords or long knives. By throwing bombs on the neighboring spectators they killed nine persons. The murder was perfectly organized, that the murders escaped in vehicles waiting to operate the quick exit. The police searched and seized from the sands and the Masjid, huge quantities of arms and incriminatory articles. Many suspects and culprits were arrested, although some of the key planners and cunning perpetrators are still to be tracked down.

A judicial inquiry was ordered by A.K.Antony, who was then the Chief Minister. The inquiry was headed by Justice Thomas P. Joseph. He submitted the report on February 2006 and it was placed in the Kerala Legislative Assembly on September 27, 2006. The commission recommended for a Central Bureau of Investigation probe into the conspiracy involving fundamentalist forces and terrorists in the two incidents. Then the next Chief Minister, V.S. Achuthanandan, requested the Central Government's permission to order a CBI probe. Many political parties in Kerala have welcomed this probe. In 2012, Kerala High court viewed that there was a grave conspiracy behind the incident. But nothing happened concretely.

XIV. Conclusion

In this chapter, an attempt is made to explain the socio-economic and political profile of Nadapuram and Marad. During the pre-independence period, the socio-economic conditions of Nadapuram were based on feudal means of production. The farming population was mainly backward castes like Thiyya,

Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes. They were subjected to all sorts of exploitation from economically sound Muslims and upper castes of Hindus. Later, with the disorders and decline of '*tharavadus*', Hindu feudal lords lost their social and economic supremacy. This space was occupied by the Muslim landlords and they emerged as a powerful class in this area.

Communist party launched various agitations against social evils and ruthless economic exploitation. In these struggles, Muslim landlords tried to add communal color. But the Communist party's earlier leadership tactfully defeated this attempt and they gained even the support of Muslim tenants and workers. However, after 1980's clear communal polarization came up in Nadapuram. In the political and economic development in Nadapuram from 1940 to 2017, we can see two stages. From 1940 to 1995, Communist Party especially CPI (M) has done praise worthy role especially for the welfare of common people and working class. For example, Wage declaration Act of 1993, Chittari workers Struggle, Ration Card Strike etc. In the late 1980's and early 1990's the region witnessed another notable development. Large number of people, majority of Muslim community went to Middle East countries. The flow of petro dollars to Nadapuram led to rapid changes in the economic and social relations in the area. Along with these, globalization policies negatively affected the price of agricultural products. The decline in the price of coconut, which was the backbone of Nadapuram economy, adversely affected the agrarian community of middle class and labors. There was a total decline of the agricultural sector, which lost its importance as a means of livelihood of the people. The Gulf war of 1990's also affected the economy of Nadapuram.

Under the impact of Globalization, the economic system in Kerala moved into consumer culture in the society and this was also reflected in Nadapuram. The contradictions in the social relationship also led to political tension and violence. Religion became a powerful factor in determining the nature of these conflicts. Muslim landlords were supported by IUML, while the labours were mostly Thiyya, who aligned with CPI (M). This created the Hindu-Muslim division in Nadapuram.

Marad is a backward area compared with other wards of the Kozhikode District. Marad witnessed communal riots in January 2002 and 2 May, 2003. In the Pre-independence period no such severe communal or other major issues took place in the area, yet some minor religious issues occurred. There were many local shrines (*Kavus*) in the Naduvattom and Kappakkal *amsom* in Beypore. These *Kavus* and shrines tremendously influence the social and cultural life of the people. Taking of *kalasam* to purify the shrines of one or the other *kavu* on festival time was the relationship behind this network. There were many disputes during the religious procession that contributed the easy consolidation of various sections of Hindu under the community roof. These procession issues and burial ground disputes developed with Muslims, an awareness of 'Muslim community', which paved the way for the communal conflicts later. Construction of mosques often became the problem of the outbreak of conflicts. Mosque is the centre of Muslim religious life and Muslims being strong adherent to their religion found mosque, an integral part of their very religious life.

The economy of Marad and neighbouring areas was based on fishing and *uru* building. Here major economic power is controlled by few Muslim and Hindu traders. Major sections of both communities suffer severe economic and social poverty and exploitation. Till 1950, both Puthu-Islam and Arayas were following customary fishing practices. From 1960's and 1970's rapid changes occurred as a result of introduction of new technologies which changed the economic base of Arayas, on the other hand, Puthu-Islam hesitated to adopt this new facilities, which adversely affected them. But financial uprise among the Gulf migrants led to huge investments for new technologies that helped them to gain high economic positions. Later economically sound Puthu-Islam began to establish fishing supremacy.

During the Globalization era, the State followed neo-liberal policies in the fishing sector. The announcement of the policy in deep sea fishing facilitated in building of big factories owned by Multi-national Corporations in Indian waters. This created lot of troubles and difficulties in the fishermen community including the fishermen of Marad. Along with these issues, some religious and social problems

in the area, and intervention of RSS and other Muslim fundamental forces in some issues created a wide gulf and mutual suspicion between Hindus and Muslims in and around Marad beach. This polarization of the people of Marad was exploited by IUML and BJP and to a certain extent, political interest of CPI (M) and indifferent attitude of the District administration. All the above factors lead to the notorious communal riots of January, 2002 and May, 2003.

XV. End Notes

1. 'Devaswom' is a socio-religious trust mainly exists in Kerala, where most temples are either managed by government of Kerala or by private bodies or families. 'Brahmaswom' is a residential institution for the study of Hindu Vedas.

2. Chekavans are warriors who commonly belonged to the Thiyya community of Kerala. They were engaged in combat, often on behalf of a lord, who is generally depicted by an image of an armed man along with a 'Shiva Linga'. Ankam means combat or battle. These are battles either to a dual or a larger scale war.

3. Kudipaka is a hereditary family feud on revenge, which will continue until death of the opposing member. When a family member dies in a duel, the family keep a blood soaked rag in the sanctum of the house and take a vow of revenge that continue generation to generation till all male members of the other family are killed and their properties are lost.

4. Mappilla Khalasi is the team members who perform the challenging task of constructing, repairing and maintaining Urus.

5. It is said that it was after the physical configurations between the Araya and Puthu-Islam fishers in 1974 that the practice of fixing flags of distinct colours-Green for Puthu-Islam and yellow for Arayas – on fishing vessels started at Marad.

XVI. References

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Chapter V
ANATOMY OF COMMUNAL VIOLENCE
IN NADAPURAM AND MARAD

Kerala, the land was well known for religious co-operation and communal harmony. It embraced any religious faith that came to its soil. Like Buddhism and Jainism which are deep-rooted in the soil, the first century AD witnessed the arrival of Christianity in Kerala. Jews were also resorted to Kerala when they suffered atrocities all over the world. An important aspect about Kerala which has been praised by the scholars was the social harmony and religious tolerance that existed in Kerala in the past. M.G.S Narayanan, has used the term 'cultural symbiosis' (borrowing the term from natural science) to denote the phenomenon of the peaceful co-existence of religious communities in Kerala (Narayanan, 1972:11).

The social circumstances, which dominated in Kerala was not at all favourable for the emergence and spread of communalism. Except the Mappila revolt in Malabar region, the inter-religious contact was somewhat very smooth and peaceful. While in the post-independence period, the technological modernization and the structural changes generated a new socio-cultural milieu, which made the functioning of social institutions even more difficult. These difficulties deeply reflected in Malabar coastal regions. Almost the entire caste groups of Kerala accepted the attempt of reforms in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Certainly, it was in that period of colonial rule, which made as a facilitator in giving them access to the ideas of the modern world. It is interesting to know that the power and resource enjoyed by the upper caste. They tried to retain it through education while the marginalized sections in society found reform as a path of entering to the power and resources which have been historically denied to them. There is also a strong argument that the reform movement was a reaction to the emerging capitalist mode of production in Kerala (Houtart and Lemercinier, 1978:3-34). Really the reform movement created a favorable condition in Kerala in its move to a 'modern' society.

The leaders of reform movements responded to the challenges posed by modernity in terms of their castes and religious groups. The Kerala reform had shared a lot of special issues of the reform movement that roused in various other parts of India. The colonial administration created a new economic structure which was characterized by the British bureaucracy, commercialization of agrarian economy, development of transport and communication and western concept of private property in land (Chandramohan, 1999:458). Colonial modernity, according to Dilip Menon, represented a compromise both with metropolitan modernity and with indigenous traditions. Modernity thus became the 'rhetoric' rather than the project of colonialism (Menon, 2002:1662). There was no dispute among the scholars that the idea of religious communities at present is not the survival from pre-colonial past but the result of colonial modernity. Pre-colonial communities were fuzzy in nature and their territories were blurred. Recent research has shown that both Hindu and Muslim community identities were formed in the extreme nature only during the 20th century.

As pointed out above, Kerala is considered as a heaven of communal harmony and religious amity. However, the state has witnessed some clashes between members of different communities in Nadapuram, Punthura, Panur, Thaikal, Tellicherry, Nilakkal, Pathanamthitta, Marad etc. During the last four decades, the activity and influence of communal formations have considerably increased in Kerala. According to the data published by the 'Organiser' in its issue of March 25, 2001, Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh runs 4300 shakas and upasakhas in Kerala. The increase in number thereafter is not known. The Vishwa Hindu Parishad, under the leadership of Kummanam Rajasekharan, (then the organization secretary of Hindu Aikya Vedi) and later the State President of Bharatiya Janata Party in Kerala established its organizational set up in almost all parts of the state. As per the direction and leadership of Pravin Togadia, International Working President of VHP, recently undertook the distributions of tridents which are the religious symbols for mobilization and to create self-confidence rooted in religious identity. There are a couple of newspapers and quite a few periodicals, which generally serve the Hindu communal case. Saraswathi Shishu Mandirs and such other schools serve

as recruiting grounds of young children. There are innumerable cultural organizations, promoting and disseminating communal idea in the guise of patronizing literature, theatre, traditional arts and science or the renovation of village temples. Their activities have led to the emergence of cultural right in Kerala, which receives legitimacy from intellectuals who claim to be independent. The intervention of these institutions has made a qualitative change in the consciousness and outlook of a fairly large number of Hindus. A fundamentalist shift has taken place (www.countercurrents.org, 2006).

The role of Hindu fundamentalist forces was also a severe challenge to the communal harmony and multi-cultural and socio-ethnic diversity. This diversity is the hallmark of India's democracy and secularism. All these noble ideas are tainted and tried to eradicate by the fundamental forces like RSS, VHP, Hindu Maha Sabha, Bhajrang Dal, Hanuman Sena etc. After the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) came to power in India in 2014, Hindutva agenda directly come back to the center stage of Indian politics. The key part of this agenda is the inflammatory statements about the Hindus and Muslims, Hindus and Christians, mobilization over Rama Janma bhoomi-Babri masjid, repeal of article 370, religious conversion and *Vapassy*, prohibition of cow slaughter and eating beef issue. Interpreting and reworking of the educational system with 'saffronisation' are another factor under the NDA rule.

Hindu nationalism was a relatively modern phenomenon, and that it could be easily understood if one looked at the tension that a clash between tradition and modernity produces. Also, if only a clear distinction could be brought between different shades of nationalism, Hindutva politics would automatically stand clear. One of the clearest manifestations of the spurt in religiosity and the reassertion of national emotional feeling is to be found in the rebirth of Hindu nationalism in India. Its growing strength in the last five decades has increasingly led to violence between Hindus and Muslims and between Hindus and Christians. And its votaries have occasionally questioned India's democratic, republican, rational and secular foundations. The emergence of religious nationalism of this type also brings into a sharp focus the serious question of the ability of liberalism and democracy to

prevent the onslaught of an emotive call to 'culture' and 'traditional values'. In several occasions strong images of violence including riots, growing nature of intolerance, criticizing and emasculating the liberal space and regression into an imagined golden past are seen as all that Hindutva represents. This is really far away from the truth. This is simply an element of the ideological and political ambition of Hindutva; a regular and strong unfolding of 'everyday Hindutva'. But there is more to Hindutva than just episodic outbursts of rhetoric and action. In recent years scholars like David N Lorenzen (Lorenzen, 2006:41) have asked the question, 'who invented Hinduism?', and have given answers that echo the methodology, if not the politics of the Hindu nationalists, namely, that Hinduism was invented as a consequence of the encounter between Islam and the Hindus. Identity is, then, reducible to a staged encounter between the 'Self' and its threatening 'Other'.

A similar tendency has developed among the Muslims as well. After the demolition of the Babri Masjid, a section of Muslim youth felt rather restive and dissatisfied with the pacifist stand taken by the existing political and social formations. They rallied around more militant outfits such as the Islamic Swayam Seva Sangham (ISS) and the National Development Front (NDF). There are also several other fundamentalist groups, active in different fields of social life. The following of the fundamentalist-militant organizations have been steadily on the increase for quite some time. The reformist forces among the Muslim have not been able to check this (www.countercurrents.org/com).

Social reform is a fundamental necessity for a society for its self-respect and its progress. In fact, every reform movement emerges out of some grievances, needs and hopes of the society as a whole. A reform, social or religious or otherwise, demands an instrument to facilitate a social change. By the end of the 19th century, many socio-religious reform movements formed in Kerala, which were also the earliest democratic popular movements. This movement affected almost all caste and sub-caste in Hindu society as well as the Muslims and Christians. In Hindu society of Kerala, *Brahmins, Warriers, Pisharadies, Nambiars and some sections of Marars* enjoyed some social privileges that were not allowed to rest of the Hindu

community (Wikipedia.org, 2010). The lower castes were treated '*untouchables*', they were denied education and to use public roads and women had even no right to wear adequate dress. Until the 20th century, even the governmental attitude was refusing the basic rights of lower castes and non-Hindus. Hence the depressed sections were compelled to struggle against this anti-social practices. For instance, under the leadership of Dr.Palpu, the Ezhava Memorial Agitation (1896) was launched for the removal of their social disparities. Among the Hindu community, the reform movements were inspired by an array of social reformers starting with Sree Narayana Guru and Chattambi Swamikal to Ayyankali, Vaghbhatanda Guru and V.T.Bhattathiripad. These reform movements also covered almost all the low castes and communities in the Hindu Fold, from *Brahmins to Pulayas.* This, in fact, had a deep impact on the caste structure, inter-caste relationship and intra-caste social practices including the gender question.

Social reform movements among Muslims, especially of the coastal parts of Southern Kerala aimed at removing ignorance and superstition from the community by providing modern education along with religious education. The outcome was the emergence of a new outlook among the community towards education and religion. Sanaulla Makthi Thangal, Chalilakatt Kunhali Haji, Vakkom Abdul Qadar Moulavi, Hamadani Thangal, K.M. Moulavi, Mohammed Abdurahiman Sahib, E.Moidu Moulavi and K.M.Seethi Sahib were some of the leading personalities who have worked towards socio-religious reformation among the Muslim community in Kerala. While some of them mostly emphasized in a socio-religious sphere, others stood for true Islamic spirit and encouraged every individual to do their fundamental duty for their homeland by participating in the freedom struggle movement. All of them generally agreed that for reforming the community, certain pre-requisite factors are necessary, such as proper knowledge in Islamic topics, removal of superstitions, modern education and scientific system of teaching in *Madrassas*[1] needed to be incorporated. In addition to the above- mentioned reformers, a lot of progressive leaders and *ulamas* also played their active role for the emancipation of the Muslim society, both from extreme ignorance and social backwardness. Celebrated leaders like A.M.Koya Kunhi, Manappattu Kunjumuhammed Haji and

Kottapurathu Seethi Muhammed Haji rendered yeoman services for not only reforming the community but also forming the unity within it.

Officially Indian Union Muslim League (IUML) was set up for the sake of the constitutional rights of Muslims, other backward classes and minority constituents in the society. Muslim league emphasize that it has been standing for democracy, secularism and communal harmony and also for the unity and integrity of the nation. Following were identified as the cardinal aims and objectives of the IUML.

a. Committed promote and strengthen the independence and dignity of the Indian union and to stands for the well being and happiness of the people

b. To uphold and work for the rights and privileges of the Muslims and other minorities in the country; and looking for mutual understanding, friendship, amity, communal harmony and unity between Muslims and other section in the society (IUML Party Constitution, 1998-2011).

Later, some political, organizational and leadership issues aroused in the IUML. It faced a serious rift on 2nd April, 1975 with the formation of All India Muslim League (AIML). The next round of split in the IUMLwas related to the party's relationship with Indian National Congress, because of Congress's indifferent attitude towards the demolition of the Babri Masjid on 6th December, 1992 (Wikipedia.org, 1993). A section of the IUML under the leadership of Ibrahim Sulaiman Sait (then the National President of IUML) strongly argued for the immediate termination of the alliance with the Congress. But the party did not positively respond to his demand. Sait walked out from the party along with P.M.Aboobecker (then the Guruvayur MLA) and U.A.Beeran (then the Thirurangadi MLA) and formed a new political party known as Indian National League (INL) (Radhakrishnan, 2004:224-225), officially launched in 1994. Ibrahim Sait, appealed to the Muslim community to move behind the new force. To him, Left parties were more reasonable than the Congress on many problems affecting the secular fabrics of the country and also the burning issues affecting the Muslim community. However, the General election to the Legislative Assembly of Kerala in 2011 proved

the dismal performance of the INL which contested in three constituencies (Kasargod, Koothuparamba and Vengara) with the support of Left Democratic Front (LDF). All these three candidates miserably failed in the election. Afterward, INL had become an insignificant factor in the political scenario and among the Muslim community in Kerala.

Along with these developments, the Islamic Seva Sangham (ISS), the first militant – extremist communal organization among the Muslims came to existence in Kerala. This organization was not influenced by the common Muslim community, who were very much part and parcel of a plural culture of Kerala. Moreover, the organization was banned by the Government of India. Under these circumstances, ISS disguised its nomenclature and formed a new party - People's Democratic Party (PDP). It was formed in 1993 under the leadership of Abdul Nazar Mau'dani. PDP's origin could be really traced back to the Islamic Seva Sangham formed by Mau'dani in 1989. PDP was a strong militant Islamic group with the object of safeguarding the interest of Muslim community from the assault of majority Hindu religious fundamentalist groups. It also stated that it stands for the well being of all depressed sections of the society irrespective of religious or communal considerations. Since its formation, it was highly challenging and critical of the IUML, because to them, IUML absolutely failed to provide security for the Muslim community.

Amazingly, both Left democratic Front (LDF) and United Democratic Front (UDF) without considering the militant and communal nature of PDP, showed a soft corner towards it, with the aim to reduce the influence of the Muslim League (Radhakrishnan, *op.cit*:260). For instance, in 1996, the LDF maintained alliance with Mau'dani, in Thalassery by-election to the Kerala Legislative Assembly, when E.K. Nayanar, then the Chief Minister, contested against INC candidate Asaf Ali. UDF also tried to secure the support of the party a number of times. In the general election to the Kerala Legislative Assembly in 2001, UDF sought support from PDP while in 2006, PDP offered support to LDF. Its activities along with the INL were expected to jolt the influence of the Muslim League. In the initial stage, League

faced some troubles, but needless to say, the popular support of a political party is tested mainly through its performance in the election to the various people's representative bodies. Thus the electoral performance from 1996 to 2016 shows that like INL's and PDP's ambition of rising as an alternative to the Muslim League has proved a futile attempt. Table 5.1 below shows the Electoral support of Indian Union Muslim League from 1996 to 2016 in Kerala Legislative Assembly.

Table 5.1

**Contested and Elected Candidates of Muslim League
to the Kerala Legislative Assembly 1996-2016**

Year of Election	Candidates Contested	Won
1996	20	13
2001	23	17
2006	22	08
2011	24	20
2016	24	18

Source: Election Commission, *Detailed Result of Assembly Elections 1996-2016, www.ceokerala.gov.in*

There are a few other political organizations which are enthusiastically trying to obtain a political space among the Muslims, especially in Kerala. These organizations are National Development Front (NDF) / Popular Front of India (PFI) and Social Democratic Party of India (SDPI). Compared to the IUML, they were merely splinter groups or parties with a hard stand on socio-political issues. Their programmes are filled with communal and extremist nature and in some occasions even with terrorism. Actually, these formations, which bear different titles like NDF, PFI and SDPI, are various manifestations of the same political or communal force[2]. (Ashraf, 2017). SDPI was said to be the result of a dream project. Referring the background, which caused the formation of NDF, PFI and later of the SDPI, Nazaruddin Elamarum says, 'since independence, the Muslims and other downtrodden sections have remained marginalized and the mainstream political

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parties have utilized them only as their vote banks without addressing the basic issues they confront or having any concrete programme for their upliftment' (Indian muslimnews.wordpress.com, 2009). It has since then been trying to rope in disgruntled Muslim youths who felt that the Indian Union Muslim League had not done anything concrete for Muslim cause. SDPI's intention is to highlight the inefficiency of the Muslim League on one side and the 'incapacity' of the secular forces like Congress and Communists on the other side. Here we can understand that the exact target of this party was disgruntled and unemployed youth who began feeling insecure when the *Sangh Parivar* forces harassing Muslims in different parts of the country in different incidents.

Moreover, many young Muslims in Kerala joining the fundamentalist group believed to be less but the state produced an inordinate number (theguardian.com, 2016). For instance, 23 year old Hafizuddin Hakkim quit his family from Kasargod district to join the Islamic state of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). At the same period, 16 other Muslim youth from the same district left to pursue their Islamic studies and another four from the Palakkad district. These 21 Muslim youth send messages like "we have no plan at all to return from the abode of Allah". This type of mass disappearing of youth is said to be joining the Islamic State. But serious concern over the youths influence was made official to us when the US embassy released its first Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) related warning of a growing threat to places in India where westerners are frequent such as religious sites, markets and festival and tourist areas. These groups are recruiting youths from the well-educated states like Kerala. Youth who are attracted to this kind of narrow, rigid and reactionary kind of ideology blindly follow their wrong masters. They get their fatwas from the internet. As from the available information from the Nadapuram Police Station, some Muslim youths, even from the educated background are attracted to the ISIS ideology and the Islamic state.

The incidents in Nadapuram and Marad indicate that extreme communalism has arrived in Kerala although not in the universal plane. It is proof that a stage of proto-communalism, which has a long period incubation, is over. During this phase,

a sense of religious division had slowly emerged and socially articulated through organized religiosity. The organizations of different religions vie with each other to bring the faith of the believer to the streets. The religious practices have now spilled over from the domestic and sacred space to the public space, eliminating in the process of the distinction between religious belief and religiosity. Religious processions in which women and children participate and carrying religious symbols are a familiar sight in almost all parts of Kerala. The street processions have become common for festivals of all religious denominations. This was unknown about 40 years back but now conducted with the support of the social organization and the blessing of public figures. For instance *Rakshabandhan*, which was never a part of the cultural tradition of Kerala, but now almost, every upper caste practices like this have bought a common religious celebration. The participation in organized religious function is a source of psychological satisfaction and it creates a sense of solidarity.

Godman and women, widely patronized by political leaders, giving legitimacy to the superstitions surrounding them, now besiege Kerala. The spiritual retreats managed by them are many which attract crisis- ridden middle class as a source of solace, if not as a means of escape from the pressure of globalized life. The resulting social hegemony of religious discourse legitimizes religious and social division. Consequently, the Hindus, Christians and Muslims have emerged as separate entities, not only in the personal and domestic life but even in social existence. As a consequence, a transition from the communitarian to the communal has been taking place. This was also happened in Marad and Nadapuram. This kind of transition is occurring in many parts of Kerala (www.countercurrents.org, *op.cit*, 2006). The government and political parties appear to be having little appreciation of the impact. If growing communal division gets deeply entrenched in a state like Kerala which has a delicate pattern of close living together of all communities, it will have an annihilating effect. All the communities have more or less equal representation in the entire state apparatuses including police and administration and the consequences of an irreversible hostility among them can be disastrous here (http:milligazette.com, 2006).

ANATOMY OF COMMUNAL VIOLENCE IN NADAPURAM

The historian Ira Lapidus has described the history of Islamic societies as a dialogue between the realm of religious symbols and the world of everyday reality, a history of the interaction between Islamic values and the historical experience of Muslim people that has shaped the formulation of a number of difficult but inter-related Muslim societies (Hasting, 1959:709). The recent history of the Muslim society reflects a critical element in facing the intellectual and the societal evolution of thought processes connecting the role and efficacy of the new society which formed in regions like Nadapuram principally after 1980's. In these circumstances, the set back of the Muslim interest to deliver internally and to perform externally, propelled thinking out of Muslim identity and towards the reinterpretation of Muslim tradition in a way to lend itself to a revolutionary understanding, signaled to the emergence of the so-called fundamentalists. Viewed from this angle, terrorism and intolerance is one of the main causes of communal tension in Nadapuram. In the Malabar region, the National Development Front or Islamic Swayam Seva Sangham has become a Muslim terrorist organization. Its origin can be traced to the 1988 riots. Two terrorist forces emerged one was NDF and its main purpose was to collect money from gulf region to conduct cases connected with riots and also supply all materials and assistance to the communal criminals and giving adequate physical and mental training to the Muslim youths.

The second terrorist outfit, the Muslim Cultural Center (MCC), connected mainly with the collection of sophisticated weapons and the provision of weapon training. In riot prone areas '*Kalaris*' were set up extensively, both of these become important after some time. The NDF represents the majority of young Muslims in Nadapuram, who enjoys the political patronage of Muslim League. In Nadapuram area almost all of the NDF workers are former MCC activists. The NDF strategy is to get involved in incidents having communal colour and emerging as the champion of Muslim cause.

The violence in Nadapuram was basically triggered by the hatred between CPI (M) and IUML, the reason of which are both economical and political. The

issue attained a communal colour after the intervention of the extremist forces (http:milligazette.com, *op.cit*, 2006). Accumulation of lethal weapons and profound communications is its main features. Its intention is to communalize political conflicts and to control the entire Muslim community. The wide spread use of guns and bombs during the period prove these. The 2000 riots indicate the gravity of the situation. The terrorist outfits exploites the insecurity of religious minorities (Hameed, 2017).

The murder of Moosa Haji (who was not a party worker) and Santhosh (DYFI Worker), which were again, widened the gap between Hindus and Muslims in and around the Nadapuram constituency. Political grudge between CPI (M) and IUML intensified in the region. In 2001, CPI (M) launched a strange struggle against some Muslim gulf affluent landlords under the leadership of A. Kanaran. Party decided to sit-in-strike infront of Muslim houses, in connection with alimony to estranged wives. 'Anthruhaji Makkal Samaram' is a typical example of this type. This shows the deviation of the party from its ideologies to personal animosity, where the party unnecessarily faced many criticism from in and around. The second stage in violence in 2001 was triggered by an alleged 'rape' in Theruvamparambu in which a Thiyya youth, Binu was accused of as the prime culprit (Arafath, 2016). This incident shows the first direct involvement of Islamic terrorist force like NDF in Nadapuram issues. Another shocking incident was the murder of a DYFI activist Shibin Bhaskaran of Thuneri in Nadapuram, who was killed allegedly by a gang at Thuneri on 22nd January, 2015. The researcher realized from the field survey that this gang had certain indirect connection with Islamic terrorist organizations like SDPI and NDF.

In the early communal issues in Nadapuram, IUML extended strong support to NDF and MCC, but now, the role of NDF and MCC became a headache to the party. The Muslim League is used as shield by these forces to spread terrorism under the pretext of promoting Muslim cause. They have the full support from the League, which never can be underestimated. Unlike other areas in the state, the role of Muslim League with the involvement of communal issues in Nadapuram

constituency is evident. Some people here believe that Muslim League (IUML) in this area has strong support of Islamic fundamentalist forces like NDF and MCC. It is an undeniable fact that the minority communalism in Kerala strengthens the majority communalism as well.

I. Role of Caste Organizations

Some caste organizations working in the Nadapuram deepened the communal polarization process with their activities. Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalama Yogam stands for the protection of majority Thiyyas of this area. There have been several instances in which SNDP Yogam tried to make caste identity by organizing the Thiyya community in this area. In many occasions, SNDP yogam adopted lenient stand towards RSS. In Nadapuram, like in Kannur RSS targeted the CPI (M). In the 2016 Kerala Legislative Assembly elections the Bharath Dharma Jana Sena (BDJS) under the SNDP Yogam leadership extended full support to BJP. However the minority Hindu caste groups like NSS and Dalits had comparatively less aggressive role in the caste and communal polarization process. Recently the Hindu Aikyavedi is trying to get a breakthrough to grow by looking after the affairs of these caste groups. RSS had begun its operation as a cultural organization by functioning with considerable force in the villages of Vattoli, Nittur, Ambalakulangara and Vishnumangalam. Its aim is to communalize the political strifes of Nadapuram and thereby enhance its political influence. Communal polarization is its primary aim. However in Nadapuram, Hindu mobilization is done by CPI (M) also. This was reflected in the words of *Bharathiya Mazdoor Sangh* (BMS) leader Premraj: "it is their [CPI (M)] intention to communalize all future political conflicts. They have been very often successful in transforming class struggle (against Muslim landlords) into communal riots. During the riots of 2001, the houses of Muslims irrespective of their political affiliation were attacked" (Premraj, 2016).

II. Major Political Developments

II.1.Land Reform Issues

The Kerala Land Reforms Act (1969) provoked the Landlords in Nadapuram. The landlords in Vanimel, Kavilumpara, Chekkiad and Valayam were reluctant to abandon the land of the tenants. They tried to defeat the land reforms (Desabhimani, 2003). Since, majority of the landlords were Muslim. The landlords tried to communalize the political struggle. Political parties like Muslim League supported the Muslim landlords. Traditionally majority of the tenants were Thiyyas and tribes. These people were supported by the Communist parties. Naturally Muslim League made a communal propaganda and gave a communal colour to all issues of land reforms.

II.2.Ration Card Strike

In 1973, ration card strike started under the leadership of Communist party. Adivasi's were the poor employees of the company hills. The landlords cornered the benefits of ration cards belonging to the aborigines who suffered extreme poverty for a long time. Communist party demanded that the feudal lords must return the ration cards to the adivasis. The landlords refused to do so. Communist party organized a march towards the Vatakara supply office lining up the aborigines and demanding that either the feudal lords should give back the ration cards to the adivasis or they should be allowed to have new cards. The march was under the leadership of E.V.Kumaran and A.Kanaran with 29 aborigines who have signed the memorandum. The captain of the march was Aduppil Vally (Smruthi, 1999:34), a young aborigine. Likewise the problems of adivasis and the problem of agricultural workers to raise wage came up. With this, CPI (M) and Muslim League directly came into conflict. The conflicts soon spread all over Nadapuram. In connection with this issue Communist party local leader K.P.Kunhiraman was brutally murdered on October 30th, 1973. The murder led to numerous conflicts between Muslim League and CPI (M). The religious fundamentalists tried to communalize these political conflicts. With the murder of Alakkal Kunhikannan on March 1st

1974, this conflict became stronger. To avenge the murder, many agricultural confields of Muslim landlords were destroyed (Kanaran, 2006:59).

II.3.The Chittarikkal Strike

The Chittarikkal labour struggle also took place at Vanimel in August 1981. The strike was declared by Kerala State Karshaka Thozhilali Union (KSKTU) against Thomas Babu who was the landlord of Chittari hill. He dismissed 15 permanent workers from his estate. The reason was that the workers demanded for more wages. They were given low wages and so they demanded for an increase in wages. This demand was neglected by Thomas Babu and he also denied job for workers. Moreover, he bought few workers from Vaikom, but KSKTU leaders and workers did not permitted them to work. Day by day, the situation became worst and at last Revenue Divisional Officer interfered in this issue and put an agreement to raise the wage from Rs.7 to Rs.8 including food. In order to confront this strike, a small defense force was formed under the leadership of the landlords of this area. After a short break again conflict broke out. The situation became worse because the agricultural lands of the landlords were destroyed and Thomas Babu rejected the decisions taken in the presence of RDO. The rejection of decision and role of the defense force again led to severe conflicts. As a part of this struggle the workers marched towards the house of Thomas Babu. The defense force shot at the labours and many of the KSKTU members were attacked (Kanaran, *op.cit*, 60). This conflict paved the way for many communal and political issues. In this conflict large-scale country bombs and other various aggressive weapons were used against workers by the landlords and defense force. The workers also collected bombs and weapons. It culminated in the murder of the Kannamala Mathew who was one of the criminal members of the defense force of the landlords of Valukkamala. With this, the conflict came to an end.

II.4.The Kuttalur Problem

In 1987 the problem that arose in Vanimel and Vilangad was known as the land problem of Kuttalur. This problem was related to '*Kutikitappu*'[3] rights. There were 28 acres of land in Kuttalur hill. The tribal people, claiming the authority of the

land, went to seek the help of Communist party. But the Communist party did not take up this issue and stood along the real property owners. Then tribals approached the BJP leaders and BJP tried to make this problem a communal one. Thus with the intervention of BJP, the issue got worsened. The conflict led to the murder of INTUC leader named Hamsa. It was found that BJP was responsible for this murder (Kunhikrishnan, 2017). The court order of Kuttalur land problem came in favour of farmers. The Communist party, Muslim League, the Congress took a joint decision to stand along with the real owners of the land.

The political revolt of 1988 was another example of political intolerance in Nadapuram. A series of conflicts took place in that year. Violence started in Vanimel and spread to different parts of Nadapuram. Many innocent people were brutally murdered. All this murders were committed on account of communal blindness rather than political animosity (Madhyamam Weekly, 9th February, 2001).

Nadapuram in Kozhikode district borders with neighboring Kannur district, the focal center of unabated RSS- CPI (M) violence for past four decades. Justifying the role of Kannur violence the CPI (M) used to claim that they were protecting the Muslim minorities from Sangh Parivar fascist threat. However, the CPI (M) – RSS violence in the Kannur was limited to only murders and retaliatory killing with either side refrying from attacking houses, looting and raping women. Nadapuram, on the other hand, had witnessed all this. That the majority of the victims in Nadapuram were Muslims irrespective of party affiliations and all the major culprits were Hindus belonging CPI (M). Although majority of the Muslim victims were sympathizers of the Muslim league, the fact that Muslims supporting even CPI (M) and other LDF parties like Janata Dal and Nationalist Congress Party (NCP) were not spared from attacks (www.miligazette.com, op.cit.). In an interview with C.P.Kannan (BJP Leader), the main reason for the communal violence in Nadapuram constituency is that CPI (M) used the caste card for their political game. In Nadapuram constituency majority of the people are belonging to Thiyya community. To get their support without thinking of other aspects, CPI (M) always mobilize the Ezhava – Thiyya community against the Muslims. Here the Muslims

are also controlled by an extremist section of the Muslims community. Muslim League failed to control this extremist formation NDF. Now NDF emerged as one of the extreme terrorist organization in Nadapuram. In the Binu's murder NDF hand is very clear (Kannan, 2017).

III. An Analysis of Communal Conflicts (1973 – 2017)

In Nadapuram, most of the problems began in the form of class conflict. These conflicts led to the series of violation of human rights. All political parties are equally responsible for the role in the issue. But the main actors are CPI (M) and IUML. According to Ravi Kallachi, CPI (ML) Red Flag Leader, the underlying reason for violence is class conflicts, which after a period of time assume the form of communal conflicts. The main culprits in this regard are the local leadership of CPI (M) and the Indian Union Muslim League. He also added that the late Kerala State Karshaka Thozhilali Union leader, A. Kanaran in his political carrier had been on the right lines in the initial period. But later he took a wrong path. On many occasion, his strikes deviated from party ideology and assumed the form of communal violence (Ravi, 2016).

The proletariat resisted the landlord system that prevailed at the end of the seventies. The proletariat had a historical struggle mainly under the Communist leaders like C.H. Kanaran, M. Kumaran Master, E.V.Kumaran, M.K. Kelu, E.V.Krishnan and A.Kanaran. But after the eighties, Communists had returned to power and asserted their strength. At the same time, landlords too strengthened their power with the help of Luna set and other goondas. During this period most of the conflicts resulted in inhuman genocide and anarchical condition in Nadapuram.

The massacres up to 1980's clearly show the inhuman face of Muslim landlords. The impatience grown up in the mind of landlords resulted in the murder of KSKTU workers Vallikadu Vasu on 26th September 1972 and K.Kuhiraman on 1st July 1974, when they demanded a fair wage from their landlord by using their organizational strength. The landlord could not tolerate the demand of Vasu and Kunhiraman. In another incident, K.P. Kunhiraman was brutally murdered by some League criminals of Bhumivathukkal town on October 29, 1973. He publically

demanded an increase of wage from the landlord and also questioned the landlord's defense force (Smruthi, *op.cit,* 47). Alakkal Kunhikannan, the leader of Muthangachal land issue was shot dead by the men of landlords at Thottakkad forest. The Communist party member and Kurumbranadu Taluk estate workers union activist Pappachan was also murdered in connection with a land dispute. Thattarath Jayan was brutally murdered by the League activists. In this political and communal violences upto 1989, V.V.Krishnan (Thottilpalam), Koroth Chandran (Edacherry), Kuthiyeri Kumaran (Naripatta), lost their lives.

In 1982, CPI (M) expressed their unwillingness to accept feudal policies and they disagreed to support the dispute of Kuttallor Mala. When BJP interfered in this issue for the first time they tried to communalize this issue. They began to strike against landowners. The strike ended in the murder of Hamsa, an INTUC leader at the local level. Hamsa was the victim of the unnecessary strike. Most of the strikes and murders in the 1980's were related to agricultural laborer's primary rights. Even though the strikes led by the peasants initially favoured their better lives, unfortunately, it got a communal colour in the later period.

In 1986, Neelamparambath Koran's murder was in connection with a clash between students organizations in Vanimel Crescent High School. For the first time, Students Federation of India (SFI) unit was formed in the Crescent High School and they hoisted their flag in front of the school. Muslim Students Federation (MSF) students and Muslim youth wing destroyed the flag and attacked the SFI leaders. This incident led to the violence between CPI (M) and Muslim League. It turned to be a riot resulted in the murder of Koran, an active worker of CPI (M), on November 5, 1986. The CPI (M) activists decided to take revenge for his death. Subsequently the League leader, Mundompoyil Ibrahim was murdered on December 12, 1986. This political riots and revengeful activities deeply affected the social life of Nadapuram. But as a result of the all -party effort, this area regained normalcy gradually (Valayam Police Station, Enquiry Report, 2017).

However, the year 1988 had witnessed a series of bloody conflicts again at Nadapuram. The incident occurred on the basis of Vanimel conflicts. But the murder

of the Nambadankandy Hameed at Maniyur Thazha, and its consequences were the immediate reason for the later incidents. Various political parties conducted a strike in order to arrest the culprits. On September 17, 1988, Muslim League organized a march to Kuttiady police station. On the way to the police station Communist party leader, A.Kanaran was attacked by some League goondas. This news was spread immediately all over the place. Clashes and violence between CPI (M) and Muslim League started at different places of the Nadapuram constituency. The Communist party activist Natemmel Onakkan was seriously injured and a League activist called Variyamkandy Kunhammed Haji was murdered in a serious conflict at Kuruvalloth on October 20, 1988. These incidents poured oil in the communal fire. The Muslim League observed October 21, 1988, as the day of protest in Kozhikode district (Zahir, 2017). The same day Communist party worker, Kappummal Divakaran was murdered by League at Vayalilpeedika.

On the background of these incidents, all political parties have begun to collect more and more weapons including aggressive explosives for their self-protection. Political parties were well equipped to an open fight. The best examples of these were the murders of Thazhekandy Mammu and Mambilakunnu Basheer, who were Congress workers, and were died by bomb explosion. Following this, on October 23, 1988, DYFI activist, Sajeevan was killed. After Sajeevan's murder, violence spread rapidly all over Nadapuram area. Many people belongs to rival groups were injured. As a revenge for Sajeevan's murder, CPI (M) extremists killed Abdullah of Naripatta, who was a Congress supporter and Yusaf Haji of Chekkiad panchayath who was a League supporter. The human genocide made horrible atmosphere throughout the Nadapuram and fear and suspicion spread between the two communities. Both of them look each other with suspicion and fear. The Hindu communal groups exploited this situation and they tried to communalize this issue. However, the Congress and CPI (M) resisted the growth of BJP and RSS and such other majority communalist groups. This led to conflicts between CPI (M) and RSS and these conflicts ended in the murder of M.K.Sukumaran, who was a Communist party member and agricultural labourer and M.P.Kumaran, BJP worker at Ambalakulangara. All such conflicts and series of murders show the intolerance and

insensitivity of political parties in Nadapuram. After the horrible violence in 1988 slowly and gradually Nadapuram attained a sort of calm and quite social condition, particularly in the violence- prone Vanimel area. The then, Nadapuram MLA, Sathyan Mokeri took initiative to conduct an all- party meeting for maintaining peace and law and order. He also took initiative to conduct a cultural meeting at Nadapuram to awaken the people against violence and aggression (Sathyan, 2017).

Unfortunately, Nadapuram again became the center of political and communal violence in 2001. The conflict broke out at Parakkadavu on January 1, 2002, with the murder of DYFI worker Santhosh who was shot dead by IUML activists (Desabhimani, 12th January, 2001). It showed the symptom of communalism to a greater extent and some criminal elements of the CPI (M) in the area had begun to attack the houses of Muslims. This group attacked Kummath Abdulla's house, a sympathizer of Muslim League (The Hindu, 18th January 2001). As a revenge for Santhosh's murder, CPI (M) criminal gang killed Moosa Haji who was a League supporter. After these incidents, mutual suspicion grew among CPI (M) and IUML supporters and both groups began to collect explosives and weapons. Consequently, Nadapuram witnessed many bomb explosions. In this background, Avaloth Neethu an innocent eight- year- old girl was brutally murdered by an explosion in her own house (The Hindu, *op.cit*). Later, the communal riots spread to other areas of Nadapuram like Valayam, Chekkiad, Parakkadavu, Thiruvamparamba, Purameri, Kunnummal, Vanimel and Kallachi.

Table 5.2

Murders Occurred Due to Political and Communal Violence in Nadapuram from 1970 to 2017

Sl No	Name of People Murdered	Place	Political Parties	Year
1	Vallikkad Vasu	Vallikkad	CPI (M)	1972
2	Vazhavachaparambath Abdulla	Valayam	No Party	1973
3	K.P. Kunhiraman	Vanimel	CPI (M)	1973
4	Alakkal Kunhikannan	Nadapuram	CPI (M)	1974
5	K.Kunhiraman	Kaiveli	CPI (M)	1974

Sl No	Name of People Murdered	Place	Political Parties	Year
6	Pappachan	Maruthonkara	CPI (M)	1980
7	V.V. Krishnan	Thottilpalam	CPI (M)	1980
8	Kannamala Mathew	Vanimel	No Party	1981
9	N.P. Koran	Nadapuram	CPI (M)	1985
10	Koroth Chandran	Edacherry	CPI (M)	1985
11	Nambodankandy Hameed	Valayam	No Party	1985
12	Hamsa	Vanimel	Congress	1987
13	M.K.Sukumaran	Valayam	CPI (M)	1987
14	Kappummel Divakaran	Vanimel	CPI (M)	1988
15	Kuyitheri Kumaran	Naripatta	CPI (M)	1988
16	N.P.Sajeevan	Chekkiad	CPI (M)	1988
17	Modopoyil Ibrahim	Vanimel	IUML	1988
18	Variyamkandy Kunhammad Haji	Vanimel	IUML	1988
19	Poyil Yusuf Haji	Chekkiad	IUML	1988
20	Mullamparambath Packkaran	Narippatta	IUML	1988
21	Avaloth Neethu	Thuneri	No Party	1988
22	Mambilakkul Basheer	Narippatta	Congress	1988
23	Thazhekkandi Mammu	Narippatta	Congress	1988
24	Abdulla Narippatta	Narippatta	Congress	1988
25	M.P.Kumaran	Ambalakulangara	BJP	2000
26	Thattarath Jayan	Thuneri	CPI (M)	2000
27	Thayullathil Moosa Haji	Chekkiad	IUML	2001
28	P.Santhosh	Valayam	CPI (M)	2001
29	E.Binu	Kallachi	CPI (M)	2001
30	K.P.Raveendran	Kaiveli	CPI (M)	2006
31	Shibin Bhaskaran	Thuneri	CPI (M)	2015
32	Aslam	Thuneri	IUML	2016

Source: The Survey

Whatever may be the rationale for strike and murder, it created a wide gulf between two sections in Nadapuram society. As pointed out earlier, after 1980's the social and political condition of Nadapuram became more explosive. Any spark of dispute was likely to lead a dangerous explosion. Another trend was that after 1980's most of the violence diverted from its class objectives to the communal nature.

In fact, the land reform act of the Communist government was not put into practice effectively in the Nadapuram area. Landlords very tactfully used the binami system to protect their excess land and properties. This was the basic reason of the continuous class conflicts and violence. But when the anti feudal movement lost its basic nature it also lost its humanistic face (Ravi, *op.cit*). During this period almost all political parties violated the law and order and conducted many anti-social activities for their temporary achievements. By this transformation, Nadapuram lost its peaceful social life. This shows the most pervaded and pathetic situation of the political parties in this constituency. Another most dangerous turning point was that the Communal face of political violence on local issues helped the growth of Muslim fundamentalism. More and more Muslim youth who were the products of consumerism and who have the support of gulf money became connected to outside terrorist organizations. They had become a severe headache to the social harmony among different communities.

In brief, Nadapuram became a laboratory of political- communal groups. They succeeded some extent to defeat the enemies through violence. The seeds of terrorism and communalism spread in the riots of 2001 aggravated up by Binu murder. The well planned brutal murder of Binu gives a horrible and terrible picture of Muslim fundamentalism (The Hindu, 3rd January, 2001). Immediately after the Binu murder, CPI (M) has once again turned its guns on the IUML for the Nadapuram clashes. They alleged that the arrest of the National Development Front leaders in connection with the Binu murder case clearly proved the complexity of the IUML and the NDF in perpetuating the violence. The then CPI (M) state secretary, Pinarayi Vijayan (now the Chief Minister of Kerala) said in a statement on

July 30th 2001, that the NDF connection with Nadapuram violence has revealed growing Muslim fundamentalism in the state. Vijayan, also alleged that the IUML units in some parts of Kannur, Kasargod and Malappuram had become tools in the hands of NDF with the IUML leadership had not been prepared to condemn the NDF at any point of time. Vijayan stated that the UDF government ignored the CPI (M) warning when it high lightened the fact that the Nadapuram violence was perpetuated by the IUML and Muslim fundamentalist forces. Senior IUML leaders like the late E.Ahammed had even openly stated that Nadapuram violence did not have any links with either NDF or the RSS. He said the police investigations had exposed the false stories spread against CPI (M) (The Hindu, Online Edition, 30th July, 2001).

If we analyze the basic features of the conflicts in Nadapuram, we can see that the 2001 riots transformed from political violence to communal riots. The riots killed many Muslims, who were belonged to various political parties and many Muslim houses were burned. Likewise many Hindu houses even they belonged to Congress party were attacked widely. The murder of Moosa Haji by CPI (M) activists as a revenge for Santhosh murder explicitly reveals the communal feelings. Moosa Haji had never been an active member of IUML and he had no criminal and communal background. Likewise, NDF extremists attacked innocent female laborers who had no political background. During this period many agricultural fields were totally destroyed by anti-social activities, the criminals and aggressors never considered the importance of unity and peace or any human relationships.

In the Nabeesa rape case, the accused person Binu was murdered by NDF workers. The murder took place after five months of Nabeesa incident. This was a stroke against the peaceful atmosphere in Nadapuram made by all political parties especially CPI (M) and Muslim League and other cultural organizations. Actually, the murder indicated the growth and development of religious terrorist activities in Nadapuram area (Sadhuli, 2016). Following the murder of Binu, many number of houses, vehicles and other financial establishments of both communities were widely destroyed and Muslims were worst affected as they were visibly better off.

Another dimension which was witnessed on the second stage of 2001 incident was the magnitude of systematic property destruction and looting in the region. As per calculation of the local civil society collective, property worth Rs 20 to 25 crores was destroyed across religious lines, though no upper-class Hindu houses or their financial establishment was attacked. What makes this episode unique in the history of sectarian violence in Kerala is the treatment of the invisible Muslim women, who were frightened for days in Thiyya dominated areas. They were materialized as new target of attack and numerous incidents of physical harassment were reported (Arafath, *op.cit*).

Following Shibins death in Thuneri in 2015, calamities happened in the area was similar to the anti-Muslim violence in North India. Without a top- level planning the huge property destruction could not have happened. From the collected information a property worth rupees fifty crore were destroyed in addition to the complete destruction of about 70 Muslim houses. This situation created deep rooted animosity between two communities rather than two political parties - CPI (M) and Muslim League, which culminated in the brutal killing of Aslam, a 20 year old IUML worker, an accused of Shibin's murder. As noted by Hansen (2008) elsewhere, he feels that in Nadapuram, the complicated history of the caste, conversion and different patterns of economic mobility have been the three most visible agentives and determinants in the marking of conflictual times. Therefore in his view party boundaries and ideological singularities get blurred when the riot participants were connected with each other through their religious, ethnic and caste kinship (Hansen, 2008:2-12).

After 1980's, the CPI (M) failed to change the style of struggle even in the changing situation of the country. The result was the emergence of communal forces instead of class struggle. The Muslim fundamentalist group grew in the shadow of Muslim league and Muslim feudal lords. The inadequate education, lack of exposure to liberal ideas and orthodox mind of Muslim people helped to the growth of Muslim communalism and fundamentalism. The backwardness of the Thiyya

community in both educational and financial spheres has also added fuel to the communal polarization process in Nadapuram.

ANATOMY OF COMMUNAL VIOLENCE IN MARAD

The community formation and communalism in the coastal belt of Malabar cannot be taken in isolation from the trends developing in other parts of Malabar. Even modernity had transformed the coastal *jatis* of Malabar into communities. This trend of transition from *jatis* or caste to a communitarian identity developed everywhere in Malabar coastal regions. This communitarian trends gradually led to communalization in the region, which directly had an impact on the fishermen community. Immediately after the independence, community tensions were evolved around three major matters like ceremonial procession before the worshipping center, cow-slaughter and the conversion. There are some specific and particular treatises which carried out auxiliary functions in the communalization of Malabar coast. The applications of these treatises to the coastal region were from the major cities and nearby regions associated with the coast and these changes filtered to the coastal life also. At the same time, there were some developments that occurred in the coastal life. These developments along with the communalization were reflected in the decline of *kadakkodi*[4] and the growth of new agencies that were closely related with the communities.

The noted historian, K.N. Panikar says that from 'the latter part of the 19th century onwards, conversion became a controversial issue among the Hindus, who were seized by an apprehension about their declining number and social liberation, is a powerful motive as evident from the conversion in Kerala in the latter period of the 20th century (Panikar, 1999:7-35). This conversion issue fuelled the consolidation of the communities because this period was much more controversial than in the earlier period. The petition of one Ammandra Keloth Appukutty Nambiar to the Chief Minister of Madras on July 30th, 1948 stated that the Maunath –ul-Islam Sabha (MIS) established in 1900 in Ponnani, a coastal settlement of Muslims, is forcing the conversion of Hindus to Islam (KRA, 1951).

It was reported that to avert the questioning and attacks from Hindus and *Araya Samajam*, the Maunath-ul-Islam Sabha (MIS) have formed escort parties to escort persons proposed for conversion to the *sabha* from the outskirts of Ponnani town (FNR,April 1952). Thus, the controversy over the conversion mobilized the Muslim and Hindu sections to a greater extent of aggressive articulation. The relevance of this controversy over conversion issue was also affected the secular parties in 1950's. A Fort Nightly Report (FNR) said that A.K.Ibrahim, secretary of the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee (KPCC), took exception at a meeting held on 3rd April 1950, to a statement of K.Kelappan, ex-president of the KPCC, to the effect that Hindus should take steps to prevent the conversion of *Harijans* to Islam. Ibrahim stated that the interference with peaceful conversion unwarranted as it was would compel him to propaganda in favour of his religion. A section of the meeting expressed their protest against this and other speakers criticized the statement (FNR, April 1950). In the midst of this tension, news in a vernacular daily read that a Muslim named Assankutty abducted a girl named Sujatha and the case was in the court (Mathrubhumi, 24th July, 1952). The news provoked on some Hindu sections and a women organization under the guidance of RSS decided to launch the protest against this issue.

There was a clash on August 3rd ,1952, between the Hindus and Muslims before a mosque at Halwa Bazar in Kozhikode town (Mathrubhumi, 5th August 1952). The clash occured when the procession under the *Ambala Samrakshana Samiti,* protesting against the efforts of conversion of the Hindu women by *deceitful* means, reached before a mosque on the spot. Some Muslims prevented the procession and it resulted in a physical conflict between the two groups. In connection with this, twenty eight persons including T.N.Bhaskaran (Secretary, *Mankavu Ambala Rakshasamiti*), Sankara Govinda Sastri (RSS *Pracharak)* and some Muslims were punished. The atmosphere in Malabar was so tense that the Communist leader A.K.Gopalan sent a memorandum to the Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, criticizing the activities of RSS. He wrote that 'It was not a stray or accidental incident that occurred in Kozhikode; it was the outcome of the continuous and systematic propaganda that RSS had been conducting'

(Mathrubhumi, 13th August, 1952). The print media also played its role heightening the pressure by sensationally reporting such issues. In this hot situation, a Nair girl aged 20 was reported to have come to Guruvayur along with two Muslims and the RSS activists took her to the residence of one Narayana Menon (Mathrubhumi, 21st June, 1953). Then she was taken to Calicut by the Araya Samiti (Mathrubhumi, 26th June, 1953). This was a major discussion in the Hindu Cultural Conference. The conference held at Guruvayur decided to restructure the religion by eliminating caste system (Mathrubhumi, 3rd July, 1953). It also appealed to make the temples as the center of Hindu renaissance and to make an inquiry into the reasons why Hindus were converted to other religion and the advisability of the conversion of people from other religions to Hinduism and the ritualistic unification of different Hindu sections into one etc. As a result of all these, the different Hindu cultural organizations began to unite and talk in the same language (Mathrubhumi, *op.cit*). The conditions became ripe enough to be politically and religiously utilized by the RSS. This urge on the Muslims was abundantly spread using the controversy of conversion as a mark on. Sumit Sarkar's essay on conversion records how the fight against Muslims and Christian missionaries were an early plank of Jan Sangh (Sarkar, 1999:73-106).Those controversies occurred in the coastal regions like Ponnani, Kozhikode, Dharmadam, Thalassery, Payyannur, Guruvayur etc.

All these occurred with post independence period, resulted in the consolidation of the religious communities. These emotional community feelings very soon spread in the form of the expression of protest to the construction of the worshipping centers of other communities. Interestingly, such resistances were reported from the coastal regions. For instance, in Kizhariyur, near Koyilandy, some Hindus objected the construction of a Muslim worshipping center and they send a memorandum to the Malabar Collector and Deputy Tahsildar in this matter. In a similar stand from the side of Muslims, for instance, the Ponmanikkudam Jumat Mosque Committee of Perinjanam filed a petition against the erection of a rice and oil mills in its vicinity by one Mumpu Veettil Chathunni (Mathrubhumi, 22nd June, 1952). The committee feared that the jerks and shocks caused by the mill might endanger to the structure of the mosque (Mathrubhumi, 14th September, 1952). The

conversion issue influenced among the leaders of secular political parties as we have seen in the case of K.Kelappan and K.I.Ibrahim. This controversial attitude of leaders gave great religious and political mileage to the communal organizations like RSS and Indian Union Muslim League. The plan of RSS begun to be accepted even by the people residing in the coastal areas. The best example was propaganda on cow-slaughter which ended in a conflict in Payyoli in 1952.

IV. Conflict in Payyoli (1952)

In 1952, the Malabar Branch of RSS launched wide propaganda of anti-cow slaughter all over Malabar. The meeting under *Divyajeevanasangham*, a Hindu cultural organization working at Kozhikode demanded the banning of cow slaughter by a law (Mathrubhumi, 28th October, 1952). This was followed by a similar meeting at different places in Malabar. The coastal belt or nearby areas of coast, where such meeting was held merits special mention. They were Thalassery, Dharmadam, Vatakara, Koyilandy, Beypore, Payyoli, Guruvayur, Manathala, Vellayil beach, Pallipuram etc. The agenda of the meeting had the power to unite the Mukkuva fishers under a Hindu banner. The Payyoli incidents testified case to this. At Payyoli, a small coastal place, north of Kozhikode, a group of Muslims, slaughtered a calf near the anti-cow slaughter meeting of the RSS on 26th October, 1952 (Mathrubhumi, 1st November, 1952). In the following conflict a man was murdered by Muslims (Mathrubhumi, *op.cit*). Horrible situation and strained relations extended to nearby places like Iringal, Ayanikkad, Thikkody, Koyilandy etc. Thereafter, Mukkuvas of nearby beach and the Muslims of the above said regions were involved in the clash (KRA, Tellicherry Sub Collectors Record List). Consequently, social mingling and social life of two communities in the beach was much strained. A number of Muslims were forced to flee from Payyoli with their belongings (Mathrubhumi, 4th November, 1952). In those days, during night, Hindu and Muslim houses of Payyoli, Kizhur, Thikkody and Ayanikkad were occupied by two or three additional families of the same community, which show the gravity of fear and suspicion between the two communities. It was feared that problems were spreading to the southern part of coastal Malabar like Chavakkad and Nattika

(Mathrubhumi, 8th November, 1952).   As a precautionary measure, two platoons of Malabar Special Police were dispatched to the spot. In connection with the issue five persons were arrested (Mathrubhumi, 9th November, 1952). After this incident, RSS's organizational set up arose and this relatively became very strong in Payyoli. The incident at Payyoli was later capitalized by the Hindu politicians with the help of the organization like *Araya Samajam*. Hindu communal minded politicians tactfully utilized through this situation by injecting rigid communal feelings in the marginalized sections like Scheduled Castes in and around Payyoli. In the Parakkad Temple, near Payyoli, owned by SC, the Arya samajam leader Budha Singh delivered a speech on the Dharma, in connection with the temple festival (Mathrubhumi, 8th April, 1953).

On the other side, to counter the RSS, the campaign against cow slaughter and related issues, the Muslim League in Malabar was increasing their activity and there were reports that Muslims in different areas operating training centers or giving physical training (FNR, November 1952). Further, it was reported that the Malabar District Muslim League under Baffaqui Thangal started to raise funds to defend the Muslims accused in the criminal cases related to the Payyoli incident. It should be noted that this incident had such an impression in the minds of the people that it caused a physical conflagration later in Payyoli in 1954 (FNR, December 1952). It is noted that with this incident, RSS launched its propaganda all over the Malabar, especially the places closer to the coastal area. And this was used as an effective way to communalize the people. The Muslim League, functioning in Malabar had to defend it and they were also brought into the vertex of this communal discourse. It did great harm to the community relations during the period.

V. Problems at Naduvattom (1954)

At Naduvattom in Beypore Panchayath of Kozhikode District a marriage procession with music intercepted before the Palayam mosque at Kozhikode. In another procession issue at Naduvattom on 28th March, 1954, two men lost their life in the police firing before the mosque of Naduvattom (Mathrubhumi, 26th March 1954). Mathrubhumi reported that, police fired on a group of Muslims, who tried to

prevent and attack a procession, heading from Naduvattom to the temple near the Kallayi '*Sreeramakrishnasramam*', when rioters attempted to oppose the police, as the police tried to disperse them (Mathrubhumi, 29th March, 1954). The report further added that there was some gossip from the morning that the procession would be prevented, that many people crowded before the mosque. The collector, Pazhaniyappan, DSP, Ramanujan and Deputy Superintendent of Police Gopal etc., reached the area, and discussion was conducted with the parties, demanding the peaceful passage of the procession, but the crowded mob did not comply and there was a further discussion with mosque authorities. It was also in vain and there were 'pelting stones' and collector then issued an order to fire.

The Naduvattom incident of 1954 largely communalized the people of Beypore Panchayath and the coastal population, and the coastal dwellers kept it still fresh in their memory as an incident emanated either from the *Moplah defiance*, (Krishna, 2017) or from the *Hindu high handedness* (Bhaskaran, 2017). It is also believed by some residents that the Naduvattom issue had its roots in the clash of vested business interest between two persons in the locality- Marimukkil Ahmedkutty and Thambi Muthalali (Sankaran, 2017). Later, some incidents occurred in the related areas also widened the gap between the two communities. A marriage procession from Puthiyara to Panniyankara was blocked in 1954 from proceeding by the Kallayi mosque and a man, Koyotti was arrested (Mathrubhumi, 10th May, 1954).

On 15th May, 1954, before the First Class Magistrate, Calicut, a case in connection with the blocking a *Kavadi* procession at the Payanakkal beach and assaulting the members of the procession on March 15th, 1953 was filed (Mathrubhumi, 24th May, 1954). In the same year, Payyanakkal witnessed communal tension and violence following the prevention of a marriage party before the Payyanakkal mosque, thirteen people was injured in stabbing and pelting stones. Pinnarath Damodaran, of Naduvattom *amsom,* was arrested for setting fire to the thatched home of Manakath Alavi of the same *amsom* (Mathrubhumi, 22nd October,

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1954). The places like Naduvattom, Panniyankara, Vattakinar, Payanakkal lies very close to the Marad coastal hamlet in the same panchayath.

VI.The Fall of *Kadakkodi*s and the Rise of Communitarian Institutions

The *Kadakkodi* which is considered as the linguistic aberration of the Malayalam word *Kadal Kodathy,* literally means, "Sea Court". But its functions are more than as a court as it has legislative, executive and judicial roles to play in the Araya and Dheevara community of Hindu fishermen belonging to Kasargod district of Kerala. Then it spread to other coastal areas. The *Kadakkodi* enjoys executive as well as judicial powers by virtue of certain specialties in its constitutions. Each *Kadakkodi* is a very near place of worshipping centers of fishermen community in each coastal area. Each *Kadakkodi* consists of three specific bodies. Members of which sit separately in three groups when the court is in action. They are *Stanikans, Kadavannar* or *Sihayiees* and worshipping center committee. Kadakkodi declined as a result of socio-economic – historical evolution and in addition the colonial administration attempted to introduce the 'modernization' of the fishing sector. Actually, this modernization process affected the traditional fisher people who carried on the fish trade by traditional method and they suffered serious setbacks. The new traders, who were not really fishermen, slowly dominated the fish trade. Consequent financial crisis coincided with many other changes.

Another thing is the brisk transfer made an environmental impact on one hand and the social impact on the other hand. These kinds of changes boosted the upward mobility of some section of the fisherfolk. Those who became beneficial in the process were the affluent among the fisher population. These families or the *tharavads* fell in the upper layer of the fishing community. The *Kadakkodi* families started to give up fishing as a result of the upward mobility. Gotz Hoeppa says that, "During my fieldwork I realized that most *Kadakkodi* families are not active fishermen for generations. Indeed, many of them had long turned into petty landlords, holders of small government posts in the state fisheries schools" (Hoeppa, 2005:233-254). Another attempt from the British authorities was the introduction of a ban in the *sardine* fishing in 1947 with the help of *Kadakkod*i.

In the post-independence period, the technological modernization and the structural changes produced a new social culture, which made the working of this establishment even more difficult one. The state agencies hesitated to take the *Kadakkodi* as a legal body. For instance, there was a dispute over the landing of catch at the local beach, as the sea courts had unanimously banned fishing at night in order to ensure the regeneration of species. One particular group of fishermen from outside the region violated the ban and members of the sea court seized their catch. But the police decided it was a law and order problem and ordered the sea court to release the catch, forced it to discontinue its activities. This shows that the dissonance between the state law and traditional practices largely harmed the 'legality 'of the *Kadakkodi* (Chekkutty, 2007). Another fact is that the law court could not take a decision on the boundary issue in the sea. When there was problem of crossing of the allowed limit by the boatman of Kulachal in the sea and a fight with the local fisherman of Puthiyappa in the sea, the Collector refused to interfere legally in the matter (PKLA, 1983:18-21) because legally it was decided by Kerala Marine Fishing Regulation Act (KMFRA) (1980) and in the later revision of fishing limits by High court.

In a dramatic change of the events, *Kadakkodi* itself was transferred into a space where the communal conflicts could be settled (Ramachandran, 2004:83-102). The recently formed *Kadakkodi Samrakshana Samiti* (sea court protection council) in the year of 2000 of Puthiyangadi, near Kozhikode and Marad beach, a sea court in which majority of its members were Muslim fishermen, tried to establish a vertical networking in expansion after the Marad massacre of 2002 and 2003, despite its claim of protecting *Kadakkodi*'s. Thus, once settled as a resources management and conflict resolution system, the *Kadakkodi* failed to withstand the pressure of change and reincarnate only to become a mere show. As the result of all these developments, the secular way of life of the coastal community has now proved to be 'communitarian'. The classification of the working class into religious and community levels was to denote the intensity of suspicion and mistrust generated among them in the last few decades. The fishermen community had actively involved in all the communal riots in coastal towns. This and subsequent incidents

showed that the harmonious life of the coastal community was lost. The caste/religious exclusivism naturally resulted in the rise of some communitarian institutions in the place of *Kadakkodis,* to regulate the coastal life. Thus, Malabar coastal belt witnessed the emergence of Araya Samajam and the Mahulla Committee as the problem solving agencies in Malabar.

VII. Role of NGO's among Malabar Fishermen Community

In Malabar, during 1970's, the Non-governmental Organization (NGO), Socio Religious Center (SRC) took the leadership in organizing the fishermen. Beach Blossom Project was set up in 1975 under the supervision of SRC. The project covers the major areas come under in and around Kozhikode District. In 1981, *Kozhikode Theera Desa Sangatana* (KTDS) was formed with the aim, 'to promote social, economic, educational, cultural, vocational and moral welfare of beach dwellers of Kerala irrespective of race, community, caste, creed, sex or political party association', by working in collaboration with Beach Blossom Project of the Socio-Religious Center, Calicut (S.No:102/81).

The SRC worked convincingly in the beach (Kozhikode Theera Desa Sangatana, 1981:2). Almost all sections of the communities including educated sections, and political parties supported the activities of SRC's and KTDS; they saw the uplift of these fellowmen in the coastal areas. The immediate problems which addressed by NGO's are issues of artisanal fish workers, resources depletion, the low harvest, heavy expenditure, the growing indebtedness etc., They tried to ameliorate the grievances of the ordinary fish workers by establishing village level co-operative societies for the sale of fish. Later these societies handed over to the committees and these arose dispute and thus society's activities failed (Zeenath, 2017).

SRC activities on the beach coordinated under the Jesuit Fathers, which naturally created irritations among some communal leaders. The work of the Jesuit fathers created counter movement from the Hindu and Muslims fundamentalists. The Jamaat-e-islami soon launched propaganda and warned the Muslim activists associating with the Christians that they would be converted to 'Christanity'. The

MC also was inimical to the Muslim activists who were associated with the work of Jesuit Fathers (Safia and Zeenath, 2017). Thus under the auspicious of Muslim Educational Society (MES), they convened the Sunday Jama-at to discuss religious matters and other related issues. The counter role of Muslim fundamentalists was enough to generate a self or other dichotomy. These conditions became at its peak during the fishermen strike in 1984.

VIII. The Fisherman Agitation of 1984

The fishermen struggle of 1984 was under the *Kerala State Matsya Thozhilali Federation* (KSMTF). It submitted seventeen demands before the government on 10th April 1984 along with the immediate implementation of Babu Paul Commission Report, a complete ban on purse sieve net, all pension for the fishermen etc (Mathrubhumi, 27th May, 1984). Beach Blossom became the strong center of the strike in Malabar. The field work done by the SRC was helpful in mobilizing the fisher people to the strike. As the part of agitation, the Kozhikode District President of the KSMTF, K.K.Velayudhan and the state council member, Sister Alice started hunger strike (Malayala Manorama, 27th May, 1984). The agitators even seized those mechanized travelers that violated the fishing limitations in Puthiyappa beach (Deepika, 28th May, 1984). Gradually, the struggle attained momentum all over Kerala. On June 8th 1984, a meeting of the Chief Minister and the representatives of the eighteen fishermen associations took place at Thiruvananthapuram. At the meeting, the Chief Minister gave some assurance related to the demands of strike. But KSMTF pointed out that these assurances were not enough to bring the struggle to an end. At this time, center Government of India had decided that area up to 10 Km in the sea should be reserved for fishing by non-machined boats and beyond 10Km up to 23 Km for machined boats (The Hindu, 16th June, 1984). Even though the second round of discussion with Chief Minister and leaders of strike failed, fifty days old strike was called off against the background of Chief Ministers stand to interfere in the demand of a seasonal ban on trawling throughout the coast of Kerala (Desabhimani, 22nd June, 1984).

Meanwhile, C.P.Madhavan, the General Secretary of the BJP led *Kerala Matsya Pravarthaka Sangham* (KMPS) complaint that, the KSMTF was not representing the whole conventional fishermen of the North Malabar and the members of the federation were not wholly conventional fishermen. According to him, there was foreign fund behind the agitation as the chief minister alleged (Janmabhoomi, 29th May, 1984). The BJP State President, K.G.Marar also demanded that the Chief Minister must clarify, from which country they received the fund and he added that this strike was part of the conversion attempts (Chandrika, 4th June, 1984). On 6th June, a meeting of Communist Party of India (CPI) held at Muthalakkulam Maidhani, Kozhikode, where CPI leader, P.K.Vasudevan Nair vehemently criticized the RSS and communal forces giving communal colour to the agitation in coastal areas of Kozhikode conducted under the leadership of Father Dominic and others (Janayugam, 7th June, 1984). The fishermen of Congress led organization also held a procession at Kozhikode and warned against the efforts of some who came for service and now trying to divide the fishermen (Mathrubhumi, 17th June, 1984).

It is significant to note that Indian National Congress, Indian Union Muslim League and Bharatiya Janata Party launched vehement criticism against the fishermen struggle in 1984 in Malabar Coast. The direct communal propaganda by the political parties with the interest of political mileage actually strengthened the communalization of the coastal life and weakening of the secular parties in the coastal region. If one examines the political inclination of the fishermen community of Malabar coast, IUML obtained predominance, next comes the BJP. While secular parties like Congress and CPI (M) have influence only in some pockets.

The role of religious fundamentalist groups in communalizing the social life of Kerala have to be considered seriously. Communalism is the stepping stone to religious fundamentalism which could generate terrorists and blind communal persons out of the common person through injecting poisonous distorted ideologies. The Supreme Court of India, while pronouncing a judgment about shifting the cases in the Gujarat communal riots, said that communal conflicts are to be treated as

dangerous as terrorism. A more scientific and systematic handling of the problem of emerging communalism is the need of the time. Communal violence of Marad is the last one of this type. An attempt is made below to analyze the genesis behind the communal conflicts and barbaric happenings, twice in consecutive years, first in the 3rd and 4th January 2002 (Marad I) and second in 2nd May, 2003 (Marad II).

IX. Historical Backdrops (1950-2017)

Marad, being a small fisher folk's colony, having illiterate fishermen constituting the chunk of the population. The fishers of Marad used the old traditional type of nets. The Araya and Puthu-Islams fishers jointly engaged in their fishing operations. The non-religious names of the fishing boats testify to this unity. Later, Marad coast is the fertile soil for the growth of communal forces. Instances of a lot of inconsequential quarrels and disputes were proved in the history of the beach. According to the Thomas P. Joseph Commission, appointed by the state government, "the communal rivalry started in the area way back in 1954, when a dispute between two individuals belonging to two communities developed into a communal clash. Going by the evidence produced by government and the evidence of Kommedath Balaraman, CPI (M) local committee leader, there was a dispute between a Hindu by name Thampi and Muslim by name Ahamedkutty who were residents of Naduvattom within Beypore Panchayath limits. The Hindus took out a procession in connection with the temple festival and deviating from the usual route, preceded through the front side of Naduvattom mosque, it is alleged that the procession shouted slogans in praise of their God, which was not appreciated by the Muslims who had gathered in the mosque. A clash occurred and in the police firing which resulted in the death of a few persons" (Joseph, 2006: 94-95).

Following communal issue, there prevailed communal tension in the coastal society. In 1974, two groups of fishermen fought between themselves and the tension remained for several years. Through the interference of District administration, police and mediators, the issues were solved. But the peace was not attained for a long period. Next series of disputes occurred between Hindus and Muslims related to Cemetery. Cemetery issue also resolved by peaceful method with

the effort of mediation of social and public workers and police. Thereafter coastal area witnessed some minor clashes due to fishing related issues. In another occasion, a group of Muslims built a structure in Marad beach near the temple adjoining the sea wall. The Araya Samajam labors viewed it as an attempt against them and alleged that construction was illegal and it may be used as a mosque. They submitted a petition to the Panchayat committee. Panchayat secretary issued an order to stop the construction on 14th, November, 2000. All these disputes could cause severe tension situations in the region.

IX.1. Violence on January 3rd 2002: Marad I

The major communal conflict possessing all features of communal riot occurred in Marad on 3rd January, 2002 (here in after called Marad I). At this conflict, Marad witnessed the death of two Hindus and three Muslims. This incident occurred in relation with New year celebration. In the new year eve, there was a cultural program at Marad. During this program, a boy touched a girl (Mathrubhumi, 4th January, 2002). This issue led to the barbaric incident on 3rd January, 2002.

The incidents which led to the killing of five persons, is stated in the judicial enquiry report as 'the communal riot during 3rd and 4th January, 2002 originated from very insignificant and trivial incident which occurred in a cultural programme arranged by Alliance club, at *Sagarasarani*, Marad beach, as a part of its new year programme, on 31st December, 2001. In the course of programme one Sujith allegedly had an altercation with one Zakkir. That dispute was almost settled. On 1st January, 2002, again, there was a wordly altercation at Marad beach between Sujith and Zakkir. That issue was almost settled between two families. At about 7 pm on 3rd January 2002, Sujith was allegedly attacked by Zakkir. In the meantime, some vested interests had spread the canard that in the dance programme of 31st December, 2001, a Hindu boy had insulted a Muslim girl. Rumours spread that a communal clash occurred at Marad beach. At about 7.20 pm on 3rd January, 2002, each side attacked the others using deadly weapons like swords, choppers, sticks, long knife etc. Again, Arayas and Puthu Islams attacked each other and within 24 hours, five persons named Kunhikoya, Yunus, Shinjith, Kunhimon and Aboobacker

lost their lives. Some Muslim men who are said to have taken part in the massacre and wearing blood-stained cloths and weapons were arrested on the spot. The police is also said to have seized about 90 country bombs, 40 swords, knives and other weapons from a mosque'(Joseph, *op.cit*,32).

Following the riots, there existed a very tense situation. The first conflict of January 2002 took five lives within two days. Aboobacker was killed on January 4th while he was going to the mosque to take the graves for the dead (Desabhimani, 5th January, 2002). Houses and boats were burned. Nine houses were completely destroyed. The fishing boats anchored in the sea also set on fire. During the conflicts, many houses were put to fire before wide range robbery was conducted (Desabhimani, *op.cit*).

A huge number of deadly weapons were confiscated by the police. The incidents showed that both parties had prior preparation. The total loss on account of the destruction of houses and boats during and after the riot is calculated around more than ten crores (Desabhimani, 6th January, 2002). Following the riots, Police Act was declared in four districts of Kozhikode, Malappuram, Palakkad and Thrissur. Immediately after the incident, as a part of the relief work, the government took an initiative to form a joint relief committee. Unfortunately, both Araya Samajam and Mahallu Committee, conducted separate relief camps respectively for Arayas and Muslims. And both these camps were aided by the government. A joint relief camp organized at the houses of Kummadath Balaram, former President of Beypore Panchayath and CPI (M) local leader was not given any financial support from the government (Peethambaran, 2002:40). Even though at the initiative of police and District authorities, peace committees were formed. There existed a graveyard silence and Marad beach kept its calm face till the second communal riot.

International and national factors rendered the socio-political climate of December 2001. It was the 9th anniversary of the Babri Masjid demolition by the Hindutva forces. The Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) called for a *hartal* on 6th December 2001and due to this, law and order problem arise all over Kerala. At Ramanattukara, Feroke and Cheruvannur, the nearest places in and around the

Beypore Panchayath, the *hartal* created mutual conflicts and pelting stones (Mathrubhumi, 7th December, 2001). As a protest against, the unfortunate events at Pathanamthitta in connection with the *hartal* on December 6th, BJP and Hindu Aikya Vedi declared *hartal* on 10th December, 2001. This *hartal* also intensified tension in the political atmosphere in Kerala. At Ramanattukara, very nearer to Marad, Rapid Action Force was deployed to control the situation. On the same day, the RSS workers attacked the retail fish vendering stalls at Beypore - Cheruvannur road junctions and Marad (Peethambaran, 2017). Further, there was an international issue that influenced the Muslim fundamentalist organizations in Kerala. The issue was Afghan invasion by America and it created a sense of "religion in danger" among them. All these incidents and tension might have required strong communal colour in the beach of Marad.

IX.2. Marad II: Another Communal Violence

The second communal violence in Marad occurred on 2nd May, 2003. Nine people were brutally killed on the beach in the evening glow. Eight of them were Araya fishermen[5]. About Marad II, Justice V. K. Krishna Iyer wrote, "It was Friday, May 2nd, a group of Araya fishermen simply slipped and sat in the cushioned sand dunes, enjoying idle conversation. The temple on the other side was at lamp lightening time, and a few devotees are around it, or, otherwise, nature was calm. And then, swooped on the innocents, a savage brood of Islamic extremists with sharp weapons like swords or long-curved knives with blood-thirsty blitz "to unloose murder, most foul, most treacherous, and most barbaric. From more than one direction rushed this rabid rascal gang, with lethal arms and killer plan, stabbed the defenseless Araya gossip group. A devotee returning from the temple and a neighbouring petty tea shop dealer was spread with terror by throwing bombs which did not explode" (Iyer, 2003). After this inhuman act, immediately assassins dispersed to different wys. Some of them took shelter in the nearby mosque (Desabhimani, 3rd May, 2003).

Hearing the news of what happened to their brethren, the Arayas also collected arms and rushed towards the mosque, where many people including

children and women of Puthu-Islams were seen together (Mangalam, 4th May, 2003). But the timely intervention under T.K.Vinodkumar, Police Commissioner of Kozhikode, avoided another horrible situation (Mathrubhumi, 4th May, 2003). In the next day, wide range destruction and other incidents occurred. Many boats are torched at Puthiyappa; a busy fishing harbor lay north of Marad. Nine fibre boats were destroyed fully and the loss of more than two crores was estimated (Desabhimani, 4th May, 2003).

The City Police Commissioner very clearly stated that, the second Marad incident was, well pre-planned guerrilla model attack (Madhyamam, 4th May, 2003). Immediately after the incident, police attempted to raid the Mosque, and this attempt was interrupted by many Puthu-Islam women. From the mosque police seized blood stained daggers, swords and gelatin bombs (Mathrubhumi, 8th May, 2003). In the next few days, police unearthed many lethal weapons from different parts in Marad, exposing the laps and dereliction from the side of police and administration in curtailing the weapon transit (Deepika, 9th May, 2003). More than 100 long daggers and swords, the bombs and axes would not reach the beach in one single night. The government took the mosque into control for fifteen days. Till 28th May of the year, nobody came to the mosque. But on 29th May, late E.Ahammed, then the leader of IUML and sitting M P, visited the houses of the victims of Marad and entered the closed mosque with the permission of Tahsildar and city police commissioner and performed *Namas*. The next day, *Samastha Kerala Sunni Student Federation* (SKSSF) activists cleaned the mosque and started the prayer with the permission of Tahsildar and police authorities. Finally, however, the mosque was taken over by the Vaqf Board (Madhyamam, 3rd June, 2003).

The Marad II adversely affected the community relations of Kerala. The leaders of different political parties and communities condemned the henious activities of the communal terrorists (Varthamana, 4th May, 2003). However, this solidarity was not enough to cool down the anguish of the people of this coastal region. Above 600 families left their dwellings with the belongings that can be held in a bag and so on (Desabhimani, 6th May, 2003). The majority of Puthu-Islam

families of the 1ˢᵗ, 16ᵗʰ and 19ᵗʰ wards of Beypore Panchayath (now ward 49 of Kozhikode Corporation) deserted their houses and some Araya families also left this place. All the deserted houses of Muslims were robbed and destroyed by the RSS wings of Marad (Ragunath, 2003). Two relief camps were operated, one at Chaliyam, there were 1344 persons including 445 women from 185 families and another one at Kappakkal, there were 320 inmates from 100 families. Both these camps are controlled by the Muslim League. There was another camp at Chaliyam conducted by CPI (M) in the houses of A.Hassan and C.V.Sulaiman with 75 people from 24 families. This camp had some Araya families (Saseendran, 2003). Because of the stiff resistance from Araya Community, especially among women, the rehabilitation process of these families was so difficult. During this complicated situation Pravin Togadia, Hindu Mahasabha leader, vehemently stated that the Muslims would not be allowed to return to Marad because the Hindus, came to Marad as they found it difficult to live in Malappuram.

IX.3. Factors Which Led to the Communal Riot of 2ⁿᵈ May, 2003

It is not correct to say a single or couple of reasons led to the incident on 2ⁿᵈ May, 2003. The significant factors which lead to the communal conflict are as follows.

IX.3.1.Social Factors

Marad coastal area is a thickly populated area. The high density of population and limited resources to fulfill the fundamental necessities of the people has made it a problematic place. Literacy rate of Marad, compared to other parts of the district is very low. The High density of population, and lack of housing, drinking water, sanitation etc, has created social conditions of the Marad more cumbersome. Even though Marad is in the web of Calicut city, lack of development and the indifferent approach of the administration created the area isolated from the outer world. The frustration and dissatisfaction prevailed in the society were effectively exploited by the communal force's and they injected extreme communal feeling among the people of Marad. Religious fundamentalist forces conscious

efforts of utilizing the insecure and desperate social atmosphere led to division of society in communal lines.

IX.3.2.Economic Factors

Economic disparities existed between Puthu Islam and Arayas also contributed to the increased communal consciousness. Conflicts over the shortage of resources and competition for financial upwardness have resulted in conflicts in the society. Fishermen of Marad largely depend upon fishing harbors at Parappanangadi, Tanur, Chaliyam, Puthiyappa and Koyilandy for their livelihood. The struggle for occupation and the rivalry among the fishermen naturally took the form of communal conflicts.

Earlier, Hindus and Muslims earned their livelihood from the same way of fishing. Hence their economic condition was balanced almost at an equilibrium level. These conditions changed with the introduction of modern technological devices, which created upward mobility of Araya community. The Financial position of Puthu-Islam lay behind, the traditional method in fishing and embraced modern technologies. Later the two communities were being organized under two distinct organizations. The Araya Samajam of Hindus provided loans to ordinary Hindu fishermen with 6% interest. Another organization for Muslim, the Mahallu Committee, also provides loans to Muslim fishermen free of interest. They also provide loans to Hindu fishermen with interest at the time of rainy seasons when fishing was not possible. If they fail to give back the money with interest, it was levied by seizing the fishing equipments. Communal clashes often arise from the attempts of forcefully seizing these fishing equipments.

The money flow from Gulf countries also created the communal animosity. The foreign money earned by the Muslim population made dynamic changes in the social life of Muslim families. The economic imbalance which created due to foreign money and propaganda against Muslims that, it is used for religious fundamental activities in Marad is also led to communal tensions. The struggle over the scarce resources which were inadequate for the thickly populated region resulted in more communal tensions. Consequently, People began to embrace each

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community to get hold of their survival. This act of identifying oneself with their own communal colour, for getting economic benefits ultimately created conflict between two communities.

IX.3.3.Political Factors

The attempts of political parties to establish their control over Marad area has always created disputes. The poor illiterate people of the Marad beach were subjected to the vigorous distorted programmes and policies of political parties. There were 115 registered cases related to the incidents on 3rd and 4th January 2002. Those cases involved altogether 422 accused at the time of registering the cases but charge sheets were filed against 393 accused, 213 accused were RSS/BJP workers while 78 were CPI (M) men, 86 accused were IUML workers (Joseph, *op.cit*, 97).

During 1950's the Praja Socialist Party (PSP) has strong control over the beach dwellers (Mathrubhumi, 7th April, 1954). The Indian National Congress and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) also were on the scene. But even at that period, RSS held a sway over the Araya community. They worked as a non-political, national, cultural organization among the Arayas. The activities of the RSS in the Beypore Panchayat were stunted with the Naduvattom firing of 1954. The Cheruvannur area was a center of RSS activities long before. As the RSS continues their influence, on the Araya community of the beach, the IUML, the "champions of the Muslim interest" in the Naduvattom incident, became the party of the Puthu-Islam fishers of the beach. With the advent of the IUML, the INC became very weak in the beach. But CPI (M) tightened its grip in the political life of the Panchayat during 1970's in connection with the trade union activities in the tile factory of the panchayath (Koya, 2017). Now the major political party in the area is CPI (M). The Beypore Panchayat was under the control of CPI (M) ever since the first election held on political basis in 1979. Majority of the Muslims were members of IUML. Gradually and steadily RSS/BJP attained strong hold over the Araya community and they gained control over the Araya Samajam, by providing them, an organization and political support.

In the Panchayat elections held in 2000, the CPI (M) candidate was defeated by the IUML candidate in ward 20 with the support of RSS. The IUML leader Mayin Haji secured a majority of 660 votes from Beypore Panchayat, in the 2001 Assembly elections. The CPI (M) considered it as a political threat in the future regarding the alliance made between IUML and BJP/RSS. The members of the Muslim community working in IUML and members of Hindu community who were activists of the BJP/RSS found a common platform to fight against the existing political supremacy of CPI (M). The CPI (M) was unhappy about the alliance between the UDF parties and the RSS/BJP in Beypore Panchayath. The report dated 9th October 2002 stated that the CPI (M) local leaders were trying to make the people believe that they were the protectors of the Muslims of the area. If any public function or demonstration of CPI (M) took place at Vellayil area (place near to Marad), the demonstrators shouted provocative slogans against the Hindus to mentally harass the RSS/BJP workers and appease the Muslims. Thus the RSS workers had strong enmity against the CPI (M) activists. Regarding their activities in Vellayil beach, it was reported that Araya Samajam and Mosque committee of the area were in good terms and were settling issues amicably among themselves. The CPI (M) was quite unhappy about that development and wanted to take political mileage out every minor incident, reported from the beach, to retain their influence, particularly among the Muslim community. There are evidence to show that the CPI (M) activists were involved in the incidents at Marad beach between December 31st, 2001 and January 4th, 2002 (Joseph, *op.cit*, 107-108).

The facts found out by the inquiry commission reveal the part played by the political parties in creating an atmosphere of tension. It is difficult to believe that such a large number of CPI (M), IUML and RSS/BJP men got involved in such a major issue without the blessing of at least their local leadership. It was political interest and other vested interests that paved way for the minor incident on 3rd December, 2001, which was almost settled, into a major communal issue and ultimately resulting in the murder of five persons on 3rd and 4th January 2002. By injuring several people and damaging several houses, that incident, certainly led to the massacre at Marad beach on 2nd May, 2003 (Joseph, *op.cit*, 111). The role of

political parties in the conflict can be understood through the words of Crime Branch Inspector General, Mahesh Kumar Singhla, who said that, "some of the convicts in Marad massacre have connection with a National Development Front and Zakkir is an active worker of NDF and Moideen Koya was the former office bearer. NDF workers are involved in the conspiracy. The planning and conspiracy prove that the motive was communal riots. The workers of Muslim League and CPI (M) are there in the list of convicts" (Malayala Manorama, 10th July, 2003).

IX.3.4. Role of Religious Fundamentalist Forces

In Marad, the riot was engineered by the religious fundamentalist forces. The massacre of nine people on 2nd May 2003 cannot be explained as a mere retaliation of the relatives of the victims of the first riot. Innocent people were massacred without any provocation. The religious fundamentalist forces injected in the minds of illiterate religious fishermen of Marad beach on communal venom and made a feeling of insecurity and hatred towards the other community. No doubt, the active presence of such organizations was in the background of planning and creating the riots. The illiterate, backward common fishermen from the region could not execute such an event.

Discussing the links of religious fundamentalists and terrorists in the carnage on 2nd May, 2003, the Kozhikode City Police Commissioner, T.K.Vinodkumar said that the riot was pre-planned and was carried out with the close-knit organization, since the police found many men hiding in the mosque and captured blood-stained weapons when they raided the three floors of the mosque soon after the riot. He added that the riot was very rapid and unexpected and that was completed within ten minutes. (Babu, 2003). Only well- trained men could use such type of bigger swords, that it clearly proves the hands of fundamentalist organizations in the killings.

Unlike the political parties or religious organizations, religious fundamentalist's forces implement their operation secretly. The agenda and their aim and the purpose of such fundamentalists are highly hidden. Even though these forms of organizations will be performing under the shades of any social or charitable

organizations, they are having top secret networks and training camps to disseminate their ideologies. Coastal regions are the most desirable sites for the religious terrorist groups. Arms traffic through the sea coast is intense because these areas are dearer for these kinds of activities. Fundamentalist forces can operate their plan and implement violence and killing after which they can easily escape through the sea. The fundamentalist group's attempt's to create Marad their hub for terrorist activities could have tried an exacerbation process through the communal riots. The killing of innocent people, that too unarmed fisherman not having any previous links and crimes strengthen the notion that there might have been the involvement of religious fundamentalist forces.

X. Gandhians in the Conflict Atmosphere

On May, 2003, the following day of the communal riot in Marad, Gandhian activists from different parts of the state, assembled in Kozhikode to examine the environment after the riot. They set up a peace committee with retired Justice, P.Shamsuddin as its chairman, with some notable members. Gandhians analyzed the overall issues and decided to interfere on their principles. At first as a part of the peace process, the 'Sarvodaya Mandalam' President Rahim master and group of Gandhian activists tried to visit the affected area of Marad. Even though they tried to visit the three relief camps, they were not permitted to interact with inmates by political parties.

According to P.Gopinathan Nair, the conflict situation was getting worse by then. Both sides were piling weapons in many places expecting another communal clash the very next moment. In his opinion, the interference of the political parties in the conflict situation has further made it complicated. Ever since the attack and killing of eight Hindus, the Hindu community and Araya Samajam received a sympathetic attitude from general public and media. As months passed, this sympathetic view began to be shifted to refugee camp from Marad. The strong demand from various organizations for rehabilitation of innocent Muslim people made the leadership of Hindu organizations to reconsider their previous stand. By this time, Gandhian workers were allowed to visit the refugee camp. They interacted

with Muslim families and convinced them, the need for communal harmony. As a result of tireless efforts of Gandhian activists, both parties expressed their willingness to accept Gandhians to mediate the issue.

The challenge before the Gandhian activists was to bring the conflicting groups around one table. Araya Samajam declared their decision to accept the mediation of Gandhians, with P.Gopinathan, a veteran Gandhian as the chief mediator. The failure of the administration and the political parties in finding a solution to the conflict made the Araya Samajam and Muslim organizations to think about the mediation of Gandhians. Consequently, the state government officially invited Gopinathan Nair to conduct peace talk to all the concerned parties. Several mediation meetings were conducted in Kozhikode and Thiruvananthapuram to find out a common solution acceptable to both parties. Kummanam Rajasekharan, T.Suresh, Sreedharan Pillai from the 'Hindu' side and E.Ahammed, P.K.Kunhalikutty, Jamaat - e- Islami leaders from Muslim side participated in various discussions. The mediation process revolved around the demand for a CBI inquiry, the Muslim organizations stated their objection to CBI inquiry. The Kerala Sarvodaya Mandalam[6] put forward a proposal of partial CBI inquiry into the matter. Even though the Hindu organizations were not fully satisfied with the decision, at last they agreed to this new proposal.

The rehabilitation process was completely entrusted to the Gandhian activists. Every Gandhian activist accepted the responsibility of taking a Muslim family from the refugee camp in the Marad region. The process took place for two weeks and 285 displaced families were rehabilitated that included 280 Muslim families, four Hindu families and one Christian family, that involved a total number of 1320 persons including women and children (Joseph, *op.cit*,33).

Following the rehabilitation process, the active peace building in the riot affected area was also undertaken by the Gandhian organizations. Other than the rehabilitation process, the Gandhian organizations conducted constructive and creative activities which contributed largely to the restoration of communal co-operation and unity among the people of Marad. P.Gopinathan Nair, who has been

instrumental in bringing together Hindu and Muslim leaders, said that, "Gandhians will ensure a reign of peace. We have to ensure that Marad does not go back to violence. So we are implementing a normal technique - the Gandhian non-violent conflict management in the village. We will not allow politicians to manage affairs in Marad. The core of all communal problems in India is politics and how politicians manage it. People have to get rid of their anger and live like human beings. For this Gandhian method of non-violence are the best" (Iype, 2005).

XI. Conclusion

Most of the religious and cultural symbols are distorted by the way the political parties and communal forces are using it for their vested interests. Their activities have made a drastic change in the consciousness and outlook of large sections of Hindus. Hindutva and their attempt to create psychological and emotional feelings are found to be the cause of Hindu Nationalism. A similar tendency has developed among the Muslims as well. After the demolition of Babri Masjid, a section of Muslims are dissatisfied with pacifist stand taken by political and social formations.

By the end of 19th century, many socio-religious reform movements are formed among Hindu and Muslim communities and along with this, community and caste based political parties came into existence. After a while, these parties showed their negative and reactionary role in Kerala society which retreated the progress and secular view of Kerala. Typical examples are Nadapuram and Marad. The reactionary role of these political parties paved the way for activities by religious fundamentalist forces in Kerala. In Nadapuram and Marad, their programmes are launched with communal and extremist passion and in some occasions even to extreme complicity level. We can understand that, the real target of the organizations were disgruntled and unemployed youth, who began to feel dissatisfied and insecure. In most of the occasions, some political parties and administrative officials also supported the agendas of communal forces. This tendency created more anguish and concern in the minds of real nationalist and

secular people. The incidents in Nadapuram and Marad indicate the unholy nexus between communal forces, political parties and administrative authorities.

Economic disparity, communal animosity and the consequent intolerance and terrorism are the main causes of issues in Nadapuram. Before 1980's, many of the struggles and issues exhibited the class nature of the conflict. In those days, Communist party played a worthful role, as it stood for the basic needs and betterment of peasants and other working class. During this period, Muslim landlords tried to channelize the massive social and political struggle into a communal struggle. But after 1980, most of the disputes and agitations slipped from class nature to communal nature. As a consequence of this, Hindu- Muslim communal polarization prevailed in and around Nadapuram. From 1985 to 2017 due to different reasons, a wide range of disputes and violence continuously repeated in Nadapuram area. A number of people, even innocent are massacred among the Hindus and Muslims.

Marad is another typical case of communal riot. In the pre-independence period, in the Southern Malabar and Kozhikode region, communal issues are comparatively very scarce except the Moplah rebellion in 1921. In the case of Marad, some minor incidents occurred in the years of 1936, 1954 and 1955. These issues are in connection with the religious procession and burial ground. The issues are revolved between community leaders, by the civil authorities and mediators. However, in the post- independence period, some fundamental changes occurred in the socio-economic, political and religious life of the fishermen community in Marad. The powerful factors related to these were the emergence of capitalism, in the type of technology and market, which did not sufficiently, changed the workers condition and served the development of a changed class identity. From 1950 onwards, antagonism existed between two communities. Social condition and political atmosphere prevailed in Beypore Panchayat and the role of political parties also contributed to the sparkling of communal violence. Religious fundamentalists tried to polarize the society and to channelize the divisive, separatist emotion to communal animosity through the use of Araya Samajam and Mahallu committee. If

we go through all these factors, the result was Marad I and Marad II communal violences.

XII. End Notes

1) Madrasa is the Arabic word for any type of educational institution, whether secular or religious (of any religion) and whether a school, college or city. In the West, the word is usually referred to a particular type of religious school/college for the study of the Islamic religion, though this may not be the only subject studied.

2) For instance, NDF was formed in 1993. Later in 2006 it merged with Karnataka Forum for Dignity and *Manitha Neethi Pasarai* of Tamilnadu to form Popular Front of India. Again in 2009, PFI together with likeminded organizations, vie; *Association for Social Justice* (Andhra Pradesh) *Citizen Forum* (Goa), *Social and Educational Forum* (Rajasthan), *Nagarika Adhikar Suraksha Samati* (West Bengal), and *Lillong Social Forum* (Manipur) formed political party at the National level (Times of India,2009)

3) The historic Kerala Land Reforms (Amendment) Act 1969, passed by the Kerala Legislative Assembly put an end to the feudal system and ensured the rights of the tenants on land, came into force on 1st January 1970. According to this Act, tenants enjoyed the right of ownership in their residing land for many years past from their master landlords. These rights are known as Kutikitappu Rights.

4) Kadakkodi is the traditional 'sea court', its function is more than as a court. It enjoys executive as well as judicial powers by virtue of certain specialties in its constitution. Each Kadakkodi is a very near place of worshipping for fishermen community. But it has no constitutional and legal binding authority.

5) The Araya fishermen were Choyichantakath chandran, Choyichantakath Madhavan, Aryachantakath Krishnan, Gopalan, Dasan, Thekkethodi Priji, Thekkethodi Santhosh and Pushparajan and one was Askar Ali, who was a member of the group of assassins.

6) Kerala Sarvodaya Mandalam is an apex body of the several Gandhian Organizations functioning in Kerala.

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Chapter VI

RESPONSE OF CIVIL SOCIETY
TOWARDS COMMUNAL VIOLENCE:
A QUANTITATIVE STUDY

While comparing with the civil society of other regions in Kerala, the civil society in Nadapuram and Marad are divided, consisting of the antagonist caste, communal and political groups and hence it is weak in reacting against social and political disturbances. At both these regions the local political demagogues and caste and communal eccentric persons play dubious and mischievous role in the situation. The process of social 'conscience' and harmonious social and communal life, essential for social development, have been lost in Nadapuram and Marad. Growing narrow and rigid outlook, religious extremism and chauvinistic tendencies had created the horrible atmosphere in these areas. Even children and youth harbor hatred and revenge in their minds. Women too are helpless and are under great stress in the situation. Peaceful life has become difficult in both Nadapuram and Marad.

I. Response of Civil Society of Nadapuram

Among the total population of 2, 38,901 in the Nadapuram constituency, the majority are Hindus. Other considerable religious communities are Muslims and Christians. Among the Hindu religion, Thiyya/Ezhava castes are prominent. Christians are mainly concentrated in Maruthonkara and Kavilumpara Grama panchayats. Comparatively, these panchayats are peaceful compared to other Panchayats of the Nadapuram constituency. Other religions like Sikh, Jain, and Buddhist are negligible. Among the panchayats of the constituency, few panchayats like, Nadapuram and Chekkiad have Muslim areas. Scheduled Tribes like Paniyans, Kurichiars and Cholanaykans are mainly seen in Vanimel, Naripatta, Kavilumpara and Valayam panchayats. Among them, Kurichiars are royal class, while Paniyans are the inferior and their ancestors are brought from the slave market of Velliyurkkavu in Wayanad by the Muslim landlords of Vanimel and Valayam. Cholanaikans are very rare sections who were not in contact with the outside world.

The *adivasis* (Tribes), especially Paniya and Kurichiyan sections were treated brutally by Muslim landlords. They were denied to even the fundamental rights. In 1973, under the leadership of A.Kanaran, the CPI (M) and *Karshaka Sangham* organised various strikes against the landlords (Kannan, 2017).

The Researchers field survey was mainly focused on politically and communally sensitive areas of Valayam, Vanimel. Chekkiad, Thuneri, Edachery and Nadapuram Panchayats. In a random survey of these panchayats, the researcher gathered information from 214 respondents. Out of this, fourteen persons did not co-operated in answering the questionnaire and so the survey result was concluded with 200 respondents. Table 6.1 shows the age and gender wise distribution of respondents.

Table 6.1

Age and Gender Wise Distribution

Gender	18-35 years	36-50 years	51-60 years	60 years above	Total
Male	38 (19.1)	54 (26.9)	13 (6.6)	8 (3.7)	113 (56.3)
Female	22 (11.1)	45 (22.3)	14 (7.14)	6 (3.14)	87 (43.7)
Total	61 (30.3)	98 (49.1)	27 (13.7)	14 (6.9)	200 (100)

Note: Figures given in parentheses indicates percentage distribution of the respondents

Source: The Survey

Out of the 200 respondents of various panchayats of Nadapuram constituency, the researcher had collected data from 113 males, out of which 38 were, between the age group of 18-35 years (19.1%), the next age group 36-50 years consists of 54 respondents (26.9%). Another age group belongs to 51-60 years, thirteen people (6.6%) and in age above 60 years, eight persons responded (3.7%). Similarly, out of 87 female respondents, 22 persons (11.1%) were on age group 18-35, females of forty five (22.3%) respondents were of 36-50 age group, fourteen of them (7.14%) belongs to 51-60 years and above 60 years of age group, 3.14% (6

171

people) participated in the survey. The overall percentage of male members is 56.3% and those of females are 43.7%. No transgender was found.

Table 6.2

Religion Wise Distribution

Religion	No of Respondents	Percent
Hindu	108	53.8
Muslim	76	38.0
Christian	13	6.6
Sikh	Nil	Nil
Jain	Nil	Nil
Buddhism	Nil	Nil
No Religion specified	3	1.6
Total	200	100.0

Source: The Survey

Figure 6.1
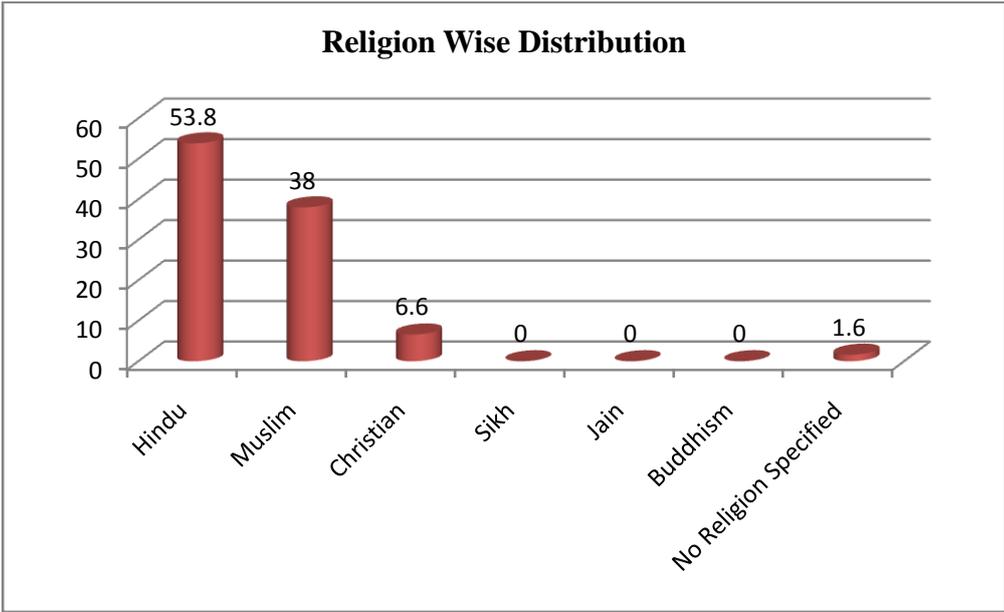
Source: The Survey

In the survey, the researcher found 108 Hindu respondents, which consists of the majority percentage of 53.8. While Muslims are the next largest community with 38% (76 persons). The Muslims at this Constituency are categorized into three sections, viz Sunni, Mujahid and Jamaat-e-islami. The orthodox Sunnis are the majority. The Table 6.2 shows that Christian community surveyed was 6.6%. Majority of these communities was migrated from southern region of Kerala mainly for agricultural earnings. In the interview, it is observed that Hindus blamed Muslims for the communal violence in the area and vice versa, but both communities never criticized Christians for the involvement of violence. Even though there is a negligible percent of Sikh, Buddhism and Jain religions in the constituency, no respondents are encountered for the survey. It is interesting to learn from Figure 6.1 that about 1.6% revealed that they have no specific religion.

Table 6.3

Caste Wise Distribution

Caste	No of Respondent	Percent
Nair	25	12.88
Thiyya	62	31.44
OBC	93	46.94
SC	12	6.12
ST	5	2.62
Total	197	100.0

Source: The Survey

Figure 6.2

Caste Wise Distribution
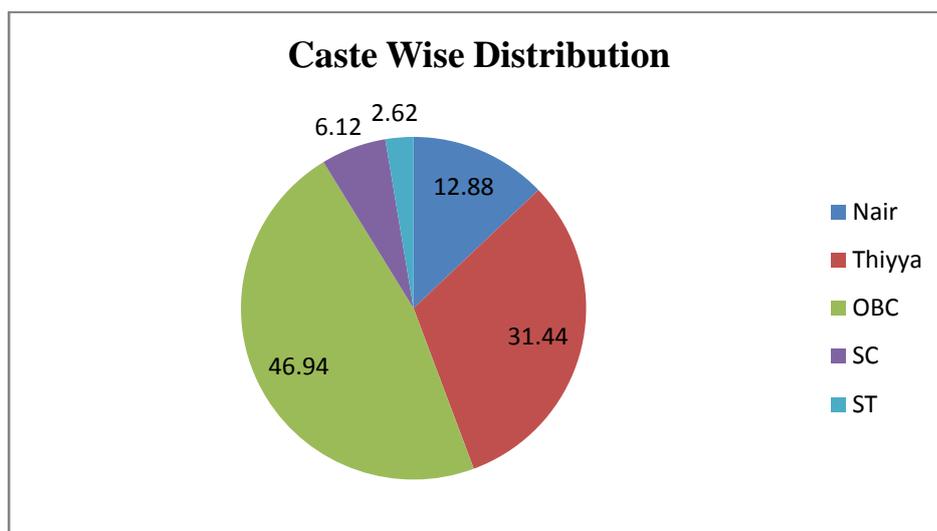
Source: The Survey

Table 6.3 shows that Other Backward Caste (OBC) is seen to be the highest percentage (46.94%) in the area, and that includes Muslims and other backward castes (Paravan, Vannan, Malayan etc) except Thiyya/Ezhava. The pie diagram, 6.2, shows that Thiyya caste is the considerable force in the constituency with 31.44%. They are mainly settled in almost all panchayats, but high concentration is found in Thuneri, Edacherry, Valayam and Naripatta panchayats. The diagram also indicates that the Nair caste is about 12.88%, and are scattered in all panchayats. Namboodiris, Nairs with Varma, Nambiars and Kurups as sub-castes are the main higher castes among the Hindus. The Scheduled Caste (SC) population consists of 21 persons. Scheduled caste is mainly settled in Chekkiad, Vanimel, Kayakodi and Maruthonkara panchayats. The details also show that 2.62% belongs to Scheduled Tribes (ST), who was settled mainly at Vanimel, Valayam, Naripatta and Kavilumpara panchayats. The Muslim population is more concentrated in Chekkiad, Valayam, Thuneri and Nadapuram.

Table 6.4

Education Wise Distribution

Education	No of Respondents	Percent
Illiterate	6	2.8
Primary	25	12.6
Secondary	76	38.2
Degree	60	30
Diploma	12	5.8
Higher Education	21	10.6
Total	200	100

Source: The Survey

The survey results from Table 6.4, reveals that even though, Nadapuram constituency is known for its communal and political violence in Kerala, its literacy rate is almost equal to state literacy rate. In the last five years, there is a considerable growth in the educational field in certain panchayats in the constituency. But this growth did not reflect in the mindset of people of Nadapuram. Around 40% of the population attained secondary education. Degree and Diploma are attained by 35.8%. Higher education including Post Graduate and professional courses are attained by 10.6% and primary education is secured by 12.6%. The line graph 6.3 below depicts that 2.8% of people are illiterate. But the illiteracy is comparatively low in this constituency as compared with certain other constituency of the State. It is awkward to compare the literacy rate with the repeated violence in this area.

Figure 6.3
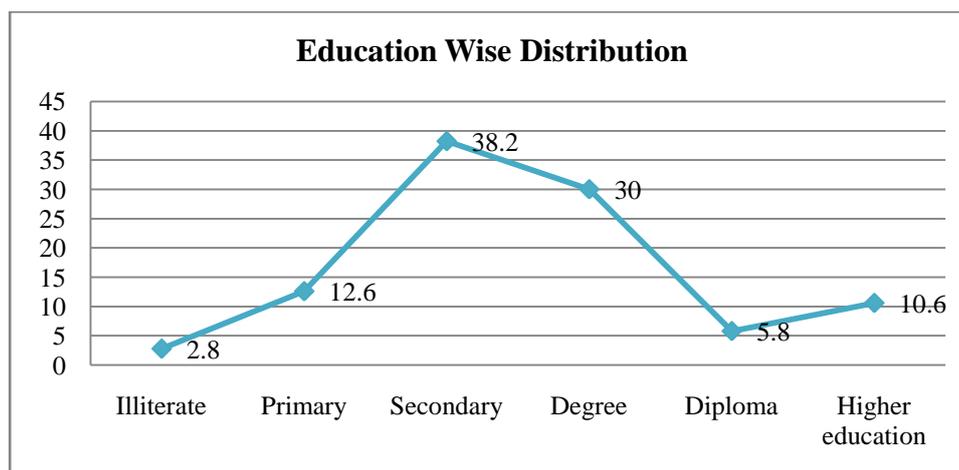
Source: The Survey

Table 6.5

Religious Status of Education on Low Tension and High Tension Communal Riot Areas

	Low Tension Area		High Tension Area	
	Educated	**Non Educated**	**Educated**	**Non Educated**
Muslim	52.63	47.37	52.64	47.36
Hindu	50	50	53.01	46.99

Source: The Survey

Nadapuram constituency consists of ten panchayats, and among these Panchayats, Maruthonkara, Kayakodi, Kavilumpara and Naripatta are categorized into comparatively communally and politically low-tension areas and panchayats like Valayam, Vanimel, Edachery, Chekkiad, Thuneri and Nadapuram are categorized into High-tension areas for the study. Among these, the places in the constituency like Bhoomivathukkal, Thiruvamparambath, Kallachi, Muthangachal, Chittarikkal etc., are the most sensitive areas for the violence. From the Table 6.5, it is evident that in the low tension area, the Muslim community is highly educated. In the low tension area, the educated and non educated Hindu population is 50% each. While in high tension area, educated Hindu community (53.01%) are greater than non-educated (46.99%). Educational standard of Muslim community is similar

to the Hindus in this area (where educated Muslims are 52.64% and Non-educated are 47.36%). In an interview with Jayachandran Mokeri, he opined that the educational level was not a detrimental factor in communal violence at least in Nadapuram, some other factors like lack of proper job opportunities, religious intolerances, and lack of developments, political interests of the parties etc accentuated this factor (Jayachandran, 2018).

The land ownership pattern exhibited in Table 6.6 reveals that majority are having land area between 11 and 50 cent. Among this, Hindu community is possessing major land property (44 persons). From the Table 6.6, it is inferred that an average land possessed by the inhabitants are between 11-50 cents and above and below this level is acquired by more or less equal number of population (22%). The land between 1-5 acres is acquired by about 10% of the population and is distributed in mainly among the Hindus, like the ratio of the population. But Muslims in this area possess large land property of above 5 acres and the number of Hindu and Christian community is equal in this aspect. The landless are 0.86%.

Table: 6.6

Land Ownership Pattern

Land possession	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Others	Total Respondents	Percentage
Below 10 cent	30	13	2	Nil	45	22.28
11-50 cent	44	34	3	1	82	40.86
51-1acre	22	17	3	1	43	22
1 -5 acres	9	7	2	1	19	9.71
Above 5 acres	2	5	2	Nil	9	4.29
No property	1	1	Nil	Nil	2	0.86
Total	108	77	12	3	200	100

Source: The survey

Table 6.7

Income Wise Distribution (Monthly)

Income (in Rupees)	No of respondents	Percent
Below 1000	2	1.14
1001-2000	6	3.14
2001-5000	40	20
5001-10000	87	43.43
Above 10000	65	32.29
Total	200	100

Source: The survey

From the table 6.7, it is inferred that 1.14% of the population is having monthly income below 1000 and that between Rs.1001 and 2000 are 3.14%. Approximately 20% of the population lives with a monthly income of Rupees 2001and 5000. But major percent (43.43%) of the inhabitants rely on income between Rupees 5001 and 10,000 and the average population lives on this income. The second largest income is possessed by about 32% (above 10,000).

Table 6.8

Source of Income

Source of Income	No of Respondents	Percent
Agriculture	33	16.57
Business	27	13.71
Govt salary	19	9.71
Private salary	34	16.86
Daily wages	42	20.59
Gulf money	36	18
Nominal	3	1.42
Undisclosed	6	3.14
Total	200	100

Source: The survey

Table 6.8 above indicates that major percent (20.59%) of people are depending on daily wages section on various fields such as agricultural labours,

construction workers, Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Generation Scheme of government (MGNREGS) etc., 16.57% of people in Nadapuram are depends still on agriculture for their source of income. Before 1970, agriculture was the major source of income and the area was rich with coconut, paddy, arecanut, pepper etc. *Punam krishi,* was also an important agricultural practice in Vanimel and Nadapuram areas (Vasantham, 2018). After 1970's, agricultural sector lost its importance due to many threats in the area like globalization, land scarcity, prolonged political and communal conflicts, downfall in the price of agricultural products etc. Moreover, young generations hesitated to take over the agricultural works (Kannan *op.cit*). 13.71% are engaged in various types of business which include the trade and commerce. Government salaried persons are found only about 10%, while private salaried persons make up to 17%. These categories are working in various sectors like shops, mini-industries, technical fields etc. while 3.1% are not willing to reveal their source of income. Nominal income sections are found to be 1.42%. Now the backbone of the economy of Nadapuram is the Gulf money. This area witnessed huge migration to Middle-east countries mainly from the Muslim community for the employment at the beginning of 1970's, which favoured them. This source of income constitutes 18% in the survey.

Figure 6.4

Percentage of Political Affiliation Among the Different Communities
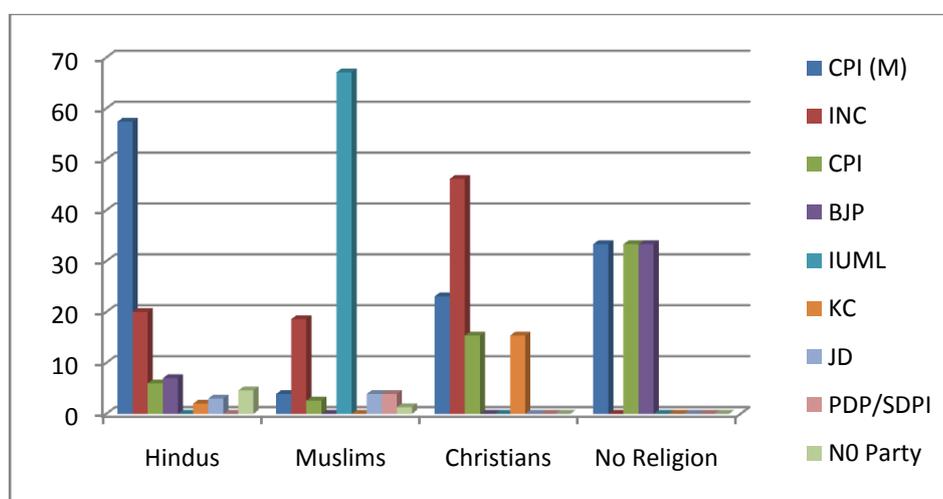
Source: The Survey

As per the survey analysis of the above Figure 6.4, among the 108 Hindu respondents, a vast majority of the community (57.4%) attached their political affiliation to the Communist Party of India (Marxist), whereas the Indian National Congress has 20% of supporters. Even though CPI (M) and INC are the two major political forces among the community; we can see a wide gap in the popular support of CPI (M) and INC. Figure 6.4 show that Bharatiya Janata Party and Communist Party of India maintain almost same percentage in the popular support among the Hindus. Both Janata Dal (JD) and Kerala Congress constitute only, three and two percent respectively. While the figure denotes that 4.6 % people expressed their negative attitude towards the role of political parties in the area. Among the Muslims respondents, 67.1% supported the Indian Union Muslim League. The second largest affiliation is towards INC with 18.6%. The shocking result of the analysis is that CPI (M) is having only 3.9% support from the Muslims and the same percentage of support is attained by JD. CPI and Socialist Democratic Party of India/Peoples Democratic Party (SDPI/PDP) got 2.6% of support, while 1.3% of people expressed their dissatisfaction towards the political parties. Among the Christian community, INC is the major political force with 46.15% of supporters, while the CPI (M) enjoyed support of 23.09%. Here, KC and CPI shares 15.38% of supporters each. People with no specific religion supported CPI (M), CPI and BJP equally with 33.33%. Thus CPI (M), IUML, INC, CPI and BJP are the major political parties in the region. Of them, the first two are the predominant forces in Nadapuram.

Table 6.9

Opinion of Nadapuram as a Communally Disturbed Area in Comparison to Other Parts of the State

Opinions	No of Respondents	Percent
Highly agreed	66	32.86
Highly Disagreed	61	30.28
Partially agreed	56	28
Not Responded	17	8.86
Total	200	100

Source: The Survey

From the field survey, majority of the inhabitants (32.86%) opined that the area is highly communally sensitive other than the places of the state. Table 6.9 above reveals that approximately the same percent of respondents disagreed to the view. 8.86% of the people did not respond to this question. But the observation of 28% towards partial agreement reveals clearly that the constituency is a communally notable area. From the field survey, the researcher came to understand that any minor incident will be deviated to inflammable communal disturbances.

Table 6.10

Impact of Gulf Money on Nadapuram Incidents

Opinions	No of Respondents	Percent
Highly related	98	49.14
Highly nonrelated	46	23.14
Partially related	38	18.57
No opinion	18	9.15
Total	200	100

Source: The Survey

When the researcher surveyed the impact of gulf money in the area, about 50% of the population agreed to the stand that it had a clear impact among the population, especially on the Muslim community. About 23%, mostly CPI (M) affiliated persons disagreed with the question and they replied that it was a distorted statement of some vested interests in the society. But, 18.57% of the respondents partially agreed to the view and 9.15% as seen in Table 6.10 did not reveal their stand. In an interview with Ahammed Ponnal, the land based economy faced a challenge with the spread of market economy and with the rise of service sector; the Muslims survived their economic dominance with the help of Middle East migration and the employment there. Thus, Muslims and Hindus of the society were 'placed unequally' in the socio-economic and political system (Ahammed, 2018). In another interview with Mohammed Vengalath, he said that at the mid 1970's, many Muslims were migrated to Gulf countries in search of employment, which brought better financial status to them than rest of the other communities. This surplus money was

exhibited luxuriously by the community and this naturally created a jealousy towards them. In addition, Gulf impact on economy created with the migration, bought traditional disparity between the landlords and labours (Thiyya community mainly), in the primary sector, led to violent conflicts in the area since 1970's. This paved the way for multi-various ramifications in the socio-economic system (Mohammed, 2018).

Table 6.11

Influence of Communal- Terrorist Organization from Outside

Opinions	No of Respondents	Percent
Highly agreed	105	52.29
Highly disagreed	38	18.86
Partially agreed	41	20.57
No respond	16	8.28
Total	200	100

Source: The Survey

Regarding the interferences of communal –terrorist organizations from outside, 52% of the respondents highly agreed with the question. But 18.86% of the people highly disagreed with this opinion. About 21% of the respondents partially admitted to the role of outside terrorist forces in the Nadapuram issues. At the same time, Table 6.11 shows that 8.28% of the people hesitated to reveal their opinion. After 1990's, communal forces like NDF and SDPI hijacked the leadership of IUML. At least in Nadapuram, Muslim League leaders welcomed the extremely fundamentalist forces like NDF, PDP and SDPI. These religious fundamentalist organizations launched a wrong propaganda against CPI (M) active workers and leaders. The forces like NDF provided a martial training and religious fundamentalist classes and injected religious fundamentalism among the young Muslims. They also created a mentality of revenge against CPI (M) and its workers. The best example for this influence is the baselessly formulated Theruvamparambu scandal. It was very clear that the black hands of NDF and SDPI in the murder of Santhosh and Binu (Mohanan, 2018). He also pointed out that RSS and some other

Hindu religious forces are trying to usurp and to create communal colour to certain issues. Pinarayi Vijayan, the present Chief Minister, when he was the State General Secretary of CPI (M), alleged that UDF and IUML leadership were taking the state into a dangerous position by unashamedly encouraging NDF in northern Kerala and PDP in southern Kerala. The friendship established during the Kerala Assembly Election in 2001, had emboldened the NDF to take the law into its hands in Nadapuram. He further said that religious fundamentalism was a new phenomenon as far as Kerala was concerned. But if the NDF were allowed to continue its activities along with that of the RSS, the State would be forced to be in anarchy as in the north eastern states.

Table 6.12

Encouragement of Goonda-criminal Activity by Political Parties

Political parties	No of Respondents	Percent
CPI (M)	92	46
CPI	Nil	-
INC	Nil	-
IUML	72	36
BJP	12	6.29
KC	Nil	-
JD	Nil	-
No respond	11	5.71
PDP/SDPI	6	2.86
All parties	7	3.14
Total	200	100

Source: The Survey

Researcher realized from the field survey that the vast majority of people admitted that Nadapuram area was the fertile soil for goonda-criminal activities. They nurtured their activities with the support of the political parties. According to Table 6.12, 80% of the respondents fully agreed with the above view. Figure 6.5

below shows that 46% of respondents reveals that CPI (M) either patronage or support the criminal activities in the area. 36% of people agree that IUML strongly encourage and protect the goondas and criminals for their political benefits with the support of certain Muslim landlords. 6.29% of people pointed out that BJP are responsible for criminal activities with their shrewd political interests. 2.86% of inhabitants were of opinion that PDP/SDPI is behind these activities by nurturing the criminal activities of NDF. Around 3.14% respondents strongly believe that all the political parties are directly or indirectly extend all sorts of support and encouragement for the communal violence through goonda activities. The Figure also shows that 5.71% of people did not respond to this question.

Figure 6.5

Percentage of Goonda-Criminal Activity by Political Parties
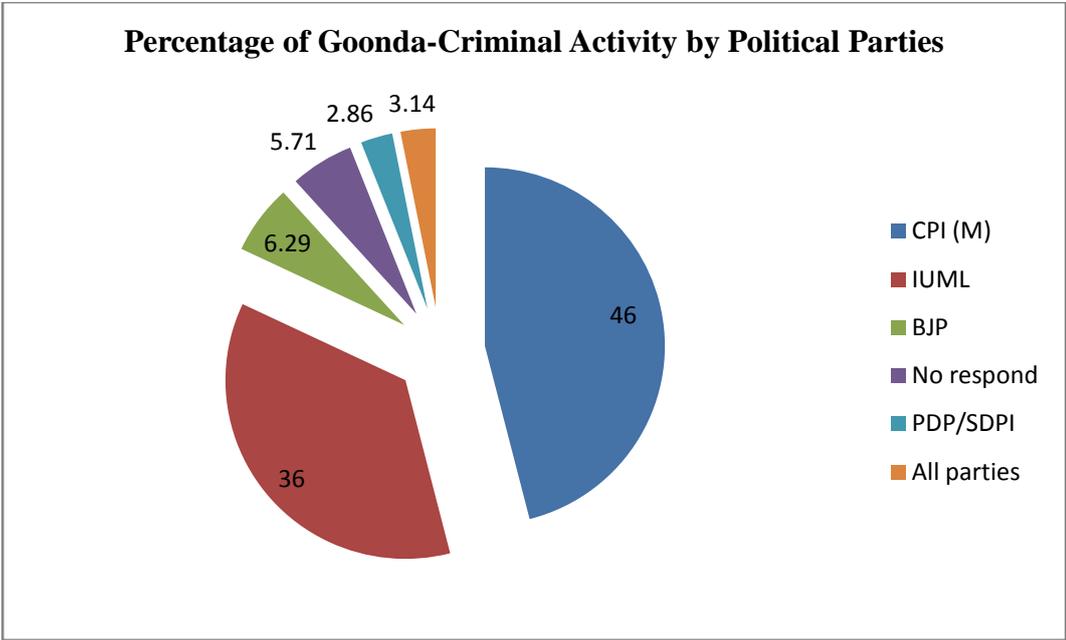
Source: The Survey

By analyzing the survey result, it is found that on many occasions criminal gangs are absolutely controlled and protected by political parties. This criminal group plays as well as put into practice anti-social activities and violence. Their inhumane deeds panic the common people. In most occasions, people are afraid of taking any legal steps against them. This situation provides them favourable condition to grow and strengthen themselves. One of the main criminal groups was

'LTTE' of the Chuzhali in Valayam Panchayat. In the initial stage, they were supported by local leadership of CPI (M). But later, atrocities of this organization became a severe headache to the party. Then the party took a strong stand against this goonda gang. Another criminal wing, '34 brothers' of Payyamthanam and the 'Luna set' enjoyed the protection from the Muslim League and Muslim landlords. During the time of violence, landlords and IUML used these organizations as their protective force without any iota of mercy and discrimination. This group launched severe attack against the peasants and workers. The Muslim Cultural Centre (MCC), RSS, Shiv Sena is other religious fundamentalist organizations. These forces were involved to create criminal activities in Nadapuram. In an interview with C.H.Balakrishnan, he opined that the NDF is deeply rooted among the Muslim Youth. Their main aim is to create religious tension and horrible communal violence. NDF is both criminal and terrorist organization. Irrespective of religious faith, peace loving people strongly thinks that it is the most aggressive force in Nadapuram. The whole activities of NDF submerged (Balakrishnan, 2018). This organization was initially patronized by the Muslim League. But the Muslim League immediately realized the agenda of NDF and recently they took a very strong position against NDF. Very often, their activities were beyond the control of political parties, because they were not transparent and governed by underground support from various sources.

In Nadapuram, the weapon manufacturing and training are conducted with the silent permission of political parties. All these are done in the name of self-protection. The presence of weapons created the atmosphere of the battlefield. Powerful explosive guns, swords, and other dangerous weapons are widely used to unleash terror during the peacetime also. This process is ever on the move and generates tension and fear of death in the minds of the mass (Majeed, 2018). From the field survey, the researcher was informed from the majority of inhabitants that country bombs and aggressive weapons are often manufactured even in some houses in the constituency, to resist the immediate attack of the opponents. This was the result of mutual suspicion and fear of violence.

Table 6.13 depicts that explicit that a vast majority of population (64.57%) agree to the view that police was not at all neutral in the area, they also added that the role of police is to flame the violence than to put off. 16.57% respondents agree to the same view partially. But 12% of people appreciated the role of police to discharge the duties properly and they added that the intervention of political leaders undermine the morale of police. A few percent of respondents (6.86%) did not reveal their opinion. It is alleged that the intervention of police is not unbiased and very often, made the atmosphere the worst. Timely intervention was absent.

Table 6.13

Biased Role of Police

Opinions	No of respondents	Percent
Highly agreed	129	64.57
Highly disagreed	24	12
Partially agreed	33	16.57
No opinion	14	6.86
Total	200	100

Source: The Survey

The police were beating up the poor innocent people of the area indiscriminately, not caring whether they are women, children or elderly persons. All this is being done at a time when the people of the area are yet to be recovered from the inhuman assaults made by the extreme group of the Muslim League (Aboobacker, 2001). It was the turn of Valayam, a tiny village in the area to experience the vengeful acts of the pro-IUML police on 8th July 2001. Around 7 pm, the police entered the village and begun the combing operation led by an Inspector named Pradeep and few other officers. They entered houses and destroyed everything that came into their view. The women were terrorized to reveal where the men folk were hiding. A number of women were seriously injured in this attack, of whom nine were hospitalized at the Vatakara Taluk headquarters hospital. The old woman and even a pregnant young woman were not spared by the police, who it

appeared were competing among themselves to gratify the League bosses of the area (Aboobacker, *op.cit*). Some respondents still remember the atrocities and brutal behaviour of police in those days. Police brutality not only affected in Valayam, but also in Kaiveli, Purameri, Kallachi, Thanneerpanthal, Kakkattil, Bhoomivathukkal, Mokeri and many other villages. The women collectively tried to resist this inhuman attitude of the police. Fearing police action against them, many of the young men of the locality who had incurred the wraths of IUML boss of the area, went into the hiding places not known even to their spouses and comrades (Mohanan, *op.cit*).

In an interview with Valappil Kunhammed Master, he said that police here, was converted as party wing, often changing their colour according to the political reign. As a result of this, innocent Muslim League workers and leaders were charged illegally on many occasions. Not only does it affect League, but also other political parties, including their coalition partners (Kunhammed, 2018). According to Beerankutty, fearing LDF leaders and their aggressive nature, the police cannot conduct their duties properly and independently. He added that during the LDF regime, police in Nadapuram was totally politicized by the CPI (M), such an occasion, the role of police is like the party cadres. According to him, local party leaders control the Nadapuram, Valayam and Kuttiady police stations. As a result of these interferences of the party, police was demoralized (Beerankutty, 2017).

Table 6.14

Role of Worship Centres

Opinions	No of respondents	Percent
Highly agree	88	44
Highly disagree	70	34.86
Not known	24	12.29
No response	18	8.85
Total	200	100

Source: The survey

Table 6.14 above denotes 44% of the total 200 respondents, opined that in most of the occasions, religious centres are the nerve centre of communal violence and even political disputes. But approximately 35% of the people disagreed with this opinion and they hold that religious centres did not support the violence. 12.29% are unaware of the issue and 8.85% did not reveal their opinion.

The major religious communities in Nadapuram are Hindus, Muslims and Christians. Christians are comparatively calm and non-controversial. Majority of this community are engaged in agriculture. They are vigilant to keep away from communal and political issues as per the instructions of their religious leaders. Their leaders advised them to concentrate more on education for their economic development. While the other two religions in order to enhance the religious influence indulged in various activities. The inflow of petrodollars has resulted in an increased number of mosques in and around Nadapuram. Majority of the respondents of the field survey opined that in few occasions, mosque became the nerve centre to assist the communal violence and disputes as arsenals of explosive bombs and other harmful weapons and as the asylum for extremists. It was in that context, Communist party leader A. Kanaran warned the Mosque authorities that if stone-throw from the Mosque against the people, especially, CPI (M) occurs, definitely anti-throw will be carried out by the party workers. In order to counter this situation, some Hindu organizations like RSS and Shiv Sena, tried to reconstruct or renovate a number of temples in the area. Subsequently, some temples served as the centre of Hindu fundamentalism and organizations like RSS to promote Hindutva ideology and they are using premises of some temples for physical training also. They are very systematically trying to develop Hindu fundamentalism. But they did not succeed in their effort, as these kinds of religious rivalry destroyed the religious tolerance of Nadapuram (Kunjali, 2018).

From the Table 6.15, it is inferred that 32.57% of people during the survey, strongly expressed that continuous and repeated violence badly affected the education of their children. They shared an opinion that the psyche of their children was deeply affected with the incurring violence and tension in the area. 40.86% of

people partially admitted that the prolonged incidents, to a certain extent, affected their mental growth and enthusiasm to study. But about 20% opined that the violence had not affected their children's education. But it's awesome to find from the study that 6.28% of people are totally unaware of the educational crisis occurred at the time of violence.

Table 6.15

Impact of Violence on Education

Opinions	No of Respondents	Percent
Highly affected	65	32.57
Partially affected	82	40.86
Not affected	41	20.29
Not known	12	6.28
Total	200	100

Source: The Survey

The researcher realized that some students lost their education after the series of political and communal violence in the area, especially, at the place of Kallachi, Valayam, Vilangad, Kaiveli, Theruvamparambu, Uritti, Vellilodu etc. Some among the respondents, especially mothers exhibited their anguish in the deployment of police in the educational institutions during the violence. Some of them sent their offspring's to their kins houses to continue their education unhindered. Even some parents showed the mental illness of their children who were affected by witnessing the violence. Majority of the parents pointed out that the inefficiency of local political leadership, as a reason to prevent political and communal violence. The communal feeling among the people in the area has touched an abysmal level. These feeling have touched the young minds easily. Another fact is that the continuous communal and political violence in the area, unknowingly spread to the schools and this communal poison penetrated into the innocent minds. After huge communal disturbances following the recent murders, the education department is trying to present many projects to bring back the children to schools with the support of leading personalities and social workers (Kumar Suresh, 2015).

In the field survey, the researcher collected information regarding the communal and terrorist organizations and the respondent's attitude towards the ban of these organizations.

Figure 6.6

Banning Communal and Terrorist Organizations
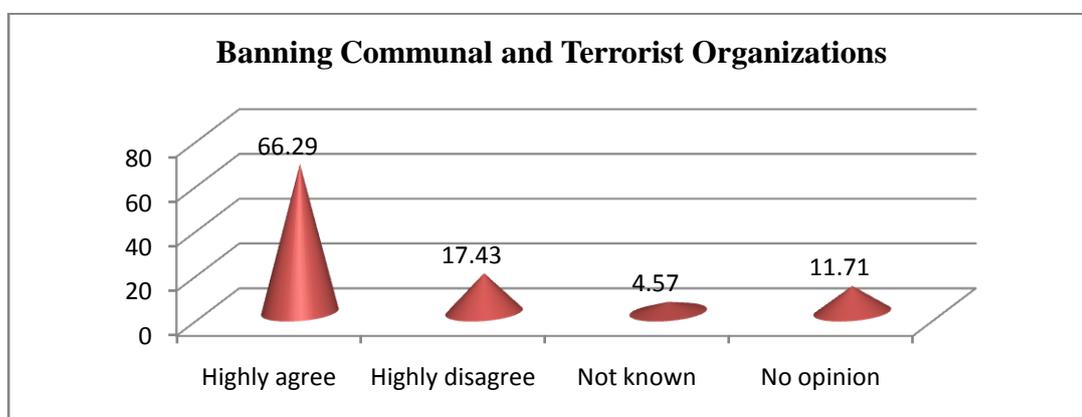
Source: The Survey

As per the Figure 6.6, among the total respondents, vast majority of people (66.29%) are highly agreed to ban the communal and terrorist organizations. The fact is that unlike in Marad, few Muslim respondents pointed out that more communal and terrorist nature exhibited by CPI (M) than the RSS. Similarly, few Hindu respondents, especially Thiyya, mentioned that at least in Nadapuram area, IUML is a terrorist and communal organization. But majority of the respondents, irrespective of their religion, opined that NDF, SDPI, PDF, RSS, Shiv Sena are the highly poisoned fundamentalist groups. Respondents, especially mothers, strongly expressed that these anti-social forces should be banned at any cost. Anti-social role of NDF is very clear from 1995 to 2018, 39 persons were killed, starting from Rajeevan, CPI (M) worker at Vatanappilly, Thrissur (1995) to Abhimanyu, SFI worker of Maharajahs College, Ernakulam (2018). This data includes Binu, a CPI (M) worker at Nadapuram (2001) and eight RSS workers at Marad (2003). And their cruelty includes the hand-chop of a College teacher at Muvattupuzha and the attack towards various political workers (Kareem, 2018). Irrespective of ideological differences, both CPI (M) and IUML admits the extreme terrorist and communal nature of NDF. The recent trend of Kerala public society is to ban these types of organizations from various bitter experiences in the state. It is inferred from the

study that the opinion of majority of people from Nadapuram, to ban these organizations have a coincidence with the feeling of the whole Kerala society.

Pyramidal Figure 6.6 denotes that 17.43% people disagree to ban the fundamentalist organizations. Few of them pointed out that the legal ban is not a viable solution to check the deteriorating activities of the organizations. They narrated that, there are a lot of examples, that in lieu with the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, RSS was legally banned by the Government of India. But this attempt was not fruitful. In their opinion, collective propaganda and public awareness would help to discourage the activities of these terrorist organizations than a ban. But, 11.71% of people were not willing to cast their opinion. While 4.57% were not at all aware of these kinds of issues.

Table 6.16

Newspapers Subscribed

Newspapers	No of Respondents	Percent
Malayala Manorama	59	29.43
Mathrubhumi	50	25.14
Desabhimani	39	19.43
Chandrika	21	10.29
Kerala Kaumudi	8	4
Vikshanam	8	4
Janmabhumi	7	3.43
Indian Express/Hindu	6	3.14
Nil	2	1.14
Total	200	100

Source: The Survey

Newspaper reading/Television watching habit of the respondents also considered for analysis, television viewers are almost the same of the newspaper reading habit of the respondents. Even though this is a communally polarized area, vast majority of the people are subscribing mainstream newspapers. Among the

respondents, as shown in Table 6.16, 29.43% is reading Malayala Manorama Daily Mathrubhumi Daily was read by 25.14%. Kerala Kaumudi is subscribed by 4%. Among the party affiliated papers, Desabhimani, affiliated to CPI (M) was subscribed by 19.43%, which was higher than Chandrika, affiliated to IUML (10.29%). Vikshanam and Janmabhumi, affiliated to INC and BJP are read by 4% and 3.43% respectively. The mainstream English newspapers are read by a few percent (3%) and those who have no reading habit are 1.14%. Field survey states that during the tense situation, party affiliated papers add communal colour to the papers thereby, widening the grudge between political parties and communities. It is an astonishing fact that in most of the occasions, party affiliated papers, gives sensational news for their political achievements. Unfortunately, during the time of violence, even mainstream newspapers spread wrong stories which made the matters worse and lead to more tension. Some visual media also took part in this process and exhibited some sensitive pictures and hot news, which poured fuel in the communal fire (Sathyan, 2018).

To tackle the political and communal issues in Nadapuram, the response of people in the study area as per the Table 6.17 and Figure 6.7 shows that 38.86% of them strongly believe that LDF can absolutely resolve the problems and the LDF government can maintain peace. But 32.57% people contradict the argument and

Table 6.17

Role of LDF to Resolve the Violences

To Resolve the problems	No of Respondents	Percent
Highly agree	78	38.86
Made it complicated	65	32.57
No change	38	18.86
No opinion	19	9.71
Total	200	100

Source: The Survey

they opined that the present LDF government is making the situation worse, and they believe that there are chances for more political and communal violence. The doughnut figure 6.7 shows that 18.86% of people think that there is no change in the situation. Here 9.7% of respondents were not willing to reveal their stand.

Figure 6.7

Role of LDF to Resolve the Violences
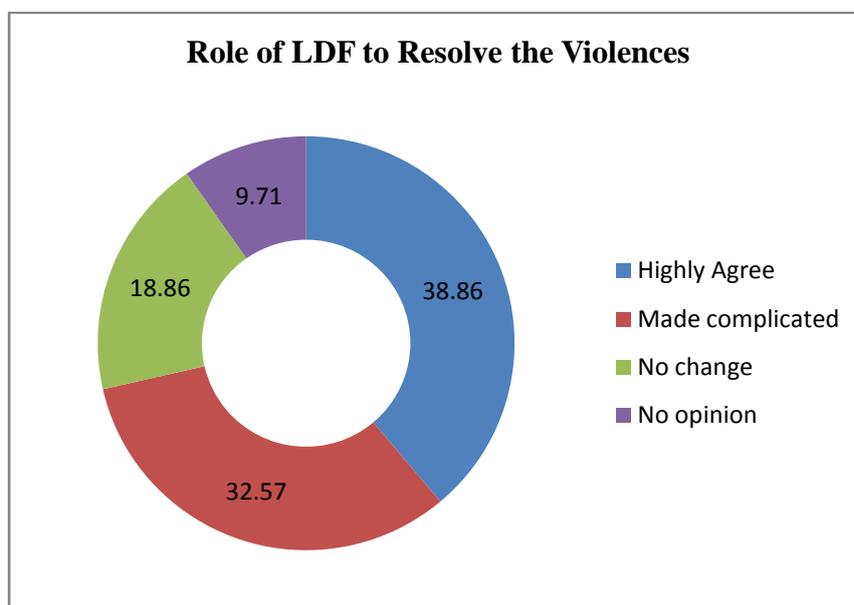
Source: The Survey

Table 6.18

Role of UDF to Resolve the Violences

To Resolve the problem	No of Respondents	Percent
Highly agree	71	35.43
Made complicated	85	42.29
No change	27	13.71
No opinion	17	8.57
Total	200	100

Source: The Survey

In comparison with the LDF government, UDF government's role was not so favourable among the respondents. Above Table 6.18 and Doughnut diagram 6.8 shows that 35.43% were in support of UDF, whereas, highest percent (42.29%) strongly believed that UDF government always worsen the atmosphere. Most of the respondents pointed out that during the rule of UDF, the dominant partner, INC, took an appeasement policy towards the communal nature of Muslim League. Respondents also added that League is in support of underground criminals and goonda gangs, who released violence under the shade of Muslim League. While 13.71% believed that there was no apparent change for the communal atmosphere with the UDF reign. 8.57% people did not express their opinion.

Figure 6.8
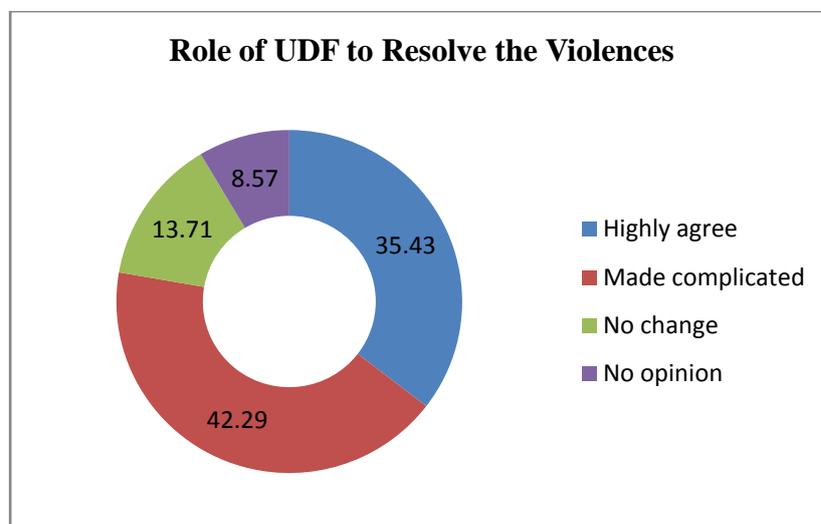
Source: The Survey

In addition to the collection of primary data through questionnaire, the researcher used interview schedule with different political party leaders, social workers and certain notable public figures. In an interview with P.Saduli, he opined that during the period of freedom struggle and in the days of independence, a close relationship between different religious communities existed in Nadapuram. And upto the mid 1950's, Congress party had a strong hold in the area. Congress represents the various sections of the communities, which consists of workers and landlords. In those days, so many social evils prevailed in the area and some sort of labour issues also occurred, but all these factors did not lead to any kind of violence.

But along with the first Legislative Assembly election in 1957, vast changes took place in the area. Gradually the growth of Communist party took place in the area, under the leadership of C.H.Kanaran, M.K.Kelu, E.V.Kumaran, P.P.Sankaran, T.K.Abdulla, Kumaran master etc. These leaders stood for the benefit of the labours and common people and mobilized the commons against the exploitation of feudal lords. The second generation leadership of A.Kanaran unilaterally declared some strikes against some Muslims, who have large land property. Some minor issues were amplified by the party and they declared Muslims as their main enemy. This psychic feeling was kindled by the party for their narrow political interest. In most occasions, even for minor political incidents, party gave a communal colour. This was one important cause of issues in Nadapuram (Saduli, 2018).

Soopi Narikottery, in an interview, shared the same view of Saduli. He mentioned that until 1950's, the influential political parties were INC and Socialist party. Majority of the Muslims were the workers of both parties. However, Thiyyas were the main supporters of both parties. Upto 1950's, Communist party and Muslim League were not considerable political forces in the area. He also said that some Thiyyas known as *Vaidhyars* were rich landlords in the area. They had vast landed property, in the areas of Nadapuram, Vanimel, Purameri, Mokeri etc., which they acquired from Moopil Nair (a representative of Zamorin). A few Muslim landlords also acquired some land properties from Moopil Nair. The social and economic exploitation existed in the social system led to the growth of Communist Party. The CPI fought against social and economic evils. In the 1957 Legislative Assembly Election, CPI (M), candidate was C.H.Kanaran. To win the election, C.H. Kanaran, and the party used 'sectarianism' in the way of playing Thiyya card. Soopy pointed out that not A.Kanaran but C.H.Kanaran was the first Communist leader in Nadapuram who used caste card for the political benefit. He only targeted Muslim landlords and spared Hindu landlords. In some areas of Nadapuram, Thiyya landlords are powerful than Muslim landlords. In this context, Muslim League Leaders like Kunnoth Kunhammed master, K.V.Mammed Sahib, K.M.Munshi, Pudusserry Mammu Haji, K.V.Kunhalikutty Saheb etc., started work for the interest of Muslims in the area. And gradually Muslims moved to IUML (Soopy, 2018).

In an interview with V.P.Kunhikrishnan and Kannan Master, they opined that Communist party started its activities in Kurumbranad and Nadapuram areas with the formation of the party in 1939 at Pinarayi, in Kannur District. Communist workers were inspired by the hero of Onchiyam revolt, Mandody Kannan. In 1940, Kurumbranad taluk communist party was formed, with M. Kumaran master as the first Secretary of the party. The party launched struggle against the various form of exploitations and social evils which prevailed in the area, thus the party became a popular force in the area. During 1950's, under the leadership of P.P.Narayanan Adiyodi, E.V.Kumaran, M.Kumaran master, M.K.Kelu, C.H.Kanaran, U.Kunhiraman, A. Kanaran etc, started party activities to fight against social evils like untouchability, taboo, social evil rituals, superstitions etc. Party also rendered various social services like treatment and care of patients of small pox, cholera and other epidemic diseases. These kinds of deeds created a good impression among all sections of the people in this area. This was reflected in the election of 1957. These kinds of social reforms and struggle for the poor and working class gathered people towards the Communist party and this in turn shaken the foundation of Socialist and Congress party. He rejected the argument of leaders of Muslim League that Communist party was against the Muslims. In many occasions, the party fought against the exploitation of Hindu landlords and others and he added that in Nadapuram area, majority of landlords were Muslims. Naturally, their economic and social cruelties against the labours and peasants are questioned by Communist party and its workers. The party lost many active workers and sympathizers in the course of its struggle for social and economic justice. He cited Muthangachal incidence, Vanimel struggle, Chittarikkal struggle, Ration-card strike etc., Irrespective of caste or religion these agitations of the party were always for the marginalized sections of the society. Party fought not only against the Muslim landlords, but also towards communal forces like RSS, NDF and communal colour of Muslim League. In his opinion, IUML, deliberately gives communal colour even for minor political issues. With its unholy alliance with fundamentalist forces like NDF, PDP and even with RSS, it tried to destroy the Communist party. Kunhikrishnan and Kannan master

concluded that with the support of people, party can overcome all the baseless allegations against the party (Kunhikrishnan, 2018).

In an interview with V.M.Chandran and Sajeevan, they opined that Nadapuram area is politically and geographically different from other constituencies in the state. Nadapuram constituency is geographically, culturally and politically sharing its territory with Kannur and Wayanad districts. Basically, people of Nadapuram are innocent and good. But when a political and religious incident occurs, people reaction was emotional. This is the traditional traits of people since they have a traditional martial blood. These emotional traits of the people were exploited few political parties with their political interest, especially CPI (M) and IUML. Even though RSS plays many political tricks here, they are a negligible force in this area. Once Congress had a popular support in this area. But CPI (M) used caste and communal cards for which political gains created caste and communal polarization. These polarizations adversely affected the influence of Congress. However, the Congress party never compromised its secular outlook and commitment to social and political justice. During the UDF government, Congress party conducted their maximum effort to maintain peace and development in the area. The Congress leaders admitted that upto1970's, the CPI (M) conducted their activities to a certain extent ideologically, but after 1970's, the party was in the way of muscle power, and that created a lot of issues and mortality in the area. Another reason is the upcoming of the terrorist and fundamentalist forces like NDF, SDPI, RSS and Shiv Sena resulted in the repeated violence in the constituency. The violence reflected highly in many fields, like, economic development, social co-operation, education of children, the mental tension of women, communal harmony etc (Chandran and Sajeevan, 2018).

The researcher had an interview with Sathyan Mokeri. He opined that economic disparity and social injustice were the two main root causes of the issues in Nadapuram. The competition for the supremacy of some political parties, political and personal grudge between parties also made the atmosphere worst. In addition, newspapers and visual media spread rumors and hot news. The absence of timely

intervention of police in the violence torn area affected the people more. To him, it is inevitable for all the political parties and social organizations, cultural institutions and religious leaders to rethink about their role in past and to compromise their stand for establishing permanent peace and development in Nadapuram (Sathyan, *op.cit*).

From the above analysis, the researcher understands that vast majority of the people are infavour of peace and communal harmony. Almost all political party leaders and workers are fed up with their own involvement in prolonged violences and conflicts, which adversely affected all walks of life. Majority expressed their fear of the future generation to become communaly blind and dismay secularism in the area.

II. Response of Civil Society of Marad

Marad area looks no different from other beaches of the coastal area of the state apparently. But Marad has been always a breeding ground for the fundamentalist forces. Many minor incidents and communal disputes were clearly evident in the historical background of this fisherman's colony. The communal animosity began in this place way back in 1954, when a quarrel between two individuals belonging to two communities polarized into a communal clash (Balaraman, 2017). As a continuation to this incident, in 1974, fisherman of two different communities confronted each other with weapons. Eventhough the reason behind this clash was minute; it sparkled in many occasions until 1984, when it was decided not to repeat the communal clashes. On the contrary, the first and second Marad incidents on 3rd and 4th January 2002 and 2nd May 2003, became notorious for the worst communal violence. Around 400 families sharing almost Hindus and Muslims living in the coastal belt are in the situation of not just cold fear but mutual animosity and mutual distress.

The researcher gathered information from 86 respondents in the Marad area. Out of this, 6 persons partially cooperated in answering the questionnaire; hence the survey result was based on the opinion of fully cooperated 80 persons.

Table 6.19

Age and Gender Wise Distribution

Gender	18-35 years	36-50 Years	51-60 Years	60 years Above	Total
Male	13 (16)	21 (26)	12 (15)	12 (15)	58 (72)
Female	5 (6.25)	8 (10.5)	4 (5)	5 (6.25)	22 (28)
Total	18 (22.25)	29 (36.5)	16 (20)	17 (21.25)	80 (100)

Source: The Survey

The age and gender wise distribution of the population is illustrated in the Table 6.19. 72% of the respondents from the study area were males and 28% were females. Examining the age wise distribution eighteen respondents belongs to 18-35 years (22.25%), the majority of the respondents belongs to 36-50 years, who were about 36.5%. 20% and 21.25 % respectively were respondents of age group 51-60 and above 60.

Table 6.20

Religion Wise Distribution

Religion	No. of Respondents	Percent
Hindu	44	55
Muslim	34	43
Christian	2	2
Total	80	100

Source: The Survey

Before the Marad 1st and 2nd riots, the population of Muslims is slightly higher than Hindus. But on the basis of the survey now, Hindus are higher in the area than the Muslims, with a difference of about 12%. This is because immediately after the 2nd riot, majority of the Muslim families fled from Marad, fearing the

retaliation of the Hindu fundamentalist forces. As per the pie diagram 6.9, the third religion found in the area is Christianity, which was a narrow percentage of two. The above Table 6.20 shows the Distribution of Religion in Marad area.

Figure 6.9
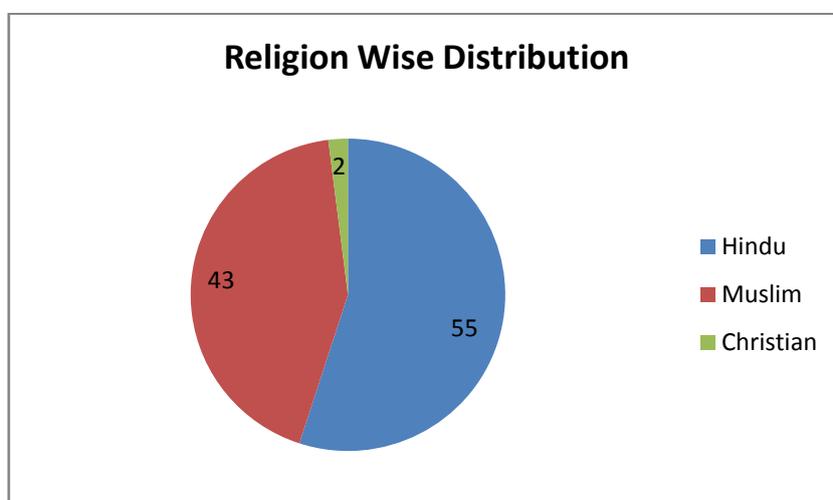
Source: The Survey

Table 6.21 shows the Caste Wise Distribution in the area. Muslims is found highest with 43% followed by Thiyya caste of 28%. Araya community is of 21% and Forward castes consist of 5%. Scheduled Caste is of a narrow margin in the area (3%), while Scheduled tribes are not found.

Table 6.21

Caste Wise Distribution

Caste	No. of Respondents	Percent
Forward Caste	4	5
Thiyya	23	28
Arayas	17	21
Muslims	34	43
SC	2	3
ST	0	0
Total	80	100

Source: The Survey

In the survey, when enquired about the literacy of the coastal area, there seen a gap with the educational development of Kozhikode District and its ratio with that of the state level statistical analysis. The enrolment of the coastal line people in the higher education after the secondary and higher secondary level examinations are comparatively low level compared with the younger generations of other areas. Comparing to the State literacy rate of 93.91% Marad has only nearly 91%.

Table 6.22

Education Wise Distribution

Education	No of Respondents	Percent
Illiterate	7	9
Primary	25	31
Secondary	40	50
Degree	5	6
Diploma	2	3
Higher Education	1	1
Total	80	100

Source: The Survey

According to the pyramidal graph 6.10 below, nearly half of the population attained the secondary level of education. Comparing to other Wards of Kozhikode Corporation, the Degree, Diploma and Higher Education attained were very low. Table 6.22 and figure 6.10 above shows the Education Wise Distribution of the area. The child labour is the determining variable which works as hindrances to the educational development of the children. The analysis gives the details that the 85% of the children are found in small scale jobs during the holidays or evening time in the educational period. 90% of them adopt this type of job due to the financial crisis of the family. They are forced to select fishing or other fish related jobs, construction works, shopkeepers, salesman, footpath sales, painting, line bus conductor or doorkeeper, helping in catering etc. as their choice. This short term job and earnings adversely affect their interest in education.

Figure 6.10

Education Wise Distribution

Illiterate: 9
Primary: 31
Secondary: 50
Degree: 6
Diploma: 3
Higher Education: 1

■ Percent
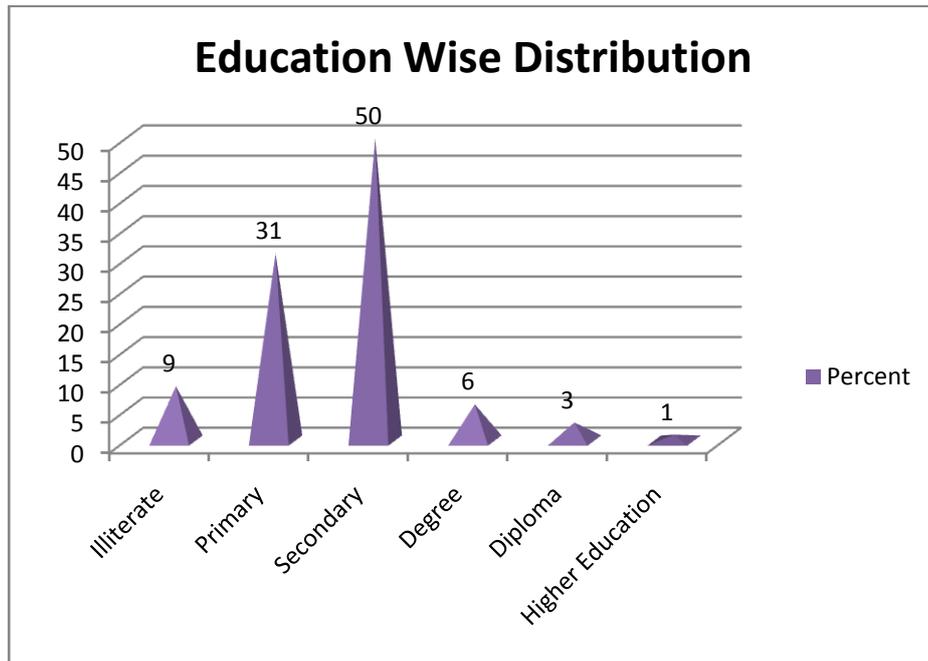
Source: The Survey

Among the 58 male respondents 66% are educated while in 22 female respondents only 34% were educated. There is a wide difference in education between male and female. The gender discrimination is the main reason for the educational backwardness of the females. More than 50% of people did not give more importance to the education of women. They treat the females as reserved for managing the household matters. Early marriage is the crucial variable of the educational backwardness of the women. Majority of the male members of the Marad, especially Muslim families discourage women from attaining more education and social activities.

The land ownership Pattern in Marad shown in Table 6.23, states that majority (69%) of population is holding below 10 cents of land. Those who possess 11-50 cents of land are 18%. Only nominal population has land above 50 cents. None of the people was found having land of above 5 Acre in Marad and 9% are found to have no property.

Table 6.23

Land Ownership Pattern

Land Possession	No of Respondents				
	Hindus	**Muslims**	**Christians**	**Total**	**Percent**
Below 10 cent	29	26	-	55	69
11-50 cent	9	4	1	14	18
50-1 Acre	2	-	-	2	2
1-5 Acre	1	1	-	2	2
Above 5 Acre	-	-	-	-	Nil
No property	3	3	1	7	9
Total	44	34	2	80	100

Source: The Survey

Majority of the population belongs to working class and mainly depends on the fishing field. Majority of them live in the community based group or religion. So the attitude and behaviour of the inhabitants who lived together in community base is likely to be the same. Beypore and Marad Fisherman housing colonies are some of the examples of this type. This peculiar type of colony life creates an unhealthy attitude towards almost all social issues.

Table 6.24 below, discusses the income wise distribution of people in Marad. Only 1% secure either or below 100 Rupees per day. And majority of inhabitants, about 57% earns a daily income of 500-600 rupees. While 27% comes under the income of 350-500 rupees and about 8% comes under the category of income level 250-350. Only 4% are found earning above 600 rupees per day.

Table 6.24

Income Wise Distribution

Income (In Rs)	No of Respondents	Percent
Below 100	1	1
100-250	2	3
250-350	6	8
350-500	22	27
500-600	46	57
Above 600	3	4
Total	80	100

Source: The Survey

From the survey it is observed that 64.29 % of Hindu community is having monthly income below Rs 5000 with poor living standards. The financial crisis is more in rainy season when fishing and other related jobs are less. Liquor consumption among men is more in Hindu families and that badly affects their living standards. 21.43 % have above Rs 5000 monthly income but less than Rs.10, 000. Only 14.29 % of people are comparatively living in good standards as they are earning above Rs10, 000 per month. The lower strata of Muslim community are also financially not better i.e, 48.57 % of them are having monthly income below Rs 5000. Another 34.29 % are having an income of above Rs5000 and below Rs 10,000. The upper strata with 17.14 % of them are with good living standards than that of any community in Marad, because many of them are working in Gulf Countries to earn a good income to the family.

Table 6.25

Source of Income

Source of Income	No of Respondents	Percent
Agriculture	11	14
Business	9	11
Salaried Job	6	8
Gulf Money	4	5
Nominal Income	16	20
Daily wages	32	39
Undisclosed	2	3
Total	80	100

Source: The Survey

Regarding the source of income, Table 6.25 above shows that 14% are engaged in agriculture. Now the agriculture sector is not secure to attain their livelihood due to the adverse conditions like natural calamities, globalization, land availability etc. About 11% of the people are involved in business, among them majority are involved in fishery based small scale industries and shop keepers, but 8% are salaried persons. Majority of these salaried sections are working in private sector with a meager salary. The source of income by Gulf money is about 5%, and their economic status is comparatively better than others. Recent economic crisis in the Gulf countries naturally created a concern among this section. Figure 6.11 below denotes the pyramidal diagram to show the source of income among the people of Marad. The diagram shows that around 39% depended upon daily wages as the source of income.

Figure 6.11

Source of Income
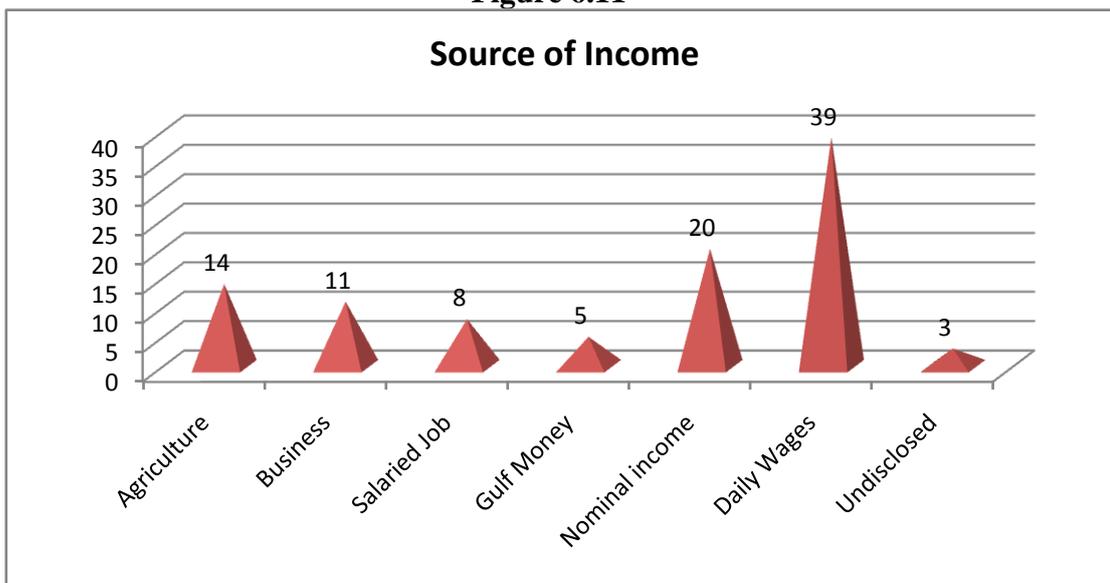
Figure 6.12 below shows that in the area of Marad, among the 80 respondents, 25 people showed their political affiliation to the Bharatiya Janata Party, which is the major political party having 31% of the total population. The affiliation on IUML is 28% and Communist Party of India (Marxist), have the support of 24% of the population. Only 2% of population belongs to Communist Party of India (CPI). People loyal to the Indian National Congress are only 8% in the area, whereas only 5% of the population belongs to the People's Democratic Party. In the survey 2% expressed that they have no interest in politics and the role of political parties.

Figure 6.12
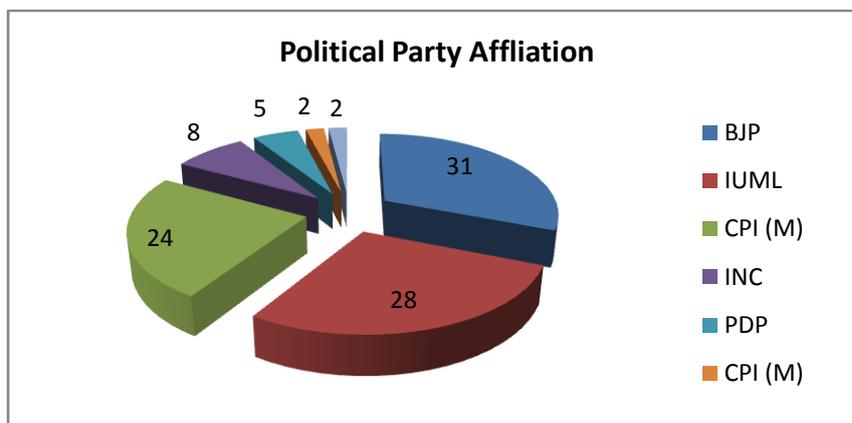
Source: The Survey

In the survey, it is interesting to see that since the last years of 1970's major political parties in this area were Congress, Janata Party and CPI (M) respectively. From 1980's onwards communal elements gradually usurped and they played catalytic role in the small coastal village. Thereafter BJP and Muslim League had become the major political powers in this small fishing harbour. Congress thoroughly lost its popularity among the people.

From the survey, it is observed that the majority of Hindu population (50.11%) in Marad had the opinion that the extremist Muslim organizations like NDF /PDP/ SDPI are the causative forces in communal riots. While, 22.22% of the people are blaming the CPI (M) for the communal riots. An 18.11% of people are of the opinion that B.J.P/RSS is behind the communal disputes. Few people opined that Muslim League is behind these incidents. Therefore, majority of the Hindu population have the opinion that extremist Muslim organizations are playing a pivotal role in giving spark to the communal riots. Likewise, among the Muslim community, 54.06% of Muslims blame that BJP/RSS is the causative organizations in the outbreak of communal violence. At the same time, the Muslims are equally blaming SDPI/NDF/PDP for their involvement in communal riots. 15.88% of Muslims blames the CPI (M) for creating communal violence for political advantage. Few Muslims (1.5%) opined that the political greed of Muslim League is the root cause.

Table 6.26

**Opinion of Marad as a Communally Disturbed Area
in Comparison to Other Parts of the State**

Opinions	No of Respondents	Percent
Highly Agreed	38	48
Highly Disagreed	26	31
Partially Agreed	14	18
Not Responded	2	3
Total	80	100

Source: The Survey

In the field survey, a sample of 80 persons was randomly selected from the different places of Marad. Among the respondents, 38 persons (48%) expressed their opinion that the region is a communally disturbed area. While 31% of the people disagreed with the former opinion. The aboveTable 6.26 also reveals that 18% of the respondents partially agreed that the place is a communally disturbed area. Among the respondents 3 persons did not answer this question.

Table 6.27

**Influence of the Communal – Terrorist Organization
from Outside**

Opinions	No of Respondents	Percent
Highly Related	29	36
Not Related	8	10
Partially Related	20	25
No opinion	23	29
Total	80	100

Source: The Survey

Regarding the interference of communal–terrorist organizations from outside of Marad (Table 6.27), irrespective of the religion wise respondents, about 36% opined that the Marad issues are highly related to the outside terrorist forces. In their opinion, these terrorist forces had nurtured religious fundamentalism in the area. Some people held that Hindu fundamentalist organizations aggressively interfere in the issues, whereas others blamed the Muslim terrorist organizations from outside. In the survey, 25% of people partially agree to the influence of outside forces in the area, but 10% denied the interference and 29% did not respond to the question. According to T.K.Vinodkumar, then the, Kozhikode City Police Commissioner, the mindset of the people of Marad was not in a condition to realize or resist disruptive moves from the part of outside communal forces. The disappointment and unhappiness spread in the society were tactfully exploited by the communal forces to tighten their grip on the people of Marad.

Table 6.28

Encouragement of Goonda Activity by Political Parties

Political parties	No of Respondents	Percent
CPI (M)	7	9
CPI	Nil	Nil
INC	Nil	Nil
IUML	6	8
BJP	9	11
KC	Nil	Nil
No Response	45	57
Others	9	11
PDP	2	2
All Parties	2	2
Total	80	100

Source: The Survey

The vast majority of the respondents held (Table 6.28) that there are no roles of political parties in the encouragement of 'goonda' activities (57%). The survey result also reveals that mainly three political parties CPI (M) (9%), BJP (11%) and IUML (8%), are to a certain extent encourage and support criminal activities in the area. Some respondents also strongly believe that these political parties patronage some criminal and goonda activities. Those who believe that there are some other militant communal organizations like NDF, ISS, RSS, Shiv Sena etc which strongly encourage the anti social forces are 11%.

Table 6.29

Biased Role of Police During Riots

Opinions	No of Respondents	Percent
Highly Agree	13	16
Highly Disagree	37	46
Partially Agree	18	23
Not Known	8	10
Not willing to Express	4	5
Total	80	100

Source: The Survey

According to Table 6.29, around 16% of respondents complained that the timely intervention of police was absent and the police were biased, thus made the situation worst. Similarly, 23% of the respondents partially agree to this view. While majority of the people, about 46% appreciated the impartial role of the police. 10% were totally ignorant of the view. Some respondents from BJP complained that when UDF government is in power, police act in tune with the coalition partner IUML, and that when LDF is in power, police act in their way. However, majority of BJP respondents appreciated the decision of V.S.Achuthanandan, then Chief Minister to recommend for a CBI Inquiry of the riot.

As per the below Table 6.30, among the respondents, 29% agreed that temples, mosques and other worshipping centres injected communal poison among their innocent believers, thereby creating animosity and anger against the other community, which will adversely affect peace and communal harmony. They pointed out that most of the issues are begun with religious celebrations in connection with temples and mosques. The people also cited that in the days of riots, police seized highly inflammable and aggressive weapons from the mosque. On the other hand, 30 respondents rejected this opinion of the encouraging role of worship centres as the breeding ground of communal issues. Thirty- four percent are unaware about this.

Table 6.30

Role of Worship Centres in Communal Riot

Opinions	No of Respondents	Percent
Agree	23	29
Disagree	30	37
Not Known	21	26
No Opinion	6	8
Total	80	100

Source: The Survey

While conducting the field survey in Marad, the researcher found that the impact of communal violence had even affected children and their education. Majority of women in the survey opined that this violence may create future consequences even in the children's psyche. More than half of the total percentage of men also agreed with the view. During communal violence, the schools closed and this seriously affected their education.

Table 6.31

Impact of Communal Violence on Education

Opinions	Respondents	Percent
Highly Affected	30	37
Partially Affected	22	28
Not Affected	22	27
Not Known	6	8
Total	80	100

Source: The Survey

The survey result in Table 6.31 shows that 30 people, mostly mothers, opined that the violence to a greater extent affected their children's education.

About 28% shared the view that the violence affected their children partially. Both sections pointed out that primary and secondary education was affected in this way. During and aftermath of riots, parents were feared to send their children to school. The survey revealed that the worst impact of the communal riot was the development of communal poison in the innocent minds of the children. The Table also depicts around 27% held their view that violence did not badly affect the education. About 8% were totally unknown of this factor.

As per the diagram 6.13 only 7% people respond against the ban of communal organizations by law. Large majority of (86%) people are in favour of banning communal organizations and their role. 7% of respondents were not willing to express their attitude this issue. In this survey, the researcher observed that even the communal minded persons, especially males, are apparently in favour of the ban of communal forces. Majority of the females welcomed the idea of the ban.

Figure 6.13
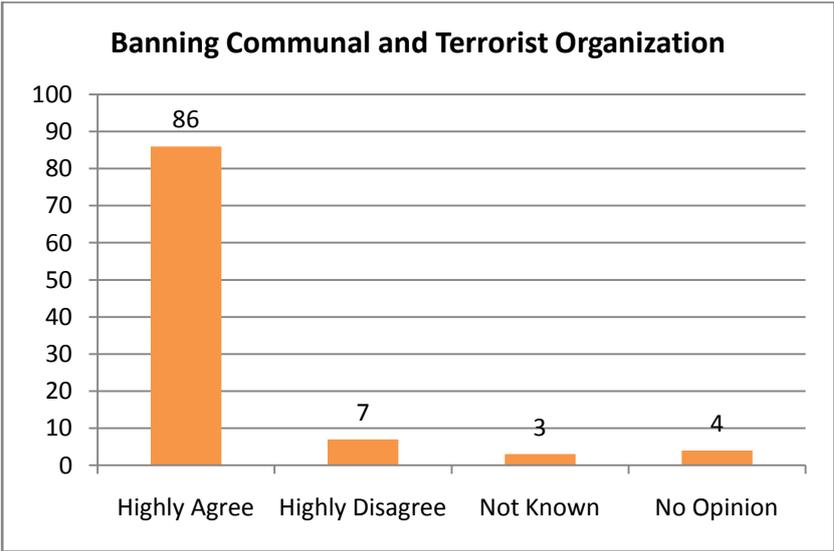
Source: The Survey

Incorporated to education is the habit of newspaper reading. Hence in the research, which covered two significant question in which one tried to collect the details of respondent's newspaper subscription habit, the second question aimed to find out the respondents attachment towards various news items. The general perception according to the below Table 6.32 is that more than 56% of people are

reading newspapers which are not affiliated to any political parties. Table 6.32 also shows that newspaper having the largest circulation among the people of Marad is Malayala Manorama (30%). The second largest is the Mathrubhumi Daily (26%). The english newspapers like Hindu or Indian Express are rare. However, the study exposes that out of the 80 respondents, 11 respondents (14%) are reading Desabhimani, run by CPI (M). Another party newspaper Chandrika, of the Muslim League is read by about 11% of people. Similarly, newspaper Janmabhumi, run by BJP, is read by 6 respondents (8%). The figure shows that about 8% of the people in the area does not have the habit of reading any newspaper.

Table 6.32

Newspapers Subscribed

Newspapers	No of Respondents	Percent
Malayala Manorama	24	30
Mathrubhumi	21	26
Desabhimani	11	14
Chandrika	9	11
Janmabhumi	6	8
Veekshanam	1	1
Hindu/Indian Express	1	1
Kerala Kaumudi	1	1
Nil	6	8
Total	80	100

Source: The Survey

The survey also shows about 30% of respondents strongly believe that the 'Media' flaming communal violence through their sensational news, even for minute issues and incidents. This unhealthy practice is like adding oil to the flame. However, majority of the people in the area shows strong disagreement to the above opinion. And 42% expressed that to a greater extent the Medias are standing against

spreading rumours of communal and political violence, thereby reducing the intensity of the situations. They believe that Media have an appreciable role in unearthing the conspiracy behind the violence. But 28% of the respondents had no opinion in this regard. However there are a few newspapers, which have no affiliation with any political party, and they provide impartial and constructive news.

Table 6.33

The Role of LDF to Resolve the Violences

To Resolve the problem	No of Respondents	Percent
Highly Agree	18	22
Made it complicated	8	10
No change	27	34
No opinion	27	34
Total	80	100

Source: The Survey

Table 6.33 shows the result of the survey regarding the role of LDF government towards the communal and political violence in Marad. Among the respondents, 18 are highly optimistic about the LDF government brings peace and communal harmony in the area. While ten percent of people argued that the present government cannot resolve the entire issue. A number of 27 respondents opined that no apparent change is made by the government in the issue. Similarly the same number of respondents as shown in the below Figure 6.14 had no opinion about the question.

Figure 6.14

Role of LDF to Resolve the Violences

Bar chart showing "Percentage of Respondents": Highly Agree = 22, Made it complicated = 10, No change = 34, No opinion = 34.
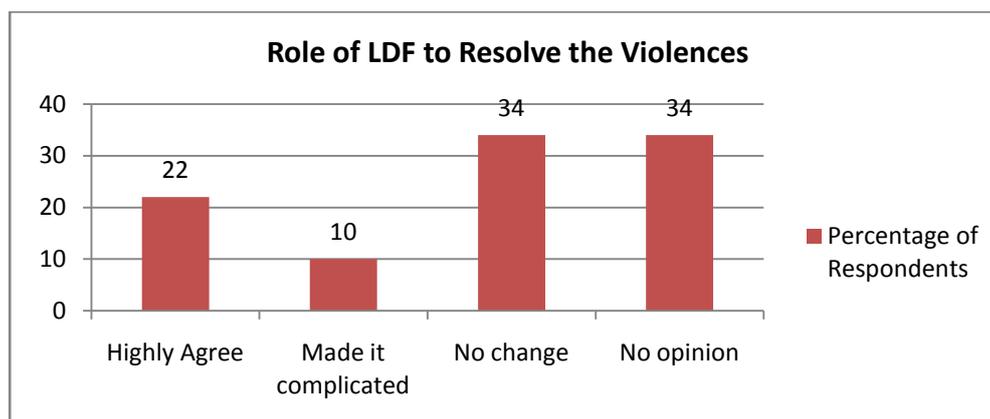
Source: The Survey

Table 6.34

Role of UDF to Resolve the Violences

To Resolve the problem	No of Respondents	Percent
Highly Agree	20	25
Made it complicated	13	16
No change	30	38
No opinion	17	21
Total	80	100

Source: The Survey

Table 6.34, along with the bar diagram 6.15 below, shows the survey result of 80 respondents towards the performance of UDF governments during their period and that 25% (20 respondents) opined that UDF governments were successful in solving the issues and to maintain peace and co-operation among the different communities. On the other hand, 13 respondents (16%) strongly criticized the role of the UDF governments and added that the UDF government created the communal animosity and violence during their period. The largest number of people (38%) expressed that they cannot see any change in the situation. While 21% of respondents were not willing to reveal their opinion.

Figure 6.15

Role of UDF to Resolve the Violences
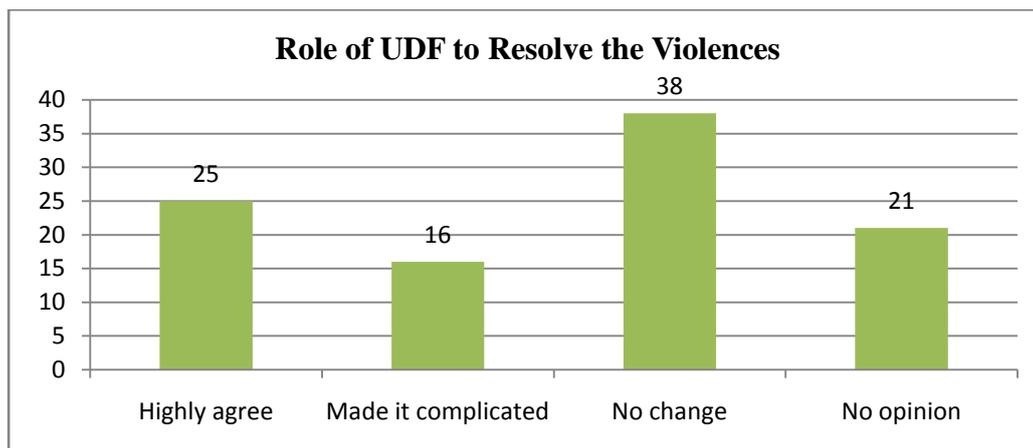
Source: The Survey

As a part of the research programme, the researcher visited and gathered primary informations through conducting interviews with various leaders of political parties and other representatives of organizations. In an interview with Moideenkoya, he said that he was imprisoned for five years in connection with the First Marad incident. In his opinion, the incident was a definite conspiracy hatched by the CPI (M), because during that period CPI (M) lost their mass support in Marad. Hence they played caste and communal card to overcome the weakness of the party. The party widely propagated that only CPI (M) can protect Muslims in the area from the threat of RSS, BJP and other Hindu fundamental forces. The real intention was to weaken the growth of IUML in the area (Moideen, 2017). Hareef in an interview also agreed to Moideenkoya added that CPI (M) was the first party to inject communal feeling and provided distorted ideas among the innocent ordinary Muslim population (Hareef, 2017). Both of them added that once the place was the stronghold of CPI (M), but in Local Self Government Election in 2000, in the ward of Marad, Moideenkoya contested as a candidate of Muslim League, and he defeated the CPI (M) candidate with a huge margin. This created frustration and anger among the local CPI (M) leaders of Marad and surrounding areas. Before the election, there were some ideological and physical clashes occurred between CPI (M) and Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). Due to this reason, BJP workers used their franchise against CPI (M). Thereafter for the political mileage, CPI (M) and BJP started to

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play communal card. In addition, some minor issues are treated and handled in a communal way. Anyhow these kinds of narrow political games and communal activities culminated in the First Marad communal riot.

Moideenkoya also revealed that in the riot his brother, Kunhikoya lost his life and that Kunhikoya was only a silent sympathizer of Muslim League. Moideenkoya emphasized that before the First Marad riot there was a serious incident that a CPI (M) public demonstration was attacked by BJP-RSS workers. During this clash some Muslim CPI (M) workers sought asylum in the nearby mosque. But mosque authorities refused to give shelter and said mosque is the centre of believers and that political and other issues should be sorted out by them outside the premises of mosque. This was the stand of mosque committee. After the first Marad incident, mutual suspicion, distrust and fearful silence prevailed among the people of Marad. Communal animosities are systematically and cynically operated by outside forces from both Hindu and Muslim sides. While Muslim League and their leaders stood for communal harmony and peace.

In an interview with Basheer, he said that Bijili, who was the son of Aboobacker, who was murdered in the first Marad riot, is said to have taken a pledge to revenge for his father's murder along with some close relatives (Basheer, 2017). This sensitive situation was exploited by the fundamentalist forces like NDF and ISS. At the same time, RSS also mobilized communal feeling among some Hindus. In another interview, Alikoya said that some print and other visual media unnecessarily dragged the Muslim League and mosque in this issue (Ali Koya 2017). Gafoor Neermachparamba, emphasized that the main culprit in the two incidents in Marad was CPI (M) and BJP and that their shrewd political interest paved the way for the entrance of communal forces in the area (Gafoor, 2017). And League leaders also added that the weakness of the Congress party in this area adversely affected the secular life of Marad. The influence of Congress among the Hindus gradually shifted to BJP.

Another interview conducted with Dileep and Madathil Aneesh Kumar, CPI (M) local leaders. They pointed out that in a historical perspective, the Arayas of

Marad beach was considered as royal since they are claimed to be the ancestors of saint Vyasa. They were proud about their origin, while the Thiyya/Ezhava, treated this Araya section as the inferior community of mere fisherfolk. These type of identity crisis prevailed in olden days were settled by some influential chieftains, often called as *Tharavadu Karanavar.* They played a crucial role to tackle these kinds of issues. The above mentioned leaders also mentioned that these types of baseless identity crisis gradually disappeared from the society. Later these Arayas and Ezhavas consolidated as Hindus and likewise, old *koyas* (Puthu-Islams) are consolidated as Muslims. These consolidations accelerated the growth of religious polarization. Thereafter, the role and interference of RSS and BJP in the minor issues of Hindus, whereas, Muslim League and other fundamental forces, in the issues of Muslims accentuated the communal tension in the area.

In Marad, temples are used by Araya community for communal purposes and are used for physical exercise and martial training by some Hindu fundamentalist forces, for their vested interest. Through these programmes, fundamentalist ideologies are injected even in the minds of children. These forces kept arms and weapons inside the temples for communal purposes. At the same time, some communal leaders challenged the rituals and social manners of the Muslim community, which in turn resulted in an ill-feeling among the Muslims. In addition to these, Babri Masjid demolition added a sort of resentment among Muslims. This was a religious humiliation for all, especially for their youth. And in the other side, with an eye of narrow political interest, BJP and RSS launched a massive propaganda that Muslims are enjoying more concessions and facilities at the expense of Hindus. The CPI (M) leaders revealed that the first Marad incident was definitely preplanned by RSS and BJP for their political mileage. This has given a chance for NDF and ISS for direct interference in Marad issues supported by Muslim League and this lead to the communal clashes and finally to Second Marad riot (Dileep and Aneesh Kumar, 2017).

In an interview Ambujakshan, a BJP worker, said that some issues prevailed between Hindus and Muslims in Marad from 1970's. In 1972 and 1974, there were

issues related to the burial of Muslims in the mosque. This was objected by Hindu families around since there is a well very near to the mosque. There is a graveyard at Puthiyappa, which is only one Km away from the mosque but they hesitated to bury there and insisted to bury in mosque premises itself. This issue was brought by Hindus before the local administrative bodies, and the District Collector's decision was in favour of Hindus and this, in turn, provoked the Muslims. In addition, Hindus were cajoled and insulted by religious minded Muslim youths with the support of CPI (M) workers. Another immediate reason was the dispute by two youth regarding a minor issue during a festival programme, which was later settled. But this dispute was kindled with the support of CPI (M) workers and Muslims. This resulted in the First Marad riot and the death of five persons in January 3rd and 4th 2002. Following this riot, many Hindu families were attacked and their homes were damaged. Ambujakshan added that his family was a victim of these brutal deeds. He also criticized the stand of UDF government, because the government announced some relief measures to the victims of violence but neither the district administration nor government had given any compensation to the Hindus but unduly compensations were given to the Muslims. He added that the second Marad riot was the result of some conspiracy, solely planned by Muslim community (Ambujakshan, 2017).

Another BJP worker, Prajeesh Thekkethody, opined that Hindus never used temples as the store houses of weapons or explosives, but the allegation was launched by some Muslim organizations and CPI (M). The truth was proved, when the Muslim terrorists are captured and aggressive weapons were seized by police from the Mosque immediately after the riot (Prajeesh, 2017).

In another interview Pramila, said that Hindus in Marad never got justice, either from UDF or LDF government, whereas Muslims got full support from both sides and that no incidence will occur without the support of local Muslim communities and mosque authorities. She added that even children and women are targeted by this barbarian forces and police were inefficient in both the incidents (Pramila, 2017). In another interview Satheesan said that both riots in Marad were shameful to the cultural society, which would have never happened. He said that

communal seeds are sowed by the CPI (M) and IUML for their shrewd political interests. Up to 1990's, BJP was not a considerable force in Marad, CPI (M), INC and IUML were the political parties. During that period, some communal and other clashes occurred, and they are settled with the interference of notable personalities. BJP entered in Marad from 1990's onward with the systematic and constitutional way of work. The party raised the issues of fishermen communities and the working class. This was the main reason for the rapid growth of BJP, among the mass, which created jealousy, anger and frustration to other political parties. According to Satheesan, BJP's growth absolutely weakened the Congress and arrest the growth of CPI (M). During this period, IUML tried to attract Muslims from CPI (M) and Congress party. For this purpose, they played Muslim religious card. To preserve the Muslims in the party, CPI (M), deviated from the party policies. They used caste and communal card for political gain. In every issue in Marad, both the CPI (M) and IUML were competed to tarnish BJP. Satheesan also incorporated that anti-BJP and anti-Hindu attitude of Muslim League and CPI (M) in all issues of Marad resulted in the growth of forces like NDF, ISS and SDPI in the soil of Marad. He complained that in all the issues of Marad, the role of police was negative and police always danced to the tune of Muslim League and CPI (M), with UDF and LDF government respectively. If the police were vigilant and impartial, such inhuman incidents would not have happened (Satheesan, 2017).

From the above study and analysis, the researcher came to understand that majority of Hindus and Muslims had the opinion of the dubious role of fundamentalist and extremist forces in the area before the First and Second Marad riots and that the political parties were directly or indirectly nurturing these outside forces. They added that police and government were inactive, for and after the riots. But almost all sections of the people appreciated the role of Gandhians to establish peace and harmony in the area.

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Chapter VII
MAJOR FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

Communal violence and political criminalization are the curses of every society. In India throughout the major part of this century, the problems of communalism have intensified Hindu-Muslim conflicts. Jawaharlal Nehru stated that communalism is the Indian version of fascism. Communalism is an inter-religious conflicting situation that involves mutual hatred, prejudice and suspicion leading to violence. In India, it is largely a problem of Hindu-Muslim adjustment. The inhuman behaviour seen in many communal riots in India has probably no parallel in the entire history of the world. Lack of mutual understanding and awareness spread hostility and prejudices. All these factors are creating a feeling of insecurity among the less dominant.

When religion is mixed up with politics, the outcome is dangerous. The professional politicians use religion as an instrument to attain power. Power hungry politicians and religious zealots find it as an effective weapon to divide the masses. India's partition was one such unfortunate historical event. Its case study would help to understand the deep historical roots of communalism. Communal violence involves people of two different religious communities mobilized against each other and carrying the feeling of hostility, emotional fury, exploitation, social discrimination and social neglect. The high degree of cohesion in one community against another is built around tension and polarization. The target is the members of the rival community. Generally, there is no direct leadership in a communal riot, hence they could effectively control and contain the riot if they cherished so. Thus, it could be said that communal violence is based mainly on hatred, enmity and revenge.

During the last four decades, the state of Kerala also had been adversely challenged by the communal ulcer and religious violence. Communalism in Kerala was the creation and result of the colonial modernity and its rule. In other words, communalism grew in the state with the support and encouragement of peculiar

political coalition, murky politics and different social atmosphere. Even the national secular parties directly joined hands with the communal wings and organizations, during the period of election for the fulfillment of their parochial interest.

This study is an attempt to understand how problems of communal violence and criminalization of politics affected the socio-economic life of the people of Nadapuram and Marad. Thus it is an attempt at tracking and analyzing the communal and political issues and development that are taking place in a micro-universe and projecting them to the macro level. This, in fact, is the first hypothesis with which the study was started: socio-economic imbalance during the last four decades led to communal unrest in Nadapuram and Marad. People and societies resort to conflicts under the circumstance of various accesses to try and dominate the 'scarce resources'.The term resource here refers to various things, which consist both material (which denotes economic conditions due to the absence of opportunities/mobility and poor standard of living) and non-material factors (denoting power, dignity, reorganization, symbol, status etc.,). However, the perception of the predominant section of the socio-economic sphere varies with person and groups. More than that, what permitted for one group may not be the same for other groups of persons. The social taboos and the discrimination of the working class, who were mostly Thiyyas of Nadapuram, are reflected in the violence over there. Muslims enjoyed economic dominance and high social status at Nadapuram. The relationship between the Muslim landlords and Thiyya labourers was like that of a master-servant relationship.

In the field survey conducted by the researcher, many elderly labourers shared their bitter experience of helplessness in demanding wages, after their days of work, and they had to stand at the mercy of Muslim landlords. It also needs to point out here that the relationship between the Muslim landlords and Hindu labourers were the continuation of the age-old relationship between the *janmi* and *tenants* in the feudal system prevailed in the North Malabar and all the feudal evils affected and humiliated the labourers with the ridiculous address of the *chekkan and pennu.* But in contrast to this, nowadays, the Hindu community addresses the Muslims as

kakkanmar as a humiliating term for exhibiting their age-old revenge. In the case of land possession, it is inferred from the field survey that, the people of Nadapuram, while 2.5% of Muslim landlords possessed more than five acres of land, only one percent of Hindu landlords possessed similar quantum of property. No Hindu landlords possessed more than ten acres.

While in Marad, Muslims were/are not in any way better than Hindus. The Vast majority of them are extremely poor. These *Puthu Islams* were identified as Muslims and *Arayas* were identified as Hindus. The major sector of economic power in the social sphere is controlled by few Hindu traders, who exploited the marginalized Muslim fishermen community. Two dominant factors had played a significant role in the outburst of the riot and these considerable elements are classified at the macro and micro level. Macro factors are ideological in nature and have the country-wide effect. It enables the development of communalism and communalization of the society and it also promotes the creation of communal spaces by neglecting or spoiling the existing secular spaces.

The micro factors are non-ideological, which provides ample accelerations to the nurturing of communalism. In Marad, many characteristics like a decrease in the quantity and volume of sea-products, dependence of vast majority of inhabitants on fishing, overpopulation and economic unrest of the exploited life of the coastal poor easily led to the religious fundamentalism. Then it expresses as an inter-religious competition of the communally divided settlements with the background of a political culture of violence developed through the communal base and finally burst out as a chain of retaliation and counter-retaliation. In the case of Marad, a majority of the land property is occupied by Hindus (50%). Out of which, 2% of Hindus hold more than 1 acre, while 1% Muslims only possess more than 1 acre. According to the survey, it is clear that Hindus possess more land property in Marad in all categories than Muslims (40%) and Christians (1%) in the area.

Both Nadapuram and Marad indicate that political parties and their leadership are politically greedy and to attain power they nurture criminalization and communalism, which gradually developed into communal polarization in the

society. This, in fact, proves the second hypothesis that 'there is a direct relationship between political criminalization and communal violence' in both areas. From the result of the field survey it is proved that, more than 90% of people of Nadapuram admit that, political parties are responsible for the political criminalization and violence. For attaining political superiority, parties and their leadership patronize the goonda gangs in the area. In Nadapuram, the role of criminal gangs like Luna set, Muslim cultural centre, RSS, NDF, LTTE etc., is either directly or indirectly encouraged by political parties. Hindu fundamental force like RSS, even though played their religious fundamental activities in the area cannot succeed in establishing their active part in the social and political polarization. But over the years, the NDF has realized it can grow and sustain its cadre base only if there is a communal polarization in the state. Through this policy, the NDF has gained a lot in the recent past. Basically, the violence in Nadapuram was an issue between CPI (M) and IUML, the reasons of which are both economic and political. The issue attained a communal colour after the intervention of the communal and political criminals. The new social and political culture developed in Nadapuram is aggressive in nature. It is the sum total of different religious and political interests and cannot be interpreted exclusively as a class contradiction.

From 1980's onwards, communal elements systematically and gradually usurped and played a catalytic role in Marad. Thereafter, BJP and the Muslim League had become the major political forces in this coastal area. Here, two major religions were patronized by these two prominent political parties, which are indirectly responsible for all the riots in the area. About 30% of the people opined that criminal and goonda activities are supported by three major political parties - BJP, IUML and CPI (M). More than 60% of people strongly believe that massacre is the result of the outside involvement of communal-terrorist organizations like NDF, ISS and RSS. In short, it is observed from the study that, more than 32 people were brutally murdered in a time interval of 47 years between 1970 and 2017 in Nadapuram and 14 people lost their lives during the first and second Marad riots in 2002-2003.

Since 1970's, when the land-based economy gradually declined with the enhancement of market economy and the spread of service sector, the Muslims in Nadapuram, managed to retain their economic superiority with the help of business and employment in Gulf countries. Thus, Hindus and Muslims, who are the two major social sections in the area, are placed 'unequally' in the socio-economic sphere. From the data analysis, it is clear that gulf money has also influenced various issues and violence that occurred in Nadapuram. But it is observed from the survey that, one of the major sources of income of the area is the Gulf money, which is the backbone of the economy of Nadapuram and constitutes 18% of the total income of the people. And about 68% of people agree with the fact that communal violence is due to the impact of Gulf money. Many of the Muslims, migrated to Gulf countries are from traditional Muslim landlord families, and hence the economic hegemony attained by them maintained their traditional financial supremacy. This supremacy along with their feudal traits was reflected in many issues. This created an arrogant and resistance attitude towards the Hindu community, especially towards the Thiyya caste.This friction, on many occasions, led to political disputes and communal violence. In Marad, Gulf impact is not much powerful as in Nadapuram and both Hindu and Muslim communities were extremely poor. However, with the modern mechanization of fishing boats with the aid of Swedish government, Hindu sections are uplifted more, as they accepted the modernization readily. This created an economic disparity among the communities, which often sparkled communal disputes and Muslims to overcome their economic backwardness utilized the opportunities to migrate to Middle East countries. Migration to Gulf countries bought financial mobility to the Muslim community and this booming created arrogance among the communities and finally led to many communal incidences. Besides all these impacts, in Nadapuram and Marad, the income of Gulf money, to a greater extent, resisted the economic setback of the society on the event of globalization, the downfall of agricultural and constructional sector etc., Thus the third hypothesis is validated.

Political parties and their leadership have a negative role in arresting communal disharmony, needs particular mention here. Nadapuram and Marad have

witnessed much politically motivated violence and killings. Political parties and their leadership always treated the issues only in terms of their narrow political interest. They never used their ideologies for peace and communal harmony. Under any circumstances, political parties should not embrace communal ideology. Political opportunism towards communalism is the major factor in Nadapuram. Hence, the major political parties in the area should assert themselves as non-communal, non-exploitators and non-distortion of religious identities. Thus, religious and political conflicts in Nadapuram can be viewed as the product of the hegemonic and counter- hegemonic efforts of the Hindu and Muslim culture in the locality. Here, culture provides an ideological dimension that becomes the mobilizing force for the predominant political parties in the area. From the survey, it is understood that, 38.86% of people have expressed their strong feeling that LDF leaders and coalition maintain peace and communal harmony, while 35.43% of people believe that UDF government, will definitely bring permanent peace and communal co-operation in Nadapuram area.

The indirect involvement of political parties and their leaders accentuates communal violence and it has found that their partisan spirit gives support for one community to act against the other, which worsens the atmosphere of communal violence. It is an important fact that communal violence occurs in the situation of religious prejudices and extreme animosity. While CPI (M) and IUML are the major political parties behind the political and communal violence in Nadapuram, in Marad, the main political forces behind the communal issues are BJP and IUML. IUML is grouped around Muslim 'communal' principles, has a deep influence among the Muslims in the coastal area. On the other hand, the majority of *Arayas* of the area are influenced by the *Hindutva* ideology of BJP. According to the survey result, about 38% of people share their views that neither UDF government nor LDF government will make any worthy changes in bringing communal harmony in the area. Sixteen percent of the inhabitants opined that UDF government will make the situation of the area worse and 10% of people pointed out that, LDF government will make the atmosphere more complicated. It is inferred from the study that, in both the areas, the parties fight at each other for their political benefits, which are

conveniently overlooked while attributing the communal colour to the conflicts. The prominent parties in each area accuse each other of changing the conflict on communal base. Communal violence is not only the outcome of religious intolerance but also the close link between the anti-social elements, political-religious and police-political leader relation too. Therefore, the political leadership should intervene to avoid the involvement of 'extremist elements' in communal issues. Leaders should keep away from the controversial and inflammable statement to fuel violence. The above inferences validate the fourth hypothesis.

Needless to say, education is the most significant aspect that leads to progress and create mobility of a socio-religious sphere. But in both study areas, people are prevented from attaining the same due to various communal and other social issues. It is in this aspect, we have to discuss the constructive role of education to bring in communal harmony and peace among Hindus and Muslims in the areas, which is the fifth hypothesis. In India, most of the communal riots had taken place in educationally and socially remote areas. Illiteracy is one of the reasons for communal violence since the poor standard of education makes the people vulnerable to be used by politicians for their political benefit. Moreover, ignorant people can be easily provoked by the blind religious leaders. In the case of Nadapuram and Marad, the majority of Muslims are under the grip of orthodox elements and ecclesiastical authority. And the orthodox section kept the people bound head and foot to the traditional system of education. Religion and its customs came to play a decisive role in people's everyday life, including their attitude towards political and social life. This does not mean that an average Muslim in Nadapuram and Marad remained communal or intolerant attitude towards others or in their general outlook. This statement has only a very limited implication i.e., religion and its leaders had regulated and interpreted that it had a dominant role in moulding the private life and decision making of the majority of the people. However, in the case of Nadapuram and Marad, since 2005, changes began to take place in the state of affairs.

From the survey result, it is observed that in Nadapuram, about 73% of people and in Marad about 65% of people agreed that violence and communal riots badly affected the educational system. During the time of violence, educational institutions are closed for indefinite days and moreover, communal murders and its after effects prevailed in the area, affected the mental growth and enthusiasm of study in children. During this period, parents are feared and reluctant to send their children out for study. The most dangerous effect is that communal poison had grown in the innocent minds of children. This will become a great blow to the secular fabrics of our society. Nadapuram and Marad are the regions having multiple religions, castes, believes and it is evident from the study results that communal conflicts are frequent over there. So it is a challenging problem in front of us to perpetuate communal harmony and peace in the society. Internal conflicts here are the worst enemy that creates ill-will, mutual animosity, anarchy and mismanagement among all. Even terrorism, acting well in these areas is disrupting the peace out here. It is in this situation, we need to know the importance and role of education in the society, as it plays a crucial role in framing the harmony and religious integrity. By acquiring education, people make desirable decisions to avoid conflicts.

Among the study areas, Nadapuram, eventhough is struck with worst communal conflicts; its literacy rate is almost equal to the state literacy rate. So it is inferred that education has less role in Nadapuram in controlling the communal harmony. It is worth mentioning that, the communal animosity is being handed over from generations to generations and it got fuelled between Hindus and Muslims. So it is recommended that established morals about integrity among communities must be imparted to people here while they are still young and that it should be passed through generations to make them crime free and respectful of other religions. Only education with high moral standards helps to mould individuals to accept the social values and mix well with each other in society thus living harmoniously. The role of teachers and each child in these areas should not be denied as they play a significant role in maintaining peace and harmony as these areas are badly affected by communal issues. Each student should be aware of the threats of communal hatred

and caste prejudices. The children of these regions should be given workshops and seminars to make them aware of the damages they are involved due to the ignorance of the society. It is observed from other studies that education has reduced the conflicts of regions and that it guards people against repeating the same mistakes of life which their ancestors had done to disturb the communal harmony and thus to maintain integrity.

I. Major Findings

- The wide range of economic and social disparities led to social and political unrest in Nadapuram and Marad.

- Religious fundamentalism and orthodox outlook of majority of people in the Muslim community in both the areas and the blind caste feeling of Thiyya community in Nadapuram and Araya community in Marad were the major reasons led to the communal violence.

- In order to get political mileage, all political parties are tactfully exploiting communal and caste feeling of the people, especially the poor and illiterate.

- The local political leaders of various parties are incompetent to tackle the tense situation. This leadership also deviated from their ideological commitment.

- In Nadapuram, after 1980's, on many occasions, the strikes and agitations launched by the CPI (M) were lesser class interest, and it was concerned with the interest of a particular caste. Here class is intermingled with caste. While in Marad, after 1980's, both the BJP and IUML gradually and systematically developed a communal polarization among the inhabitants.

- In Nadapuram, majority of Muslims are economically potential but educationally not so and Hindu backward communities are economically and educationally very poor. While in Marad, both Hindus and Muslims are economically and educationally extremely poor.

- Generally, during the time of communal and political tensions, negative attitude of media like newspapers and TV channels accelerated the situation worse.

- During the period of violence, the intervention and action of the police were not very effective. On many occasions police acted according to the interests of the ruling party.

- Irrespective of party affiliations, the majority of women condemned the violence and spoke about a peaceful atmosphere in future. In Marad, they appreciated the role of Sarvodhaya workers.

- Communal riots and political criminalization attribute to massive destruction of property or even people. These riots are more politically motivated and fuelled by religion.

- The decline of the agricultural sector led to heavy unemployment. These indirectly promoted political tension in Nadapuram. And the depletion in the fishing industry created unrest among the people of Marad.

- The historical background of Nadapuram reveals that the repeating violence and conflicts in this area are more of a mixture of struggle attaining colour of communal conflict. While in Marad riot is the result of religious conflicts than the class-nature.

II. Suggestions to Prevent Communal Violence

- Communal disharmony and criminalization of politics are great problems and solution is urgently required for socio-economic and cultural solidarity and cohesion in the study areas.

- In Nadapuram, government must take measures to revive the agricultural sector and also provide all kinds of scientific and technical assistance to the farmers. Collective farming system encouraged by local bodies is an ideal one.

- In Marad, measures should be taken to modernize the fishing industry, provide subsidies for their equipment and give interest free loan for the well being of the fishing community.

- The government and district administrative authorities must take special attention to start mini industrial estate in Nadapuram, and fisheries-related commercial institutions in the Marad area.

- Flow of Gulf money must be channelized into productive sectors instead of constructing bungalows and mansions. The NORKA can play a major role in these regard.

- The 'Kudumbasree' scheme must be wisely utilized to encourage the women to contribute to economic development of the regions.

- Compared to other parts of Kozhikode district, Marad area is educationally very backward. Authorities must give utmost importance to improve the pathetic conditions of educational institutions in the area and make sure that none of them drop out from schools upto secondary education.

- It is better to start new technical and training centres and the teaching community must pay attention to inculcate secular and democratic attitude among the student community.

- Informal literacy education should be given to all illiterate and awaken the need and necessity of peaceful atmosphere.

- Government, local bodies and NGO's should take initiative to celebrate national festivals, common festivals, seminars and symposiums etc., to foster secular outlook and communal harmony.

- Government and district authorities should take leading role and support the activities of cultural institutions like clubs and other institutes and promote cultural and sports activities among the youths and children.

- Local authorities should make opportunities for the people to interact with cultural leaders and social activists which may remove the psychological barrier between communities.

- Government and local bodies pay adequate attention for improving public utility services and other infrastructural facilities.

- Communal political parties and criminal organizations should be banned because they nurture fanaticism and criminalism that leads to primitive manifestation. This does not imply the loss of individual right to practice one's belief and faith.

- Political parties should take initiative to stop all assistance to political criminals who are dangerous to the society. Peace can be established only if these criminals, goondas are eradicated.

- There was always political bias in the police force. Hence unbiased and independent investigation will restore the faith of the people on the police. Police should definitely prevent the production and accumulation of weapons. In this case, police require full positive support from the government and people.

- Media and TV channels should take more positive and creative attitude towards the peace activities. Likewise, to avoid communal tensions among the people, provocative statements from political and religious leaders must be avoided.

- All-party peace meetings must be conducted in every locality in Nadapuram and Marad and these shall meet atleast once in a month. In addition to it, the meeting of district leaders of major political parties has to be conducted at least twice in a year.

- Religion must be separated from the state affairs, politics and education.
  There should if necessary be a law enactment separating religion from state affairs, politics and education.

- Secular bodies should be set up in coastal areas and such bodies should have the poor people of the areas as its members. Such bodies can be used for resolution of conflicts in the conventional mode (like *Kadalkodathi* formed at Marad).
- The Government should make sure that officials appointed in crucial posts in riot prone areas and districts are those who are capable of acquiring the confidence of various religious groups.

All these suggestions are not the lasting solutions and it is only a tentative endeavour to understand the fundamental reasons of the baneful communal and political riots that shed blood of many people of both the study areas. Apart from these suggestions, future studies and research will enrich this sort of realization and solution for the problems that this thesis addressed. Above all, the political leadership of all political parties must exhibit the urgent and necessary political will to eradicate communal and criminal fascism. Fortunately, Nadapuram and Marad now provide a promise and offer a ray of hope for democratic forces.

VINOD KUMAR C. "NATURE OF COMMUNALISM AND COMMUNAL POLITICS IN KERALA – A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF NADAPURAM AND MARAD". THESIS. DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT, 2018.

Appendix I
Questionnaire

1. Name   :

2. Sex   : 1. Male ☐   2. Female ☐

3. Age   : 1. 18-35 ☐   2. 36-50 ☐
                                  3. 51-60 ☐   4. above 61 ☐

4. Religion   : 1. Hindu ☐   2. Muslim ☐
                                  3.Christian ☐   4. Other ☐

5. Caste   : 1. Thiyya ☐   2. Nair ☐
                                  3. SC ☐   4. ST ☐
                                  5. Other ☐

6. Religious knowledge : 1. Deep ☐   2.Moderate ☐
                                  3.Negligible ☐

7. Religious institutions influence the Community   :
                                  1. Very much ☐   2. A little   ☐
                                  3. Nothing   ☐   4. Any other ☐

8. Religious approach towards social and educational uplift of women
                              : 1. Favourable ☐ 2. Against   ☐
                                  3. Limited   ☐ 4. No opinion ☐

9. Marital Status   : 1. Married ☐   2. Unmarried ☐

10. Education   : 1. Primary ☐   2. High School ☐
                                  3. Degree/Diploma ☐
                                  4. PG/Higher ☐   5. Illiterate ☐

11. Residence   : 1. Own ☐   2. Rent ☐

12. Land Possession : 1. Below 10 cents ☐   2. 11-50 cents ☐
                                  3. 51 cents- 1 acre ☐   4. 1-5 acre   ☐
                                  5. Above 5 acre ☐   6. Nil ☐

13.   Monthly Income   : 1. Upto 500 ☐   2. 501-1000 ☐

    3. 1001-2000 ☐ 4. 2001-5000 ☐

    5. 5001-10000 ☐ 6. above 10000 ☐

14.   Employment   : 1. Government ☐ 2. Private ☐

    3. Business ☐   4. Coolie ☐ 5. Nil ☐

12.   Source of Income   : 1. Agriculture ☐ 2. Fishing   ☐

    3. Salary ☐   4. Business   ☐

    5. Coolie ☐   6. Foreign Money ☐

    7. Nil ☐

13.   Additional Earning Member :   1. Yes ☐   2. No ☐

14.   If Yes, Monthly Income : 1. Upto 1000 ☐   2. 1001-2000 ☐

    3. 2001-5000 ☐   4. 5001-10000 ☐

    5. Above 10000 ☐

15.   Any relative Working Abroad : 1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐

16.   Income from that Member : 1. Below 10000 ☐ 2. 10001 to 25000 ☐

    3. 25001 to 50000 ☐ 4. Above 50000 ☐

17.   Member of any Agriculture/Fishing : 1. Yes   ☐   2. No ☐

    3. Not Willing to reveal Organization ☐

18.   Member of any Political Party : 1. Yes ☐   2. No   ☐

    3. Sympathizer ☐

19.   Name of Party   : 1. CPI (M) ☐   2. INC ☐   3. IUML ☐

    4. BJP ☐ 5. CPI ☐   6. PDP/SDPI ☐

    7. KC ☐ 8. Janata ☐ 9. Nil ☐

20.   Use of Franchise : 1. Yes ☐   2. No ☐ 3. Certain Occasion ☐

21.   Caste Vote Freely/Compulsion : 1. Own Interest ☐ 2. Compulsion ☐

    3. Threat from outside ☐

    4. Not Willing to Reveal ☐

22.   Do you think Nadapuram/Marad is a communally and Politically Violent Area?

    1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐ 3. Partially ☐ 4. Not willing to Reveal ☐

23.   Your Opinion on the Communal Forces on this Area

    1. Very Active ☐ 2. Moderate ☐ 3. Poor ☐ 4. Not willing to Reveal ☐

24. If it is so, which was the Party and what was the Reason?

25. Name the Communal Fundamentalist Forces operating in the Areas?
    1. RSS ☐   2. NDF ☐   3. RSS and NDF ☐   4. Jama-et-islami ☐
    5. VHP ☐   6. SIMI ☐   7. All ☐

26. Are you a member/sympathizer of any Fundamentalist Forces?
    1. RSS ☐   2. NDF ☐   3. Jama-et-islami ☐   4. VHP ☐   5. SIMI ☐
    6. None ☐   7. Not willing to reveal ☐

27. Revivalist Organization's role in social and educational progress of the community
    1. Very much ☐   2.Somewhat ☐   3. Not influenced ☐   4.No opinion ☐

27. Name the communal and Political Party of the following
    1. BJP ☐   2. IUML ☐   3. Jama-et-islami ☐   4. PDP/SDPI ☐
    5. KC ☐   6. All ☐

28. Do you agree that whether the political conflicts turned into a communal violence in the Areas?
    1. Fully Agree ☐   2. Partially Agree ☐   3. Fully Dissagree ☐
    4. Not Willing ☐

29. Your opinion on the role of Political party to encourage Communal Violence
    1. Fully Agree ☐   2. Partially Agree ☐   3. Fully Dissagree ☐
    4. Not Willing ☐

30. If so, Name the Political Party responsible for the Violence
    1. CPI (M) ☐   2. IUML ☐   3. BJP ☐   4. PDP/SDPI ☐   5. INC
    6. All ☐   7. Not Willing ☐

31. Do you think the animosity between the following parties are responsible for Violence?
    1. CPI (M)-IUML ☐   2. BJP-IUML ☐   3. CPI (M)-BJP ☐
    4. CPI (M)-INC-IUML ☐   5. All ☐   6. Not Willing ☐

32. Influence of Gulf Money on Nadapuram Violence
    1. Highly Related ☐   2. Partially Related ☐   3. Not Related ☐
    4. No Opinion ☐   5. Not Willing ☐

33. Gulf migration stimulated the progress of Muslims
    1. Yes ☐   2. No ☐

33. Your Opinion on the influence of Outside Terrorist Organization on Nadapuram/Marad Communal and Political Violence.

1. Highly Related ☐ 2. Partially Related ☐ 3. Not Related ☐

4. No Opinion ☐ 5. Not Willing ☐

34. If it is so, which are the Organization responsible?

1. NDF ☐ 2. RSS ☐ 3. SDPI ☐ 4. SIMI ☐ 5. VHP ☐

35. Do you agree with the Legal Banning of this Terrorist Organization?

1. Fully Agree ☐ 2. Partially Agree ☐ 3. No Right to Ban ☐

4. No Opinion ☐

36. Do you think the Economic Superiority of a certain community brings jealousy and thereby Communal Violence in the Area?

1. Fully Agree ☐ 2. Partially Agree ☐ 3. Fully Disagree ☐

4. Not Willing ☐

37. If it is so, Explain the Reason

38. Do you agree that some Political parties are encouraging Goonda-Criminal Activities

1. Fully Agree ☐ 2. Partially Agree ☐ 3. Fully Disagree ☐

4. No Opinion ☐

39. If so, Name the Political Party/Parties

1. CPI (M) ☐ 2. BJP ☐ 3. IUML ☐ 4. PDP/SDPI ☐ 5. INC ☐

6. CPI (M)-IUML ☐ 7. CPI (M)-IUML-BJP ☐ 8. All

☐ 9. Not Willing ☐

40. Do You agree that the inefficiency of Local Leadership is the Reason for Communal Issues?

1. Fully Agree ☐ 2. Partially Agree ☐ 3. Fully Disagree ☐

4. No Opinion ☐

41. Your Opinion in the manufacturing and keeping Country-Bombs and other aggressive weapons in few houses of the Area

1. Fully Agree ☐ 2. Partially Agree ☐ 3. Fully Disagree ☐

4. No Opinion ☐ 5. Not Known ☐

42. Do You believe the Police shows partiality in the Communal and Political Violence?

1. Fully Agree ☐ 2. Partially Agree ☐ 3. Fully Disagree ☐

4. No Opinion ☐ 5. Not Known ☐

43. Whether worshipping centres are injecting Communal poisons to the followers?

1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐ 3. No Opinion ☐ 4. Not Known ☐

44. If it is so, Explain.

45. Whether political and Communal Violence affected you or your Family?

1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐ 3. No Opinion ☐ 4. Not willing to reveal ☐

46. Whether you and your family members at any occasions arrested by the Police related to any Violence?

1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐ 3. No Opinion ☐ 4. Not willing to reveal ☐

47. Influence of Communal Violence on the Education of your children

1. Highly affected ☐ 2. Partially affected ☐ 3. Not affected ☐

4. Not Known ☐

48. How far the Violence affected the cultural-economic –social –political backwardness of the area?

1. Highly affected ☐ 2. Partially affected ☐

3. Not affected ☐ 4. Not Known ☐

49. Does the unemployment of the Youth and the luxurious life of the Gulf *Malayalees* pose threat to the peaceful life in the area?

1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐ 3. Some extent ☐ 4. No Opinion ☐

5. Not willing to reveal ☐ 6. Not Known ☐

50. If it is so, Explain.

51. Reading the Newspaper Daily : 1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐

52. Newspaper subscribed : 1. Manorama ☐ 2. Mathrubhumi ☐

3. Desabhimani ☐ 4. Chandrika ☐ 5. Janmabhumi ☐

6. Kerala Kaumudi ☐ 7. Veekshanam ☐ 8. Hindu/Indian Express ☐

9. Madhyamam ☐ 10. Others ☐

53. Reason for selecting the paper particularly :

1. Early available ☐ 2. Political interest ☐ 3. traditional choice ☐

4. Educational objective ☐ 5. Communal interest ☐ 6. Any other ☐

54. Watching Visual Media :

1. Punctual ☐   2. Occasionally ☐   3. Never ☐

55. If never watch TV, reason :

1.Non-availability ☐   2. Not interested ☐   3. Other reasons ☐

56. If listening Discussions, importance :

1. Politics ☐   2. Social ☐   3. Economic ☐   4. All ☐

57. Does Visual and Printing Medias, spread the Political and Communal conflicts through sensational news?

1. Yes ☐   2. No ☐   3. Not Known ☐   4. No Opinion ☐

58. Co-relation between Nadapuram and Marad Communal and Political Violence

1. Yes ☐   2. No ☐   3. Not Known ☐   4. No Opinion ☐

59. Affect of Communal Violence of Nadapuram in 2016 Assembly election

1. High Influence ☐   2. Partial Influence ☐

3. No Influence ☐ 4. No Opinion ☐

60. Whether the withdrawal of the Goonda Act deteriote the Communal and Criminal issues?

1. Fully Agree ☐ 2. Partially Agree ☐ 3. Fully Disagree ☐

4. No Opinion ☐   5. Not Known ☐

61. How far the UDF Government successful to resolve the issues in the areas?

1. Highly successful ☐ 2. Partially successful ☐

3. Created more complications ☐   4. Totally failed ☐

62. Do you believe the present LDF Government absolutely resolve the issues?

1. Maintain absolute peace ☐   2.Make more complications ☐

3. No change ☐   4. No Opinion ☐

63. How far the efforts of *Sarodhaya* workers successful in Marad Riots?

1. Highly successful ☐ 2. Partially successful ☐ 3. Not successful

4. No Opinion ☐

Appendix II

Interview Schedule

1.   Name

2.   Your political Party

3.   Your position in the Party

4.   How long you been in the Party?

5.   How does the Nadapuram constituency/Marad different from other constituencies and regions in Kerala?

6.   What are the reasons for the conversion of political violence to communal violence in this area?

7.   Do you think that the activities of any political parties and their attitude foster the communal and political violence in Nadapuram/Marad area?

8.   Do you think the criminal attitude of some political parties related to violence in Nadapuram/Marad area? If so, which party is responsible for it?

9.   Do you believe the activities and propagation of religious leaders encourage the communal violence in Nadapuram/Marad area?

10.   Do you think the rumours and gossips caused the violence? If so, who were responsible for it?

11.   What are the reasons for the politicization of communal violence in this area?

12.   How the political and communal violence closely co-related with the socio-economic problems in this area?

13. What is your opinion about the role played by the media towards the communal violence issue in Nadapuram/Marad?

14. How you are evaluating the role played by LDF, UDF and police force to solve the political and communal issues in Nadapuram?

15. What were the steps taken by you as MLA to solve the communal and political problems and the developmental activities in the Nadapuram/Marad areas?

16. What were the efforts taken by Sarvodaya workers to resolve the Marad issue?

17. Do you have any suggestion to diffuse the tension in Nadapuram/Marad?

APPENDIX III

VOTING PATTERN OF NADAPURAM ASSEMBLY CONSTITUENCY FROM 1957 TO 2016

Year	Voters	Poll %	Winner Candidate	Win %	Win Party	Win Front	Margin	Margin Percent	Runner up Candidate	Runner up Party	Runner up %
1957	63750	74.25	C.H.Kanaran	39.15	CPI	-	3356	(6.59)	Kunhammad Haji	INC	32.56
1960	64412	72.10	Hameed Ali Shemnad	55.62	MUL	-	7047	(11.62)	C.H.Kanaran	CPI	44.38
1965	66509	85.03	C.H.Kanaran	46.23	CPI (M)	-	11642	(20.53)	K.P.Padmanabhan	INC	25.70
1967	66092	74.03	E.V.Kumaran	64.17	CPI (M)	LF	16459	(33.64)	P.Balakrishnan	INC	30.53
1970	80849	83.96	M.Kumaran Master	51.21	CPI	UDF	4162	(6.13)	E.V.Kumaran	CPI (M)	45.08
1977	82643	82.77	Kandalottu Kunhambu	54.67	CPI	UDF	7070	(10.34)	E.V.Kumaran	CPI (M)	44.33
1980	98467	80.86	K.T.Kanaran	53.60	CPI	LDF	5740	(7.2)	K.G.Adiyodi	INC	46.40
1982	98634	79.72	K.T.Kanaran	50.78	CPI	LDF	2267	(2.88)	M.T.Padma	INC	47.90
1987	118093	83.47	Sathyan Mokeri	47.62	CPI	LDF	1257	(1.27)	N.P.Moideen	INC	46.35
1991	148954	77.95	Sathyan Mokeri	51.72	CPI	LDF	7626	(6.57)	P.Saduli	IUML	45.15
1996	161232	76.11	Sathyan Mokeri	53.42	CPI	LDF	14617	(11.91)	K.C.Abu	INC	41.51
2001	163929	79.09	Binoy Viswam	49.74	CPI	LDF	6193	(4.99)	K.P.Rajan	INC	44.75
2006	166196	75.49	Binoy Viswam	53.05	CPI	LDF	17449	(13.45)	Beerankutty	INC	39.60
2011	177993	82.28	E.V.Vijayan	49.22	CPI	LDF	7546	(5.16)	V.M.Chandran	INC	44.06
2016	179213	80.49	E.V.Vijayan	45.87	CPI	LDF	4759	(2.92)	Praveenkumar	INC	42.95

Notes: LDF – Left Democratic Front, UDF: United Democratic Front

Source: Election Commission of India, *Kerala Legislative Assembly Elections 1957-2016*, www.ceokeralagov.in

APPENDIX IV

VOTING PATTERN OF BEYPORE CONSTITUENCY (MARAD UNDER BEYPORE) FROM 1965 TO 2016

Year	Voters	Poll %	Winner Candidate	Win %	Win Party	Win Front	Margin	Margin Percent	Runner up Candidate	Runner up Party	Runner up %
1965	70078	79.62	K.Chathunni Master	46.42	CPI (M)	-	10384	18.61	O.T.Saradakrishnan	INC	26.81
1967	70075	74.92	K.Chathunni Master	63.77	CPI (M)	-	18532	35.3	O.T.Saradakrishnan	INC	28.47
1970	87155	78.57	K.Chathunni Master	44.0	CPI (M)	LDF	2315	3.42	P.K.Ummer Khan	MUL	40.80
1977	84730	83.09	N.P.Moideen	51.60	INC	UDF	2196	3.20	K.Chathunni Master	CPI (M)	48.40
1980	103717	77.31	N.P.Moideen	54.30	INC (U)	LDF	7308	9.15	N.K.Abdulla Koya	MUL	45.15
1982	103497	73.95	K.Moosankutty	49.53	CPI (M)	LDF	8577	11.30	Sureswaran Master	INC	38.23
1987	128586	82.94	T.K.Hamsa	44.86	CPI (M)	LDF	7331	6.92	Abdurahiman Master	IUML	37.94
1991	169583	76.52	T.K.Hamsa	52.10	CPI (M)	LDF	6270	4.90	K.Madhavankutty	IND	47.29
1996	177815	72.81	T.K.Hamsa	48.67	CPI (M)	LDF	12096	9.53	Ummer Pandikasala	IUML	39.20
2001	181388	74.90	V.K.C.Mammedkoya	46.12	CPI (M)	LDF	5071	3.73	M.C.Mayin Haji	IUML	42.39
2006	188861	71.65	Elamaram Kareem	51.60	CPI (M)	LDF	19618	14.50	Ummer Pandikasala	IUML	37.09
2011	164045	78.88	Elamaram Kareem	48.8	CPI (M)	LDF	5316	4.11	Adam Mulsi.M.P	INC	42.69
2016	190888	81.25	V.K.C.Mammedkoya	44.56	CPI (M)	LDF	14543	9.38	Adam Mulsi.M.P	INC	35.19

Notes: LDF – Left democratic Front, UDF – United Democratic Front
Source: Election Commission of India, *General Elections to Kerala Legislative Assembly 1965-2016,* www.ceokerala.gov.in

APPENDIX V

ELECTION RESULT OF MARAD (WARD 49) UNDER KOZHIKODE CORPORATION IN 2015

(Local Body Election)

Number of Ward	Name of Candidates	Party	Party Front	Secured votes
49	Ponnath Shyma	BJP	-	2526
49	Mallika.P	CPI (M)	LDF	2500
	Pinnanath Shalini	INC	UDF	566

Source: lsgelection.kerala.gov.in/lbtrend2015

APPENDIX VI

RESEARCH SCHOLAR'S ARTICLES AND PAPER PRESENTATIONS

Articles

1. **Vinod Kumar.C** and Pavithran, K.S (2018), *The Human Rights Issues of Refugees in Marad*, ISDA Journal Studies in Development and Public Policy, Vol.28 (1), January-March, pp. 109-119, ISSN 0971-2550 (Journal approved by UGC).

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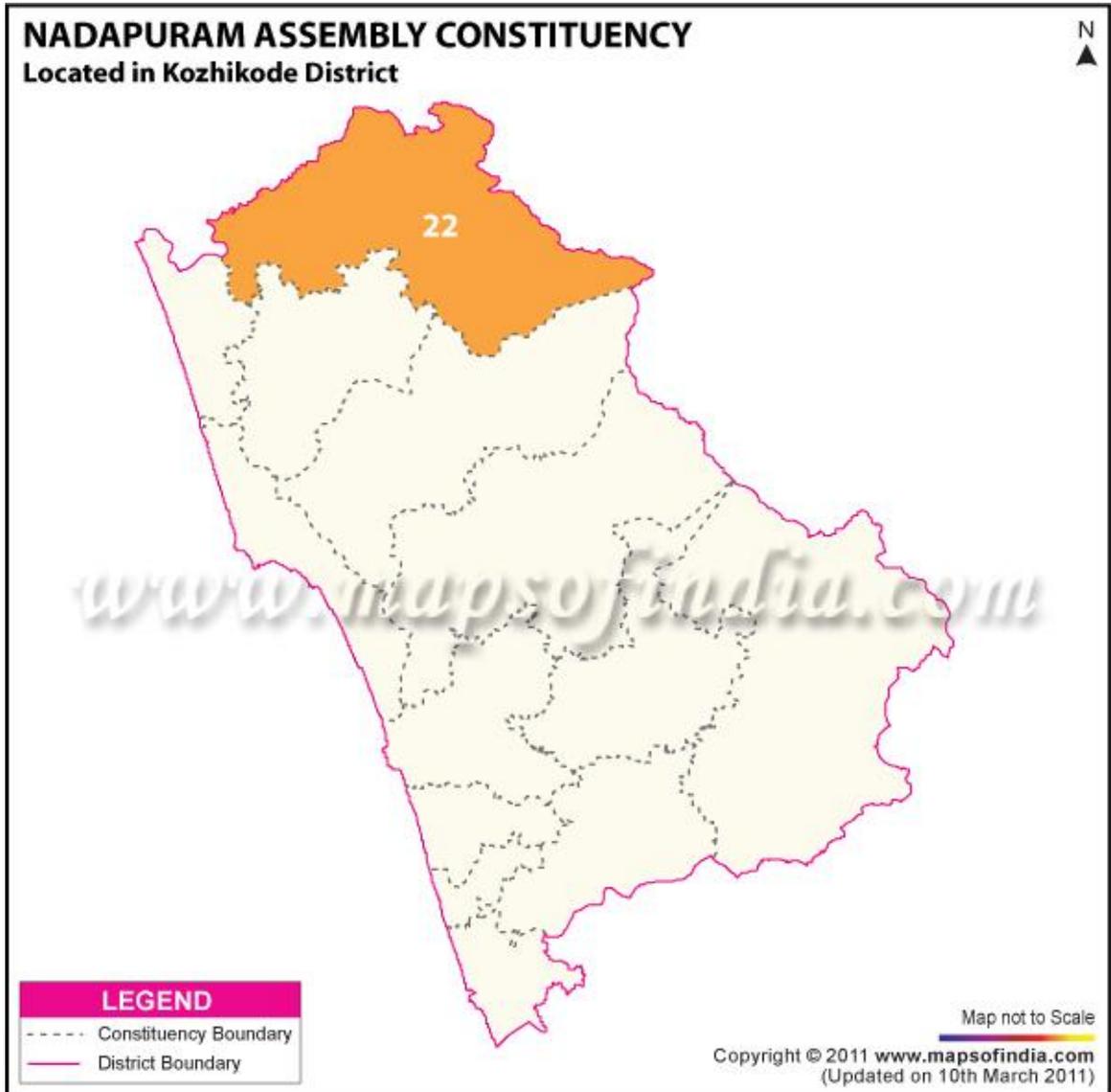
KERALA POLITICAL MAP

KERALA

DISTRICT MAP

Kasaragod
KASARAGOD

KARNATAKA

KANNUR

Kannur

WAYANAD

Kalpetta

KOZHIKODE

Kozhikode

MALAPPURAM

TAMIL NADU

Malappuram

PALAKKAD

Palakkad

Thrissur

THRISSUR

ERNAKULAM

Ernakulam

IDUKKI

Painavu

KOTTAYAM

Kottayam

Alappuzha

PATHANAMTHITTA

ALAPPUZHA

Pathanamthitta

LEGEND
- —·— State Boundary
- ----- District Boundary
- State Capital
- District HQ

KOLLAM

Kollam

THIRUVANANTHAPURAM

Thiruvananthapuram

Map not to Scale

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KOZHIKODE DISTRICT

NADAPURAM ASSEMBLY CONSTITUENCY

IN KOZHIKODE DISTRICT

NADAPURAM ASSEMBLY CONSTITUENCY
Located in Kozhikode District

N

22

LEGEND
- - - - Constituency Boundary
——— District Boundary

Map not to Scale

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(Updated on 10th March 2011)

MARAD

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Ali Koya (2017), Member, IUML District Committee and social worker, 19th December, Kozhikode.

Ambujakshan (2017), Vice-President, BJP Mandalam Committee, 15th November, Beypore.

Ashraf. K.M. (2017), The State President of SDPI, Kerala, 5th August, Kozhikode.

Balakrishnan C.H (2018), President, Block Panchayat, Thuneri and Former Secretary, Area Committee, CPI (M), 10th March, Nadapuram.

Balaraman Kommadath (2017), Ex-Panchayath President and CPI (M), Local Committee leader, 22nd November, Beypore.

Basheer (2017), President, IUML Ward Committee, 6th November, Marad.

Beeran Koya.P.P. (2017), Former President, Grama Panchayath, 15th October, Beypore.

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Prejeesh Thekkethody (2017), Secretary, Temple Committee, 26th November, Marad.

Premraj (2016) Leader of Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh and BJP, 20th December, Kayakkodi.

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