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# A Study on Fraternal Relative Deprivation of Minority Groups in Bangladesh

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University of Rajshahi

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**A STUDY ON FRATERNAL RELATIVE DEPRIVATION OF  
MINORITY GROUPS IN BANGLADESH**

*A Thesis Re-Submitted on 9<sup>th</sup>  
September 2006 to the Department of  
Psychology, University of Rajshahi for the  
Degree of*

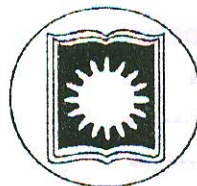
**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN PSYCHOLOGY**

*by*

**MST. HASMAT ARA KHATUN**

UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF

**Dr. M. Mozammel Huq**  
PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY

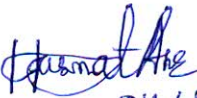


**DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY**  
UNIVERSITY OF RAJSHAHI  
BANGLADESH

## DECLARATION

It is my great satisfaction to declare that this research work for Ph.D. entitled, "A Study on Fraternal Relative Deprivation of Minority Groups in Bangladesh" is a completely new and original work done by me under the supervision of Professor Dr. M. Mozammel Huq in the Department of Psychology, University of Rajshahi, Bangladesh.

This research is the result of my own investigation and has neither been submitted before nor it is being simultaneously submitted to any other University or Institute in favour of candidature for any such degree or diploma.

  
24/9/06

**(Mst. Hasmat Ara Khatun)**

## CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that Mst. Hasmat Ara Khatun a research fellow in the Department of Psychology, University of Rajshahi, has completed her Ph.D. thesis entitled, “A Study on Fraternal Relative Deprivation of Minority Groups in Bangladesh” under my supervision and it constitutes her own work. I believe that it is prepared on the basis of her own investigation. So it can be regarded as an original work in the field of social psychology of intergroup relations. As far as my knowledge goes, no other person in any way was associated with the completion of this investigation.

I have read the manuscript of the dissertation thoroughly and pointed out necessary changes and corrections. I believe that the researcher has made an effort to understand my critical evaluation and has made necessary alteration to my satisfaction. I recommend the thesis for submission in the University of Rajshahi for the Ph.D. Degree in Psychology.



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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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Lastly, many people are associated with the typing of this thesis. Many of my friends helped me to collect literature through e-mail. They also provided co-operation in collecting data. Some of them helped me for the computation of results. My sincere thanks to them also.

**(Mst. Hasmat Ara Khatun)**

## ABSTRACT

The present study was an attempt to explore the phenomenon of fraternal relative deprivation of Santals with minority status and racial ethnicity and Bengali Hindus with minority status and religious ethnicity. The independent variables used in this study were group composition (Santals/Hindus), gender (Male/Female), age (13/16 years) and residential background (Urban/Rural). Thus, the broad objective of the study was to conduct an empirical investigation of fraternal relative deprivation of Santals and Bengali Hindus as minority groups relating to gender differences, age variations and residence differentials.

The study utilized several factors as the sources of fraternal relative deprivation such as social discrimination, unfair distribution of resources and privileges, unequal treatment and discriminatory behaviours, economic disparity, political exploitation and social discrimination. These factors were identified as predisposing and precipitating causes of intergroup conflict between dominant and sub-ordinate groups leading to the development of felt fraternal relative deprivation in Santals with minority status and racial ethnicity and Bengali Hindus with minority status and religious ethnicity.

The study has formulated several hypotheses. These are (i) respondents from Santal minority group would express significantly higher felt fraternal relative deprivation as compared to the respondents from Bengali Hindu minority group; (ii) female respondents would express higher

felt fraternal relative deprivation as compared to male respondents, (iii) respondents with sixteen years of age would perceive fraternal relative deprivation in higher intensity as compared to the respondents with thirteen years of age; (iv) respondents with rural residential background would express higher felt fraternal relative deprivation as compared to the respondents with urban residential background. These hypotheses were tested on a sample composed of 240 respondents. The sample was collected from two ethnic groups such as Santals as racial ethnic group and Bengali Hindus as religious ethnic group. Each ethnic group included equal number of respondents. Again, each group was divided into 13 years age group and 16 years age group with equal numbers of respondents. Each age group was again equally sub-divided into urban and rural according to their residential background.

Fraternal Relative Deprivation Scale was used to measure the perceived fraternal relative deprivation of Santals and Bengali Hindus. This measure of Fraternal Relative Deprivation Scale contained 19 items of which 7 items were from social area, 7 items from economic area and 5 items from political area. These items represented certain hypothetical situations involving social, economic, and political privileges. A Hindu respondent was asked to express his own perception in terms of percentage about the chances of Hindus of getting such a privilege on scale ranging from 0% to 100% and then he again was required to indicate the same for Muslims. The same procedure was repeated in case of Santals. A discrepancy score between ratings for own group and reciprocal out-group

was computed for each hypothetical situation. A discrepancy score with minus sign (negative) between own group ratings and out-group ratings was thought as deprivation score and with plus sign (positive) was thought as gratification score.

In each minority group, a  $2 \times 2 \times 2$  factorial design consisting of 2 levels of gender (Male/Female), 2 levels of age (13 years/16 years) and 2 levels of residence (Urban/Rural) was used. Then the data of Santals and Bengali Hindus were combined together irrespective of residential background and ANOVA was computed using a  $2 \times 2 \times 2$  factorial design representing two levels of group composition (Santal/Hindus), two levels of gender (Male/Female) and two levels of age (13 years/16 years).

Results of the study showed that in case of Santals, it was found that respondents of 13 years age group expressed higher felt fraternal relative deprivation than the respondents of 16 years age group. Again, respondents with urban residential background expressed significantly higher fraternal relative deprivation than the respondents with rural residential background. In case of Bengali Hindus, it was found that female respondents expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than the male. Again, rural respondents expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than urban respondents. Lastly, it was found that Hindus with minority status and religious ethnicity expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than Santals with minority status and racial ethnicity.

In conclusion, it may be said that fraternal relative deprivation has become central to psychological theorizing in many domains. In particular these results provided evidence for hypothesized role of minority groups, gender, age and residential background as mechanisms for producing felt fraternal relative deprivation. It is also found that the independent variables have clearly moderated the influence of various agentic factors of fraternal relative deprivation in intergroup relations. The obtained pattern of results suggests that Santals with minority status and racial ethnicity have less influence in creating fraternal relative deprivation than Bengali Hindus with minority status and religious ethnicity.

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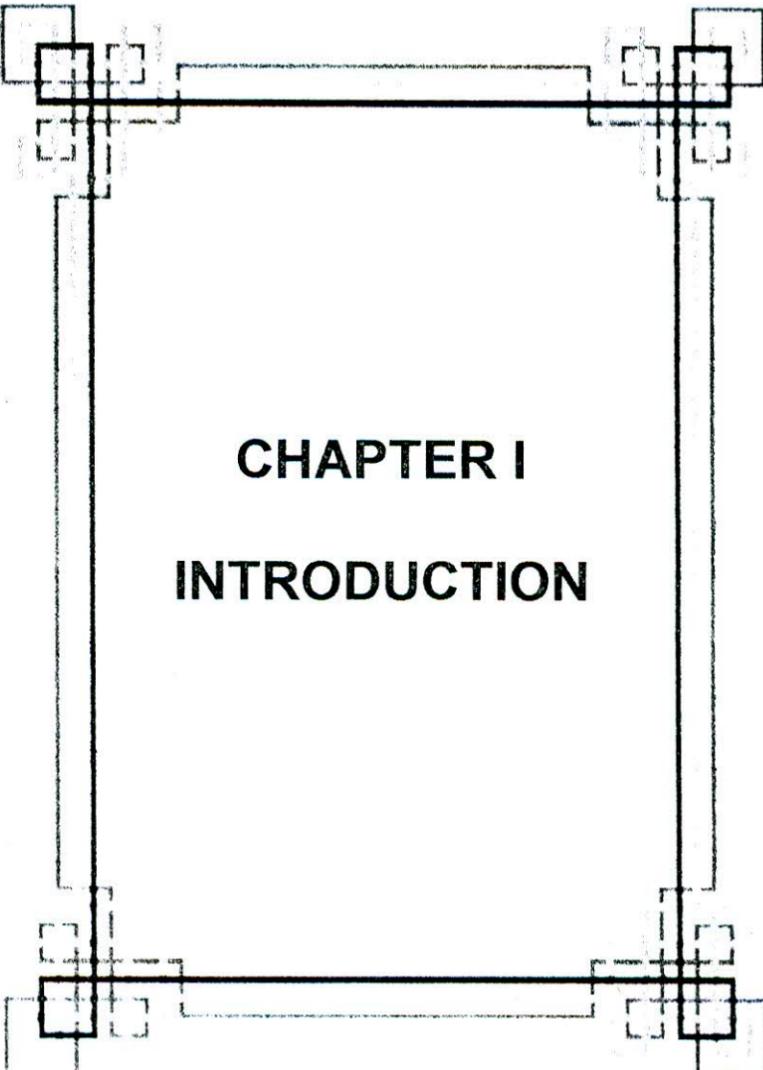
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**CHAPTER I**  
**INTRODUCTION**

## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Prof P.J. Bertocci (1984) has rightly observed that the population of Bangladesh “Contains a variety of non-Bengali, non-Muslim groups whose geographical location in relation to important national resources far outweighs their demographic significance in the country as a whole”. Among them the ethno-linguistically distinct groups are (1) Bonjogi (2) Chakma (3) Garo (4) Khasi (5) Khyang (6) Khurmi (7) Kuki (8) Lushi (9) Marma or Magh (10) Murung or Mro (11) Pankhu (12) Riang (13) Santal (14) Tanchangya and (15) Tippera. According to the census report of Bangladesh in 1974, these groups of people are classified as tribal people. In fact they constitute the racial ethnic group in Bangladesh.

The Bangalis are the majority group in Bangladesh. Though ethnolinguistically homogeneous, the Bangalis are divided into Muslims and Hindus on the basis of religious faith. Viewing from this perspective of religion, the Bengali Hindus are treated as minority group in Bangladesh. Thus Bengali Hindus may be regarded as religious ethnic group. In fact, Bengali Muslims and Bengali Hindus have common racial origin. They share common race, language and culture. But they are different due to religious practice. Because of the differences in religion, some variations have been introduced in linguistic style and cultural practices. Thus Bengali Muslims

and Bengali Hindus are regarded as two religious ethnic groups in Bangladesh. Furthermore, Bengali Muslims constitute 80% of population. This shows that they are majority group as well as dominant group in Bangladesh. As a result, Bengali Hindus have reduced to minority group as well as subordinate group.

It is, therefore, clear that there are many racial as well as religious ethnic groups in Bangladesh. The present study has selected one racial ethnic group such as the Santals as well as one religious ethnic group such as Bengali Hindus as two ethnic groups for the study of fraternal relative deprivation.

Relative deprivation involves psychological implication. It refers to the perception or feeling of inequality and injustice in the distribution of resources and privileges by the advantaged group to the disadvantaged group. In the socio-political and economic context of Bangladesh, Bengali Muslims are considered as dominant group and hence they are advantaged group. The Santals and the Bengali Hindus are considered as subordinate groups and as such they are treated as disadvantaged group. Hence it is argued that both the Santals and Bengali Hindus would perceive inequality and injustice in the distribution of resources and privileges in the context of Bengali Muslims. In the perspectives of these observations, the present study would explore the phenomenon of fraternal relative deprivation of the Santals and Bengali Hindus in social, political and economic areas in Bangladesh.

### **Relative Deprivation Theory**

Stauffer and his associates (1949) introduced the concept of relative deprivation in their study of the American Soldiers. Its purpose was to provide an explanation of felt relative deprivation not related to objective conditions.

The basic component of relative deprivation has been stated by Runciman (1966). He proposed four conditions of relative deprivation. These are as follows:

- i. Person does not have 'X'
- ii. Person sees other persons as having 'X'
- iii. Person wants 'X' and
- iv. Person sees it as feasible that he should have 'X'.

Accordingly Runciman thought that a sense of relative deprivation can be conceived on two dimensions. These are magnitude and degree of relative deprivation. Magnitude is the subjective extent whereas degree is the emotional intensity with which relative deprivation is felt. Furthermore, he proposed that relative deprivation varies across social aggregates in frequency.

Runciman distinguished between egoistic relative deprivation and fraternal relative deprivation. Egoistic relative deprivation is related with individual's efforts. Fraternalistic relative deprivation, on the other hand, is related with group action. In egoistic relative deprivation, the individual compares himself with other individuals of his own group and feels deprived in relation to them. In the fraternal relative deprivation, the comparison is made between the members of the ingroup to an outgroup and the conclusion is that the ingroup is deprived.

Guimond and Dube-Simard (1983) proposed a second distinction in relative deprivation. These are cognitive relative deprivations. The mere perception of intergroup inequalities is called cognitive relative deprivation. When the dissatisfaction is associated with the perception of inequalities, it is called affective relative deprivation.

Gurr (1970) has conceived relative deprivation as a concern with the causes of political violence. He used the terms value expectations and value capabilities in explaining the phenomenon of relative deprivation. Value expectations are those goods and conditions to which the actors believe they are rightfully entitled. Value capabilities are those which they think they are capable of getting and keeping.

Gurr (1970) found that variation in intensity and scope of relative deprivation in a collectivity would be strongly related to its potential or collective violence. He has postulated that there may be anticipated future relative deprivation and it may predispose people to collective violence. Bowen *et al.* (1968) and Grofman and Muller (1973) have found that changes between present and future will be associated with greater political protest orientation.

Gurr (1970) has recognized three patterns of deprivation. These are (i) aspiration deprivation, (ii) detrimental deprivation and (iii) progressive deprivation. When value expectations rise while value capabilities remain constant, it is called aspiration deprivation. When value expectations remain constant and value capabilities decline, it is called detrimental deprivation. When value expectations rise while value capabilities decline, it is called progressive deprivation. By identifying the pattern of deprivation, Gurr has created a more dynamic model than Runciman.

A formal theory of relative deprivation was introduced by Davis (1959). According to him, a person desires an object and perceives that similar others possess that object, then he experiences a sense of injustice. This leads to a feeling of relative deprivation. However, Runciman has added a fourth element that the individual must think it to be feasible to obtain "X". Thus Runciman, Gurr and Davis differ with respect to the elements of

feasibility. For Runciman, deprivation exists when the perceived feasibility is low. For Davis, feasibility is irrelevant.

Martin (1981) has provided a comprehensive analysis of the theory of relative deprivation. She argued that deprivation refers to a comparison process between rewards received by the persons or the group and the rewards received by some other person or some other groups. The internal agent is called comparative referent. It involves the amount of rewards that a person receives and a resulting feeling of deprivation. Thus the comparison process is the key of understanding the feelings of deprivation. The deprivation is relative in the sense that a person feels deprived relative to some comparative referent. Thus deprivation is clearly understood in terms of four variable models. Such as: (a) Pattern of distribution of rewards, (b) comparison process i.e. egoistic or fraternal, (c) feeling of deprivation and (d) resulting behaviour.

The foregoing discussion makes it clear that deprivation is as attitude. The opposite of deprivation is gratification. It is a feeling of discontent. It is based on the belief that one is getting less than one deserves, Thus deprivation is usually operationalized as dissatisfaction or the perception of injustice. In this sense, deprivation may be treated as a latent or unmeasured construct (Cook, et. al., 1977).

In its simple form, deprivation model has two variables. These are amount of reward and resulting feeling of deprivation or gratification. On the basis of this simple argument one may postulate that the more reward a person receives, the less deprivation that person will feel. In other words, those who have the highest income will feel less deprived. But in reality this is not the case. A large number of research findings do not support this simplistic model of relative deprivation. For example, student radicals in the sixties protested against the inequities of income distribution system of U.S.A. But these radicals, by virtue of their middle class background, were the beneficiaries of the system they found so unjust (Lipset, 1967).

Hence it is clear that greater rewards do not provide greater contentment. Thus the theory of relative deprivation has several inherent difficulties. In order to remove these difficulties, Martin (1981) has provided a comprehensive definition of the theory of relative deprivation. According to Martin, relative deprivation refers to the feelings of deprivation that stem from a comparison between two groups. Both the groups receive the rewards. But the members of the ingroup are getting less rewards than the members of the outgroup. The outgroup is called comparative referent. Thus the comparison process provides the key to understanding of deprivation. It clarifies the term relative in the sense that a person feels deprived relative to some comparative referent.

The theory of relative deprivation can be understood in terms of four variables. These are (i) pattern of distribution of rewards, (ii) Comparison process, (iii) feeling of deprivation and (iv) resulting behaviour. Thus the theory of relative deprivation refers to attitudinal process. Here rewards are distributed in a particular pattern. This involves certain comparisons. It leads to a feeling of deprivation. This results in particular behavioural reactions.

Thus the pivotal point in relative deprivation theory is the process of comparison. The comparison is made between two groups in respect of the distribution of reward. In this distribution process, one group is feeling that they are getting less though they deserve more. This involves fraternal relative deprivation.

The effects of fraternal relative deprivation are comprehensive. It is more dramatic. It predicts behaviour directed at system change. Crosby (1976) classified behavioural reactions into four categories. In the first category, the members of the deprived group feel stress leading to mental illness. In the second category, members of the deprived group make effort at self-improvement through financial gains. In the third category, members of the deprived group make **constructive** attempts to change society by voting. In the fourth category, members of the deprived group make violent attempts to change society.

The theory of relative deprivation may be distinguished from frustration-aggression theory (Berkowitz, 1972), Social equity theory (Adams, 1965), and J-curve theory of revolution (Davies, 1962). In relative deprivation theory, resentment is important conditions for the feeling of deprivation. In frustration-aggression theory, feasibility is sufficient for frustration and aggression. In social equity theory, discontent is the important variable to perceive injustice. In J-curve theory of revolution, past history is the important factor to inspire people in revolution. Thus resentment, feasibility, discontent and past history are important perspectives in which relative deprivation theory, frustration-aggression theory, social equity theory and J-curve theory of revolution are distinguished.

An overview of the fraternal relative deprivation theory shows that minority group members in comparison to majority group members become victims of injustice. This is due to unequal distribution of resources and privileges in the society. In the context of Bangladesh, the minority groups such as Santals and Bengali Hindus may feel fraternal relative deprivation in the context of majority group in social, political and economic areas. The present study has conducted an empirical investigation on fraternal relative deprivation in the Santals and Bengali Hindus in respect of male-female identification and urban-rural differentiation.

**Review of Literature**

Studies on fraternal relative deprivation are related with intergroup conflicts. The underlying causes of fraternal relative deprivation are identified with revolution, political unrest, industrial tensions and ethnic conflicts. A short review of literature on fraternal relative deprivation covering these areas is given below.

Stauffer and his colleagues (1949) conducted a study on relative deprivation with American soldiers. The results of this study showed that dissatisfaction was the main cause of relative deprivation in American soldiers. The dissatisfaction was among various cadres and the highest relative deprivation was evident in those cadres where promotions were restricted.

Runciman (1966) conducted an extensive study on relative deprivation with British working class. The results reported the egoistic relative deprivation among the workers. The study also reported that fraternal relative deprivation due to the feelings of injustice may instigate social action.

Street and Legget (1961) conducted a study on fraternal relative deprivation with Black Americans. It was found that Black Americans perceived social injustice as compared to White Americans. As a result, the

Black Americans were found to participate in riot in higher number than the White Americans.

Pettigrew (1964) conducted a systematic study on fraternal relative deprivation with Black Americans. It was found that the relatively deprived Black Americans strongly supported unrest in American society. Thus fraternal relative deprivation was a much stronger predictor of Black unrest in America. In another study, Pettigrew (1967) found that fraternally deprived White Americans showed greatest reluctances to support Black political candidates in election. These findings provided evidence that fraternal relative deprivation stems from social injustice prevailing in the society and the minority group members become its victims.

Searles and Williams (1962) conducted a study on fraternal relative deprivation in American society. It was found that Black students in American society expressed resentments against discrimination. They were also found to protest against everyday injustice. Thus the perceived discrimination and injustice motivated the Black students to participate in strife, riots and movements against authority. On the basis of these findings, the investigators concluded that fraternal relative deprivation is operative at group levels.

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Caplan and Paige (1968) conducted a study to identify the factors relating to fraternal relative deprivation. They conducted a study to explore the White-Black relationships in American society. The study was conducted on the basis of Detroit and New York riot. The findings of this study reported that the Negroes expressed violent reaction towards the White. This violent reaction of the Negroes was due to prolonged exclusion of Negroes from American economic, political and social life. The results also showed that whites were powerful outgroup. They were blamed for racial discrimination. This was regarded as a great barrier to the progress of the Negroes in America. As a result, the Negroes blamed the White for racial discrimination and reacted violently to improve their conditions.

Gurin, Gurin, Lao and Beatlie (1969) conducted a study to explore the phenomenon of fraternal relative deprivation. In this study Negro students were selected as subjects. It was found that Negro students expressed a marked tendency for militancy. The militancy of Negro students were found to be associated with the belief that they could not reach personal goal due to systematic social constraints.

Meyer (1968) conducted a study on fraternal relative deprivation with Negro subjects. The study was conducted in Miami area. The purpose of the study was to find out the relationship between militancy and political efficacy. The result showed that the Negroes in Miami area scored high on militancy.

This was due to their strong feelings against discrimination. Thus the study showed positive relationship between militancy and their sense of personal and political efficacy.

Caplan (1970) conducted research on fraternal relative deprivation with urban subjects. The subjects were American Negroes. It was found that the Negroes became militants and rebellious against inequalities. The Negroes found contradictions in American social system. Hence the Negroes participated in riots simply because they wanted to improve their position in American society.

Gurr (1970) conducted an empirical study in order to provide a causal model of relative deprivation. The finding of this study established the relationship between relative deprivation, frustration and anger. The results showed that increase in relative deprivation leads to the increase in frustration and anger. These psychological states produce aggression. Thus the investigator concluded that feelings of relative deprivation leads to aggression. Thus the deprived group members are engaged in violent activities in the existing order of society.

Murphy and Watson (1970) conducted a study on anti-White sentiments of Negroes. It was found that the Negroes who perceived discrimination in the society participated in riot. The riot participants also

perceived restricted economic and social mobility for Negroes. These injustice activities produced intense sentiment against the White. Thus anti-White sentiments of Negroes were identified as the cause of riot. Thus the anti-White sentiments of Negroes were found to be rooted in anger over the conditions produced and sustained by denying the Negroes the same freedom and opportunities available to Whites.

Pittigrew (1971) conducted a study on relative deprivation with Black Americans. The results showed that increased residential segregation of Blacks from the Whites increased the feelings of relative deprivation in Black Americans. As a result, the Black Americans showed militant behaviour resulting in Cleveland riots.

Sears and McConahay (1974) conducted empirical investigation on relative deprivation as related to jobs and services. The findings of the study showed that dissatisfaction of people are caused by injustice due to unequal distribution of rewards and privileges in terms of monetary gain. The study used two groups of subjects. One group participated in riot and the other group did not participate in riot. The results showed that people deprived of jobs participated in riot in greater number. Thus the study concluded that relative deprivation predisposed the people to participate in riot in greater number than the people who were not deprived of jobs. Thus injustice, unequal distribution of resource, rewards and privileges are perceived as the

cause of fraternal relative deprivation. Similarly, fraternal relative deprivation is also caused by failure to achieve monetary gain.

Geshwender and Geshwender (1973) conducted investigation on fraternal relative deprivation as related to participation in the civil rights movement. It was found that fraternal relative deprivation of Black was the main cause of participation in civil right movement. The deprived Black Americans were found to participate in riot and group action against the White Americans. The study also observed that the sense of past progress or future decline had no effect on riot participation.

McPhail (1971) conducted a study on relative deprivation and racism. The subjects were Black Americans and White Americans from a low socio-economic status. Both the Black and the White were deprived of economic gain. In spite of this, the Black Americans felt fraternal relative deprivation in higher intensity as compared to the White Americans due to their racial origin as Negroes.

Berkowitz (1972) conducted a survey to identify factors relating to eruption of violence. The survey was made on Black urban rioting in United States of America. It was found that frustration of the Black Americans was the main cause for participating in urban riots. Similarly situational factors inspired the Black to participate in riot. Thus the investigators identified

frustration and unfavourable situational factors as prerequisite for participation in riot.

Abeles (1976) made an extensive review of various studies in the areas of relative deprivation. On the basis of the findings of various studies, the investigator identified the underlying cause of violent behaviour of masses. It was found that the people who perceived fraternal relative deprivation expressed violent behaviour. Thus rioting, mass movement, mass action and violent mob behaviour were initially started by the people who found themselves relatively deprived in comparison to relevant outgroup. Thus Abeles concluded that fraternal relative deprivation is better predictor of militancy.

Cook, Crosby and Hennigan (1977) reviewed a large number of empirical studies on relative deprivation. The purpose of this review was to find out the construct validity of egoistic and fraternal relative deprivation. On the basis of analyses of the findings of various studies, the investigators concluded that egoistic relative deprivation was originated in interpersonal relationship and it was directed for self-improvement. Fraternal relative deprivation, on the other hand, was originated in group level and was directed for the improvement of the group as a whole.

Newton *et al.* (1980) conducted a study to find out the characteristic nature of relative deprivation. The investigators measured the factors related to protest activity. They used retrospective as well as prospective measure. They obtained positive relationship of retrospective as well as prospective measure with protest activity. However, they found no relationship with predisposition to militancy.

Issac *et al.* (1980) conducted an empirical investigation on relative deprivation. They used Black and White subjects in the socio-economic and political context of United States of America. The findings of the study showed low economic conditions to produce relative deprivation in Black subjects. However White subjects with low economic conditions did not perceive fraternal relative deprivation. On the basis of those observations, investigators concluded that political protest orientation was associated with economic relative deprivation for Blacks but not for Whites.

Smith (1981) conducted a study on relative deprivation in the socio-economic and political context in Britain. They used Black Negroes as subjects. The purpose of this study was to relate ethnic difference to fraternal relative deprivation. The result showed that the Black with poor economic conditions showed highest intensity of fraternal relative deprivation as compared to the Blacks who lived in better economic conditions. The Blacks with poor economic conditions were found deprived of social privileges and

as such they were subjected to social injustice and inequality. As a result the poor Blacks felt fraternal relative deprivation and they identified it with their racial ethnicity.

Tripathi and Srivastava (1981) conducted a study on fraternal relative deprivation and ethnicity in Indian context. They used Muslim subjects in this study. The Muslims in India represent a minority group and the Hindus represent a majority group. The subjects were selected from Muslim minority group. They were divided into high deprived group and low deprived group. Then they were required to show their preference for ingroup and outgroup Hindus on an Adjective Check List. It was found that Muslim subjects with high deprivation expressed significantly more negative outgroup attitude as compared to the Muslim subjects with no deprivation. But the Muslim subjects with high deprivation expressed more positive ingroup attitude as compared to the Muslim subjects with low deprivations. On the basis of these findings, the investigators concluded that fraternal relative deprivation is positively related with ethnicity.

Guimond and Dube-Simard (1983) conducted a study on fraternal relative deprivation in militant nationalism in the French-Canadian sample. The study was conducted on Francophones in Montreal. The study focused on Francophone attitudes towards Quebec's independence. It was found that perception of intergroup inequalities and the dissatisfaction was associated

with the perception of Francophone. Thus militant nationalism in the French-Canadian context was related to fraternal relative deprivation.

Taylor (1980, 1982) conducted a study on fraternal relative deprivation in the context of competitive racism. It was found that racial ethnic groups compete each other in the areas of economic, social and political achievements. Where the racial groups are engaged in economic gains, their expectation becomes high. Then they perceive their conditions inferior to other groups who are in better position in the social hierarchy. As a result, the low status group members suffer from dissatisfaction. On the basis of these findings, the investigators concluded that rising expectations and lack of improved conditions were the vital cause for giving rise to dissatisfaction leading to fraternal relative deprivation.

Gartrell (1982, 1983) conducted a study on relative deprivation in the field of labour economics. The study used blue-collar workers as subjects. The study asked the blue-collar workers to evaluate the fairness to pay differentials. The results of this study showed that the subject advocated for block models in the payment system. Thus the blue-collar workers expressed collective Justice sentiments. On the basis of these findings, the investigator concluded that the blue-collar workers found absence of fairness in the differential payment. As a result, the subjects perceived relative deprivation. It is, therefore, clear that the phenomenon of relative deprivation results from

the perception of inequality in the payment system in labour economic. Thus the rising of collective Justice sentiment may lead to felt fraternal relative deprivation.

Martin (1982) conducted another study to explore fraternal relative deprivation in economic area. This study has also investigated relative deprivation in blue-collar workers. The subjects were first to evaluate the system of payment to the workers. They regarded pay differential as an act of inequity. They perceived injustice and unfair treatment in the system of labour economic. As a result the blue-collar workers perceived an act of inequity in labour payment system leading to the perceived fraternal relative deprivation.

Martin and Murray (1983) conducted a study on fraternal relative deprivation in the members of sub-ordinate group. In intergroup behaviour and intergroup transaction, the members of dominant group showed group favouritism and outgroup discrimination. As a result the members of sub-ordinate group perceived distributive injustice and unfair exchange. As a result the members of subordinate groups perceived fraternal relative deprivation as compared to the members of dominant group. Thus fraternal effect was evident due to the perception of distributed injustice and unfair exchange.

Dion and his associates (1984) conducted a study on fraternal relative deprivation with Chinese respondents in Phronto. The results of this study manipulated oppressed people's responses to discrimination and social inequality and demonstrated that oppression, injustice and inequity in resource and privilege distribution are the main cause for the development of fraternal deprivation in Chinese people in Phronto.

Walker and Pettigrew (1984) made a vertical analysis of relative deprivation. The study conducted a survey on militancy and social movement. It was found that people who participated social movement and expressed militancy behaviour were oppressed people. This oppression resulted in fraternal relative deprivation. Thus oppression is the main cause of deprivation. These people due to their felt fraternal relative deprivation express militancy behaviour and participate in social movement in order to remove injustice, inequality and inequity from the society. Thus relatively deprived people attempted to change the social system.

Dion (1986) conducted a study for testing fraternal relative deprivation theory. The study used gay males and lesbians as respondents. The study was conducted in North America and the United Kingdom. The lesbians and gay males are identified as visible ethnic minorities in these countries. Hence discrimination against them is not illegal. The result showed that respondents who perceived high levels of discriminations showed increased approval of

militant acts and violence. On the basis of these observations, the investigator concluded that discrimination leads to the emergence of fraternal relative deprivation which in turn leads to militant act and violence. Thus militant act and violence may be the predictor of fraternal relative deprivation.

Birt and Dion (1987) conducted a study on relative deprivation in Toronto. The study used a sample composed of 74 respondents. They were collected from Gay-male and Lesbian community. The study used five measures. These were (1) Relative deprivation scale, (2) Concrete fraternal discrimination, (3) Militancy scale, (4) Locus of control scale and (5) Satisfaction scale. The results showed that the respondent who expressed high score on relative deprivation scale also expressed high score on concrete fraternal discrimination and Militancy scale. But they expressed low scores on Locus of Control scale and Satisfaction scale. In other words, Concrete fraternal discrimination was the main cause for perceived fraternal relative deprivation. Thus relatively deprived respondents expressed increased militancy, decreased control and decreased satisfaction.

Gaskell and Smith (1984) conducted a study on fraternal relative deprivation in American social context. The study used 74 whites and 118 black male respondents. The objective of the study was to obtain economic deprivation of employed and unemployed Black and White youth. The data were collected through structured interview. The respondents were subjected

to empirical verification using the indices of relative deprivation. The results showed that the Blacks expressed fraternal relative deprivation due to their perception of economic injustice and inequality. They found this economic disparity due to white supremacy in the society. But in the same situations, the Whites did not express felt fraternal relative deprivation.

Huq (1988) conducted an empirical investigation to explore the relationship between fraternal relative deprivation and intergroup behaviour of Bengali Muslims and Bengali Hindus in Bangladesh. A  $3 \times 3 \times 2$  factorial design was used. Three dimensions of deprivations were political, social and economic fields. Three levels of socio-economic status were high middle and low. Two levels of ethnic group composition were Bengali Muslims and Bengali Hindus in terms of majority and minority intergroup relations. The results showed a linear pattern of relationship for gratification and deprivation in respect of majority and minority groups. Thus the study suggests a closer correspondence for perceived deprivation and gratification due to differences in socio-economic status.

Huq (1991) conducted another study on fraternal relative deprivation in Bangladesh. The study used two groups such as males and females in the context of social, political and economic development in Bangladesh. The males were regarded as dominant group and the females were regarded as sub-ordinate group within the socio-cultural context of Bangladesh. The

results of the study showed that male subjects expressed significantly higher feelings of gratification and female subjects expressed significantly higher feelings of deprivation in social, political and economic fields. Again, male subjects with urban and rural residence showed highest feelings of gratification in political areas as compared to social and economic areas. But female subjects with urban and rural residence expressed highest feelings of deprivation in political areas as compared to social and economic areas. On the basis of these findings, the investigator concluded that the feelings of social injustice and the perception of social inequality might be responsible for felt fraternal relative deprivation.

Taylor and Walsh (1979) conducted some empirical studies on relative deprivation as related to racism. It was found that exploitations in terms of social economic privileges gave rise to Black self-esteem. In another study, Taylor (1980) reported positive correlation between fraternal relative deprivation and competitive racism. In another study, Taylor (1982) argued that improved conditions, rising expectation and dissatisfaction are closely related with the deprivation of a disadvantaged group. Pettigrew (1978) and Taylor (1998) reported that racial discrimination may lead to the felt fraternal relative deprivation.

Taylor (1993) reported that deprivation is rooted in racial inequity and discrimination in the social, political and economic areas. The disadvantaged

group think that they are being exploited by the advantaged group. As a result they perceive inequity and injustice in intergroup relations. Taylor (1998) conducted another empirical study on racism with White and Black people. The investigator found that White attitudes are different from Black attitudes in the areas of distribution of resources and privileges. The White people gave emphasis on racial composition of local populations. As a result the Black people perceived discrimination, social injustice and social inequality. As a result the Black people began to believe that they were the victims of discrimination, social injustice and social inequality. These perceptions gave rise to the development of fraternal relative deprivation.

Taylor (2000) conducted another study on fraternal relative deprivation. This empirical investigation focused on various aspects of relative deprivation. On the basis of the findings of this study, Taylor has suggested that racial discrimination is the root of deprivation. Hence, in order to reduce the perception of fraternal relative deprivation, it is necessary to reduce social discrimination, social injustice, social inequality, unfair distribution of resources and unfair distribution of privileges in the contextual strategies of society.

The overview of the relevant studies on relative deprivation presented in this section shows that fraternal relative deprivation is experienced by disadvantaged group in the society. The feeling of fraternal relative

deprivation is embedded in the society. It is rooted in social injustice, social inequality, social discrimination, unfair distribution of wealth and unfair distribution of privileges. In the present study, Santals are regarded as racial ethnic group and the Bengali Hindus are regarded as religious ethnic group. These two ethnic groups have the minority status in the social, political, economic and culture context of Bangladesh. Hence these two groups are regarded as sub-ordinate groups against the Bengali Muslims who are regarded as dominant group in Bangladesh. Conceived in this sense, both the Santals and the Bengali Hindus are disadvantaged group. Hence, it is natural that these two disadvantaged groups may become the victim of social discrimination, social injustice, social inequality, unfair distribution of wealth and privileges in the social, political, economic and cultural contexts of Bangladesh. The present study has utilized all these social variables in the study of fraternal relative deprivation in two ethnic groups such as the Santals and the Bengali Hindus in the social, political and economic contexts of Bangladesh.

### **Santals as Racial Ethnic Group**

Santals live in North-Western Bangladesh. They are majority among tribals in this region. Most of them live in greater Rajshahi and greater Dinajpur. Specifically, they are mostly concentrated Godagarl, Nachole,

Rohanpur, Tanore and Paba Upazilas of Rajshahi district. They are also concentrated in Ghoraghat, Kotaoli, Nawabganj, Biral, Kahoral, Pirganl, and Khansama Upazilas of Dinajpur district.

Originally, the Santals are tribes of Ehoto Nagpur and Santal Pragana of India. They have drifted away cast wards from their original home in search of cultivable lands (Orans, 1965; O. Malley, 1916). Bessaignet (1960) reported that Santals belong to the category of pre-Dravidian or proto-Australoid group of people. They were the largest tribe in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Originally they were hunters but they have migrated to the northern part of Bangladesh during British period. Here they adopted agricultural occupation. In search of land, they reached as far as North Western part of East Bengal which is now within the area of Bangladesh (Hossain and Sadeque, 1984).

Bessaignet (1960) observed that Santals are subjected to the process of religio-cultural fusion. During British regime, attempt was made to turn the Santal tribe into a caste known as scheduled caste (Culshaw, 1949). This fusing was a great shock to Santal identity. This has great reflection on their socio-economic and political life. However, the partition of India in 1947 has hampered this process. At present this transformation has turned into

Christianization due to the efforts and influences of the Christian Missionaries.

Hassan and Sadeque (1984) conducted a sociological study on the Santals of Rajshahi. They found social and cultural change in Santal Community. They reported that status differentiation, occupation differentiation has also ceased to exist.

Hassan and Sadeque (1984) also observed that the Santal population is largely illiterate. Most of them are share Croppers and landless laborers. The share cropper's take land from Muslim land owners of the locality and cultivate it on a 50-50 share of the crop. Santan women equally participate with their men counter parts in agriculture. The women are mostly engaged in planting, sowing, weeding and threshing of rice as part of their professional involvements. Santals were originally hunting tribal people. But hunting has become a rare occasion for the Santals in these days. It is due to the no availability of game reserve and forest areas. However, they set out for hunting at times which represent their festive mood. Usually all the able bodied males join the hunting expedition. Hares, rats, turtle, pig and various birds are their favorite food items.

The socio-cultural studies (Culshaw and Archer, 1945) reported that the sandals are backward socially, economically and politically. They remain

uneducated and appear sunk in traditional darkness. In a general sense, it can be said that they are a defeated group for thousands of years. They have been oppressed by the majority groups. Even now, they are being deprived from education, group and they are mainly used as laborers. (Hassan and Sadeque 1984).

Maloney (1984) has compiled several articles on tribes of Bangladesh and reported that the Santals have their distinct cultural identity. Qureshi (1984) reported various aspects of tribal culture in Bangladesh. It found that Santals use a special set of clothes called panchi, panchatal and matha. Now a days males wear dhuti like Hindus and women wear a shari. Some of them wear lungi and pants also. The women wear ornaments on their hands, legs, ears, noses and necks. The Santal women put flowers in their hair. They wear sindur at the time of marriage but they can not use it before marriage. All the males know the use of bow and arrow and are hunter minded.

The males, females and children also work in the open field. The women work in the field binding down their baby on the back. They have their own festival times. During festival both males, females boys and girls drink domestically made wine and they take part in dances and songs. They use madol, a special type of drum during festival. It produces special type of rhythm which is distinct from other tribal music. These dances and songs of

Santal tribe remain traditional. They are not interested in bringing changes in them and do not try to popularize them. They think that the songs and dances are part of their worship. (Hassan and Sadeque 1984)

Santals have some special traits that differentiate them from other ethnic groups. One important trait is the concept of pleasure. This has primary bearing upon their way of life. Culshaw (1949) showed that the word 'raska' is used for meaning pleasure. This word is always on the lips of the Santals. It is dear to their hearts. The sense of the word pleasure is synonymous with dancing, singing, eating and drinking. These represent the main characteristics of a Santal festival. All members of the community participate in the festivals and rituals. In this type of festivals, all members join irrespective of status and wealth differentiation and discrimination.

It is a general practice of the festival that all male and female members of the community assemble together. Then they form a large circle, men and women alternating, hands, joined together, amidst drum beats and flute sounds. Faith in deities and their worship is manifested in these festivities and rites.

In such occasions, drinking of locally made liquor is the common practice. The calculation of festivals and rituals occupies a central position in

the Santal life. These reflect their preeminently primitive world view and social organization.

This is a short description of socio-cultural aspect of Santal community. Historical evidence shows that the Santals as a tribe have always shunned the outsiders and rejected their influence and way of life (Culshaw and Archer, 1945) This was clearly manifested in their historic rebellion against local Hindu money lenders and authority in the period 1855 to 1857. This socio-cultural solidarity of Santal community is now on the decline.

In Bangladesh the Santals are facing tremendous pressure for assimilation and acculturation as they come closer to the dominant society. It is true that marginal cultures are assimilated with dominant surrounding society. This cultural contact of the Santals with the outside society have created a new social reality. In fact surrounding culture and political system have tended to create pressures for greater assimilation on the part of the Santals.

It is thus evident that the crucial determinants of group cohesiveness for the Santal lie in the conscious efforts to create cultural creativity and to resist these forces for assimilation. Viewed from this perspective, it may be said that the Santals as a tribe are definitely distinct as a social group. Orans (1965) have primitive world view and social organization of Santal

Community is confronting the impact of market economy and political system.

In fact, surrounding culture and political system have created pressure for greater assimilation on the part of the Santals. As a result, the Santals make conscious effort for creating cultural creativity. Thus they try to resist for forces for cultural assimilation. It is, therefore clear that Santals are progressing in social, economic, political and cultural fields. As a result, they are supposed to exert influence on decision making behavior of the majority group of Bangladesh.

✓ In recent years, Sanjeeb Drong (2006) has reported his observation about Santal population of Northern part of Bangladesh. In his book "Deshheen Manusher Katha", a real picture of tribal people has been given. The author has pointed out that majority of the Santal aboriginal people are landless. Above all the occupied lands of the Santals have no document. So they are driven by the majority group from their homes. Drong (2006) has observed that the Santal are oppressed by the majority group. Thus the Santals are gradually getting lost of their homes (P-7). It is reported that Santals have no opportunity for maintaining their language, culture and religion. The constitution of Bangladesh has not given recognition of these rights (UN department of public information, 1993). A publication of the

American Indian law Alliance, (2002) entitled “Our own Voice”, by Deshkaha has reported that Indigenous people all over the world are being neglected by the majority group. No international law can give them protection. Again no contact made between majority and minority groups can give them real solution to their problems. The Wrighter has concluded that real solution lies in building faith, mutual co-operation and belief.

Mrs. Mary Robinson, High Commissioner for Human Rights (2002) has reported that “Indigenous peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development”. Marry Robinso (2002), has given further information about the recognition of the fundamental rights of Indigenous people by United Nations Organization. It is said that “United Nations promises to give indigenous peoples a unique voice within the United Nations System, Commensurate with the unique problems which may indigenous people still face, but also with the unique contribution they make to the human rights dialogue.”

Roger Riddell (1998) has provided a lot of information about Minorities. Minority Rights the author has concluded that the problems Indigenous people are coming in focus. Their rights are getting high consideration Roger Riddell has observed that “Human rights are a

precondition and basis for development to take place. Where basic human are not in place, it is argued 'true' development can not take place."

It is true that the majority of Santal population is illiterate. So it is supposed that they are not aware about these information. But the rest of the world are taking cognizance about the rights are privileges of the indigenous people further more deferent UN agencies like UNDP, WHO, UNESCO, ILO, UNICEF and World Bank engaged to make aware the indigenous people about their rights and privileges. As a result, the sandals are becoming conscious about their rights. This conscious-raising processes is operating in the Santals. Hence they are realizing that they have their citizen of Bangladesh. It is their homeland and as such they are eligible to claim equal opportunity with the majority population. Thus the feelings of Fraternal Relative Deprivation are gradually coming in their psychological functioning. The present study is designed to focus on the feelings of fraternal relative deprivation in comparison to Hindu minority group in the social, economic and political transaction with majority Muslim group.

### **Bengali Hindus as religious Ethnic Group:**

The pre-historic archeological research has provided few information about the racial origin of Benglies. According to Maloney (1977), the confluence of linguistic and ethnic elements in Bengali language and culture

has its history in the process of neolithic revolution and peasantization of Ganga-Bangla. However extensive works of Bangali race origin have been done by Herbert Risley (1903), Guha (1931), Majumdar (1961), Majumdar and Rao (1966), Sen (1962, 1967). Their findings showed that three racial categories of advanced hunters are found to submerge in the population of India. These are Negrito, Preto-Australoid and quasi-Negrid. The researchers have found these groups as equally responsible for the emergence of Bengali race. Maloney (1977) observed that there is a fusion of proto-Australoid and Mongoloid traits in the people of East Bengal. D.N. Majumdar (1961). Considered blood types for locating the origin of Bengali race. Sitting height is another consideration to locate the origin of Bengali race. It is found that Muslims and Namasudra Hindus have only a slightly higher average sitting height. This is quite different from the sitting height of high caste Hindus. On the basis of this finding, it is argued that most Muslims in East Bengal are more related in origin to the Namasudras.

Mabney (1977), has provided several arguments to trace the origin of Bengali may be studied through the juxtaposition of ethnology and linguistic with the data collected from archeology the physical anthropology. He argued that ethnic elements in Bengal may be identified in terms of assimilation of several groups of early people. These are advanced hunting tribes, Munda-Speaking horticultural from Southeast Asia, the Bodo groups, the Kuki-Chin,

groups, early cultivators from the Ganga, Later arrival from the Ganga and some coastal intrusions.

Dalton (1973), observed that several of these tribes and some what Negroib features and were dark. These tribes had Southeast Asian culture. They brought this culture along with their horticulture from the Indo-Burma hills across Bengal. All these tribes had lively traditions of hunting. In spite of that they yielded to the three major language groups -such as Munda languages, Indo-Aryan language and Dravian language on this plain.

Grierson (1968), observed that Bengali ethnicity is demarcated by a clear linguistic boundary. This is evident from the Magahi dialect of Hidus in Bihar (Vidyarthi, 1969). All these observations lead to the thought that linguistic differentiation played important role for introducing ethnic element in Bengali race (Chartterje, 1970).

Kopf (1976), showed that ethnic element of Bengali race is centered around the re-vitalization of Bengali language literature. He made a distinction between Bengali Hindu intelligentsia and Bengali Muslim intelligentsia emerging from 18<sup>th</sup> century universalism. Both the groups were the product of the interaction between Bengali elites and British orientalisists. Between 1800 and 1830 the Bengali Hindu intelligentsia constituted a group with conscious aim of selecting alien values and ideas to reform indigenous

traditions. The Orientalist with whom the Bengali elite associated themselves had already become sufficiently Indianised. This helped maintain a good report and good will between the representatives of the two civilizations.

In fact the orientalists in Bengal were modernizers of the Indian traditions. It was their firm conviction that imitations of the west was not the passport to modernity for India. With this avowed purpose the orientalists served as avenues linking the regional elite with the dynamic civilization of contemporary Europe. They contributed to the foundations of new Indian middle class and assisted in the professionalization of Bengali intelligentsia. They started schools and systematized languages. It was they who transmitted a new sense of identity of Bengalis that enlarged the capacity for national goal setting which might be regarded as an instrumental process in the development of a modern outlook (Kopf, 1969).

Kopf (1976) observed that Bengali Muslims did not participate in this process of said change and modernization. It was for simple reason that they were unable to incorporate the opposite religious ideology within their fold. The Bengali Muslim intelligentsia was unable to express pride in highly Sanskritised Bengali language. It was the general consensus of Muslim community that Urdu should be adopted by Muslims of Bengal as *Lingua Franca*. Hence they did not consider Bengali language as the proper medium

for communication. Thus identity problem in Terms of Bengali Muslims and Bengali Hindus in the early ages of Bengali renaissance. The Muslim intelligentsia of Bengal was unable to find the converging point between their faith and orthogenetic Bengal identity.

Seen Linguistically, Muslim intelligentsia was so alienated from Bengal that they failed to consider the importance of Bengali as the mother tongue and medium of communication. Thus Muslims of Bengal advocated for Persian, Urdu and Arabic in preference to the language of their own region and suffered expatriate status and alienated identity. Thus Bengali Hindus were far ahead in the control of social forces through the cultivation of Bengali language.

Jourder (1977), observed that Muslim elite of Bengal, were associated with ruling class and their mother tongue was not Bengali. They were microscopic in number in comparison to the common people of the vast Muslim society of Bengal. As the minority Muslim elite had no direct contact with the masses, they failed to reflect the needs and aspiration of the Bengali Muslims in general. However, Modern Higher education began to spread rapidly among the Muslims with the establishment of the Dhaka University in 1921. This group of young men discovered that their community was too deeply steeped in traditionalism. It was a great hindrance for human

potentiality to develop. They formed an association devoted to the “liberation of mind”. They published a journal, *Sikha* (light) in which their progressive ideas were voiced. Thus the dilemma of cultural identity faced by Bengali Muslims found a liberal solution. This helped the acquisition of secular knowledge of Western origin. By this time the British imperialism had created an atmosphere conducive to the rise of Hindu militancy and aggressive nationalism. This dismayed the spirit of universalism and open mindedness of Bengal renaissance. Thus a perpetual cleavage was created among Bengali Muslims and Bengali Hindus.

Khan (1977), showed that Bengal renaissance and mode of modernization, were related with the creation of modern Bengali literature after the model of English literature. It was observed that the modern Bengali literature developed by the Christian missionaries and the Hindu elite was not sympathetic to the feeling of Muslims. This anti-Muslim biasness was conspicuously reflected in the curricula of the modern Anglo-Bengali schools and it proved a stumbling block for the Muslims for assimilation.

As a result, they tried to imitate a modern Bengali literature with an emphasis on Muslim culture. They thought that this might be representative of the common masses of Bengali Muslims. In this way Muslims became increasingly aware of the power of education. But instead of assimilation they

became psychologically aware that amidst the spectacular progress of their Hindu neighbours, their cultural identity is bound to be threatened and they would be left non-representative in the face of heavy influx of Indo-Aryan culture.

A perusal of the works of the writers that the Muslims of Bengal produced in the 19<sup>th</sup> century reveal their defensive mood. It was unfortunate that the predominant Hindu litterateurs of the time were less than just any sympathetic of the economically and educationally backward Muslims of Bengal and were not careful about hurting their sentiments and emotions. The Muslims, too, wrote books attacking the Hindu or painting them in black colours (Joarder, 1977). These fillings and unfriendly attitudes in both the communities stemming from religious differences only helped to magnify the differences of life style leading to mutual doubts, bitterness, poor relations and low opinion about each other.

The clash of economic interest is another important factor in determining relations between the two communities of Bengal. The acceptance of English education by the growing body of the Bengali Hindus and its rejection by the Muslims created further antithesis of interest between the two communities. The obvious result was that the Hindus occupied most of the jobs and dominated almost all the professions. When at a much later

data, a Muslim middle class lowly emerged, the clash of economic interest persisted all along and come out on the surface in times of crisis. It was the focal point in anti-partition movement of Bengal. It was the underlying force and main motivating factor in the struggle for independence and even in post independence era.

As a result of these discriminations and accompanying frustrations the members of the minority group are active to maintain their cultural, religious and language distinctiveness in parallel to their respective reference group outside the boundary of their present political subjugation. Bengali Muslims, on the other hand, are proud of the fact that they inherit a standard culture which can be further enriched by assimilating with Bengals taste and temperament. Thus they are engaged in establishing Bengali Muslim supremacy in Bangladesh.

Thus the minority groups such as Santal as racial minority group and Bengali Hindus as religious minority group have become neutralized, barren and powerless both economically, politically and socially in the context of change political environment. It is thus clear that Santals and Bengali Hindus as minority groups share many things in common against Bengali Muslims for attaining political, social and economic privileges in Bangladesh. This creates the feelings of fraternal relative deprivation in santal and Bengali Hindus

against Bengali Muslims in Bangladesh. The present investigation is an attempt to measure fraternal relative deprivation in Santal and Bengali Hindus against Bengali Muslims in Bangladesh. The present investigation is an attempt to measure fraternal relative deprivation in Santals and Bengali Hindus in social, political and economic fields.

### **Rationale of the Study**

Bengali language movement in 1952, struggle for autonomy in 1969 and the liberation of Bangladesh in 1971 has established the Bengali supremacy in Bangladesh. As a result, this notion of Bengali supremacy dominates the social, economic, political and cultural landscape in Bangladesh. Consequently the enormous cultural and linguistic variations in Bangladesh have lost their meaning and significance in the intergroup behaviour in Bangladesh. In fact, Bangladesh is wrongly presented as a monolingual country. If we study Bangladesh in its totality, it is obvious that tribal population has given Bangladesh the status of multilingual country, There is also cultural diversity in Bangladesh. Bengali supremacy has faded these multilingual, multicultural and ethno-linguistic characteristics and has denied the concept of pluralistic society in modern national state of Bangladesh. As a result, ethnic groups in Bangladesh have become conscious

about their disadvantaged status in the society. The present study has identified two disadvantaged ethnic groups such as the Santals and the Bengali Hindus. The Santals are regarded as racial ethnic group with distinct cultural heritage. Similarly the Bengali Hindus are regarded as religious ethnic group with distinct cultural heritage against the dominant Bengali Muslims.

Santals are in a majority among tribal in North-Western Bangladesh. They live in Rajshahi division. Originally the Santals are tribes of Choto Nagpur and Santal Pargana of India. According to Bassaignet (1960), Santals are grouped under the category of pre-dravidian or Proto-Australoid group of people. They were the largest tribe in the past who lived in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Originally they were hunters. But they have migrated to the Northern part of Bangladesh during British period. Here they have adopted agriculture as occupation.

The Santals are backward socially, economically and politically. They remain uneducated and appear sunk in traditional darkness. In a general sense, it can be said that they are a defeated group for thousands of years. They have been oppressed by the majority groups. Even now, they are being deprived from education, services and various social privileges by the majority group and they are mainly used as labourers.

It is, therefore, clear that the Santals are oppressed group in the cultural, economic, social and political context of Bangladesh. As a result they have become the victims of social discriminations, social injustice and social inequality. These variables have given birth to the felt relative deprivation in Santal community. Due to Bengali supremacy, the Santals are neglected in every sphere of life. The present study has been designed to explore this social discrimination resulting in fraternal relative deprivation in Santal community.

Bengali Hindus, on the other hand, in spite of their sharing Bengali supremacy with Bengali Muslims during liberation war, they have turned into minority group due to their religious origin. Now, Bengali Hindus in Bangladesh are treated as religious ethnic group and have become the victim of social, economic, political and cultural discrimination.

In conclusion, it may be said that fraternal relative deprivation may take different forms in different countries due to varied situations. Moreover, fraternal relative deprivation emerges due to social injustice, racial discrimination, unequal distribution of resources and discriminative treatment to sub-ordinate group by dominant group. The present study have taken minority status of Santals as racial ethnic group and the Bengali Hindus as religious ethnic group for exploring fraternal relative deprivation in them

relating to discriminative treatment for achieving social, political and economic gains.

### **Objective of the Study**

The broad objective of the study was to conduct an empirical investigation of fraternal relative deprivation of Santals and Bengali Hindus as minority groups relating to gender differences, age variations and residence differentials. The specific objectives of the study have been given below.

1. To provide some psychological explanations for felt fraternal relative deprivation in Santals and Bengali Hindus in Bangladesh.
2. To explore the phenomenon of fraternal relative deprivation of Santal and Bengali Hindu minority groups in the social, political and cultural fields.
3. To reflect on fraternal relative deprivation in Santal and Bengali Hindu minority groups as functions of gender, age and residence differences.
4. To make effort to provide analytical approach for understanding fraternal relative deprivation in dominant and sub-ordinate intergroup relations.

5. To focus on the consequent of social discrimination, unfair distribution of resources and privileges, unequal treatment and discriminatory behaviour by the dominant group on the sub-ordinate group resulting in fraternal relative deprivation.
6. To reflect on such situational factors as economic disparity, political exploitation and social discrimination as agents of conflicts between dominant and sub-ordinate groups and thus giving rise to fraternal relative deprivation in Santals and Bengali Hindus in Bangladesh.
7. To study both predisposing and precipitating factors of intergroup conflict between dominant and sub-ordinate group leading to fraternal relative deprivation.
8. To study conditions under which the Santals and the Bengali Hindus as subordinate groups would cooperate with the dominant group for serving reality purposes.
9. To search for certain factors of national integration and cooperation in social, political and economic fields between dominant and sub-ordinate groups in intergroup relations.

## Hypotheses

The present study has formulated several hypotheses in the perspective of theoretical orientations, review of literature and empirical observations of Santal and Bengali Hindu communities. These hypotheses with their Justification have been stated below:

H<sub>1</sub>: Respondents from Santal minority group would express significantly higher felt fraternal relative deprivation as compared to the respondents from Bengali Hindu minority group.

This hypothesis has been framed under the theoretical assumption that higher the discrimination, the higher is the deprivation. In the context of Bangladesh, Bengali Hindus as minority group is in an advantageous position in comparison to Santal minority group. The Bengali Hindus are co-equals with dominant group of Muslim community in all respects except in size of population. The Bengali Hindus are discriminated by the Bengali Muslims due to their religious faith. Because of this religious discrimination, Bengali Hindus become the victim of discrimination in the areas of social, political and economic gains and privileges. Moreover, Bengali Muslims and Bengali Hindus share common racial origin. This commonality helps to reduce prejudice and conflicts in inter-group relations between Bengali Muslim and Bengali Hindu communities. But the Santals as minority group are regarded

as a disadvantaged group in the political, economic, social and cultural fields. Hence it is logical that the Santals being a more disadvantaged minority group in comparison to the minority group of Bengali Hindus, it has been hypothesised that respondents from Santal minority group would express significantly higher fraternal relative deprivation as compared to the respondents from Bengali Hindu minority group.

H<sub>2</sub>: Female respondents would express higher felt fraternal relative deprivation as compared to male respondents.

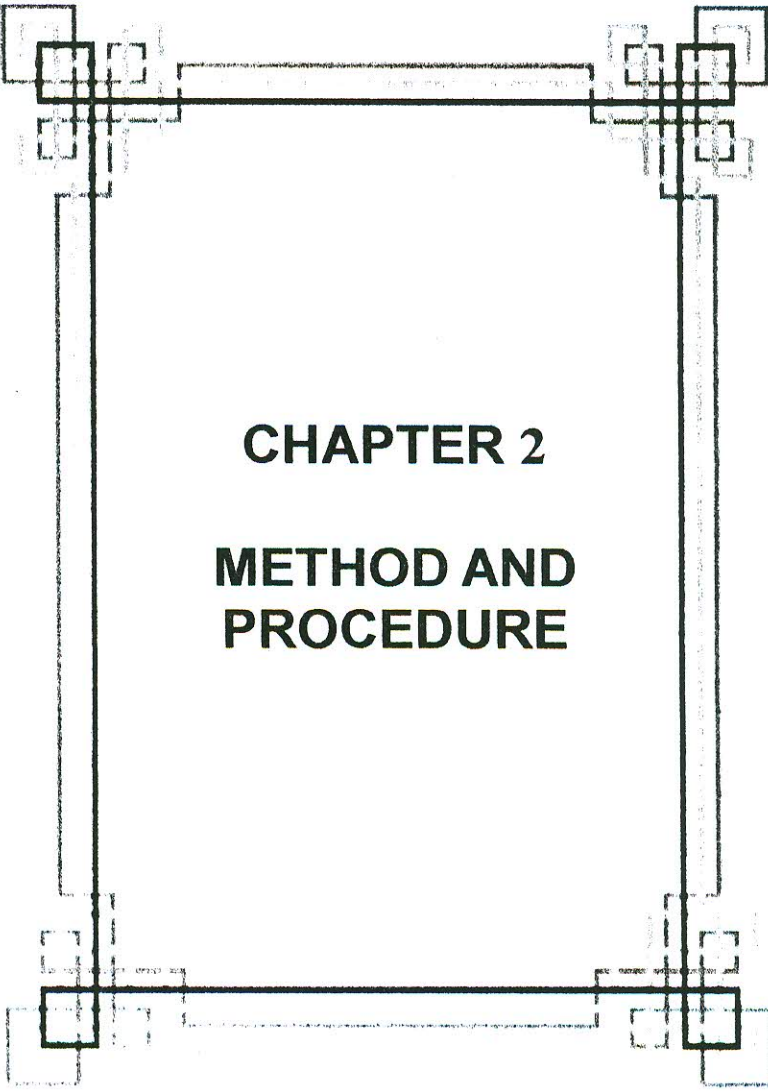
This hypothesis has been framed under the theoretical perspective that the females in a minority group are victims of double minority. Females of Santal minority group as well as Hindu minority group suffer from minority status due to their group belongingness. This shows that they are treated as minority because they belong to a group with minority status. But within the group, they are separated from male members due to their feminine status. Hence they are treated as a sub-group with minority status in comparison to their masculine counterparts. In this sense, females are regarded as disadvantaged group as compared to male members of the society. Thus females are disadvantaged group within a disadvantaged group. In this sense females are called to suffer from double minority. Viewed from this perspective, it has been hypothesised that female respondents would express higher fraternal relative deprivation as compared to male respondents.

H<sub>3</sub>: Respondents with sixteen years of age would perceive fraternal relative deprivation in higher intensity as compared to the respondents with thirteen years of age.

This hypothesis has been framed under the theoretical assumption that experience in intergroup relations is important factor for raising social consciousness. With the increase of age, children get more information through their formal education. Socialization process gets maturity with the increase of age. The feelings of “we” and “they” become prominent with the increase of age. They understand that they are being discriminated by the dominant outgroup members. As a result, the older boys and girls learn more about their own cultural heritage. Thus they can distinguish between the culture of own group and the outgroup. On the basis of these empirical findings and theoretical orientations, it has been hypothesised that respondents with sixteen years of age would perceive fraternal relative deprivation in higher intensity as compared to the respondents with thirteen years of age.

H<sub>4</sub>: Respondents with rural residential background would express higher felt fraternal relative deprivation as compared to the respondents with urban residential background.

This hypothesis has been framed under the theoretical construct of consciousness raising process in intergroup relations. In rural residential background, people are merged in ignorance. They believe in prejudice and they do not believe in the modernization of social system. As a result they remain ignorant, socially handicapped and economically backward. The people in urban residential background are more educated. They believe in scientific explanation of events. Hence they are less prejudicial and live a modern life. Mass media and other agencies of gathering knowledge are open to them. Hence the people of rural areas are more in a disadvantaged position regarding social, political and economic gains than the people of urban areas. Again the people of urban areas have greater chances to mix with outgroup members. This helps them to reduce prejudice in intergroup relations. Thus the conflicts between own group and outgroup become minimized. These observations show that rural people become more discriminated in social, economic and political areas as compared to the members of ethnic group living in urban areas. On the basis of these arguments, it has been hypothesised that respondents with rural residential background would express higher fraternal relative deprivation as compared to the respondents with urban residential background.



## **CHAPTER 2**

### **METHOD AND PROCEDURE**

## CHAPTER II METHOD AND PROCEDURE

### Sample

The sample of this study was collected from two ethnic groups such as Santals as racial ethnic group and Bengali Hindus as religious ethnic group. Thus the sample of the study was composed of 240 respondents equally divided into Santals and Bengali Hindus. They were equally divided into males and females. Each group was divided into 13 years age group and 16 years age group in equal number. Each age group was again equally sub-divided into urban and rural according to their residential background. The break-up of sample distribution is given in table 1.

**Table 1: Showing break-up of sample distribution.**

		Santals		Bengali Hindus		
		13 years	16 years	13 years	16 years	Total
Male	Urban	15	15	15	15	60
	Rural	15	15	15	15	60
Female	Urban	15	15	15	15	60
	Rural	15	15	15	15	60
Total		60	60	10	60	240

### **Background and Characteristics of Sample**

The investigator used the Fraternal Relative Deprivation Scale for the collection of data in the present study. The test was administered on 120 Bengali Hindus and 120 Santals. All the respondents were students of secondary level of education. In the first place, the data were collected from rural respondents situated in Godaghari and Tanor Thana in Rajshahi district. Santal respondents were contacted through Santal agents and Hindu respondents were contacted through Hindu agents. Each respondent was contacted individually in schools as well as in their homes. The respondents were friendly and they cooperated in data collection. Urban respondents were collected from different schools situated in Rajshahi City. The respondents took hardly half an hour to fill up each questionnaire. However, it was not a very simple and easy job. The respondents raised doubt about the purpose of the research. They were very much suspicious about the motive of the investigation. All the doubts were removed from the minds of the respondents through personal contact with the help of agents. Thus proper rapport was established. The respondents were assured that the information given by them would be kept secret and would be used for research purpose only. Following the same procedure, data were collected from Hindus and Santals from Rajshahi City.

**Mode of Sample Selection:**

Selection of sample in the present study was done by using the stratified random sample procedure. The Sample was selected from Santal and Bengali Hindu population. For Santal population, Ss were recruited from different places of greater Rajshahi District. In the first place, the investigator demarcated high concentration Region. Two separate principles were followed in identifying high concentration Region. The regions where Santals were found to concentrate in several adjacent villages having their own tribal leader for promulgation of their own traditional customs and violation of which was punishable by the tribal leader and people, were regarded as high concentration Regions. In these regions the tribal people are found to speak their own dialect in within-group conversation and social interactions in intergroup relationships. Here the group boundary is determined and closed up by customary laws and traditional cultures. Accordingly some places in Godagari Thana were found to fulfill the principles of High concentration Region. These places were such villages as (1) Pakri, (2) Kakon hut, (3) Dargapara, (4) Chabbis Nagar. Santal respondents with rural residential background were collected from places. these places. Accordingly the investigator contacted the santal tribal people of those regions through Santal agent. A ward boy in Rajshahi Mission Hospital named Stephen Murmu worked as agent. The investigator visited those places accompanied by agent. The agent made conversation with the

people concerned. The investigator with the help of the agent talked with each respondent individually. The purpose of this interview was to make a rapport with the respondents. Their educational level, age and their eagerness to participate in the study were evaluated by the investigator. The individuals who were found passive, non-cooperative and shy were excluded. Thus 30 years and 16 years as well as 30 females equally divided into 13 years and 16 years were selected as respondents.

Similar procedure was followed in case of respondents with Bengali Hindus. The investigator went high concentration Region of Hindu population with rural background. These places were Chatragitpur and Juktoradra Kantapur in Singong Thana. Hindus are highly concentrated in these villages. They use their own dialect in conversation in their own community. Their way of life is dominated by Hindu culture. They worship in their own style and wear cloth in Hindu manner. Hindu agent was used for data collection. The agent named Shamapolqa Pramanik introduced the investigator with the relevant Hindu population. Then the investigator interviewed the subjects and tried to make rapport with them. After establishing due rapport with each subject the investigator selected 30 males equally divided into 13 years and 16 years as well as 30 females equally divided into 13 years and 16 years. Thus collection of rural respondents from Santal and Hindu population was completed.

Urban respondents of Santal and Hindu population were collected from several localities of Rajshahi Town. It was found that Santals are

highly concentrated in Mahisbathan near court bazer of western part of Rajshahi city Corporation. Similarly Hindu respondents were collected from Kazirhata of the same locality. In fact Hindu respondents were collected from high concentration region of Rajshahi Town. They were easily demarcated on the basis of density of population in the respective areas. The region was considered High concentration Region where Hindus are living together in large groups from several generations. They are able to perform their own religious rituals. They are free to use their own dialect in social interactions and they are bound by their traditional customs, habits, laws and cultures.

The investigator contacted the Hindus of different locality such as Kumar Para, Sagarpra, Alupatti, Resham Patti through with the help of Hindu agents. The agents individually approached the respondents to participate in the study. At first the majority of the students were afraid to act as respondents in the study and they revealed non-cooperative attitudes. However, the agents were able to convince them about the purpose of the study and they agreed with hesitation. The investigator interviewed each student individually for establishing rapport with them. Following these procedure 30 males equally divided into 13 years and 16 years as well as 30 females equally divided into 13 years were selected as respondents. Similarly 30 males equally divided into 13 years and 16 years as well as 30 females equally divided into 13 years and 16 years from Santal population were selected as despondence of the present study.

It should be pointed out that Hindu respondents of urban areas were very difficult to communicate. The agents had to contact with the student leaders. These leaders talked with the investigator and wanted to know about the purpose of the study. They were very much skeptical about the utility of the research that might bring good results by which the Hindus should be benefited. They took several days to give decision. At first they asked for the questionnaire. They took the questionnaire at their residence for discussing it with other Hindu leaders about the possible outcome of the study. However, they took about a week for giving decision whether they would allow the investigator to collect data about Hindu affairs from the region. Local Hindu leaders, however, managed to convince the student leaders about the good intention of the investigator for conducting such a study about Hindu identity problems. The investigator was able to explain the whole study in a proper manner and she emphatically expressed that the study was a good will missing between Hindu and Muslim population. If the study is successfully completed, the investigator added, then it will be able to bridge over the gulf between Hindu and Muslim identity problems. Then the respondents expressed their willingness to become the subject in the study.

**Characteristics of Sample Setting:**

The study was conducted on Santal and Bengali Hindu tribal groups. Hence, two samples were selected. One from Santal population and the other Bengali Hindu population. Santal tribal sample was collected from Rajshahi district. Rajshahi is situated on the northern part of Bangladesh. The region

of Rajshahi district is characterized by high lands and absence of forest. It is not so densely populated like other part of Bangladesh. This part is the most undeveloped area of the district. Traditionally this region is geographically known as Varind land. Agriculture is the main occupation of the people here. Communication system has not been improved upto the expectation of the people. So outside seldom travel in this area and rate of immigration is very low. Again people in this area do not prefer immigration to town areas. In a sense, it is an isolated region from the district headquarters. People lead a very simple life. Males work in the field and females look after domestic affairs. Santals in Rajshahi district are mostly found to live in these areas. The residence of Santals maybe identified as high concentration regions.

In high concentration regions have their own way of living. They are able to maintain a social boundary of their own. In this region Santals speak their own language within their home environment and within group social interaction. Here many of the non-tribal people use Santal dialect when they enter into the area of Santals. Again, children and younger Santals use their own language and most of them cannot speak or understand Bengali language. However, these children get their education in the Bengali medium schools.

It is often found that, Christian missionaries go to these places, approach the Santal for conversion in Christian religion and make arrangement for teaching Santal dialect. Thus it is obvious that social mobility is in operation in high concentration region of Santal also. In this

way social change and development are found to shift into Santal tribal community.

Bengali Hindu sample has been collected from Rajshahi city and village of Sibgonj Thana under Chapai-Nawabganj district. During undivided India, Chapai-Nawabganj was under the district of Rajshahi. This region was highly concentrated by Hindus. But after partition of India most of the Hindus have migrated to India. In spite of that, there are many regions where Bengali Hindus are highly concentrated. Thus Hindus have got social power in these regions. Due to migration of Hindus to India, these Hindus have lost political power. As a result they are suffering from perceived fraternal relative deprivation. The Hindus in these areas are mostly illiterate and poor. They live these lives on the professions inherited from their ancestors.

It is thus clear that, Santal and Bengali Hindus have similar type of socio-economic status. Santals are landless and work in the field for earning livelihood. They belong to classless society. Similarly, Bengali Hindus in the present study belong to poor society. They earn their livelihood by the professions inherited from their fathers. In fact Hindus of high and middle socio-economic status have migrated to India. Hence, the remaining Hindus belong to low socio-economic status.

It is thus clear that the Santals and Bengali Hindus from where the samples of the present study have been collected are comparable in case of education, profession and socio-economic status. It is obvious that, these

people get minimum social, political and economic privileges. Hence, both Santal and Bengali Hindus are expected to perceived social injustice, social inequality and political operation from their counter part majority Bengali Muslims. The present study has utilized this background and characteristics of sample setting for exploring the phenomenon of fraternal relative deprivation.

### **Selection of Instrument**

The present study used Fraternal Relative Deprivation Scale to measure the perceived fraternal relative deprivation of Santals and Bengali Hindus in Bangladesh. The scale was originally used by sociologists such as Caplan and Paige (1968), political scientists such as Stauffer *et al.* (1949) and social psychologists such as Runciman (1966). They used the scale to explain social violence and protest behaviour. Berkowitz (1974) used the scale for the measurement of relative deprivation in real life social settings. Billig (1976) and Tajfel (1978) used the scale for explaining relative deprivation in constantly changing social environment. Naqvi (1974.) developed a relative deprivation scale to measure the attribution of blame in a dominant-subordinate intergroup relations in Indian context. Shakir (1972) also constructed a scale of relative deprivation in the context of Indian Hindu-Muslim intergroup relations.

Tripathi and Srivastava (1981) used a modified form of Naqvi's relative deprivation scale. The purpose of this scale was to measure relative deprivation of Indian Muslims in their intergroup behaviour. They made a

comparison between positive ingroup attitudes and negative outgroup attitudes in social, economic and political areas. M.M. Huq (1985) made an analytical review of scales of relative deprivation used in divergent cross-national context and developed a scale of relative deprivation appropriate for using in the social, economic and political spheres of Bangladesh.

Moeed (1990) and Rahman (1992) used this scale in the context of Bangladesh. Huq (1985) used this scale in cross-cultural study and measured fraternal relative deprivation of Bengali Hindus in Bangladesh and Bengali Muslims in India in their majority-minority intergroup relations. Moeed (1990), on the other hand, used this scale for measuring amount of relative deprivation of Chakma and Santal tribal populations with reference to Bengalis in Bangladesh. Rahman (1992) used this scale in the study of fraternal relative deprivation of high caste Hindus and scheduled cast Hindus in their intergroup relationships in Bangladesh.

In the perspective of above over-view of the various aspects of fraternal relative deprivation scale, the present study has used the Fraternal Relative Deprivation Scale developed by Huq (1985). The scale was partially modified for using it in case of Santals in Bangladesh. The scale contained 19 items of which 7 items were from social area, 7 items from economic area and 5 items from political area. These items represented certain hypothetical situations involving social, economic and political privileges. The Hindu respondent was asked to express his own perception in terms of percentage about the chances of Hindus of getting such a

privilege on a scale ranging from 0% to 100% and then he again was required to indicate the same for Muslims. The same procedure was repeated in case of Santals. A discrepancy score between ratings for own group and reciprocal outgroup was computed for each hypothetical situation. A discrepancy score with minus sign (negative) between own group ratings and outgroup ratings was thought as deprivation score and with plus sign (positive) was thought as gratification score.

For determining validity of the scale, interdimensional correlation was computed. The 'r' was found 0.30 between social and political areas, 0.32 between political and economic areas and 0.52 between social and economic areas. This indicated content validity of the scale. For determining the reliability of the scale, split-half technique was used and Spearman's r was found 0.80. When Spearman-Brown Prophecy formula was applied, the correlation was found to increase from 0.80 to 0.89. This high correlation indicated the reliability of the Fraternal Relative Deprivation Scale used in the present study.

### **Administration of the Test**

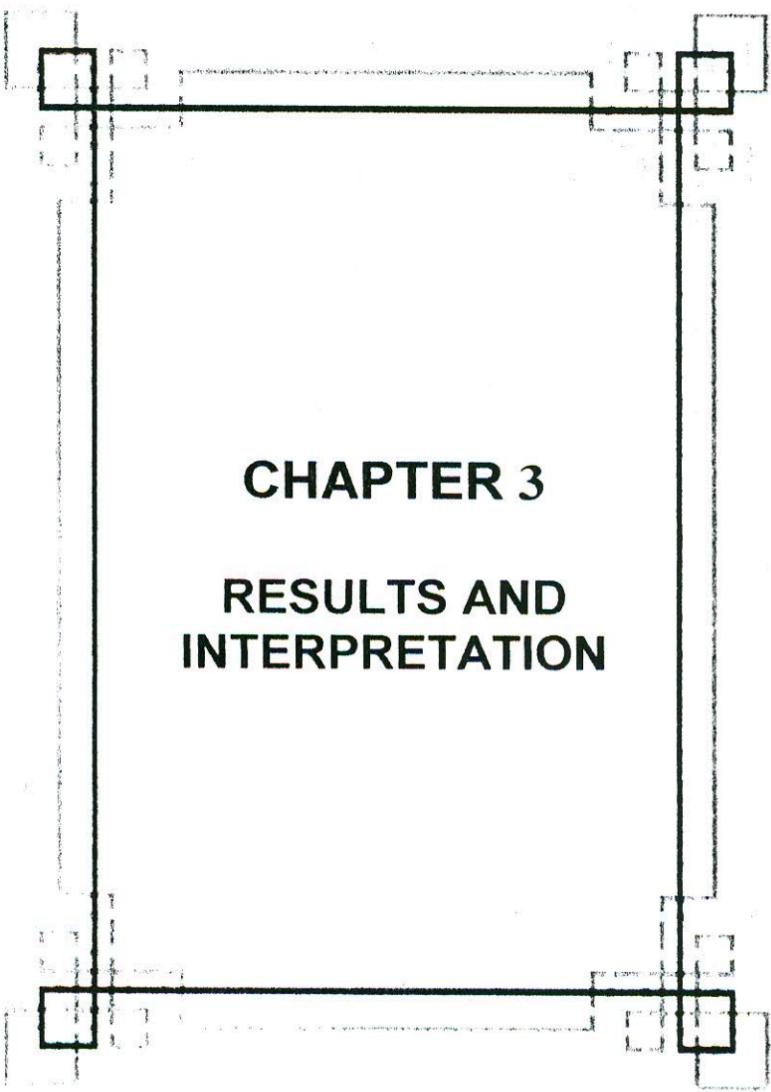
The Fraternal Relative Deprivation Scale was administered on pre-selected sample. The Ss were required to express two judgements for each statement in terms of percentage. The judgement was regarding certain privileges for Muslims and Hindus/Santal that one perceives exist in the societal contexts. There was no time limit but the Ss were asked to complete

the answers as early as possible. The test was administered individually and rapport was established by a short discussion about the need and purpose of the test. The instruction for this test was as follows (English rendering):

“Following you will see some hypothetical situations involving Muslim/Hindu possibility of getting privileges about some economic, political and social gains. Please read these problems carefully and give your own opinion in percentage ranging from zero to hundred. You are required to think twice on each problem. First think about Muslim possibility of getting the privilege and write ‘M’ on the number of percentage following each item. Then think of Hindu possibility of getting privilege on the same situation and write ‘H’ on the number of percentage given below the item.”

### **Design of the Study**

In each minority group, a  $2 \times 2 \times 2$  factorial design consisting of 2 levels of gender (Male/Female), 2 levels of age (13 years/16 years) and 2 levels of residence (Urban/Rural) was used. Then the data of Santals and Bengali Hindus were combined together irrespective of residential background and ANOVA was computed using a  $2 \times 2 \times 2$  factorial design representing two levels of group composition (Santal/Hindus), two levels of gender (Male/Female) and two levels of age (13 years/16 years).



**CHAPTER 3**

**RESULTS AND  
INTERPRETATION**

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESULTS AND INTERPRETATION**

The study was an empirical investigation on the phenomenon of fraternal relative deprivation of minority groups in Bangladesh. Two minority groups were identified such as Santals and Bengali Hindus. These two groups were racially different. But in the context of Bangladesh, these two groups are to compete with the majority group such as Bengali Muslims. It is to note that the Santals and the dominant out-group Bengali Muslims are racially different ethnic groups. But Bengali Hindus as minority group are to compete with Bengali Muslims. It is true that Bengali Hindus and Bengali Muslims are racially and linguistically homogeneous groups. But they differ in their religious beliefs. Hence they are regarded as religious ethnic groups. In the present study, fraternal relative deprivation of Santals and Bengali Hindus was measured in their reciprocal relationships in social, political and economic context of Bangladesh. The data were collected using the measure of fraternal relative deprivation. The respondents were asked to express their opinion about possibility of getting privileges in social, political and economic fields.

Accordingly, data were collected, analyzed and subjected to an Analysis of Variance. The ANOVA was computed in three parts. In the first part Analysis of Variance was computed on the data collected by using Fraternal Relative Deprivation Scale for Santals. In the second part, Analysis of Variance was computed on the data collected by using Fraternal Relative

Deprivation Scale for Bengali Hindus. In the third part, the data on fraternal relative deprivation of Santal and Bengali Hindus were combined together and were subjected to Analysis of Variance representing group composition, gender and age. These are described below.

### **PART I: Computation of ANOVA Involving Gender, Age and Residence of Santals**

In this part, ANOVA was computed representing two levels of gender (Male/Female), two levels of age (13 yrs/16 yrs) and two levels of residential background (Urban/Rural) of Santals on the scores of Fraternal Relative Deprivation Scale. The summary of ANOVA has been reported in Table 2.

Table 2: Showing summary of ANOVA involving two levels of gender, two levels of age and two levels of residential background with Santal respondents on the scores of Fraternal Relative Deprivation Scale (N=120).

Sources of Variance	SS	df	MS	F	Level of Significance
Gender (A)	118.01	1	118.01	0.24	n.s
Age (B)	1896.07	1	1896.07	3.92	0.05
Residence (C)	6705.07	1	6705.07	13.86	0.001
AB	30305.41	1	30305.41	62.65	0.001
AC	63.08	1	63.08	0.13	n.s
BC	13293.08	1	13293.08	27.48	0.001
ABC	4775.40	1	4775.40	9.87	0.005
Within Cell (Experimental Error)	54173.47	112	483.69		
Total	111329.59	119			

The results (Table 2) indicated that the main effects for age and residential background were statistically significant. Moreover, interaction effects involving gender and age, age and residence as well as gender, age and residence were statistically significant.

## MAIN EFFECT

### Age

The result of ANOVA reported in Table 2 showed that the main effect for age of Santals was statistically significant ( $F=3.92$ ,  $df=1/112$ ,  $P<0.05$ ).

Table 3: Showing mean scores and significant mean difference between 13 years and 16 years of Santal respondents with the scores of Fraternal Relative Deprivation Scale (N=60 for each group).

Age	Mean scores
13 years	83.87a
16 years	75.92b

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula,  $P<0.01$ .

An inspection of mean scores and significant mean difference (Table 3) showed that regardless of gender and residential background, Santal respondents of 13 years age group ( $M=83.87$ ) expressed significantly higher feelings of fraternal relative deprivation as compared to Santal respondents of 16 years age group ( $M=75.92$ ).

This finding may be explained with reference to contact theory of intergroup relation developed by Amir (1969). The proponents of contact theory of intergroup relations (Amir, 1969; Pettigrew, 1971) hold the idea that the contact between the members of different social groups would help to understand each other and diminish prejudice by lowering the social distance among them. In the present situation, it is appropriate to argue that with the increase of age, the members of Santal community are capable to make frequent contact with the members of out-group. Due to this frequent contact between the members of Santal community and other out-group members with the increase in age, the respondents of 16 years age group have exhibited higher felt relative fraternal deprivation as compared to the respondents of 13 years age group.

### Residential Background

The results reported in table 2 showed that the main effect for residential background of Santals was statistically significant ( $F= 13.86$ ,  $df= 1/112$ ,  $P< 0.001$ ).

Table 4: Showing mean scores and significant mean difference between Santal respondents from urban and rural residential background on the scores of Fraternal Relative Deprivation Scale (N=60 for each group).

Residential background	Mean scores
Urban	87.37
Rural	72.42

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula,  $P<0.01$ .

An examination of mean scores and their significant mean difference showed that regardless of gender and age, Santal respondents from urban residential background ( $M = 87.37$ ) expressed significantly higher felt fraternal relative deprivation as compared to Santal respondents from rural residential background ( $M = 72.42$ ). This indicates that Santal respondents living in urban residential areas are capable to raise their consciousness in social context about their deprivation in social, economic and political areas. But the Santal respondents living in rural residential areas have failed to cross the consciousness raising stage in society. In other words, Santals in rural residential areas have developed consensual inferiority against the out-group Bengali Hindus. Thus, the consensual inferiority of Santals in rural residential areas may account for low perceived fraternal relative deprivation.

But the Santals with urban residential background perceived the outgroup enjoying more facilities and privileges in economic, political and social areas. This comparison leads the Santal community living in urban residential areas to perceive inequality, injustice and disparity leading to the development of higher degree of felt fraternal relative deprivation. Accordingly, the Santals living in urban residential areas believe that they are being deprived from their legitimate economic, social, political and cultural rights.

## INTERACTION EFFECT

### Gender × Age:

The summary of ANOVA (Table-2) reported two-way interaction effect representing gender and age. It was found that two-way interaction between gender and age of Santals was statistically significant ( $F = 62.65$   $df = 1/112$   $P < 0.001$ ).

Table 5: Showing mean scores and significant mean differences involving two-way interaction between gender and age of Santals on the scores of Fraternal Relative Deprivation Scale (N=30 for each group).

	<b>13 years</b>	<b>16 years</b>
Male	68.97a	92.80b
Female	98.77c	59.03d

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean differences were computed using Newman-Keuls formula,  $P < 0.01$ .

An inspection of mean scores and significant mean differences (Table-5) showed that Santal male respondents of 16 years age group ( $M = 92.80$ ) expressed significantly higher perceived fraternal relative deprivation as compared to Santal male respondents of 13 years age group ( $M = 68.97$ ). But a reverse relationship was found in case of females. It was found that Santal female respondents of 13 years age group ( $M = 98.77$ ) expressed significantly higher perceived fraternal relative deprivation as compared to Santal female respondents of 16 years age group ( $M = 59.03$ ). These findings are exactly in the same line of theoretical construct of the theories of fraternal and egoistic relative deprivation (Gofman and Muller, 1973). According to the theories of relative deprivation, change between present

and future may initiate greater protest behaviour. In case of male Santal respondents, the sense of deprivation was found to increase from 13 years to 16 years. But in case of females, deprivation decreases as the age increases. Thus the changes in age may account for changes in the amount of felt relative deprivation. One probable explanation might be that male respondents have higher opportunity for mixing up with the out group Bengali Hindu community leading to the development of the feelings of competition. Thus their expectations become high with the increase of age. It is, perhaps, these feelings of comparison and competition that are responsible for higher felt relative deprivation. Female respondents, on the other hand, have less opportunity of mixing up with the own group as well as out group members due to increase in age. Consequently the out group members may not be considered as reference group for Santal females of 16 years age group. Consequently, they failed to express higher fraternal relative deprivation. Female respondents of 13 years age group have expressed significantly higher felt deprivation. This felt deprivation may be egoistic in nature. It might be that Santal female respondents expressed higher felt deprivation due to their comparison with male counterparts. It is more evident from the between group comparison. It was found that in case of 13 years age group, Santal female respondents ( $M=98.77$ ) expressed significantly higher felt deprivation as compared to Santal male respondents ( $M=68.97$ ). But in case of 16 years of age group, Santal male respondents expressed higher felt deprivation ( $M=92.80$ ) as compared to Santal female respondents ( $M=59.03$ ). This has effected interaction. The interaction effect has been graphically plotted in figure 1.

**Age × Residence**

The summary of ANOVA reported two-way interaction effect involving age and residence. It was found that two-way interaction between age and residence of Santals was statistically significant ( $F=27.48$ ,  $df=1/112$ ,  $P<0.001$ ).

Table 6: Showing mean scores and significant mean differences involving two-way interaction between age and residence of Santals on the scores of Fraternal Relative Deprivation Scale (N=30 for each group).

	<b>Urban</b>	<b>Rural</b>
13 years	101.87a	65.87b
16 years	72.87c	78.97d

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean differences were computed using Newman-Keuls formula,  $P<0.01$ .

An examination of mean scores (Table 6) and their significant mean differences showed that Santal respondents of 13 years age group from urban residential background ( $M=101.87$ ) expressed significantly higher fraternal relative deprivation as compared to Santal respondents of the same age group from rural residential background ( $M=65.87$ ). But Santal respondents of 16 years of age group from rural residential background ( $M=78.97$ ) expressed significantly higher felt fraternal relative deprivation as compared to of Santal respondents of the same age group from urban residential background ( $M=72.87$ ).

Between group comparisons showed that in case of urban residential background, Santal respondents of 13 years age group ( $M=101.78$ ) expressed significantly higher felt fraternal relative deprivation as compared

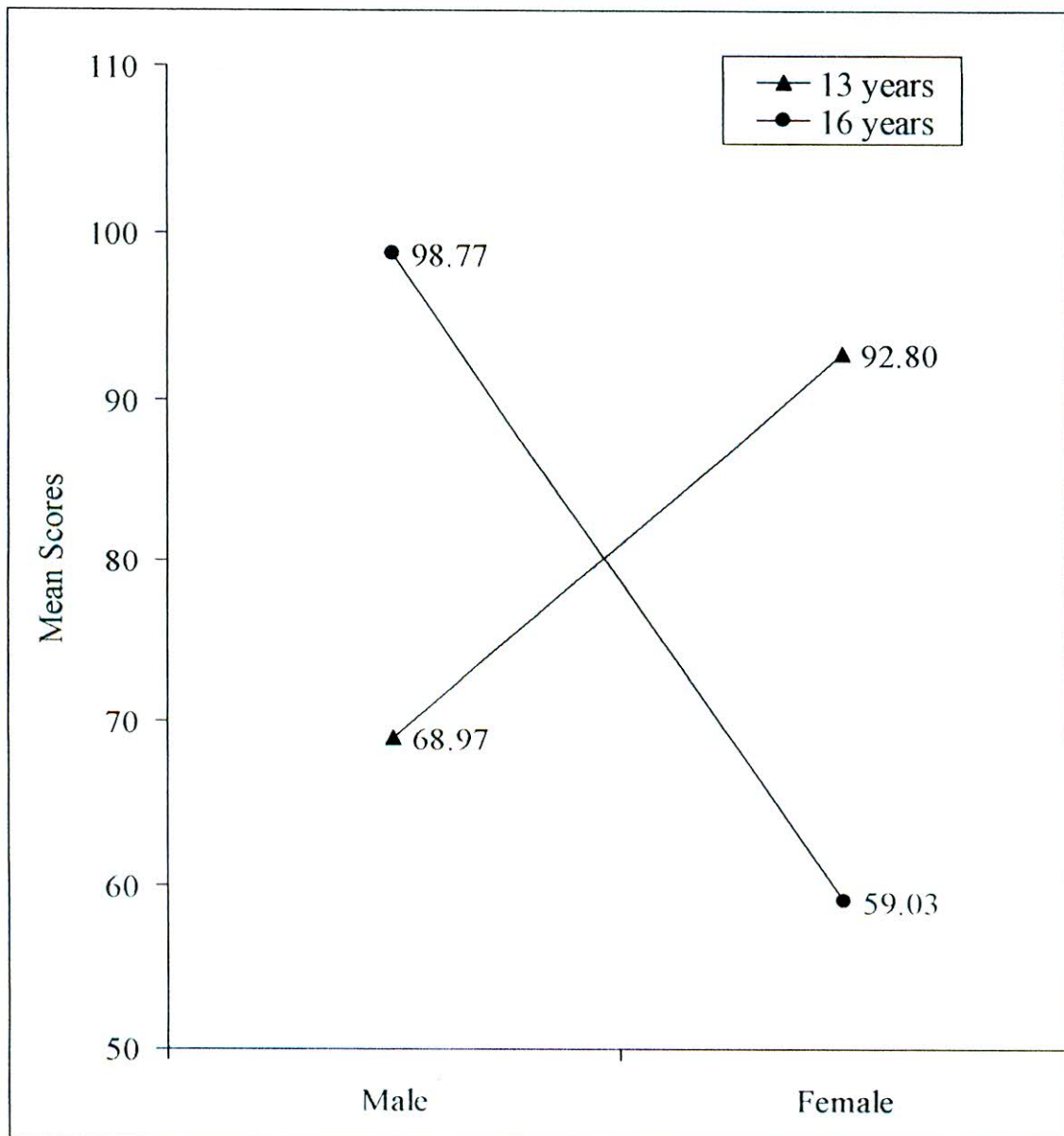


Figure 1: Showing two-way interaction between gender and age for Santals on the scores of fraternal relative deprivation scale.

to Santal respondents of 16 years age group ( $M=72.87$ ). But in case of rural residential background, Santal respondents of 16 years of age group ( $M=78.97$ ) expressed significantly higher felt relative deprivation as compared to Santal respondents of 13 years age group ( $M=65.87$ ). This converse relationship has effected interaction. The interaction effect has been graphically plotted in Figure 2.

These findings of the present study provide empirical support to earlier research findings conducting in Western society of industrialized nations. For examples, Taylor *et al.* (1979) examined the perceived fraternal relative deprivation of disadvantaged group and showed that the members of disadvantaged group accept situation when they are exposed to inequality, disparity and injustice. In the present case, Santal respondents of 13 years age group with urban residential background are exposed to the situations of higher inequality due to their age. It is, perhaps, the effects of age that may account for higher fraternal relative deprivation in case of Santals living in urban residential areas in 13 years of age group.

It should be pointed out that urban and rural residential background may be treated as two distinct subcultures that may produce differential effects in felt fraternal relative deprivation. For example, Taylor *et al.* (1979) explored the phenomenon of spontaneous social identity effected by the impact of subcultures emerging from urban and rural residential background. They provided multi-dimensional aspects of fraternal relative deprivation. It was found that Santal respondents in rural residential background in 16 years of age group expressed significantly higher fraternal relative deprivation with the increase of age.

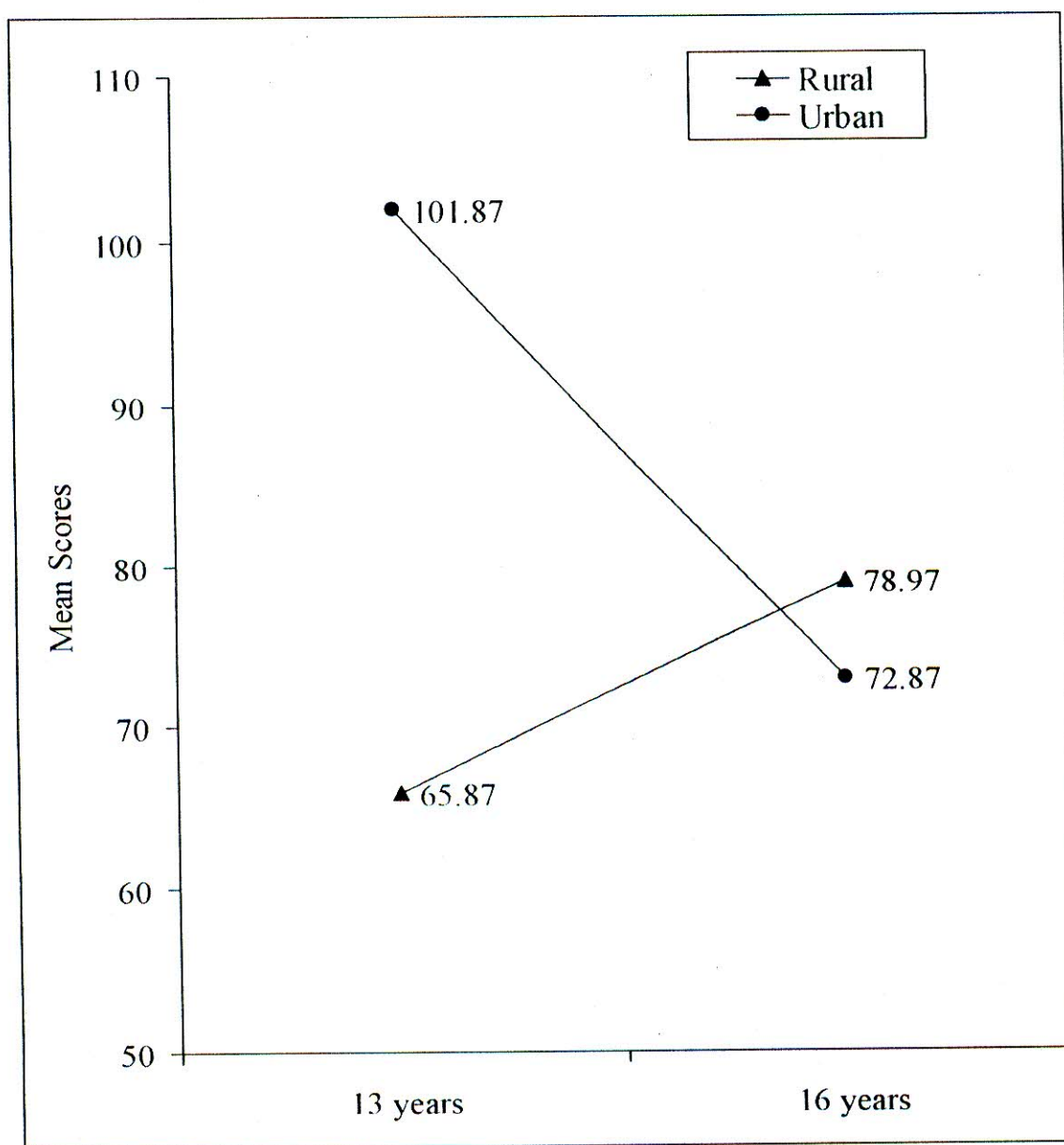


Figure 2: Showing two-way interaction between age and residential background for Santals on the scores of fraternal relative deprivation scale.

**Gender  $\times$  Age  $\times$  Residence**

The summary of ANOVA (Table 2) showed a three-way interaction. It was found that a three-way interaction representing gender, age and residence of Santals was statistically significantly ( $F=9.87$ ,  $df=1/112$ ,  $P<0.005$ ).

Table 7: Showing scores and significant mean difference involving three-way interaction between gender, age and residence of Santals on the scores of Fraternal Relative Deprivation Scale ( $N=15$  for each group).

		13 years	16 years
Male	Urban	79.93a	95.33c
	Rural	58.00b	90.27f
Female	Urban	123.80c	50.40g
	Rural	73.73d	67.67h

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean differences were computed using Newman-Keuls formula,  $P<0.01$ .

An inspection of mean scores and significant mean differences (Table 7) showed that Santal male respondents of 16 years of age group with urban residential background ( $M=95.33$ ) expressed significantly higher perceived fraternal relative deprivation as compared to male respondents of 13 years of age group with urban residential background ( $M=79.93$ ). Similarly, Santal male respondents of 16 years of age group of rural residential background ( $M=90.27$ ) expressed significantly higher fraternal

relative deprivation as compared to male respondents of 13 years of age group with rural residential background ( $M=58.00$ )j.

Furthermore, it was found that Santal female respondents of 13 years of age group with urban residential background ( $M=123.80$ ) expressed significantly higher fraternal relative deprivation as compared to Santal female respondents of 16 years of age group with urban residential background ( $M=50.40$ ). Similarly, Santal female respondents of 13 years of age group from rural residence ( $M=73.73$ ) expressed significantly higher felt fraternal relative deprivation as compared to Santal female respondents of 16 years of age group from rural residence ( $M=67.67$ ).

Between group comparisons showed that in case of 13 years of age group, it was found that male urban respondents ( $M=79.93$ ) expressed significantly higher fraternal relative deprivation as compared to male rural respondents ( $M=58.00$ ). Similarly, female urban respondents ( $M=123.80$ ) expressed significantly higher fraternal relative deprivation as compared to female rural respondents ( $M=73.73$ ). Thus in case of 13 years of age group, highest fraternal relative deprivation was reported by female urban respondents followed by male urban respondents, female rural respondents and least by male rural respondents.

In case of 16 years of age group, it was found that male urban respondents expressed significantly higher fraternal relative deprivation

( $M=95.33$ ) as compared to male rural respondents ( $M=90.27$ ). But female rural respondents ( $M=67.67$ ) expressed significantly higher fraternal relative deprivation as compared to female urban respondents ( $M=50.40$ ). Thus it was found that in case of 16 years of age group, highest fraternal relative deprivation was reported by male urban respondents followed by male rural respondents, female rural respondents and least by female urban respondents.

It is, therefore, evident that fraternal relative deprivation is not evenly distributed among different comparison groups. It is important to note that gender, age and residence may account for fraternal relative deprivation in different amount for the formation of social identity of Santals. This differential amount of felt fraternal relative deprivation is responsible for interaction effects. The interaction effect has been graphically plotted in Figure 3.

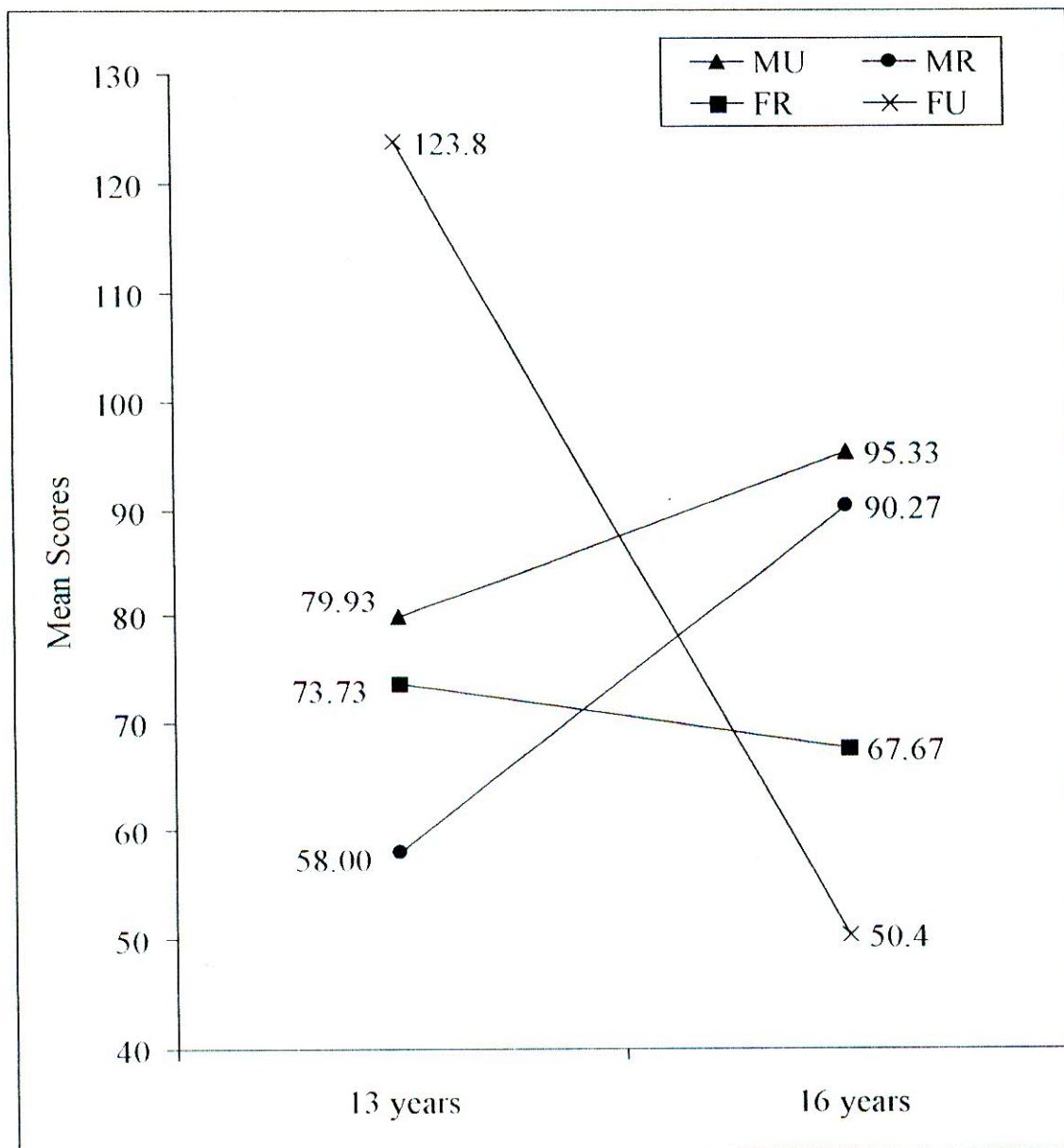


Figure 3: Showing three-way interaction representing gender, age and residence for Santals on the scores of Fraternal Relative Deprivation scale.

### **Part-II: Computation of ANOVA Involving Gender, Age and Residence of Bengali Hindus**

In this part ANOVA was computed representing two levels of gender (Male/Female), two levels of age (13 years/16 years) and two levels of residential background (Urban/Rural) of Bengali Hindus on the scores of Fraternal Relative Deprivation Scale. The summary of ANOVA has been reported in Table 8.

Table 8: Showing summary of ANOVA involving two levels of gender, two levels of age and two levels of residential background with Bengali Hindus on the scores of Fraternal Relative Deprivation Scale (N=120).

Sources of Variance	SS	df	MS	F	Level of Significance
Gender (A)	1477.01	1	1477.01	9.37	0.005
Age (B)	161.01	1	161.01	1.02	ns
Residence (C)	1665.07	1	1665.07	10.56	0.005
AB	795.67	1	795.67	5.05	0.05
AC	161.01	1	161.01	1.02	ns
BC	2108.41	1	2108.41	13.37	0.001
ABC	5481.01	1	5481.01	34.76	0.001
Within Cell (Experimental Error)	17658.80	112	157.67		
Total	29507.99	119			

The analysis of variance reported in Table 8 showed that the main effects for gender and residence were statistically significant. Two-way interactions representing gender and age as well as age and residence were statistically significant. A three-way interaction involving gender, age and residence was also statistically significant.

## MAIN EFFECT

### Gender

The summary of ANOVA reported in Table 8 showed that the main effect for gender of Bengali Hindus was statistically significant ( $F=9.37$ ,  $df=1/112$ ,  $P<0.005$ ).

Table 9: Showing mean scores and significant mean difference between male and female of Bengali Hindus with the scores of Fraternal Relative Deprivation Scale (N=60 for each group).

Gender	Mean scores
Male	129.25a
Female	136.27b

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula,  $P<0.01$ .

An examination of mean scores and significant mean difference (Table 9) showed that regardless of age and residential background, female respondents of Bengali Hindus ( $M=136.27$ ) expressed significantly higher fraternal relative deprivation as compared to male respondents of Bengali Hindus ( $M=129.25$ ). In other words, female respondents of Bengali Hindu community are exposed to higher social injustice, economic disparity and political exploitation than their counterpart male members of Hindu community. Thus the female members of Bengali Hindu community are subjected to double minority leading to the development of higher fraternal relative deprivation.

### Residence

The summary of ANOVA reported in Table 8 showed that the main effect for residence of Bengali Hindus was statistically significant ( $F=10.56$ ,  $df=1/112$ ,  $P<0.005$ ).

Table 10: Showing mean scores and significant mean difference between urban and rural respondents of Bengali Hindus with the scores of Fraternal Relative Deprivation Scale (N=60 for each group).

Residence	Mean scores
Urban	129.03a
Rural	136.48b

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula,  $P<0.01$ .

An inspection of mean scores and significant mean difference showed that regardless of gender and age, it was found that respondents of Bengali Hindu community from rural residential areas ( $M=136.48$ ) expressed significantly higher felt fraternal relative deprivation as compared to the respondents of Bengali Hindu community from urban residential areas ( $M=129.03$ ). This indicates that rural respondents of Hindu community are subjected to higher economic exploitation, social injustice and political disparity than the urban respondents of Hindu community. This finding supports that unequal distribution of wealth and privileges may cause egoistic as well as fraternal relative deprivation. It is a truism that Hindus living in rural areas are deprived of many privileges. But Hindus living in urban area enjoy social, economic, political and cultural benefits. Due to

these differences in privileges in economic, political and social spheres, the rural people in Hindu community are found to express higher felt fraternal relative deprivation.

### Interaction Effect

#### Gender $\times$ Age

The Summary of ANOVA (Table-8) reported two-way interaction effect representing gender and age. It was found that two-way interaction between gender and age of Bengali Hindus was statistically significant ( $F=5.05$ ,  $df=1/112$ ,  $P<0.05$ ).

Table 11: Showing scores and significant mean differences involving two-way interaction between gender and age of Bengali Hindus on the scores of Fraternal Relative Deprivation Scale (N=30 for each group).

	13 years	16 years
Male	127.83a	130.67c
Female	140.00b	132.53d

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean differences were computed using Newman-Keuls formula,  $P<0.01$ .

An examination of mean Scores and significant mean differences (Table-11) showed that male respondents of 16 years age group from Hindu community ( $M=130.67$ ) expressed significantly higher fraternal relative deprivation as compared to their counterpart respondents of 13 years age group from Hindu community ( $M=127.83$ ). But female respondents of 13 years age group from Hindu community ( $M=140.00$ ) expressed significantly

higher fraternal relative deprivation as compared to their counterpart respondents of 16 years age group from Hindu community ( $M=132.53$ ).

In case of 13 years age group, it was found that female respondents of Hindu community ( $M=140.00$ ) expressed significantly higher felt fraternal relative deprivation as compared to male respondents of Hindu community ( $M=127.83$ ). Similarly, in case of 16 year age group, it was found that female respondents ( $M=132.53$ ) expressed significantly higher perceived fraternal relative deprivation as compared to male respondents of Hindu community ( $M=130.67$ ). These findings regarding fraternal relative deprivation indicate that females are more deprived of economic, social and political privileges than males. It is also indicative that females as members of minority group suffer from double-minority. Females express felt fraternal relative deprivation as members of minority community as well as due to their inferior status in the community as females. It is, therefore, plausible to argue that fraternal relative deprivation is conditioned by a large number of environmental as well as situational factors.

An overview of above findings showed that female respondents of 13 years age group have expressed highest felt fraternal relative deprivation followed by female respondents of 16 years age group, male respondents of 16 years age group and least by male respondents of 13 years age group. These differential amounts of fraternal relative deprivation exhibited by various comparison groups have effected interaction. The interaction effect has been graphically plotted in Figure 4.

### Age × Residence

The summary of ANOVA presented in Table 8 showed significant interaction effect between age and residence. Thus a two-way interaction involving age and residence of Bengali Hindus was statistically significant ( $F=13.37$ ,  $df=1/112$ ,  $P<0.001$ ).

Table 12: Showing mean scores and significant mean difference involving two-way interaction between age and residence of Bengali Hindus on the scores of Fraternal Relative Deprivation Scale (N=30 for each group).

	Urban	Rural
13 years	126.00a	141.83b
16 years	132.07c	131.13c

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean differences were computed using Newman-Keuls formula,  $P<0.01$ .

An examination of mean scores and significant mean differences (Table 12) showed that in case of 13 years of age group, respondents from rural residential background (M 141.83) of Hindu community expressed significantly more fraternal relative deprivation as compared to respondents from urban residential background (M=126.00) of Hindu community. But in case of 16 years of age group, no significant mean difference was obtained in the degree of fraternal relative deprivation between the respondents of urban and rural residential background of Hindu community. These findings indicated that fraternal relative deprivation is conditioned by such variables as social injustice, economic disparity and economic injustice. It is arguable that people living in rural residential areas have more economic constraints,

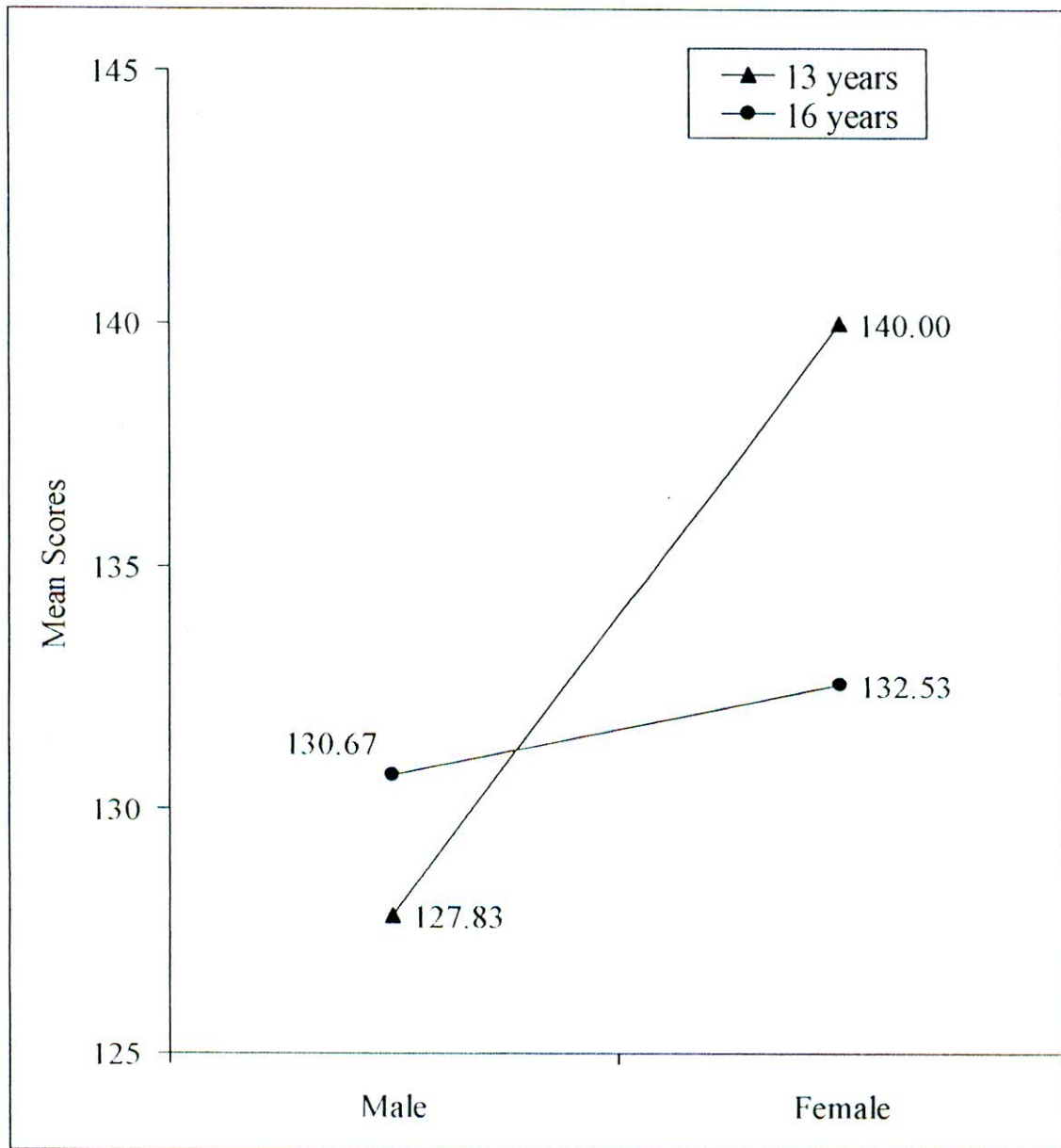


Figure 4: Showing two-way interaction between gender and age for Bengali Hindus on the scores of Fraternal Relative Deprivation scale.

social injustice and economic disparity in higher degree than the people living in urban area. Moreover, people living in urban areas have more economic guaranty and social security. Consequently, rural people in 13 years of age group are found to express more fraternal relative deprivation than the people living in urban areas with 13 years of age group.

In case of urban residential background, it was found that respondents with 16 years of age expressed significantly higher fraternal relative deprivation ( $M=132.07$ ) as compared to the respondents with 13 years of age group ( $M=126.00$ ). But in case of rural residential background, it was found that respondents of 13 years of age group ( $M=141.83$ ) expressed significantly higher fraternal relative deprivation as compared to the respondents of 16 years of age group ( $M=131.13$ ). Thus curvilinear relationship was obtained. This emergence of converse relationship effected interaction. The interaction effect has been plotted in Figure 5.

### **Gender $\times$ Age $\times$ Residence**

The summary of ANOVA reported in Table 8 showed that a three-way interaction was statistically significant. Thus it was found that a three-way interaction involving two levels of gender (Male/Female), two levels of age (13 years/16 years) and two levels of residence (Urban/Rural) of Bengali Hindus was statistically significant ( $F=34.76$ ,  $df=1/112$ ,  $P<0.001$ ).

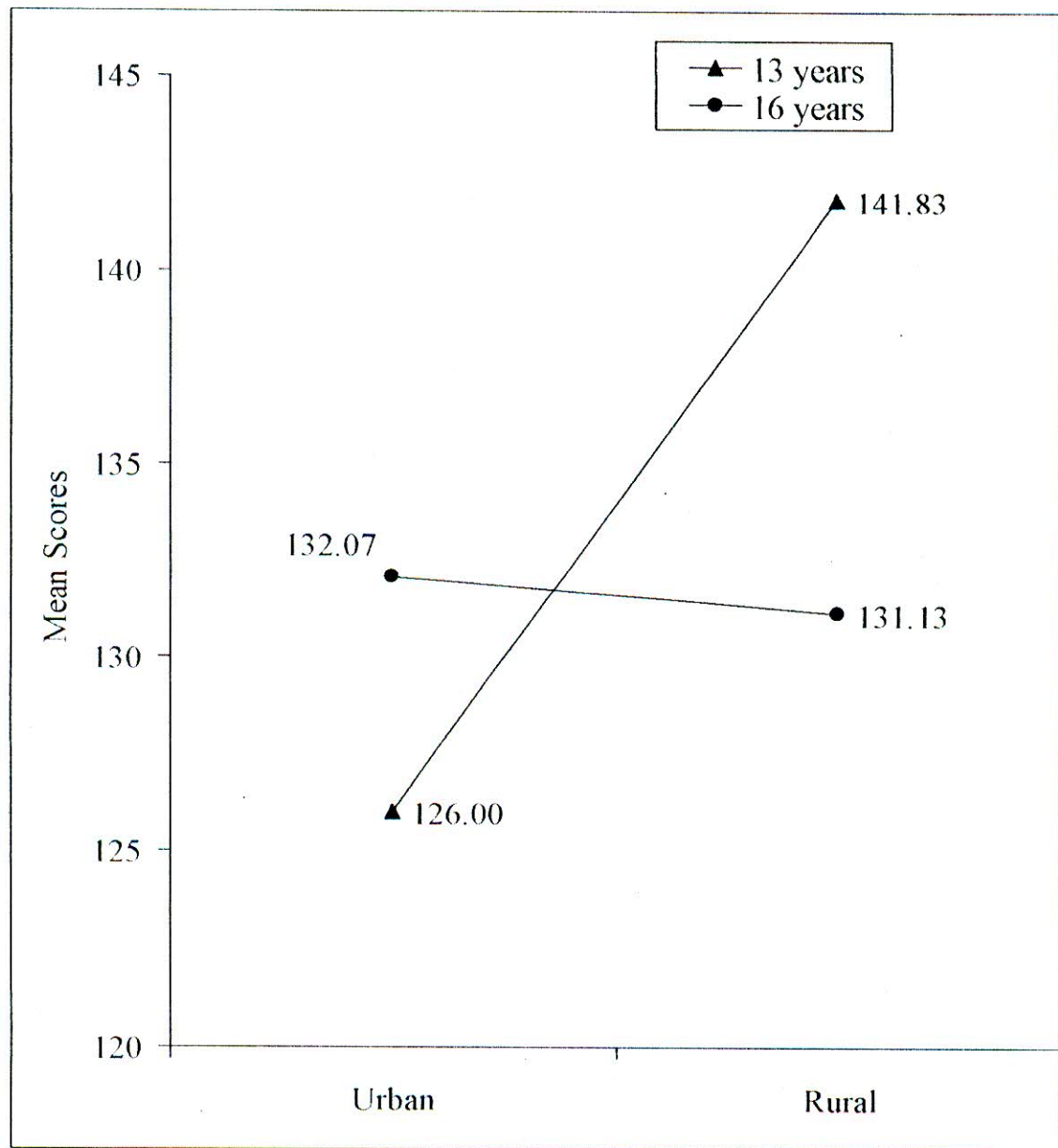


Figure 5: Showing two-way interaction between age and residence for Bengali Hindus on the scores of Fraternal Relative Deprivation scale.

Table 13: Showing mean scores and significant mean difference involving three-way interaction between gender, age and residence of Bengali Hindus on the scores of Fraternal Relative Deprivation Scale (N=15 for each group).

		<b>13 years</b>	<b>16 years</b>
Male	Urban	112.00a	136.73d
	Rural	143.67b	124.60c
Female	Urban	140.00c	127.40f
	Rural	140.00c	137.67d

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean differences were computed using Newman-Keuls formula,  $P < 0.01$ .

An inspection of mean scores and significant mean differences showed that in case of male respondents of Hindu community, it was found that urban respondents of 16 years of age group ( $M=136.73$ ) expressed significantly higher fraternal relative deprivation as compared to urban respondents of 13 years of age group ( $M=112.00$ ). But rural respondents of 13 years of age group ( $M=143.67$ ) expressed significantly higher fraternal relative deprivation as compared to rural respondents of 16 years of age group. This inverse relationship has effected interaction. The interaction effect has been plotted in Figure 6.

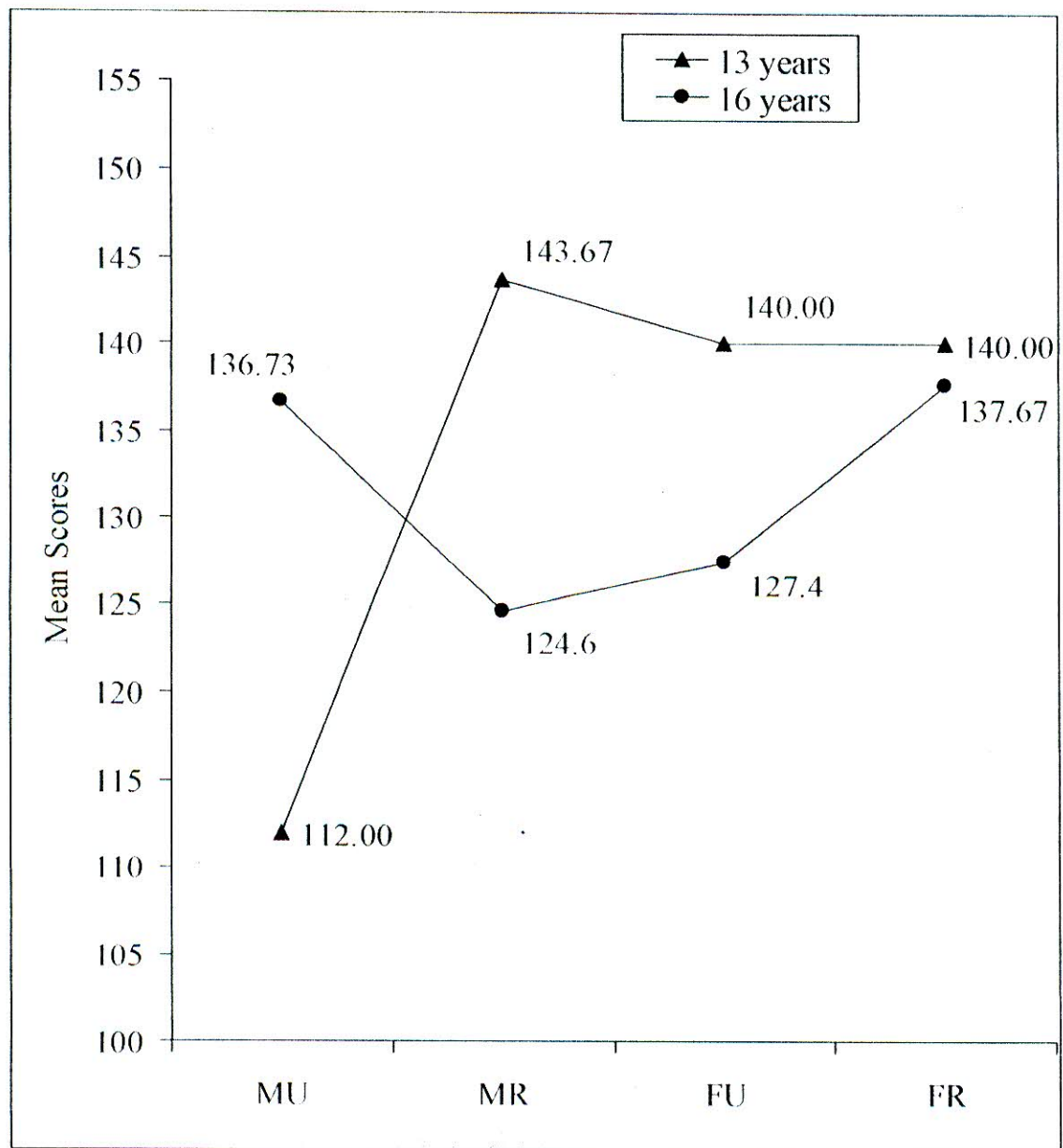


Figure 6: Showing three-way interaction involving gender, age and residence for Bengali Hindus on the scores of Fraternal Relative Deprivation scale.

In case of female respondents of Hindu community, it was found that urban respondents of 13 years of age group ( $M=140.00$ ) expressed significantly higher fraternal relative deprivation as compared to urban respondents of 16 years age group ( $M=137.40$ ). Similarly, it was found that rural respondents of 13 years age group ( $M=140.00$ ) expressed significantly higher fraternal relative deprivation as compared to rural respondent of 16 years age group ( $M=137.67$ ).

In case of 13 years age group of Hindu community, it was found that rural male respondents ( $M=143.67$ ) expressed significantly higher fraternal relative deprivation as compared to urban male respondents ( $M=112.00$ ). But no significant mean difference was found in the degree of fraternal relative deprivation between urban female and rural female respondents.

In case of 16 years age group, it was found that urban males ( $M=137.73$ ) expressed significantly higher fraternal relative deprivation as compared to rural males ( $M=124.60$ ). But rural females ( $M=137.67$ ) expressed significantly higher fraternal relative deprivation as compared to urban females ( $M=127.40$ ). These inverse relationship were responsible for effecting interaction (Fig. 6).

### **PART III: Computation of ANOVA Involving Group Composition, Gender and Age**

In this part, the data of Santals and Bengali Hindus were combined irrespective of residential background. Thus ANOVA was computed representing two levels of group composition (Santal/Hindus), two levels of gender (Male/Female) and two levels of age (13 years/16 years) on the scores of Fraternal Relative Deprivation Scale. The summary of ANOVA has been reported in Table 14.

Table 14: Showing summary of ANOVA involving two levels of group composition, two levels of gender and two levels of age on the scores of Fraternal Relative Deprivation Scale (N=240).

Sources of Variance	SS	df	MS	F	Level of Significance
Group (A)	167693.07	1	167693.07	1442.89	0.001
Gender (B)	380.02	1	380.02	3.27	ns
Age (C)	1581.07	1	1581.07	13.60	0.001
AB	406.58	1	406.58	3.50	ns
AC	476.01	1	476.01	4.10	0.05
BC	24061.06	1	24061.06	207.03	0.001
ABC	1448.44	1	1448.44	12.46	0.001
Within Cell (Experimental Error)	26963.04	232	116.22		
Total	223009.29	239			

The results reported in summary of ANOVA (Table 14) showed that the main effects for group composition and age were statistically significant. Furthermore, two-way interaction effects between group and age as well as gender and age were also significant. A three-way interaction involving group, gender and age was found statistically significant.

## MAIN EFFECT

### Group

The result of ANOVA reported in summary Table 14 showed that the main effect for group composition was statistically significant ( $F=1442.89$ ,  $df=1/232$ ,  $P<0.001$ ).

Table 15: Showing mean scores and significant mean difference between Santals and Hindus on the scores of Fraternal Relative Deprivation Scale (N=120 for each group).

Group composition	Mean scores
Santal	79.89a
Hindus	132.76b

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula,  $P<0.01$ .

An inspection of mean scores and significant mean difference showed that regardless of gender and age, it was found that Hindu respondents ( $M=132.76$ ) expressed significantly higher felt fraternal relative deprivation as compared to Santal respondents ( $M=79.89$ ). In other words, the results of the present study indicate that Bengali Hindus have emerged as higher deprived group than Santals in the social, economic and political context of Bangladesh.

### Age

The result of ANOVA reported in summary Table 14 showed that the main effect for age was statistically significant ( $F=13.60$ ,  $df=1/232$ ,  $P<0.001$ ).

Table 16: Showing mean scores and significant mean difference between 13 years and 16 years of respondents with the scores of Fraternal Relative Deprivation Scale (N=120 for each group).

Age	Mean scores
13 years	108.89a
16 years	103.76b

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula,  $P < 0.01$ .

An inspection of mean scores and significant mean difference (Table 16) showed that regardless of group composition and gender, respondents of 13 years age group ( $M=108.89$ ) expressed significantly higher felt fraternal relative deprivation as compared to the respondents of 16 years age group ( $M=103.76$ ). This finding indicates that developmental stage of life span is important variable effecting felt fraternal relative deprivation. It also indicates that both physical, mental and intellectual development may create situations responsible for fraternal relative deprivation. In other words, results showed that as the individual increases in age, his perceived fraternal relative deprivation decreases.

## INTERACTION EFFECT

### Group $\times$ Age:

The summary of ANOVA (Table-14) reported two-way interaction effect representing group and age. It was found that two-way interaction between group and age was statistically significant ( $F=4.10$ ,  $df=1/232$ ,  $P < 0.05$ ).

Table 17: Showing mean scores and significant mean differences involving two-way interaction between group composition and age on the scores of Fraternal Relative Deprivation Scale (N=60 for each group).

	<b>13 years</b>	<b>16 years</b>
Santals	83.87a	75.92c
Hindus	133.92b	131.60b

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean differences were computed using Newman-Keuls formula,  $P < 0.01$ .

An analysis of mean scores and significant mean differences (Table-17) showed that Santal respondents of 13 years age group ( $M=83.87$ ) expressed significantly higher felt fraternal relative deprivation as compared to Santal respondents of 16 years age group ( $M=75.92$ ). Similarly, Hindu respondents of 13 years age group ( $M=133.92$ ) expressed significantly higher felt fraternal relative deprivation as compared to Hindu respondents of 16 years age group ( $M=131.60$ ).

It was found that in case of 13 years of age group, Hindu respondents ( $M=133.92$ ) expressed significantly higher felt fraternal relative deprivation as compared to Santal respondents ( $M=83.87$ ). Similarly, in case of 16 years of age group, it was found that Hindu respondents ( $M=131.60$ ) expressed significantly higher felt fraternal relative deprivation as compared to Santal respondents ( $M=75.92$ ).

These findings showed that similar patterns of relationship in age variations between 13 and 16 years as well as group variation between Santals and Hindus have emerged leading to the interaction effect. The interaction has become vertical due to linear relationships among different comparison groups. The interaction effect has been graphically plotted in Figure 7.

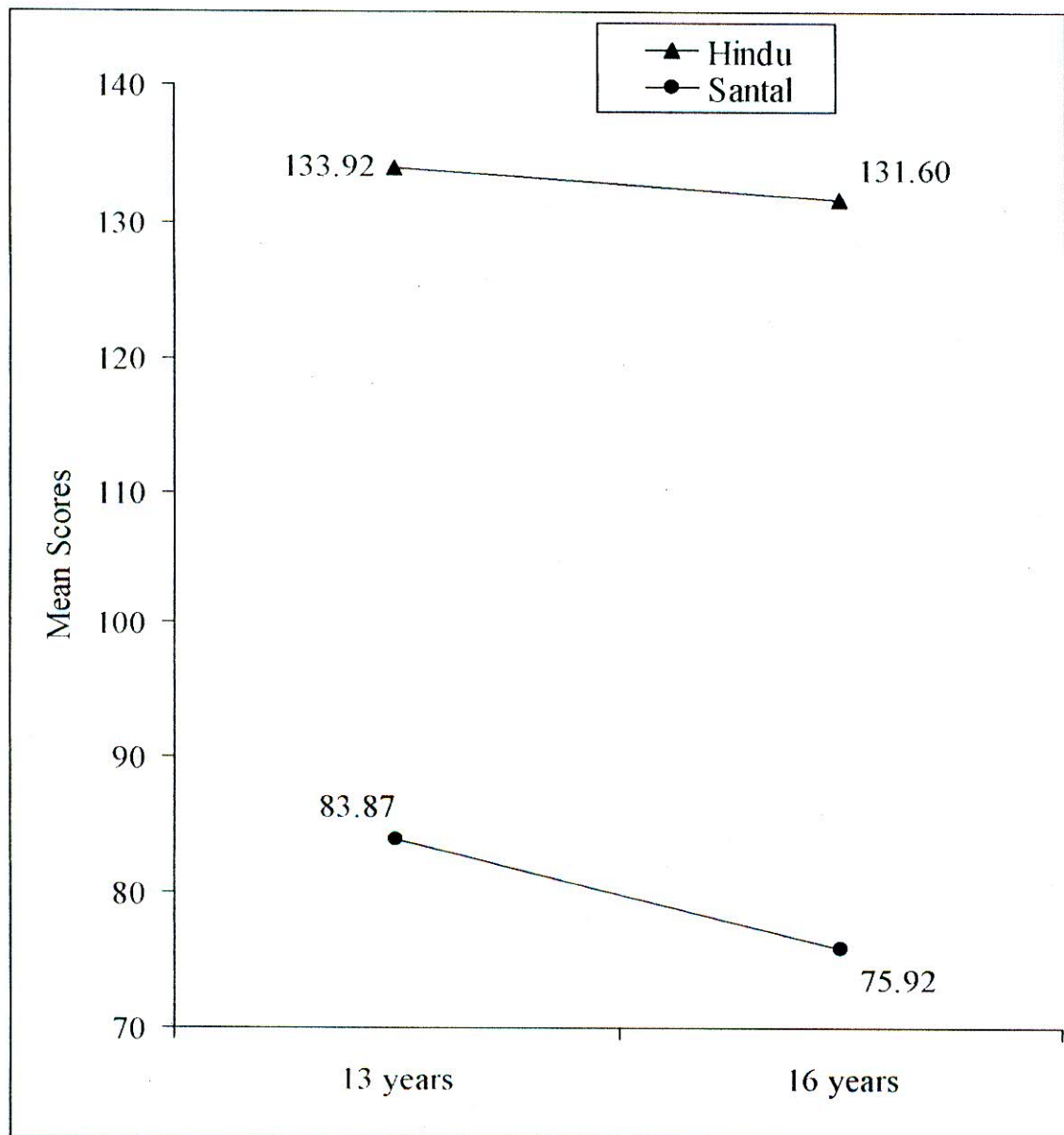


Figure 7: Showing two-way interaction between group and age on the scores of Fraternal Relative Deprivation scale.

**Gender  $\times$  Age**

The results reported in the summary of ANOVA (Table-14) showed that a two-way interaction between gender and age was statistically significant ( $F=207.03$ ,  $df=1/232$ ,  $P<0.001$ ).

Table-18: Showing mean scores and significant mean difference involving two-way interaction between gender and age on the scores of Fraternal Relative Deprivation Scale (N=60 for each group).

	13 years	16 years
Male	98.40a	111.73b
Female	119.38c	95.78d

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean differences were computed using Newman-Keuls formula,  $P<0.01$ .

An inspection of mean scores (Table-18) showed that male respondents of 16 years age group ( $M=111.73$ ) expressed significantly higher fraternal relative deprivation as compared to male respondents of 13 years age group ( $M=98.40$ ). But female respondents 13 years of age group ( $M=119.38$ ) expressed significantly higher fraternal relative deprivation as compared to female respondents of 16 years age group ( $M=95.78$ ). Thus an inverse relationship has emerged indicating interaction effect. The interaction effect has been graphically plotted in Figure-8.

In case of 13 years age group, it was found that female respondents ( $M=119.38$ ) expressed significantly higher felt fraternal relative deprivation as compared to male respondents ( $M=98.40$ ). But in case of 16 years age group, it was found that male respondents ( $M=111.73$ ) expressed significantly higher felt fraternal relative deprivation as compared to female

respondents ( $M=95.78$ ). Thus an inverse relationship was established indicating interaction effect (Figure-8).

These findings are indicative of differential amount of fraternal felt relative deprivation between comparison groups due to perceived inequality, injustice and group favouritism in the economic, social and political areas. It is, perhaps, due to the idea of Bengali Muslim supremacy earned through the struggle for freedom during liberation period in 1971. It is true that both Bengali Muslims and Bengali Hindus along with tribal population contributed to the war for independence of Bangladesh. But after independence, Bengali Muslims tried to achieve positive social identity on religious line. This has created conflict in intergroup relations among Bengali Muslim majority as dominant group on one hand and minority groups of Bengali Hindus and tribal population with their sub-ordinate status on other hand. It is, perhaps, this historical perspective that is responsible for perceived fraternal relative deprivation. As a result, Bengali Hindus and other ethnic groups within the territory of Bangladesh perceived injustice, inequality, disparity and cultural exploitation in the socio-economic and political context of Bangladesh.

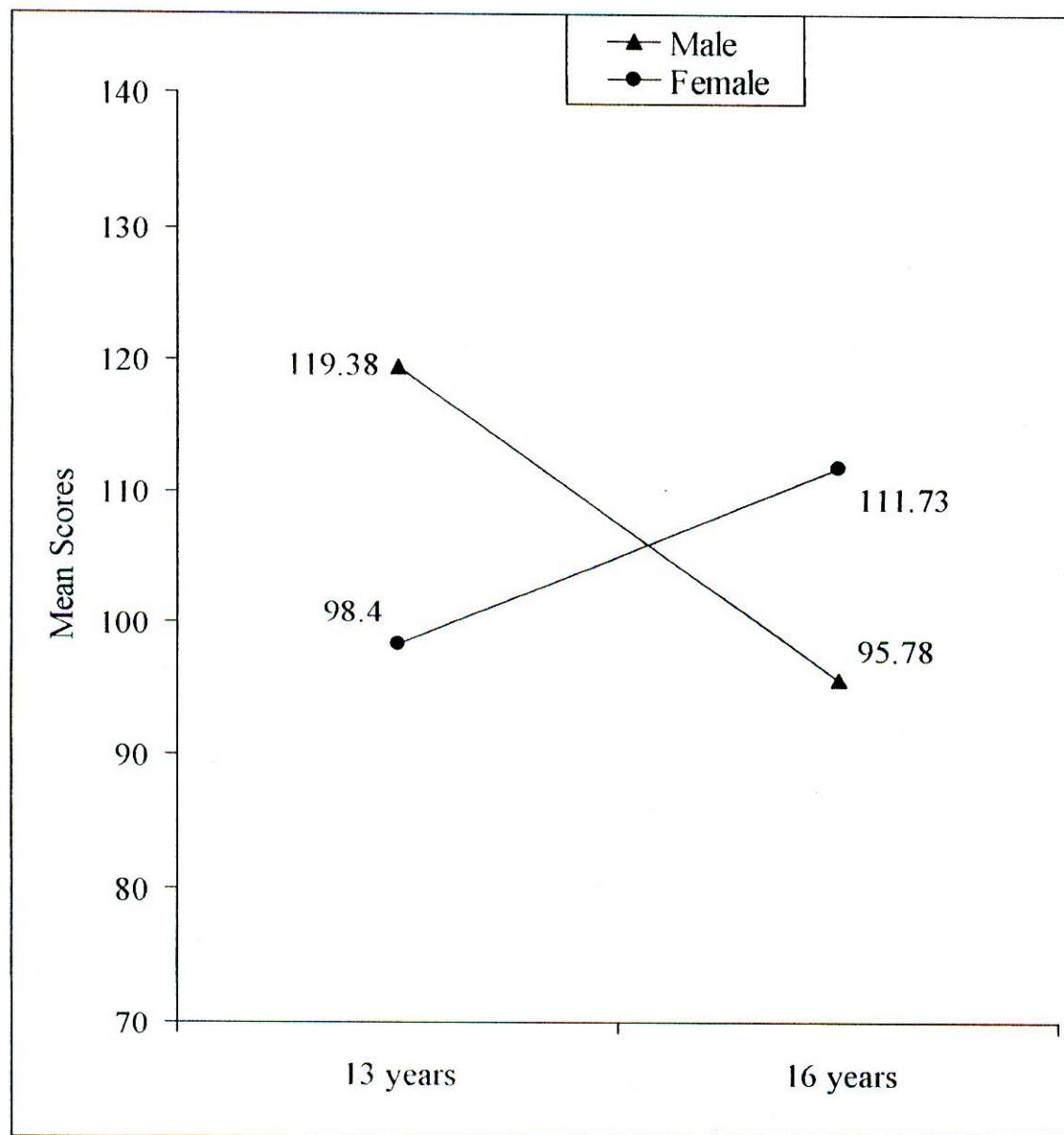


Figure 8: Showing two-way interaction between gender and age on the scores of Fraternal Relative Deprivation scale.

**Group  $\times$  Gender  $\times$  Age**

The summary of ANOVA reported in Table-14 showed that a three-way interaction was statistically significant. Thus it was found that a three-way interaction representing two levels of group composition (Santal/Hindu), two levels of gender (Male/Female) and two levels of age (13 years/16 years) was statistically significant ( $F=12.46$ ,  $df=1/232$ ,  $P<0.001$ ).

Table-19: Showing mean scores and significant mean difference involving three-way interaction between group, gender and age on the scores of Fraternal Relative Deprivation Scale (N=30 for each group).

		<b>Santal</b>	<b>Hindu</b>
Male	13 years	68.97a	127.83c
	16 years	92.80b	130.67f
Female	13 years	98.77c	140.00g
	16 years	59.03d	132.53f

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean differences were computed using Newman-Keuls formula,  $P<0.01$ .

An inspection of mean scores and significant mean differences (Table-19) showed that in case of males, it was found that Santal respondents of 16 years of age group ( $M=92.80$ ) expressed significantly higher fraternal relative deprivation as compared to Santal respondents of 13 years of age group ( $M=68.97$ ). Similarly, Hindu respondents of 16 years of age group ( $M=130.67$ ) expressed significantly higher felt fraternal relative deprivation as compared to Hindu respondents of 13 years of age group ( $M=127.83$ ). Thus linear relationship was obtained in Santal and Hindu respondents of 13 and 16 years age group in male category.

In case of females, it was found that Santal respondents of 13 years of age group ( $M=98.77$ ) expressed significantly higher fraternal relative deprivation as compared to Santal respondents of 16 years of age group ( $M=59.03$ ). Similarly, Hindu respondents of 13 years of age group ( $M=140.00$ ) expressed significantly higher fraternal relative deprivation as compared to Hindu respondents of 16 years of age group ( $M=132.53$ ). Thus a linear relationship was found between Santal and Hindu respondents of 13 and 16 years of age group in the female category.

In case of Santal, it was found that male respondents of 16 years of age group ( $M=92.80$ ) expressed significantly higher felt fraternal relative deprivation as compared to male respondents of 13 years of age group ( $M=68.97$ ). But female respondents of 13 years of age group ( $M=98.77$ ) expressed significantly higher felt fraternal relative deprivation as compared to female respondents of 16 years of age group ( $M=59.03$ ). Thus, an inverse relationship was obtained. This was responsible for effecting interaction. The interaction effect has been plotted in Figure-9.

In case of Hindus, it was found that male respondents of 16 years of age group ( $M=130.67$ ) expressed significantly higher felt fraternal relative deprivation as compared to male respondents of 13 years of age group ( $M=127.83$ ). But female respondents of 13 years of age group ( $M=140.00$ ) expressed significantly higher felt fraternal relative deprivation as compared to female respondents of 16 years age group ( $M=132.53$ ). Thus an inverse relationship has emerged. This has effected interaction (Figure-9).

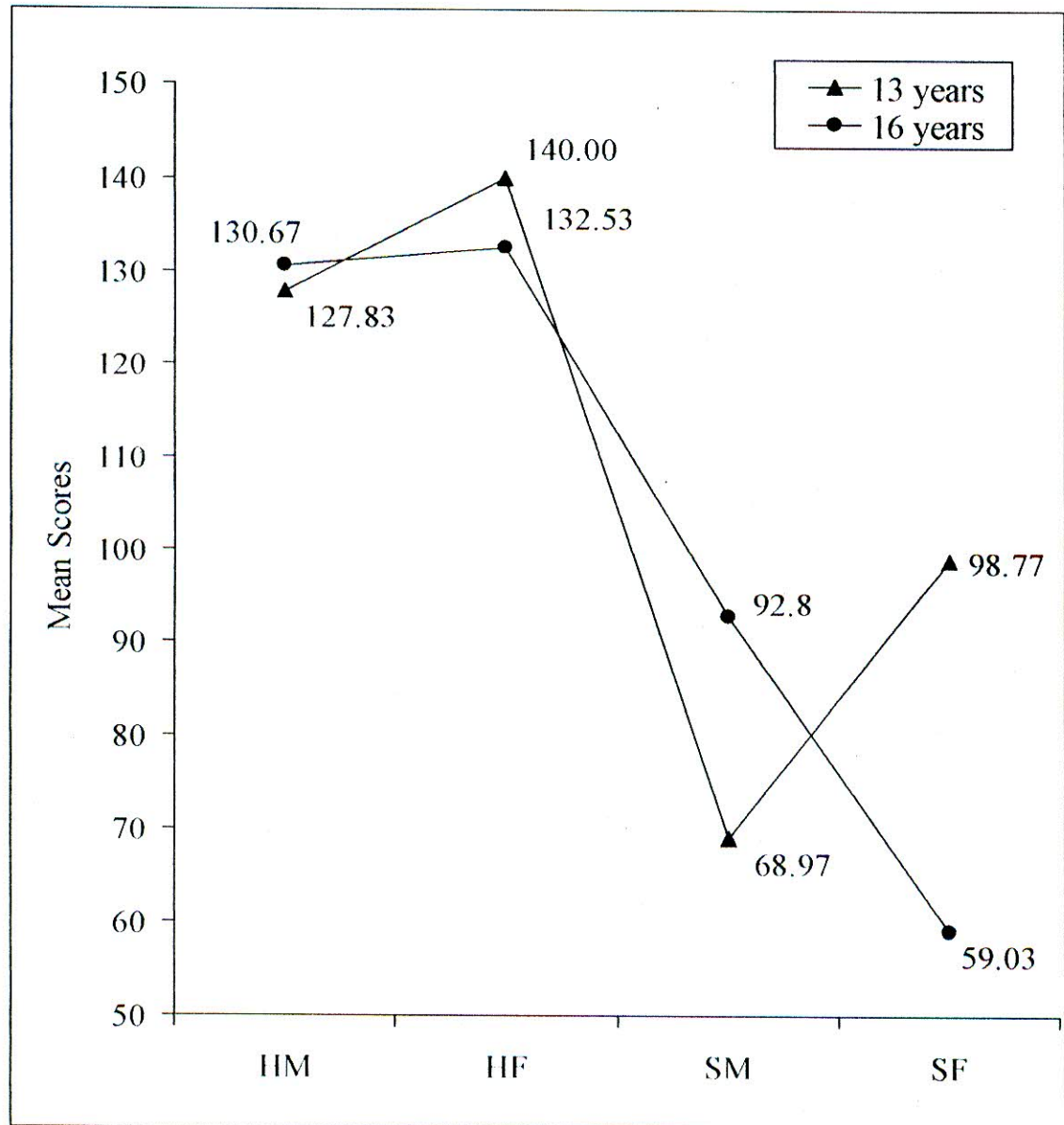


Figure 9: Showing three-way interaction involving group, gender and age on the scores of Fraternal Relative Deprivation scale.

## SUMMARY OF THE MAIN FINDINGS

1. Regardless of gender and residence, Santal respondents of 13 years age group expressed significantly more fraternal relative deprivation than their counterparts of 16 years age.

2. Regardless of gender and age, Santal respondents with urban residential background expressed significantly more fraternal relative deprivation than their counterparts with rural residential background.

3. In case of male Santals, it was found that respondents of 16 years age expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than the respondents of 13 years age.

4. In case of female Santals, it was found that respondents of 13 years age expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than the respondents of 16 years age.

5. In case of 13 years age group, it was found that female Santal expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than male Santals.

6. In case of 16 years age group, it was found that male santals expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than female Santals.

7. In case of urban residential background, it was found that Santal respondents of 13 years age group expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than Santal respondents of 16 years age group.

8. In case of rural residential background, it was found that Santal respondents of 16 years age group expressed significantly higher fraternal relative deprivation than Santal respondents of 13 years age group.

9. In case of Santals of 13 years age group, it was found that urban respondents expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than rural respondents.

10. In case of Santals of 16 years age group, it was found that rural respondents expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than urban respondents.

11. In case of Santal respondents of 13 years age, it was found that urban males expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than rural males.

12. Again, urban female Santals of 13 years age expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than rural female Santals of 13 years age.

13. It was found that urban male Santals of 16 year age expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than rural male Santals of 16 years age.

14. Again it was found that rural female Santals of 16 years age expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than urban female Santals of 16 years age.

15. It was found that urban male Santals of 16 years age expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than urban male Santals of 13 years age.

16. It was found that rural male respondents of 16 year age expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than rural male respondents of 13 years age.

17. It was found that urban female Santals of 13 years age expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than urban female sandals of 16 years age.

18. It was found that rural female Santals of 13 years age expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than rural female Santals of 16 years age.

19. Regardless of age and residence, it was found that female respondents of Bengali Hindus with minority status and religious ethnicity expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than their counterpart males.

20. Regardless of gender and age, it was found that rural respondents of Bengali Hindus expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than urban respondents of Bengali Hindus.

21. In case of males of Bengali Hindus, it was found that respondents of 16 years age expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than the respondents of 13 years age.

22. In case of females of Bengali Hindus, it was found that respondents of 13 years age expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than the respondents of 16 years age.

23. In case of 13 years age, it was found that female Bengali Hindus expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than male Bengali Hindus.

24. Similarly, in case of 16 years age, it was found that female Bengali Hindus expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than male Bengali Hindus.

25. In case of urban residence, it was found that Bengali Hindus of 16 years expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than Bengali Hindus of 13 years.

26. In case of rural residence, it was found that Bengali Hindus of 13 years expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than Bengali Hindus of 16 year.

27. In case of Bengali Hindus of 13 years, it was found that rural male respondents expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than urban male respondents. But no such difference was obtained between urban and rural females of 13 years age group of Bengali Hindus.

28. In case of Bengali Hindus of 16 years age group, it was found that urban males expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than rural males.

But rural females expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than urban females.

29. It was found that Bengali Hindu males of 13 year age with rural residence expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than Bengali Hindus males of 13 years age with rural residence.

30. It was found that Bengali Hindu males of 16 year age with urban residence expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than Bengali Hindu males of 16 years age with rural residence.

31. It was found that Bengali Hindu females of 16 years age with rural residence expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than Bengali Hindu females of 16 years age with urban residence.

32. Regardless of gender and age, it was found that Hindus with minority status and religious ethnicity expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than Santals with minority status and racial ethnicity.

33. Regardless of Group and Gender, it was found that minority group members of 13 years age group expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than the minority members of 16 years age group.

34. In case of 13 year age group, it was found that Hindus with minority status and religious ethnicity expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than Santals with minority status and racial ethnicity.

35. In case of 16 years age group, it was found that Hindus with minority status and religious ethnicity expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than Santal with minority status and racial ethnicity.

36. Santals of 13 years age group expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than Santal of 16 years age group.

37. Hindus of 13 years age group expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than Hindus of 16 years age group.

38. In case of 13 years age group, it was found that female respondents expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than male respondents.

39. In case of 16 years age group, it was found that male respondents expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than female respondents.

40. It was found that male respondents of 16 years age expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than male respondents of 13 years age.

41. It was found that female respondents of 13 years age expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than female respondents of 16 years age.

42. In case of Santals, it was found that males of 16 years age expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than males of 13 years age.

43. It was found that Santal females of 13 years age expressed significantly higher fraternal relative deprivation than Santal females of 16 years age.

44. In case of Hindus, it was found that males of 16 years age expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than males of 13 years age.

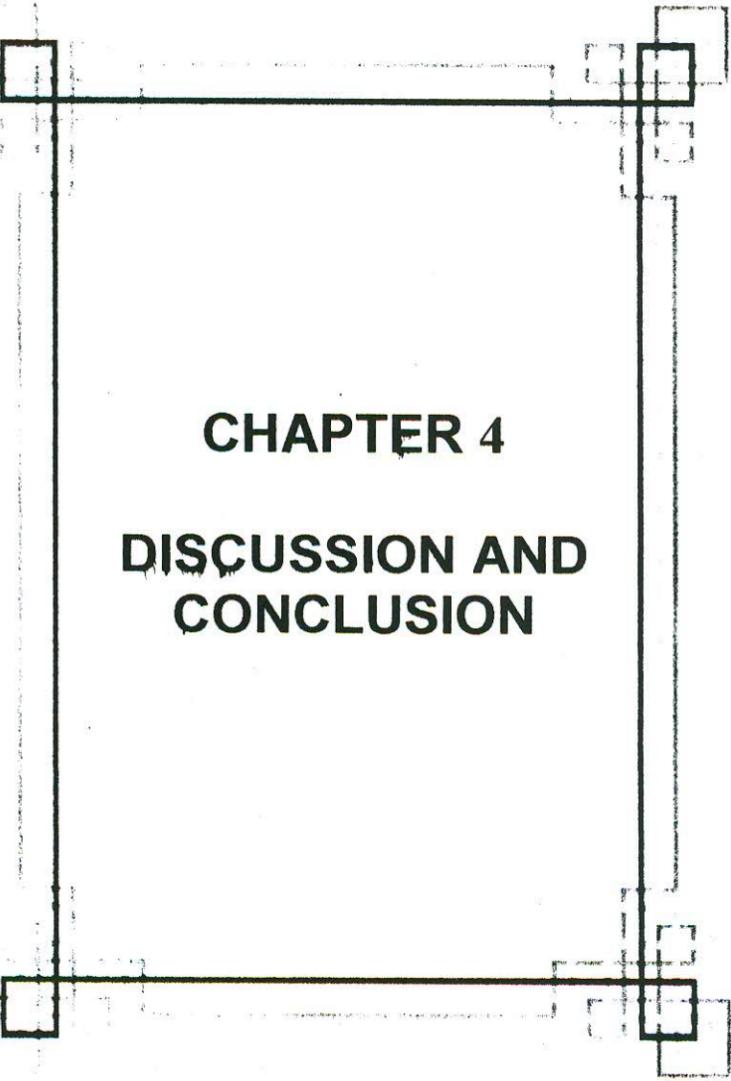
45. It was found that Hindu females of 13 years age expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than Hindu females of 16 years age.

46. It was found that Santal males of 16 years age expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than Santal males of 13 years age.

47. It was found that Santal females of 13 years age expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than Santal females of 13 years age.

48. It was found that Hindu males of 16 years age expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than Hindu males of 13 years age.

49. Hindu females of 13 years age was found to express higher fraternal relative deprivation than Hindu females of 16 years age.



**CHAPTER 4**

**DISCUSSION AND  
CONCLUSION**

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION**

The research reflects on fraternal relative deprivation of minority groups in Bangladesh such as Santals and Bengali Hindus. The results of the study have been analysed in three parts. In first part ANOVA was computed using factorial design involving two levels of gender (Male/Female), two levels of age (13 years/16 years) and two levels of residence (Urban/Rural) for Santal racial minority group. In the second part, ANOVA was computed using factorial design involving two levels of (Male/Female), two levels of age (13 years/16 years) and two levels of residence (Urban/Rural) for Bengali Hindus as religious minority group. In the third part, ANOVA was computed with combined data of Santal and Bengali Hindus representing group composition (Santal/Hindu), gender (Male/Female) and age (13 years/16 years).

The study utilized Fraternal Relative Deprivation Scale for data collection. The Fraternal Relative Deprivation Scale measured deprivation of Santal and Bengali Hindus in three areas such as social, political and economic regions. It was found that both the ethnic group expressed the feelings of fraternal relative deprivation in differential amounts. The present chapter will highlight the significant findings and will provide necessary

interpretations in the perspectives of current theoretical exploration and current literature on fraternal relative deprivation.

The first hypothesis of the study was relating to fraternal relative deprivation of Santals as racial ethnic group and Bengali Hindus as religious ethnic group. It is relevant to point it out that both the ethnic groups are subordinate groups with minority status. In consideration to these phenomenal reality in the context of Bangladesh, a hypothesis has been framed that respondents from Santal minority group would express significantly higher fraternal relative deprivation as compared to the respondents from Bengali Hindu minority group. This hypothesis was confirmed by the finding of the present study. Results showed that Santals expressed higher feelings of fraternal relative deprivation than Hindus. In other words, Hindu respondents as members of minority group expressed comparatively less felt fraternal relative deprivation than the respondents from Santal community.

It is important to note that Festinger's (1954) theory of social comparison is very relevant in the study of fraternal relative deprivation. It is comparison process that is effectively related with the affective component of deprivation. In this process of comparison, a disadvantaged group may think that he is getting less than he deserves. This is the root of fraternal relative deprivation. It is the perceived feelings about one's positions in the social status. It is more related with feeling than actual fact. The more

disadvantaged group in society believe in more social injustice, inequity and economic exploitation as compared to less disadvantaged group. In the present situation, both Santals and Hindus are subordinate groups. But Santals have more disadvantaged status in comparison to dominant Bengali Muslims. Also, Bengali Hindus have comparatively less disadvantaged status in comparison to Santals in the context of intergroup relations with dominant Bengali Muslims. In this reciprocal relationship, Santals perceived more social injustice leading to more felt fraternal relative deprivation than Bengali Hindus.

Research finding (Latane, 1981) showed that fraternal relative deprivation is conditioned by social impact. It is a multiplicative function of three factors such as strength, immediacy and number of group members. Strength involves status, power and knowledge. Immediacy means proximity in space and time. It is said that fraternal relative deprivation is a function of these factors. According to this theoretical exploitation, the more a minority group will be away from these agents, the more the group members would express felt fraternal relative deprivation. In the present investigation, Hindus as minority group enjoy higher status, power and knowledge. They are also numerically higher than their counter part Santals. Hence, the impact of social injustice, inequity and feelings of exploitation is higher in Santals than Hindus. In the perspectives of these theoretical approach, it is plausible to argue that existing situations in Bangladesh

favours Hindus in higher intensity than Santals. It is, perhaps, these agentic factors that have led Santals to express higher felt fraternal relative deprivation than Hindus.

It is important to note that the minority group with sub-ordinate status can compensate for its numerical weakness only when displaying considerable greater consistency in inter-group relations. Moreover, influence process of social force is generated in Bengali Hindus due to dominant status of Bengali Muslims. But this social force of influence does not operate in case of Santals. Thus a variety of changes occur in minority groups as a result of real, implied or imagined presence of dominant group. This creates the felt fraternal relative deprivation in minority groups in varied forms and amounts. In consideration of immediacy or proximity in space in time, it is evident that Bengali Hindus and Bengali Muslims are racially homogeneous. But Bengali Hindus and Santals are racially heterogeneous groups. Hence Bengali Hindus and Bengali Muslims enjoy near relationship. Bengali Hindus and Santals, on the other hand, maintain distant relationship. Again Bengali Hindus and Bengali Muslims are linguistically homogeneous group. They share identical culture. Viewed from these perspectives, Santals as minority group are far behind from the dominant group Bengali Muslims as compared to Bengali Hindus. These historical observations seem to support the hypothesis about higher felt fraternal relative deprivation for Santals than Hindus.

The results of the present study showed that felt fraternal relative deprivation reported by males and females are not consistent. It was found that main effect for gender in case of Santals was not statistically significant. Similarly main effect for gender in combined results of Santals and Hindus was not significant. But in case of Bengali Hindus, it was found that irrespective of age and residence, females expressed significantly more felt fraternal relative deprivation than males. In case of Santals, it was found that females of 13 years expressed significantly higher felt fraternal relative deprivation than males of 13 years. But males of 16 years expressed significantly higher felt fraternal relative deprivation than females of 16 year. Moreover, in case of combined results, it was found that females of 13 and 16 years expressed significantly higher felt fraternal relative deprivation than the males of 13 and 16 years. These findings on gender showed that male-female differentiation in perceived fraternal relative deprivation failed to provide uniform findings in support of hypothesis. But except in case of 16 years age group of Santal community, the results have consistently showed higher felt fraternal relative deprivation for females than males. In the perspective of this overview of results, we can conclude with greater certainty that the findings on gender have provided partial support to the hypothesis that female respondents would express higher fraternal relative deprivation as compared to male respondents.

Previous findings on fraternal relative deprivation about gender effect have shown that double minority may account for differential amount of depression in males and females (Mugny, 1982). In present situation, females are regarded to have the status of double minority. Females belong to minority as members of minority group. But they are identified as minority due to their feminine status in relation to masculine counterparts. Females are depriving because they are members of a minority group of Santals or Hindus. Again, they are regards as deprived group in relation to males. In this relationship between males and females, males are regard as dominant group and females are regarded as subordinate group. Viewed from this angle of analysis, it is rightly said that females of minority group may be said to have the status of double minority. It is, perhaps, this status of double minority which might be responsible for higher felt fraternal relative deprivation in case of females than males. Thus, the findings on gender effect have provided empirical confirmation to the hypothesis.

Male-female differentiation in felt fraternal relative deprivation may be viewed from the perspective of social identity of intergroup relations. The theory of social identity developed by Tajfel (1978) has distinguished between legitimate and illegitimate status in intergroup relations. It is also called secured and insecured social identity. In the present situation of intergroup conflict for the competition of wealth, resources and privileges, females of minority group are regarded as illegitimate in relation to males. In

other words, females have insecure and illegitimate social identity leading to the development of higher felt fraternal relative deprivation.

An overview of these theoretical implications of illegitimate or insecure social identity as well as double minority status has shown that status differentials within the group may account for higher fraternal relative deprivation. It is important to make a cognizance about the fact that gender issue has a great effect in the study of minority intergroup relations. In the present study, two minority groups such as Santals and Hindus in the context of Bangladesh differ in social status, power and wealth to such an extent that they appear as non-comparable. In spite of this non-comparability between these two ethnic groups, it is apparent that both the groups have expressed fraternal relative deprivation in their gender variations.

An overview of results on age effect shows that the hypothesis regarding age did not find support from the findings. It was found that regardless of gender and residence, Santal of 13 years expressed significantly higher felt fraternal relative deprivation as compared to Santal respondents of 16 years age. This finding is completely in opposite direction of the hypothesis formed in this study. It was hypothesized that respondents with 16 years of age would perceive fraternal relative deprivation in higher intensity as compared to the respondents with 13 years of age. This hypothesis was based on theoretical construct of fraternal relative deprivation. But this hypothesis failed to collect support in the present study.

This indicates that environmental factors and cultural elements might be responsible for this. It is, perhaps, important to argue that Festinger's (1954) theory of social comparison may provide some explanation to this finding on age variation.

Social comparison theory states that when two groups are highly differentiated on status, they are regarded as non-comparable groups. In such cases, the group with low status accept their inferiority. In Bangladesh context, Santals have accepted their inferior status in comparison to superior status of Hindus. Due to this non-comparable status, respondents with 16 years of age group have failed to utilize their experiences in describing their status with reference to availability of resources. Another reason might be that the theory of social contact (Amir, 1976) has little implication in this situation. In fact it was expected that Santals of 16 years age would get more opportunity for contact with the out group members. But in reality, this did not happen. This is, perhaps, for the reason that racial discrimination was effective in this case. Santals are socially discriminated by Bengali Hindus as well as Bengali Muslims. This social discrimination by Bengali people might be responsible for failure of contact theory in Santals in the social context of Bangladesh.

However, age effect was not significant for fraternal relative deprivation in case of Bengali Hindu. But it was found that regardless of sex and residence, Santal respondents of 13 years age group expressed higher

fraternal relative deprivation as compared to the Santal respondents of 16 years age group. Similarly, regardless of group composition and gender, respondents of 13 years age group expressed significantly higher felt fraternal relative deprivation as compared to respondents with 16 years age group. These findings, though failed to support the hypothesis on age effect, have great implication in the study of minority status in relation to majority status. In Bangladesh, minority groups possess less social power and in many cases they cannot exert influence on majority. As a result, the members of minority group tend toward assimilation with the majority group. Hence their perceived feelings of fraternal relative deprivation gradually decrease with the increase in age. They tend to become realistic towards assimilation. They perceived less injustice in the distribution of resources and privileges. Due to these social reality in the phenomenal world and psychological domains, the respondents of 13 years age group have expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than the respondents with 16 years age group.

Age effect is also influenced by negotiated roles (Riley and Burke, 1995) and concept of commitment (Stryker and Serpe, 1994). As the members of minority group increases in age, negotiated roles help to reduce prejudice. Negotiation also increases strong attachment with the out-group. This helps the minority group from disruptive effects of the out-group. This involves organic and mechanical relationship with the out-group member.

Society must incorporate both the organic group and mechanical role in inter-group behaviour (Durkheim, 1893). Thus, society links the majority and minority group members in separate but related ways. The findings of the present research on age effect in the context of minority position in Bangladesh may be explained on the basis of these relationships introduced by the concept of negotiated roles in society. With the increase in age, the members of minority group perceive negotiated roles of society in positive direction and become less prejudicial leading to the comparatively low felt fraternal relative deprivation for higher age group as compared to lower age group.

The concept of commitment (Stryker and Serpe, 1994) is also helpful for reducing prejudice of minority group members. The greater is the embeddedness of commitment, the stronger is the social structure for incorporating majority and minority group members for cooperation.

Thus, commitment has two aspects. One is quantitative and the other is qualitative. Tie between minority and majority group members is quantitative commitment. But the relative strength or depth of the ties is qualitative commitment. Due to these ties and strengths of commitment, members of the minority group become less prejudicial leading to less fraternal relative deprivation for higher age group and higher fraternal relative deprivation for lower age group in their competition for desired resources and privileges. In other words, with the increase in age, the

members of minority group are subjected to the influence of social commitment and they perceive less injustice in the distribution of resources and privileges.

The phenomenon of fraternal relative deprivation acts in accordance with the norm of depersonalization (Reicher, 1987, Terry and Hogg, 1996). Turner (1987) observed that depersonalization is the basic process underlying ingroup prototype, social stereotype, group cohesiveness, ethnocentrism, cooperation, altruism, emotional contagion and collective action. Due to depersonalization, fraternal relative deprivation may have varied forms and dimensions. It is found that residential background is positively associated with depersonalization (Hogg *et al.* 1995). The findings of the present study have revealed that rural respondents have expressed significantly higher fraternal relative deprivation than the urban respondents in case of Bengali Hindus with minority status resulting from religious ethnicity. This finding is exactly in the same line of hypothesis formulated in the present study that respondents with rural residential background would express higher fraternal relative deprivation as compared to respondents with urban residential background.

It is important to note that religious belief may be an important component of depersonalization. It creates ethnocentrism, emotional contagion and collective action. Residential background provides some standard of identity (Burke, 1991, McCall and Simons, 1978). This identity

standard is more evident in rural people due to their higher depersonalization and group cohesiveness. When the identity is activated, they perceive social injustice, inequity and favouritism in wealth and privilege distribution. This is the root of felt fraternal relative deprivation. It is, perhaps, these cognitive and motivational processes through which self-verification (Burke and Stets, 1999; Berrebi *et al.*, 1985) occurs leading to the higher felt fraternal relative deprivation for rural than urban respondents in case of Bengali Hindus.

Furthermore, findings relating to residential background have also shown that urban respondents expressed higher felt fraternal relative deprivation than rural respondents in case of Santals. But rural respondents expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation than urban respondents in case of Bengali Hindus. In other words, findings on residential background reported by Bengali Hindus provide empirical support to the hypothesis on residential background. But the findings on residential background reported by Santals failed to provide empirical supports to the hypothesis of the present study. Furthermore, urban Santal respondents of 13 years age group reported higher fraternal relative deprivation than their counterpart of 16 years age group. This has provided supports to the hypothesis on residential background. There are other findings that have reported higher fraternal relative deprivation for urban respondents as compared to rural respondents. There are many findings on residential background that have reported higher fraternal relative deprivation for rural respondents than urban respondents.

In the perspectives these results, it is plausible to make a conclusion that the findings on residential background have provided partial confirmation to the hypothesis formulated in the present study.

The above analytical approach of findings on fraternal relative deprivation as related to urban-rural residential background have revealed that fraternal relative deprivation is partly related with social identity pattern in contrast to an out group. The members of the group conform the role in the society in the direction of fulfilling the expectations of the group. This involves coordinating roles of group members. The group members try to manipulate the environment to control the resources for which the role has responsibility (Freese and Burke, 1994; Bylsma and Major, 1994). Here lies the important distinction between urban and rural differentiation in terms of ingroup favouritism and out group discrimination. Due to differences in minority status and ethnicity, the urban respondents of Bengali Hindus have expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation but rural respondents of Santals have expressed higher fraternal relative deprivation. Consequently, the urban and rural respondents from these two groups with different minority status and unequal ethnicity have failed to provide uniformity of perceptions and actions among group members leading to the diversification in fraternal relative deprivation (Oakes, Haslan and Turner, 1994; Kawachi *et al.*, 1999).

There are some distinctive features of the findings of present study. The interactive effects reported by analysis of variance are worth mentioning. It was found that fraternal relative deprivation is closely related with inequality produced by gender identity, residential differentiation and ethnic variation (Pettigrew, 1978; Deaton, 2001 and Branscombe *et al.* 2002). Accordingly, it is thought that relative deprivation is negatively affected by social inequality. This is consistent with the findings of the present study. Thus demographic characteristics, social competence and behaviour problems with gender identity may account for fraternal relative deprivation (Peggy, Owens, Kaijser, Bradley and Zucker, 2003 and Doosje *et al.* 2002).

The findings of the present study encompasses a number of themes relating to intergroup relations and group influence processes. An examination of result showed that the variations in fraternal relative deprivation are due to prejudice and discrimination associated with minority status (e.g. Runciman, 1966; Spears *et al.* 1997 and Ellemers *et al.* 2002) and gender (e.g. Spears, Oakes, Ellemers and Haslam, 1997 and Ellemers *et al.* 1997). Thus the findings of the present study demonstrate both the basic and applied importance of social identity and fraternal relative deprivation in intergroup relations. Our research has shown how and when discrimination is affected by minority status, racial ethnicity and religious ethnicity. In other words, intra and intergroup phenomena in terms of self-

stereotyping, perceived group homogeneity, and group level behaviour play an important role for perceived fraternal relative deprivation (Doosje *et al.* 1998, Jetten *et al.* 1998).

Another important aspect in the present study is that age variation has greatly affected fraternal relative deprivation. This issue has profitably been applied to disadvantage relative deprivation and collective action in case of Santal and Hindus. The research has also examined the affective and emotional dimension due to fraternal relative deprivation. Thus, minority status, ethnicity, gender, age and residence has been found to promote as well as attenuate group discrimination (e.g. Postmes *et al.* 1999, Doosje *et al.* 1998, Long and Spears, 1998 and Ellemers *et al.* 1999).

In conclusion, it may be said that fraternal relative deprivation as inhibitory processes have been central to psychological theorizing in many domains (e.g. Clark, 1996, Kimble, 1994). The present findings add a small but growing set of studies establishing the importance of inhibitory mechanism in the realm of felt fraternal relative deprivation in terms of social perceptions (e.g. Dunn and Spellman, 2003, Macrae *et al.* 1995, Von Hippel, Silver and Lynch, 2000, Bodenhausen, Macrae and Hugenberg, 2003). In particular, these results provided evidence for hypothesized role of minority group, gender, age and residential background as mechanism for producing felt fraternal relative deprivation. It is also found that the independent variables have clearly moderated the influence of various

agnetic factors of fraternal relative deprivation in intergroup relation. The obtained pattern of results suggests that Santals with minority status and racial ethnicity have less influence in creating fraternal relative deprivation than Bengali Hindus with minority status and religious ethnicity. Thus, the current results implicate importance of racial ethnicity as well as religious ethnicity of minority groups in a country where supremacy of dominant group prevails in every sphere of social, political, economic, cultural and religious areas. In a word, our research reveals that fraternity members of minority groups have experienced a conflict between racial ethnicity and religious ethnicity. Considering the high degree of stereotype consensus in Santals as racial ethnic group and Hindus as religious ethnic group, it seems that the conflict and stereotype may be due to difference in category membership as Santals and Bengali Hindus in relation to Bengali Muslims in their intergroup behaviour.



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# APPENDIX

**APPENDIX-A**  
**FRATERNAL RELATIVE DEPRIVATION SCALE**  
(English Form)

1. The authority wanted to fill up a post of major in defense service. Both Muslim and Bengali Hindus/Santals with required qualifications were available. What are the chances that-
  - a. Bengali Muslim will get the post.
  - b. Bengali Hindus/Santals will get the post.
  
2. The Government wanted to appoint a driver for the car of the president of the country. There were two candidates equally expert in driving. One was Bengali Muslim and the other was Bengali Hindu/Santal. What are the chances that-
  - a. The Bengali Muslim will get the appointment.
  - b. The Bengali Hindu/Santal will get the appointment.
  
3. The food department was going to allot a ration shop in a certain locality. What are the chances that-
  - a. The Bengali Muslim will get the shop.
  - b. The Bengali Hindu/Santal will get the shop.

4. A political party was going to give nomination to a candidate for contesting the selection for the president of the country. What are the chances that-
  - a. The Bengali Muslim will get the nomination.
  - b. The Bengali Hindu/Santal will get the nominations.
5. The ministry of education wanted to award a scholarship for higher studies in abroad. What are the chances that-
  - a. Bengali Muslim will get the scholarship.
  - b. Bengali Hindu/Santal will get the scholarship.
6. The authority is going nominate a judge of a high court among eminent lawyers. Eminent lawyers from both Benglai Muslim and Hindus/Santals were available. What are the chances that-
  - a. The Bengali Muslim will get the nomination.
  - b. The Bengali Hindu/Santal will get the nomination.
7. The Government decides to appoint an ambassador in a foreign country. What are the chances that-
  - a. The Bengali Muslim will be appointed.
  - b. The Bengali Hindu/Santal will be appointed.

8. In a Government office, promotion is due to one Bengali Muslim and Hindu/Santal. But at the present situation, only one can be given promotion. What are the chances that-
  - a. The Bengali Muslim will get the promotion.
  - b. The Bengali Hindu/Santal will get the promotion.
9. A Bengali Hindu/Santal prisoner managed to run away from the jail. What are the chances that-
  - a. Muslim officers helped him.
  - b. Bengali Hindu/Santal officers helped him.
10. Government sanctioned a sum of money to a union council for rebuilding religious places. Both Muslim and Hindu/Santal community applied for the money. But the amount was such that it could be given either to Muslim community or Hindu/Santal community. What are the chances that-
  - a. The Bengali Muslim community will get the money.
  - b. The Bengali Hindu/Santal community will get the money.
11. A Bengali Muslim student and a Hindu/Santal student secured equal marks in an admission test for class IX. What are the chances that-
  - a. Muslim student will be admitted.
  - b. Bengali Hindu/Santal student will be admitted.

12. Equally qualified one Bengali Muslim and one Hindu/Santal candidate applied for the post of Headmaster in a school that is run by Muslim community. What are the chances that-
  - a. The Bengali Muslim will get the job.
  - b. The Bengali Hindu/Santal will get the job.
13. Majority students of a school are Muslims. What are the chances that the Headmaster of that school will be-
  - a. The Bengali Muslim.
  - b. The Bengali Hindu/Santal.
14. There was a conflict between Muslim and Hindu/Santal community regarding the possession of a certain plot of land. The authority sent a team of officers for enquiry in this matter. What are the chances that-
  - a. The team will be headed by a Muslim officer.
  - b. The team will be headed by a Hindu/Santal officer.
15. The authority came to know that foreign goods are being smuggled from Bangladesh to India. What are the chances that-
  - a. Bengali Muslim would be held responsible for this.
  - b. Bengali Hindu/Santal would be held responsible for this.

16. Government wants to form a national team of football to be played in the coming Asian Games. What are the chances that-
  - a. The Bengali Muslim players will be included.
  - b. The Bengali Hindu/Santal players will be included.
17. The Government wants to distribute plots of lands to landless farmers. What are the chances that-
  - a. Bengali Muslim farmers will get the land.
  - b. Bengali Hindu/Santal farmers will get the land.
18. One club run by Muslim boys and the other club run by Hindu/Santal boys applied for financial help to the authority. As the two clubs were located in the same locality, the authority can provide financial help to one club only.
  - a. The club run by the Bengali Muslim will get the help.
  - b. The club run by the Bengali Hindu/Santal will get the help.
19. The Agriculture Development Corporation wants to distribute one tube-well to one farmer in each village free of cost. What are the chances that-
  - a. The Bengali Muslim farmer will get the tube-well.
  - b. The Bengali Hindu/Santal farmer will get the tube-well.

## APPENDIX-B

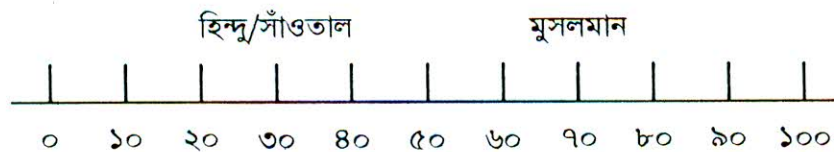
### FRATERNAL RELATIVE DEPRIVATION SCALE

(Bengali Form)

আপনি নিম্নে কতকগুলি সমস্যা দেখবেন। এগুলো সম্পর্কে আমরা আপনার মতামত জানতে চাই। এ সমস্যাগুলো আমাদের বাস্তব জীবনের সাথে সম্পর্কযুক্ত। অনুগ্রহ করে প্রতিটি সমস্যা সতর্কতার সাথে পড়ুন এবং প্রত্যেক সমস্যা সম্পর্কে দু'বার চিন্তা করুন। প্রথমে ভাবুন এ সমস্যাগুলিতে বাঙালি মুসলমানদের স্থান কোথায় এবং পরবর্তীতে চিন্তা করুন বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতালদের স্থান কোথায়। প্রতিটি সমস্যা সম্পর্কে আপনার নিজস্ব মতামত শতকরা হারে প্রকাশ করুন। শতকরা হার ০ থেকে ১০০ ভাগ পর্যন্ত বিস্তৃত। মুসলমান ও বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতালদের জন্য প্রযোজ্য প্রতিটি সমস্যা সম্পর্কে আপনার মতামত নিম্নে দেওয়া বিভিন্ন হারের যে কোন একটিতে ব্যক্ত করুন। নিম্নে একটি উদাহরণ দেওয়া হলো। মনে করুন রাজশাহী বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের ভাইস চ্যান্সেলারের সেক্রেটারীর শূন্য পদের জন্য একজন বাঙালি মুসলমান এবং বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতাল আবেদন করলেন। উভয় প্রার্থী সমান যোগ্যতা সম্পন্ন। আপনার মতে কতটুকু সম্ভাবনা যে-

১। পদটি একজন বাঙালি মুসলমান পাবে।

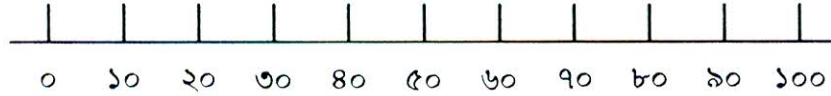
২। পদটি একজন বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতাল পাবে।



আপনি যদি মনে করেন যে, একজন বাঙালি মুসলমান এর ৭০ ভাগ সম্ভাবনা আছে এবং একজন বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতাল এর ৩০ ভাগ সম্ভাবনা আছে, তবে উপরের ৭০ এর উপর মুসলমান এবং ৩০ এর উপর বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতাল লিখুন। এভাবেই পরবর্তী সমস্যাগুলির উত্তর দিন।

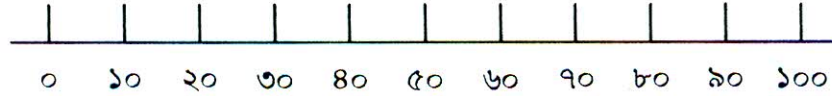
- ১। কর্তৃপক্ষ প্রতিরক্ষা চাকুরিতে একজন মেজরের শূন্য পদ পূর্ণ করতে ইচ্ছুক। সমযোগ্যতা সম্পন্ন একজন বাঙালি মুসলমান এবং একজন বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতাল প্রার্থী পদটির জন্য আবেদন করেছেন। আপনার মতে কতটুকু সম্ভাবনা যে-

- ক) বাঙালি মুসলমানকে দেওয়া হবে।  
খ) বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতালকে দেওয়া হবে।



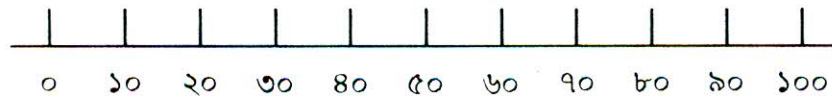
- ২। দেশের রাষ্ট্রপতির গাড়ী চালনার জন্য একজন ড্রাইভার আবশ্যিক। একজন বাঙালি মুসলমান ও একজন বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতাল প্রার্থী আবেদন করেছেন। উভয়ই সমদক্ষ। আপনার মতে কতটুকু সম্ভাবনা যে-

- ক) বাঙালি মুসলমানকে দেওয়া হবে।  
খ) বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতালকে দেওয়া হবে।



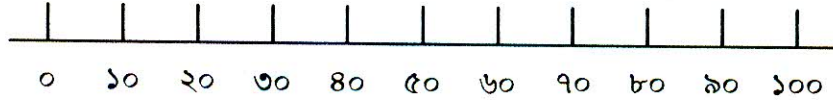
- ৩। খাদ্য বিভাগ কোন এক এলাকার জন্য একটি রেশন দোকান এক ব্যক্তির নামে বরাদ্দ করতে চান। একজন বাঙালি মুসলমান ও একজন বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতাল দোকানটির জন্য আবেদন করেছেন। আপনার মতে কতটুকু সম্ভাবনা যে-

- ক) দোকানটি বাঙালি মুসলমানকে দেওয়া হবে।  
খ) দোকানটি বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতালকে দেওয়া হবে।



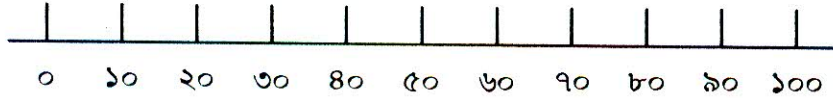
৪। একটি রাজনৈতিক দল রাষ্ট্রপতির পদে নির্বাচনে প্রতিযোগিতা করার জন্য একজন প্রার্থীকে মনোনয়নপত্র প্রদান করতে চান। আপনার মতে কতটুকু সম্ভাবনা যে-

- ক) একজন বাঙালি মুসলিম প্রার্থী মনোনয়ন পাবে।  
খ) একজন বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতাল প্রার্থী মনোনয়ন পাবে।



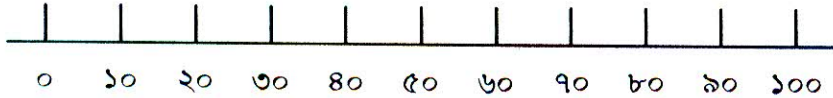
৫। বিদেশে উচ্চ শিক্ষার্থে শিক্ষামন্ত্রণালয় একটি বৃত্তি প্রদান করতে চায়। আপনার মতে কতটুকু সম্ভাবনা যে-

- ক) একজন বাঙালি মুসলিম ছাত্র বৃত্তিটি পাবে।  
খ) একজন বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতাল ছাত্র বৃত্তিটি পাবে।



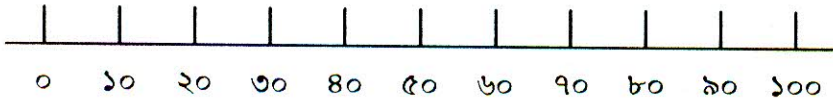
৬। কর্তৃপক্ষ প্রখ্যাত আইনজীবীগণের মধ্য থেকে একজন হাইকোর্টের বিচারক মনোনয়ন করতে চান। আপনার মতে কতটুকু সম্ভাবনা যে-

- ক) একজন বাঙালি মুসলিম আইনজীবী মনোনয়ন পাবেন।  
খ) একজন বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতাল আইনজীবী মনোনয়ন পাবেন।



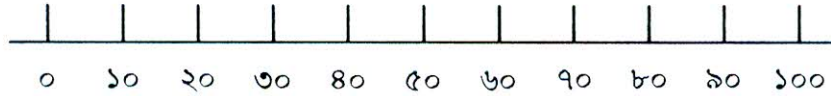
৭। সরকার বিদেশে রাষ্ট্রদূত পদে একজন যোগ্য ব্যক্তিকে নিয়োগ করতে চান। আপনার মতে কতটুকু সম্ভাবনা যে-

- ক) একজন বাঙালি মুসলিম রাষ্ট্রদূত হিসেবে মনোনয়ন পাবেন।  
খ) একজন বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতাল রাষ্ট্রদূত হিসেবে মনোনয়ন পাবেন।



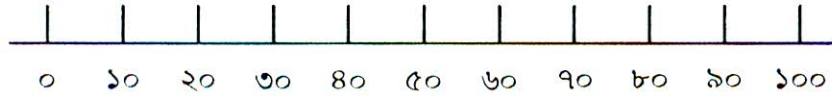
৮। একটি সরকারি অফিসে একজনকে পদোন্নতি দেওয়া হবে। অফিসে একজন বাঙালি মুসলিম এবং একজন বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতাল অফিসে কর্মরত আছেন। এক্ষেত্রে আপনার মতে কতটুকু সম্ভাবনা যে-

- ক) একজন বাঙালি মুসলিম কর্মচারী পদোন্নতি পাবেন।  
খ) একজন বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতাল কর্মচারী পদোন্নতি পাবেন।



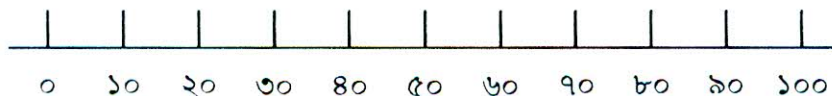
৯। একজন বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতাল জেল থেকে পালিয়ে যেতে সক্ষম হল। আপনার মতে কতটুকু সম্ভাবনা যে-

- ক) বাঙালি মুসলিম কর্মচারী উক্ত কয়েদীকে পালিয়ে যেতে সাহায্য করেছে।  
খ) বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতাল কর্মচারী উক্ত কয়েদীকে পালিয়ে যেতে সাহায্য করেছে।



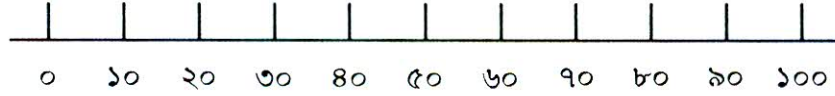
১০। কোন একটি ইউনিয়ন কাউন্সিলকে ধর্মীয় স্থানসমূহ পুনর্নির্মাণের জন্য সরকার কিছু অর্থ অনুমোদন করল। উক্ত এলাকায় বাঙালি মুসলিম এবং বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতাল উভয় সম্প্রদায় উক্ত অর্থের আবেদন প্রার্থী। তহবিলের স্বল্পতা হেতু এক সম্প্রদায়কে উক্ত অনুদান দেওয়া সম্ভব। এক্ষেত্রে আপনার মতে কতটুকু সম্ভাবনা যে-

- ক) বাঙালি মুসলিম সম্প্রদায় উক্ত অনুদান পাবে।  
খ) বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতাল সম্প্রদায় উক্ত অনুদান পাবে।



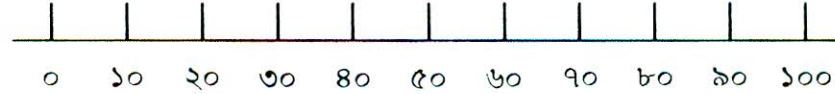
১১। কোন একটি বিদ্যালয়ের নবম শ্রেণীতে একটি শূন্য আসনের জন্য একজন বাঙালি মুসলমান এবং একজন বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতাল ছাত্র ভর্তি পরীক্ষা দিয়ে সমান নম্বর পেয়েছে। এক্ষেত্রে আপনার মতে কতটুকু সম্ভাবনা যে-

- ক) বাঙালি মুসলিম ছাত্রটি ভর্তির সুযোগ পাবে।  
খ) বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতাল ছাত্রটি ভর্তির সুযোগ পাবে।



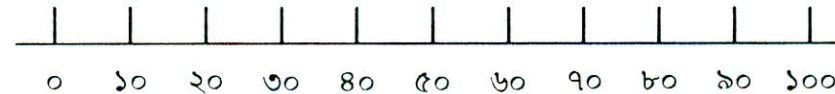
১২। বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতাল সম্প্রদায় দ্বারা পরিচালিত একটি বিদ্যালয়ে প্রধান শিক্ষক পদের জন্য সমান যোগ্যতা সম্পন্ন একজন বাঙালি মুসলিম এবং একজন বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতাল প্রার্থী রয়েছে। এক্ষেত্রে আপনার মতে কতটুকু সম্ভাবনা যে-

- ক) বাঙালি মুসলিম প্রার্থী উক্ত পদে নিয়োগ পাবে।  
খ) বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতাল প্রার্থী উক্ত পদে নিয়োগ পাবে।



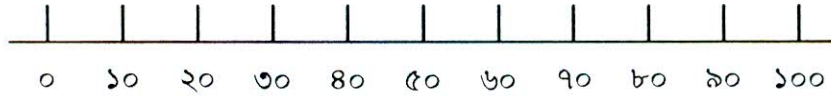
১৩। বাঙালি মুসলিম সম্প্রদায় দ্বারা পরিচালিত একটি বিদ্যালয়ে প্রধান শিক্ষক পদের জন্য সমান যোগ্যতা সম্পন্ন একজন বাঙালি মুসলিম এবং একজন বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতাল প্রার্থী রয়েছে। এক্ষেত্রে আপনার মতে কতটুকু সম্ভাবনা যে-

- ক) বাঙালি মুসলিম প্রার্থী উক্ত পদে নিয়োগ পাবে।  
খ) বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতাল প্রার্থী উক্ত পদে নিয়োগ পাবে।



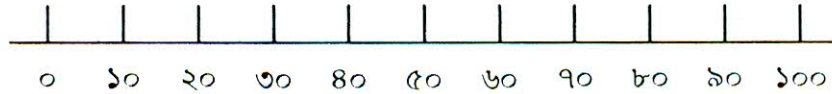
১৪। একখন্ড জমির দাবীদার হিসাবে বাঙালি মুসলিম এবং বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতাল সম্প্রদায়ের মধ্যে কলহের সৃষ্টি হয়। কর্তৃপক্ষ এ বিষয়ে তদন্তের জন্য একদল অফিসার পাঠালেন। এক্ষেত্রে আপনার মতে কতটুকু সম্ভাবনা যে-

- ক) এই দলটি একজন বাঙালি মুসলিম অফিসারের নেতৃত্বে গঠিত হবে।  
খ) এই দলটি একজন বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতাল অফিসারের নেতৃত্বে গঠিত হবে।



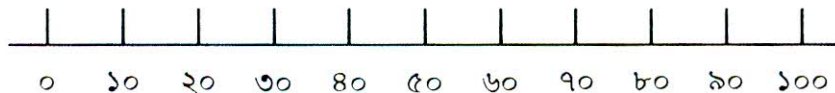
১৫। কর্তৃপক্ষ জানতে পারলেন যে, বিদেশী জিনিসপত্র বাংলাদেশ থেকে ভারতে চোরাচালান হয়। এক্ষেত্রে আপনার মতে কতটুকু সম্ভাবনা যে-

- ক) বাঙালি মুসলিম সম্প্রদায় এর জন্য দায়ী।  
খ) বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতাল সম্প্রদায় এর জন্য দায়ী।



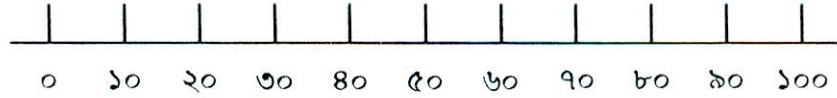
১৬। আসন্ন এশিয়া ক্রীড়া প্রতিযোগিতায় অংশগ্রহণের জন্য সরকার একটি জাতীয় ফটবুল টিম গঠন করতে চায়। এক্ষেত্রে আপনার মতে কতটুকু সম্ভাবনা যে-

- ক) বাঙালি মুসলিম সম্প্রদায় খেলোয়ারদের দলভুক্ত করা হবে।  
খ) বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতাল সম্প্রদায় খেলোয়ারদের দলভুক্ত করা হবে।



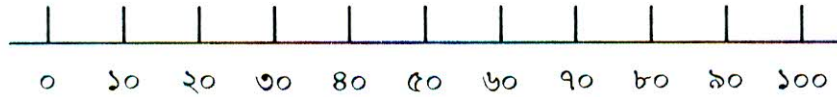
১৭। সরকার ভূমিহীন কৃষকদের মধ্যে কিছু জমি বন্টন করতে চান। এক্ষেত্রে আপনার মতে কতটুকু সম্ভাবনা যে-

- ক) একজন বাঙালি মুসলিম এই জমি পাবে।  
খ) একজন বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতাল এই জমি পাবে।



১৮। একটি মহল্লাতে বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতালদের দ্বারা পরিচালিত একটি ক্লাব এবং অপর একটি ক্লাব বাঙালি মুসলমান দ্বারা পরিচালিত। দুটি ক্লাবই সরকারি আর্থিক সাহায্য প্রার্থী। সাধারণ নিয়ম অনুযায়ী একটি মহল্লায় একটি ক্লাবই সাহায্য পেতে পারে। এক্ষেত্রে আপনার মতে কতটুকু সম্ভাবনা যে-

- ক) বাঙালি মুসলিম দ্বারা পরিচালিত ক্লাবটি আর্থিক সাহায্য পাবে।  
খ) বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতাল দ্বারা পরিচালিত ক্লাবটি আর্থিক সাহায্য পাবে।



১৯। কৃষি উন্নয়ন সংস্থা একটি গ্রামে একজন কৃষককে একটি নলকুপ বিনামূল্যে বিতরণ করতে চায়। এক্ষেত্রে আপনার মতে কতটুকু সম্ভাবনা যে-

- ক) একজন বাঙালি মুসলিম কৃষক নলকুপটি পাবে।  
খ) একজন বাঙালি হিন্দু/সাঁওতাল কৃষক নলকুপটি পাবে।

