CHAPTER V

PATTERNS OF IDENTITY: CORE CONSISTENCY

This category consists of individuals whose experiential self is at the core of their reality constructions whether in private or public. That is to say, there is no discrepancy between their perception of the collective self and their individual self within the epistemic realm of ethnic world views and beliefs institutionalised as communalism in the Indian context of majority-minority relations. In other words, self and society become mutual extensions of each other both in terms of values and norms of behaviour and consciousness. However, the individuals define their inter-subjective existence through diverse symbols of collective notions from case-histories presented separately for the sub-sects within Muslims and Christians as follows.
### Table 9*

**Distribution of Ethno-National Core Identity**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sunnis(S)</th>
<th>Shias(Sh)</th>
<th>Indian Christian(I)</th>
<th>Anglo-Indians(A)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S1 Goldsmith</td>
<td>Sh1 Senior Scientific Officer</td>
<td>I1 Nurse</td>
<td>A1 Musician</td>
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<tr>
<td>S2 School teacher</td>
<td></td>
<td>I2 Priest</td>
<td>A2 Police Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3 Urdu lecturer</td>
<td>Sh2 Antique Dealer</td>
<td>I3 College Librarian</td>
<td>A3 P &amp; T Clerk (Retd.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S4 Owner/Librarian of Urdu library</td>
<td>Sh3 Firewood seller</td>
<td>I4 TV/Radio Mechanic</td>
<td>A4 Teacher</td>
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<td>S5 Canteen Proprietor</td>
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<td>I5 Social Worker</td>
<td>A5 Telegraph Linesman</td>
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<td>A6 Typist</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>A7 Typist</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>A8 Teacher</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

| 5 | 3 | 5 | 8 |

* The abbreviations S, Sh, I and A stand for Sunnis, Shias, Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians respectively; I and A are used for numbering case histories of I.C. and A.I.

For the core ethno-nationals, "nation" and "community" are co-terminous realities within the ethnic framework of values. The two nation theory of Hindu-Muslim Communalism is a typical case of ethno-national core identity. By the same logic, pan-Islamism or pan-Christendom
become logical extensions of the self and his local community, of which the political concept of a nation-state is an ephemeral reality and hence of illusory identity. Religion, along with its legal, cultural and moral trappings is a terminal experience in life. Hence, the ego-synthesis is nucleated in the ethnocentric core of the primary socializing unit. "Religion" and its worldly doctrines provide sufficient meaning-provinces for the individuals' existential identity despite changes in objective reality like formation of secular State in India. This may assume either aggressive or alienated behavioural overtone. Let us examine some ethno-national case illustrations.*

S 4 (Goldsmith) (age 65 years)

The respondent hails from a family of goldsmiths who have been traditionally engaged in making jewellery. They belong to a Muslim sub-caste known as "SUNAR" in local parlance. From his appearance, he must be 50 years or above in age to which his flowing silvery beard adds ample testimony. Years of laborious work were visible in his deep-set wrinkled eyes and leathery forehead. When the researcher met him at work, he welcomed the change from monotony and the interview started with the market value of gold; the respondent spoke of the Great Wall Street Crash; the topic slowly drifted to court jewellery, patronage

* In the course of presentation of case-histories, both direct and indirect speech have been followed. Also, whatever has been written within brackets is emphasis added by the writer.
of Nawabs and finally on to the gold control Act of 1962 and present day market trends.

The interview resumed after a break of 45 minutes for the respondent to finish his "namaz" (prayer). It was easy to set the ball rolling on the theme of prayers. He said:

I have only done religious studies and I can write Urdu and little Arabic. My father and forefathers were all jewellers and I have been initiated into this job and like true Muslims my family does not cheat in this business. That is why we remain in this state of hand to mouth existence. Muslims suffer because they do not follow Islam and they cannot follow Islam because Hindus say that Hindustan is only for them. They say that this is "Zambooriyat" (democracy) but Muslims do not have their own state. What about Punjabis? Don't they have a state of their own? Our law is given by God and not by man. We need a place to follow it. My life's ambition is to do "Haj" (pilgrimage to Macc) but where is the money? Muslims in India are far more in number than in Pakistan and in UP, next to Kashmir, we are leading. But here we find our language is in peril. If language goes, our culture goes and Muslims will be wiped out. Why not? After all they say Hindustan is for Hindus. We also fought with Gandhi to drive away the British, and, so why are we made to feel as strangers just because we do not worship idols? Our law is divine and so it is superior. We cannot follow man made laws because then we are not Muslims any longer. And this the Muslim leaders do. They want us to give up "Sharia" (Muslim Personal Law). Our language, our culture and our religion is being constantly under threat. We do not want government jobs firstly because of no freedom; we don't get it also, and, we are paid very little. We can earn more if we go abroad.
In the course of conversation, the topic evolved on to the minority character of Aligarh Muslim University; the old jeweller gave a look of disgust mixed with despair:

We are not asking for a separate state. We are only seeking equal rights to preserve, maintain and develop our culture. After all, it was our Muslim "nawabs" and patrons who set it up. Wherever you see the best of art, music and literature, you will find the Muslim stamp on it. But now we are erased. They want only Hindus. Secularism is only in name. They are afraid of our strength. If the Muslims all over the country join, which we are planning to do now, our property which the kings of Avadh left for us will be fought back from Hindus. That is why they are dividing us, especially in Lucknow, as Shiias against Sunnis. Worse still, by calling us "akaliyat" (minorities), they have degraded us, the erstwhile "rulers" of this country. By giving quotas they will only make use equal to "Chamar" (Scheduled Castes).

When asked whether he was in Lucknow when Gandhi was murdered, the respondent declared:

I was here only. It was after the partition. Indeed it was a black day for Muslims of this country. I felt the same misery now when Bhutto was also murdered. Fanatic Hindus murdered Gandhi. I remember the Banaras session of Congress which I attended not as a "Congressi" but as an "outsider". I was in Muslim League those days. Now, I don't do any politics. Too old. Anyway, in that Banaras session, they declared Hindu India even before Independence. They will not even sit and eat with us. Naturally Jinnah had to talk of separate Muslims state. The seeds were sown then.
On asked whether his cousin who had migrated to Pakistan was treated as second class citizen there, he stated:

All lies. It is anti-Pakistani propaganda. My cousin is there and he is now in the air force. Had he been here he could not have got into the police even, leave alone "fauj" (military services). In Islamic states, there is more democracy and equality than in secular countries, because Islam is itself a democratic and secular religion.

It is worth noting how he defines secularism of not only State but even religion.

S3 Urdu Lecturer (age 30-35 years)

"I come from a family of orthodox Muslims. My father was a school teacher and I am so dedicated to my religion and culture that I resigned my government job. I like teaching Urdu."

You will be surprised we are only two Muslims in this Hindu college. Whereas if you see our Muslim institutions, there are more Hindus than Muslims. Discrimination on caste and communal lines is inherent in a Hindu because of caste feelings. Now Urdu is also being communalised. Urdu poetry is secular as compared to Hindi poetry. But our Muslim children study about many gods with four hands in Hindi poetry and they get confused. Islam has no myths and Hinduism is full of it.

Secularism is freedom of religion. Unless I am a good Muslim, I cannot be a good Indian. In this country, our identity is established by religion or caste. So why should only we Muslims give up? When
the Constitution of the country permits us to worship of our own choice, who are Hindus to bring in Uniform Civil Code? If they try to change the Constitution, there will be a civil war and whether he is a Muslim judge or a constable, they will 'fight it as a holy war' (Jehad). We are the mightiest minority of the world. But here (in India) even our numbers are not recorded property by the census authorities.

His recollections on "Pakistan" were as follows:

Partition was a curse to Muslims. Jinnah was not responsible for it. It was Patel and Nehru. We are a nation of hypocrites. They say secular but the country is ruled by RSS people; our Jamat-Islamic organisation is not political. It is a communal party to revive Islam. It has no anti-Hindu feeling like the RSS*. Whereas every Hindu feels against us. For any festival, I call them (Hindus) to my home. But they (Hindus) always take me to a hotel? Why? am I an untouchable just because I eat non-vegetarian? It hurts me. They don't realise it. Anyway, we don't want their favours. It is important for us to be first Muslims whether they call us Aurangzeb or what not? Only then can we be good Indians.

On the Shia-Sunni fights he feels:

Sunnis are not politicians like them (Shias). In fact, Shias bring a bad name to Islam by their worldly habits. We are more religious or spiritual. They are, getting a superiority complex because of Khomeini's revolution in Iran.

* RSS is the abbreviated name of Rashtriya Swayam Sevak - a Communalistic Hindu organisation in India.
Shā' (Scientist-cum-Research Officer) (Female)
Age: Between 35-40 years

She hails from a family of academicians. Widowed at an early age, the respondent feels that a woman must be self-dependent and she expressed her gratitude to her father who always had a progressive outlook in life. When asked whether Muslims remained backward due to orthodoxy of Islam the respondent declared voiceferously:

There are orthodox people in every community. Not only among Muslims. But it is not accepted by others. In fact, our law is very practical and progressive. It allows for widow re-marriage and you know Hindu law had to be changed to allow for this. In fact, though the government is keen to bring in uniform civil code, they are changing Hindu law on lines of Muslim Personal Law.

Muslims do not want to cling to themselves. We want to mix and feel at home in India. But there is very strong prejudice against us. Though I have not personally experienced this, I have been a witness to it. When the late President Zakir Hussain died, (I had just then joined this institute as a junior scientific officer), holiday was declared, and one of my close friends casually said to my utter shock "One more Muslim dead, so what? Holiday is meant to celebrate it." This was a totally new experience to me because my family being very educated (and yet devout Muslims) we never used to believe in this. But the outside world appears to be different. From that day, I have become very careful.

My daughter studies in a Christian missionary institution. She is not inhibited like me. Yet, she does ask me at times some very sensible questions. For instance, her history
teacher who happens to be a Christian gives a very biased picture of Muslims as religious fanatics, who converted the people at the point of dagger; and that Muslims were responsible for dividing the country. These create very wrong impressions in the minds of our children. We do not want to remember Pakistan. Perhaps all Muslims should have been sent there. I don't see how Islam and Hinduism can survive together, so long as people are prejudiced. I admit they are conflicting religions but the Constitution does give freedom to every citizen to worship his religion and practice his culture. Then, why should Muslim alone be made to feel guilty for demanding their basic rights?

The ethnocentric definitions seen above are reflected in more case histories as shown below:

Sh2 Antique Dealer: Age 55-60 years

I am one of the unlucky surviving members of Lucknow's ruling dynasty. My nephew is the person running this business, and I look after his interests. I resigned a government job in 1953 because of taunting and suspicion by my colleagues. It is not a "nafsariyati bhat" (Psychological affair) only. Muslims do not suffer from fear or inferiority complex without any reason. The country was divided on very sound basis because the communities are culturally very different. We eat what you (Hindus) worship. So how can you even think of Hindu-Muslim harmony. In Lucknow of course there is more problem for us Shiias. Our brothers (Sunnis) have let us down by joining hands with Hindus. We Shiias are minority within a minority. We cannot take out our "tazias" which was granted as a right to us even by the erstwhile foreign rulers.

The perceptions and experience of the antique dealer are more or less echoed in the brief and candid views
expressed by an old "maulana" (Islamic scholar) who earns his livelihood by selling firewood and teaches Urdu to poor Muslim children.

**Sh3 Firewood Seller** (age 60-65 years)

I resigned in 1949 as "chaprasi" of a government department in Lucknow. The fault was not entirely mine. My brother and his family went to Pakistan. I went to see them off till Delhi and stayed back a few days more than the leave sanctioned. When I came back, suddenly I found my friends (he meant non-Muslims) behaved as if Pakistan was my personal demand. My boss, he was a Misa, told me that if I should continue in service, I should change my Muslim name to a Hindu one. Then only I realised how wise Jinnah was to give a sense of security and home to Muslims. I resigned my job that day itself and since then I had to set up this business. Now I am in this for the last 35 years. I do not have sons. Only daughters. So in this old age with no pension, I am suffering to survive decently. Our communal relations is an open secret.

The ethno-national core identity of Christians is shown in the following biographies of a nurse, technician, an unemployed musician and a typist (i.e., I1, I3, A3, A8). A few excerpts from others such as I5 and A1 reinforce the reality constructions of the principal case-histories presented below:

**I1 Nurse** (age 45-50 years)

Quoting profusely from Bible that she used with much fervour and enthusiasm during her interview, this respondent who has been in government medical service for
the last 20 years is now keenly looking forward to the next promotion to the rank of a matron-in-chief. Asked whether she felt any handicap as a Christian, she declared, "not exactly. Because in this profession, the healing touch of a Christian is not possible for anyone else to give".

The third daughter of a Parish priest, the respondent, is a regular Church goer, and, belongs to a Church that broke off from the parent organisation on the issue of foreign funds.

Hindus believe that we are happy and prosperous because of foreign aid. Not only has the funds been controlled since 1977 but many of us do not want it. You must have seen our church premises and the few brickwalls with incomplete buildings where the congregation worships our Lord. Well, we are a tiny Christian population in that neighbourhood and every Sunday, our prayer meetings are disturbed by Hindus living around the Church. We have an illegal occupant on that land but he is very influential and we as Christians are condemned to suffer. Never mind, we shall be proud to suffer because our Lord himself suffered and we shall bear His Cross. He will protect us and so we will continue to struggle bravely but patiently.

Q. "Why don't you represent your Church as through the local Christian member in the Parliament or through the Minorities Commission"?

I do not know anything about the Minorities Commission. But our Christian representative is an Anglo-Indian and hence they are still anti-Indian. They particularly cannot put up with Indian Christians' urge for Indianisation of Christianity.
My children are both very religious. My son is a preacher in an Evangelization Ship, and, now even my husband is thinking of resigning his government job to become a preacher. You know, he is Farsi who got converted to Christianity. Now he is a more devout Christian than even some original members.

We do not want reservations. We, Christians can prove our merit so why should I regret being minority. Our Lord has said (Quoting Mathew, Chapter 4, 7, 13 & 14 verses New Testament), "Enter Ye, in at the strait gate: for wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction and many there be which go in there. Because strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.

"So you see" the respondent concluded, "I am proud to be a Christian minority because that is the only true way to reach our Lord".

14 Technician (T.V./Radio Mechanic)

The respondent, a TV mechanic looked much younger than his 50 years. His biography impresses one as the most ideal case-history for formation and synthesis of ego-identity on ethnic lines.

I got converted only in 1971 and finally got emancipation from the ordeal of being a Harijan. I have suffered it at school, where, we had to sit separately in the class; my friends used to tease me as "Sahib" (Sir) whenever I went in clean clothes. In Christ, we are all brothers. Even today foreign missionaries are not colour conscious like our Hindus, obsessed with caste. And even after becoming a Christian, we get no status
here because they say that I have become a Christian for want of money. If that was so, why should my sons and wife still remain Harijans? They are not fit for conversion because they prefer to remain in their old ways. My sons are yet to experience the misery of being a harijan. Now-a-days it is not so hard as it used to be during my time. My wife never felt it because her father was the MLA here, and moreover she stayed at home - never competed for any jobs etc.

Preaching is one of the most basic duties for us, for a Christian, every non-Christian is perceived as a potential convert. But for that also we are accused of bribing people to become Christians. If you observe carefully, most of the converts are poor Harijans; at least, in my case I was very well off. So, the missionaries are having more liability by converting these wretched of the earth. And, ever since British days, had Christians really wanted to convert by force, their population could have increased incredibly. I don't think we exceed 2 per cent of the total. So why fear such a small and peace-loving community like us?

We do not get enough protection to preach in public. The RSS workers disturb our meetings. Now see what has happened in Arunachal Pradesh. Hindu missionaries are permitted to establish schools whereas, even Mother Teresa was not allowed to go. The service she does is not for Christian. It is non-Christians who benefit more and Hindus are afraid of it.

I5 Social Worker

After all we were also converted from Brahmins upper caste - still why are we not acceptable. Hindus mistake us for Anglo-Indians. We put Indian as prefix whereas they have Anglo. India is as much our country as theirs (Hindus),
still because we get aid from abroad, they think we must go away. Our children don’t get jobs. South Indian Hindus are more tolerant. In fact South Indian Christian prefer South Indian Hindus to North Indian Christians. Otherwise why did the chancellor of Chandigarh Medical College refuse admission for my son? In fact he is also a Christian, whereas he calls all the South Indian boys who failed in South to Chandigarh but refused admission for my son.

In Central Services, there is no discrimination. But at State level - Yes it is very bad. Christians are being increasingly discriminated where preference is given to Harijans. They don’t give admission to our students or teachers as much in their institutions as we give to Hindu teachers and students in our schools.

The interview could not be completed because of objection raised by a member of the family to proceed further. But even the brief session gives rich insights into the world-view of the concerned respondent.

At Unemployed

The respondent, a 9th standard drop-out is the son of a librarian who worked in the American library at Lucknow. He is the eldest of five sons who had set up a local orchestra group that eventually split up. Now his father is dead, the library closed down due to differences of opinion between the Government of India and the western country that had sponsored the library at Lucknow. The
respondent strongly feels he is now orphaned in every sense of the term. "Otherwise I could have easily got the job. Indians are very prejudiced against western countries. In the name of socialism, they befriend Russia and it will be worse for this country", he observed. He continued further:

I am alienated from this Indian environment, and, from the pseudo Anglo-Indians here. It's years since I have been anywhere near a Church but no one can question my devotion to my Lord. I am a God fearing Catholic. But I do not dogmatise my religion, I am waiting to get out but no money and hence no chance. In fact, the "genuine" Anglo-Indians will take the first ship if some one finances their departure.

We don't even get a living wage here. We Anglo-Indians cannot live like Indians — I mean with no furniture except a "charpoy" (or coir-made bed). We keep our English standards in tact and so we feel that we are superior. But we cannot afford it with the pittance of a job that Anglo-Indians get in this country. Ever since 1957, our quotas in Post and Telegraphs and excise departments were cut out, adding to our misery. We want to study to come up but no money. Our Anglo-Indian leaders are emaciated men. They have sold our beautiful culture to the Hindus who stand on their heads to become westernised like us. We once ruled this country and now we beg for our decent living. Though the uncultured Hindus call us a scar on the history of this country, they still want our women. They feel an inferiority complex and hence become aggressive. Britshers looked after us well. So our forefathers cannot understand, how we, the youth of the community feel — we can neither come up here because our parents are poor, nor go abroad to our original home.
Our problems are also within the community. But that is because our leaders are bought by the government. This country belongs only to Hindu, Aliens are Muslims and us. National language should be Tamil. Why Hindi? Because the Tamilians were the original settlers. They threaten us (Hindus of North India) with "Angrezi Hato" (wipe out English). But it is their children who populate our schools at the cost of our children. Because only Hindus can pay money. So in the name of Anglo-Indians, who served this country as proud warriors, who fought loyally for British and then for the Indians, where are they now? There are no Anglo-Indians now. But you will find a long list of membership in our Association because of the pseudos. That is the Eurasians. You see them all over here even in Lucknow - I mean the Goanese. They spoil our culture in the Church and in our schools through this illegal infiltration into our community. Because of the smallness of their size, they join the bandwagon of Anglo-Indians and draw benefits from our name. Worse still, is the Indianization or shall I call it the Hinduisation in Churches? Lighting "agarbathis" (fragrant sticks) or showing camphor to God; even clothing Mary, the Mother of God in a "Saree" (or the costume of Indian women) is very ridiculous. I never trust Indian Christians because they sold their Gods for some material gains.

A2 Retd. Official of UP State Police Service

He spoke in a fairly frank manner that permitted a pensioner, on both his experiences personally as an Anglo-Indian and police officer collectively for Anglo-Indians as a whole. He was a member of the Management Board of a prestigious Anglo-Indian school of the city. The interview started on with the role of police in controlling communal riots in India since 1947. The subject
slowly drifted to the status of minority communities.

"Well, as far as the Anglo-Indians are concerned, we have got a raw deal."

Q. "From whom? From the British"?
A. "No, not at all. We trusted the Government in all faith and chose to remain loyal. But now we find let down. That is why you hardly find any Anglo-Indians these days".

Q. "Do you mean to say that they have all left India"?

Yes. Migration continued even until 1972 and was in no way on the decline from 1947. Every year, as a fresh crop of youth come up or as people find that in their tail-end of career, nothing much can be earned, they have gone away to Australia. None to England of late. (Later he contradicted when he said many have settled in England.)

Q. Why Australia?

More opportunities. My people (A.I.) felt estranged for two reasons - no job opportunities and secondly language problem. We don't mind Hindustani. In fact I studied Urdu even but the way Hindi was forced I had to depend on my steno for everything. Why? While they talk of eliminating English, their own children are put in English schools. In fact, I have such a rush in my house asking for admissions we cannot cope up. English is again picking up but still official correspondence is in Hindi, then how can A.I. boys come up. Our schools do teach Hindi. But not the Sanskritic Hindi. So they still look westward - Better chances and better life.

Q. "What about their Emigration Policy e.g. Racist
attitude of Britains or White Australia policy?"

Oh! Black apartheid is worse than white apartheid. In my own personal experience, I had to take premature retirement because of the colour as well as caste prejudice of my colleagues. It came to a point where I could not bear it any more. But the rank and file of PAC liked me and other Anglo-Indian officers more than the Indian officers.

Q. But why?
A. Because we mixed with them as equals etc., played and worked with them which an Indian officer rarely does - not until recently. (His self-identity of being an Anglo-Indian is evident in this culturological barrier that he perceives between the Indians and Anglo-Indians.)

Q. What about Muslims? Did they also get a raw deal like you people?
A. Yes - in fact. They suffered a lot because of Partition. A watchful eye is kept on them. Partition - well it was done. The fault was on both Hindus and Muslims.

Q. Did British divide both Hindus and Muslims?
A. Well it is partly true. Any ruler divides - What is happening now? But Hindus can't tolerate basically the caste system is the fundamental evil here.

Q. Discrimination in job, recruitment?
I can speak only in police and here there was no discrimination on communal lines as
far as recruitment, promotion etc. was concerned. What mattered was influence and bribing - anybody can get along with money these days. But not A.I. You see in selection panels even 2 Muslims and 1 Hindu sit, the former is always conscious of being picked if they have chosen a Muslim candidate even if it is purely on merit basis. So we have to do things always to please the Hindus.

Q. What about your leaders and MLC nomination after 1980?
A. Yes, we need a MLA or some representative always. Otherwise, even the little (e.g. legal backing for retention of English has helped at least some of us to be here) would have gone.

Q. How do you like speaking Hindi?
A. I don’t mind it. We are not the losers if English is gone. We have the stamp of a great race, the others follow our English ways. Can’t you see it?

Q. Do you mean to say that your leaders have encouraged migration?
A. No it is the other way. They help to settle us back. But the official language policy is difficult as I told you. We wish to maintain our identity as A.I. but also for the chances of job opportunities for children. Our leaders repeatedly emphasise that we should learn Hindi and India is our land.

(His wife intervened: “Oh I love India. It is a fine place. I’m born and brought up here”.

His daughter, “Also, we can’t get servants there. We have to do all the work”.)
Q. In spite of Anglo-Indians having the best of educational institutions, why are not many highly qualified? (His immediate reaction to this question was in negative)
A. Because 50 per cent are poor and cannot afford to educate.

Q. But you (Anglo-Indian schools of which he is the President) give scholarships? No?
A. Yes, very little just to meet uniform expenses etc. and even if we give, they are reluctant to come. Many A.I. families who are poor just don't respond to our aid. We don't know why they are so indifferent like this?

Q. Was it always like this that the A.I. community does not aspire high?
A. No, it is only since 1947. Those who are left behind are all either too old or too poor. What can our leaders do? They are like this.

Q. What about membership in A.I. Association?

Not all are members. They want something in return. A.I.s are fun loving - want a party or some fun. But now with prohibition even that little is gone. We hate Morarji. We can't stand him. The RSS which has now come in give us sleepless nights. You must have heard of the Tyagi Bill. Well, that sums up the interview for you.

**Interpretation of Ethno-National Core Identity**

The ethno-nationalist Muslims believe basically
in the viability of Islam to offer a powerful integrated
world view capable of challenging the westernization models
of modernity. The symbols evoked by Eurasians (Anglo-Indians)
on the contrary, are rooted in western ethos and westernized
form of Christianity. The ethnocentric preferences and
choice of these individuals can take many forms. If the
Anglo-Indian school teacher prefers non-Indian or English
cooking (A5), the Urdu library owner insists on having a
Muslim State based on Islamic law (S5). Muslim ethno-
centrism takes a more assertive form than Indian Christian
ethnocentrism, characterised by a negative outlook, condemning
the caste inhibitions still dominating public life in
India (I3). So, in the Bergerian sense of identity, the
externalized core self assumes revivalist overtones (S4, S5),
wherein religion is perceived to offer a (Sh3, Sh1) sacred
canopy, so to say, of new symbols and new hopes for the
"besieged" Muslims. In this respect their identity
alternations tend towards renewal than total change. Theoret-
ically, they subscribe to the political concept of an
Islamic state where religion, law and culture are not
inseparable institutions. In this way, their "minoritiness"
is closer to Eurasians (or Anglo-Indians) unlike Indian
Christians. For the latter, as one of successful symbols
of Christianity in India, culture is "Indianised" but still
within the body of doctrinaire (Christianity). For the
revivalist Muslims and Eurasians on the contrary, Indianisation of Islam or Christianity is one of the regrettable institutional outgrowths responsible for meaning breakdowns in their respective epistemic systems of knowledge resulting in the degeneration of the community (A2). Under the existential exigencies of a secular state as in India the ethnocentric externalization of faith is not politically possible, hence the conflict with their basic identity notions and consequently the phenomenon of multiple reality-definitions (e.g. Urdu is a cultural issue, whereas reservation of jobs become a political concern). For the ethnonationals, "minoritiness" is only an accident of history. It is their transcendental ego than the experiential self that matters, and determines world views and identities. Hence the hallucinatory references to Pakistan (S1) or to British withdrawal (A3).

It is seen that most ethno-nationals, for whom cultural symbols are the ultimate "reality-definitions", are either leaders of some sort, either religious or secular, of their respective communities or holding executive posts in some organisations; and so also for those for whom the formation of the Republic has been an unrewarding experience. Thus we have the Christian priests, a muezzin*, two maulanas

* Muezzin is a man who calls out the Muslim prayers or Azaan five times in a day from the mosque.
and the female school teacher working in a school run by the community itself and in which her father is a teacher in Islamic studies. Of the 27 the firewood maulana (Sh3) the antique-dealer (Sh2) claim to have given up their jobs on account of Hindu intolerance, "what they worship, we eat" said the antique dealer very candidly and ruled out any possibility of communal harmony because the religions are basically opposed and hence total opposition of other categories as well. Their self-images have been more stably linked with that of the community on account of the "unpleasant" landmarks in their private biographies. Rather than letting themselves be trapped by ideological splits into identity dilemmas, they have accepted practical knowledge to be more meaningful to their intended projects in life.

Muslim case-histories cited above are strangely echoed by biographical similarities across the boundary of faith. Two Indian-Christian case histories (I4 and I5) and of two Eurasians (cases A2 and A1) bear ample evidence to our claim above. So the difference of faith as Muslims and Christians are only skin deep, since all biographies are encapsulated in the dominant mode of history that leaves some individuals out of the political circuit of the market. This makes it "meaningful" for them to renew the spirit of religious/cultural revivalism with "nation" as defined by them. In their every day experiences the
popular image of a Christian is that of a low-caste Hindu convert who gave up his religion of birth in favour of material prosperity. Anglo-Indians enjoy a still more derogatory status - of hybrids - and however highly educated or well-placed they may be both these ethnics suffer for want of social acceptance. Conversion to Christianity is subjectively depicted by the respondents as emancipation from traditional disgrace suffered as untouchables. On the contrary, such an "understanding" not forthcoming on the part of the Hindus who still condemn them with "Pariahs" is greatly responsible for their glorification of Christianity's casteless faith. The T,V. technician's (case I5) biography is illustrative of this familiar tale of woe of the converts. If Indian Christians are bugged by the stigma of faith, the Anglo-Indians suffer the irrepressible stigma of birth. The image of Christians as "potential proselytizer" held by non-Christians and particularly the Hindus, does not seem to affect the Eurasians so much as the Indian Christians. For them, the threat is greater on the frontiers of cultural symbols, both from within their own community (due to Indigenisation of Church rituals) and from the Hindus (e.g. the future of English in India). Hence their constructs of reality tend to be theoretical. This is because the "sedimented" institution of religion as against worldly experiences have yielded strong sense of security to them in the event of new provinces of meanings that
emerged after 1947 as class practices in the ideological warfare between religions and political concept of nationalism. The dominant categories used by the Muslim ethno-nationals are definition of Hindu majority as idol worshippers, casteists, beef-eaters, Jan-Sanghis (meaning a political party of Hindu chauvinists); for Indian Christians, Hindus are perceived as caste-zealots; whereas the Anglo-Indian choice of vocabulary for the Hindus would be "natives" or simply "Indians" thereby highlighting the dividing line between the nationalities. On further analysis we find that Muslim ethno-nationalism is a well organised and coherent system of thought based on Islamic models, more theoretically inspired and with unified province of meanings where culture and politics are inseparable. For the latter, nationality of birth and faith are more meaningful than that of citizenship as a political notion.

The sectarian dimension of knowledge-identity phenomenon is equally important in the description of minority orientations of all the sub-groups. Sectarianism is pervasive and deeprooted for the Anglo-Indians. While all the 8 respondent of this group display sectarian feelings either latently or manifestly it is noticeable otherwise only among 3/5 Sunnis, 2/5 Shias, and 3/5 Indian Christians.

The formation of ethno-national identity is certainly influenced by divisive categories on communal lines. Reinforced by personal experiences either of self or of others, such knowledge has aided the process of identity stabilisation.
## Table 10

**Ethno-Political Core Identity**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sunnis</th>
<th>Shias</th>
<th>Indian Christians</th>
<th>Anglo-Indians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S6 Police S.I.</td>
<td>Sh4 Hakim (Doctor)</td>
<td>16 Doctor</td>
<td>A9 Civil servant (Retd.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S7 Landlord</td>
<td>Sh5 Lecturer</td>
<td></td>
<td>10 Civil Servant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S8 Baker</td>
<td>Sh6 Civil Servant (Retd.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>11 Typist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S9 Distt. Record Officer</td>
<td></td>
<td>18 Hospital Assistant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S10 Urdu Academy Clerk</td>
<td>Sh7 Chikan Worker</td>
<td>10 College Principal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S11 Lawyer</td>
<td>Sh8 Lawyer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S12 P.R.O. Haj Committee</td>
<td>Sh9 Chikan Export Agent</td>
<td>11 Principal (College)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S13 General Merchant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S14 Govt. Clerk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S15 Sales Manager</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S16 Female Lawyer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>S17 Lawyer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>S18 Maulana and Sunni leader</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>S19 Hakim or (Medicine man)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>S20 Perfume Businessman</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>S21 Accountant</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>S22 PWD Clerk</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>S23 Corporation Teacher</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>S24 Railway Fitter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S25 Civil Servant (Retd.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Count | 20 | 6  | 6  | 3  |
Ethno-Political Core Identity

Here, "minorityism" is perceived as a political reality dividing the communities from each other for which religion is accepted as providing the idiom of power struggle. Thus the numerically large Hindu majority is also identified as "power elites". Consequently "minority situation" is one stemming from numerical subordination leading to deprivation wherein organised minority action is believed to be "meaningfully relevant". The institutionalized stereo-types of Hindus are "Hukumatwalle" or rulers and "paise walle" or moneyed classes. In the subjective category of the Ethno-political core individuals, political power or economic controls over the market are considered to be equal resource value and hence synonymous realities. In the same vein, lack of such resources, which they perceive to be ethnically determined, creates a self-image of minorities as second class citizens. Citizenship identities are thus bound by intense ethnic consciousness; and they firmly believe in the viability of ethnic values to solve the burning issues of social inequality and social injustice. In their view, ethnicity and modernity are mutually exclusive categories of change and competitive models of class practices. But in "practical knowledge" (in Gramscian sense) they visualise that the official machinery and the Hindu power structure as enmeshed "realities" adding to the
rigidity of the structures contrary to the democratic and secular precepts of the Indian Constitution. Hence the ethno-political core individuals believe in minority safeguards for minority problems by playing up their self-images of national minorities as trump cards wherever required. All "reality" is politically constructed and hence politically resolved. This is the world view of the 35 individuals of this group. The case histories reproduced below highlight our observations on the concerned identity group.

Baker

Baking has been my family profession since the days of my forefathers. We were working for Britishers. When they left, they sold their bakery to me. Now I have four branches in Lucknow. I supply mainly to the Christian institutions and missions and schools here. I am known as "Haji Biscuit Wallah". Yes, I have been to Mecca. I am thankful to God that He gave me at least that satisfaction in life.

During British days, there was no shortage of commodities. When "maida" (flour) was not available in the market I used to approach the Commissioner directly with my problem. He used to listen patiently and no question of bribing anyone in his office for getting my work done. But now even to get a ration card, I have to bribe so many of them because I am a Muslim, I am harassed more. They are the "hukumat wallas" (rulers). So, everywhere corruption is rampant. I move with Christians also very closely. They also suffer. The Muslim leaders are helpless. Even if a Muslim officer is made in charge of civil supplies, he cannot help a Muslim for the fear of being taunted. So in order to prove his impartiality or forthrightness, he will be more helpful to Hindus than me. That is the tragedy of this community, the guilty sense of fear.
Views on Muslim Personal Law

Our law is made by God and hence not temporal. If we accede to common law, who knows what commands will be issued by the Government tomorrow? They may even tell us not to do "namaaz" (prayers in Islam). They are afraid of Muslims marrying more than one wife and multiplying so that we can become the majority.* These days even Muslims are finding it difficult to afford large families. And moreover, there is a law in "Shariyat" that unless we provide for the maintenance of first wife, we cannot marry again. I have six wives all of them are happy and I am looking after them. Why should the government worry at all? Hindus fear that we will outnumber them one day. That is why.

314 Government Clerk

I am the second son in a family of four. My father is also retired from government service. My elder brother is in the legal profession. Both of us got our jobs without any influence and purely on merit. But this is not the case with other Muslims. I have had rich experience with Hindus, as employers, colleagues, neighbours and friends. One bad habit they have is to taunt us. They may say it in fun. But we feel it because of bitter events of history or history as written by the rulers - firstly British and now Hindus. They say that we support Pakistan in hockey matches or proverbs like, (a) "the bomb falls in Karachi but the heart beats in India". Or, (b) "you eat the salt of Hindustan but sing the praise of Pakistan." They tease our religion and accuse us of taking off time from duty to do our prayers.

The caste - feeling is very strong among Hindus. It is their caste prejudice which affects Muslims also. We do not get facilities like their own

* The folk wisdom of the baker in highlighting the relevance of numbers as a determinant status of minorities is sadly lacking in many academic theories. See Introduction.
caste minorities. Reservation of quotas is a must for us. Muslims are under-represented in Government jobs and in the police service. Because Hindus are more in interview panel, the Hindu candidates have access to some source of influence. But Muslims cannot approach their leaders because they are afraid of being branded as communalists and fanatics.

I am a student of Urdu and doing my Ph.D. thesis. My children cannot learn Urdu which is their mother tongue. Gandhi has said that every child must learn through his mother tongue. You are a Tamilian (addressing the researcher) and you know how fanatic you are in your state as far as the national language goes. At least we (Muslims) do not question the status of Hindi. But we want Urdu to be recognised as second language of UP. But, they say that less than 30 per cent of the population speak Urdu. This is false. Because I know when the census officer records mother tongue of the people, he purposely distorts the figure of Urdu speakers. In schools it is the same story. There is a stipulation in UP Government that if there are more than 10 students opting for Urdu in a class, they should appoint an Urdu teacher. Here again they enter false figures. How can we question these injustices when we have no power in our hands?

They say India is a secular State, but you see the inaugural functions of the government offices, they follow Hindu rituals. Why? There is a temple inside my office. Is it secular to collect funds for Diwali and Holi inside government offices. Can Muslims do the same thing without guilt or fear? We need confidence. Lucknow has its own unique problems for us Muslims. The Divide and Rule policy of the Britishers is followed by their Hindu successors here. They have divided Shias and Sunnis so that we will not become powerful. Shias are also fanatics. They (Shias) curse our Caliphs just to show their strength. So Sunnis have to fight in two fronts - a religious war against Shias and a political war against Hindus not to speak
of the economic war against the Harijans. I am living under the threat of my chamar assistant becoming the section officer one of these days. So it is a very complex issue.

S18 Lawyer/Worker for the Minority Causes of Muslims

I come from a family of landlords and 'zamindars' in the vicinity of Lucknow. My father migrated to Pakistan in 1950; after six months, he came back to take his family. My grandmother pleaded for his stay in India. She could not appreciate the need for Muslims to have their own state. My father stayed back reluctantly. He was one of the staunch followers of Jinnah. So whatever mission in life he could not fulfill. I took a vow to fight for the rights of Muslims in this country. That is one of the reasons why I refused membership in the Bar of the Allahabad High Court. I became a Government lawyer, then I would become their mouthpiece. My community needs no more politicians. They need leaders who can help them.

All talk of a secular democracy is only a myth. We are denied even those rights that are guaranteed by the Constitution. Just see how ridiculous it is to threaten us with abolishing of the minority character of Aligarh University. At every step, there is a threat of losing our rights. Once that is gone, then there is no question of our culture remaining intact. Unlike what is popularly believed, AMU* is not a breeding ground for communalistic Muslims. On the other hand, why should you have BHU (Benaras Hindu University)? In fact Majority Communalism is much more dangerous. So we are forced to organize and be prepared even though the legal and political institutions are safe in themselves. Hindus are the political bosses and they buy up a few Muslims and harass the rest.

* AMU is the abbreviated reference to Aligarh Muslim University; to be referred hereafter as AMU.
Urdu is not only a sweet and secular language, but it is very essential for our cultural identity to bind us as a community. It is symbolic of the glorious Muslim past and our future hopes. By losing it, Muslims will be crushed by Hindu genocide.

At present, I am fighting so many cases of litigation by Muslim trustees against the State Government for illegal grabbing of minority property. They encroach on our masjid and graveyards. Why?

There is no other solution but for us to become a pressure group as minorities without joining any other party bandwagon except as Indian Muslims. We must do in the same way as Arab taught America.

Sh4 Hakim (or Doctor of the Unani System of Medicine popular among Muslims)

"You (addressing the researcher) are from Tamil Nadu where Muslims are not treated as here. In this part of the country, it is different."

Saying that, the octogenarian doctor insisted that his data must be recorded in writing on the spot, which is reproduced below.

A simple and first hand experience (of minority problem) is the prejudice against Unani Medicine. I do not understand why Unani Medicine has to be made into a Muslim issue. It is more suitable to the north Indian climate than homeopathy or allopathy or Ayurveda. And it is much cheaper than Ayurvedic medicine. But government does not want Muslims to enjoy equal rights and under the excuse of mismanagement, they have now nationalised the Unani Colleges. Just compare the status of these colleges with that of Ayurvedic medicine how much patronage they
It is all power that matters. When Muslims were rulers, they never discriminated. But gave all encouragement to Hindu for Ayurvedic medicine.

Aligarh Muslim University was set up by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan for Muslims to come up. It is one of the few meagre resources the community has at its disposal to fight out anti-Muslim attacks. Also it gives an atmosphere where the youth of our community can get exposed to the cultural and religious environment of Islam. But now the government wants to seek it because it is jealous and watchful of our activities.

Usually there is a misconception that Muslims are backward because of religion. No, it is wrong. They are backward because no money to educate their children. Also, they are not taught in the medium of their mother tongue. So the Hindu boys have an advantage over us. When it comes to job market, they are discriminated. So they remain poor. It is all inter-related. Muslims have a right to reservation on grounds of economic backwardness.

In the above ethnobiography of the "Hakim" we saw the unification of his experience as Unani doctor and political perceptions determining the formation of his identity. It is more vividly brought out in the following case history of the sixty years old chikkan worker;
Ever since I could do any work with my hands, I remember doing only this "chikkan" work. Either it is a Kurta or Saree - but now-a-days all sorts of dresses are made in "chikkan". Most of them I cannot identify. Look at my eyes. It has become like this ever since I was thirty. We don't get any special benefits. All of us (chikkan workers) need to wear spectacles at a very early age because we keep looking at little pieces of embroidery for more than eight hours. But it is very expensive, if we go to private doctors. In government hospital it is only on the basis of special recommendation and influence that you can get anything done. How can Muslims have so much influence? We are not the rulers. Our hands are tied and mouth is silenced.

Previously we used to get piecemeal rate of 0.75 ps per Kurta. Now I get 5.10 per day. But now-a-days I cannot work so much. Ever since "Azadi" (Independence), the rich Muslim families left India. Otherwise, they used to give us lot of support and take personal care in our health. For any weddings in our families, Begums used to give lot of help. My father took loans from them and Begum presented me with "Payals" (anklets usually made in silver). Now-a-days we get loan on interest from Rastogis. They are the new "nawabs" (these money-lenders) and the Government is on their side. They make lot of money on export but pay us so meagerly. The labour inspector is bribed by them with money, good food and all his requirements. When we have lost our "hukumat" (power) to whom can we complain? I lost my husband when I was 45. My eldest daughter is a teacher, my son is working in a shop and the last two go to school. My daughter does not want to do this work. She wants to appear for B.A. privately but she is not very good in health anyway she will try.
When asked whether she knows what is happening at AMU she replied, "I am not very familiar with what you are saying about Aligarh University. I know there is one University like that for Muslims."

The biography of the chikkan worker sketched above, shows the development of her ethno-political core identity from her domain of definitions in which the familiar Muslim problems of Urdu, or Aligarh University issue do not figure at all. Whereas, the other compatriots of her life-world, the Hakim (Sh4) or for that matter the female lecturer (Sh5) or the civil servant (Sh6) and the lawyer (Sh7) are more vociferous on the "collective" issues of Muslims affecting their identity as minorities. They are in the "know" of the minority problems (Muslim issues) and "live" in the core of their "knowledge". Just as the chikkan worker lives in the core of her subjectivity as a resourceless employee under a Hindu. The civil servant (Sh6) and the lawyer (Sh7) claimed to have suffered discriminatory treatment in the hands of Hindus in the context of their occupations - lack of promotion due to imposition of Hindi (Sh6) or being taunted as unpatriotic during Indo-Pak wars 1961 (Sh7). Though the background and experiences affecting their knowledge is different from that of the chikkan worker, the contents are the same i.e. Identification of self and the community as deprived and underprivileged as a result of their minority "being".
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I6 Doctor and Ex-Corporator of the City Corporation

As an old citizen of Lucknow, the respondent (60 years) claims to know many people: Hindus, Muslims, Punjabis too. But he feels that the large heartedness of Christians is not returned by Hindus.

In fact, all our institutions, whether medical or educational cater for the Hindu Majority. The staff may be Christians but it is strictly done on the basis of merit. These institutions started with the aim of imparting education to Indians and not for Christians only. The latter sacrificed a lot. But they are blamed falsely for the conversions. Psychologically, these accusations make us feel as aliens. We are also Indians and our forefathers were Hindus. Every leader castigates us as non-Indians. It hurts us very badly. If we take it patiently, it does not mean we are accepting guilt. In 1947, when the Constitution was drafted, it was only the Christian community that rejected separate identity by refusing reservations. Anglo-Indians demanded reservation on which was granted to them. The Muslim demand was even more formidable that took a chunk of the country itself. But we considered it unnecessary and disgraceful. We believed the Hindus because our religion teaches us universal brotherhood. But our brothers have betrayed us. At least when they are helping the Scheduled Castes, why not extend the same facilities to the scheduled caste converts among Christians and Muslims? On the one hand, they give the right to follow any religion and on the other hand, they discourage conversion by stopping the privileges. Mother Teresa does not discriminate between Hindu or non-Hindus, whereas you see Ramkrishna Missionaries. They also get foreign aid. The government ignores that, but is always suspicious of only Christian missionaries and the money coming to them. In fact, it is more non-Christians who benefit from it than Christians.
As Christians we have no capital to start any business. We are economically backward. Most of us are educated and in the middle class, and, exclusively dependent on our jobs; we have no lands or family property; nor does the joint family system exist for old Christians to get some solace. We therefore need economic security but because we are voiceless, we can't get anything.

Another great stigma falsely associated with us arises from the caste complex of Hindus. It really persecutes the Indian Christians. Particularly, in my family, my sister has had a very sad experience. She went as a social worker to one of the UP villages and she was treated as an untouchable. Ever since then, I make it a point to ask all my Hindu friends and guests whether they will eat in my house or not and then only offer them some refreshments. Though Lucknow is well known for its "Takkaluf" for me my self-respect is more important.

The other Christians in this category i.e. I7, I8 I9, I10 and I11 also had more or less identical views on the majority-minority relations resulting in their identity characteristics. The lawyer (I7) complains of feeling isolated even in his professional circles though he has many Hindu clients. The two college principals I9 and I10 complain of increasing encroachment of the Government into the affairs of private minority educational institutions. "Our Christian teachers do not get a chance in open competition because of caste favouritism. The only alternative is in the Christian institutions. But even here the Government interferes too much in our appointment and recruitment policies”, declared the principal of a leading
female educational institution of the city. With that she added, "But don't disclose my name. I have lot of Hindu friends".

As in the case of other sectarian units, the Anglo-Indian ethno-political core too is concerned with the concentration of power in the hands of Hindus resulting in human degeneration of other minority ethnics. The following case history of a retired civil servant of the State Government amply illustrates these characteristics of ethno-political core identity of the self and society.

A9 Government Civil Servant (PCS Retd.)

I am the last of the Anglo-Indian civil servants. My father was in the Post and Telegraphs and though we are from Lucknow I have moved with my father all over UP. After my senior Cambridge I was unemployed for one year. This was in 1947. But then I got absorbed in Railways after passing the competitive exams. Then I got through the State Civil Service Examination as well. I actually wanted to become a Civil Engineer. But there were some family requirements that necessitated my taking up a job soon. But after me you will not find any Anglo-Indian in the State Civil Service. None of them are coming forward to take it up. Actually, there are a handful now and most of them are retired. The youth of the community have left the country. So no question of any one coming to the State Service. In fact, the few who are left behind would rather take up Railways or Military than enter State Service.

Q. "But why did they migrate when they had job security in Railway and Telegraphs"?
Actually, it was fear psychosis....It was not just economic but political and cultural identity of the community that was in peril. Even when Britishers were here, the Anglo-Indian were taunted by the Hindus. And when British were leaving, we felt we are going to be uprooted. Our fear, however ill-founded it may be was rational and legitimate. Since 1947, we at least felt ourselves to be both political and psychological minorities. We don't want any aid from government except providing some reservation for our youth in the educational and employment areas. But since we have no influence, we cannot get much.

Even if our children accept and study Hindi, still their chances in open competition are very little. We are not Britishers. We opted to stay in India and we have accepted the Indian ways of living. Our girls do not go about in knee-length dresses or pants. On the contrary, Hindus boys want smart girls who are available only in our community. But however much we want to merge we are made to feel different because of our religion, customs, conventions and habits. More than anything else, the repeated onslaught on English gives us a scare. It is our last hope and gives us some confidence in maintaining our collective, cultural identity.

With a fatalistic sigh, the senior typist All of a private firm declared:

What cannot be cured has to be endured. We have no voice. Ever since the quotas fixed by the British in Telegraphs and Excise stopped for us, there has been further degeneration of the community. Very few Anglo-Indians are rich enough to educate their children for professional career. While previously, a senior cambridge student could become a senior apprentice, now-a-days, he can't get even a peon's job for two reasons. Firstly his qualification...
may not be sufficient. But, more importantly, it is contacts that matters. Where does a tiny community like the Anglo-Indians existing on the fringe of society go for these expensive affairs of bribery and influence?

All, as a typist in a private firm with British collaboration, this middle-aged lady is also the president of the old age home for Anglo-Indians.

We are the worst minorities one can think. No resources, no leaders, nothing to fall back on. Even the immigration rules have been made so strict that we cannot go. Our youth have left us and no support for the orphaned elders of the community. What cannot be cured has to be endured.

She concluded with a note of resignation.

Interpretation of Ethno-Political Identity

For the ethno-political, power and spoils of power are the only meaningful symbols because that alone can explain the social inequality between Hindus and non-Hindus. Professional and educated classes among both Muslims and Christians are concentrated in large numbers among the ethno-politicians, many of whom are in government services. The lawyer politician identity-type most prevalent among Muslims is largely found in this category of Minoretiness. So also for Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians. The crystallization of Minority identity is most vividly seen in world-view of the ethno-politicians because, the ethno-political "personalities" among the Christians and Muslims are from
educated, professional and mostly in government employment, who suffer the maximum minority complex. The uniformity is understandable since as minorities, the subject perceives that whatever opportunities for material progress exists is only through competitive channels of modernisation; so education leading to professionalization become highly prized commodities for which "power" or "access to sources of power are important prerequisites. But with Constitutional backing for the uplift of Hindu law castes and the bureaucratic bias in favour of its implementation has created not only bottlenecks of power but also inhibitive force on the ego of the non-Hindu aspirants to modernity. Their dilemma is between "the devil and the deep sea" as one of them put it (I7); by accepting the quota system would be a blow to their egotism for being downgraded with "Chamar"; by not doing so, would leave them out of the rat-race and hence they define the minority syndrome as a "reality" of politics, the battle lines are drawn no longer between Hindus and Muslims (or Christians as the case may be); but between the Hindu politicians and "Chamars" on one side, pitched against the Muslims. It is this frame of mind that makes Muslims disbelieve even the Census apparatus, which is accused of not returning the actual size of Urdu-speaking Muslim population.

Sectarianism is also viewed as a political

phenomenon in the ethno-politicals core constructions. Of the 35 respondents, 14 Sunnis and two Shias had sectarian
bias in some form or the other. However, like minorityism, sectarianism was also defined as an off-shoot of Hindu domination and political strategy to divide the minority communities. The railway fitter in the sample S25 felt that the competitive struggle between Sunnis and Shias to re-establish themselves in the local hierarchy on par with Hindus was a spill-over of international Shia-Sunni politics. He said:

The Shias enjoyed as rulers and after their downfall, survived on the patronage of the ruling class, both British and Hindus. Now with the recent elections (of 1977 after Emergency) and overthrow of Congress, their political base was threatened leading to erosion of their status as overlords of Lucknow culture. We, Sunnis are much larger in number and if at all the Janata Party has won, on Muslim vote, it is in reality Sunni vote, at least in Lucknow. Their emphatic stand on taking out the "Tazias" (part of the Moharram rituals) is a desperate bid to safeguard the cultural symbols that matter to their political status. They still think they are the Nawabs of Lucknow.

The ethno-political sectarianism was however not so sharply articulated as communal animosities, nor was the usage of categories identical for both. For instance, the Shias never perceived Hindus and Sunnis as one and the same majority.
Table 11

3. Eth-Class Core Identity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sunnis</th>
<th>Shias</th>
<th>Indian Christians</th>
<th>Ango-Indians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S26 Government truck driver</td>
<td>Sh10 Lal Begis</td>
<td>I12 School Teacher</td>
<td>A12 Car Broker</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Sweeper)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>S27 Leather Cleaner</td>
<td>Sh11 Cook</td>
<td>I13 Baker's wife</td>
<td>A13 Engine Driver (Railways)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S28 Dye Merchant</td>
<td>Sh12 Washerman</td>
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<tr>
<td>S29 Junior Hakim (Unani Doctor)</td>
<td>Sh13 Corporation</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Foreman</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>S30 Technician (Refrigerator)</td>
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<td>I14 Business and Factory Proprietor</td>
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<td>S31 Meat Seller</td>
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<td>I15 Timber Businessmen</td>
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<td>S32 Corporation Foreman</td>
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<td>I16 Tailor</td>
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<td>I17 Binder (Govt. Press)</td>
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<td>I19 Mechanic</td>
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<td>I20 Lawyer</td>
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There is a qualitative difference between eth-class and ethno-political identity as reality-definitions of minoritiness. The eth-class categories suggest a nascent form of class consciousness but defined by ethnic concepts. Accordingly eth-class identity is a curious blend of the transcendental impact on existential awareness of the self and of others. But due to the compulsions of the productive process either in the ethnic milieu of the community itself (both within "biradari" and "non-biradari" environment) or in self-employment status, the influential role of the practical knowledge is also vividly seen. The eth-class perceptions are rooted in ethnically oriented economic definitions of social relations. Thus besides Hindus (only rich Hindus) "Majority" is also made of a sizeable number of "elites" from their own respective ethnic groups. Hence the "Minority Syndrome" is a projection of the exploitative social relationships both within and outside the ethnic enclave as the case may be. Accordingly the eth-class "reality" is a mirror image of poverty, illiteracy, backwardness, lack of contacts (or "source") to further their prospects in whatever channels of life that is possible. Their definition of "modernisation" is not necessarily one associated with a scientific temper, western education or technologically equipped skills. What is "meaningful" is a self-respecting conditions of life that could afford some respite from their daily struggle for livelihood. The
categories are therefore economic in essence but dominated by ethnic overtones; it does not however imply any kind of de-communalised consciousness because of the crystallization of minority identities is expressed by well defined notions of deprivations affecting only some individuals within the ethnic hierarchy. Hence the poor among Hindus, Muslims and Christians are perceived as existing in separated ghettos of life.

In the eth-class world view "reality" is segmented both vertically and horizontally and in the light of the benign quotas for the Scheduled Castes and backward classes, their vision of "reality" tends to get hierarchalised; such that, the Hindu backwardness are associated with more redemptive hopes as compared with that of Muslims or Christians. Segmentation of knowledge orientation also leads to segmentation of identity between ethnicity and class though it is not necessary that the "biraderis" are the only breeding ground for the genesis of eth-class identity. Even skilled technicians who have been de-linked from their biradari occupations since long do display an intense sense of eth-class orientations. Not all biradaris are well organized, nor are most individuals engaged in their biradari callings. The large chunk of Muslim technicians and skilled work in modern occupations outnumbering Hindus belong to this identity category. Furthermore, another interesting aspect of the eth-class awareness
anchored in biradari networks is that they are mobilized into some kind of pressure groups vis-a-vis other biradari associations fighting for rewards through reservations in employment and education on par with the Hindu low caste biradaris. For example, of the two Butchers association in Lucknow, one is organised purely around the biradari cause fighting for quotas that the Muslim Weavers' (Ansari) Association have been granted; whereas the other Muslim Butchers Association organised on a political platform with a regular party basis seeks to achieve such demands as rights and not favours from the Majority Government.

Nevertheless eth-classists to some extent unlike the ethno-politicians believe in the inevitability of their minorityism and therefore offer less resistance by seeking patronage from the Majority Government. Ethno-politicians in contrast fight on the equal but separate basis of identity. Thus whether it is the minority character of AMU or the democratisation of Church rights, the eth-class identity in the broader Minority issues concerned are one of ambivalence. And even if their orientation is in the positive, the definition of the situation will be more in existential terms of basic biradari causes but articulating economic demands like job quotas than cultural grievances of Muslim solidarity. Retention of AMU's minority character will have the ethnic overtones for economic anxieties of Muslim educational progress underlying it. Similarly, for an Anglo-Indian,
English elimination will be not so much culturally disastrous but economically; after all, an Anglo-Indian schooled in English medium becomes as good as an illiterate in a system where it is not recognised any longer and hence resourceless. So as an alternative, Hindi has been accepted as a resource, but the compromise at whatever cost it has been made, is not found very rewarding in the practical course of experiences. Hence the backlash effects of the ethnic factors in knowledge holding a greater appeal as meaningful realities to the individuals. The following case histories clearly bring forth the eth-class identity.

S27 Leather Cleaner

The respondent appeared to be in his late twenties, married at the age of 18 and now he is the father of four children. He belongs to a working class family who have been engaged in the caste profession of cleaning raw hides before it is tanned. Ever since his childhood, he could vividly recollect the nauseating smell of leather. His employer is also a Muslim and a leading magnet in the field of leather manufacture. His family, ever since the time of his grandfather, has been working with the same employer. Now, only the respondent is actively employed and his father having contracted T.B. comes only for supervisory jobs. "His only wish is to go for Haj (pilgrimage to Mecca) but it appears to be a dream. His income is so little and the cost of living is going up. The question of saving does not arise
at all," declared the respondent.

His family, including his father, live at Kanpur. The respondent is working in the Lucknow factory, a branch of the Kanpur manufacturer. "My father is very religious. So am I. Now I am supposed to be observing "roza" (or ritualistic fast); even my small children do it. But here because of the circumstances of living alone, I am not able to observe it."

Q. "What about others working with you"?
A. "We are all Muslims here. Hindu "Chamars" don’t touch cow hides. But these days they have become ministers. We are pushed down."

Q. "Who?"
A. "We Muslim Chamars. They get lot of help from the government in education and in jobs. Therefore, their children can come up well. But because we are Muslims, there is "ta’assub" (prejudice) against us."

Q. "Why can’t your wife also work to make up for the family income?"
A. "No, in Muslim families. We observe "purdah" (or confinement of women to the household) and also children need her attention."

Q. "But many Muslim women have given up "Purdah"?
A. Yes, but in my "biradari" very few go without it. People will make fun of me.

(The Public Self superceding his individual private self is vividly seen in the above statement.)
Q. Do you marry only within your biradari?
A. We do not normally marry outside. We follow our Biradari panchayati rules (or conventional law).

Q. Not the rules of Shariat?
The respondent could not follow what "shariat" meant thereby indicating the superiority of the "biradari" over the communal identity as an off-shoot of his everyday life experiences.

No. These days religion has become redundant to many. There is corruption and fighting everywhere. Just see what has happened in Moradabad; here in Lucknow, Shias fight with Sunnis, The Government fights within itself and the leader remembers us only at time of elections. There is black money everywhere and government can't control it because its elections are won only with that money.

Q. Do you have any union for workers in your factory?

No, firstly most of the workers are from old families known to the "Malik" (employer). Also, he has warned us against union activity and has told that whatever our troubles, he will sort out. But when we ask for increased wages, he turns a deaf ear. I heard that Government will start a leather factory at Unnao. But one needs money to bribe the "babus" (officials) to get a job there. I want a little capital to start my own shop and give up this "gulami" (slavish) existence. But where can I go?

Q. Why don't you ask Muslim "netas" (leaders) or some rich Muslims?
A. They look after their "stomachs" (welfare) and "gaddi" (power). Who wants to help the poor?
The respondent is illiterate in the formal sense but can read little Urdu. However he denies the need for Urdu on grounds of religion or economic progress. It is a matter of personal choice and he believes that reading of Koran can be done in Hindi or Urdu as well. Thus he is indifferent to the cause of Urdu as a collective Muslim issue. His "reality" is Muslim poverty and not ignorance because he lives it, knows it and is part of it.

S30 Refrigeration Technician

The 35 years old respondent works in a posh shopping area of the city, but lives in the old city infested with Moharram riots. His consciousness as a skilled technician is highly coloured by his awareness as a Muslim. The owner of his firm is a migrant Hindu (Punjabi) in the city, who once belonged to the present Pakistan. The respondent claims that he has an inherent hatred towards Muslims and he is of the opinion that the local Hindus are not so prejudiced against Muslims as the Punjabi settlers.

I just cannot understand why we are penalised for the fault of Muslim leaders and some Hindu fanatics. Why should the suspicion be against us even after 35 years have passed since Partition? We do not get jobs in army or police. We don't praise Pakistan. On the contrary, whenever there is war between India and Pakistan, you find all the spies are usually non-Muslims. Hindu communalism works under the guise of secularism. We are assured of all our rights as citizens of this country. But when we make efforts to come up on our own (not with the help of
the Government), jealousy builds up among the Hindus and immediately they "stage" a riots. Police is usually on their side and so also the official machinery. Naturally, we are crushed and buried alive again. (He is perhaps recalling the Partition episode.) That is what happened in Aligarh. As a community Muslims are well known for their skills both as craftsmen and in technical work as well. In Aligarh, so far, the market depended on Muslim technicians. But a few Hindus who were acquiring "diplomas" became jealous and that's how the riots took place. We do not wish to remain aloof but so far no confidence has been inspired in us to come out of our isolation.

In Lucknow too, majority of skilled workers particularly motor mechanics and technicians are Muslims. But if you see in government jobs, mostly the technicians are Hindus. Why? Because, first of all Muslims don't apply for fear of not getting selected; secondly we prefer to be independent. If I had been a government servant during the Emergency, may be I would have been a victim of compulsory sterilization. It is our leaders who are to be blamed. Once they get rich or powerful, they don't remember rest of the community. My father is himself a class IV government employee. He was scared during the Emergency rule here.

Q. Just now you said that Muslims don't get government jobs. But your father is in one?

A. Yes, but he got it before 1947, when the British appointed on the basis of merit. Also, at that time, there was no reservation for anyone.

Besides Hindus, the respondent considers Shias also to be highly communal (he means sectarian) against the Sunnis. The overlapping of his Sunni and Muslim.
identity is clearly discernible in his statement:

When our own brothers do not join with us, how do you expect Hindus to understand us. Actually Shias fight against us because they are not hard working like us Sunnis. They think themselves to be Nawabs (rulers) still. They would rather sell some old vessels and jewels than work with their hands. Now, Sunnis are coming up, through hard work and becoming richer. (Note the contradiction with his earlier statement that Muslims are not given a chance to come up). Hence Shias' envy, and show it by abusing our caliphs.

S32 Foreman in Municipal Vehicles Workshop
(Age 45-50 years)

He got into service when Hindu-Muslim relations were at its lowest ebb i.e. in 1947. All the members of the interview board were Hindus. At that time a majority of the technicians were Muslims because of the polluted nature of the job concerned because we had to maintain those vehicles in which the city's dump was carried. Since the low castes were not technically qualified those days, it was mainly a Muslim job. That is the secret of Muslim majority in these jobs. Otherwise, in those days there was lot of mutual mistrust and suspicion. But now due to the special encouragement given to the scheduled castes, our profession (note the ethnic-occupational identity which is characteristic of the eth-classist) is no more open exclusively to Muslims.

On Aligarh University and its minority character he opines: "If nationalised, then all facilities to our community, such as, the opportunity to learn Urdu may be
stopped." (The term "facilities" indicates "benefits" not "resources". The underlying emphasis is on the progress of the community, "Urdu" is not perceived as a "resource" factor in the sense of political weapon to confront the majority which is a characteristic notion of the ethno-political core identity. On the contrary, it is materially beneficial for Muslim progress.)

On Muslim Personal Law his views were as follows: "Unless we are good Muslims we cannot be true citizens". (The ethnocentric overtones are unmistakable.) "Also, if we let the Government touch it we are not sure what will happen in future." (The sense of peoplehood appears to be an essential pre-requisite for his sense of self-security.)

Sh 10 Lal Begis (Muslim Sweepers)

As a "birendari", we migrated to Lucknow upon the downfall of the Moghal Court at Delhi after Bahadur Shah Zafar. Along with us six more functionaries of the Court came. In 1947, when the new government offered special help to scheduled castes, many Lal Begis became Balmikis (or Hindu Harijans). Their reasons were two-fold. Firstly, to acquire new status as special citizens because there was too much prejudice against Muslims those days. They also wanted privileges granted to Harijans. But those of us who remained loyal to our religion, are suffering now. There is discrimination between a Muslim sweeper and a Hindu sweeper. If I mention my name as "Mohammed" I will not get any job; whereas, if I say "Chaman Lal" I will get the quota. This is the tragedy of being loyal to our own religion. 2
Also, the ladies in our Muslim sweeper
castes do not work, unlike the Balmiki
women. So they are better off than us.
We have no trouble from Hindus as such.
It is the rich politicians both Hindus and
Muslims and the Government which discriminates
against us.

It is seen that in the eth-class concept of Majority, the
communal factors arising out of ethnic nuances are taken-for-
granted unlike in the ethno-national definition. But the
economic category of welfare arising out of wealth is used
as a criteria to define Majority that includes not only some
Hindus but also some individuals from their own respective
primordial communities. So Majority signifies rich Hindu,
Muslim or Christian.

The respondent was not aware of the controversies
pertaining to AMU and Muslim Personal Law. In fact, he
admitted the importance of their conventional and customary
law whereas his ignorance of "Shariat" was most effectively
surfaced when asked on the rules of divorce and alimony.
He saw no threat to the Muslim Law from the Government.
"The Maulanas (religious leaders) do not bother to teach us
the 'Shariat'", he said. The Lal Begis are the ideal-type
of "Biradari" bound Muslims under the eth-class category.
Their perceptions are conditioned by the existing occupa-
tional "realities" across ethnic boundaries and identities
are accordingly developed. Besides weavers, the state
government has made reservations for all backward classes, and the sweepers are provisionally classified as scheduled castes, or untouchables which is understandably enough not recognised in Islam or Christianity. Hence only Hindu sweepers are privileged to merit by official quotas. What is most significant in the eth-class identity is the perception of the gap on communal lines though the "actual" gap itself is not believed to be so wide. This is because of the presence of sweepers among Hindus too, suffering more exploitative indignities on account of the caste factor. "We (i.e. the Lal Begis) are also part of the Balmiki Union here and since my "biradari" works in hospitals, we have joined the sweepers union and get equal treatment. Of course, we can't aspire to hold executive posts in it. Nevertheless our Hindu colleagues do not discriminate against us". It is also worth noting that the respondent's son got admission in the University in 1968 purely on basis of merit. So he feels that things are not so bad.

Sectarianism in the form of Shia identity was very strongly projected. "We are all Shias and some of us are wasikadars." (That is pension holders from the trusts of the erstwhile Nawab's property. And even among Shias, in Lucknow Lal Begis are only about six families with less than 50 members in all.) So we fear attack from Sunnis - not so much from Hindus. We have made a separate masjid (or place of worship) for ourselves because we had enough money to
make one. We are not treated as untouchables and so we can
go to any Masjid unlike the Harijan sweeper who cannot enter
the temples of caste Hindus".

Sh12  **Washerman**

Like the Lal Begis, the Muslim washermen too are
deply involved with the life-worlds of a biradari
existence. Consequently individuation of identity to a
large extent is moulded by the inter-communal context of
the subjects being. The respondent concerned (Sh12) was
therefore found to be part of the typified reality in spite
of the "suspension of pre-conceived notions" that the
researcher attempted to exercise. 14

The interview began with his mother deploring
the downfall of the Nawabs who patronised the "dobbies"
(washermen) because they were keen on good and neat
appearance. The subjective dimension of the respondent's
identity was clearly evidenced in his statement:

Dobby work is considered dirty only in
India. Abroad they are not treated as
low caste people. In a way it was good
that we have democracy because at least
even the "janta" (masses) can aspire for
equal rights. But when Hindu dobbies
can have backward class privileges why
not we? Should I change my name to Banwari
Lal just because I can get a decent living?
How can I forget my community.

(It is worth noting that he talks of community and not
of Islam or religion as ontological symbols.)
The Indian Christian core identity of the ethno-class pattern is illustrated by the following biographical sketch of a thirty-three years old school teacher.

112 School Teacher (Age 25-30 years)

The respondent works in one of the mission schools run by the Methodists. He is the second generation of converts in his family, but has retained his Hindu surname for "pragmatic reasons" as he put it such as (a) it is difficult to get a house as a Christian. Since most landlords are Hindus, they favour their own caste men, (b) also the surname is claimed to indicate his upper caste background prior to conversion so that the outlook of Hindus is not so contemptuous.

As a community, Christians suffer for faults of their own as well as that of others. Many of them are very strongly influenced by the lavish western ways of living which the Anglo Indians and our missionaries indulge in. Since many of them cannot afford, their women are forced to work resulting in lack of attention to the children. Their educational as well as standards of behaviour is not so good and many of them therefore do not get sufficient grades to go for higher studies. So Christians are either teachers or preachers. Also, the Christians institutions have become as corrupt as government offices. The children of poor Christians cannot get admission in these schools because our schools want to make money. So, the "banias" (Hindu businessmen) send their children and benefit from our institutions. Many of the poor Christian have only primary school literacy or not even that. Nearly 70 per cent of the community is literate but you may not find Christian engineers and doctors. Why?
Christians are also victims of social injustice and persecution. The Hindus in the government are highly suspicious of the Christians and their conversion. So they believe they can stop it by cutting off the privileges due to Scheduled Castes once they get converted. This again perpetuates our poverty. Who says there is no Caste favouritism among Christians? In my own mission, the top authorities discriminate a lot between one Christian denomination and the other. A Catholic stands less chances of getting a job in our school (Methodist) as compared to a Hindu. Upper caste Christians do not treat the low caste converts as brothers of faith, they still believe in the hierarchy so the minority problem is most acutely faced by poor Christians.

Voicing her opinion of the Christian leaders, the baker's wife (I13) claims authoritatively:

Until my husband's business (confectionary) was not fairing well, the priests never bothered to lock us up. Now, we are well off and give heavy donations to the Church. So they come with a broad smile greeting me "hello Mrs. ...". They are very greedy; any amount you give them will not satisfy their appetite; because they live so lavishly. Foreign missionaries who brought me up as an orphan, were not so greedy and selfish as the Indian priests. They sacrificed a lot to help us. I know of priests who refuse to come for the funeral of poor Christians. My husband had to assure them of money and then only they came.

Against the government she was even more vehemently bitter than against Hindus.

I topped the interview for government press workers. But I never got the appointment letter. Instead, a Hindu, who had lot of
influence was taken in my place. At least had I been rich than I could have bribed someone. Poor people suffer a lot whether Christian or Hindu.

A12 Car Broker (Age 30-35 years)

The disillusioned Anglo-Indian car broker is the son of a motor mechanic. A high school drop-out, he attributes the setback in his educational career to the prejudice against Anglo-Indians by the Goanese. The experience has left a deep-rooted disgust in him, that he does not even go to his Church which Goanese patronise in large numbers.

The Anglo-Indians had such glorious traditions which have been polluted by the influx of Goanese into our community. We are the worst among all the minorities. The so-called representative of our community in the legislature is not bold enough to voice our grievances. He is afraid of losing his seat. The leaders of the community are more worried about ensuring the future of English thinking it to be the most essential symbol of our unity and identity. But they do not realise how important it is for every Anglo-Indian to make a living. Our economic status is very bad. The rich Anglo-Indians have migrated and settled down abroad. For us here, there is absolutely no threat to our styles of life. But how does it matter whether I see Hindi or English movies when I have nothing to eat. This happens because of the pseudo leaders who claim to be Anglo-Indian representatives; they are self-nominated. The community does not recognise any benefits of their leadership. As such, they are stooges of the Majority and will do things only to please them. If only every rich Anglo-Indian cam distribute some charity to educate
the Anglo Indian children, it will help us a lot. In the meetings of the Anglo Indian Association, they tell us to stay back in India and get educated and work here. But our parents live on meagre income or on pension. How can we afford good education? As far as jobs are concerned, we stand no chance at all in open competition. When we represent this problem to our "leaders" they react badly by accusing our youth of lethargy, and frivolity. So where do we go?

In this job of car-brokage, the prospects are very unsteady and moreover one has to be a cut-throat businessman to make money. In my job there is no caste or communal favouritism only crooks can survive and make money. The youth, particularly of this generation are just aimlessly living from day to day like a rudderless ship. Our elders and leaders have let us down, The Government does not depend on Anglo-Indian vote. So why bother about us?

The engine driver (of Indian Railways) (A93), emphasizing that he "is last of the vanishing species" because Anglo-Indians are not any longer seen in this job. He regrets the degeneration of his community due to betrayal by the British, their own leaders and the Government. He recollected fond memories of a glorious past when Anglo-Indians were the backbone of British administration unlike now.

The eth-class core group are very confident and impressive individuals. "Trapped" is the appropriate linguistic expression used by many respondents for whom the material handicaps in life is not due to anachronism of religion but due to the exploitative leadership both within
and outside their respective community. They in fact uphold their traditional values as providing some sense of security and anchorage when human goodness has failed. It is in the same vein, that their defence of parochialism, which in most cases also offers the economic sustenance for the individual, is rationalised within a fatalist frame of mind.

**Secular Core Identity**

There are 21 individuals among the 230 whose ontological assumptions do not acknowledge a reality called the Minority Syndrome. Hence their core identity is one of de-minoritized consciousness of communal existence. What they believe in is what Berger calls as subjectivation of religion and not objectivate it into reifications such as the Majority and minorities. In other words to talk of communalism as a phenomenon of inter-group conflict is not a reality but a myth played upon the minds of the common people by the leaders, according to the world-view of the Secularist core respondents. Their secular self image coincides with their secular notions of public image as well. Hence emerges the secular core identity as diametrically opposed complement of ethno-national identity. The secularists' construct/majority-minority differences are not divisive categories of conflict surfaced by superficialities of heterogeneous faiths. In other words they perceive that only the form and not content that
discriminates a Muslim and Christian from a Hindu. Even this form is an ideological artifact devised by politicians from all walks of life, they believe. This dichotomy between the two aspects of reality, one phenomenal and the other real are clearly understood by the secularists in definition of minority situation.

The case-histories cited below amply illustrate our characterisation of the secular core identity profile:

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<td>Journalist (Urdu Daily)</td>
<td>Sh23 Musician</td>
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* Phenomenal to the researcher and real to the respondent as they believe it because of the topic of research.
S34 Architect (self-employed) (Age 40-45 years)

I studied in government Inter College here. Since I was a good student throughout, everyone liked me. In my family, my uncles and forefathers were all Gandhians and were in the Congress Party from the beginning. Even now you will find a portrait of Gandhi in my house. We are very different from other Muslim families. We follow our religion and at the same time, respect the religion of others as well. I have more Hindu friends than Muslims. We mix freely, eat in each other's house. My sons study in an English medium school. Though some people may fight for Hindi, and others for Urdu, English is important for technical education and also for training abroad. I want to send my sons for higher studies to America and so I work hard, the secret of success. I don't believe in this minority nonsense.

Q. But do you feel your son also has chances of success like you?

No, this is a very wrong impression that Muslims suffer handicaps because they are orthodox or because of Hindu prejudice. Muslims are their own enemy. The Mullahs (priests) and politicians exploit the masses in the name of religion. And after Partition, religion has become a very sensitive issue, particularly for Muslims. I am a self-made man. I never suffered any handicaps of that nature. Anyone who wants to make an effort and comes up can definitely do so. However the only problem is corruption and bribery. As an architect, I know how much problem I face to get the cement permits and the authorisation of my plans. These days what matters is influence and money and of course, if one can manipulate a certificate as a scheduled caste nothing like it.

Q. "You feel that there is no Hindu-Muslim problem. But the riots keep occurring regularly. Why does it happen?"
It is all politics. There are leaders in all parties, besides RSS and Jamat Islami, even the so-called secular national parties have vested interests in perpetuation of the communal issue. It is they who create all these. People of course get paid for it, or give vent to their pent-up frustrations due to poverty and illiteracy by participating in it.

On the minority character of Aligarh Muslim University his views are as follows:

It is incorrect for Muslims to demand it. In fact, even if they retain it, it is only the influential Muslims who get in and there again the Shia-Sunni politics is also spreading. I was there myself in early sixties. It was not a hotbed of politics as it is now. I believe in the nationalisation of all educational institutes not just AMU. Particularly the religious missionaries must be kept away from our educational centres. They distort religion to suit their convenience.

On Muslim Personal Law

I do not see what harm can Uniform Civil Code do to the religion of any community. Muslim Personal Law is not anything special only to Muslims. It is just a code of conduct. I suggest that the best in each religious law should be taken and made into one law for all religion. Though I studied in Aligarh, I have more non-Muslim friends and we are like brothers. So I cannot believe such a thing called communal hatred is possible.

S35 Beedi Roller (Age 40 years)

He has been a resident of Lucknow for the last twenty five years ever since he left his village at the age
of fifteen. His family does not live with him at Lucknow because he cannot afford a shelter for them. He was not very familiar with the communal issues pertaining to Hindu-Muslim relations though he knew of the recurrent riots of Partition, and, of the Muslim demand for second language status to Urdu in UP. As an illiterate, the respondent felt diffident even to face the interview:

You better ask our leaders and other politicians. They are educated but I do not know anything, I am so busy sorting out the problems of my family. My father's brother is fighting over a land which belongs to us; and I have two daughters of marriageable age. One has been engaged but since I have no money, I am not able to perform her marriage. These things bother me a lot. I have nothing to do with Hindu-Muslim problem. This is all "shiyasi" (politics) in which poor people get beaten up and are locked up in the "thana" (Police Station). Our maulana stays just a stone's throw from here. Why don't you ask him? He will be able to give you better information. You are all educated people, why are you asking illiterate like me? He will tell you about Shia-Sunni fight here in Lucknow.

The respondent rather seemed cynical about everything; in fact, he rated Hindu-Muslim communalism on par with the Shia-Sunni sectarian animosities of Lucknow. He was not only indifferent to both but believed them to be "non-real" to the extent that it is "political", "meaningless" and hence a myth as far as his projected intentions are concerned. It is most succinctly brought out in his perception of the Aligarh University controversy over its
minority character. "I have heard of AMU. My nephew used to work there. I do not know if he is still there. When I cannot afford to send my son there, why should I be concerned with it?"

He was found readily articulate on his work situation, even though not very enthusiastically. "I get about Rs. 10 a day. There we don't have any Hindu-Muslim feelings. But most of the workers are Muslims because the "Malik" (owner) is a Muslim." (The taken-for-grantedness is very striking in the above statement.)

When asked whether he keeps his "roza" (ritual fast) or does at least his "jumma namaaz" (Friday Prayers), he declared emphatically.

Namasz padeya mazdoori kare? (Do I pray or work) I don't get a chance to do my prayers everyday. Of course, I manage to do namaaz on "Id" (Muslim festival). Otherwise, my God is here. (He says gesticulating towards his heart) and no one can deny it. You must never believe the "namaazis" (that is those who pray regularly). Those who have leisure and money can also lavish on God, I am a poor man.

Privatization of religion is a characteristic perception of the Core Secularists and they do not find it meaningful to collectivise their beings. Some of them are very devout even to its ritualistic core but not all. The barber (S37) for instance makes no secret of the fact that he goes every Thursday to the tomb of a saint as a sign of contrition for being blessed with a child nearly 5 years after his marriage. He was more sentimental on this theme
than on Hindu-Muslim problems or on the problem of self as a Muslim. His subjectivity was ethnically de-politicised though not de-communalised. He is saving money to undertake pilgrimage to Haj.

S37 Barber (age around 40-45 years)

Q: Do you follow the Shari'at closely?
A: "I do try my best to say five times prayer and observe its rules etc. to the extent possible. Times are changing and our prophet has himself said that you must change with changing times."

Q: So do you think uniform civil code cannot be harmful to Muslims?

The respondent was ignorant of the Muslim Personal Law issue and requested to be briefed on it. The explanation was illustrated by citing polygamy that is legalised by Shari'at but not by Civil Law. Viewing the gap as imaginary and "non-existent" the respondent declared:

Shari'at was made to suit those times when it was essential for Islam to spread. Now we must think of reducing our population not increase it; nor can any one, leave alone Muslims, afford two wives these days. This custom prevails among rich persons whether Hindus or Muslims.

Whether Hindus or Muslims the educated ones are forgetting their brothers. There is a Muslim barber who has become a doctor...
and employed now in Aligarh University. Now he feels ashamed to even recognise us. I have taught this profession to many Hindu boys too. But they have started a separate union. Muslims have a separate Salmani Union. It is all political. In fact, when my father died, I was only 13 and the eldest in the family. It was a Muslim Qureshi (butcher) and a Hindu "pandit" (Brahmin) who helped my family to survive. Even at the height of Partition, we were friends. Muslims were misled by their leaders and now some of them who have gone to Pakistan regret. Because, the Punjabi Muslims took down upon UP Muslims.

Muslim problem is mainly poverty; nearly 90 per cent of the community is poor. I don't say there are no poor people among Hindus. They also suffer. But many of them benefit by the reservations which is denied to large number of Muslims. This is why Hindu barbers are so selfish to start a separate union.

I have customers who are Rastogis and staunch supporters of RSS party. But no one tells me that I am a "Pakistani". They are my good friends. After all, is not the Shia-Sunni problem of Lucknow a nuisance to Hindus from our side?

There is one Guptaji (a Hindu) who has utensil shop near my house. One day he had a heart attack on way to his shop and he sent for me to hand over his purse containing Rs. 10,000. I brought him to my saloon and got the doctor to give him first aid. In return, he refused to take any payment for the vessels I had to give my daughter in her marriage.

The barber concluded very sentimentally, "me hindoo von ko kaise boora kah sakta?" (How can I talk ill of Hindus?)

A veteran journalist of a leading Urdu Daily, the respondent recollected his stay with Gandhi at the
Sabarmati Ashram. "With so much difficulty we won this freedom; but now it appears our leaders are worse than the British". He left his second year B.A. in mid 30s to join the Congress much to the annoyance of his pro-British taluqdar father and later participated in the Quit India Movement.

My father was one of the richest landlords near Allahabad and was pro-British. We were not on talking terms until his death recently. Once I was even about to lose my job because I could not oblige the communal wishes of the political party which runs my newspaper. But now communal politics has gone out of control.

Gandhiji always insisted on Hindustani which the masses speak, neither pure Hindi nor Urdu. Now it is made into a communal issue. How one has to express himself is left to the individual.

**Sh.14 Junior Research Officer** in Government Research Institute

We don't belong to Lucknow as such but a nearby district. My father has mango orchards there. My mother died when I was just five. My father married again and everyone was indulgent towards me. I never used to read Koran (Holy Book) and always asked very inconvenient questions, though I do believe in God. As far as I am concerned the only minorities in this country are Harijans. I have seen them suffer and their problems alone are the real burning issues. The rest is politics. My interest in science has also taken me far from my people. I know most of the Muslims have this paranoid of being in Hindu country. But it is a political legacy and politicians thrive on the riots. I am too busy that hardly get time to think of myself as Muslim and my director as Hindu.
Sh18 Embroiderer of Gold and Silver Lace (20 years old)

I was a student of a private Muslim school, left studies in the 9th standard, because no money to study further. Moreover I had to earn. Our family is going through tough time after my sisters marriage. We had to pay a heavy dowry. Otherwise she would not have got married.

Q. But, I thought there is no dowry system in Islam?

Yes, but no one follows the correct sayings in any religion. Each does what is convenient and distorts the truth. No religion can preach bad things. After all, all of them are different roads to the same god. But the so-called leaders, "pundits" and "mullahs" create trouble. The Shia-Sunni riots here are again false interpretation of Islam deviced to fill the pockets of some leaders.

The respondent's perception of a Majority is defined in exclusively secular categories as all those who have power and money, whether Hindu, Muslim or Harijan. His perception and eventual identification of self is part of the minority syndrome logically means lack of money and absence of opportunity for self-improvement whether Hindu or Muslim, creating in short a fatalistic world view due to alienation of self from society.

I20 Ayah in a School (age 65 years)

Continuing the same refrain the Christian ayah bemoaned on her colourless past.
My husband was a drunkard. I was married when I was only 16 and I am living in Lucknow ever since. He was a peon in the post office; and I worked as a cleaner in "bara angrezi sahebs" (the English boss). My husband died of drinking, leaving me a widow at the age of 25. Ever since then, I only know of one thing in life, survival struggle. I had two children then. But later only one son survived and he also ran away. I do not know where he is now. I am now a pavementdweller or some time sleep in the school where I work, I just asked the parish priest to give me a house, at least a servant quarter to live. But his wife refused because she wants people to work in her house. I have a job in the school and moreover I am too old to work in any body's house. Even at school (it is under Christian management run by a few ladies) they have no consideration for my age. They just treat me as a young "chaprasi", I am in fact thankful to a Hindu family who give me shelter in winter. Those children are very fond of me and give me food also. Even our priests don't give milk powder or clothes which the foreign missionaries send for poor Christians. The Britishers were much better and cared for their servants. I am too old and illiterate to tell you why Hindus and Christians fight. You ask some others.

This was her uninterested resort to the researcher's request for an interview with her.

122 School Teacher (55 years old)

Ever since I qualified as a school teacher, I am in this Corporation school. That is, for the last 35 years. And I also live in a non-Christian neighbourhood and I have the love and friendship of all. My in-laws stay in Christian localities which is full of jealousy and enmity. At school I don't even realise that I am from a minority community. For Id or Diwali (Muslim and Hindu festivals respectively), even if I don't celebrate non-Christians come to my house to greet me
and give me sweets. Every year when the Shia-Sunni riots occur, they and even the Hindus take shelter in my house. The curfew affects the work of common man, and, of course, the entire life is paralysed here. Many teenage girls come to my house for tuition and my husband escorts them back home. We don't think of who is a Hindu or a Muslim. Very rarely I let myself become friendly with Christians.

The Government and the mass media is usually not discriminatory. Many people say that caste favouritism is rampant but it was not there when I got this job in 1949 nor is it there in the municipal school where I work. One thing which the Government can do is to bring in economic category for reservations. This will only further the cause of national integration besides uplifting the backward people who are found in all religions. Also, particularly among Indian Christians, the girls get qualified more than the boys and so marry outside the community. Naturally, it is a regrettable thing. Our values have degenerated by the extravagant ways of the Anglo-Indians and they made women the main bread winners. The Christian boys too have been spoilt and do not study. So our girls marry Hindu boys so that they can have a comfortable life.

As far as Indian Christians were concerned, we were not in favour of British rule unlike the Anglo-Indians and they always had a superiority complex. They have been mainly responsible for the downfall of Indian Christians. It is a sin to accuse the Hindus or government. I am very impressed by the hardworking nature of Hindus. In my own family, I have an Anglo-Indian nurse married to one of my nephews and the marriage is on the rocks now. So also many of my nephews who got into the company of Anglo-Indian boys have become good-for-nothings. We are culturally close to Hindus. Naturally if we try to convert with false promise no one will like it.
She fully approved of Hindi as the national language but feels that importance should be given to English for technical education and to Urdu as the language of the Lucknowas. She is in favour of nationalisation of all schools and colleges so that students are not harassed by excessive fees and bribes and discrimination of syllabus. "It will also stop communal indoctrination in many schools", she said by way of conclusion.

A14 **Grade II Government Employee**

In his late thirties, this respondent was in charge of the telegraph section of the postal department. Like the case of the old school teacher above (122), he is put up in a Hindu locality and is very thankful to their friendly nature.

They look after my son when he is sick because my wife is also a working woman. So long as I have been conscientious and hard working they all like me. Nor have I been denied promotions in its course. Government is very fair in these things. If Anglo-Indian boys have not made the grade, it is not the fault of the Government or Hindus, but the Anglo Indian boys and their parents. They do not give much importance to studies but spend on drinks, parties and clubs so that no money is left to spend on education. Naturally the boys become drop outs so that they can make quick money. Anglo-Indian schools and the Church gives them lots of aid but there is no aspiration in the community. They still long for a home which they have never seen nor will be accepted there in the event of reaching it. Even during the British days, Christians and Anglo Indians
never studied beyond Senior Cambridge; very few were in IAS and other professions. After 1947, the premium on education has been going up. And though many Anglo-Indians left the country in a panic, those who stayed could never compete with the educated Hindus. They were given additional help of reservation till 1957. Even then, they were in deep slumber. Even now it is not too late. Many go to Defence Services where specialised qualification is not required. They do well and are selected. But what has affected the community is the trauma of British withdrawal. Actually, it is the hallucinations that has bugged this community. Even now, some keep straying out in trickles.

Of course, I never faced any setback as I told you. Moreover, I was good in sports and the P & T sponsored for further development of my talent. They could have easily sent some Punjabis or Hindus and Muslims. They did not. Instead they sponsored my name. I know also very little of the community. Firstly I did not like it much. I used to hate the environment of lethargy in the Anglo Indian houses. May be, that was one of the reasons for my marriage to an Indian Christian girl despite protests from my family. Reservations must be abolished for all including Harijans. Economic basis must be the only criteria. I am confident of facing an open competition.

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Notes and References

1 Underlying this argument is the knowledge-identity thesis of Berger and Luckmann from their book Social Constructions of Reality. Pelicans, 1966. The adequacy of meanings provided by the symbol of religion (for the concerned respondents) should not be mistaken for causation in the Weberian sense. The "hidden" factors may not be available to the researcher in an interview situation. It is only a descriptive linkage between a certain kind of experience and a concomitant perception. Also see, P. Berger "Phenomenology and Study of Identity", European Journal of Sociology, 1966. The term "besieged Muslim" is suggestive of a paranoid self-image which has found a satisfactory outlet (i.e. life-world) in the wholesale acceptance of religion as theory and practice. Probably the term "besieged Muslims" for self-society identity articulation can be due to the traumatic experience of partition displacing families of those who migrated and creating a vacuum in the Muslim social structure and hence class composition itself.

2 "Mohammad" and "Chaman Lal" epitomize the underprivileged status (i.e. the perception of the respondent) of the individual Muslim as compared to the privileged status of being a Harijan enjoying the benefits of special quotas. The two names may be considered as identity-types of ethnic symbols in Indian polity wherein the policy of Reservations for only Harijans prevails.

3 Peter Berger, Social Reality of Religion, London, 1967, first published as Sacred Canopy, Garden City, New York, 1964. By subjective secularisation, Berger means, "the loss of credibility in religion at the level of individual experience"(P. 121). However phenomenologically viewed, the conceptual scope of the phrase is questionable. In this essay by secular, it is meant privatization of religion be it atheism, agnosticism or dogmatic religiosity, it is considered an end in itself and is not considered as instrument of resource or power to achieve an end.