Multiple dimensions and hence reality-constructs constitute the identity base of compartmentalists. This is elaborated in Figure 4 below. Consequently the problem of compromise between the diverse meanings is confronted in the process of identity formation. In other words, the polarisation of knowledge factors constituting the minority syndrome for the individual get a pragmatic transformation through a dialectical linkage between theoretical knowledge and practical knowledge. Thus from whichever stream of minoritiness a compartmentalist hails (whether ethno-national, ethno-political, eth-class etc. etc.) he stabilises the self-sociality being between the antithetical perceptions and beliefs, say between ethnocentrism (fanatic type) and secularism; or secularism and sectarianism, depending on his frame of ontological references. Thus one kind of theory may influence the individual's constructions as attitudes but a totally opposed norms of behaviour may be noticed in his public self or vice versa.¹
The respondents displaying compartmentalist identity obviously have more than one anchorage of ego-synthesis in which the identity compartmentalisation takes place. Such anchorages are basically inconsistent surfacing schismatic consciousness but the ego-management is such that it is compensated through individual/collective behaviour standards or public attitudinal stand-points. Hence the individual successfully achieves identity maintenance by seeking a compromise between more than one province of meaning balancing the levels of minoritization and minoritiness.
through behavioural compensation for attitudinal freedom of choice. It is this kind of compartmentalist identity that accounts for the eccentric changes of a liberalist turning a communal fanatic in the event of a riot. Compartmentalism in essence illustrates the most bewildering relationship between the pre-theoretical forces and existential factors in the dialectical formation of the individual identity. The compartmentalists come closest to Goffman's dramaturgical model of presenting self in everyday life. We shall first deal with ethno-national compartmentalism.

**Ethno-National Compartmentalism**

Here the province of meanings associated with "Minoritiness" are clearly defined by the institutions and symbols of the doctrinaire religion and the ensuing debate with the religion of the Majority. Hence it is similar to the ethno-national core individuals, except that in this case, the consciousness of the self is not part of the ontological stream and hence at convenient variance with the taken-for-grantedness of public institutions. Compartmentalists are basically pragmatic and existentially alert, keeping their identities "up their sleeves" so to say and rolling any one of them down depending on the situational demands as indicated by Diag. 4 above. Some case-illustrations of Ethno-national compartmentalism substantiate our observations.
Table 13

Ethno-National Compartmentalism
(Total = 11)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sunnis (S)</th>
<th>Shias (Sh)</th>
<th>Indian Christian</th>
<th>A.I. (A)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S47 Sales Representative</td>
<td>Sh20 Perfume Business Proprietor</td>
<td>I23 Parish Priest</td>
<td>A16 Railway Foreman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S48 Industrial/Business Magnet</td>
<td>Sh21 Maulana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S49 Government Officer</td>
<td>Sh22 Research Student</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sh23 Social Worker</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sh24 Press Owner</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 3 | 5 | 1 | 2 |

S47 Hailing from a family well-known for its religious leadership, this young respondent (25 years old) works as a medical representative in a private firm. He personifies the typical Sunni leadership of Lucknow who shouldered the combined responsibilities of local sectarian causes and minority Muslim issues as well. Though considered to be orthodox, the respondent stated that the ladies of his family have given up purdah two generations ago, and, many of them work in educational institutions as lecturer and teachers. "I studied in an English medium school and
so did most of the boys and even girls in my family; at the same time, we were also taught both Urdu and Arabic at home and the five time prayers were insisted upon; so was the ritual fast a 'must' in the family. The verbalization of contrasting experiences, one of Westernisation outside and the other of strict adherence to Islamic doctrines at home provided contrasting symbols accounting for the genesis of a compartmentalist identity possibly at the level of primary socialization itself. Further, he said, "I graduated from Lucknow University and did my post-graduation from Aligarh Muslim University and it was then that I decided to fight for the injustices done to my community. Islam is not interpreted properly and Muslims are blamed as being backward because of their religion."

Residing in a part of the city, where Shia-Sunni riots is a regular feature, the environment has played a decisive role in the formation of his pro-Sunni mentality. Additionally, the ecology of the household must have also influenced this budding Muslim leader who organises meetings of Sunnis in his house to seek the advice and guidance of his elders in matters concerning textual interpretations of Islam and religious differences with Shia leading to the Muharram fury.

Once because of curfew I would not go to school; and my rickshaw had to be diverted to another road....I could not understand why some of us who were friends all of a sudden became enemies. Of course, now I
know how Shias have been oppressing us though we are the majority (self-identification with Sunnis). Actually they are lazy and now that Sunnis are becoming affluent, they show their heartburn by abusing our prophets. They are not true Muslims. When Shias-Sunni riots occur, their members are protected by their maulanas and others; whereas, the Sunni public here was indifferent to our religious cause; hence some of us have set up the Sunni Youth Federation so that we can look after our community during riots and the welfare of Sunnis in general particularly employment, residence etc., which as Muslim minorities we don’t get.

Though the respondent vehemently opposed westernization as a model of progress for Indian youth, he approved of English as one of the redemptive hopes for Muslims.
An unmistakable insight into his compartmentalist identity came when he declared casually, "I do not believe in most of the things I have to do as a Muslim or a Sunni. But the situation makes you different from what you want to be. Otherwise, one cannot be a leader which I am." (emphasis added)

548 The compartmentalism of this middle aged millionaire industrialist of Lucknow is crystallised in his views. With a high sense of religious zeal to start an Islamic bank where no interest can be charged on the loans advanced the respondent believes that given the right opportunity, Muslims can outwit the non-Muslims as Arabs have shown to the Americans. But,
we are unnecessarily crushed and kept down. Sometimes, I feel all Muslims should have migrated to Pakistan. I do not face so much discrimination from the Hindus in the Hindu State of Nepal where I have a five-star hotel, because, there we are not a sizeable minority and hence not a threat to Hindus as in India. I do not feel any setback or deprivation as a Muslim. Once I was travelling in a train to Delhi, when two other co-passengers who came to know I was a Muslim said that I had caught the wrong train instead of the one to Karachi; even that remark did not affect me. You know Islam is a very superior religion, it has no caste feelings and whatever Law our Prophet made in those days are being copied by our Civil Code. Muslims suffer because they have drifted from religion. I have no problems but my community is not as lucky as me. So I have to help them as Muslims to face Hindus.

The noticeable difference between the medical representative and the industrialist is the intense sectarianism of the former. Almost identical views are expressed by a dealer in perfumes as shown in his case-history below.

Sh20 Perfume Businessman (50-55 years old)

I was left with just Rs.300 when my elder brother left for Pakistan in 1947. The credibility of my firm after his departure went down very badly. The sandalwood merchants refused to supply sandal oil but I built up slowly and gradually. Government did help me to re-establish myself. But the majority of my community are very poor and backward. They suffer because our religion is polluted. Urdu may not be very essential for me but as Muslims, Urdu is an essential part of our cultural and religious life. So how can we
give up Urdu? Even now the Government discriminates between me and Hindu perfumers in the sale of sandal oil but I can withstand it. I manage with contacts and moreover I do not sell fake products like Hindu perfumers from Meerut do. Muslims even as businessmen are usually more honest than Punjabis. I have lot of Hindu friends. We all meet everyday at the club and sit together. I know it. Hinduism is not tolerant as Islam. What about caste feelings?

The most visible manifestation of compartmentalism is seen in the case of the Shia Maulana (Sh21) and the Christian priest (I23), whose case-studies have been outlined below.

Sh21 Maulana (aged 35-40 years)

The Maulana heads a splinter faction of the Shias who do not believe in estranging the local authorities to win the battle against Sunnis.

I know that we are such a tiny minority within Muslims that the Government will ignore us. It is shameful and sorrowful that the country calls itself secular but the leaders make politics out of secularism. So the only solution was for us to become shrewd. So me and my followers give in most of the time to seek favours from the Government. Our ultimate aim is to get our rights as Shias, So I have issued "fatwas" (or legitimate modifications to the original text of Law). According to these revisions Muslims can practice family planning and cannot eat beef. We Shias have always followed a pro-Government policy. It is only the Sunnis who are fanatics. Whenever there are Hindu-Muslim riots you may see there is not a single
Shia. The authorities are afraid to touch the Sunnis because the present government has won only with their vote. It is they who make Islam an outdated religion.

My family has been engaged in this religious "calling" in life as a hereditary profession. We command lot of respect and I have succeeded my father as the Shia Maulana now. You see, to tell you honestly, I don't personally believe in these tazias and alam (rituals associated with Muharram observed by Shias) but you see unless I satisfy the urges of my followers, they will not accept me. Then they will blame me as "Kafir" (heretic) Hence I go by their wishes.

In the above case-study, we see the secular views of the Maulana intentionally by-passed so as to accommodate the norms of inter-subjective existence in his public identity. The compromise technique so typical of compartmentalists are far more demanding in the case of leaders (party, organisational or religious) whose public-image will be in peril if the identity-formation surfaces the subjective reality as it exists in the domain of self-concepts.

I23 Priest (30-35 years old)

The Christian priest was even more forthcoming in his conscious violation of private images by public actions. Having been in the missionary order for many years, he feels that -

professing Christianity from the pulpit is different from practising it in the community. Nearly 99 per cent of the Church members are educated and employed in good jobs. At least about 2 per cent are affluent and to that
extent, there is no question of many feeling as Christian minorities. Of course, what afflicts most Christians are the special reservation for the scheduled castes. Some of them have been superceded. As the shepherded of the flock, I have to comfort them and give them guidance. So I tell them to believe in Jesus and His mercy. But I know in my conscience, I am misleading them. Firstly, I myself believe that Harijans need special protection and Christians don't. Secondly, I know that their complacency in divine faith will lead them nowhere. So I cannot do anything but utter a few consoling words. I don't agree that Christian needs any special benefit. They don't get any benefit in their own educational institutions, and they are being really exploited. On the contrary Government jobs give them regular pay and security of service. Christian children don't get admission in Christian institutions whereas the other rich non-Christians get in by heavy bribes. So it is better that these institutions are nationalised. More than anything else, they misinterpret religion to the children. So wrong values and notions are inculcated in the young mind. I wrote against a Christian school in a magazine and the entire community was against me. That does not mean that Christianity has to be blamed.

I preach that every non-Christian is a potential Christian and hence to be alert to convert. It is one of the duties of Christians as prescribed in the Bible. But I don't personally believe in it. Here again I face a dilemma but don't do anything that will spoil the confidence of the people in me as a priest. You see I have adopted a girl whose mother happens to be a Hindu. Now this girl will be brought up by me as my daughter and so she will be a Christian. But I cannot force anyone to become a Christian. Also the State does not recognise Civil Law for me. They want me to go by Christian Law which was made in 1892 by the British and not by Christ.
Many of our parish priests are corrupt and very authoritarian. They do not want to take the ordinary or lower class members of the community into confidence. The Church authority is still very pro-Western in their ideas. Naturally, the Hindustani Christians rebel. They don't have good jobs as well and additionally if they find that they are exploited inside the Church that is supposed to propagate love and brotherhood, they feel misled. This again, I do not say is a good system. But I must bear the Cross as He did and do my duty.

A16 Typist-cum-Office Assistant

On the verge of retirement, this elegant old lady sat patiently through a two-hour talk.

Twenty five years back any rickshaw puller here could have taken a stranger to my father's house just by the drop of the name. He was very popular with everyone. We were never worried about staying in India after 1947 because my father enjoyed the goodwill of many. But what we felt worse was when our neighbours left us. We were only three Anglo-Indians in that locality. Now I am alone there. Nothing like staying with your own people. After all you are (addressing the researcher) a stranger to this place and you will definitely enjoy staying with a few Tamilians in your neighbourhood. The office atmosphere has also changed now. Previously it was an English firm - but now it is with Indian collaboration. Of course, even now it has maintained Western standards but still the staff is very different. Particularly in North, people are not tolerant. In South, especially in Bangalore, there are many Anglo-Indians still and people are more cultured. But still I am glad that certain institutions like the La Martinere School etc.
are Anglo-Indian in character so that our youngsters can still know the greatness of our contribution and our culture. We all live in two worlds. One, outside where we speak Hindi and don’t go about in knee-length costumes. The other, in our own homes. Of course in my family not much problem. Because, my brothers are in the military and the youngsters are abroad. But you see Indians are hypocrites. They will talk against English but advertise for convent-educated girls for marrying their sons.

The case-histories sketched above shows the compartmentalists have successfully strived to seek an identity between their secular self (S47, S48, S29, S24 and I23) and the institutionalized social order or vice versa. The case of the youth leader (A13) and the Maulana (Sh21) illustrates the pay-offs of compartmentalism to reinforce their leadership positions. This is equally true of the social worker (S23), and the Businessman (S48). However, compartmentalists like the Shia research student (Sh22) or the Railway Foreman (A16) who do not seek any position of power exhibit strong tendencies of identity concussion due to the conflicting presence of secularism and ethnocentrism. Thus the Railway Foreman says:

"Anglo-Indian" is a myth. Because now there are no true Anglo-Indians. Those of us who are here are only pseudos. We have given up almost all that we once proudly called as Anglo-Indian. Now we are all natives like all of you. I am a pensioner and my son is now in government service. He got a job through merit in open competition and so it is incorrect to say that there is discrimination.
I like India, though part of my family is abroad. My daughter has asked me to come over now that I am retired. I don’t want to go there even for a holiday. I am happily settled here. And I have old servants running the house. There we have to work ourselves.

For those who are not able to find a definite ego outlet, there is a touch of fatalism, kind of acceptance of the inevitable rather than manipulate a change in their identity orientation as seen in the other case-histories.

As already mentioned, the compartmentalist seeks a successful compromise between polarisation of knowledge as theory and practice of the reality. This is further proved by the life-worlds of the ethno-political compartmentalism.

Table 14

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethno-Political Compartmentalism</th>
<th>(Total = 23)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sumnis (S)</td>
<td>Shias (Sh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S50 Carpenter/Pol.Leader</td>
<td>Sh25 Govt. official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S51 Research Officer</td>
<td>Sh26 Lecturer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S52 Chikkan Master Craftsman</td>
<td>Sh27 Lawyer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S53 Social Worker</td>
<td>Sh28 Lawyer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S54 Factory Worker(Pvt)</td>
<td>Sh29 Journalist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S55 Leather Merchant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S56 Lawyer/Politician</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Unlike ethno-nationalist compartmentalists, the individuals in this group seek to re-interpret religion to suit contemporary life in ethnic and non-ethnic zones of existence. In the existentialist sense of awareness, it also means relating religion to their political consciousness of a minority, which may demand a further breakdown into sectarianism of being a Sunni or a Shia as the case may be.

Unlike ethno-national compartmentalisation, the ethno-political compartmentalists come from a diversity of sociological background ranging from the highly professionalized and intellectuals to the illiterate painter with his seasonal unemployment. What binds them into a commonality and communality of thinking is their compartmentalist identity and its successful management between diverse meaning-province such as communalism, secularism and sectarianism. The mechanism of identity formation and maintenance are the same as in the case of the Ethno-nationalist compartmentalists. But the former defend the Orthodox text as it is whereas the latter seek re-orientation of religion to make it a viable system for day-to-day living. Hence its instrumental relevance.

352 The respondent is the owner of a furniture shop with a very meagre investment. Most of the labourers at the time of this interview were Muslims. Besides the regular employees, he also hires casual labour for cane-work or polishing the furniture manufactured. As a social
worker well known for his help during the Moharram curfew, it has been responsible for making him a budding politician of the middle rung who was confident enough of winning a seat in the municipal elections from his constituency.

Q. "Since there are many Muslims here, naturally you will have a thumping success?"

Not necessary. I am popular with everyone, Shias, Sunnis, Hindus or Muslims. I shall win because of my nature as a human being. Also, the party from which I am seeking elections is mainly for farmers and petty traders like me, and another important feature of this party is that they are not anti-Muslims. We Muslims need lots of help. Most of us are poor and hence cannot come up. The "Chamars" (Scheduled Castes and Tribes) are better than us. They get lot of importance politically. So I decided that we must also become "netas" (or leaders). Nearly 80 per cent of the Muslims live in villages and they have no idea of their condition except that they know of their problems as Muslims. Hindus are not always anti-Muslim but for them Harijans are more important than Muslims. So we have to gain favours from them very tactfully. The communal bogey will not help us. The best solution is to join them and the only platform where they will entertain is a party. They need our support and we need their help.

Ever since he left his village at the age of 8, the respondent has been in Lucknow with an uncle of his (now he and his family stay as his uncle's tenants). His inclination towards politics has been a family legacy; his uncle and nephews being party workers have probably influenced him and provided an outlet for his political urges. At the same time, he cannot give up his parochialism
given the steady influx of his kinsmen from the village. His identity is therefore accordingly moulded such that there is no ego-tensions due to clash of meanings between various life worlds. A compartmentalist identity therefore emerges as the most desirable process of ego-synthesis.

**S52 Chikken Instructor (Age 35-40 years)**

Having won an award and recognition for her work in "chikken" embroidery, this female respondent now gets financial aid from the State Chikken Board to run a class particularly with the idea of rehabilitating women.

The chikken work done by me and my family is the genuine one. We (Muslims) are in the profession since the days of Empress Noorjahan. Before the British came, I believe, my great grandfather worked in the nawab's palace here. Since then, my family does not take orders from anyone and everyone. We had a terrible set-back after partition when most of the Nawabs left India. Now it is purely a commercial market where the value of real chikken work is not recognised. So even I am forced to make spurious products and pass it off as real work. Otherwise my goods will have no market.

I am willing to teach even Harijans in my class. But just as only pundits (Brahmin) priests can recite "Vedas", so also the Muslim hand in Chikkan is superb. They have the artistic skill in them. Naturally I try to keep a majority of Muslims. Moreover, Harijans and other Hindus have lot of support and contacts. Eversince 1947, we Muslims have been taken for a ride. I have nothing against Hindus or the Government. But for the Government, I won't be eating today. Politicians help us a lot and recognise merit. They are the nawabs now. So how can I ignore them?
The above case study is a remarkable illustration of the compartmentalist world view manipulating various categories, secular or communalist including as ideological necessity of a class practice for some through the technique of attitude-behaviour adjustment.

The biographical presentation of the lawyer's case history is another successful illustration of compartmentalism.

Sh28 Lawyer (Age 30-35 years)

In 1952, my father who was a State Government servant died. Since then we were supported by my maternal uncle. I was in La Martinire till 5th standard, but my uncle transferred me to Government Hussainabad High School because it was cheaper. I was in the State Hockey team between 1963-65. I was self financing my studies by working as a part time salesman since Intermediate. I did my B.A. from Lucknow University in 1968 and did many competitive examinations and was doing law in the evening classes.

After passing his banking services, he was posted in important jobs in excise department. But he resigned his job in 1977 due to political reasons.

Having been in the Congress, I have never faced Hindu prejudice but in 1977 when Congress was defeated I resigned because a Hindu Party came to power. Sunnis are anti-India but not Shias, we have always supported and respected the Government. We have never come in the way of family planning. Even the Personal Law can be changed. Civil Code is the best. I am saying this as a lawyer because our Constitution is there to protect our rights.
It is only orthodox Sunnis that make the Muslims backward by misinterpreting religion and it is also for political reasons. Islam is very flexible religion and can adapt itself.

Q: Why are you the secretary of the Shia Lawyers' Association if you are convinced that secular ways have won support for Muslims so far?

You see of late, I have also been wondering why Shias deserve such a raw deal. Personally I am a very liberal minded person and do not believe in politics. But when I see my brothers denied their fundamental right to religion, I feel as a lawyer I must not let them down. Moreover I live in a community where we are forced to play politics. In the case of Sunnis, all leaders are lawyers with lot of political support. Whereas, for Shias, our leaders are very religious and spiritual, they do not know how to help the community (Shias) in the face of Sunni assault and police harassment; so it is essential for the Shia lawyers to fight the rights of the community and seek justice. That's why I have accepted this office.

The crystallization of the identity from the synthesis of private secular and public sectarian selves on lines of compartmentalism is thus established in the case of this 30 year old lawyer.

So is the case of another professedly secular lawyer (S27) who declares that he has no grievance against Hindus but only against the Hindu politicians.

We are all very liberal Muslims but as an old Aligarhian (that is student of AMU) I shall not let it go into Government hands. It was set up for the Muslims and why set
their eyes only on Aligarh University when Benaras Hindu University is flourishing into a communal hotbed?

We see that unlike in the case of the former lawyer (S28), here secularist attitude finds ethno-political form of communalistic expressions in public.

This young Christian Doctor has just received a Government grant for post-doctoral research work. Though he was working in a mission hospital, he has no anxiety of being discriminated in the public institution. Surprisingly, the respondent was not even aware of his "minority" status. He knows that as a community Christians did not fare well.

My case is different. In my family, my father was a government servant and my mother was a nurse. My father was influenced by Gandhi and hence like other Christians, we were not a household where drinks and dance was there. So all the three brothers, are educated and in good employment. Personally, as Christian I did not face any setbacks due to Hindu prejudice. I have heard many Christians saying it. But what I have seen for myself is the injustice done to weaken communities like us because of reservations. Anyday, I can be superceded in my work by a man who does not even know how to hold the stethoscope. It is not the fault of the Harijans. They must be given all the help in the primary school level for education but when it comes to employment either it should be merit-cum-means for all and open competition or reservation for all castes and communities. Now caste Hindus, Muslims, Harijans all have their leaders and they help them. But the Christian voice is a cry in the wilderness and our priests are not politicians. So we
must have reservation. Not only in jobs but also in the legislature for our representatives to be elected by the community. Otherwise, Christians can never think of winning elections.

Yet another case of secular-self taking ethnocentric manifestation in public is demonstrated by the case-history of the Christian doctor as above. Interestingly enough, the reverse takes place in the process of identity maintenance for the Anglo-Indian railway apprentice (A18).

None of my family members have left the country. My father is a private mechanic; mother, a typist and my wife is a teacher. I was a good student at school and hence got some fellowship. I went to Aligarh Muslim University for higher studies because only there I got my choice of B.Com. And then I sat for railway apprentice examination in which I got through without any pressure or influence. Those of us who have merit and work hard, the Government is willing to recognise. But there are some of my colleagues specially among clerical staff who make fun of me as an Anglo-Indian. They dare not try their tricks with Muslims for fear of violent retaliation. When I go to collect my pay they always tease me and tell me to change my name. This hurts me. Even if I want to move normally with Indians, the outside world just keeps me aloof. Why? I try to speak only Hindi while at work, and, do all correspondence in Hindi. The slogan of "angrezi hatao (ban English) does threaten our cultural identity. Even that is not so relevant for youngsters like me. However, any effort I made in the past to mix with Indian friends, I felt I was not fully accepted. Even in the Union, while all others of my colleagues have some relative or other in the Union Executive, I have none. There was some
irregularity in the payment of my salary and I am more confident of sorting it out with my boss than the Union leaders. We Anglo-Indians are not interested in politics. We are fun-loving people but now it seems the only way out is for us to get politicised. But this is a great dilemma for us because we are trying to get assimilated, become less conscious of our stock at least in public. But what we want to forget is forced on us. So no choice but to be withdrawn into our own fold and yet not to reveal it, lest we are branded as clannish.

The above case-history is a remarkable illustration of struggle of the self to emancipate itself from the institutionalized beliefs but is not able to do so for deficiency of meanings from the objectivated stock of knowledge. Hence he seeks a compromise at the level of behaviour. The Anglo-Indian Journalist (A2O) from this identity group amply demonstrates the compartmentalists strategy to "cross-floors" when required. Being the sole survivor of the family in India, he started his career soon after passing senior Cambridge. Highly ethnocentric about the Anglo-Indian identity, the individual felt that he could not have accepted even the British prejudice against Anglo-Indian.

We were not influential even during the British time. We were looked down upon by the British and Indians as well. I remember in Patna, in the Railway Institute Anglo-Indians used to have separate club from the British ones. The same situation continues now too. They say all citizens are equal but can I live openly as an Anglo
Indian? Even if I am patriotic to India, people will call me an "angrezi" (Englishman) if I speak English in public. So I avoid it. Fortunately for me since I am working in an English paper, I can continue to talk in English. But the minute I go to our canteen I switch over to Hindi. Also, it helps me to cross the barrier with the workers in the Press. Though I am one of senior staff, my interest is in workers' welfare.

The compartmentalism here is of an ethnocentric internal identity that takes a secular manifestation in public.
Eth-Class Compartmentalism

As in the case of other compartmentalists here again the trauma of an unstable identity is overcome through the technique of compartmentalism. Under this category, the compromise process between 'external' and 'internal' identities amply illustrates the Gramscian dictum of theoretical vs practical knowledge on the consciousness of the individual as a producer of social structural realities. The eth-classist perceives a skewing of the class rewards on ethnic lines and hence are forced to reconcile between diverse categories of class and ethnic interests.

Thus, for instance, in Lucknow, Muslim barbers and butchers have separate organisations from their respective counterparts among the Hindus. Even if they admit the non-relevance of Urdu for their religious or material advancement as compartmentalists, they will support its cause through collective communal platforms, if such a move is likely to be of benefit to their interests in terms of power, prestige or prosperity. To achieve such an end, it is not unusual for "biradari" interests to supercede the collective communal causes manifesting the compartmentalist behaviour of "minority" identity. Thus, though caste system is tabooed in Islam theoretically and the eth-classist will swear by it, yet the case of Lucknow Muslims shows the wide gap between precept and practice.
Ever since the Muslim weavers (Ansaris) were granted the privileges of backward classes officially, the other "biradaris" like barbers and bawarchis (cooks) are claiming similar rights on competitive grounds with Ansaris (the existential consciousness therefore overrides the ontological impact of Islamic tenets). The compartmentalist drive can at times motivate action to incredible extent of even joining hands with the Majority, provided such an action is reward-oriented and does not demand a change of ethnic consciousness in its deeper sense. Such "secular" fall-outs of eth-class awareness is particularly noticeable among the non-biradari manual labour class. Among Christians, the eth-class identity was manifested in secular behavioural standards among the "rebels" within the Church. Opposing the existing pattern of authority, the bourgeoning leaders who are familiarly known as "outside the compound leaders", are forced to fall back on the resources of the Majority whether it is in the form of mobilising public opinion through media or official support of the Government for interference in the church affairs.

The phenomenon of eth-class identity, appears to be the most typical of the Lucknow situation in the opinion of this writer. Some biographical highlights are outlined below for an empathetic appraisal of the concerned identity.
### Table 15

**Eth Class Compartamentalism**

Total = 18

<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>S57 Railway Porter</td>
<td>Sh30 Rickshaw puller</td>
<td>I30 Peon</td>
<td>A21 Bank Clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S58 Rag Picker</td>
<td>Sh31 Petty trader-cum-money lender</td>
<td>I31 Nurse</td>
<td>A22 Executive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S59 Vegetable Vendor</td>
<td>Sh32 Automobile Technician</td>
<td>I32 Teacher</td>
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<tr>
<td>S60 Hotel Worker</td>
<td>Sh32 Automobile Technician</td>
<td>I33 Waiter in hotel</td>
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<tr>
<td>S61 Milkman</td>
<td></td>
<td>I33 Waiter in hotel</td>
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<td>S62 Painter</td>
<td></td>
<td>I35 Teacher/Politician</td>
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<tr>
<td>S63 Railway Clerk</td>
<td></td>
<td>I35 Teacher/Politician</td>
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| Total | 7 | 3 | 6 | 2 |

**S57 Railway Porter**

Perhaps he was younger than what his wrinkled visage revealed. Years of carrying heavy load on his head had given him a hunch back. He had the typical red shirt on with the brass arm band indicating the railway license number. He was illiterate and confessed that he could not read even Koran though he can sign his name in Urdu. He did not begin his career as a railway porter. His father
was a fruit seller and later started working near the railway yard with a contractor. His mother was in "purdah"* and never worked. They were six brothers in all; he is the eldest of the four surviving brothers. The incident he was able to most vividly recall as a youngster was the day a policeman toppled his father's cart while he was selling fruits. He (father) was taken to the jail and released after 3 or 4 days. It was then that he and his younger brother went to the railway yard to work. He was about 14 then. Until then, he was working in a cycle shop. Gradually he "moved into the platform" as he put it meaning thereby that he became a porter.

Ours is not a railway job; we are only regulated by the Railways. Otherwise, we are self-employed. These days there are "netas" (leaders) who control us. Nobody can become a porter unless he bribes the dadas (or leaders). Also, to become a porter in the "big line" (broad gauge) we have to bribe them more. In the "small lines" (meter gauge) we don't get that much "coolie" (payment).

The respondent was articulate and voluble. as far as his job was concerned. They have a union but again it was the leaders and policemen who manage it. Also the insecurity of job and uncertainty of wages bothered all of them. They were trying to at least get employment as casual labour in the railways but even that could not be achieved.

* The term "purdah" symbolically meant spatial confinement of women to the household in particular; in a general sense it means seclusion of women from males.
Most of the well-known Muslim problems like AMU or Personal Law were non-issues to him.

How does it matter to me whether Urdu or Hindi is the second language. I cannot afford to educate my children. (He has three living, out of the five born). The eldest is already working in a roadside hotel and he will also be wearing the red-shirt like me. He cannot become a "babu" in any case.

"Red shirt" to the respondent was symbolic of the prospects in life for his son, that he will also at best become a porter. "But", he insists, "the chamars are lucky. Their children get special treatment, which I as a Muslim cannot think of."

Q. "What about Muslim schools or Muslim leaders. Don't you get some help from these people or institutions?"

We have no Muslim leaders. There was only one leader Muslims had and that was Rafi Ahmad Kidwai. After his death, Muslims have no help. I am not saying Hindus have no difficulties. The difference between us is one of contacts. Of course, a Muslim who has money to bribe or some influence can definitely go up. He has better chances of changing his fate than I do.

When the interview was over, the respondent touched the feet of the researcher and requested her help to get the porters job classified under regular railway recruitment. "You will not realise", he said in a choking voice, "how difficult it is to feed and clothe a family of three. Among Muslims, it is a kilaf (offence) to do birth
control; so we carry on." The respondent later declared that he has joined the workers union of the ruling party so that "we can go a little closer to the 'Gaddi' (i.e. the throne symbolising seat of power)."

The eth-class compartmentalism of the porter most clearly crystallized by his readiness to overplay any one of his role-sets either as "Muslim" or as "Porter" his two realms of being - such that he can find a solution to the persisting riddle of necessities of life.

Sh32 From a different domain of "reality" hails the young technician with a diploma qualification. He lives in a locality which is almost completely a Muslim inhabitation (belonging to his sect) neighbouring a Hindu mohalla. He is the eldest son but third child of his parents, the elder sisters having got married. The respondent has two sons whom he has admitted into English schools.

Q. "Why English medium School?"

Even as a young boy, I used to see my friends; (the lawyer's children) dress up nicely and go to English school. Also English lessons never had the name of gods. There were nice stories and poems. So I thought my children will go there.

Q. "But do they get a chance to study Urdu there?"

No, my father teaches them at home. They don't have to learn at school. But it is also essential for them to read our religious books. Otherwise, one must not be blind to what is actually required. It is better
they learn Hindi than Urdu. Because these days Urdu is not recognised in offices. So they must know Hindi. And English is necessary for technical language.

Q: "What do you hope them to become when they grow up?"

A. I want at least one of them to be a doctor. Another one may join my brother in the business. My wife is also working.

Q. But is it not strange that Muslims do not appreciate women working?

A. There is nothing wrong. Moreover she is working in a school where there are no males. That's why I have permitted her to work. Otherwise it is very expensive to educate my children in that school.

Q. "But I was told that it is very difficult to get admission in that school?"

A. "One of the Muslim M.L.As. here is related to my wife, and it is only through him we got seats for them".

Q. "So with influence, Muslims can also have some benefits. As "minorities" your leaders say that they don't get equal opportunity?"

Our leaders cannot be leaders if they give up these issues. Actually, the poor illiterate Muslims suffer a lot. Muslims must get reservation. Otherwise, they will remain backward, however, educated they are. They are the most exploited community, the "Mullahs" and their own leaders exploit them, and of course, the government will remember them only when it needs their votes.
Q. Are you a member of the Shia Association in the city?

A. No, I am not. But I feel Shias have been let down badly. It is our right to observe the religious rituals in public. And it is the duty of the government to protect us and control the law and order situation so that Sunnis don't misbehave.

Q. Would you prefer to get reservations for Muslims in separate Shia and Sunni quotas?

Actually, I believe that reservation is only for economic reasons. But that will not work out here because of caste favouritism and prejudice against Muslims. So better we get and of course on separate Shia and Sunni quotas. Otherwise, Sunnis will not give us any chance.

In the above case, we see that even if the respondent seeks an identity through secular values the opportunities are not forthcoming; this is due to the material conditions of his existence where "parochialism" is an overarching symbol of life. So his "externalised" self of a Shia is compartmentalised from his "internalised" self as an individual free thinker.

The local money lender-cum-petty trader (Sh31) exemplifies pragmatism so typical of the compartmentalists. His identity is split between his minority being as a Muslim (of which he is distinctly aware) and his public identity in the milieu of a national political party. He does not
visualise nor suffer any conflict. For instance, when asked how he can become a member of a party whose president has declared Urdu as a foreign language, the respondent nonchalantly declared:

Look he is a politician, so am I. He knows he is not speaking the truth. Muslims need power. We cannot progress unless we have some power or money. For those Muslims like me who do not have both, the easiest way is to join a party and work for the Muslim cause as a part of social work. If the party leaders do not recognise Urdu as language of the masses, they must at least recognise it as important for Muslim culture. Our Hindi films are so popular even in South. I went to Nagpur for our party conference and many from South came. They could speak Hindustani very well but none of them can follow Hindi. That is why Urdu is an Indian language. If my party does not recognise Urdu, Muslims will not stay in it. They need Muslim vote, not just from cities but from villages too. And we need contacts. So it works out both ways.

Among the Indian Christian sample in this category, the case-studies of a workshop owner and a school manager have been discussed below:

134 Workshop Owner (nearly 60 years old)

The respondent is a self-made man. He was converted to Christianity along with his widowed mother when she joined a convent after his father's death to earn a living as a cook in the missionary compound. The respondent was then ten years old and claimed to remember the indignities suffered as a Harijan before conversion. He studied in the school for orphanages that was different from the English
medium school run by the same mission. As an inmate of the
Convent, he always used to envy the children who attended the
English school, and realised that to end suffering was to
make money. He could not be convinced of the brotherhood
of man sermonised by the priests because of the discrimi-
natory treatment given to black Christians by the white
missionaries, particularly to poor Christians.

My mother used to work as a slave. Of
course, we used to get lot of gifts
before Christians but there was no freedom.
The priests now-a-days are greedy since
they do not get any income from abroad, as
before, and whatever they get, they do not
distribute to the poor. They get lot of
warm clothes and milk powder but they sell
it in the market.

In his 8th standard, he read a book, by Birla on how to
improve one's status. That incident marked a watershed in
his biography. He left home and went to Bombay as a ticket-
less traveller. Relentless efforts, hunger, and hard work
finally bore fruit and he qualified as a driver. After
saving some money, he landed back in Lucknow and found a
driver's job with an English lady doctor.

I left the job impulsively when she insulted
me as a black fellow. The worst enemy of a
Christian is Christian himself. Then I
worked in railways and in the evening started
a small workshop for repairing cycle rickshaws.
I was making more money in it. Remembering
Birla's advice to the Indian working class, I
built up capital and invested in buying
rickshaws. It was before 1947 and Gandhiji
was fighting untouchability. Even after
conversion, the Christians from lower castes
do feel the stigma. They do not and cannot
freely mix with upper caste Christians.
Besides, the Anglo-Indians have given a false
sense of prestige to our boys. Everyone wants
stylish way of living but without working for
it. In our community girls are hard working
and study better, whereas most boys are drop-
outs. So the girls are marrying Hindu boys
who are industrious and thrifty. Now I have
so much facilities that I can educate my sons
in the best of Lucknow schools. If need be,
I can even "buy" admission for them. But
they are not interested in studies. They
look after the business when they feel like.
Even there they do not know how to go about
it. This bungalow is mine. I bought the
ground floor from an Anglo Indian and
expanded it along with first floor. My wife
died last year. Since then I feel very
lonely and just do my duty. I used to
participate very actively in Church affairs,
particularly in helping the poor Christians.
I rent out my house very cheaply to Christians
only. They cannot get accommodation very
easily because most of the landlords are
Hindus and give house only to Hindus. There
is so much property in the Church and
priests sell land belonging to the Church
without the knowledge of others. And
whatever money comes in the sale, only
half of it is recorded. If only they could
build housing colonies for Christians, it
will be such a gift. Catholics are better
this way. Their priests cannot have families
and so they are not greedy. But we Protestants
are not so clever. Anyway we are fighting the
Church authority. During Emergency, the
Government was about to attach our Church
property to Government Trustees and bring
an ordinance against its sale. But some of
us stopped because once the Government
interferes then we will have no say over it.
Government is afraid of Muslims, but not us.
We are peace-loving and well-behaved in spite
of others mistrusting us as foreign agents
and religious fanatics. I neither help the
priests, nor side with Government. Whenever
I need some help for my community, I go to
other Christians and even Hindus who have
some contact with the Government.
The other Indian Christian respondent is the manager of a school in which he is also a partner. Besides, he is also the secretary of Nurses Association besides being a party worker of a national party. He claims to have participated in the Quit India Movement with Gandhi, the reward for which was rustication from the missionary college at Allahabad in which he was studying.

But all Christians are not like me. For them to suffer is to be one with God and they thank God for the blessings every day. So they never feel anti anyone. But unfortunately Hindus mistrust them and believe that they are the stooges of foreign agents and hence unpatriotic. Also the scheduled castes among Christians do not get any help like the Hindu scheduled castes. Muslims have many representatives but Christians are basically apolitical. Though I do not agree with the ideology, working and the programme of the party which I have joined this is the only party which is not so communally biased against us; secondly, it helps to work in the ruling party. I know many of my party colleagues do not trust me in their heart of hearts but at least in this way I can hope to acquire some contacts and hope for arousing the Christians politically. So I tolerate most of the unfairness.

Religion (i.e. Christianity) by itself is found to be insufficient to cope up with the onslaughts of new meaning-provinces such as political competition and communal prejudices. The compromise identity that he seeks is to disguise his "minority being" under a secular exterior such that to fulfil his vision of mass Christian awakening. As the Christian peon of a high school
shrewdly puts it:

In what way does it make a difference of my being a Christian working for a Christian institution. The rich are always in authority and help the poor not always. Yet, I hang around this job, in spite of all its heavy work as a "chapraasi" (peon) because some time or the other they will recognise me as a Christian.

A secular identity gets manifested into ethnic behaviour; though the two are divorced ideologically, compartmentalism does not create clash of identity to the individual concerned.

A21 and A22 are the two Anglo-Indian eth-class compartmentalists. One is an executive (A22) in a private firm with British collaboration; the other is a private secretary (A21) in a nationalised bank. Like the "typical" Anglo-Indians, both feel their respective identities rooted in the cultural trappings of their community - English, Drinks, Parties, Dances etc. - which they felt was once the world of Anglo-Indians. They strongly resent the double standards of the Indians who despise the Anglo-Indian syndrome, in public but patronise it in private.

A22

The community is at its wits ends. Those of us who remained here had some faith. But constantly the Government is threatening to remove English and you will not find Anglo Indians after that. And even if our boys and girls study Hindi, they cannot
definitely compete with the Indians. We are also trying our best to mix and assimilate. But you see, Anglo Indian boys are not so serious about studies. Worst of all is the caste favouritism and reservation quota for scheduled castes. If you see the economic condition of Anglo-Indians, they are worse but still their self-respect is so high, they will not beg or go behind netas (leaders). I am in a private firm here and since it had English collaboration, my job is not so much in threat. But if it is taken over by the government suddenly, every day I will live in anxiety and fear of being thrown out. Even in the office here, I do not like the way many Indians conduct themselves in public. But I just put up with it for fear of being opposed.

The most striking uniformity among the eth-class compartmentalists is that many of them among both the communities participate in active politics at the level of a Party, Union or some Association both within and across the minority-majority boundaries. A bewildering contrast of course is in their economic/class background. Most of the Muslims except for the sole railway clerk (363) are skilled or semi-skilled wage earners. Whereas, the eth-classists among Christian include the educated middle class teachers, professionals, businessmen and even an official! The image of a "neo-Christian" is most amply demonstrated by the class composition of the eth-class Christians such a situation is still in its nascent form as far as Muslims are concerned, the money lender being the remote specimen of leaders sprouting from below. The bewildering composition of Christian eth-class is probably due to the tradition of
Church politics as collective experience of many laymen irrespective of his class background or occupational status.

**Secular Compartmentalism**

Here the perception and definition of the communal set-up is anchored in secular identity or non-identification with the minority syndrome. But such meaningful realities may change in the event of new experiences and uncertainties of meanings therein. The impact of the pre-categorical and pre-theoretical knowledge exercise a subtle but strong influence to offer new interpretations of symbols contradictory of self-images. But the role of the experiential self emerges as a powerful determinant in the eventual formation of secular compartmentalism. There are 15 individuals (8 Muslims and 7 Christians) in this group, of which four case-illustrations shall be discussed in detail:

**Table 16**

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<tr>
<th>Sunnis</th>
<th>Shias</th>
<th>Indian Christian</th>
<th>Anglo-Indians</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S64 Typist (Pvt.)</td>
<td>Sh33 Engineer (Govt.)</td>
<td>I36 Social Worker</td>
<td>A23 Teacher</td>
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<tr>
<td>S65 Salesman in Music shop</td>
<td>Sh34 Doctor</td>
<td>I37 Government Officer</td>
<td>A24 Radio Artist (Retd.)</td>
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<td>S66 Meter Tester</td>
<td>Sh35 Retd. Police Officer</td>
<td>I38 Foreman Govt.</td>
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<td>S67 Machine Supervisor (Corporation)</td>
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<td>I39 School teacher</td>
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<td>S68 Cock</td>
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5  3  5  2
The respondent looking most anglicized in appearance and manners as well could have easily passed off for an Anglo Indian. Working for nearly 25 years as a typist in an Anglo Indian school has been perhaps responsible for adaptive characteristics in speech, conduct and behaviour. He is from the "zamindari" (landlord) family but had always lived in Lucknow.

My father was pro-British to the core and he wanted one of his children to go abroad, and practice law. But after he saw that the Congress leaders in those days went against the British, he gave up that idea. To him anything anti-Britain meant sacrilegious. Except for "Id" prayers, he did not want us to do even the Friday prayers. All of us (three brothers and one sister) studied in English schools. Even when Jinnah spoke of Pakistan, in our family we were not reacting except when our joint family broke up due to partition. My father could never recover from the shock of a broken family. He died soon after. For me and my brothers no problems as Muslims. My younger brother opted to settle down in Lucknow to practise law. Even when the then chief minister of U.P. vigorously started his anti-Urdu and pro-Hindi campaign, I just ignored it. But the greatest shock that shook my faith in everything was the Zamindari Abolition Act of 1956. It did affect the Hindu landlords also, but Muslims suffered more because they already had lost a lot of property due to partition. So the misery was doubly aggravated. Worse still, Hindu zamindars and their sons were better educated. Since most of them were in the Congress, they had more influence. By the early 50s and 60s Muslims had become a suspect in public eyes. So even if I had got over the trauma of Partition, the others have not. Naturally, I am on the guard and I think almost all Muslims are on the guard. For instance, I do believe as an individual that Muslim Personal Law can be abolished. And many Muslims have also same view.
Of course, there are others who will not let it change. But even liberal-minded people like us will definitely do a re-thinking every time there is a riot as it happened recently in Moradabad. A "pig" or "cow" is not important to many of us as individuals. But there are others also whose feelings have to be respected. When it is not, then one is forced to accept, what is safe and certain. I don't say that it is the Hindu community as a whole who is creating this problem. But there are certain communal elements and politicians among Hindus and Muslims as well who add fuel to the fire. The worst crisis is perpetuated by making political capital out of the Hindu-Muslim relations. Even if my land has been confiscated by the Government I would have been happy had it been distributed to the landless workers. On the contrary, it is the middle man who has profited and now I am forced to work in a menial job (as typist). Had my father been alive he would have shed tears of blood to see me here. I did not go for higher education only because of the confidence I had in eating out of my land. The result is that I cannot get any job except here.

As seen above, though the respondent finds secular interpretations of the minority situation fairly meaningful, yet his self-degeneration imposed by historical conditions of production has forced him to seek shelter in the institutional safeguards of the minority syndrome. Hence even if he says that Urdu, or Aligarh University are all leadership politics, yet, for his public self, the Muslimness of the thought categories are not completely abandoned. He resolves his dilemma by not opting out of the existing parallelism of identities; on the other hand, he compartmentalises whenever, and in whatever manner possible
such that his ego-identity can neither stabilise as Secular Core nor fluctuate in duality. Thus the phenomenology of compartmental secular identity.

Sh33 **Senior Executive Engineer (Government)**

As a young boy I remember "diyas" (lamps) on Diwali day in my house. We Shias are rather more liberal and accommodating than Sunnis. When my father died, Hindus came to help my mother (since all of us were young children) with the funeral. Such was the close connection that Hindus and Shias of Lucknow enjoyed. Firstly the British and then the Sunnis spoilt the relations. Personally, I felt that it is all politics. Urdu was a language which was patronised by Hindus more than the Muslims. Many Hindus have contributed to the richness of this language. But now, the politicians say it is a foreign language and this makes Muslims feel as aliens. I know they are saying it just to win votes, but it hurts Muslims, particularly people like me who don't believe in these communalism business. So even if I feel that both BHU and AMU should become national universities, I am not very confident how far the Muslims lose or gain by it because of the caste politics. In Government offices, caste favouritism acts as the bane of integration. It is not communalism. And worse is the reservation done for Harijans. Where is the chance for poor people in other communities to come up if open competitions are not fair? That also makes me think whether my son will forever be accepted as a Muslim only?

I36 **Social Worker-cum-Politician**

Both my parents were teachers. My education was in the missionary school where they taught. Later I graduated from the same missionary college. I have always been a social worker
and felt for the poor. I used to help
the nuns in running medical centres and
distribute milk to the poor Christians.
But the nuns always discriminated between
Christians and non-Christians, I don't agree
with this. It used to hurt me. Lots of
aid used to come from abroad for poor
Christians. But everything was kept a secret.
Though Christianity preached the brotherhood
of man there was hardly any brotherhood in the
Church. My husband is working/a publishing
firm which is run by Christians exclusively.
But there is so much of corruption there that
when my husband exposed it, he was sent out
of the job. After seeing all this, I decided
that Christians must come out of their community
and mix with others. I was always impressed
by leaders like Nehru and it was during his
time that I joined the Congress Party. I used
to go to all the villages for election campaigns
with my party members and in a common platform
like that the thought of helping Christians
alone does not arise; but I did feel hurt about
two things. Even if I do not consider non-
Christians as heretics as per the Christian
faith, they do not reciprocate my feelings.
All of us do sit and eat together. I go to
their house and eat. Many Hindus come to
my house and have non-vegetarian food etc.
Even then, there is a strong conviction in
their minds that if they move very closely,
I will convert them. I don't understand why
an individual must be made to pay for the
evils of others. It is the same fear that
stopped my party colleagues to give me a
ticket for the last election. They told me
very frankly that people will not vote for
a Christian. So now I have left the party
and I am busy fighting for rights of Christians
with the Church. Particularly, as far as
educational institutions are concerned, we
maintain the best standards and this is my
only fear that if Government takes over it
will be indisciplined.

Though not so rebellious as the social worker
discussed above similar views were expressed by the Anglo-
Indian school teacher (A23) who retired from the British
Indian Army in 1947. He was not sure of the new circumstances that faced him, and, he thought it may be worse in the military services when Indians took over it. He could vividly recall the panic-stricken mass exodus of Anglo-Indians and since he was jobless, he was also tempted to go. But was again not very keen to uproot his family and self. Now, he regrets having resigned from Army -

after seeing how my other kinsmen did well, I feel bad, I have lost even my pension. Many of them left the country after retirement. India is not a bad place to stay at all. In fact, Anglo Indians are treated better here than in England or elsewhere. I have always discouraged my children to think in terms of leaving the country, I wanted them realise that they belong to this country. In fact, Anglo Indians alone got reservation for 10 years till 1957 when all others communities had to fight in open competition. So it is incorrect to say that we have received a raw deal. Many Anglo Indians do not want to get over the self-imposed isolation. Even in the school where I am teaching now, I observe that Anglo Indian children very rarely mix with others. Since many of our boys are drop-outs, there is no opportunity for the community to economically progress. Most of us are either teachers, athletes, singers or typists. This is where I feel that an Anglo Indian in spite of all his handicaps needs the help of the Government, which is not forthcoming due to dirty politics. As Anglo Indians, we are gradually learning Hindi. In fact, in our schools, unless the student passes in Hindi, we don't clear them for promotion. Even if they are qualified in Hindi, many Anglo Indians are shy to apply for the fear of being taunted. They go to private firms where English is accepted. But the job insecurity
is there so they are keen to have government jobs but since they are disqualified on basis of language, it is rather not correct. I feel at least one more generation of Anglo Indians must be given some special concession as far as Hindi goes. We are not fighting for English like the Muslims fighting for Urdu. We are loyal to India because India is a secular country. But these small discomforts are discriminatory. This happened in my son’s case when he applied for a government job here. He was told in no uncertain terms that he will not be able to handle any correspondence in English. Then he applied for the Army and got in. Central Government services are still more liberal than UP recruitment rules.

As far as our schools are concerned, they are in demand from everyone so much so that these institutions have become greedy for money which is afforded mostly by non-Anglo Indians. Still, the standards that is maintained here is much better than in other places. It is only for this reason that I am against the government taking over. Naturally, when I live here in this atmosphere where 100 per cent of the residents are Anglo Indians, I have to accommodate myself to my surroundings. I very rarely participated in the activities of the Association except for voting or for Christmas party, I do join. After all, I have to survive. No?

The four case histories that we examined above, illustrate the role of experience in bringing about a redefinition of the self from its "secular" externalised public identity. The ensuing compartmentalism has therefore been designated as the secularist compartmentalism. As in other categories, here also the redefinition of the self and bourgeoing self-images can take sectarian colourings
as it does in the case of the cook (S68), the doctor (S36),
the painter (S35) and the AIR artist (A24).

The artist A24 has had a long service in the
All India Radio and retired after nearly 35 colourful
years. "Independence" had no political significance to him.

But

it determined the standards of music. Film
music captured the market. Though I was
familiar with only western classical music,
I had to swim with the tide since Indian
music was becoming popular. So I changed
over. But I had lot of difficulty. Of
course, the Station Director was very
tolerant and accepted me because he knew
my talents. Now Indian music is again
copying from the west? What is this? On
the one hand, they say Hindu, Hindu and
Hindustan. But all music, dance everything
is western. For me it is a puzzle. But
the greatest problem is as artists none of
us get pension when we retire. Hindus have
the joint family system and property in
villages, or at least some lands. Where
will an Anglo-Indian like me go? Without
pension, in this old age I am still cycling
10 kms a day to keep me and my wife alive.
Our children are not disciplined like Hindu
boys. They don't care for their old
parents. So in times of need, the Church
and the priests come to my help.

The Shia doctor (Sh34) is equally disturbed by
paradoxes of history.

My wife is doing Ph.D., in Urdu under a Hindu
guide. We as a family never think of Hindus
or Muslims with communal feeling. In fact
on the day of Id, I have more Hindu friends
to greet me than Muslims. But still, when
Urdu is a dying language, I feel disheartened. It is a sweet language with very secular literature. Why communalise it? It is all politics but when it comes to making the government understand the sentiments behind it, I am also forced to put down my name in the petition given to the Chief Minister recently. They will think I am doing it as a Muslim. But I only know my true feelings about it. If it comes to that I shall fight as a Muslim to get second official language status for Urdu.

He declared vehemently to express the futility of being a secularist at large.
Notes and References

1. The compartmentalist identity is an illustration of the familiar discrepancy between attitude and behaviour unlike what is popularly believed. Hubert Blalock has made an excellent study of the attitude-behaviour conflicts in his discussion on the theory of minority groups. See, H. Blalock, *Understanding Minorities*, John Wiley & Sons, 1957.