

The biographies revealed that some individuals face the dilemma of not being able to reconcile their dual selves - public constructions and private definitions. A crisis is inevitably surfaced and resolution of ego-tension becomes a traumatic experience on account of the persisting duality. Identity maintenance therefore becomes a burdensome experience to the individual. It can assume many forms. Firstly, it can be inconsistency between theory and practice. That is, the individuals may approve the desirability of secular institutions in theory, as for example nationalisation of education, but may not find it either feasible or desirable in everyday life due to the alleged ethnocentric eccentricities of the Majority. The resultant contradiction between ideas (knowledge) and existence leads to identity confusions. In the case of compartmentalists, such confusions were resolved through seeking a reconciliation of meanings between beliefs and behaviour. But here, the consciousness of the individual is torn between conflicting world-views either within a single province of meanings or between many provinces.

The second form of crisis arises within the realm of self-images, that is, between the experiential and transcendental ego. For instance, in spite of the typified
Hindu prejudices against non-Hindus, the self-experience of the ego might have been to the contrary. This is very common particularly for the ethno-political dualists, whose construction of reality is articulated through the language of politics e.g. Hindu vs Muslim. Their constructions contradicts life-experiences of many who did not suffer the fate of minorities; and even if they did it was administratively solved for some others (i.e. through levelling of the distributory mechanisms as in case of Harijans). But the discriminatory experience of some however bitter it could have been, cannot engender the self-concept of being "bunched" along with the scheduled castes. While the compartmentalists accept this as inevitable, the dualists are torn by the conflict between the transcendental ego of a glorious past (for example the Muslim nostalgia of Mughal Empire or British patronage to Christians) and the existential reality of living on the left-overs of the Hindu feast. The material contradictions surfaced between uneven structures of ideas and productive process create mental tensions and inhibit ego-synthesis either temporarily or permanently. Nevertheless, duality as in case of Core and Compartmentalism can transform into stable forms. Such identity alternations depend on the nature of new experiences confronted by the tormented egos; most pathetic are the ethno-national duality cases discussed below.
Ethno-National Duality

The most bewildering case of duality is that of the ethno-nationalist -- overtly ethnocentric, but inwardly accepting secular notions of the minority situation. Owing to sufficient opportunities not forthcoming there is a total rupture between the individual's self-images and the totality of symbols collectively prevailing. Hence the inevitable identity tension leads to duality. The conflict between functional, genetic and historical linkages in determining the synthesis between knowledge and identity remains unresolved unless there is an "alternation" experienced by the self.\(^2\) The case illustrations presented below portray the profile of an ethno-national dualist.

Table VII

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethno-National Dualists</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sunnis</td>
<td>Shias</td>
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<tr>
<td>S69 Factory Worker</td>
<td>Sh36 Embroidery Business Magnet</td>
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<tr>
<td>S70 Government Clerk</td>
<td>Sh37 Unemployed Engineer</td>
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369 Factory Worker (35-40 years)

Employed as a skilled technician in one of the leading public sector factories in UP, the respondent is considerably puzzled in what way the being of a Muslim should affect his "Indianness". After all

...if one follows Islam correctly, it will help us to be better individuals and hence better citizens. In fact in the Koran it is said that we must love the country in which we live. That does not mean that the country should make us forget our religious identity in the course of nation-building. Hindus still practising untouchability whereas, I, whom everyone believes to be a fanatic, have married a Hindu-girl who was let down by another man, just to save her honour. I have married her. That does not mean I have gone against Islam. Our Prophet himself married 11 times and each marriage was to help some women in distress.* But you see India is secular only in name but Hindus will never get over the image of Muslims as pro-Pakistani, I have neither seen Pakistan nor want to see it. My father is sixty seven years old and he is emotional about it because his only sister is in that place. But I am mentally, physically and emotionally attached to India. Why punish me for the folly of my forefathers? Why this blindness that makes me see only the past or Pakistan in my life? Muslims are not dishonest people, because we are afraid of the Kayamat (Day of the Judgement), But Hindus

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* Note the association of pre-categorical with the existential aspects of reality. The respondent faces a dilemma between his parochial interpretation of "citizenship" and its secular symbolization in public domain.
are greedy and avaricious. Worse still, they believe in caste system. Even now in the factory, if a Hindu distributes sweets we all take it. But there are some who will not accept it from a non-Hindu.

I am personally against the reservation for castes and communities. It must be only on economic basis. But in every selection, the entrants get in either through the quota system or through influence of their caste patrons in the selection panel. I qualified as a technician in 1965 and until 1968 I roamed around jobless, whereas many of my friends who got employed before me are now working as executive engineers in government department. Hindu tolerance is a myth. In fact, Muslims are still in uncertainty and have a sense of insecurity. We don't mind AMU being nationalised. Even the Muslim Personal Law can be changed but we do not have faith in the words of the ruling party. So we protest. As it is Urdu on the decline. This is one way of seeing that Muslim culture is wiped out. But just as you have your religious rules to follow, I believe in Islam. Is there anything wrong in it?

The same doubt and apprehension is expressed by the other Sunni who is working as an office assistant in one of the government departments (S70). His father left Hyderabad where he was domiciled and came to UP in 1953. They came here to settle some property disputes in their village in UP before migrating to Pakistan. But on arrival in Lucknow, where a large number of his relatives had comfortably settled, his father was persuaded upon to say on in India.

I was only twelve years old then. But we went through very difficult times because my father could not get his job again in
Hyderabad which he resigned, to go to Pakistan. Nor was it easy to get it at his age in Lucknow. All my brothers started working and I started my career as a construction worker under the contingency labour force of the PWD. I used to do my studies privately for which my uncle helped. In the mid-sixties I came across Maulana Azad’s book “India Wins Freedom”. It is only from that book that I started arguing with people that being a true Muslim need not be anti-national. Maulana’s life was an example of this. But he was a well known freedom fighter. Whereas for ordinary people like me, however liberal and secular I may be, the world forces me to think of myself as a Muslim. What I want to forget, I am forced to remember. Why so?

For the unemployed Shia (S37) the duality emanates from his secular outlook on the one hand and his socially typified image as a Shia on the other hand. Super-imposed on this duality is the pre-categorical notions of Muslim communalism resulting in his present identity crisis.

Having graduated as an engineer from AMU has given an impression to the respondent that the job market is not favourably disposed towards Muslims passing out of Aligarh University,

Otherwise, why should I be in search of a job. Am I not a son of the soil? In fact, in Aligarh I was closer to Hindu boys than Muslims precisely because I wanted to overcome the old notions about Hindu-Muslim relations. In spite of my fathers warning who has a rich experience as a government servant, I used to befriend Hindus. They were also very nice to me. But now, after years of searching for a job I realise all that was futile I do not know. Worse still is Lucknow where my rights as
a Shia are curbed. Lucknow was once ruled by Shia. It is they who gave the city its etiquette, culture and customs that are so well remembered by everyone. But now Shias are persecuted in their own city. If you as a Madrasi want to practise some religious rite and if you are not allowed to do so in your own town, how will you feel? In fact, not all Sunnis, are against us. There is a group called Mahabi (Muslims) Sunnis who are very influential with the Government. It is they who want to harass us. So I suffer as a double minority. Not only here, I got some job in Arab countries, where again the Sunni majority hounded the Shias and particularly me because I am a Lucknow Shia. So I left the job. Now I have applied for posts in Iran and I hope to go there. Actually, I do not believe in making politics of religion. But one is really confused how to go about when all around life is beset with communal or sectarian prejudices.

The sixty year old craftsman who makes dolls was almost on the verge of a schizophrenia; his identity being divided between his zealous "Shiaism" and his love for India.

I fought the British, even at the risk of losing my father, who was working as a "munshi" under British service. I went underground for two years. Such was my hatred for the British. Even as a child I hated going to school. I was always a rebel. If at all I did not question my religion it was because Islam appealed to me as the most practical form of communism. I do not believe in any rituals of Islam, I do not even do the daily "namaz". But I do believe in the spirit of the religion. In 1947 I had a very strong hatred for Muslims because I could not tolerate the
Partition of the country under the pretext of religion. That idea was ridiculous to me. I have married a lady who comes from the most orthodox Shia family that has been the religious head of Lucknow Shias. My wife is very religious and so also my son. But I only believe in the spirit of Islam and nothing more. But due to this influence of too much religion in the family, I get upset at times. Of course in a family it is not so serious.

For me, my profession is most important. Each doll that I make gives me a sense of creation. I have taught many students, Hindus or Muslims I don't bother. I have seen to it that my daughters are married outside the family, particularly into those where there is some artistic talent. But now, art is also commercialised and in Lucknow corrupt politicians make life misery for artists.

I have never felt as a minority before. But I was a devout Shia. And Moharram is believed by me to be an important festival because it is a symbol of martyrdom - like Gandhi's death. Even if I do not believe in taking out the "tazia" and "alum" but the other members of my community have to still do it. We have been doing it for so many years but now the government has banned it. My sons and other family member were arrested during this Muharram. This has upset me. Never have I felt the minority complex but now I want to flee from Lucknow.

The absence of Christians from ethno-national duality is an outstanding example of how historical process of mode of production affect knowledge-identity relationship. The pervasive Western ethos of separation of Church from state epitomized by the Reformation, had predominant influence on the mind of the Christians;
When a Christian conceives of kingdom of God on earth it has no political overtones as in the case of an Islamic State. The concept of nationhood and citizenship therefore does not surface tension of consciousness with their religious concepts in a secular polity. Furthermore, exposure to education and urbanisation also helped Christians unlike Muslims to accept statehood India as a super-identity. Lastly, Indian statehood was not a traumatic experience to Christians as in case of the Muslims in the event of Pakistan. Liberated from the Church imperialism of the West, Christians looked upon Independence as ushering true freedom of religion as well. On the contrary, Muslims had their own misgivings as to the future of Islam in India for obvious reasons.

Table 18

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic-Political Duality</th>
<th>(Total = 8)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sunnis</td>
<td>Shias</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S71 Government Doctor</td>
<td>Sh39 Sales Representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S72 Municipal Foreman</td>
<td>Sh40 IAS Official</td>
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<tr>
<td>S73 Lecturer</td>
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| 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
Hukumat (Power/Rule) is no doubt in the hands of Hindus. But it does not mean Muslims are deprived. If so how can Muslims build houses worth crores of rupees? It does not affect me so much though I can sometimes see that Muslims do not have that much voice. This is Hindu Mulk (nation). Previously, there used to be some norms of functioning in Lucknow. Now the people who have real power are the "Chamars". They have made an invasion in all jobs. This is creating a dilemma even for the upper caste Hindus, leave alone Muslims. We don't want reservation to advance because it will hurt our self respect. At the same time, there is no choice but to ask for quota. The problem of Urdu is there. It has been made a political issue even by Muslim leaders. Of course, Hindus are not bad as people. Only those in Government threaten us so that they can keep us under control. I can afford to teach Urdu to my children at home. But many Muslims can't. Where will they go? They grant us the right to our educational institutions. But at the same time threaten to nationalise ANU. Why? I do not understand this Hindu-Muslim issue. Personally to me, Hindus are very nice and friendly. So I am not able to figure out where I should put myself?

The plight of the Government doctor is even more miserable since he suffers the terrible "minority complex" of being singularly identified as a Muslim. Son of a Government official, the respondent claims that almost his entire family have been either doctors or engineers.

So we are not those type of Muslims who are normally called as backward. There is a misconception in people's mind that
it is Islam that retards Muslim progress. Middle east and Arab countries, which have been declared as Islamic States are more progressive than even Western countries. But in India, the situation changes. Here we are a minority and that too a specially cursed minority because of Pakistan. Being so, we have some drawbacks. For example, the family planning programme is considered to be anti-Islamic. Yet, the Muslims will suffer with large families. So the government has to understand this and consider it a very sensitive and sentimental issue. It can slowly be set right through "fatwas" of the Maulanas. (That is, through legal reforms to the original code of Muslim Personal Law.) But, since our Maulanas are themselves not confident of the Government, they do not feel like changing anything. So it is not our religion that is to be blamed. Because it is very clearly mentioned in our Law that it can be changed from time to time. It is due to our minority apprehensions that we are hesitating.

I particularly feel very uneasy about this Muslim business. In fact, I refused an offer for a senior post in Aligarh Medical College because I will be labelled as a communalist. I have heard of the cases of three doctors in this Government hospital who had to resign because of communal prejudice. But my experience in this department has not been bad. I have been getting my promotions fairly. That is only because besides being a good doctor, I do not behave as a Muslim is expected to behave. During working hours, I do not go to do my prayers. But now the concessions shown to scheduled castes is very unfair. There are so many of them that the standard of medical practice is going down. Ever since 1946 when I entered, there were only 3 or 4 Muslims who come up every year. Because there are no qualified Muslims who appear for the examinations. Many are not qualified because of poor education. Now the threatened move to nationalise
Aligarh University will further hamper the progress of Muslims because they will not get admission elsewhere as in Aligarh. So this is the dilemma. I do not know how my children in spite of all their English education and westernised ways will come up because old order has never changed.

Sh39  The Shia sales representative is from the royal family of the nawabs of Oudh. Residing in one of their dilapidated palaces, he claims to have suffered many insults from Hindu though it was supposed to be meant a joke. He also claims that his family was considered to be more progressive.

Shias are by and large more progressive than Sunnis. But still, Hindus are the masters. When our Shia Nawabs were ruling Lucknow they were patrons of Hindu artists as well. But one cannot compare Lucknow of my forefathers with the present day Lucknow. Here everything works on caste basis and there is no end to politics. Look, how cleverly have the Hindus divided the Sunnis and Shias. It was during the 1971 Indo-Pak war that I was first teased by many friends. We were trying to get in touch with my uncle's family in Karachi because my aunt was ailing and her son was in the Army. But my friends were saying in fun that I was a "Pakistani". How can we build boundaries to our emotions alongside national boundaries? This has affected me terribly and left me thinking.

The respondent Sh39 works in a private pharmaceutical firm as a medical firm as a medical representative. Ever since the end of Nawabi rule in 1857, there has been a steady decline in their style of living as well as in their status as seen by the outside world. "Those persons
who once used to cultivate our fields have now become MLAs and ministers", he deplored. Therefore his experience of the duality has to be seen in the light of dual process of history - the overthrow of Nawabs on the one hand and the political patronage enjoyed by Harijans unlike Muslims. In short, the conflict is between his genetic and existential consciousness.

Sh40 The civil servant, claiming to be from another royal family was almost furious to be interviewed as a Muslim. His crisis surfaced most pathetically and yet remarkably well in his five minute speech, the briefest interview of the study. He declared:

Why do you people always choose to study Muslims? Do you think we are backward. If that is your assumption you are sadly mistaken. Because, I won't be sitting and talking to you in English as the director of a very important government department. So there is nothing wrong with me as a Muslim but with your topic that is in itself communally prejudiced. We are a well-known royal family of Aligarh and we were the earliest of westernised Muslim elites of Avadh. I studied law in Aligarh Muslim University. That does not make me a communalist. But now that university is gone beyond recognition. If the Muslims want to give it a Muslim character, does it mean they want to make it a Hindu-Muslim battleground for fighting a "Jihad" (Holy War). Gradually, the standard of Aligarh has also gone down. Otherwise, why should there be only six Muslim IAS officers in the State today? Are we not brainy?

It is interesting to note how the "being" and "becoming" of his Muslimness (what he is, he wants to shed but is not
able to) creates the problematics of I and me so typical of dual identity cases.

The Christian officers also fall "in the same dilemma" category; a crisis precipitated at two levels: (a) The environment is not forthcoming to accept them as equals or on par with the Hindus but as "outcastes", (b) The image of Christian as a proselytizer, (c) The discrimination against Christians particularly the poorer Christians by not giving any special protection available to Hindu scheduled castes.

Christian is considered to be the most harmless in our country. You see the Sikhs or the Muslims. They fight for their rights but we always co-operate with the Government. All over the country, Christians have always voted for the Congress and no other party. In fact the Christians have done more service to the country than what the country has given them. All the liberal institutions of the Government and law are copied from Christian institutions. But in public, there is some kind of suspicion that we are foreign agents; and also that we are outcastes. Actually, we are more secular and patriotic than Hindus. I play Holi and Diwali, but certainly I cannot perform the Lakshmi Pooja. But still the government officers residential area where I am living, I feel I have no close friends. Why? Another problem is the prejudice in promotions and in recruitment. There was a personal experience where in spite of a higher post almost fitting me like a glove, my junior was promoted. I want to represent the matter but a Christian voice is hardly heard. Perhaps it will help me better to submit a petition to the minorities commission
as a Christian minority however reluctant
I feel about it. I don't understand why
this feeling of strangeness.

A25 The only Anglo Indian school teacher in this
category also suffers identity crisis at two levels.
Firstly, the bourgeoing marginality from his own primary
group (i.e., Catholic Christian) and its fundamental values
distorting self-images. He finds it not so meaningful to
accept his self-identity unconditionally and exclusively
as a Catholic,

I find the whole Mahabharat (the Hindu Epic)
and the Upanishads as speaking most practical
and simple home truths. The romantic tales
of Lord Krishna are so human in their concep-
tion that the Hindu very rarely feels that
enjoying sex is a sin. And the whole tradition
of faith in Karma (the calling in life as
everyman's fate) and the theory of re-birth
are as much thought provoking as fascinating.
The Advaitas or atheists is accepted as much
in Hinduism as the heterodox gods that exist.
What is most beautiful about Hinduism is its
unorganised Church. Each individual can
think and develop for himself. But, here I
can't say these things openly for two reasons:
Firstly, it will be condemned as sacrilegious,
I may be a victim of social ostracism and I
may lose my job in this Christian school.
Even if I take that extreme step, Hindus will
not accept a Christian as an equal. Christianity
is a brotherly religion but the Christians are
very narrow-minded. Because I don't accept
many things that are preached to us, at the same
time I can't say anything but suffer in silence.

The ethno-political duality stems from the sense
of self-deprivation as an individual on the one hand; on
the other, it is caused by the externalization of self on
ethnocentric lines. "Can a Muslim have any other identity except that of a fanatic? Is it desirable to have one?"

That sort of a dilemma is very clearly seen in almost all cases studied. There is a persistent struggle of the self to liberate itself from the existing institutionalizations and seek new orientations consistent with personal experiences.

**Eth-Class Duality**

The economic interpretation of "minority situation" characteristic of the eth-classists at times does not coincide with their perceptions and experiences. In other words, the categories of reality as they see and define is an abstraction impinging on reality creating surrealistic images of life. They shunt between illusions and existence creating dilemmas for themselves and for others as well. The origin of duality can be in the realm of subjectivity or of collectivity. It can be due to contradictions between existing institutions (political, official, religious etc); or between ontological orientations and existential response. The combinations vary from individual to individual but the outcome is uniformly identical in its manifestation of unstable identity. The case-histories outlined below biographically support our analysis of the eth-class duality.
Table 19

Eth-Class Dualism

(Total = 11)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sunnis</th>
<th>Shias</th>
<th>Indian Christian</th>
<th>Anglo-Indian</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S74 Comb Maker</td>
<td>Sh41 Artist (AIR)</td>
<td>I43 Government</td>
<td>A26 Block Setter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>in private press of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S75 Meat Seller</td>
<td>Sh42 Driver (Govt.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>an English daily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S76 Cobbler</td>
<td>Sh43 Businessman's son</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S77 Basket Maker</td>
<td>Sh44 Municipal Cleaner</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S78 Factory Worker</td>
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S74 Comb Maker

The respondent is in his late twenties. They belong to the community whose traditional occupation has been manufacturing combs from buffalo horn inlaid with wooden filigree work. His residence-cum-workshop is situated in a locality where there are nearly 15 to 20 families from his "biradari". The fact that their size is dwindling because of increasing number taking to other private jobs, was considered to be a deplorable situation.
As far as he can remember there is only one graduate from his community but he is not sure. As he puts it, "it does not matter to me. I am illiterate but I am struggling to give education to my children. But what can poverty achieve'? The place where the interview took place was a small verandah in which all the primitive paraphernalia for manufacture of combs were displayed. In a corner, Imtiaz's two sons were learning Koranic lessons from a maulana; the doddering 90 year-old father of Imtiaz was lying down on a cot besides the maulana; his wife's presence was made known by a faint voice coming from behind an inscrutable interior. There were many Calendars but mostly with pictures of mosques and Koranic verses written on them. A transistor radio in full blast was tuned on to the local commercial service that was broadcasting Hindi film music. The most appropriate thing and the safest ground to tread suggested to be radio programmes and the respondent's choice of music.

Q. You seem to be fond of music. Where did you get the transistor from?
A. From here only. Otherwise life is very dull. It is better to hear some music and one feels much lighter to resolve the problems that never end.

Q. But do you get some interesting programmes during your festival or for that matter even daily programmes on devotional songs?
A. We do get them but not every day. Only on
Fridays. Whereas in Pakistan everyday early morning there
is "Qawwali" and also Koranic recitations.

Q. What is your view on the Islamic or Shariat State
in Pakistan?
A. It is good. In fact people are suffering now
only because they have gone far from religion.

Q. In which school have you put your children?
Government or Muslim school?
A. It is a private Muslim school.

Q. Why? Government school will be cheaper?
A. Yes, but here they can learn some customs and
culture of our religion. Also they learn Koran from
maulana.

Q. But why do they need Urdu when they should be
knowing Hindi for getting jobs?

If they don't know Urdu, they are not Muslims.
Getting a job is not the only thing in life.
In any case I have my own shop and they can
work here. In fact I am trying to get a
machine on a bank loan. I had to sell my
wife's jewels to give as security as well as
bribe. I am waiting for a second instalment.
Do you think you can help me to get it?

[A. No, I am new to this place. Anyway,
since you have got the first instalment,
I don't think you will face any problem
to get the second one. This shows that
there is no "ta'asoob" (prejudice).

It is there although I have not experienced
it myself. Many Muslim boys here feel it,
especially those who go for Government jobs.
They are treated worse than scheduled castes.
These people who were cleaning our bathrooms
once have become our masters and Muslims are
facing a crisis.
Q. What do you feel is the solution?

I don't know. In fact, I wonder sometimes whether it is worth educating my sons on whom I spend more than I can afford. When they apply for jobs, they can be told to go to Pakistan. The feeling is still there or at least we live in fear of it.

(The respondent has no knowledge of the issues pertaining to Muslim Personal Law Amendment, or for that matter about the Aligarh Muslim University controversy. All that he knew about the latter was that his wife's uncle worked there long back as a clerk so he had to be briefed and doing so might have indirectly aroused his Muslim/minority sentiments.)

A. If Aligarh University was founded by a Muslim, it should be kept for them. Government cannot change its working or interfere in it.

Regarding the introduction of Uniform Civil Code, he raised a strong objection: "If Shariat is repealed, then we will have to give up our religion which is impossible".

Surprisingly enough, in spite of getting the bank credit for partial mechanization of his craft, he is still not convinced of the government's concern for Muslims because he had to bribe a clerk heavily by selling his wife's jewellery. The minority feelings of deprivation in this group are articulated more in terms of lack of
resources (of power and money) than in terms their Muslim-ness but nevertheless both the factors bias the perception of the respondents. But the ethno-class base of their daily lives strengthen parochial impulses and identities.

**Basket Maker**

Here also the dual selves are imposed by the respondent's perceptions of life as a poor Muslim. Though self-employed, he also undertakes contract work in furniture shops. The respondent was located for interview in one such shop that belongs to a Muslim political worker. As the father of six with two girls of marriageable age, he seemed totally disillusioned about life in general. His indifference to the interview situation, his empty gaze and sudden silence conveyed more than the volumes that his employer ventured on his behalf. After repeated prodding and some tea followed by the departure of his employer, he settled down to narrate his life-history.

He is the third son of a basket maker. His father is dead now. His elder brother works in a press as a peon; his second brother is a salesman in a cloth-shop. He is the only one who has kept up their family business. He claimed to be a Pathan and was quite proud of his upper caste heritage. Of his six children, eldest daughter is married; the next two are in line now. The other three are sons; two are attending a municipal school
that works only half the year because teachers are irregular, according to him; the youngest is just two years; and, without being asked, he declared,

among Muslims, we are told not to do birth control because it is an offence to Islam. Yet, I find it difficult to make both ends meet. What if I get another child? I dread to think. The marriage of my two daughters will also be a burden. Unfortunately for me the eldest child was a girl. Otherwise, by now a boy could have been of help to me. No one helps the poor except God. But religion is also politicalised. Look at the way Shias and Sunnis fight here. I am totally baffled and keep aloof. But in my mohalla (locality) there are some goonda leaders for whose sake we can't express anything frankly.

Sh43 **Businessman's Son**

The respondent is an under-graduate, passed out of an Anglo-Indian school and was found more fluent in English than Hindustani. He said:

I don't personally believe in Shia-Sunnī fights. But in my locality, this is the only pre-occupation. Even if I have good Sunni friends, I cannot be friendly with them openly for fear of hurting my elders. In the university too, I have all non-Muslim friends. Our problem as youth is job. I want to work even though I have my family business. But where do we get jobs? One has to be a Thakur or pundit or scheduled castes. As a Muslim also one can get provided one has contacts or money to bribe. Sometimes, I implore my father to change our house to non-Muslim localities. At the same time, I don't blame the Sunnis also. The Government has to maintain law and order when people misbehave....Being able to talk in English
has given me some status at least, although I do not find it easy to perform Roza, I like to do it occasionally. It is fun and also my grandfather is elated. But no one forces me to do it...in spite of all the things that I share with non-Muslims still one does not know when it may become a handicap of being a Muslim. The only solution is to give up very strict rituals and be more practical.

Thus the youth is forced to yield to the environmental pressure of the sub-culture thereby partially parochiatizing his other self. It is not possible for him to get out because he is not sure of being accepted by the "outsiders" or non-Muslims. Hence to achieve a stable identity, he opts to be a nationalist in theory and a Muslim in behaviour but is uncertain of both life-worlds.

The economic identity acts as an equally important life-world for the individuals who experience dualism of the 6th-class identity. Whether it is the meat seller, basket maker or the cobbler, their identity confusion is understandable because neither of their dual selves - ethnic and economic - could be sufficiently developed for the ego to resolve its tension. Hence the meat seller wonders whether his son's fate like himself will still be bound to the community of butchers. Because the opportunity for developing new professional identities by virtue of his formal education seem rather bleak. Does he fight his way as a butcher (sub-caste occupational) or as a Muslim (minority ethnic) or as any other citizen? The
viability of those competing identities are limited; hence his choice is limited; that is, the choice to define himself, because his bargaining power is not so high as that of a Hindu or a Muslim coming from a rich family.

Among other Shias, the case study of a songster and a driver both serving in the State Government are highly impressive illustrations.

Sh41 The artist has been in the staff of Lucknow All India radio for many years. Hailing from a family of musicians, the respondent has studied up to 10th standard and can read and write Hindi and Urdu as well. Since he had an aptitude for music, his father got him a job in the radio in early 50s. He claims to have got the job easily in those days when the "ta'asob" (prejudice) against Muslim was very strong. The reason was mainly the demand for good artists. Until then, many singers and musicians were Anglo-Indians many of whom left the country. So also many Muslims opted to go for Pakistan.

Only people like me who had no money to go anywhere stayed back. I am glad because with the Muslim fundamentalism so strongly being practised in Pakistan, I could not have survived there. For me music besides being my profession is also important as a hobby. It is in my blood. I am glad, I stayed back. Some of my uncles who have migrated to Pakistan in early 70's are doing well there. After all, a Muslim country will not let down a Muslim. Even in Lucknow here, the problem of employment is not for all Muslims. Whether a Hindu or a Muslim, what matters
these days is bribe and influence. With that even a donkey can become a staff artist?

As a Muslim musician, my worst enemy is Muslim. There are some orthodox Muslims in my neighbourhood who object to my singing or practising. They make life miserable for us to stay. Islam can change with changing times and after all God lives in music. So why denounce it? Do I become a "Kafir" just because I am a musician? These days, the best musicians in our films are Muslims. Because they are rich and powerful, our mullahs (priests) will not say anything to them. They will harass only poor artists like me.

My father used to say that the patronage given by rajas and even small nawabs those days used to keep them going. But these days government patronage is not for real art. Anyone who can play Pop music gets in; or through contacts with big bosses. Also, my problem is only partly solved as a Muslim. Whether Urdu becomes the second language of UP or not how does it matter me? Whether Hindu or Muslim, as artists in AIR, we don't get any pension after retirement; nor is there any job security. Our contract can be terminated suddenly. And our profession is not like that of politicians who can reap benefits in old age. Even that is likely to be solved. But you see there is increasing communal feelings everywhere. I do not want to think of myself as a Muslim. But I am forced to take sides against my wishes. Then I feel very bad and a degraded human being. But you see the Hindu artists are luckier in a way because most of them have some lands in the villages. Whereas we Muslims have to fall back only on our income. With large families and extravagant food habits, we will always be impoverished.

I was born in 1947 October in Lucknow and brought up here. I did B.A. from Lucknow
and three years in a government polytechnic at Gonda. I was very keen to join engineering but my father left railways all of a sudden. We lived entirely on my mother's income (who was a nurse) for some time. During this time, I realised that it was money that mattered in this world. No one came to our help. Even the priests of the Church used to avoid us fearing that we may ask for charities. After getting diploma in Polytechnic I applied in many places but could not get any technical post. And in 1971 I got this present job in the Collectorate as a typist. Now I mix mostly with Hindus and there are many ladies who tie "Rakhi" (a symbol of brotherhood) to me. In fact, I prefer inter-caste marriages. They are more successful. I find Christians are useless because they are lazy and only want all the best things without working for it. But you see I cannot give up my religion just because the people are bad, Christianity is a nice religion, most liberal in outlook but Christians are corrupt.

Even I don't like my wife working as a nurse. She goes away on night duty. But you see, we Christians want a high standard of living. So if I don't have one, my kinsmen will avoid me. I do not mind it but I have no close friends outside. So what do I do?

There are no one to give proper guidance and the priests again and again talk only platitudes. They will tell to sin and bear his suffering patiently like Christ Himself. This is where we are fed up. Outside, the competition is very strong. We have no contacts, nor money to venture into any business. The community has no capital, all jobs are given on caste or communal basis. Where do we stand a chance?

In the above case we find an acute contradiction between his subjective (self-identity of an individual) and his externalized self in his occupational community,
and finally, with his objectified "being" as a member of the Christian community in a society where it is not a dominant minority. There is an unmistakable conflict between all these three identity anchorages creating the "crisis".

A25 The Anglo-Indian, press worker's dilemma is torn between his self-identity as an individual, and genetic identity as an impoverished Anglo-Indian and his externalized being as a printing press worker. The conversation started with a discussion on a Hindi film portraying the life of an Anglo Indian girl. The respondent was furious with the scandalous portrayals of Anglo-Indian girls and women.

After all, these days the Hindu girls are more stylish than Anglo Indians. But still the Indians think our girls a sport and so try to misbehave. In the film, the Anglo Indian mind was portrayed well. After all, we have every right to keep up our customs at least inside the house. We may not like to light "diyas" (lamps) in the altar but only candles? Is there anything wrong in it? After all when we are trying to Indianise our dress and speech the Indians are getting westernised. As it is in the Church, there are lots of converted Christians from scheduled castes who have brought in a lot of Indian customs into our service. The priests are not saying anything against it because they want power and prestige. Whereas for Anglo-Indians, it is very threatening because our future generation will lose our culture. In fact our leaders will fight for English but not for reservation of jobs. But what is the alternative? We do not get even a living wage in this country. So long as British stayed here, they exploited us as a via media
but still paid us enough to maintain our standards. When I was a small kid, there was always a pudding in every meal. Now, there are days when I go without a proper meal to pay my sons’ school fees or medical bill. The schools do not give any concession. And worse still, they propagate a westernised culture but still insist on our Indianization. My father studied only Urdu and English during British days. My younger brother has done only Hindi and English. They both can mix very freely. Whereas I did English and French in school. I find it difficult to mix.

Even in the press, I move with workers but there is some barrier. I feel, though they are my colleagues, they are very ruffian in their manners. I cannot give up my secret love for my culture. Does it mean I am an enemy of India? My son speaks English very rarely. He mixes with only Hindi speaking boys. I do not stop him, but I feel sad. When Anglo-Indian leaders tell us to assimilate, I don’t understand what they mean by it. They ask for retention of English and Anglo-Indian schools and even for nomination or reserved seat to represent the community in the Parliament. So how can we mix at all? Our schools can be nationalised but standards will go down

**Secularist Duality**

Where the process of compartmentalisation has failed for a secularist in practice, the inevitable identity formation results in the dilemma of duality. It is the most traumatic experience for the ego-identity to have a secular "external" and an anti-secular privatized existence. The private-public identity tension can take unpredictable turn during situations of communalistic upheavals. Under such circumstances, their
subjectivity is totally trapped by objective categorical institutions and their impact. Hence the individual's interpretative potentiality ceases to function; since the provinces of meanings change from familiar moorings to unfamiliar realities, the existing stock of knowledge become deficient in their meanings. This is precisely what happened during the Partition dialogue preceding India's independence. The birth of Pakistan marked new epochs of ideas in minority consciousness for the Muslims. The breakdown of older meanings and political institutions such as the notion of India as Muslim heritage as well had far reaching implications for identity-maintenance of minority ethnics. The Indo-Pak political estrangement battered the self-image of Muslims between their citizenship loyalties to India and kinship ties with Pakistan. To a large extent, the crisis was resolved by the Constitutional emphasis on secularism, thereby restoring the legitimacy of symbols and erstwhile institutions at least in the realm of collective symbols to the Muslims. Though the Christians did not suffer such "jolts" of equal severity, the British withdrawal did necessitate the generation of new meanings.

The essence of identity whether for Muslims or for Christians revolved around the question of defining the concept of nationhood, because ego-identity takes place among men who share an ethnic area, and historical
area which Schutz puts it as intersection of experience by world time, biological time, and social time, and sedimented in the unique sequence of an articulated biography besides being socially arranged. Let us examine the following case-histories in the light of the above discussions.

**Table 20**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Secularist Duality</th>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Sunnis</th>
<th>Shias</th>
<th>Indian Christians</th>
<th>Ango-Indians</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S79 Entrepreneur</td>
<td>Sh45 Doctor</td>
<td>I44 Press Foreman</td>
<td>A27 Unemployed Graduate</td>
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<tr>
<td>S80 Bank Clerk</td>
<td>Sh46 Watch repairer</td>
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<tr>
<td>S81 Sports Coach</td>
<td>Sh47 Barber</td>
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<tr>
<td>S82 Government Official</td>
<td>Sh48 Engineer</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>S83 Rickshaw Driver</td>
<td>Sh49 Ex-Nawab</td>
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S79 This respondent has a very dynamic biography. Born to a non-Muslim converted-to-Islam mother and a staunch Muslim politician, the cross currents of culture
and politics have exerted a tremendous influence on his socializing years. Besides a flourishing professional life, his father had a colourful political career by making a radical departure from socialist to a communal Muslim party of UP. His marriage to a non-Muslim did not sober his political thinking from its Muslim separatist ideology. Growing up in such an atmosphere had perhaps been responsible for the ambivalence of the respondent towards so-called minority issues. The stay abroad might have been the proverbial last straw to his manifestation of identity at times secular and eth. The respondent, has been over the years detaching himself from the political responsibilities "thrust" upon him by his father's sudden death.

What can I do? How can I suddenly give up my duties just because I do not believe in this line of action. I know that Muslims have special problems of their own. That way every community has. I know it is incorrect to mislead the Muslims by creating a separate party; but I cannot dismantle something where so many thousands of people are dependent on the prospects of this party. So I just accept it though it creates lot of bitterness for myself. Why should I pretend to be what I am not? I am more interested in some industry that I want to start now. I want to make money and attend to my firm. But one never gets what one wants in life. So I escape from all these and go to my farm-house nearby.

The secularist duality is more intense in the case of the bank clerk (SSO) who, despite his leftist party affiliations is not confident of giving up his Muslim minority identity.
This is a personal dilemma for me. As a communist, my father used to go for party work neglecting the household. My mother was fairly religious, though not very ritualistic and she used to always complain of my father's negligent ways I had to shoulder household responsibilities. Moreover, in 1949 when my father got his job things were not so communally biased as they are today. Even if I am convinced that Hindu-Muslim hostility is a class struggle, I am accepted only as a Muslim by the outside world and never as an individual in his own right. Of course, in our workers union, we have no such communal rivalries. I feel very happy and relieved so long as I am inside the bank. But once I step into the world, I do not understand what is happening.

For the twenty-three year old, high school passed respondent, migration to Lucknow from his nearby village is proving to be a disheartening venture. It is nearly two years since he has passed his high school from the district. While his Hindu and Chamar class-mates have found jobs, he has become a rickshaw-puller. He cannot accept this "reality" however real it is to him. His father has a small meat-shop and warned him of the prospects in the city. But he wanted to get out of all the familiar things because he says they were never familiar to him. One day, he recalled his mother getting upset just because he visited his chamar friend in his house. But now he is wondering whether after all his parents were right in saying that a Muslim voice is a cry in wilderness. His ego prevents him from going back but soon existential
factors may override his ego concerns. So he is puzzled whether he is forced to adorn the Muslim garb and meet the Muslim MLA of his district?

Sh46 Son of a tractor mechanic the respondent was always an independent child. Ever since he remembers, he never liked school and whatever little reading he picked up was from a "madarsa" (religious school) whenever he attended, which was a rare occasion. He always remembered the hub of a joint family, could never find a quiet corner to read books that he was fond of - anywhere from Shakespeare to Urdu plays - that was around his 15th year. He wanted to read Shakespeare in original but could never get a chance to learn English. He had always lived in a Muslim mohalla, now he stays separately after marriage in a rented house with his wife and son, whom he sends to an English medium school because he feels English is the only way to end prejudices that persist in regional vernaculars. (Perhaps he means social stereotypes.) He wants to give professional education to his son and make him "big" unlike himself (That is as a shop-keeper).

Q. Don't you feel bad at the Government ban on the Shia processions?

Personally I feel it is a political issue. Both the communities have made politics out of it and their leaders make political capital of it. As citizens of secular state Sunnis also can take out procession but the administration has to see that they
go on a route where not many Shias live. It is a disgrace that Muslims fight with Muslims, Hindus and Muslims fight even 32 years after Independence. A national disgrace and outsiders will laugh at us.

(In spite of living in a Shia mohalla and himself a devout Shia, the absence of sectarianism and communalism as well speaks of a typical secularist identity, which however cannot be manifested at behavioural level as he himself admitted, on account of communal pressures from neighbours.)

On Job Discrimination to Muslims?

I have heard of it - it is as old as Pakistan although in my family, my brothers were in government jobs and never felt it. Mostly it is because of inferiority complex and Muslims are not qualified. Also, there are narrow-minded Muslims who have spread such rumours and this goes on from generation to generation. My mother used to tell me stories of how Jinnah came as a saviour to Muslims but I grew up to find it the biggest tragedy and folly of Muslims.

Q. On role of Muslim political and communal parties what do you feel?

They all sing the same song of Muslim suffering and separation but carefully avoid the question of Muslim poverty because they cannot be leaders otherwise. This is another tragedy of Muslim. After Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the founder of AMU, we have no leader for the community. Any leader who comes only talks of Islam as Prophet preached it without interpreting it for modern times. But if you see the history of Indian
Muslims we had more religious than secular leaders. It is because, Muslims are very difficult to be convinced of any change that shows the slightest deviation from Islam.

Q: Do you think making Shariat as State Law will stop progress of Iran on modern lines?

Not necessary, Shariat cannot change. At the same time one has to live at an age 13 centuries ahead of Shariat. So there is a conflict in every Muslim how best we can adjust. We need not follow it to the Book and nobody does also. But we will not allow any government to veto it. This is our dilemma.

The identity crisis is still more acute in the case of the unemployed engineer (Sh48). Due to years of prolonged unemployment, the respondent seemed to be rather confused about most issues including the year of his graduation from AMU as an engineer. It was the fourth year of living off the generosity of his joint family.

I am slowly coming to curse myself as a Shia and as a Muslim. It is a double course. I never believed in all these communalism business. But now I have come to behave what my father used to say that in the LESU (Lucknow Electricity Supply Undertaking) there was a policy not to recruit Muslims. Hindu friends also tease us a lot. They say things in fun but we feel sensitive and guilty for no fault of ours. All educational institutions must be nationalised. Then people may not have this prejudice against AMU. Perhaps, I would have got a job by now. Though I believe in secularism, I am not an atheist. I am a devout Muslim and Government must respect the views of every community so long as it does not violate justice. In the
name of religion no one ought to be persecuted as in Pakistan. But then if few secularists live amidst a majority of communalists it will not help. Then even the few are forced to give up their utopian ideals. This is what is happening in India today.

This respondent belongs to a well-known noble family of Lucknow. He is a research scholar from one of the universities abroad. Though he is least interested in any politics, be it sectarian or communalistic, he is forced to come into the fray on account of people's expectation of him as the heir of a zealous Muslim leader. Ever since the death of his father who was declared an enemy of the nation for dabbling in Muslim League politics in India the respondent has been living abroad. His marriage to non-Muslim has further estranged him away from the "minority" cause of Muslims in his individual capacity. But the release of his property from government custody in 1973 has given him tremendous responsibilities. So his stay in India in his own ethnic enclave of the nawabi estate becomes almost inevitable and thus he wonders how he is going to rediscover his identity as an Indian. "I will not cut off my roots there (abroad) because I am used to the western style of living. But gradually I realize that to survive here one has to adorn the Muslim cap to prevent hot winds blowing".

The problem of dual identity for the young barber has nothing to do with affluence but a basic issue of survival. He has been attracted to city life since his
young age. Having passed his high school from a government school, he is temporarily following the hereditary profession until he gets a job.

I know it is difficult for everyone and though I don’t believe in all these talk of Muslim hatred, I listened to a speech made recently in the city. In that they said that there are only 5 Muslim sub-inspectors out of 500 in UP. It appears that the curse on Muslims will come afresh every generation. We don’t want reservations, But a Hindu barber should also not get. In what way I am different from him only because I am a Muslim. Is it curse to worship Allah?

The Christian worker in the printing press was threatened with termination of service if he indulged in the activities of Labour Union.

The authorities are jealous of my mixing up with the non-Christians. I am working ever since the age of 12 and my father retired from this Press. He was very weak and modest. But I cannot accept injustice just because my employer happens to be a Christian, what harm is there if I demand our right as a worker? My wife is employed as a nurse in railway hospital and my son is with her. I lost one son only because I did not have money to take him to Bombay for an operation. We approached the priest but he did not respond. My friends (Christians and non-Christians) everyone helped but they were also poor like me. So what to do? I cannot hate Hindus nor can always do things in the name of Christ. But whenever I do some activity as a worker, immediately, in the Church everyone treats me as an outsider.

The respondent was neither aware of his “minority” status (as understood in objective context) nor of the
significance of Hindu-Christian relations. He was however fully informed of the outbreak of riots between Hindus and Muslims which he dismissed as the work of professional politicians who make money on the blood of the common man.

The only Anglo Indian sample in the Secularist Dualism identity group is an unemployed graduate (A24). Proud of his Anglo Indian stock he feels that they have been the most misunderstood community. His father served the British Indian Army and died during the communal violence in Punjab just after Independence. His mother gets the royal pension and was given a job by the Indian Army. The respondent, though Anglo-Indian never felt any stigma about his birth because he never considers such things as superiority of caste or community.

In 1947, upon British withdrawal fear psychosis prevailed among us. We felt uprooted; I mean my ancestors because we were not sure of our political status nor felt secure to live amidst the Indians. The Partition of the country added to our panic because we thought that when Muslims were themselves so uncertain, what about a tiny group like us who were considered to be the stooges of the British? Actually, the Britishers never treated us as their equals but better than the Indians. This gave us a sense of superiority - may be a false one. But once they left, we skated on thin ice. We did not know to whom we should show our loyalty. Because we were

* The phenomenological notion of meaning breakdowns is illustrated very clearly. The problem of identity arises, and with that, the renewal of old identities if not an alternation and reformation is called for. In the case of Anglo-Indians hitherto finite province of meaning like the unity of Church and State took a dogmatically opposed meaning upon the onset of the Republic.
identified with the conquerors, we too become suspects in public esteem.

So many of us left the country, now we are hardly "visible". Those of us who remained had no choice but to Indianize, shed our old identity and put on new ones. Publicly... an Anglo Indian makes a desperate effort to widen his true self deeprooted in the ethnocentric values of his group. He does it out of the necessity to survive. So this is one dilemma that particularly affects the younger generation.

At home, we are chided for mixing with Indians or speaking Hindi. I can't even put on the local youth programme on the Lucknow AIR because my mother hates it. Whereas, I have a tremendous liking for Hindi films and Indian girls. But I feel bad to hurt my mother. So I see Hindi pictures without telling her. Now the Church is organising lot of activity to keep the youth intact within the fold of religion. Because, they fear youth is drifting away. Actually, what we want is not guarantees of religion but jobs. Like any other youth we are also anxious for jobs. No religion appeals to me in particular, and, especially I cannot consider a non-Christian as a heretic or a potential convert. I hardly participate in Church activities though I am not an atheist. I accompany my mother to the Church and go for Christians celebrations.

Besides, however sincerely I may try to shed Anglo-Indianness in public at least the core of my friendship still lies within the community. This is a dilemma which many of us face in this generation. The Church or the Anglo Indian Association does not do much by way of providing a livelihood to us. Again and again, the Anglo Indian Association inspires us to become only teachers in their schools or clerks. But since there is no other guidance outside, we do not know which way to look.

The country can do so much to organise its youth force as the future citizens of India. But most of the youth acquire influence through political parties and join politics. Those of us who don't have no way to come up. So again and again the Church influence become strong, however questionable and unacceptable
it may be. The Anglo Indians face a tremendous conflict between their "internal" and "external" existence. I have been now unemployed for the last two years. I thought of applying for the UP Police service. But many people including my own mother is discouraging me saying that the State Government is highly prejudiced particularly Police. So they are asking me to apply for Army. I think, I will do that.

Two features most strikingly uniform to the individuals facing the dual identity of secularism are,

(1) whether Muslims or Christians, the respondents of this group are strangely in youth category, the average age of all the 12 not being more than 30.

(2) The experience of the self is at some threshold stage in life, either it is a matter of employment or other social adjustments that makes them search and question the true selves within and how to actualize it in public.

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Notes and References

1 Alternations are the process of identity changes that may involve accretions to old ones or total renewal. But the tension of consciousness arise only when such changes bring a rupture between private image and the image of the self in the collectivity. Also, duality of identity causes more trauma to individuals in a state of unstable situations. So many such instances can be cited from history of mankind during war and peace. The sudden release of prisoners of war can be as much a trauma to the identity of the self (both public and private) as can marital life be to newly wed couples. See, E. Erickson, "Identity and Life-Cycle", Psychological Issues, vol. I, 1959.

2 The resolution of duality as already stated depends on the nature of the alternating experience. It may assuage or attenuate the present crisis. What is forthcoming depends a lot on the pre-categorical impact of the experience for the individual, and, also the dominant class practices at a given point in time. The history of the American Jews contrasted with that of the Negro is an outstanding example of the confluence of factors in determination of an active human free-will. See, R.D. Warren, Who Speaks for the Negro (Publishers not available), 1965; David Heisman, Individualism Reconsidered, New York, Free Press, 1954; Nathan Glazer, American Judaism, Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1957; M.M. Gordon, Human Nature, Class and Ethnicity (The chapter on "Marginality and the Jewish intellectual is relevant to our present theme on dual identity), Oxford University Press, New York, 1978.