

Evolution of Religious Ethnicity in the Indian Muslims

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Abstract

Religion as ethno descriptor yields deep rooted impacts on its followers. Traditionally, the religion has been regarded by the people as a means of ethical uplift of the individuals, enabling them to maintain and develop better relations with others. Religion continued its role as a source of spiritual refinement of individuals until the modern political methods began to demand allegiance to political groups for gaining maximum share of state's resources. Majority of people still believe that religion must not be made a bone of contention. In this article detailed analysis of the term 'religious ethnicity', in general and the background to the germination of religious ethnicity among the Indian Muslims in particular has been taken in to account. The article will enable us better understand the terminology and the sowing of religiously based seeds of ethnic feelings among the Indian Muslims. The same seeds ultimately flowered in to the partition of India in 1947 between two religious ethnic groups, the Hindus and the Muslims creating the first state of the modern history based on religious ethnicity

Key Words: Religion, Ethnicity, Identity Crisis, Separate electorate

Religion

Every scholar is interested in delineating and defining his own version according to his viewpoint and conceptualization, so it seems that there is no generally accepted definition of religion. It is so, also, because there exist a large diversity in religions, their practices, their denominations, and their experiences. For instance, scientific approaches to religion have often focused on social or psychological functions and its belief contents (Berger, 1974).

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Etymologically, the word 'religion' has been derived from a Latin word 'religare' which means to "Bind Back" or to "rebind". It implies that religion contains a process of reconnecting by worship a missing or broken intimacy between the creator and the created. Alternative less known etymological origin of religion is the Latin word 'Relegere' denoting "Re-read." Religious' is an adjective of religion and stands for 'relating to or believing in religion'.

Religion is the recognition of God as an object of worship, love, and obedience: the whole relation and duty of man towards God; a body of truths or doctrines regarding the being and perfections of God, the requirements of His law, the nature, duties and responsibilities of man, and future state of rewards and punishments (Williams, 1943). Religion is human beings' relation to that which they regard as holy, sacred, spiritual or divine. It is commonly regarded as consisting of a person's relation to God or to gods or spirits. Worship is probably the most basic element of religion, but moral conduct, right belief, and participation in religious institutions are generally also constituent elements of the religious life as practiced by believers and worshipers and as commanded by religious sages and scriptures. (Gwinn, 1990).

Pecorino defines religion as "the most intensive and comprehensive method of valuing that is experienced by humankind." He stresses that this definition gives ample opportunity to include all kinds of experiences in its domain and religious phenomena can be understood in a better way. Schleremacher's definition of religion invokes a sense of man's dependence on a Supreme Being which is believed to be all powerful and all knowing.

Anih citing Howels visualizes religion from a psychological point of view. He defines religion as a normal psychological adjustment of human society aimed at building a barrier of fantasy against fear and since any psychological adjustment is mainly associated with stress, it is therefore a source of emotion. These emotions can lead to dysfunctions of religion and promote terrorism and violence as it has often been the justification and motivation for war. The analysis of the aforementioned definitions clearly indicates the two dimensions of the functions of religion in a society; the personal dimension and the social dimension. The personal functions are related to the impacts of religion on a followers' life and determine his relation to the supernatural being of any name. The social functions are linked with the whole being of a society which follows a particular religion.

According to Emile Durkheim religion has three major functions to perform. It provides social cohesion and solidarity, conformity and control, and meaning and purpose to answer any existential question. These functions of religion hold an utmost importance in any society to wield political and structural influence in all domains of life. Therefore religion, its functions, its denominations, its uses, its prevalence through the ages in every kind of society, aborigine or modern cannot be ignored.

Ethnicity

“If you are born poor, you may die rich. But your ethnic group is fixed” (Economist, May 14-21, 2005, 80)

Every human being wants to influence others and achieve his ends. The desired influence and the ends cannot be realized only through individual efforts, so he has to organize and attach himself with others and use the

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channels like political parties, pressure groups, caste, creed, kinship and ethnicity (Ahmed, 1998). At first glance, ethnicity apparently seems to be a straightforward concept but it is a topic of multi-interpretations. It is a term of 20th century and it first appeared in W. Lloyed Warner and Paul S. Lunt's "The Social Life of a Modern Community" (Mills, 1942). As a sociological concept it is meant to replace the older terms such as "Race", or "Minority". It is a branch of social history. This term is also used synonymously with terms like 'nation' or 'people'.

Etymologically, the word 'Ethnicity' comes from Greek which was Latinized and then incorporated in to Middle English (1150-1500) with somewhat different connotations from that of recent ones. The Greek word 'Ethnikos' means "of or for a nation, national" by some writers (like Polybus) "adopted to the genius or customs of a people, peculiar to a people" and among grammarians "suited to the mannerism or language of foreigners," from ' Ethnos' "band of people living together, nation, people, tribe, caste, Ethos, in Greek, stands for custom, disposition or trait. The same was Latinized as 'Ethnicus'. In Middle English 'Ethnic' appears with the meaning of "heathen" or "pagan". The adjective 'Ethnic' relates to a group of people with a unique culture. According to Merriam Webster dictionary ethnicity is: 'of or relating to a large groups of people classed according to common racial, national, tribal, religious, linguistic or cultural origin or background.

Ethnicity is described as residing in:

- The belief by members of a social group that they are culturally distinctive and different to outsiders as was the case with the Muslims in India before partition.

- Their willingness to find symbolic markers of that difference (food habits, religion, forms of dress, language) and to emphasize their significance; and
- Their willingness to organize relationships with the outsiders for preservation and reproduction of ‘group boundary’. This shows that ethnicity is not necessarily genetic.

An ethnic group is a subgroup whose members are perceived by themselves and others to have a common origin and culture, and shared activities in which the common origin and culture is essential ingredient. According to encyclopedia Britannica Ethnic group is a social group or category of the population that, in a larger society, is set apart and bound together by common ties of race, language, nationality, or culture (Gwinn, 1990).

How ethnicity is ascribed to individuals is an important question. There are many schools of thought on this question. However, they can be grouped into three categories: The Primordialism, Constructionism and Instrumentalism. These three paradigms for understanding of the real nature of ethnicity are just ideal types. No theory can be pigeonholed in one paradigm. Actually most of the theories lean forward to one paradigm or the other.

The Primordialist School

Ethnicity is very deep and primal bond of man with his physical and spiritual surroundings. It descends upon a person without his choice. For instance, if one’s ancestors are Japanese, one is bound to be Japanese because one inherits physical as well as social and cultural traits from them. Moreover, the ethnicity is static and immutable. If one is born Indian, he is bound to

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remain Indian all his life. He cannot become Englander, African or American. Ethnic boundaries are demarcated permanently. The common ancestry is one of the main ethnicity determining factors because it is ancestry that fixes biological as well as the physical and cultural origins. This school is called “Primordialist” because it stresses on the primordial factors as lineage and cultural bonds in ascribing ethnicity (Yang, 2000). Within the pail of Primordialist approach there exist two variant views; the Sociologists and the Culturalists. According to Pierre van den Berghe the sociological factor-kinship- is the most important factor in creating and determining ethnicity. Actually extended family finally creates ethnic group. Because the kinship is unbreakable tie so ethnicity is imperishable (Yang, 2000). The other view, the Sociological, maintains that common culture (language, religion) determines the cohesiveness of ethnic ties even in the absence of common ancestors.

The Constructionalist School

The Primordialist School remained dominant till 1970s and then the Constructionalist school of thought began to rise. The new approach concentrated on three arguments regarding social construction, ethnic boundaries and response to changing social environment.

William Yancey (1976) presented the concept of “emergent ethnicity” which comes to surface as a result of structural conditions closely associated with the industrialization process confronted by different peoples. The making, crystallization and development of ethnicities depend on this factor along with the position of peoples in the given society.

Jonathan Sarna proposed that the process of “ethnicization” is the result of two factors: ‘Ascription and Adversity’. Ascription means the duties

assigned to men by outside institutions e.g. church, village loyalties, other immigrants, government etc. Adversity refers to the efforts of defending oneself individually or collectively against outside hostile forces.

The Instrumentalist School

Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan define ethnicity as an instrument and strategy to get resources. It is a means for political mobilization for furthering group interests. The people become ethnic and they remain attached to ethnicity as long as it gives them sufficient return. The functional advantages of ethnicity range from “the moral and material support provided by ethnic networks to political gains made through ethnic bloc voting.” Orlando Patterson asserts that” the strength, scope, viability, and bases of ethnic identity are determined by, and are used to serve, the economic and general class interests of individuals” (Patterson, 1992). A latest version of instrumentalism is the ‘Rational Choice Theory’ propounded by Banton which explains that people rationally calculate costs and benefits of ethnic affiliation and then assume it. It means ethnicity is optional and it is accepted or denied keeping in view the advantages and disadvantages of its assumption (Patterson, 1983)

An Integrated Approach

The forgoing three paradigms have their flaws and limitations .So an integrated approach based on the four specific propositions has been coined by Philip Q.Yong. According to him ethnicity is a social construction partly based on factual or presumed ancestry and more by society. Moreover, interests and gains also partly determine ethnic cohesion and that ethnic

horizons relatively stable, however, they are liable to changes from time to time (Yang, 2000).

The Religious Ethnicity

Religion is one of the main descriptors of ethnicity that can be enumerated in the formation process of ethnic feelings of a given people. There is no doubt that religion plays a vital role in formation, retention and continuity of ethnicity because it is an important ingredient of cultural heritage and it 'addresses issues of beliefs, modus Operandi and modus Vivendi...the link between religion and ethnicity as one of the vehicles for identity development and the role of religion in forging identity formation especially for youth' is considered unique. It is one of the most important ethnic 'descriptive' and a kind of correlation exists between religion and ethnicity.

Many post-enlightenment philosophers like Comte, Voltaire and Rousseau thought that although religion had been a forceful factor in the formation process of the civilizations yet it became out dated and unnecessary in the advanced world. They labeled religion as outdated and irrational and it was being replaced by 'rational' and 'scientific' meaning-systems. According to their thinking new meaning-systems were gaining coinage instead of the traditional religions. For some time the rise of nation states and the ideal of nationalism was considered to be a substitute of religion. Nevertheless, the global trend of spread of religions for example Islam in Europe and North America, Pentecostalism in Latin America and Asia, and Western Churches in Central and Eastern Europe remarkably show the role of religion in modern societies (Barry, 2012). The relationship between religion and ethnicity has been so intermingled and assimilated that their separation sometimes seems

impossible. The Catholicism in Ireland, Eastern Orthodoxy in Russia, Islam and Hinduism in India are the instances of this deep rooted relationship

The western countries where religion is shown as having little importance but there are other regions where religion owns high ranking in all walks of life. The countries where nationalism was brought forward to replace religion succeeded to some extent. They could not discard religion completely because it is so much integrated into human psychology since ages that it seems impossible to stay away from it altogether. No person belonging to Roman Catholic denomination of Christianity can be the king of England. No non-Muslim can assume the presidency in Pakistan and likewise in Iran and many other Muslim countries. No Protestant can become the president of USA. The president of USA had to use the word of 'Crusade' for their war against terrorism. The Bosnian civil war brought to surface the religious differences within family domains and tore apart the society on ethno-religious basis. However, the western countries succeeded in eliminating the influence of priesthood and the strong hold of theocracy in political domain only.

The relationship between religion and ethnicity has been so intermingled, interconnected and absorbed that their separation sometimes seems impossible. Group identities are formed and retained even on supra-national and supra- ethnic level by use of religious markers like that of the Jewish community all over the world and the concept of the Muslim Umma.

The ethnic feelings which are purely based on only religion rather than other factors such as common language, traditions, territorial linkages, same race or common history is labeled as religious ethnicity. The religion

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brings people to common footing and the other tenacious forces are subservient to religious dynamism. The causes of these feelings are harbored, generated and watered due to some common fears or common persecution by dominant majority belonging to other belief or beliefs. Such as was the case with the Muslims in India before partition. The Muslims all over the Sub-continent voted for All India Muslim League on its stand for a separate country for the Muslims in spite of the fact that the Muslims had been living side by side with the other religious ethnic groups since centuries but the new developments in the method of formation of Governments in democracy they concluded that their existence would be jeopardized, thus they demanded for their own country on the basis of religious affinities.

The post colonial demarcation of boundaries have been done on the basis of ethno-religious identities like the partition and boundary making process of India in 1947 and severance of East Timor from Indonesia in 2002. The rise of ethno-religious conflicts in the world show the capacity of a religion to mobilize its adherents and legitimatization of their demands by using religious markers and symbols although only religious causes are not behind every conflict. Social, economic and political causes are tinged with religious descriptors for achieving the ends.

Stephan Conard and Douglas Hrtman suggest “Nothinghas led to more carnage throughout human history than religion. Religious beliefs seem repeatedly to unite human beings, often across ethnic boundaries, in extended conflicts with other human beings who are similarly united” (Cornell, 1998).

The Background of Religious Ethnic Feelings in the Indian Muslims

The Muslims and the Hindus kept their bearings separate like the two banks of a long brook which are always close but cannot merge thus negated the 'Melting Pot' theory of ethnicity. "For twelve centuries each community has been confronted by the other....their differences of belief, together with communal aspirations on the one hand contending with an instinct for communal preservation on the other, have been the source of much friction which continues to the present day" (Titus, 1995). It was not a feud based on race. Although in the North-West the Indian Muslims were the progeny of the Arab, Persian and Turk invaders yet it was not the case with the other parts of the sub-continent. They were descendents of the old Indian Hindus who embraced the faith of the invaders. The major distinction was not that of physical but cultural. This distinction was based on the acutely different religions and social systems (Coupland, 1944). The history of medieval and modern India is the history of religio-cultural tensions. Although there have been efforts for understanding, composite development and harmony but the divisive forces were highly dynamic than the cohesive forces. (Ahmad, 1970) The earlier history of India shows complete dominance of religion over social life through a very strong system of social castes and superstitions. The way to salvation for an individual went through costly rituals of sacrifice preferably of a horse, in the earliest times. All rituals were monopoly of Brahmins that served as tools of exploitation. Teachings of Gautama Buddha (563-480 BC on whose precepts Buddhism was founded) and Mahavira (599-527 BC on whose precepts Jainism was founded) were a kind of rebellion against Brahminism. Buddhism provided salvation through abandoning of the sires

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while Jainism preached salvation through non-violence. The Baghti cult (Started during 7th century in Tamil Nado Southern India and reached its zenith in 15th and 17th century in Eastern and Northern India) (Schomer & McLeod, 1987) promised salvation through universal love. These religious movements existed and thrived side by side quite peacefully. Later even Jews (8th century BC Bene Israel community to Baghdadi Community in 18th century) (Salapak, 1984) and Parsis (since 8th century CE) Hinnells,& Williams, (2008) enjoyed a peaceful existence in India without being assimilated in Hinduism. Even the earliest converts to Islam the Memons, Khojas, Bohras and Ismailites faced no existential threat. The prominent attributes of local psychology seem to respect every exceptional individual who was deemed to possess divine and supernatural powers. But this phenomenon ended with the dominance of the Muslims in political arena.

The entrance of the Muslims in India has three distinct waves. Firstly, as traders and preachers, secondly with the expanding wave of Umayyad conquests and thirdly like the Greeks, the Sakas and the Huns, in an organized conquest-cum-immigration movement of Turks and Afghans (Ahmad, 1970).

The second wave started in 712 AD when Muhammad Bin Qasim defeated Raja Dahir and conquered Sind up to Multan yet the internal conflict in Demascus and less yield of Sind do not mark the Muslims as dominant rulers in India. However, this entrance was markedly different from the earlier one as it was tinged with the color of the 'Ruled' and the 'Ruler'. The third wave of entrance of India in the last quarter of 10th century and start of 11th century by Mahmood of Ghazna can be considered a land mark when the Muslims found themselves distinctly in superior position. Sam bin

Muhammad Ghori (Shahabuddin) was the king whose slave Qutb ud Din Aibak is known as the first independent Muslim sultan in India. The Sultanate period (1206 A.D. to 1526 A.D.) is marked as the starting period of Muslim Religious ethnicity in India. The role of the Mughals (1526-1857) was markedly different in their policy of tolerance and peaceful co-existence with the dominant Hindu majority especially, the policy of Akbar. Aurangzeb's religious policy was an example of deviance from the main stream of the Mughal culture and politics. It meant the revival of all that Akbar and Shahjahan had endeavored to remove (Wasti, 1968). This deviance had its roots in the religio-ethnic awareness of the Hindu majority and their efforts to use religious markers against the Muslim rule in India. As Jadunath Sarkar observes: " Shivaji has shown that the tree of Hinduism is not really dead, that it can rise from beneath the seemingly crushing load of centuries of political bondage, exclusion from the administration, and legal repression; it can put forth new leaves and branches; it can again lift its head up to the skies" (Sarkar, 1920).

The Crisis of Identity

According to Eralp Identity pertains to existence and belongingness. Identifier and identified are two elements that formulate identity process. Identified is 'Self' and the identifier is the 'other'. Therefore, it is 'other' that identifies, defines, determines and nominates identity. The 'other' is related to 'difference' and the 'other' can do all this according to his perceptions, interests, connotations, social norms, religious teachings and common history of hostility or cordiality (Derrida, 1978). Hindu communalism had never been entirely dormant, the fact was that they only made peace with the

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Muslim conquerors and large sections of the Hindu population reconciled with the Muslim rule but a powerful undercurrent of hostility and ill will persisted even among the politically conscious sections.

After Aurangzeb's death (1707) the plight of the Muslims of India in the face of the rising tide of hostile alien as well as the indigenous forces is evident from the letters of a Muslim revivalist Shah Waliullah (1703-1762). He invited Ahmad Shah Abdali, an Afghan ruler to come up as savior for the Indian Muslims to rescue them. He further asserted that it was incumbent upon him because in a short time the distinction between the Muslims and Hindus would wipe out (Sayeed, 2003). In the history of sub-continent 1857 is the mile stone in multi-dimensional perspectives. Before the war of independence the different communities of the region perceived that they could oust the British East India Company from their territory by force. But after utter failure they came to grief and concluded that the company was invincible and undefeatable power in the sub-continent. The end of Company's government and start of the government of the Crown and introduction of the political reforms is marked with the process of constitutional struggle. The time when the abolition of Mughal Dynasty completed and the system began to transform to British colonial system, was marked by the crisis of international moral traditions, drug trafficking gains, globalization of trade, rapid industrialization, missionaries and poor peasants, uncertainty and hopelessness (Castells, 2003). After consolidation of the British Empire the Muslims found themselves deprived of the privileges they had enjoyed during the Mughal rule (Haqqani, 2005). Religion, language and script are the basic triad of self-awareness but unfortunately all were put to jeopardy by the new circumstances for the

Muslims (Khawaja, 1985). They ceased to be the governing class. All military and the posts of civil administration were filled by the British and the Hindus. Even in the lower class posts they were edged out by the Hindus. The first great shock was the abolition of Persian as an official language, the 2nd was the mutiny which was wholly attached with them as a community and the 3rd was the growth of higher education which was rejected by the Muslims in favor of traditional religious education thus they failed to have share in the intellectual renaissance of India (Coupland, 1944). Such was the critical time when the Muslims of the sub-continent fell in to the abysmal depth of identity crisis and soon they were confronted with identity conflict. It is a basic property of society to seek solace and asylum in religion” in such conflicting situation (Castells, 2003). So did the Muslims of the sub-continent. They refused to be absorbed in the Hindu polity. Brahmanism had a remarkable record of assimilating in to its fold multi races and creeds whoever came here in search of food or fame. Islam was the first foreign element which refused to merge itself with the Brahman polity and it was the first failure of Hinduism and first basic breach in the Indian spiritual tradition (Aziz, 1998). It proved to be a ‘deathless antagonism’ which lasted till the end (Aziz, 1998). Sir T. Morrison quotes in his book ‘Political India’ the words of Sir Abdul Rahim President of Central Assembly,” Whereas the Indian Moslems felt quite at home in the Moslem countries of Asia, in India we find ourselves in all social matters total aliens when we cross the street and enter that part of the town where our Hindu fellow townsmen live.” Thus the attachment with the Ummah (The Muslim world) became the center as the sole concept transcending race, color, ethnic grouping and geographical distances. There

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were a variety of British responses to this phenomenon. One interpretation was that the Muslims were bound by religion to hate and eliminate the English from India and restore Mughal Dynasty (Hunter, 1876). It was visualized that the Muslims could rise under some “Muslim Cromwell” to displace the British. Lord Salisbury propounded the theory of the Muslim expansion throughout the world. According to him Kabul, Cairo and Constantinople were supporting political ambitions of the Indian Muslims. It was olden conflict of Islam and Christianity (Aziz, 2006). As a result the British followed the policy of ‘Divide and Rule’. They supported and uplifted the Hindus and suppressed the Muslims for their ulterior motives. The Muslims were ousted from important positions of the government on a large scale. During the ten years (1852-1862), only one Muslim judge was appointed out of 240 and there were only 92 Muslims out of 681 employees in different departments like administration, health and police. A picture of the aloofness of the Muslims can be imagined from an excerpt from W. W. Hunter’s book.

“All sorts of employment, great or small, are being gradually snatched away from the Muhammadans, and bestowed on men of other races, particularly Hindus” (Hunter, 1876). He elaborated precarious condition of the Muslims by quoting that if any statesman wishes to make a sensation in the House of Commons, he has only to truly narrate the history of these Muhammadan families of Bengal.” The Hindus collaborated with the new masters and got eminence in all walks of life. The efforts of Raja Ram Mohan Roy bore fruit as he had long ago (in 1817, the year of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan’s birth) established a college in Calcutta. The Muslims lagged far behind in acquisition of western education. In 1878 there were 3155 Hindus who had

college education while Muslim number of college educated person reached only 57. The Muslims on the whole took asylum in the glorious past and kept themselves aloof from the new revolutionary happenings that were pouring forth around them. They were lamentably stuck in the marsh of old monastic education system. They were afraid of jeopardizing their faith if they yield to the new education system. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan who belonged to a noble family which had a prominent say in the Mughal Darbar had to join a minor clerical appointment in the East India Company in 1838 at the death of his father. He was not a sort of man to contend with the lot. Soon he qualified himself for the post of Munsif (Sub-Judge) and was posted at Fatehpur Sikri (Ikram, 1970). His services, statesmanship and loyalty to the British at Bijnor during the War of Independence provided him ample opportunity to have a high esteem among the victors. It was his towering personality that stood alone for recuperation of the Muslim exhaustion after so long agonizing and tiresome period. He became the pioneer and originator of the Islamic Modernism among the Indian Muslims. Starting from establishing Scientific Society for the purpose of translating European books in to local languages he did his utmost efforts to raise the Muslims from abysmal depths of decline. His efforts were multi-faceted ranging from economic, social, religious, historical, educational and political fields. After having a detailed visit of England he founded in 1877 the "Muslim Cambridge" at Aligarh which soon became a powerful magnet for intellectuals and an educational hub for the Muslims of India. Muhammad Ali Jinnah called it "Indian Muslim Arsenal" (Krishan, 2002). Slowly and steadily with the occurrence of the critical events in Indian history Sir Sayyid created a sense of separateness among the Muslim

masses especially on the eve of Urdu-Hindi controversy in 1867 and inauguration of Indian National Congress in 1885.

Sir Sayyid's views on Urdu-Hindi controversy before the Divisional Commissioner Benaras clearly indicate his point of view on the separate consciousness of the Muslims and Hindus in India. He said, "Now I am convinced that both these communities will not join whole heartedly in anything" (Ikram, 2000). Sir William Hunter wrote about the Muslims of India not merely a community but also as 'a race' which exhibits at intervals 'their old intense feeling of nationality' (Collard, 1958). With the passage of time the Hindu communalist gave up the farce cloak of giving the Muslims the right of religious freedom expressing the plans of assimilating them as 'Muhammadi Hindu' as a sect in the mainstream Hinduism.

The introduction of the institutions under the Western system of democracy inflicted havoc on the Muslims. The Lord Rippon reforms especially in connection with the Local Self Government brought the new awareness among the about the Majority-Minority Controversy. The linguistic division had already created schism between the two communities at top level but system of gaining power through elections created a wide gulf of interests among the ordinary masses too. The demands of Indian National Congress for majority seats and on the issue of age-limit for Competitive examination widened the nascent rift further.

Germination of Identity

The segregation of communities has been the most powerful social feature in India. The untouchables were not allowed to live within reach of higher-caste Hindus. Similarly there were separate Hindu and Muslim

localities in every city with rare exceptions. During Muslim rule this arrangement went on smooth because every community was equally deprived of any share in political power. During British era the Hindus improved in many fields including trade and industry. Although the Muslim political movement and awareness rose to prominence after introduction of the western system of democracy by the British Government however, their religious and cultural awareness and segregation had grown during and after the last days of the Mughal rule and strengthening of the Marhathas, the Sikhs, and other non-Muslim groups. The two books can be referred to as representatives of the Hindu and Muslim outlook and thinking; Altaf Hussain Hali's 'Musadas' (The Ebb and Flow of Islam, 1879) and Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's 'Anandmath' (The Abbey of Bliss, 1882) (Sayeed, 2003). Moreover, the race for political patronage and office brought with it beginning of communal political competition (Kapur,1986).

“From 1905 India entered a new era... The years 1905 to 1914 form a clearly defined period in Indian history, which may be described as Edwardian India (Smith, 1986) (1901-1914). With the advent of the 20th century some remarkable events (Russo-Japanese war 1904-5) took place in the world as well as in India which culminated in the strengthening of the rift that had been created by the democratic system between the two major communities. Lord Curzon, the Viceroy, partitioned the province of Bengal in to the East Bengal, Assam and the West Bengal on administrative grounds. The Muslims felt relieved at being in majority in the East Bengal and prospects of development were open to them with the new capital, Dhaka. On the contrary the Hindus concluded that the partition was not in consonance with their economic and

political designs, therefore, they launched a fierce campaign declaring the October 1, as “the National Mourning Day”. The Muslims and the British were equally held responsible and thus targeted ruthlessly by the extremist Hindus. Stringent measures for economic embargo were followed by the Hindus to pressurize the British for nullification of the partition. In this critical situation two events (Simla Deputation and establishment of AIML) took place which molded the further course of history and germinated the seeds of partition of India. The favorable response of Lord Minto on the separate consciousness of the Muslims and the realization of their demand in the Morley-Minto reforms on 1909 which awarded the privilege of ‘Separate Electorate’ to the Muslims marks a historic event and a mile stone in the creation of Pakistan. That’s why the Indian historians often lynch Lord Minto. Rama Nand Agarwala in his essay ‘Divde and Rule Tactics’ writes about the significance of separate electorte thus: “Hindus and Muslims were never united in a real manner hereafter, except probably during the days of Khilafat for a short time. Such was the nature of poison injected in the body politic of India. It is, therefore, believed by some that the real father of Pakistan was not Jinnah or Rahimatoola but Lord Minto” (Aggarwala & Lewis, 1962).

With the advent of the First World War (1914-1918) the slogans for self-rule were raised by political parties especially by Home Rule League under Mrs Annie Besant (Sing, 2012). The new political scenario brought Congress and All Indi Muslim League closer which culminated in the form of Lakhnow Pact. Moreover, the Khilafat Movement (1919-1923) brought the Hindus and Muslims closer but un-natural alliance came to end soon because each had his own axe to grind. However, this honey moon of the Indian

national Congress and the Ulema brought a lasting impact on the future course of history in United India and in Pakistan even after partition. The Ulema entered politics under the umbrella of Gandhi and stuck to it representing the cosmopolitan bent of Islam and nationalism opposing the territorial manifestation in the form of Pakistan. It is surprising that they opposed Jinnah's territorial nationalism for Pakistan but supported Indian nationalism propounded by Gandhi whereas, Indian Nationalism meant for the Muslims to accept perpetual domination of the Hindu majority. They did not trust the Hindus as a majority that would be just and generous to Muslim interest and culture (Syeed, 2003). Nehru himself pointed out that many a congressman was communalist under a national cloak (Nehru, 1958).

The early phase of 1920s was marked with a long trail of the Hindu-Muslim riots. The Hindu –Muslim conflict heightened after more and more political powers were placed on political board by the British especially in 1919 reforms. Both the communities became contenders to grab more power. Thus progressive style of self government brought progressive aggravation of the inter-communal conflict (Sayeed, 2003). The turbulent meeting of All Parties Muslim Conference and the Delhi Proposals (1927) for conditional abolition of Separate Electorate by Jinnah created rift between the Muslims. It indicated that the separate consciousness had gained deep roots among the Muslims. Resultantly, the dream of Hind-Muslim Unity of the 'Ambassador of Unity' came to grief. These feelings further strengthened in reaction to the Nehru report (1928) and Jinnah had to utter: "It is parting of the ways" (Ikram, 1987). Even the person of moderate bent like Agha Khan had to remark that no serious-minded person could imagine that such 'degrading proposals be

accepted (Aziz, 1998). The distance further widened and gained full gravity at the Round Table Conferences. The ruthless and inconsiderate treatment on the minority issue by the Indian National Congress, Gandhi and Hindu Mahasabha left no signs of fostering a united India. The Muslims were 'Wandering in the Wilderness' in these years because they had no central figure to further their demands or bring them under one banner. The utter failure of All India Muslim League in 1937 elections provided an opportunity to All India National Congress to give a final crushing blow to the Muslims. The Congress ministries treated the Muslims in an offensive dictatorial manner (Ikram, 1987). It was this high-handedness of Congress leadership that pushed the Muslims to the wall that the Muslim leadership ultimately left the course of gaining 'Constitutional safeguards' and on 23 March, 1940 opted for 'independent status in the contiguous Muslim majority areas'. As the time of closure of the colonial system came nearer the call for an independent Muslim state began to gain momentum due to the long trail of multifarious incidents of discrimination in all walks of life at the hands of the colonial rulers and the dominant Hindu majority. In India the Muslims were not a single uniform entity. They were divided by multi-factors such as language, ethnicity and denomination (Talbot, 1984). Although there were innumerable reasons like economic, political, social, cultural and religious behind the forceful demand for an independent and sovereign state for the Indian Muslims. But the religion was the dominant cohesive force to cement and unite the multi-ethnic and heterogeneous Muslims of the subcontinent for this common cause. The followers of the same religion had assimilated different cultures and spoke different languages. It was Islam that bound the ethnic groups like Punjabis,

Sindis, Pathans, Baluchis and Bengalis. To presume that Pakistan was demanded and created as a Muslim country only for acquisition of economic rights can be regarded an academic interpretation not the reading of actuality of that time (Coudhry, 1969). However, unfortunately a tension arose between the propagators of the 'Purist and universalist Islam' under the Islamic religious parties like Jamiat Ulema-i- Islam, Jamiat Ulema – Hind, Jamat-i-Islami, Majlis-i-Ahrar, Momin Group and those representing the 'Populist and territorial Islam' under All India Muslim League. The paradoxical situation with the first group was that they opposed territorial nationalism that was being followed by League but vehemently supported the territorial nationalism of Congress.

Conclusion

The detailed review of the circumstances which negated the 'Melting Pot Theory' of ethnicity and led the Muslims of the sub-continent not only to retain their exclusive recognition on the basis of religion but exert untiring efforts for achieving a separate state of their own is an interesting and inspiring episode of the Pakistani nation. This specific historical phenomenon is unique in the world history which shows evidently the adjustments and re-adjustments of a large ethnic group who once had been in a paramount position and then faced the sheer fall which could throw it in to abyss of oblivion but the inspiring and unflinching guides analyzed the critical situations and acted accordingly for the social, economic and political uplift with an integrated program deeply connected with education. The religious element tightened and heightened the ethnic feelings and that was an unprecedented service for the Muslims, however, this element could not

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evaluate the changing political and social circumstances. Therefore, newly emerged elite which was educated on modern lines analyzed and re-evaluated the contemporary speedily changing panorama and decided aptly to save the integrity, solidarity and the specific identity of the Indian Muslims.

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