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PREFACE

The papers brought out here are the ones prepared by four experts in the concerned field and are part of the first tranche of the ‘Occasional Paper Series’ under the Chair on Religious Minorities, sponsored by the Directorate of Minorities Welfare, Government of Karnataka. I am grateful to Mr Akram Pasha, Director, Department of Minorities Welfare, for facilitating the institution of this Chair in our University and thereby giving us the opportunity of conducting research on Minorities of Karnataka and undertaking related programmes.

I will be failing in my duty if do not adequately thank Prof S Japhet, formerly Director of the Centre for the Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy, National Law School of India University, for all his help in bringing this Chair and guiding us in carrying out the activities mandated under the Chair.

Our Vice Chancellor, Prof R Venkat Rao and our Registrar, Prof O V Nandimath has been immensely helpful to us in all matters. We are grateful to them for their kind gesture.

My thanks are also due to the authors of the papers included here, viz., Ms Saika Sabir, Dr Y Moses, Mr M A Siraj and Dr R G Desai, and to Mr H K Govinda Rao and Ms G Shashikala for Secretarial Assistance.

Abdul Aziz
Chair Professor
CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF MINORITIES: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

Saika Sabir

I. Introduction/Statement of Problem:

The features of postcolonial governance of India have long been held up as a success story: “the world’s largest democracy, whose citizens enjoyed freedom of speech and religious tolerance. It is seen to have escaped the military dictatorships that had been the fate of so many former colonies and despite several marks of sectarian conflicts; it continues to be the largest democracy of the world.”¹ Yet, much of the intellectual work of dissent argue that “the promise of national emancipation was fulfilled, if not fraudulently, then certainly by the forcible marginalization of many who were supposed to have shared in the fruits of liberation”.² As an index of the continuity of the exclusionary politics one may turn to the distinct “cultural problem” of religious minorities in India.³ The founding members of the Constitution of India had rejected the idea of “Clash of Civilizations”⁴ underpinning the Partition of India and proclaimed that every citizen of India, irrespective of religious belief is absolutely equal before law. Despite such commitments to equality and inclusive society, in the new-nation state, what we have come to see is the hegemonic paternalism of the dominant religious groups which demarcated its practices and tradition as distinct not only from the West but

³Partha Chatterjee, Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories (Princeton University Press, 1993), P.134
also from the vast swathes of marginalized people whom it had sworn to democratize. Out of this constellation has followed the rise of fundamentalist movements\(^5\) and strong communitarian feelings within each group and sectarian identities who felt alienated from each other. The recent political developments in India have witnessed conflicts and tension between the majority communities and the minority communities in many parts of the country. Thus rendering the question of minority group rights and protection of their identity central to the political discourse of India.

In this backdrop this paper will look into the constitutional rights of the minorities in India. The constitution of India and more generally the international documents on human rights provides for the necessity of providing positive discrimination or ensuring affirmative action’s for upliftment and welfare of the minorities. Simultaneously it imposes negative injunction on every form of discrimination, nevertheless, these legal and constitutional provisions have been abused by the political establishment for its own political end. The same provisions meant for the better protection of the minorities has been used by the fundamental forces as a counter argument that minorities are also citizens of this country and hence they also should be treated equal like any citizen of this country since they are also equal before law.\(^6\) Therefore this will move beyond the given constitutional framework as to explore how these rights have been engaged with in resolving the difficult question of “minority problems”\(^7\) in India.

\(^5\)Fundamentalist movements are basically political movements which have religious and ethnic roots. These movements can be of wide variety but their primary purpose is to bring the state and its instrumentalities under the strictures of their religious belief or gospel.

\(^6\)Minorities and their backwardness in nation and minorities

\(^7\)I use the term minority problem as a phrase to bracket all cultural, religious and political dilemmas faced by the minorities in India
The attempt to define “Minority”, particularly in a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural polity like India faces an inherent challenge; on what basis can a group or community be attributed minority status? Nevertheless, the most essential requisite to be a minority group is the group must be non-dominant. In keeping with this understanding the Constitution of India through its various provision recognises; (i) religious minorities (ii) linguistic minorities (iii) cultural minorities and (iv) minorities possessing a script of their own. However, this broad classification of minorities may be over simplistic. It is important to note that the understanding of minority in India is not just about capturing the non-dominant groups in pure particularism of its numerical strength. It is primarily about understanding the relationship between different groups present in varied equation to each other in differing locations and how these groups stand in their relationship with the state and institutions of Democracy.8 I proceed with a clear understanding of this difficulty in defining minorities in India and for the purpose of this paper limit its scope to religious minorities only9.

II. Historicising the Constitutional Rights of Minorities:

The critics of the Indian nation-state and its relation to the pluralistic society generally argue that; the concept of India as a nation-state had its roots in European nationalism.10 Initially the European polities were committed to homogeneity; to the building of strong homogenous national communities, which have led them to be supremely impatient with any manifestations of

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8Nation and Minorities, p116 (Prakash Louis : Minorities and their Backwardness)
9The Central Government through the National Minorities Commission Act, 1992 notified the following five groups as minorities under section 2 (c ), namely: Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists and Parsis. In January, 2014 Jains were included in the list of Minorities under section 2 (c ) of the National inorities Act.
diversity. The postcolonial critics, argue, that India treaded on the similar path, therefore, the idea of nation has always been compromised of the dreams of homogenous communities and therefore leaving behind very little scope for minority identity and aspirations to flourish. The political practice of Indian polity was sectarian and divided and therefore it failed to achieve the ‘participatory parity’ promised for all individuals and groups constituting the totality of the Indian population. The Hindu majoritarian identity came to be represented as the national identity thereby blocking egalitarian distribution of resources and denying due recognition for culturally variant social groups. Under such circumstances these groups found themselves in a double bind—excluded from nationalism but at the same time trapped within the nation-state. Hence, this served as a breeding ground for several micro-identities. As an obvious result of all these political vagaries there emerged a number of groups and communities as “minorities, marginalized, plainly excluded/ subalternized, these groups even though formed a part of the Indian nation-state but were excluded or at best subordinately included in the modern Indian society.”

The freedom movement thus played a duel role in relation to the emergence of such regional and community consciousness. On the other hand, by invoking a greater loyalty to the Indian motherhood in a united struggle against British rule, it apparently subjugated the urge of the people of the various regions for developing into separate nationalities. In general, behind the apparent struggle between the communities with their slogan of India—a United Nation and the British rulers who highlighted the multiplicity of castes, communities, tribes and linguistic groups, was the reality that India was developing its national unity against the British but along with it the various

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12 G. Aloysius, Dalit-Subaltern Self-Identifications: Iyothee Thassar & Thamizhan (Critical Quest, New Delhi, 2010)
13 ibid
linguistic, cultural groups were being consolidated into distinct ethnic and communal groups.\textsuperscript{14}

In recognition of this fact the members of the members of the constituent assembly had emphasised the on making provisions for pluralism, however this was subject to debate and disagreements. In the Constituent Assembly, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar clearly stated\textsuperscript{15}:

To diehards who have developed a kind of fanaticism against minority protection I would like to say two things. One is that minorities are an explosive force which, if it erupts, can blow up the whole fabric of the state. The history of Europe bears ample of appalling testimony to this fact. The other is that the minorities in India have placed their existence in the hands of the majority. In the history of negotiations for preventing the partition of Ireland, Redmond said to Carson “ask for any safeguard you like for the Protestant minority but let us have a United Ireland”. Carson’s reply was “Damn your safeguards, we don’t want to be ruled by you.” No minority in India has taken this stand. They have loyally accepted the rule of majority and not political majority. It is for majority to realise its duty not to discriminate against minorities. Whether the minorities will continue or vanish must depend upon this habit of the majority. The moment the majority loses the habit of discriminating against the minority, the minorities can have no ground to exist. They will vanish.

Dr. Ambedkar’s speech quoted herein reiterates the importance of achieving the nationalist project of forming a ‘nation-state’ through constitutional consensus, particularly when there is no pre-existing cultural unity within the population.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{14} Narang, A.S., Ethno- Nationalism and Minorities in Akhtar Majeed (eds.), India in Nation and Minorities: India’s Plural Society and Its Constituents (Centre for Federal Studies, Hamdard University, New Delhi, 2002) pp.68
\textsuperscript{15} ibid
III. The Constitutional Consensus for the Resolution of the Minority Question:

Keeping in view the importance of providing rights and protection to the minorities in India the Constituent Assembly had setup an Advisory Committee under the chairmanship of Sardar Patel on the subject of Fundamental Rights including rights of minorities. The Advisory Committee thus appointed five sub-committees on fundamental rights, and of the sub-committees was particularly on minorities headed by H.C. Mukherjee.

The sub-committee made various recommendations regarding the safeguards for minorities in India. One such recommendation was about separate electorates for minorities; however, this recommendation was rejected referring to the past experience of sharpened communal differences. Thus it was decided that all elections to Central and Provincial legislatures were to be held on the basis of joint electorates with reservation of seats for certain specified minority groups according to their population ratio. It was also proposed that the reservation of seats was to be done on experimental basis for only ten years, and final position with respect to reservation to be considered at the end of ten years. The Advisory committee finally decided that seats for recognised minority groups (namely; Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Anglo-Indians, Parsis and tribals living in the plains of Assam) should be reserved in the legislatures in accordance to their population.

These recommendations of the Advisory Committee were incorporated in the draft constitution as of October, 1947. However, later in the wake of partition of the country, it was felt that given the situation of the country it would no longer be possible to reserve seats for the minority groups on the

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17 Narang (n15)
18 ibid
basis of their religion. Thus in a subsequent meeting the Advisory Committee made few new set of recommendations to the Constituent Assembly with respect to the minorities, which include the following:

(i) The minorities in every part of the country shall be given protection with respect to their language, culture and religious scripts and no law to the contrary shall be enacted.

(ii) There shall be no discrimination against the minority group (be it religious, linguistic or ethnic) with respect to admission to educational institution maintained out of public funds, nor shall specific religious instruction be imposed against them.

(iii) All minorities (based on religion, language or community identity) in any part of the country shall be free to establish and administer education institutions.

(iv) The state while providing funds should not discriminate against the educational institutions established and administered by the minority groups.

These recommendations were revised by the Constituent Assembly and took shape of articles 29 and 30 in the final draft of the Constitution of India. On overall the constitutional rights of minorities can be broadly placed under common domain’ and ‘separate domain’. The rights which fall in the category of ‘common domain’ are enjoyed by all the citizens of our country. ‘Separate domain’ includes those rights which are applicable to the minorities only and these rights under this domain are meant to protect the identity of the minorities. To this end the Constitution of India provides three sets of rights to the minorities: (i) right to preserve their culture and language (ii) administer

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19 ibid
and manage minority institutions and (iii) provide religious education in an institution which is managed and aided by the minority communities.

However, the ‘common domain’ of the constitutional rights comes under both-the Fundamental Rights (Part III of the Indian Constitution) and the Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP) (Part IV of the Indian Constitution). The DPSP, is a set of non-justifiable rights which are connected with the social and economic rights of the people. These rights are legally not binding upon the State, but are ‘fundamental in the governance of the country and it shall be the duty of the State to apply these principles in making laws’ (Article 37 of the Indian Constitution). The DPSP includes the following provisions which have significant implications for the minorities of our country:

i) Obligation of the State ‘to endeavor to eliminate inequalities in status, facilities and opportunities’ amongst individuals and groups of people residing in different areas or engaged in different vocations’ [Article 38 (2)];

ii) Obligation of State ‘to promote with special care’ the educational and economic interests of ‘the weaker sections of the people’ (besides Scheduled Castes and Schedule Tribes [Article 46];

Part IV A of the Indian Constitution, which deals with the Fundamental Duties applies to all citizens, including those belonging to Minorities. Article 51A, which is of special relevance for the Minorities, has the following provisions for them:

i) Citizens’ duty to promote harmony and the spirit of common brotherhood amongst all the people of India ‘transcending religious, linguistic and regional or sectional diversities; and
ii) Citizens’ duty to value and preserve the rich heritage of our composite culture.

Part III of the Indian Constitution, which deals with the Fundamental Rights, is divided into two parts: a) rights which come under the common domain and b) rights which fall under the ‘separate domain’. In the ‘common domain’, the following fundamental rights and freedoms are guaranteed for the minorities in India:

i) People’s right to ‘equality before the law’ and ‘equal protection of the laws’ (Article 14);

ii) Prohibition of discrimination against citizens on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth [Article 15 (1) & (2)];

iii) Authority of State to make ‘any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens’ (besides the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes) [Article 15(4)];

iv) Citizens’ right to ‘equality of opportunity’ in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State –and prohibition in this regard of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth [Article 16(1) & (2)];

v) Authority of State to make ‘any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services under the State [Article 16(4)];

vi) People’s freedom of conscience and right to freely profess, practice and propagate religion-subject to public order, morality and other Fundamental Rights [Article 25 (1)];

vii) Right of every religious denomination or any section thereof-subject to public order, morality and health-to establish and maintain
institutions for religious and charitable purposes, ‘manage its own affairs in matters of religion’, and own and acquire movable and immovable property and administer it ‘in accordance with law’ [Article 26];

viii) Prohibition against compelling any person to pay taxes for promotion of any particular religion [Article 27];

ix) People’s ‘freedom as to attendance at religious instruction or religious worship in educational institutions’ wholly maintained, recognized, or aided by the State [Article 28].

The Constitution guarantees the following minority rights which fall under the ‘separate domain’:

i) Right of ‘any section of the citizens’ to ‘conserve’ its ‘distinct language, script or culture’ [Article 29(1)];

ii) Restriction on denial of admission to any citizen, to any educational institution maintained or aided by the State, ‘on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them’ [Article 29(2)];

iii) Right of all religious and linguistic minorities to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice [Article 30(1)];

iv) Freedom of minority-managed educational institutions from discrimination in the matter of receiving aid from the State [Article 30(2)];

v) Special provision relating to the language spoken by a section of the population of any State [Article 347];

vi) Provision for facilities for instruction in mother-tongue at primary stage [Article 350 A];

vii) Provision for a Special Officer for linguistic minorities and his duties [Article 350 B]; and
Sikh community’s right of ‘wearing and carrying kirpans’ [Article 25].

With the gradually growing realization among the Indian policy makers that the minorities in the country are confronted with diverse and unique challenges from time to time, there developed a necessity to look into the special needs of the minority communities separately and accordingly provide provisions for their welfare and development in the various national Five Year Plans. Some of these efforts have been discussed herein

**Minority Commission:**

The “Minorities Commission”, aimed to safeguard and protect the interests of the minorities, was set up by the Government of India in January, 1978. This Commission became a statutory body and was renamed as the “National Commission for Minorities” with the enactment of the National Commission for Minorities Act, 1992. Under Section 2(C) of this Act, the Government of India, vide notification dated 23rd October, 1993, notified five religious communities, namely, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists and Zorastrians (Parsis) as minority communities in India. Similarly, in the Sixth Plan (1980-85) it was acknowledged that the minorities were a separate socio-economic group and hence special provisions were made for them through the Minimum Needs Programme

**The Sachar Committee:**

A Prime Minister’s High Level Committee was formed in 2005 to assess the social, economic and educational status of Muslims in India. This is because there was a lack of reliable information on this issue. This Committee, popularly known as the Sachar Committee, in its detailed report published in

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21 Massey J., Minorities and Religious Freedom in a Democracy, Centre for Dalit Subaltern Studies (Manohar, 2003)
the end of 2006, highlighted the poor socio-economic status of the Indian Muslims in comparison to the general population. Being alarmed by the findings of this report, the Union government stepped up its commitment to address the problems of inequality, deprivation and exclusion among the Muslims in the Eleventh Five Year Plan. This was undertaken through educational and economic empowerment, better access to public services, strengthening of minority institutions and area development programmes. The PMO listed the terms of reference of the committee, which included obtaining relevant information from departments/agencies of the Central and state governments besides conducting an intensive literature survey for identify published data, articles and research on the relative, social, economic and educational status of Muslims in India at the state, regional and district levels.

The Sachar committee report provides details of the socio-economic and cultural status of Muslims in India. It includes the following:

- 25% Muslim children in the 6-14 group have either never attended school or have dropped out;
- Only one out of every 25 undergraduate and 50 postgraduate students in premier colleges is a Muslim;
- Workforce participation rate among Muslim women is only 25%. In rural areas, 29% of Muslim women participate in the workforce as compared to 70% of Hindu women;
- 61% of the total Muslim workers are self-employed as against 55% of Hindu workers. 73% of Muslim women are self-employed as compared to 60% for Hindus;
- Only about 27% of the Muslim workers in urban areas are engaged in regular work as compared to 40% SC/ST, 36% OBC and 49% Hindu upper caste workers;
Less than 24% of Muslim regular workers are employed in the public sector or in government jobs as compared to 39% regular SC/ST workers, 37% Hindu upper caste and 30% OBC workers;

The share of Muslim male workers engaged in street vending (especially without any fixed location) is 12% as against the national average of less than 8%; and

The share of Muslims among defence personnel is only 4%. Compared to other regular workers, a much larger proportion of Muslim regular workers have no written contract (73%, against 52% for Hindu upper caste and 63% each for Hindu-OBCs and SCs/STs) and no social security benefit (71% against the national average of 55%).

The Sachar Committee report made several recommendations to the government to improve the poor socio-economic status of Muslims. Based on the recommendations, various programmes and schemes were formulated and areas of intervention were figured out for implementation by the Government.

Rangnath Mishra commission on minorities:

The Justice Ranganath Mishra Commission was appointed by the Centre for Religious and Linguistic Minorities, Government of India in October 2004 to study various aspects of religious and linguistic minorities. The Commission has made many recommendations to provide reservations for the Muslims, Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Classes in government jobs. The Rangnath Mishra Commission report was tabled in Lok Sabha by Minority Affairs Minister Salman Khurshid. The Commission submitted its report to the government in May 2007. Its main recommendations include:

- The Commission for Minority Educational Institutions set up under the National Commission for Minority Educational Institutions Act, 2004 should be amended to make it broad-based in its composition, powers,
functions and responsibilities. Further it recommended that it should work as the watchdog for enforcement of all aspects of minorities’ educational rights;

• Establishment of a national level Coordination Committee consisting of representatives of all the nationalized banks and other financial institutions to work under the Reserve Bank India for monitoring credit flow to the minorities;

• To delink the Scheduled Caste (SC) status from religion and abrogation of the 1950 Scheduled Caste Order, which “still excludes Muslims, Christians, from the SC net;

• Ten per cent of the Central Government jobs should be reserved for Muslims and five per cent for other minorities in all cadre and grades;

• Fifteen per cent of posts in all cadres and grades under the Central governments should be earmarked for minorities;

• Ten per cent reservation for Muslims and five per cent for other minorities in all government welfare schemes like the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (Scheme), the PM RozgarYojana and the GrameenRozgarYojana; and

• Appointment of Minority Welfare Committees consisting of official and local experts in all districts of the country to act as the nodal agencies of NCM, State Minorities Commission and all other Central and State-level bodies working for the minorities.

**The Prime Minister’s 15 Point Programme:**

In June 2006, one of the important programmes adopted for the welfare of the minorities under this Ministry is the Prime Minister’s 15 Point Programme. This provides programme specific interventions, having definite goals which are to be achieved within a specific time frame.
A very important aim of this programme is to ensure that the benefits of various government schemes for the underprivileged reach the disadvantaged sections of the minority communities. In order to ensure that the benefits of these schemes flow equitably to the minorities, this programme envisages location of a certain proportion of development projects in minority concentration areas. It also provides that, wherever possible, 15 per cent of targets and outlays under various schemes should be earmarked for the minorities.

The schemes included under the 15 Point Programme, which are amenable to earmarking, are:

- the Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) Scheme by providing services through the Anganwadi Centres (Ministry of Women & Child Development);
- Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA);
- Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya Scheme (KGBV) (Ministry of Human Resources Development);
- Aajeevika (Ministry of Rural Development);
- Swarnajayanti Shahari Rojgar Yojana (SJSRY) (Ministry of Housing & Urban Poverty Alleviation);
- Upgradation of Industrial Training Institutes (ITIs) (Ministry of Labour & Employment);
- Bank credit under priority sector lending (Department of Financial Services); and

**Multi-sectoral Development Programme:**

In addition to the existing educational schemes for minorities, a special scheme called the Multi-sectoral Development Programme (MsDP), was
launched in the rural and semi-rural areas of 90 minorities concentrated districts, during the year 2008-09. These are Pre-matric scholarship scheme, Post-matric scholarship scheme, Merit-Cum -Means scholarship scheme, Maulana Azad National Fellowship, Free Coaching and Allied Scheme etc.

The larger aim of this programme is to improve the socio-economic and basic amenity facilities for improving the quality of life of the people and reduce imbalances in the Minority Concentration Districts (MCDs).

**Leadership Development of Minority Women Scheme**

The Ministry of Minority Affairs launched this scheme in the area of gender empowerment, and has started implementation of this scheme from the year 2012-13. The objective is to empower and instil confidence in women, by providing knowledge, tools and techniques for interacting with government systems, banks, and intermediaries at all levels so that they are emboldened to move out of the confines of home and community and assume leadership roles and assert their rights, collectively and individually, in accessing services, facilities, skills and opportunities besides claiming their due share of development benefits for improving their lives and living conditions.

**National Minorities Development and Finance Corporation (NMDFC)**

The National Minorities Development and Finance Corporation (NMDFC) provides for concessional loans for self-employment and income generating activities to persons of minority communities, having a family income below double the poverty line. NMDFC provides loans through (i) State Channelising Agencies (SCAs) nominated by the respective State /UT Governments and (ii) through Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). The micro financing scheme of NMDFC mainly focuses on poor minority women
aiming their empowerment by way of meeting their credit needs in an informal manner through Non-Governmental Organizations and Self Help Groups.

One can conclude that minority rights are essentially the recognition of one’s separate cultural identity by the state. Through these provisions the state is obligated to ensure that the minorities have the freedom to live in accordance with the practices of their community and have the opportunity to develop to fullness.

III. Problems of Religious Minorities in Contemporary Political Discourse of India:

The issue of religion continues to remain a remarkable salient feature for any adequate understanding of the social reality of Independent India. The founding myth of “centrist ideology” constructed out of the experience of the nationalist and the trauma of partition has sustained even after almost sixty-nine years of independence. The contradiction in India’s concept of secularism was its simultaneous commitment to communities and to equal citizenship.\(^\text{22}\) This contradiction became more manifest when these commitments were challenged owing to the political episode that took place in the post-independence phase, mounting distrust amongst the Sikhs, Hindus and the Muslims. The rapid rise of Hindutva (Hindu nationalism) in the late 1980s is an example of such fundamentalist surge. In 1989, Bhartiya Janta Party (the electoral wing of Hindu right) won the general elections. This party’s advent to power was followed by many violent and destructive riots between Hindus and the Muslim minorities. The anatomization between these two communities deepened with the Babri Masjid controversy in 1992. Babri Masjid, a mosque built in 1528 in Ayodha (a Hindu dominated district of Uttar Pradesh, India) was also claimed by the Hindu right to be the birthplace of god Ram. Later, on

6th December 1992, thousands of Hindutva volunteers had demolished the mosque, which led to resurgence of the rivalries between these two communities.\textsuperscript{23} As Tejani notes, “[t]he violence of 1992 appeared to many in the Western media as evidence that the Indians had fallen short in the task of over-writing their “traditional” identities of religion and sect with the “modern” identities of nation, class and occupation.”\textsuperscript{24} This event, thus marks the birth of the communal politics of the state, which had left every Indian citizen with a dual identity—one identifying him/her with the national community and the other to the particular religious community he/she belonged to.

In contemporary India communalism has emerged as a discourse for articulating differences. In run-up to the Parliamentary election of 2014 the differences between the Hindus and the Muslims of India was articulated through communal riots originating in Muzaffarnagar district of Uttar Pradesh. The event which initially began with an altercation in a locality of Muzaffarnagar, later led to a nationwide rage and claimed many innocent lives. Inflammatory speeches by right-wing Hindu leaders and allied groups led to three days of mass violence and riot in most of the districts of Uttar Pradesh. The violence ceased after a curfew was imposed and Indian army was deployed to restore peace and order. The incidents had massive repercussion on the lives of the local Muslims. Nearly hundreds were killed and Muslim citizens from almost 150 villages had to flee from their homes. The local groups working with victim has reported that even today approximately 27000

\textsuperscript{23} Anupama Roy, \textit{Gendered Citizenship: Historical and Conceptual Explorations} (Orient Black Swan Press, 2005)
\textsuperscript{24} Shabnum Tejani, ‘Defining Secularism in the Particular: Caste and Citizenship in India 1909-1950’ [2013] Religion and Politics section of the American Political Science Association, 705
Muslims from Muzaffarnagar and neighbouring district remain displaced.\textsuperscript{25} Despite, their being a proper framework of rights and safeguards for minority protection under the constitution, the failure of the state to surmount this has resulted in failure of consensus.

The distribution of the government jobs and access to economic resources in the modern India is a reflection upon dramatic inequities. Tracing from the colonial ear, the data shows that the Muslims who had 35\% jobs in the government offices now have only 3.5 \% job in free India, likewise Christians had 15\% their figure has dropped to 1\%. But the most striking contrast is in employment of the Brahmins. Under the colonial administration the Brahmins had 3\% employment in government offices, fractionally less than the proportion of their 3.5\% population. In independent India the figures raised to 70\% of government jobs. They do equally well in electoral post, of the 503 Lok Sabha members 190 are Brahmins and of the 244 members of Rajhya Sabha 89 are Brahmins. These figures clearly indicate that 3.5\% of the Brahmin community in India holds 36\% to 63\% of the plump jobs of the country.\textsuperscript{26} Apart from discrimination in access to resources, minorities in India have also been the victim of hate politics. In a recent incident in October 2015 four Muslim men were killed by Hind vigilante groups in separate incidents across the country, based on suspicion that they had killed or stolen cows for beef. The violence was perpetrated by aggressive Right wing Hindu groups who of their own accord undertook the task of protecting cows and put a ban on beef consumption, because they are considered scared by Hindus.\textsuperscript{27}

\textsuperscript{25} See, The Plight of Religious Minorities in India, Tom Laqntos Human Rights Commission Testimony by Human Rights Watch.
\textsuperscript{26} Dominic George, “Mandal commission and the Failure of Dalits,” Journal of Dharma, Vol. XVI, No.1, Jan-March 1991, 67
\textsuperscript{27} Ibid, 25
Similar incidents of attack were reported against the Christian minorities in India. In 2015, churches were attacked in several states of India, promoting fear of growing Hindu militancy under the BJP government. Reportedly there were almost eighty five such incidents across twenty states of India. These incidents were violent enough to claim life of nearly eight thousand Christians.28

Invariably the Muslim and the Christian minorities have been the targets of hate politics in India. The violence against these communities have existed ever since the formation of the Indian nation-state, however, the trajectories of these recent incidents reveal that India’s commitment to communities versus India’s commitment to equal citizenship, the political balancing act which worked well in the first decades of the independence is proving impossible to sustain over the long haul. In these recent cases violence against minorities are perpetuated and sustained by the State.

The present situation needs to be evaluated critically to give the minorities in multicultural societies their perspective and place in democratic polity. Democracy is significant not simply in terms of free speech and other things, it is significant because its overall purpose is to bring different point of views, and different sensibilities into constant creative interaction, as truth can only come out of intercultural dialogue. Modern societies in the west have adhered to federalism, sub-national constitutions, regionalism and affirmative action to protect the rights of minorities. But in the case of India where the modernity of society is in quite early stage (remaining more as an illiberal society), both the federal package and affirmative action politics are not designed to protect the rights of minorities from majoritarianism. Many West

European countries which are not multicultural as India have been thinking seriously to be considerate to the rights of the non-majority groups. Nicole Topperwien says that participation of rights can render states able to respond to the multicultural challenge. Participation rights are here understood as guaranteed and institutionalised special influence on the decision making process in state institutions- this could be proportional, over-proportional, or equal representation of the groups. The adoption of rights and safeguards for minorities, the spirit of secularism and equality in the constitution already fulfils this requirement. However, what we lack is the political will of reinforcing these of these constitutional values by strengthening and fortifying them. Secularism and equality may not be able to stand as a foundational concept by itself; hence there is a need for stronger political will in order to meet the challenges faced by these concepts.

AN OVERVIEW OF CHRISTIANS IN KARNATAKA WITH A SPECIAL FOCUS ON THE PLIGHT OF DALIT CHRISTIANS

Dr. Y. Moses*

According to 2001 Census there are 24,080,016 (over 24 million) Christians in India, who constitute 2.3 per cent of the population. The uneven geographical spread of Christians is brought out by the available statistical data – 25.15 per cent of the Christians belong to Kerala, 15.71 per cent to Tamil Nadu, 4.9 per cent to Andhra Pradesh and 4.19 per cent to Karnataka. Of the entire Christian population, thus, 90 per cent is found in three regional enclaves: south India, the north-east and the tribal belt in central India, consisting of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and the contiguous areas. The northern Hindi-speaking belt, which is home to 40 per cent of India’s population, has only 10 per cent of India’s Christians.\(^{30}\)

Christians in India are not a homogeneous community. They hail from diverse cultural, ethnic and caste backgrounds and belong to different denominations within the Christian church. They are thus divided by imported/imposed denominational divisions and home grown language and caste barriers.

I. The Christian Church and its denominations

Denominational divisions are rooted in historical developments of the Church in the West. The first major division happened in the 5th century with the churches in the eastern part of the Roman Empire separating themselves from the Church in Rome in the West. The eastern bishops

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known as patriarchs resisted the domination of Pope, the bishop in Rome. With the division of the Roman Empire, and under the influence of Sassanid emperor in the east, the bishops of the Sassanid Empire met in council in 424, and determined that they would not, henceforth, refer disciplinary or theological problems to any external power, and especially not to any bishop or Church Council in Rome. The relation between western and eastern churches in the Roman Empire was further vitiated in the sixth century, and a bitter brake came about in 1054, when the Pope excommunicated the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Patriarch returned the favour with anathemas on the Pope. Since then any semblance of Christian Catholicism was destroyed and the two branches of the Catholic Church went their separate ways. Thereafter, the patriarch of Constantinople provided leadership to all the Eastern Orthodox Churches up until 1453, when Constantinople fell to the Muslim Turks. The leadership of the Eastern Orthodox Churches then passed on to the Slavic Orthodox Churches, particularly the Russian Orthodox Church.

Another revolt in the Roman Church led to Reformation in the 16th century in the context of increased secularization of the church in the European continent and in the context of church and state conflict in England. Reformation had led to the birth of free churches like the baptists, methodists, presbyterians and several other denominations. These churches have freed themselves from established state churches and are therefore called free churches. And since they have broken out of the Roman Catholic Church in protest, they are grouped together as protestant churches. Although Reformation happened in the sixteenth century, it was brewing over for many years since the middle ages because of the perceived straying away from the Biblical teachings and indulgences that burdened the adherents. It also involved struggles for power between the religious
leadership and the political leadership each supported by political theories and theologies. The Reformation gave significant push for the sect movement. The sects protested against the State Church system and fought for the principle of voluntary association.

While Reformation in the Continent was led by Martin Luther in Germany, Ulrich Zwingli and John Calvin in Switzerland, in England rising nationalism was the underlying force that enabled Henry VIII (1509-47) to make his dramatic break with Rome. Motivated immediately by personal desire and ambition, he asserted royal supremacy over papal authority enabled by the context of mounting anticlericalism, anti-Romanism in the country. A series of laws were passed by the English Parliament to this effect. After Henry’s death, his son Edward VI was guided by a Council, dominated by Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Edward Seymour, the duke of Somerset, earl of Hertford. They encouraged the spread of Protestantism and wrote evangelical tenets into the laws and customs of the land. Opposition to the Protestant innovations under Edward VI came from two sources: from Roman Catholics who wanted to return to the old order, and from evangelical dissenters, later called Puritans, who wanted to purify the Church along biblical lines. The Puritans since 1563 became differentiated according to the form of church government they advocated. Thus there emerged the free churches - Baptists, Presbyterians, and the Methodists. In America, these denominations took their independent form as American Methodists, American Baptists, and so on and so forth. The state churches were the Lutheran churches in Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Norway and the Anglican Church or the Church of England.
The Spread of Christianity in India

In India, Christianity spread in three waves. First through eastern orthodox churches in the first few centuries with traders from Syria and Persia arriving in Malabar coast, second through catholic evangelization alongside Portuguese invasion and third with British colonialism through Protestant missionaries supported by Western Christian mission boards. While Protestantism was taking shape in the 16th century in Europe and in England, Roman Catholicism was already engaged in mission work in India. Perhaps, it is because of their early arrival and intense mission work, Catholics form the largest group in India; nearly half of the total Christian population. Protestants constitute 40 per cent, 7 per cent are of Orthodox churches and 6 per cent belong to other sects.⁴¹

The first organized Protestant mission in the south was launched in 1706 by the Lutherans under the patronage of the King of Denmark at Tranquebar (now the Tanjore district of Tamil Nadu). The German Lutheran pastors, Ziegenbalg and Pluetschau were engaged in this mission. It was only at the end of the eighteenth century, during the period of the spread and consolidation of British rule, that the north of the country witnessed a significant growth in Christian mission activity. In the north-eastern region, where Protestantism dominates, Christianity is largely the product of nineteenth-and twentieth-century conversions.⁴²

The Protestant churches owe an immeasurable debt to the Evangelical Revivals in the broad sense of the term. The Second Evangelical Awakening crossed the Atlantic from America to Britain in 1858. This produced the new phenomena of the nineteenth century, the interdenominational or

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⁴¹ Ibid, p.153
⁴² Ibid, p.154
nondenominational missionary society. By the end of the century every nominally Christian country and almost every denomination, had begun to take its share in the support of the missionary cause. While missionaries from England were permitted to work by the East India company, the 1833 charter opened up India to the missionary activity of other nations. In 1852, the American Methodist Church felt the need for sending missionaries to other countries and formed the Methodist Missionary Society. Its mission in India began in 1856.

II. Christians in Karnataka: their spread and social background

As per 2001 census, the Christian population in Karnataka totals up to 1,009,164 constituting 1.9% of the total population of 52,850,582. They are spread all across the state of Karnataka in different degrees of concentration. The big concentration of Christians is found in seven districts, namely, Bangalore Urban, South Kanara, Udupi, North Kanara, Bidar, Mysore and Kolar. Dharwad, Chikmagalur, Shimoga and Chamrajnagar also have substantial number of Christians. In other districts they are found in very small numbers. The growth rate of Christian population in the relatively backward districts has been significantly higher than that of the overall growth rate of Christian population in the state. As against a growth rate of Christian population of 2.6 per cent per annum in the state between 1961 and 1971, growth rate of Christian population in the relatively backward districts like Bidar is 10.6 per cent, Gulbarga 5.6 per cent and Bijapur 5 per cent.

Christians of Karnataka belong to different language groups - Tulu, Konkani, Kannada, Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam. Majority of them belong

34 Gladys Sumithra, Christians in Karnataka: An Analysis of Demographic Features, Bangalore Theological Forum, Vol.XII, No.2, 1980
to the Roman Catholic Church. The others belong to the protestant denominations, and the eastern orthodox traditions, such as the Syrian Orthodox Church and its protestant offshoot, the Marathoma Church. The Catholic Church in its efforts to Latinise the St. Thomas Christians in the sixteenth century eventually created the Syro-Malabar Catholic Church with the Syrian rite and liturgical tradition. The Syro-Malankara church established in 1930 is also found in Karnataka among the migrants from kerala.

A. Christians and Caste

Apart from language, home grown divisive factor in the Indian church is caste. By precept, Christianity is an egalitarian religion. It proclaims equality of all people in the sight of God and expects its adherents to practice and promote equality, fraternity and social justice. But caste built on the principle of inequality was carried forward by converts into the Christian church.

From the very start, Indian Christians had grappled with the caste issue. Even the missionaries from the West who converted the locals to Christianity had ambiguous attitudes and approaches to the problem of caste. Some of them vehemently opposed condoning caste practises within the church, some others distinguished caste as a cultural practise better to be ignored than condemned. A few others embraced caste divisions with a view to win upper caste people to bring them into the fold of the Church.35 On the whole, dalits

35 This accommodating spirit that arose out of a desire to get as many converts as possible into their fold is seen to haunt the Roman church so much that some of its missionaries went to the extent of not merely tolerating caste but also accepting it without any reservations. To them caste had nothing to do with Hindu religion.
Rev. H. Bower, writing in 1846 condemns Robert de nobili and his followers for professing themselves as Brahmans and thereby for despising the low-castes. He quotes one of their own authority which says, ‘They at their first outset announced themselves as European Brahmans, come from a distance of five thousand leagues from the western
and tribals responded more positively to mission work and joined the Christian church in large numbers.

The reality of caste within the Christian community today is a stark reality even though most Christians do not wish to admit the same. More than half of total Christian population in India and in Karnataka today are dalits, but they prefer to hide their low caste background. The others considered as higher than dalits in the caste ranking flaunt their caste tags, more so if they belong to the upper caste background. However, there is no caste enumeration in the church membership records. The only indication about caste background of Christians is found in historical accounts of conversions to Christianity during the missionary period. It is also possible to link one’s caste identity with one’s denomination since there was a tacit understanding and agreement among denominational mission boards for each to restrict their mission work in particular geographical areas and among particular caste groups.

B. Early history of the spread of Christianity in Karnataka

1. The Christians of Kanara

The Christians, more specifically the Catholics of South Kanara are both the native, but very few in number, and the immigrants from Goa and later we have the Protestants, converts made by the Basel Mission. The Catholics from Goa were all Konkani speaking while the local Catholics were Kanarese and Tulu speaking, the conversion being from among the villages of Ullal and Suratkal only who were Tulu speaking people.

Some local converts also included the Jain converts to Catholicism, while the Basel Mission converts were mainly from the Billava and the Bunt parts of Jmbudwip, for the double purpose of imparting and receiving knowledge from their brother Brahmans in India’.
The Konkani Christians (Catholics) of Kanara are today found in Bangalore, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Kerala, Madras, North and South Kanara unlike the sixteenth century when they were confined to Goa only.

During their time of power and friendship with the Vijayanagar Kings (1510-1570) the Portuguese were probably allowed to make converts along the Kanara Coast. But it was during the early part of the eighteenth century after the Moghuls had withdrawn and when the Sonda chiefs in the south were their close allies that the Portuguese were most successful in spreading Christianity along the Kanara Coast.

The Protestant Christians of South Kanara are almost entirely the converts of the German Basel Evangelical Mission which established itself there in 1834. Conversion took place mostly from the Billava (toddy tappers) and other lower castes.

The languages spoken by the Basel Mission Christians are kannada (Kanarese) and Tulu. Caste barriers were the same for them as well as the restrictions to begin with. But the Basel Missionaries simply refused to bow down to the pressures of caste distinction and those who came into the Christian fold had to leave behind them all trammels to caste or class unlike the Roman Catholics who would not let go their grip of the caste system.

2, The Christian communities of southern Karnataka

The history of Christianity in southern Karnataka is largely the history of the Mysore Mission. The work of evangelization in the territories of the

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37 *Ibid*, p.12-13
raja of Mysore was started by Fr. Leonard Cinnami, an Italian Jesuit belonging to the province of Goa. He set up his residence Ramapura in Mysore in 1653 which became the first centre of the Kannada mission. Arrubale, Bassanpura, Kudulupalyam and Marathahalli were other little centres, where Christianity was established between the years 1650 and 1660.

In spite of the ardour and devotedness of the missionaries, the number of Christians increased rather slowly in the state of Mysore. The mission has four residences administered by fathers who speak Kannada: Srirangapatnam, Cocanada, Bassnapura, and Capuganelli. Even in the Kannada residences many of the Christians were of Tamil origin. Around the year 1665, out of a total of 1,700 Christians belonging to the Mysore Mission, only 400 were Kannadigas.

Around 1672, there were about 2,500 Christians in the Mysore Mission as a whole. But only about 1,000 of them, belonging to the three stations of Srirangapatnam, Bassanpura and kankanahalli, lived within the boundaries of present day Karnataka. The other 1,500 Christians belonged to the stations of Kelamangalam, Dharmapuri and Sampalli. These places form part of Tamil Nadu today.

A new mission station was opened at Hassan in 1697, with Belur as its substation. There were about 300 catechumens and baptized Christians in the two places together. Arrubale had 400 Christians.

The Wesleyan Methodist Mission began its work in Mysore in 1836. They worked mostly among the depressed classes of Old Mysore districts. Their work in Kolar Gold Fields was started in 1897.
3. **The Christians of Northern Karnataka**

Some of the Christians who left Portuguese territory in Goa in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries settled in Bijapur. They were mostly petty traders or musicians or prisoners who had made their escape from Goa. In the seventeenth century (1622) two Jesuit fathers went to Bijapur and obtained permission from the sultan to build a house in his territory and to minister to the Christians.

Around 1640 the mission of Bijapur began to be administered by Bishop Mathew de Castro. He obtained from Sultan Muhammad Ali Shah of Bijapur freedom of religion for the Christians. He instructed and ordained a number of Indian young men as priests.

The incipient mission in Bijapur was destroyed during the wars between the Mughals, the Bijapuris, the Marathas and the Portuguese in the second half of the seventeenth century.

The London Missionary Society established the first Protestant Mission to work in Karnataka in 1810. This was started in Bellary. The districts of Bidar, Gulbarga and Raichur by default had fallen under the rule of Nizam-ul-Mulk for they had been under the control of Mughals from 1657. Aurangazeb invaded the kingdom of Bidar in 1657. Though peace was granted, sultan of Bijapur had to pay indemnity and surrender Bidar. In these districts canarese was spoken by most followed by Telugu and Urdu. Though nothing is clear of who introduced Christianity to the region, it is very clear that the American Methodists were the first and only missionary agency to evangelize the region with Wesleyan Methodists and American Baptists working in the neighbouring regions. The 1901 census counted 1024 Christians in the region.
In 1891, the Wesleyan Methodist Mission (English Methodists) invited the Methodist Missionary Society (American Methodists) to take up work in Bidar among the Madigas as they were working with malas in regions north of Bidar.

III. Socio-economic conditions of Dalit Christians

There are not many socio-economic studies on Christian minorities as such. However since the 80s many researchers and church related institutions focused on studying the socio-economic conditions of Dalit Christians in several states of India including Karnataka.

Dalits are victims of caste system. They find themselves at the lowest rungs of Indian society. The same is the case with Christians of Dalit background. They face same atrocities and suffer same social boycott at the hands of the caste people in society although they seem to fair better in the areas of education. Furthermore, dalit Christians also find themselves discriminated by the Indian state which excludes them from constitutional benefits provided to Hindu, Sikh and Buddhist dalits. Within the Church, non-dalit Christians treat them with disdain and marginalise them in the affairs of the Church and its institutions. It is for the above reasons, researchers focused on studying the plight of Dalit Christians visavis church, state and society.

I present here a summary of the findings of a few research studies and conclude with the case study of Dalit Christians in Kolar Gold Fields, a mining town in Kolar district. Majority of the mining workers in KGF are dalits and among them dalit Christians constitute significant numbers. They together exhibit an attitude of hopelessness and resignation weighed over by caste discrimination and exploitation. I present a lengthier analysis of their condition using the structural analysis methodology. My interest in KGF is
personal since I was raised there and have personal experience as a member of Dalit Christian community in Kolar Gold Fields.

But first, it is important to outline the history of dalitisation in India.

**Dalits and Dalitisation – A Historical Overview**

There are several theories regarding the beginning of dalitisation of a people. Most historians of ancient India consider the dalits to be the aboriginals of India who were invaded by the Aryan tribes from Central Asia starting around 1500B.C. The invaders called these original dark skinned inhabitants *dasyus* or *dasas* and marauded their settlements.38 While some fled into deep forests away from the conquerors, the others were subjugated and enslaved and their enslavement was gradually rationalized with the institution of the caste system based on the theory of purity and pollution.39 In practical terms, this involved total denial of human rights of Dalits, their exclusion from social and political life and dehumanization. For instance, Dalits were forced to do the most menial jobs, never permitted to read and write or participate in the social and political life of the village. They were even barred from entering the village temples. It is said that by the Gupta Period, i.e.by the 3rd century B.C., the chandalas, as the Dalits were then called, had become so strictly untouchable that, like lepers in medieval Europe, were forced to strike a wooden clapper on that, like lepers in

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38 *There is another view that inter-tribal conflicts eventually led to some being subordinated and subjugated. Those thus subjugated were treated as slaves. Still another view holds that the Dalits were the original inhabitants who were first conquered by the invading Dravidians and later by the Aryans.*

39 *While there is no clear cut evidence as to when the caste system began, it has its origins in the Vedic religion of the Aryans. A song of the Rg Veda refers to the myth of the primeaval man from whose dismembered body arose the four classes; the priestly class of Brahmins, the ruling class of Kshatriyas, the trading class of Vysias and the servant class of shudras. The conquered original inhabitants were treated as inhuman and as untouchables. This division was further stratified and made rigid through codified law in the manusmriti supposedly written around 300 BCE and 200 A.D.during the period of classical Hinduism.*
medieval Europe, were forced to strike a wooden clapper on entering a town, to warn the Aryans of their polluting approach.\footnote{A.L.Basham, The Wonder that was India (London: Sidgwick & Jackson Ltd., 1967), p.146. 
In this period Aryanisation of the South reached its culmination and the caste system came to be firmly established.}

Nevertheless, Dalits have also fought back and protested their subjugation from time to time. In the 19th century, a number of autonomous religious protest movements were formed from among the Dalits. They include the Messianic Movement among the Pankas of Raipur district, the Satnami uprising of the Chamars in the Chattisgarh district, Swami Narayana Movement in Gujarat, Yogi Pothuluri Vir-brahmam Movement among the Madigas in Andhra, Ayya Vazhi in Tamilnadu, Narayana Guru’s Movement, Pratyaksha Raksha Daiva Sabha and Subhananda Movements in Kerala and the Adi Dharm Movement in Punjab. Thus the predominant form of Dalit protest was religio-cultural and it included conversions to religions other than Hinduism. Islam and Christianity are missionary religions and have converts from both Dalit and non-Dalit communities.

A. Review of Selected Sociological Studies

The case/sociological studies for review were chosen to cover a spread of geographical regions and a variety of caste groups involved. The variety of Non-Dalit Christians/Caste Christians include those coming from the upper caste and backward caste backgrounds. The first case study highlights the discriminatory attitudes and practices of upper caste Christians towards Dalit Christians in Orissa. The second and third case studies highlight the dynamics that prevails between lower caste or backward Caste Christians and Dalit Christians. The third study furthermore points to the dynamics between conflicting sub-caste groups among Dalit Christians.
The three sociological studies are among the many that were undertaken during the late 80s and 90s. The studies reviewed here present us with enough clues to the continuing dynamics between Dalit Christians and Non-Dalit Christians. We will recognise that, the discriminatory practices may have changed since then, but the fundamental dynamics have not.

i. **The dynamics between upper caste Christians and Dalit Christians - A case study from Orissa**

This study was undertaken by Deepak Kumar Behra and his team in 1986 in Brajanagar and Sambalpur town in Orissa. He undertook a sociological investigation to study the engagement and dynamics between Christians of three different social backgrounds; the upper caste converts to Christianity, the Christian converts from the Munda tribe and Christian converts from an outcaste community called the Gandas. The upper caste converts were a heterogeneous section of population from various caste backgrounds, so-called clean castes such as Brahmin, Karan, Chasa, Khandayatm, Gaudam, Teli, Tanti, Chasa and others. The number of converts from each of these caste groups was so low that they could not function as an independent caste within Christianity. As a result there was realignment among them resulting in the formation of a new endogamous group. This resultant upper caste convert groups with a strong sense of solidarity maintained social distance from both tribal and outcaste converts. They projected themselves as high grade Christians in relation to the Munda and the Ganda Christians. The study also examined the engagement of these groups across Christian denominations that they belong to and in relation with people of same social groups irrespective of religious affiliations.

The investigator observed the following:
Interdining was restricted to feasts in churches. The upper caste converts try to justify this commensal distance not on the basis of purity and pollution, but rationalize it on the basis of social hygiene and personal cleanliness.

This emphasis placed by the Upper caste converts on the lack of cleanliness and hygiene as factor for their refusal to interdine with the Ganda and the Mundas converts seems to be a cover to rationalize their social behavior pattern which is inconsistent with the egalitarian Christian doctrine.\(^{41}\)

In the sphere of marriage the case of Upper caste converts is very significant from the sociological viewpoint. Though each upper caste convert is initially very conscious of one’s own caste, he/she gradually loses the caste identity due to the small size of one’s own caste population within the local framework of Christianity. It becomes really difficult for upper caste converts to find a suitable match within one’s own caste group. So, converts from various ‘clean’ castes like the Brahmin, the Karan, the Khandayat, the Chasa, the Teli and so on, unite together to form a single endogamous group consequent on their conversion to Christianity. This resultant endogamous group never established marital ties with lower caste converts like the Ganda and the Munda.

At the time of crisis, a convert invariably approaches members of his own caste/tribal group irrespective of religious affiliation for financial, other material and moral help.

Within the churches, each caste/tribal group behaves like pressure group and tries to exert its utmost influence on the church organization and its administration

ii. The discrimination of Dalit Christians by Backward caste Christians – the case of a Catholic Parish community in Karnataka

This study was undertaken by S.Japhet and his team in 1986 in a village called Harabole, which is in Kanakapura Taluk of Bangalore Rural district in Karnataka. The sociological investigation tried to find out the social conditions of Dalits after conversion to Christianity. The study also compared their status with that of Caste Christians in the village, namely the Reddys of the Sudra caste background. It was observed that Dalit Christians continued to suffer caste discrimination both in the village social life as well as in the religious life of the Catholic Church. The converts belonging to the Madiga and Holeya sub-castes were given step-motherly treatment in the Church both by the clergy and laity belonging to the sudra caste.

Summarizing their overall situation, the investigator observed the following:

The territorial division of the Dalit Christian habitation, the practice of social segregation and the restrictions imposed on them in the matter of their entry into hotels, drawing of drinking water from the wells, interdining and admission into the houses of caste Christians are sufficient evidence that the Christian Dalits are not treated as social equals by the caste Christians. This vividly establishes that caste is the central factor which controls and governs the social life and relations of the Catholics in this village.42

He further observed that the principle of endogamy was rigidly practiced. Let alone inter caste marriage, even an affair between a Dalit girl and caste boy or vice versa was unpardonable.

As regards the educational status of Christians in the village, the investigator observed that while 79 percent of the Christian Dalit population was illiterates, 75 percent of the caste Catholics was literates. The better educational status had opened up new avenues of economic opportunities for the caste Christians, while low educational and occupational status of the Christian Dalits corresponded to their dependent economic and social condition.43

The organization and functioning of the institutionalized Catholic church has been serving more as a preserver of the existing caste relations and inequities than as a liberating force in relation to the aspirations and struggles of the Dalit Christians. The existence of segregation and prohibition in the place of worship, cemetery, participating in the altar service are only parallels of the practice of social segregation, purity and pollution in the socio-economic sphere. The Christian religious structure seems to have accommodated the social inequalities and caste discriminations within the church structure.

The respondents complained to the investigator that the usual parish priest is no better than the caste Christian leaders. He treats them in almost the same way that Caste Christian feudal leaders do. Some respondents revealed that though theoretically the parish priest has ecclesiastical authority, in practice it is the caste leaders who control him and given him direction.

43 Ibid, p.82
iii. Discrimination and rivalry between sub-caste groups within the churches - A Case Study from Andhra Pradesh

This study was undertaken by M.E.Prabhakar and his team in Guntur, covering Roman Catholic, and Lutheran Christians.

The major groups in conflict in Andhra Church belong to Sudra caste Reddys and Khammas, Dalit sub-castes Mala and Madigas.

Andhra Church manifests two particular dimensions of casteism: (i) the rivalry and hostility between the Scheduled Caste Mala and Madigas communities, who are equal in status and equally oppressed as ‘untouchables’ or ‘outcaste’ despite their conversion to Christianity, and (ii) the rivalry and hostility between Reddis and Khammas, the two dominant Sudra castes. In both features the Church replicates exactly the casteist situations of the wider secular community.

As regards caste composition in both the Catholic and Protestant churches, the investigator says,

The sudra Christians form a substantial proportion of the Catholic community, and as elsewhere in Andhra Pradesh, the Reddy and Khamma caste Christians dominate the priestly and secular hierarchy in Guntur district. Even so, the Christians of Scheduled Caste origin constitutes the majority of the Catholic Church membership in Guntur district.

And about those who monopolise church structure,\textsuperscript{44} the investigator says,

\textsuperscript{44} This has reference to the fact that the numbers of caste Christians in the given church organization is too small to manipulate themselves into power positions, but by virtue of their social dominance, they lord it over Dalit Christians ignoring the religious imperatives to treat one another as equals.
In the Protestant churches in Guntur district, the dalits monopolise the ecclesiastical structures and Christian institutions. In the Catholic church, the reverse is true. However, in the social and economic field the dalits are totally subjugated by the economically more affluent, socially higher and politically powerful Sudras. The Christian Reddis and Khammas, with the exception of individuals, lord it over the dalit labourers and workers.

With regard to the practice of untouchability by Andhra Christians, the writer says,

The fact is untouchability is practiced by Andhra Christians… it is not only the lay Christians who are guided by caste considerations. The clergy and religious men and women are no less tainted by it….catholics of Scheduled caste origin frequently allege that their higher caste priests are indifferent to ministering to them.. this indifference is shown, they maintain, in their lack of enthusiasm and interest in conducting services or in visiting them…there is evidence of heightened caste consciousness among a section of the clergy. A number of them have retained their caste surnames…”

Furthermore, Dalit marriage processions were earlier prohibited from streets on which caste Christians lived. The funeral-ceremonies of upper-caste Christians are also performed with much show, mostly at the church, while priests have been accused of refusing to even look at the face of dead Christian dalits or of sending only a trainee to perform the funeral ceremonies.

Caste identity discrimination is even carried into the cemetery. The tombs of dalit Christians are tucked away in a corner at the back.
The Mala-Madiga prejudices\textsuperscript{45} rule also many pastors’ minds. There is also the phenomenon of many parishes/villages with separate church buildings for Mala and Madiga Lutherans.

To summarise, the dynamics of the engagement between the Dalit Christians and Non-Dalit Christians as shown in the above cited sociological studies underline following:

At the functional level, Christians do not follow the egalitarian principle. Caste Christians continued to carry their caste practices even after their conversion to Christianity. The same is the case with sub-caste groups among the Dalits, although given the right circumstances and awareness, Dalit sub-caste groups have the potential to join forces to fight caste discrimination practiced against them. There is no effort or willingness on the part of church clergy and hierarchy to proactively counter caste prejudices. On the other hand, they and the lay leadership engage in caste politics to gain self-interest. It is now an acknowledged fact, that the Dalit Christians are very poorly represented in Church hierarchy, especially so in the Catholic Church. According to the latest report of the Catholic Bishops Conference of India,

There are about 24 millions of Christian population in India of which Dalits constitute circa 16 millions and Tribals form circa 2

\textsuperscript{45} Malas and Madigas have existed as rival communities from immemorial times. Prejudices are built over each other’s claims to superiority, based on the menial occupations assigned to them by the Caste Order. Traditionally malas were associated with scavenging, digging graves and preparing briers. Because they were also agricultural labourers to higher castes, malas resided closer to the village than the madigas. Madigas were traditionally carrion-eaters and leather workers, and as a result were stigmatized. This condition of madigas became the basis for discrimination by the malas. Madigas on the other hand claim superiority by virtue of a tradition of their ancestor Jambhava marrying Arundathi, the daughter of a Brahmin sage. The traditional polemic between these two communities was further aggravated in the modern period by the uneven development favouring the malas.
millions and together 18 millions\textsuperscript{46}. If you convert the figures in to ratio, 67 per cent are Dalit Christians and 8 per cent Tribal Christians and the remaining 25 per cent caste Christians. A look at the number of bishops and their percentage will tell us how deep caste minded is the church and its functioning. There are 164 catholic dioceses in India. There are 164 bishops, 13 auxiliary bishops, 2 apostolic visitors and 48 retired bishops. Both bishops and the auxiliary bishops who are holding offices number 177. Out of these 177 bishops there are 9 Dalits, 25 tribal and rest are caste bishops. This means, out of 67 per cent Dalit Christians, bishops are only 5 per cent; out of 8 per cent tribal Christians, bishops are 14 per cent and out of 25 per cent caste Christians, bishops are 81 per cent. We don’t need any other information to describe caste discrimination in the church \textsuperscript{47}.

A legitimate question may be raised about the validity of the studies done over a decade ago for relevance in the present. Do the relational issues identified between Dalit Christians and Non-Dalit Christians hold good even today? Indeed a few things may have changed, for instance, spatial segregation within the churches, inter-dining and restrictions related to drawing of water from common wells may no longer be matters of contention and conflict. Progressive legislation and increased awareness about human rights have brought about significant changes in group relations and functions in these areas. But caste prejudices and practices have a way of finding new forms of expression. Take the case of domination of one caste group over the other in running the church affairs; that still is an issue. Similarly, endogamy continues to prevail and inter caste marriages within the church are still a far cry from common. More importantly there is a widening gap with regard to educational and economic development between caste Christians and Dalit Christians.

\textsuperscript{46} \url{http://www.dalitchristianscbci.org/content/dalit-christians}

\textsuperscript{47} Quoted after Selvaraj Arulnathan, The number details were obtained from the SC/ST/BC Secretary of CBCI, New Delhi, Fr Cosmon Arockiaraj.
B. Review of Socio-economic Studies

The Studies on Socio-economic status of Dalit Christians in India show that there is similarity between Dalit Christians and Dalit Hindus, that there is a wide gap between Caste Christians and Dalit Christians and that state reservations have brought about significant changes in the life condition of Dalit Hindus.

i. Socio-Economic Surveys in Kerala and Tamil Nadu

The survey in Kerala was published in 1993\(^\text{48}\) by Rajiv Balakrishnan of the Institute for Economic Growth, Delhi and the Tamilnadu survey was conducted between 1988 and 1989 by Dr. Jose Kananaikil under the aegis of the Indian Social Institute.

The study in Kerala showed that the relative standing of Dalit Christians vis-à-vis Dalit Hindus was one of overwhelming similarity. As far as occupations were concerned Dalit Christians were well represented in the inferior types of work and poorly represented in the relatively superior work categories, Non-Dalit Christians were well represented in the relatively superior work categories and poorly represented in the inferior types of work.

Similarly, landholdings were far higher among Other Hindus and Other Christians than Dalit Hindus and Dalit Christians. The data also showed that landlessness was slightly higher among Dalit Hindus than among Dalit Christians.

In the case of Tamilnadu, among male workers, Dalit Hindus were found to be better represented in the categories ‘self-employed’ cultivation, ‘government service’ and ‘private services. By contrast, Dalit Christians were better represented in the daily agricultural wage category. The data thus indicated that Dalit Christians were relatively better represented in poorly remunerated employment. Also, unemployment tends to be higher among converts as compared to Dalit Hindus.

ii. A Study in Gujarat 1993

This study was undertaken by Lancy Lobo in 1990 to study social mobility among Vankar converts of Central Gujarat. Vankars are a Dalit community who were traditionally engaged in weaving work. A few variables, including economic variables of landownership, employment, education, housing and economic assets were chosen for comparative analysis of the condition of Hindu and Christian Vankars in villages and in urban centres.

The data gathered showed that there was no social distance between Hindu and Christian Vankars in the rural areas. In the villages, there was greater interaction in food, visits, marital relations and exchanges. This was not the case between the urban Hindus and Christian Vankars. In the cities the Christians emphasized their religious identity over the caste identity. They positively desired to blank out their caste identity.

The perception of non-Vankars regarding the Vankars on the social scale was examined. It was found that the rules of avoidance were strictly maintained.

Christian Vankars while claiming equality from those above them, do not concede the same to those below them, such as Chamars and Bhangis.

As far as political participation is concerned, Hindu Vankars are far ahead of Christians. The latter are rather insulated from mainstream politics as they have been enclosed within the Church. For what Hindu Vankars are constrained to get from the government, Christians tend to look from the Church.

iii. A Study of Dalit Christians in Bellary and Raichur Districts

This study was undertaken by Godwin Shiri in 2010 and published in 2012. It is a follow-up study of an earlier empirical study that he had undertaken in the early 1990s and published in 1997. The study was conducted in five villages, Hacholli and Beerahalli in Bellary and Talmari, Gangavar and Malkapur in Raichur districts.

Majority of Christians in these villages belong to the madiga subcaste among dalits. As high as 90 per cent of Christians live in huts, usually one-room structures with mud wall and roofing.

As high as 81 per cent of the people of age group above 18 years can neither read nor write. There is a large number of school drop-out children in the Christian community. Many government schools are like dilapidated or like cattle sheds with no benches, tables, blackboards, toilets, playgrounds and so on. Untouchability was practised in schools. Christian/Dalit children were made to sit separately away from non-dalit children.

Majority of Christians earn their livelihood as agricultural coolies. There is little or no significant upward occupational mobility. The majority of Christians depend on daily wages for their livelihood. They suffer during

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50 Ibid, p.444.
spells of draught. In these times hundreds of families migrate from their villages seeking livelihood.

The Central Government’s UDYOGA KHATRI scheme was ridden with corruption due to the nexus between village/panchayat chairmen, nodal officers and engineers. An alarming number of christian families have mortagaged their precious little landholdings due to debt trap. It was reported that three-fourths of Christian families are in debt.

The hard reality is Christians/Dalits are still not being allowed to live in freedom, justice and dignity, at par with others. Since the Dalits were being considered as ‘polluted’ people, they were not allowed to take out any procession in villages. This applied to Christians as well, as they were also from the untouchable Madiga origin. Dalits including Christians were not allowed to sit inside the tea shops with others. Barbers, washermen and tailors do not extend their services to Dalits/Christians. Christians are not welcome at common washing and bathing places. They were not allowed enter caste Hindu homes, and no inter-dining allowed. Menial caste occupations were forced on Christians such as beating drums, ritual slaughtering and bonded labour. It was found that many Christians were in the stranglehold of the obnoxious serfdom system, Madigathana-Okkaluthana.

Although OBC reservation is granted to dalit converts to Christianity in Karnataka, it is indeed not a viable alternative to Schedule Caste reservation which they genuinely deserve. Besides, It was discovered that hardly anyone in the community were aware of OBC reservation or its benefits. The trend of duel identity is increasing. Christians declare themselves as Hindu SCs when census officials come to their door steps, while admitting their children to schools and many other occasions. With increasing number of Christians
declaring themselves as Hindu SCs, the problem of undercounting of Christians has surfaced. Just as in the case of OBC reservation, not many in the Christian community, not even the pastors, seem to know about the vast opportunities/benefits available with the minority commission or with the minority development corporation. But about the functioning of the MDC, Dr. Shiri makes the following observation,

> It may be mentioned that the functioning of the minority development corporation is very much under a cloud due to lack of transparency and financial accountability. One of the often made criticism is that the bulk of the funds is being used mostly in Bangalore and a few other district headquarters while hardly anything reached the real needy and rural areas. It is also alleged that deep rooted vested interest groups within are siphoning off vast sums of money. It is frequently being charged that almost all the funds earmarked for the welfare minority religious communities are used mostly for the benefit of Muslim community only...While the allegation that the Muslim community gets most of the funds has some truth in it, the lack of interest/awareness in the christian community is also equally to be blamed for the corporation’s failure to fulfil its objective.  

iv. **A Study of Dalits in Muslim and Christian Communities**

This study undertaken by Satish Deshpande and his team from the Delhi University was sponsored by the National Commission for Minorities, Government of India, in the context of the demand for equal treatment with Hindu Dalits by Dalit Christians and Dalit Muslims, in relation to the reservations granted to the former. It was also undertaken in the wake of the demand by the Supreme Court of India to produce hard facts concerning disability accrued to the Dalit Christians and Dalit Muslims due to caste

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discrimination within their respective religious communities. Therefore the study had as its objectives, to find out the contemporary socio-economic status of Dalit Christians and Dalit Muslims, to compare their status vis-a-vis non-Dalit segments of their respective religious communities and vis-a-vis Hindu and Sikh Dalits, and to ascertain if disabilities suffered by DMs and DCs (abbreviations used in the report) justify state intervention in the spirit of the Constitution as interpreted by the judiciary. The study used survey methods with structured questionnaires, community based investigations, and enquiries and long-duration field work using ethnographic techniques. Its report was made public in the year 2008.

Excerpts of the summarized Main findings are given below:

- With respect to proportions of populations in poverty or affluence, DMs are unquestionably the worst off among all Dalits, in both the rural and specially the urban sector. There is a significant gap between DMs and DCs and Dalit Sikhs, and small one between them and Hindu Dalits
- When it comes to intra-community comparisons, the gap between Dalits and non-Dalits is by far the smallest for Muslims. DCs are at the other end of the spectrum, with the highest inter-caste differentials.
- With respect to comparisons of occupational structure, there seem to be no dramatic contrasts in rural India. In urban India, however, DMs are in the bottom slot, with the highest proportion in ‘casual labor’ category. DCs have the highest proportion in the ‘regular wage category’ among all Dalits.
- With respect to comparisons of educational levels, DMs are the worst off in rural India in terms of illiteracy, but are closely matched by Hindu Dalits in both rural and urban India. DCs are slightly better off in rural, and significantly better off in urban India. However, in both rural and urban India, and at both ends of the educational spectrum, all Dalits except Muslims do much worse than their non-Dalit co-religionists, specially the upper castes.
C. The case of Dalit /Christian Mining workers in Kolar Gold Fields

The town KGF as I grew up since the 50s consisted of several communities with varying levels of interaction. Most of us however were linked together with the Gold mining industry that generated a culture of its own. From the time we rose up in the morning till the time we retired to sleep in the night we were guided and governed by the rites and rules of the

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53 Kolar Gold Fields is situated 15 Km. to the south-east of Bangarapet town, the headquarters of the taluk with the same name and to the east of a low ridge of hills of which Betrayan hill, 975 meters of above sea level, is the most conspicuous point. Area wise it prominently occupies the central portion of the taluk and stretches towards south almost to the border of the taluk from Bangarapet-Bethamangala Road. Bangarapet, one of the eleven taluks in Kolar District, situated on the periphery, is bounded by Andhra Pradesh on the east and by Tamilnadu in the south. Gold mining in Kolar Gold Fields is the oldest metal mining industry in the country and is well over 100 years old. KGF urban area is unique in that it owes its origin, growth and to a great extent its existence to the mining industry. The settlement pattern, the occupational structure, migration and linguistic composition of the population etc., have all along been dictated by the mining activity. All the six major religions are represented in varying proportions in the population of KGF. Hindus are the most numerous and account for more than 70 per cent of the population according to the 1981 Census. Christians (18.96 per cent) and Muslims (9.57 per cent) form the next numerically large communities after Hindus. Jains account for just over 1 per cent of the population. The proportion of Buddhists and Sikhs is insignificant in terms of percentages nevertheless there is a sprinkling of persons belonging to these communities also. There is considerable concentration of Scheduled Caste population in KGF. According to the 1981 Census more than 43 per cent of the total population of KGF belongs to this category. The 1971 Census revealed that Adi Dravida accounted for 39 per cent of the total population of the town which easily makes Adi Dravida the numerically strongest community among the Hindus. Adi Andhra and Adi Karnataka are the other two numerically important Scheduled Castes. The Kolar district and KGF which is situated in it, present a distinct linguistic composition somewhat contrary to that of a typical area belonging to Karnataka state of which state the regional language is Kannada. It is observed that according to the 1971 Census more than half of the total population of Kolar district has returned Telugu as their mother tongue. In other words, Kolar is one of the few districts where the state language, Kannada is not the mother tongue of the majority of the population. Similarly, it was also observed that nearly one third of the population in KGF is made up of migrants mainly contributed by the neighbouring Tamil Nadu State. One may find migrants from Andhra Pradesh and Kerala as well. Therefore, though the State language, Kannada is used as an official language in these areas but the lingua franca in Kolar district is Telugu and that in KGF is Tamil (67 per cent) indicating the predominance of these linguistic groups in these respective places. (Taken from Town Survey Report Kolar Gold Fields Census of India 1981)
industry. On several nights we were woken up rudely in the wee hours by blasts and rock bursts that shook the earth below us. The industry rationed food grains, water and our education often with glaring inequalities. The privileged had the best of everything, the working class though suffered without proper housing, sanitation facilities and wages. Indeed, the workers of the Gold mining industry were such an exploited lot that they frequently resorted to strikes.

KGF had a strong Trade Union movement which had its own heroes and stories of betrayal. Besides the Congress party led movement, unions were organised under the auspices of the Republican Party of India and the Communist Party of India. The left-wing ideology with emphasis on justice and proletarian revolution was particularly appealing to young people like me who grew up experiencing the pangs of poverty and social discrimination. The RPI, though a dalit party failed to impress me much since I associated it with those who terrorised my people, a minority linguistic madiga community engaged in unclean occupations. Also at that time my own understanding of caste and its ramifications was rudimentary to say the least. It was only later and after much exposure to different situations and ideologies that I have come to recognise the need for a holistic framework to analyse complex social problems as those faced by the mining workers in KGF.

The mining township was as it is now home for several temples, churches and denominations. We have existed in total religious harmony for as long as I can remember. In fact, religiosity was an addiction here. While the Hindus conducted their pujas and festivals regularly, Christian churches and evangelists held street meetings, conventions, and healing prayer meetings throughout the year. Much of the religious activity however remained unconnected with the management of the mining industry and the
consequent suffering of the working class. I myself attended several of these meetings, considered different doctrinal approaches and was generally in search of God. Religion had no doubt influenced my life course. Another strong influence has been school education. At a time when most of my peers in the lines were school drop outs, and were addicted to alcoholism, I was attending the school regularly and competing with students from higher caste and class backgrounds. It is the combination of aspiration to do as well as others and a religious discipline built on evangelical faith that made a significant contribution to my self-development.

Unfortunately, the disassociation of the churches from the affairs of the world is a continuing reality. This is not to deny the variety of social services that the churches are rendering in the fields of education, health services, relief and rehabilitation. The point is that the churches have a lot more to contribute to the liberation struggles of the improvised and discriminated people. Worse still, established denominational churches have stagnated to become mere forums for preserving cultural traditions and class interests of particular social communities. And the leadership is all the time engaged in fierce power struggles within the given structures. On the other hand, the independent church movement is growing fast especially among the poor in the slums, but it is clueless and irrelevant in so far as the peoples’ social needs are concerned. I see this happen even as I work with sanitation worker communities in and around Bangalore. The independent church pastors preach more to other worldly aspirations of their flock than finding solutions or providing guidance to deal with their down to earth social problems.

The Dalit/Christian Mining Workers attitude of resignation in the context of the development of Political Economy in India

A common feature among the people whether it is the mining workers community or the slum dwellers in Bangalore is the attitude of resignation.
They are so accustomed to years of neglect, exploitation and oppression that they remain hopeless and helpless. While not belittling the role played by religious world views and perspectives I wish to highlight and identify here social factors that play an equally important role in developing such an attitude. A socio structural and historical analysis is important to understand the root cause(s) to develop a strategic and sustained effort to help the people regain their confidence to rebuild their lives. Such an approach involves social change programmes both at the micro and macro levels. What I intend to do in the next few paragraphs is to undertake a brief structural analysis to identify the root causes of the attitude of resignation among the worker population. It is my assumption that larger social factors such as colonialism, casteism and regional politics have played a detrimental effect on the psyche of the worker population and that therefore social change programmes should address these factors. The churches should also deal with these issues with social and spiritual resources it is amply equipped with. It cannot and should not shirk its social responsibility by remaining aloof.

There are two main features to the mining workers’ cultural ethos. The first is of uniform experience. There is in KGF mass poverty, mass indebtedness, and mass alcoholism and so on. The workers and their dependents have so adjusted to this situation that they do not see these problems as abnormal conditions of life. The second feature is related. In spite of all these problems, the people have developed a peculiar sense of security, a comfort zone in KGF that most people refuse to move out of KGF to find alternate jobs and improve their standard of life. Theoretically speaking, this cultural ethos may be common to all backward communities particularly to those that are at the stage of transition to industrialism. In all such communities; the individuals show little or no initiative. They are generally led by forces outside themselves. Again, even though an awareness
of common experience may be present, there is little or no common effort to change their miserable conditions.\textsuperscript{54}

Certain socio-economic and political factors have contributed to the development of the attitude of resignation among the mining workers and their dependents. These factors are colonial exploitation, oppression, poverty and caste discrimination. It is also an effect that has developed over a period of time. In the past many decades, social circumstances and forces have so affected their lives that they have learned to stay resigned than to act on their own. In other words, in the course of their past history, they have lost their sense of participation.

I wish to identify and examine these factors through a structural analysis in two broad periods on the basis of significant developments. The first period begins with 1880 and ends with 1955 and the second period begins with 1956 and ends with 1988. 1880 marks the beginning of the Gold mining industry by the British company, 1956 marks the takeover of the Gold mining industry by the Indian government and 1988 marks the issuance of the Government Order to phase out the mining operation in KGF.

1. **Structural analysis 1880-1955**

The history of KGF begins in 1880 with the extraction of gold using modern machinery by the British company, the John Taylor & Company. With the introduction of modern machinery, gold mining became a profitable proposition. The profits gained in the early stages were enormous. In 1888 alone the shareholders in England received a profit of 7,00,000 pounds for

\textsuperscript{54} The cultural ethos of mining workers has some similarities with amoral familism’ of Montegrano community in southern Italy in the 50s. In both the communities, people show an attitude of pessimism and resignation.
their investment of 2,50,000 pounds.\textsuperscript{55} With increased production there was increased profit and this exceeded 100\% at times. Yet none of these profits were either invested in other prospective goldfields in the neighbourhood or in any other economic activity in KGF.\textsuperscript{56}

With the introduction of modern machinery, the John Taylor & Co., also gained ascendancy over 32 other European companies which were already engaged in the business of gold extraction in KGF. The British company operated the mines with the help of a few European skilled and semi-skilled workers and a large number of migrant Indian workers who provided the general labour. The bulk of migrant workers came from the neighbouring North Arcot district of Madras and a relatively smaller group from Andhra. Initially, these workers were reluctant to accept underground work because of the risks involved in such work. But they soon relented because the British overlords threatened to bring in indentured labour from China and Africa. The workers preferred to risk their lives than to return to agricultural occupations which had many uncertainties. There was no guarantee of year-round work and there was no guarantee of and enough crop yield to feed them all as there was very little cultivable land in their native places.\textsuperscript{57} The European workers who numbered 90 in 1883 increased to 339 in 1935. In the same year, the migrant Indian workers numbered 29,592.\textsuperscript{58}

Gold mining industry in KGF was started and run by the British company under the protection of the British colonial rule. The Indian

\textsuperscript{55} K.S. Seetharaman \textit{The history of kolar gold fields, upto 1956,} \textit{(Tamil), (Kolar Gold Fields: Elushan Electronics publication, KGF, 1989), p 65}
\textsuperscript{56} K.V. Subramanyam, \textit{“The future and development of kolar gold fields”, Unpublished Article, 18 January 1979}
\textsuperscript{57} G.N. Ramu, \textit{Family and caste in urban India}, (New Delhi: Vikas publishing house, Pvt. Ltd.,1977), p 17
\textsuperscript{58} K.S. Seetharaman, \textit{op. cit, p65}
workers were given step-motherly treatment. While the European workers and officials were paid well and provided with all luxuries of huge bungalows, automobiles, servants and recreation facilities, the Indian workers were oppressed and suppressed. The Indian workers’ wages were so low that they had to fight for a minimum wage of Re.1 even as late as 1940. Their civil rights were denied. It was only in 1940 that they were permitted to form the trade union. Even after that, the right to free speech and the right to gather for political purposes were suspended arbitrarily by the company under the declaration of KGF as a ‘special area’. A remnant form of this arrangement still continues with the continuance of the appointment of a special superintendent of police to oversee policing in KGF.

The housing for the workers was provided by the employer, the company. But they can be best described as cattle-shed like shelters. Each hut consisted of a single room and kitchen with a plinth area of about 165 sq.ft. They were clustered together in such close proximity that these crowded residential areas were referred as ‘lines’, ‘colonies’, or ‘camps’. This picture coupled with the cheap material used to build the huts and the fact that the workers had always the thought of returning to their native villages generated an ethos of temporariness. What made these shelters unfit for human dwelling was the scarcity of water and sanitation facilities. Because of the lack of basic amenities and because of overcrowding, plagues and epidemics broke out in these areas very frequently. The company was not bothered about providing these basic needs. It was only when this inhuman treatment of workers was exposed to the outside world that they began to grudgingly provide such things as more water taps.

59 Ibid, p 121

60 Radhakamal Mukherjee, The Indian working class, (Bombay: Hind Kitabs Ltd., Third Edition, 1951), p 307
Thus, during the period 1880-1955, the dominant factor that affected the lives of the mining workers in KGF was imperial colonialism. It is probable that before the mighty power of the British company, the workers felt so helpless that they learned to yield and resign to their fate.

2. **Structural analysis, 1956 – 1988:**

This period is marked by the change of ownership of the industry. The government of Mysore first bought the industry from the British company in 1956. It could not however run the industry for too long, because it realized that gold mining was no longer profitable. All the gold ore in the lateral extent which makes gold mining profitable were exhausted as early as 1939. The left over gold was embedded at deeper levels and the cost of depth level mining increases with the increase of the depth level. Therefore, the management of the industry was handed over to the union government which ran the industry with much subsidy. The losses, i.e. the expenditure over income for two years, between 1986 – 87 and 1987 – 88 alone were Rs.18.21 crores and Rs.16.89 crores respectively. According to the managing director, these losses were partly due to the adverse pricing policy of linking KGF gold to the international market (London Metal Exchange).\(^{61}\)

With the departure of the British, social classes in KGF were primarily drawn along caste lines. The contention was between the Brahmins and non-Brahmins, more particularly the Panchamas or the so-called untouchables. The Brahmins were holding most managerial and supervisory positions, while the Panchamas were mostly general labourers. The Brahmins were quick to seize the opportunities to occupy managerial and white collar positions after the departure of the British company. The lower-caste groups

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\(^{61}\) *Indian Express, November 30, 1988*
could not compete because they lacked the required skills.\textsuperscript{62} Once in positions of power, the Brahmins tended to favour members of their caste group both in new appointments and promotions. A study conducted in 1971 has shown that there has been a correlation between ‘ritual dominance’ and ‘economic dominance’ in KGF. The sample survey was conducted on respondents belonging to various varnas. Of them 18.5\% were Brahmins, 20.6\% were shudras, and 47.7\% were panchamas. Among the Brahmin respondents, 7.7\% belonged to the lower class, 53.8\% belonged to the middle class and 38.5\% belonged to the upper class. Among the shudras 53.5\% belonged to the lower class, 37.9\% belonged to the middle class and 8.6\% belonged to the upper class. Among the panchama respondents 85.8\% belonged to the lower class, 13.4\% belonged to the middle class and 0.8\% belonged to the upper class.\textsuperscript{63}

India had gained its independence in the year 1947. But the British company in KGF was forced to leave only in 1956. The union government of India acted upon the takeover only after much pressure was placed on it, particularly by the Mysore state politicians. The states in India were also re-organised in 1956 on the basis of language spoken by the majority population in each state. This had its own effect on the prospects of the mining population. To give an example, the Bharath Earth Movers Limited, a public undertaking was started in KGF in 1962 with the primary intention of employing surplus labourers or their children from the mining industry which was by then reducing its workforce progressively. But the primary intention was not fulfilled due to various reasons including the political compulsions of appeasing the majority linguistic community in the state. Thus, of the 6,300 workers employed by the BEML in 1962, only 2,000 were

\textsuperscript{62} G.N.Ramu, \textit{op.cit}, p 32  
\textsuperscript{63} \textit{Ibid}, p 31
Also the differential wage system favouring the BEML workers whose salaries were almost double the salary of the mining workers created a serious problem for the latter in the common market. The prices of commodities shot up artificially in accordance with the purchasing capacity of the BEML workers. This worsened the economic condition of the mining workers who were already victims of chronic indebtedness.65

In summary, during the second period, 1956 – ’88, the poor mining workers had to face a different kind of discrimination and domination. This time their oppressors were their own nationals and the dominant factors that determined their discrimination and marginalisation were caste and language. It is probable that the attitude of resignation further developed among the workers because of their awareness that they were up against systemic powers, the age old caste system and the state power of a brute majority.

It has been made clear from the above analysis that colonialism, casteism, regionalism and poverty have affected the lives of the mining workers’ in KGF. I now wish to bring to focus the way in which the underlying principles or patterns of these factors have influenced the development of the attitude of resignation among the workers.

a. Colonialism: Colonialism was the inevitable form of the expanding capitalism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Capitalism runs on the two principles of profit and competition. These principles also form its inner contradictions. It is these principles or contradictions that drove the European capitalists to distant lands to plunder the latter’s wealth and exploit their labour.66 The colonial exploiter’s sole aim is profit. Towards this, he adopts any method,

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65 Ibid
however inhuman and unethical it may be. Thus, the British gold mining company did not hesitate to manipulate unfortunate circumstances as when they coerced the migrant workers to unconditionally accept their terms and work, to unleash terror by expelling rebel workers from the mining area and by rewarding very docile workers. The poor housing without the basic amenities provided by the company was a deliberate plan. They stand to gain in their workers’ ethos of temporariness.\textsuperscript{67}

All of these methods had no doubt the intended effect on the poor workers – the effect of generating a sense of helplessness and resignation.

b. Casteism: Caste is the basic criterion of social organization and structure of traditional Indian society. This is recognized by all. But it was assumed by some including a section of the Marxists who base their assumption on early Marx’s views on the effects of industrialism on the Asiatic societies, that caste would lose its importance in the process of industrialism. This assumption has been proved false by the re-emergence of caste as the dominant factor after the departure of the British in KGF. The mining workers, majority of who belong to the lowest caste group have through repeated experiences realised that they are up against a deep rooted system that has great survival value. It is probable that this painful awareness is one of the causal factors in the development of the attitude of resignation.

c. Factors of recent origin: Regionalism is one such factor. The operative pattern has been explained in the analysis itself. One thing more needs to be said here. That is, that regionalism sustains a negative effect that is common to all migrants in any part of the world. It is the minority

complex or the displaced mentality – a loss of sense of belonging that is akin to the sense of resignation. Another important factor of recent origin is the development of impersonal bureaucratisation and high centralisation. These forms of administration alienate both the administrator and the administered - the bureaucrat and the worker. The mining workers have reasons to believe that the crisis facing them is not being considered seriously, leave alone being managed well by those higher-ups who are both far away in New Delhi and unaffected by their experiences. At the same time the workers believe that only those higher-ups have the political power to change their circumstances. It is probable that this reality and realisation is another causal factor for their attitude of resignation.

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MAINSTREAMING MADRASSA EDUCATION: A CRITICAL EXAMINATION ON TRADITIONAL CURRICULUM OF MADRASSAS IN KARNATAKA AND WAYS TO ALIGN THE INSTITUTIONS ALONG THE MAIN STREAM EDUCATION SYSTEM

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Introduction:

That Muslims in India are educationally backward is now a fairly known and established fact. Several committees and commissions set up by the Union and State governments have amply demonstrated that unless some special measures are initiated, the community cannot attain parity in matters of social and economic development with mainstream population. Concern to this effect began to surface during the era of Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi when she announced the 15-point programme for the upliftment of minorities. Later, she had set up a committee to report the situation of the community headed by Dr. Gopal Singh. Still later, she had addressed a special letter to the chief ministers of the states to improve the state of waqf properties and draw plans for their development on commercial lines in order to make them a source of financial support for the ameliorative measures for Muslims.

The Sachar Committee appointed by the Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh statistically highlighted the educational and economic deprivation suffered by the Muslims in its voluminous report submitted in 2006. What stood out clearly was that illiteracy among general Muslims and deficient attainments among those who are fortunate to receive education,

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leave the community individuals without the requisite qualifications and skills to gain access to the sources of empowerment in an India on the road to modernisation, urbanisation and industrialisation. It was pointed out that much of the welfare schemes fail to benefit the community. For instance, nearly 95% rural Muslim families designated as Below Poverty Line (BPL), do not get free ration from the Public Distribution System (PDS). As many as 60% of urban Muslims never attend schools (though many receive education at home or informal educational institutions). The proportion of graduates among the rural Muslims was found to be 0.8% and the same for urban Muslims was 3.1%. The representation in Public Sector Undertakings stood at around 6% while in more elite jobs such as banks, universities and research institutions it hovered between two to three percent.

The Report brought forth the sad reality that nearly one-third of the villages across the country with large concentration of Muslims were without schools. It not only effectively debunked the myth of appeasement of Muslims by the secular dispensation but etched to relief the fact that the community was nowhere proportionately represented in institutions of power, profit and privilege. It was also pointed out that not more than four per cent Muslim students were enrolled in madrassas thereby negating any excessive hold of religion or influence of clerics on the community, even though India hosted some of the world’s most renowned Islamic seminaries. The Committee had recommended steps like setting up schools that could impart quality education to students of minority communities, special schools for Muslim girls studying from 9th to 12th standard, boarding houses for such students in taluka and district headquarters and appointment of more women teachers in order that education is easily accessible and affordable for minorities.
The madrassas to some extent fill up this gap in areas where government facilities are not available. They operate out of small towns and villages and slum areas in the Cities. Women’s madrassas provide a safe and secure environment for Muslim girls.

Madrassas are centres for imparting Islamic theological education. Though nothing in the term ‘Madrassa’ confines it to Islamic theological education, in post-Mughal period, it has come to imply the same. However, madrassas have been imparting some rudimentary knowledge of mathematics, English and other regional languages but the reading of the Quran and Hadith and other theological subject occupies priority. Mostly children from extremely poor families seek admission there as they take care of their food, stay, clothings and other basic needs during their prime years of physical growth. Curiously, in West Bengal and Assam, the madrassa system has retained its original characteristics of teaching even secular subjects. Known as High Madrassa (just as High Schools elsewhere), these admit even Hindu students and teach all secular subjects, employ non-Muslim teachers and receive Government grants and in some case even the infrastructure is maintained at the cost of official exchequer.

Except the larger madrassas which may have certain waqf lands or rent-yielding properties dedicated by philanthropists, most madrassas are funded by charities collected by fund-collectors who are ever on the job. Not all Islamic theological schools are madrassas. The part-time ones that operate out of mosque premises are maktab, which function during pre- or post-school hours and teach the kids the basic skill of reading the Quran and impart elementary knowledge of Islamic precepts and practices such as Namaz, Roza (fasting), Zakat (charity) and Hajj (pilgrimage to Makkah) and norms to maintain cleanliness and hygiene. These children otherwise attend regular schools during the day time.
Much against the theories by Islamophobes that madrassas radicalise the children, it is felt that the curriculum does not even equip them with basic knowledge of the modern society, and economy where they could get to know their basic rights, their accessibility and skills to earn a decent livelihood. To expect them to use arms, develop any understanding of current political discourse and harbour any geopolitical designs is simply too much to ask.

This paper seeks to look into the history of madrassas, evolution of theological education, their pattern of management, sources of funding, pedagogic style and the infrastructure etc with particular reference to Karnataka.

Madrassas are centres of Islamic theology. Once upon a time they imparted the knowledge of all disciplines that were relevant to that time and helped people earn their livelihood. Besides teaching the holy text of Islam {Quran, Hadith (sayings of the Holy Prophet), Fiqh (jurisprudence), Arabic language and literature etc}, they even included vocational training such as carpet weaving, book binding, Unani medicine (Unani Tibb), and included sciences such as astronomy (Ilmul Falkiyat), chemistry (Ilmul Kimiya), Mathematics (Riyazi), Geometry (Aqleedus) etc.

As time passed and sun set over Muslim rule in Spain (1492 AD) and Mughal era ended in the Indian subcontinent (1857), power shifted to the British colonial administration which brought in new languages and sciences such as Sociology, Psychology, Political Science, modern Law, besides Natural and Physical Sciences. Society underwent total transformation with traditional occupations being replaced with new techniques and disciplines. Technology replaced the manual labour and computerisation took away routine jobs from human hands and assigned them to machines. Empires
broke and yielded place to nation-states. Monarchs were deposed and State apparatuses took their place. Former subjects became citizens in the new nation-states. People owed allegiance to the Constitution rather than the loyalty to the presiding sovereign.

The modern Western higher education was introduced in India during the British rule. It started with the establishment of universities in the cities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in 1857, a year during which the mutiny broke out from Meerut cantonment. As is evident from the famed Lord Macaulay's Minutes on Education (1835), the British educational system was designed ‘to produce Indian elite to work as clerks in the management of state affairs. They were not meant to produce intellectuals, scholars, scientists or administrators’. The first to ridicule them were the British administrators themselves, showing their contempt by calling them 'babbling babus', if they raised their voice in support for liberal policies opposing British attitudes.

The British education was meant to produce workers for their mills, salesmen to promote those goods, clerks for their ports and railways which moved factory produced goods to the interiors of the country and procured the raw material from farms and mines. So axe also fell upon traditional crafts and cottage industry. The colonial administration bought the raw material like cotton at cheaper price and flooded the Indian markets with textile produced in the textiles mills of Manchester. Thus the educational system the British were putting in place had underpinnings of an economy that they envisioned to benefit them rather than the Indians. The gulf between social and cultural values of the Muslim society and those coming up equipped with degrees in science, technology, commerce and humanities was widening. Several ulema became apprehensive of the British design to
transform the education to serve their ends and perceived the harm it would do to the traditional Islamic education. It led to opposition to modern education, principally teaching of English and reinforcing the traditional curriculum.

Around 1860s much intellectual churning was taking place among Muslims. This resulted in Maulana Qasim Nanotvi setting up Darul Uloom at Deoband in Uttar Pradesh, the most known traditional seat of Islamic learning to date in India. On the other end, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan who served as a civil servant in the British Indian administration felt that if Muslim could borrow Western scientific and technical knowledge while remaining true to their religious traditions, all their problems could be solved. He set up the Muslim Anglo Arabic (MAO) College at Aligarh in 1876 after deeply contemplating over the decline of Mughal empire and the failure of Indians at the hands of the superior force of the colonialists. He was influenced in his thoughts by Mufti Muhammad Abduh of Egypt. Even down south in Kerala Vakkom Abdul Khadir Moulvi was propagating similar concept of education whereby socio-economic aspects of modern education could take an upperhand without sacrificing the moral aspects of the religious education.

Whatever may be the differences in approaches, the dawn of the new era had imparted a new axis for educational policies, i.e., to organizing the people into nation-states and to introduce market economy based on relentless exploitation of natural resources and increased consumption. Morality and religion were largely marginalized, and if indeed to be taught, they were meant to explain the past and its legacies for the society. There was also a distinct shift in the explanation of morality i.e., from religion to Constitution. This brought in a sea change in the concept of education. Yet something remained static, i.e., the madrassa education. The convulsions of
time could not shake its foundations in any significant manner. Rather, the loss of power resulted in Muslims betraying a fierce sense of guarding the old system of education, lest their identity be diluted in the wake of new changes in the society. Modernity was an anathema for the clerics. The opposition to the British rule also spawned hatred towards the English language which resulted in a large section of Muslims getting deprived of all the new sciences and vocations that came in the wake of British takeover of India and thereby losing a world of benefits that could accrue through it.

It took nearly a century for the loss to sink in among the clerics. Reformers like Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Shibli Noamani, Dr. Zakir Hussain, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, educationist K. G. Syedain etc kept on urging the community to shun its aversion to English. While some of them pleaded for switchover to modern education, a few like Shibli Noamani pleaded for reform in Madrassa syllabus and pedagogy. Yet not much could be achieved. The madrassas affiliated to or the ones following the curriculum of Darul Uloom, Deoband in Uttar Pradesh (set up in 1866) firmly rejected the pleas for change and reform. They still form the largest chunk of Islamic theological schools in the length and breadth of India. The graduates turned out of this seminary run several hundreds of madrassas in the length and breadth of the country. Besides the traditional theological sciences, their curriculum includes very rudimentary exposure to Mathematics, English and local languages.

Scholars and leaders such as Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Shibli Noamani, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad etc had a keen perception of deficiencies of the Madrassa education. They pointed out that the factors behind the backwardness of Muslims had more to be found internally rather than externally. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan had his hand on the pulse of the
community. He wrote: “Muslims lag behind the Western nations in matters of civilizational development and this leads to their victimisation at the hands of Western imperialism. Madrassa curriculum must be overhauled and reframed. Any system of education that does not fulfill the urges of the time in which people live, is irrelevant. Muslims are learning all those traditional sciences that do not benefit them in any measure. This is the reason behind their poverty, crisis of thought and stagnation.”

The latest plea to modernize the madrassas comes from the Sachar Committee Report. The Report presented to the Prime Minister on November 17, 2006 had recommended that ways should be devised to link the madrassas to a Higher Secondary School Board in order that those graduates who would like to enter the mainstream education, should be able to enroll themselves in such schools or appear for these examinations and thereby acquire the eligibility to proceed in the mainstream. Going further, it said there should be scope for madrassa degrees to be treated on par with mainstream schools. It also called for the madrassa graduates to be considered eligible to appear for civil services exams, banking services recruitment exams and for Defence Services. It even referred to an exercise undertaken in the past (i.e., in 1990) in this regard which due to some flaws could not achieve much progress.

While Deobandi madrassas continue to stick to the old pattern, those affiliated to other schools of Islamic thought such as Salafi or Jamaate Islami, etc have in recent years experimented with a modified curriculum where CBSE syllabus is integrated with conventional theological sciences. A string of such schools have come up in almost all the big cities. However, the curricula of the Islamic theological schools leans heavily towards imparting
Islamic theology and does not encourage (nay discourages) free spirit of inquiry.

**Madrassas in Karnataka**

The region of the Old Mysore did not have any large madrassas till Independence (1947). But kingdoms of Adilshahis and Bahamani sultans in the present northern Karnataka had set up some very renowned madrassas such as Jamia Mahmood Gawan (Mahmood Gawan University) in Bidar, Madrassa e Aaliya, Madrassa Alwiya Bijapur and Madrassa Mohammadiya, all three in Bijapur etc. The Mahmood Gawan University was founded in 887 AH by Khawja Mahmood Gawan, who had arrived from Khurasan in Iran. It functioned for 221 year till the grand edifice (its magnificent ruins still exist) collapsed in 1108 AH after being struck by lightning, killing many of its teachers and students. However none of these madrassas exist today. There does not seem to be any organic link between these institutions of the medieval kingdom to the present madrassas that have come up in erstwhile seats of southern kingdoms of Kalburgi (formerly Gulbarga), Bidar and Bijapur.

The clerics working in the mosques of Old Mysore state were generally migrant maulvis from states of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. Only large sized mosques could afford appointing maulvis trained in Hyderabad, Deoband, Lucknow, Saharanpur or Bareilly. The smaller mosques in taluka towns contented themselves with locally trained *Hafiz* (those who memorize the Quran). They had just rudimentary knowledge of the Islamic theology. It was only around early 1960s that Madrassa Sabeelur Rashad was set up by Maulana Abu Saud Ahmed who arrived here from Vrinjipuram in neighbouring Tamil Nadu. It continues to be the major Islamic seminary in the State. Though no system of formal association exists among madrassas,
an informal affiliation gets established through adoption of a common syllabus and induction of a few Alims from renowned madrassas. Going by this yardstick, Sabeelur Rashad is a madrassa of Deobandi genre which is known for its following of Hanafi school of jurisprudence. A similar madrassa, namely Darul Uloom Siddiqia was set up in Mysore some 30 years ago under the patronage of Sabeelur Rashad in late 1970s.

By mid-1980s, when Bengaluru came onto the broadgauge map of Indian Railways and direct access to the northern cities was established, the city began to witness an influx of people from the north Indian states. Several madrassas came to be established thereafter. Notable among them are Madrassa Masihul Uloom in Hegdenagar, Bengaluru, Madrassa Shah Waliullah in Tannery Road, Madrassa Rahmaniya, Kambipur (near Bidadi) etc. The *Millath Pages Karnataka*, an annual directory of Muslim institution in Karnataka, records names of 321 madrassas in its 2015-16 edition. Of these, 139 are located in Bengaluru alone. A survey by Students Islamic Organisation (SIO), Karnataka zone conducted during 2015 puts the number of madrassas listed with the Directorate of Urdu and other Minority Languages under the Department of Public Instructions of the Govt of Karnataka at 323 but considers it to be a less than the actual number operating in the State. A list of 63 madrassas could be compiled after a careful scrutiny of admission notices issued by these institutions in and around Bengaluru in Urdu *Daily Salar* this year (i.e., 2016).

After the mid-1990s, there was a mushrooming growth of madrassas in Bengaluru and its environs. Several clerics who arrived from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar to work as imams in the mosques, also set up madrassas in eastern and southern parts of the city inasmuch a survey by the Centre for Contemporary Studies, Koramangala could compile a list of nearly 180 of them in 2011. However, a preponderant majority of them were small set-ups
with facility for preparing Hafiz (memorizers of the Holy Quran) which does not involve more than three or four years for a teenager. Still later, some madrassas of Salafi orientation too came up in the city. Among them Jamia Mohammediya Mansoora in Hegdenagar is a school-cum-madrassa combining religious as well as secular syllabus of CBSE. (More about it later in this study.)

A telephonic survey reveals that a majority of children in madrassas in and around Bengaluru are from outside the State, mainly from poorer states such as Bihar and Bengal. A host of these madrassas too have been set up by clerics from UP and Bihar.

**Admission pattern**

Normally these madrassas admit children aged between 10 and 12. Education upto 5th standard with fluency in reading Urdu and the Quran is a requisite qualification for eligibility. Almost the entire education is free and barely anyone pays to study. Most students are drawn from lower-middle class families. All large sized madrassas provide free food and stay facilities which are of very ordinary standard. Frugality is the general norm in matters of accommodation and food. On an average, a student takes eight years to complete the basic Alimiyat course after which he is eligible for the position of Imam (prayer leader) in a mosque. Academic sessions normally start a week after Eidul Fitr which marks the end of the holy month of Ramazan. Lunar year (basis of Islamic calendar) is ten or eleven days shorter than the solar year (basis of Gregorian calendar). Hence, the academic years of madrassas and mainstream schools do not synchronise with Gregorian calendar or seasons. Both operate independent of each other. However, the madrassas that impart secular curriculum and are affiliated to CBSE or other
Boards of Examinations, align their academic schedule with the mainstream schools and follow Gregorian calendar.

The SIO survey later published in a research journal notes: “When we look at Madarasas in Karnataka, there are lots of students pursuing BA (alimiyath) courses. But those pursuing MA Arabic are rare. One or two are appearing for MA (Arabic) of Madras University. It is really sorry state of affairs to know that there aren’t any facilities to pursue post graduation in Arabic or Alimiyath since most of the universities do not recognize the BA (Alimiyath)! There is no arrangement to teach Arabic at these Universities. As such, there is an immediate need to commence BA (Arabic or Alimiyath) courses in our universities (i.e., in Karnataka) in line with universities in Kerala. At the same time, arrangements should be made to commence post graduation courses too”.

A curriculum leading to the award of Alimiyat certificate involves study of 14 different sciences. These include 1- Quran Nazira wo Tajweed (general ability to read, and the skill to recite Quran with intonation), 2-Tafseer (commentary of the Quran) and Usoolut Tafseer (principles of exegesis), 3-Hadith or the traditions from the Holy Prophet and Usoolul Hadith (principle of Hadith), 4-Fiqh or Jurisprudence and Usoolul Fiqh (principles of jurisprudence), 5- Mantiq (Logic), 6- Sarf wo Nahw (Arabic Grammar), 7-Fasaahat wo Balaaghat (Eloquence), 8- Indian History, 9- Mathematics, 10- English language, 11- Seeratun Nabi (Biography of the Holy Prophet), 12- Hayathus Sahaba (Biographies of the companions of the Holy Prophet), 13- Tashreehul Aflaak (Astronomy), and 14- Persian.

The students are supposed to have Islamic attire of kurta, pyjama and a cap. The food is served on dastarkhan (dining mat) and has to be eaten while squatting on the floor. Some madrassas wake up the senior students (aged 15
and above) for *Tahajjud* prayers (pre-dawn optional prayers) thereby disrupting the sleep. Some madrassas do not even have blackboards. Children generally learn by rote and there is little effort on comprehension. Subjects such as *Mantiq* (Logic) and *Sarf wa Nahw* (parts of Arabic grammar) are irrelevant today. Corporal punishment for disciplining the kids is the general norm. Madrassas considered to be affiliated to Deobandi curriculum do not even provide access to Urdu newspapers.

**Financial Condition**

Madrassas mainly subsist on charities which come through *zakath* (annual levy on accumulated wealth (which include bank deposits, gold and silver ornaments, rent proceeds etc) which is taken out at the rate of 2.5% on total value of the money which has been with a religiously observant Muslim); *Sadaqa* or occasional charity; *Ush’r* (tithe or religious levy on agricultural produce at the rate of 10% of the value of the produce) etc. During Eidul Azha (Eid of Sacrifice), the sacrificial skins (*Charm-e-Qurbani*) are also collected by these institutions which they sell and utilize the proceeds. It is quite normal for Muslims to donate their charities to a madrassa located within their locality or in its environs if they are familiar with the people running the set-up. Larger madrassas like Sabeelur Rashad or Masihul Uloom or Jamia Mohammediya Mansoora have vast campuses with several philanthropists having constructed classrooms, library, hostel, convention halls, playground, mosque etc. These madrassas are run by boards or bodies with eminent people and renowned members of the society being on their boards. But most smaller set-ups run by a single Alim can neither afford large campuses nor infrastructure.

The SIO survey provides some inkling about the status of Infrastructure and teaching facilities in 55 madrassas. It found 22% of them to be having
libraries; 13% maintaining first aid kits; 73% providing drinking water facilities; 83% housed in their own buildings; 18% having computer learning; 61% having integrated furniture; 24% had sports equipment. As for learning facilities 9% applied innovative learning; 18% taught Mathematics, Science and Social Studies; 11% had an appointed Physical Education Instructor and 44% were teaching English.

While madrassas of yore used to be run by a panels of divines, the ones currently known to be prominent betray inbreeding and lack of democratic functioning. Generally the rectors (Mohtamim or the person heading the madrassa) occupy the post for the lifetime. And as is generally observed, they are getting dynastic in nature with either the eldest son or someone closely related to the ex-Mohtamim, taking over the reins of the madrassa upon death of the incumbent.

Big madrassas do not advertise their services. Students get attracted towards them due to their reputation as well as the facilities offered by them. Normally, they would have representatives in larger cities in the State and outside who would recommend some students for admissions. It has become an established norm for graduates from renowned madrassas to suffix their names with their alma mater. For instance, those who have passed out of Darul Uloom Deoband would have Qasimi at the end of their names. (This is a kind of a tribute to the spirit of its founder Maulana Mohammad Qasim Nanotvi). Similarly graduates from Sabeelur Rashad would suffix their names with ‘Rashadi’ and those who studied at the Jamia Darussalam Oomarabad (in Tamil Nadu) have ‘Umri’ as the final part of their name. Suffixes such as Miftahi, Islahi, Mazahiri, Falahi, Baqvi, Latifi, Rahmani etc are other such suffixes that denote relationship of the Alim with a particular seminary where he attained his degree. Indeed these suffixes have attained a
status of honorific appellations for the graduates from these seminaries and help widen the reputation of the madrassas as well as create a pining for admissions in these reputed seminaries.

Smaller set-ups publicise the admission season through Urdu newspapers or announce it by way of posters which are pasted on mosque notice boards. Post-Friday congregation announcement too are a known medium for publicizing the academic session. A survey in Bengaluru reveals that profusion of the madrassas in and around Bengaluru and stiff competition to attract new students on their rolls is affecting their viability in recent years. Local Muslims have increasingly become aware of the intimate relationship between modern education and skills with jobs available in the knowledge economy ever since India opted for liberalization of the economy\(^4\). Aware of the limited usefulness of the madrasa education, they prefer to admit their children in schools imparting modern education. Hence, most of these medium and small set-ups have to look for new entrants from distant states like Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Assam. In fact, one of the large madrassas rejected 210 applications for admission from those who said they hailed from Bihar and West Bengal during the recent admission season. These children are transported over long distances from places like Manipur, Guwahati, Patna, Ranchi, Gorakhpur, Bahraich, and as far as from even Nepal to Bengaluru and other places to madrassas in South India\(^5\).

**Syllabus and Curriculum**

The major deficiency in the syllabus i.e., Darse Nizami, followed by these madrassas is that it is not able to strike a balance between the knowledge transferred from the past and the urges of the modern age. Darse Nizami is based on the mindset that “the primitive knowledge was virtuous” (i.e., *Qadeem Salih*)
and “the contemporary knowledge is beneficial” (Jadeed Nafe). This approach suffers from basic flaws and is based on a distorted history as madrassas of yore taught theology as well as the secular sciences. It may be noted that Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi, a jurist of the Mughal period, Sadullah Khan, minister under Shah Jehan and Ahmed Memaar Lahori, the architect of Taj Mahal were products of the same madrassas.

That Dars e Nizami has become irrelevant for the current times is an old debate. Countless theologians have argued for its amendment, modification and major dissection. Maulana Sayeed Akbarabadi (former teacher of Islamic Theology, Aligarh Muslim University, editor of ‘Burhan’ and author of several books) writes: “The books that are taught under Ilmul Kalam need to be extricated from the madrassa curriculum.” India’s first Education Minister Maulana Abul Kalam Azad had observed: “One cannot deny the fact that a student even after having studied in the madrassas for 16 years cannot write and speak Arabic. It is because the children instead of being taught the basic grammar, learns the philosophy of the grammar.” Even the Arabic taught to these graduates is of classical nature which may enable them to access the meaning and implications of the holy scriptures or Prophetic traditions, but does not help in communication through the modern media such as writing commercial and legal documents, or sending corporate e-mails or writing use manuals for the modern gadgets and appliances for Arab clientele.

Identity Factor

The problems faced by the Muslims in India are commonly categorized under three heads i.e., Security, Identity and Development. It is argued that while the Government should take care of the security issues, the community should be proactive in preserving the elements of its identity. The Constitution of India guarantees freedom to profess and practice one’s faith, preserve and promote the
language, script and culture and establish and run educational institutions of their choice. By declaring secularism, social and democracy to be the credo of the nation, the Constitution has created ample space for the minorities to safeguard and remain assured of the continuity of their identity. The general Muslim masses perceive madrassas to be the training centres for personnel for institutions where religious instructions are imparted, legal opinion (fatwas) are issued for settlement of marital and household disputes in accordance with the Sharia (the Islamic law), Arabic (the language of the holy text) is taught, necessary arrangements are made for observance of Islamic rituals for birth, death and marriages, facilities such as masjids, eidgahs, graveyards etc are managed.

Any talk of Government aiding these institutions breeds suspicion and more often gets interpreted as an attempt to intervene into their affairs which becomes a cause célèbre for communal mobilization. Given the edginess of the community and fearing political repercussions, the secular parties have generally desisted from broaching the issue. As could be learnt from the agitation on Shah Bano’s alimony (1986), identity demands exclusion while equity urges inclusion of communities. Governments in India have generally avoided pursuing the policy of coercing the minorities (or for that matter, any culturally distinct groups) to surrender their cultural identity to avail of equality in citizenship entitlements. Governments have remained committed to inclusive growth and have been trying to deal with contrary pressures in their treatment of minorities with sharpened sensitivities in matters of identity.

This has been a ticklish issue with Muslim minority which is unwilling to compromise on identity issues even while being aware of the cost it had to bear in matters of equity. This leads to a whole range of discussion as to how could individuals from a minority be enabled to participate in the basic political, economic and social functioning of the society. It is in this context that madrassas are desired to accommodate such secular sciences that would equip their students
to be aware of their civil rights and strive to secure their share of national resources and welfare allocations. Madrassa managements are therefore called upon to review their syllabi and bring in a curriculum that would be in tune with a democratic state and inclusive growth. Entwining the secular and religious would be the ideal solution. But it is still not on the horizon of even the managements of the modestly modern madrassas. All that could be conceived now is to persuade the madrassa managements in teaching the subjects like Mathematics, Sciences, English and regional languages alongside the religious subjects. Deeper engagement between issues of identity and modernity has remained the stuff of writings of reformists like Dr. Asghar Ali Engineer. Even highly modernized madrassas are averse to touching them with a barge pole for fear of their being stigmatized within the community.

**Economic Hardships**

For an average Islamic theologian, objective of the madrassa education continues to be reinforcement of the foundations of religion (i.e., of course Islam) in the Muslim society, moral rearmament of the masses and promotion of Islam across the world. Earning a livelihood is neither mentioned nor is on the mental horizon of those getting their wards admitted into the madrassas. But realities that stare into their face and the major question and concern that haunts the graduates coming out of the portals of these institutions is how to sustain themselves through their life as the economic prospects for them stand foredoomed due to total disconnection between the knowledge they would have attained and the education, degrees, and skills required by the employment market. A madrassa degree attained after 10-12 years of study of theological syllabus—unrecognised and carrying no credibility with employers as it is—offers limited job prospects in mosques and madrassas which barely yield enough to keep the soul and body together. Even a very well-paid Alim who works as an imam in a mosque in large sized cities, receives wages less than even a category III Government employee.
There are no additional allowances, nor any pension or retirement benefits. They have no bargaining power either. Such is the oversupply of madrassa graduates that the mosque managements can readily hire new recruits for lesser wages in case of demand for enhancement of wages. Employment prospects being bleak, several of them look back at the madrassas to revert to them for teaching. It is not a choice, but a compulsion. They transfer to the fresh entrants the same knowledge that fetched them a measly livelihood incapable of improving the quality of life. Summing up the gloomy situation, a veteran teacher in a Bengaluru madrassa commented: “I have five children and have decided never to subject my children to an educational system that does not endow them with any skills and art that would ensure them a decent livelihood and a life of dignity.”

This distressing picture has prompted leading theologians and Muslim academics to urge changes in madrassa curriculum. Economist Dr. Nejatullah Siddiqui has commented in the following words: “It is not proper for an educational institution to turn out graduates who cannot earn their bread and have to be dependent on charitable institutions for their livelihood despite having earned their degrees after 16 years of studies. Today we have a society where an individual can earn his livelihood in lieu of goods and services he can deliver to some clientele. Only one who can give something can demand a price or remuneration for it. Only such individuals would have confidence and would walk with their head held high. Those who are bereft of self-respect and self-confidence can neither provide moral nor religious leadership to the society.”

An even more caustic remark comes from Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the greatest modernizer the Muslim world had produced in the Indian subcontinent: It is utterly futile to expect that those who study at these madrassas will be beneficial to themselves. They have acquired no art or skill that could fetch them their bread
and butter. How could they be useful to themselves? It will be ridiculous if one expected them to develop devotion to God.\(^8\)

This seriously robs them of the spirit of dedication and commitment. Since they have no alternative skills, they have no option other than remaining tethered to their existing job for most years of life. It is therefore imperative that madrassas impart skills that could make their students earn their livelihood, integrate them to the mainstream of social and economic life of the nation, and empower them with knowledge that could reflect through their words and deeds.

It will be in order to find out as to who and which category of people opt for madrassa education for their children. In the words of Maulana Salim Qasimi, a leading theologian from Deoband and Rector of Darul Uloom (Waqf) Deoband (another leading seminary from the famed town in Uttar Pradesh which split out of the Darul Uloom Deoband)), 7-10\% of the students enrolled in these madrassas are those interested in completing some Arabic course. Next, 25-30\% are those who are sent there due to fulfill their parents’ interest in religious education. In large sized rural Muslim families, the parents consider it virtuous and rewarding in the Hereafter to send at least one son for theological education. Finally, 50-60 \% of the students are those whose parents have no other option for education of their children due to economic hardships.\(^9\)

**Modernization of Syllabus**

Pleas to modernize the madrassa syllabus evoke both cynicism as well as criticism, although voices for modification in the syllabus have been getting shrill over the years. Prof. M. A. Ataulla, Director of Darul Umoor, an institution established by a Bengaluru-based business tycoon at Srirangapatnam (near Mysuru), says the call and attempt to integrate (rather than modifying) modern sciences with existing madrassa curriculum has met with subliminal hostility from
the heads of the major seminaries. Darul Umoor was set up in 2001 to bring in 22 fresh graduates every year from madrassas across India and impart to them modern sciences and languages through a one-year Diploma course. According to him, the students come with stagnant minds and it takes several cathartic sessions of counseling to wean them from the frozen mindset. He says, their overestimation of self and underestimation of others meets a rude shock as they come face to face with modern intellectuals teaching them English, Sociology, Political Science, Economics, Comparative Religion, Management, Natural Sciences, Physics, Psychology and Management techniques. “Most of them often come without even the rudimentary knowledge of mathematics, yet they have an obsessive fondness for learning English and Computers, which in their perception are keys to jobs in the today’s employment market.”

While advocating for some central authority where madrassas could be registered or affiliated, Mr. Ataulla says a pragmatic approach should be made towards syllabi. He says a relook at Dars e Nizami is though inevitable, it should be continued together with introduction of basic sciences and English and other regional languages. Dr. Zaheer Ahmed Baqvi, a former teacher of Madrassa Bakhiathus Salihat, Vellore, opines that change would come only if students are taught to question the prevailing wisdom. “The Springs of reasons would not become functional until the spirit of inquiry remains bridled. It would be better not to fiddle with big madrassas which are averse to change. The middle level madrassas should be persuaded to introduce modern sciences. Once these students come up in the field as qualitatively superior professionals, they will positively impact the people”, he adds.

But opposition and resistance to change is palpable. The three major points on which the plea to include modern sciences is opposed by the madrassa managements are: 1- The religious education would be affected and the objectives of madrassa education will be defeated. 2- The current syllabus of madrassas (read
Dar se Nizami) is in itself a very exhaustive one and cannot take any new subjects. They will neither have expertise of an Alim, nor would they have usefulness in the modern job market as professionals. 3- The graduates being turned out of such institutions will develop lust for material objects and worldly pleasures and will be devoid of spiritual essence.

What to cut? And
What to Add?

The above arguments and objections are not without substance. But the remedy does not lie in retaining the entire syllabus. The current Dars e Nizami syllabus is an amalgam of oddities, several of which need to be critically examined. Waris Mazhari, who now teaches at the Department of Islamic Studies at Jamia Millia Islamia, (himself a product of Darul Uloom Deoband and who also headed the Alumni Association of Deoband), regards the overemphasis on logic and philosophy as its weakest feature. He says earlier 40 books were taught in the category of Logic. Gradually they were cut down to only four. But even those have become redundant due to prevalence of the Modern Science. Maulana Aslam Qasimi pleads for shortening the Arabic Grammar. Pro-changers are unanimous in insisting upon introduction of English from the beginning and adoption of modern pedagogic method where periodic evaluation of the outcome of learning is conducted in order to ensure sustained improvement.

Lateral Assistance

The Union Government’s Ministry for Human Resource Development had envisaged a new scheme known as Scheme to Provide Quality Education in Madrassas (SQPEM) in 2013-14 by providing salaries for teachers to teach Mathematics, Languages, Sciences and English to students in madrassas. This was meant to laterally introduce the national curriculum in madrassas and enable the students to get their studies upto 5th, 8th, 10th and
12th standard certified and get linked to National Institute for Open Schooling (NIOS). Some centres were accredited under the scheme and advised to recruit graduate teachers for Mathematics, Sciences, English and Kannada.

A survey of these accredited madrassas in Karnataka reveals that the scheme has though taken off and even benefitted the students, is marred by delays and defaults. For instance, the madrassas that appointed graduate and post-graduate teachers under the scheme have so far received the payment only once (i.e., in February-March 2016) towards six months of work during 2013. As a result, several of them have discontinued the services of the teachers. In some cases where the madrassas can afford, they are being paid out of the reserved funds with the madrassas themselves and in yet other cases the teachers are continuing to work in hope of receiving the payment in near future. In some cases, the madrassas that could not submit utilization certificates for the grants were disqualified for the continuance of the grants. The Minority Welfare Departments of the State Governments were the nodal agencies. Under the scheme the madrassas were to be given computers, teaching aids and library grants. Karnataka was sanctioned Rs. 1.62 crore in December 2014 from the Union HRD Ministry towards salaries (Rs. 6,000 for each teacher per month). Madrassa office bearers also informed that they received three computers and library grant under the scheme once during the last three years. All that could be concluded is that the implementation is half-hearted and not backed by a serious mechanism for issuance of funds on time nor is there any mechanism for monitoring the outcome. The scheme if pursued seriously, can result in enhancement of the academic standards of madrassas.

New Trend

While reforming or modifying the madrassa syllabus is considered a tall order—given the strident opposition from the well-entrenched madrassas—
some madrassas have shown the willingness to incorporate the modern sciences together with the traditional curriculum. This trend has been in evidence during the last three to four decades. It stems from the realisation that large number of madrassa graduates remain on the margins of the society due to absence of any useful skills and deficient knowledge of languages that could help them improve their quality of life and endow them with degrees or certificates related with modern professions.

New Civilizational Idiom

Interactions with the management of these schools reveal that they came up in the wake of realisation that products of the traditional madrassas were not able to provide the required quality of professionals and leadership to the community due to the deficient understanding of the current civilizational idiom. Yet these schools are averse to totally giving up the entire theological curriculum which forms part of the conventional madrassas. Aware of the fact that they need to produce professionals with credibility in a Muslim society steeped in orthodoxy, they have opted for blending of the traditional and modern curriculums. For instance, the Jamia Mohammedia Mansoora, a residential school in Hegdenagar in Bengaluru (established in 1989 and imparts instructions from 4th to 10th standard) follows a curriculum that has Arabic language, Fiqh, Hadith, Quranic commentaries together with subjects studied under the Karnataka State Secondary Board syllabus. The school admits students in 4th standard and is affiliated to Salafi Maslak (a sect officially patronised by the Saudi Government and known for its advocacy of puritanism) and a central organisation with headquarters in Malegaon in Maharashtra. According to Mr. Khalid Musharraf, secretary of the School, the child learns all the languages relevant to the administration and the market and acquires computing skills as well as develops such proficiency in English that allows him or her to continue higher and professional education.
Islamia Arabic College at Alur, 10 kms south of Hassan town on the Bangalore-Mangalore National Highway, is yet another experiment of the genre. Affiliated to the Karnataka State Secondary Board, the school integrates the State Board syllabus and the traditional theological curriculum. Students while studying the Arabic language, *Tafseer* (commentary of the Quran), Islamic history, Hadith and Fiqh (jurisprudence), are also taught Mathematics, English, Urdu, Hindi, Kannada, Science, and Social Studies. Set up by Jamaate Islami in 1984, Islamia Arabic College has currently 380 students on its rolls with around 300 residing as inmates in its hostel.

Though the efforts by these institutions appear to be remarkable in breaking away from the traditional pattern and introducing modern subjects, there is an unmistakable impression that the mixing of the two curricula often proves burdensome for the kids. Consequently, it is observed that most such schools have to be residential in character where children have to undergo a strict rigmarole of attending classes from 8 am till 8 pm intervened by at least three prayers, a period for games, food and a resting hour.

Concern for retaining credibility among the Muslim masses who attach much devotion to the ulema trained at Deoband or its affiliates, they still teach the same traditional *tafseers* (commentaries) of the Quran like Jalalain and Baidawi. Though the overall effort to induct the modern sciences speaks about their keenness to change, it also exhibits their inability to completely break or challenge the traditional mould. Compromises are sought through a variety of means as the old and religiously sanctioned theories clash with modernity. Mathematics teachers are asked to inform the students about the prohibition on Interest while dealing with the chapter on Interest. Similarly, Islamic theory of Creation of human beings (which is common to all religions of Semitic origin) has to be externally added while teaching the Darwinian theory of Evolution under Biology curriculum. Dilemmas even
dog them while dealing with issues of gender. While religious norms emphasise segregation, modernity stresses liberty. Most such schools are either unisex or maintain strict segregation of the classrooms for boys and girls. Similarly, while religions demand exclusivity (people especially women, marrying within the fold of the faith; conversion away from the faith being frowned upon while into the religion being welcomed), the secular curriculum extols diversity and inclusion.

Some amount of discomfiture is also observable in matters of dealing with languages. While jobs in State or Union Administration urge proficiency in English, Hindi and official languages of the relevant States, the theological curriculum places undue emphasis on classical Arabic which does not bear even much relevance for jobs in the Gulf countries currently. According to Munawar Basha, Principal of the Hassan school, level of Arabic learnt by these students is just about making them capable of simple translation of the Quranic verses or expressing themselves while talking to an Arab launderer, cab driver, shopkeeper, or persons manning the immigration desk. Asked if these students could send an email in Arabic, or prepare a manual for a car from the manufacturers of Nissan or Lexus vehicles, or writing a billboard message for an advertisement for a toilet soap or a shaving cream or even draft a petition for the court in Arabic, the reply is a simple ‘No’. The burden of the syllabus leaves them little time to do extra reading in English or the mother tongue/vernacular language whereby they could imbibe insight from extracurricular books and expand the frontiers of their knowledge. These genre of madrassas also avoid profound engagement with issues that are dilemmatic for the modern society such as Banking interest, gender equality, stem cells, surrogate motherhood, organ donation, posthumous in-vitro fertilization, pluralism, secularism, etc.
Forward Linkage

A distinct benefit accruing them is in the form of forward linkages. Some of these schools and curriculum seem to be supremely helpful as several of their alumni have pursued courses in Medicine, Engineering, Commerce and Computer science and have been able to earn a decent livelihood. But the success remains limited to these professions alone. Fewer among them were able to take up journalism, mass communication, law, banking or careers such as Economists, Political or Social Scientist or even as writers, filmmakers, cartoonists. Rather they feel an element of inhibition in taking up such careers, especially in humanities, as a direct clash is perceived with certain beliefs in doctrinaire Islam such as cinematography, videography, drawing of sketches of living beings, composition of music and interest based transactions (banking) are involved or reporting and critiquing society’s failures and political ongoings. According to Khalid Musharraf, 70% of the boys passing out of his school, head for modern education in colleges while 80% of girls continue in the theological stream in his madrassa. Some boys also pursue higher level theological studies at Jamia Islamia (Islamic University) in Madinah, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia which affiliates several Salafi madrassas in India.

Not much enthusiasm is seen among these graduates in opting for traditional clerical positions in mosques, seminaries or madrassas. In fact, shying away from the traditional theological assignments (such as positions of imams, sermon-givers, muezzins in mosques or teachers in madrassas) is cited in proof of these graduates not feeling inclined ‘to serve the cause of Islam’ and looking for material benefit and craving for worldly pleasures. This tendency lends some credence to the charge from the proponents of traditional Deobandi curriculum that modernisation of madrassas is fraught with risks of sucking away students from mainline theological education and
diverting them to secular professions. But the truth lies somewhere between the two viewpoints. The graduates from these schools prefer the modern professional careers for their promise of social respect, better marital prospects, upward mobility, newer and innovative ideas, access to sources of latest knowledge, and wider acceptability in the middle class. Their aversion to the clerical profession and positions stems mainly from the insistence on conformism in matters of ideas and concepts, a dress code that sets them apart in the obtaining social milieu, suppression of reason and rational discussion, overriding emphasis on primitivity and sanctity of ideas, rejection of innovativeness, and extremely limited career options.

Syed Tanweer Ahmed, member of the management of Islamia Arabic College at Hassan admits that these graduates are yet to gain acceptability as authentic religious personalities, hence the reluctance to appoint them to positions within mosques and madrassas. Even slight deviation from the traditional interpretation is considered an incipient revolt from the faith. The general air of conformism is seen to be the major factor dissuading them from taking up such careers.

In the light of the above discussion, it becomes evident that the madrassas in the State are turning out the run-of-the-mill products that have no relevance in the job market. Unless they possess knowledge, skills and high degree of articulation, they may remain on the margins of the society and may even remain deprived of adequate livelihood for themselves. Mainstreaming of madrassas, affiliation of these schools with boards or some authority, developing some mechanism to monitor their outcome of learning, linking them with institutions of higher learning etc become sine qua non. But at the same time, one must remain aware of the touch-me-not stance of the prominent madrassas in the country which have some credibility in some foreign countries. Moreover, the Constitution of India guarantees the right to
establish and administer their institutions as they would like to wish. This leaves the State the only choice of providing incentives to persuade some of the madrassas to modernize their curriculum. Some of the recommendations in this regards could be:

1- There is a need to formulate a comprehensive policy regarding madrassas in order to rejuvenate and revitalize them as education imparting centres, a role they have been serving for centuries. Though the madrassas and Vedic Pathsalas have been exempted from the ambit of the Right To Education (RTE), there is a need to relook at it. Secular education cannot be dispensed with in a democratic and secular country like India where every single individual needs to be aware of the primary structure and legal framework of the nation.

2- Middle level madrassas where children stay for education from six to eight years may be selected for incorporate

3- on into SPQEM Scheme. They should be assured of non-interference in their internal affairs.

4- The State Government should chip into the SPQEM scheme and allocate funds to enhance the monthly salaries on par with Government teachers and apply the same service rules. The years spent as teachers in the scheme should be counted towards / as experience of teaching in a government school and preference should be given to such candidates while going for recruitment of regular teachers. They may be given textbooks, workbooks and teaching aids along with teachers to engage children in each of the class for three periods imparting them lessons in English, Kannada, Mathematics and Sciences.

5- The Union Government’s HRD Ministry should be requested to streamline disbursement of funds for the scheme and timely payments should be ensured.

6- The madrassas should however be asked to streamline the procedure of recruiting the graduates for teaching these subjects, pay their salaries through cheques and maintain the accounts in a transparent manner.

7- Salary disbursement should be on time, say within 5th of every month. Delays and defaults would not sustain the interest.
8- There should be an annual training session for teachers taken under SPQEM who could be trained in inculcating spirit of free inquiry among the children during periods assigned to them. It could be entrusted to the Directorate of Urdu and Minority Languages. The Union Government scheme envisages it, but there has been no implementation.

9- Special provision should be made for admission into Morarji Desai Residential Schools (run by the Directorate of Minorities in Karnataka) at 8th standard level of children who have studied in SPQEM-aided madrassas.

10- The State Government can think of initiating a programme whereby the ulema teaching in traditional madrassas could be imparted a course for learning English, Kannada, Humanities, Constitution of India and basic Sciences. These may be started in principal cities like Bengaluru, Mysuru, Kalburgi, Belgaavi, Vaijayapura, and Hubli-Dharwar. Classes may be held at some place for three hours on Saturdays and Sunday. They should be provided a stipend of Rs. 1,000 per month to cover their conveyance and stationery. They should be free to pose any query. This group of teachers should be invited to a State Seminar once a year in order to suggest changes in curriculum of madrassas. The papers presented in the seminar can be documented and published. This effort might crystallize into a group that would be open to preparing a new curriculum.

Conclusion

Madrassas are institutions of immense importance if looked at from the point of disseminating literacy and inculcating religious awakening among the underprivileged sections of Muslims. Generally, they have followed the old pattern of curriculum turning out the personnel who have traditionally manned the Islamic institutions. Except the few large madrassas, most of these institutions in Karnataka are small set-ups. They could be persuaded to modify syllabus and incorporate secular sciences in order to provide forward linkage to regular schools providing secular education. The SPQEM scheme needs to be streamlined and made efficient to expedite the process. A special course to teach modern Humanities and Sciences to the ulema engaged in madrassas could also be thought of. Some madrassas have
sufficiently modernized the infrastructure and have aligned their annual schedule with CBSE or State Board schools. Such trends need to be encouraged through incentives.

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**Notes and References**

The author has benefitted from personal and telephonic interactions held with following persons who were interviewed for the purpose of this paper:

**Dr. Zaheer Ahmed Baqvi**, former professor, Madrassa Baqiathus Salihat, Vellore, now based in Bengaluru. He is an Urdu writer and poet and has authored several books.

**Abdul Muntaqim**, a product of Madrassas Sabeelur Rashad, Bengaluru who later completed MA and B.Ed and is currently engaged in Arabic translation work and medical tourism industry.

**Maulana Mohammad Ilyas**, teacher at Jamia Masihul Uloom, Hegdenagar.

**Prof. M. A. Ataulla**, former General Manager of Indian Telephone Industry, former Campus Director, Al-Ameen Campus, and Director, Darul Umoor, Srirangapatnam. He has authored several books on Management, Human Resources Development and Psychology.

**Khalid Musharraf**: Secretary, Jamia Mohammedia mansoora, Hegdenagar, Bengaluru

**Munawar Basha**, Principal, Islamia Arabic College, Alur, Hassan dist.

**Dr. Waris Mazhari**, Lecturer, Dept. of Islamic Studies, Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi

1: Waris Mazhari, Dr. , Hindustani Madaris ka Talimi Nizam aur is mein Islah ki Zarurat: Ek Jayeza, Global Media Publication, New Delhi,,2014, p. 162.).

1A: Report of the Prime Minister’s High Level committee on Social, Economic and Educational Status of the Muslim Community of India, Cabinet Secretariat, New Delhi, November 2006, Page 244 (in Urdu version)

1B: Dr. Rahi fidai, Fountains of Religious Education in Ancient India, Al-Ansar Publications, Hyderabad, 2009

2: Millath Pages Karnataka 2015-16, Bedaar e Millath Publications, p. 153-158


2C:

3: This pattern can be seen all across India. Darul Uloom Deoband is now headed by Arshad Madni, son of former Rector Asad Madni, who was also a Rajya Sabha MP. Darul Uloom (Waqf) Deoband is now headed by Maulana Salim Qasmi, son of former rector Maulana Taiyab Qasmi. Famed Lucknow madrassa Nadwatul Ulema appointed Mr. Rabey Hasani Nadwi, nephew of its former Rector Maulana Abul Hassan Ali Nadwi passed away in 1999. Senior Nadwai was childless. In Darul Uloom Sabeelur Rashad, Mufti Ashraf Ali succeeded as Mohtamim after his father Maulana Abu Saud Ahmed Passed away.

4: There are now over 400 Muslim managed English medium high schools in Bengaluru. At least 50 of them are A grade schools were majority of the children are non-Muslims. The number of Muslim-managed schools in 1982 was just about 15. This is indicative of the great strides made by the City’s Muslims in modern education.

5: Thirty seven children were intercepted at the Bengaluru’s Yashwanthapur Railway Station in 2012. They were being taken from villages in Bihar to K. R. Nagar in Mandya District to a madrassa outside the town. Personal visit and investigation revealed that the only Mosque in the heart of the town had suddenly witnessed decline in the number of namazis in recent months due to opening a new mosque in the periphery of the town. Two persons who were employed as Imam and Muezzin (Azan caller) hailing from Bihar, in the mosque advised the mosque management that if a madrassa could be started by the mosque, the presence of the children would ensure sufficient number of namazis. Convinced of their plea, the duo had begun bringing children from Bihar year after year. This author and Mr. M. A. K. Tayab (IAS retd), former Secretary in Govt of India, had personally visited the madrassa and gathered the information. The local newspapers took up the issue and the Commission for Women and Child Welfare had to intervene to get the children released from the custody of police. (Ref. M. A. Siraj, Daily Salar, Bengaluru, September 12, 2015, ‘Remand Home se Bachchon ki Rahayi’).

6: The teacher chose not to be named.
7: Dr. Nejatullah Siddiqui, Deeni Madaris: Masail wo taqaze, p. 8.
8: Arabi Islami Madaris ka Nisab wo Nizam e Taleem aur Asri Taqaze, vol. 1 p. 88


For the purpose of inquiry the following madrassas were contacted: Fathima Al-Zarha Arabic College, Harpanahalli, Davangere dist; Darul Uloom Arabic College, Muhammadpur, Chinthamani; Madrassa Darul Uloom Rahidiya, Bidar dist; Darul Uloom Sheikhlul Islam, Bellary; Jamia Ahle Sunnat, Asar Mohalla, Chitradurga; Madrassa Dawatul Quran, Hyderali Block, Mysuru; Madrasathul Al-Banat Gulshan Zahra, Muneshwarnagar, Bengaluru.

11: This author has the experience of teaching some leading ulema of Bengaluru for six month under one such arrangement.
SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF JAINS IN KARNATAKA: A STUDY OF DIVERGENCE BETWEEN DIGAMBAR AND SVETHAMBAR JAINS

Dr R G Desai*

Introduction:

Jainism is an original and ancient Indian religion which goes back to the pre-Aryan period of primitive currents of religious and metaphysical speculation. The images, seals and other finds amongst the discoveries at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro disclose splendid representative specimen like the images of Risabha, the bull, the first Tirthankara with his emblem, the swastika which is the emblem of Suparsva, the 7th Tirthankara and a seal containing a script deciphered as Jinesvara.

Jainism does not recognize the authority of the Vedas, and its fundamental principles are different by nature from those in each of the systems of the Vedic school. The Rigveda and Yajurveda refer to Risabha, Suparsva and Neminatha, the first, the seventh and twenty-second Tirthankaras respectively. It is a Pre-Vedic religion which flourished in India even before the advent of Aryans to India.

Inscriptions:

It is an established fact of history that many rulers in ancient Bihar and the territories around were either patrons or followers of Jainism. Chetaka, the ruler of Lichhavi, was a Jain and he gave his sister to Siddhartha. Mahavira was born of this wedlock. Some of the members of the Nanda dynasty were Jains. So was Chandragupta Maurya who later followed

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Acharya Bhadrabahu to the south. The Kalinga territory was occupied by Jains since the time of Parsva. It is, therefore, natural that there should be some reminiscences of Jainism in that part of the country.

**Jainism and Buddhism:**

Jyoti prasad Jain has mentioned a number of references which show that Jainism is older than Buddhism. Prof. Hermann Jacobi has referred to the common misconception of Jainism being an offshoot of Buddhism and dispelled all doubts when he said: “The Jains being non-Brahmanical have worked upon popular notions of a more primitive and cruder character, e.g. animistic ideas in this country” *(Jacobi)*

**Jainism in Karnataka:**

Jainism existed in Karnataka before 3rd century A.D. During 2nd century Shrutakevali Acharya Bhadrabahu along with 12,000 Munis migrated in to Karnataka from Bihar due to severe drought and famine over 12 years in that region. He was a Guru of King Chandra Gupta Maurya. After renunciation, the King too had come to south India along with thousands of followers. As an evidence to this, there are inscriptions on the hills of Chandragiri Betta at Shravanabelagola in Hassan district. These followers belonged to *Digambar sect of Jains*. Those who did not come with Bhadrabahu muni and followers of the leader Sthulabhadra Acharya formed another sect of Jainism in North India called ‘*Svetambers*.’

Bhadrabahu took *Sallekanavrata* (voluntarily inviting death) in Chandragirı (chikkabetta.) Later several Munis moved to other places such as Koponangar (Koppal) Laxmeswar, Lakkundi (in Gadag Dist). Chintamani Attimabbe, a Jain lady belonging to Digambar sect had constructed many Jain temples and published Jain literature on mass scale and distributed freely to readers under’ *Shastradana*’ *(Literature donation).*
She was wife of Minister in the then rulers of Chalukya dynasty and gave Patronage to Ranna poet at Vengi place now it is Annigeri in present Gadag district

Statement of the Problem:

Constitution of India provides certain special safeguards for the welfare of minorities (both religious and linguistic minorities) under articles-29 and 30. In Karnataka State, religious minorities are protected under section-2(d) of the Karnataka State Minority Commission Act of 1994. The Act considers Muslims, Christians, Jains, Buddhists, Sikhs and Zoroastrians (Parsis) as religious minority communities in the State. Most of the minorities of Karnataka are backward.

Religious minorities in Karnataka constitute 16 percent of the state population (2011) spread over 30 districts in the state. Muslims account for 12.92 percent, Christians 1.88 percent, Jains 0.72 percent, Buddhists 0.16 percent and others such as Sikhs and Parsis 0.32 percent in the state. Out of sixteen percent of minorities, 80 percent belong to Muslims followed by Christians at 12 percent, Jains at 5 percent and the remaining 3 percent belong to other minorities in the state of Karnataka.

Though Karnataka is a progressive State and has liberal policies for minorities, no significant changes are noticed in their socio-economic conditions. The reasons for this situation are lack of education, inadequate skill development, inbuilt incapacity of deprived people to rise to the occasion and take appropriate action to avail the benefits from government schemes and programs. These are obviously the symptoms of their social backwardness leading to economic backwardness.
Objectives of the Study:

The specific objectives of the present study are to:

i) give a demographic picture of Jain community as per 2011 Census both at Centre and state level,

ii) review the socio-economic conditions of Jain community in the light of the survey reports in the state. (viz., Rehaman Khan, Abdul Aziz of NLSIU),

iii) identify the factors responsible for divisions among the Jain community especially Digambaras and Svetambaras in the country and explore the reasons for continuing divergence between the two sects,

iv) examine the causes of divergence that continue to exist among Jains, and

v) to assess the magnitude of the problem of divergence and suggest appropriate measures for reducing the divergence.

Review of Literature:

Studies on Jainism and its emergence, its principles, patronage of Kings and past rulers can be found in plenty. The book on Jain Doctrines and Jain philosophy could be found in “Compendium of Jainism” written by former Justice T K Tukol published by Karnataka University, Dharwad in 1980. A book written by Jyoti Prasad Jain: Jainism, the oldest living religion, published by Jain cultural research society, Benaras spells out Jainism’s existence even before Buddhism and Hinduism in India. Hermann Jacobi’s work on Studies in Jainism ‘Sahitya Samsodhaka Karyalaya, Ahmadabad and A.N. Upadhaya’s Paramatma parkas of Yogindudeva published by Sirmad Rajachandra Ashram, Anand and the work of Forlong, J.R.G., Shorter Studies in the Science of Contemporary Religions are all connected to the history and philosophy of Jainism. However, the work of M.D. Vasantraj, Jains in Karnataka - Sharvanabelagola-A survey, Prasaranganga, Bangalore university 1983 shows how Jainism in Karnataka has been a popular religion.
Research Gap:

None of the above studies has thrown light on the socio economic conditions of the Jain community in the state. The socio-economic aspects of Jain community can be traced to the surveys undertaken by the Karnataka state Minority Commission and the Ministry of Minority welfare, Government of Karnataka. Government of Karnataka recognized this community as a Minority community as early as 1994 even though the Central Government recognized Jains as minorities only in 2014. However, a research study by R G Desai as ICSSR Senior Fellow at ISEC, Bangalore during 2103-15, made an attempt to throw some light on the efforts of the Karnataka State Minority Development Corporation(KMDC) Ltd., to improve the socio-economic conditions of these sections in the state of Karnataka.

Based on the population of the state, the share of the resources to be utilized by KMDC in the ratio of 80 : 12 : 5 : 3 percent for Muslims, Christians Jains & Sikhs respectively was explored and the report was submitted to ICSSR, New Delhi. Whether the present system is capable of delivering the services for these minorities or is there any need for a change in the policy prescription were the pertinent questions attempted by him.

In the present study, the issues of socio- economic conditions of Jains in general and divergence between the Digambars and Swetmbar sects in particular have been attempted from the point of demography, location, social and economic conditions, causes for divergence and suggested measures to reduce the divergence.

Research Methodology:

There have been commissions and committees which have generated some data relating to socio-economic conditions of minorities. The
Karnataka state Commission for Minorities, particularly K Rahman Khan Commission report of 1995 presents a lot of information about the minorities. The present study drew some conclusions from the said report as well as from the report of the Centre for the study of Social Exclusion and inclusive policy of National Law School of India University on *Socio-economic conditions of Religious minorities in Karnataka- a study towards their inclusive development*(2015). Census reports and the reports of NSSO were also referred to. Evaluation studies carried out by researchers at ISEC and NLSIU were also consulted.

**Demographic changes as per 2011 Census:**

At the National level, a lot of demographic changes have taken place by religious communities between Census of 2001 and 2011. The Census results of 2011 are presented in Table-1.1 which reveal the following facts.

Table -1.1 All India Percentage share of Population by Religious Communities between 2001 and 2011 Census.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Population In crores</th>
<th>2011 percent</th>
<th>2001 percent</th>
<th>Decadal growth between 2001-11</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>96.62</td>
<td>79.80</td>
<td>80.50</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>17.22</td>
<td>14.22</td>
<td>13.40</td>
<td>24.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Christians</td>
<td>2.78</td>
<td>2.20</td>
<td>2.30</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sikhs</td>
<td>2.08</td>
<td>1.72</td>
<td>1.90</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Buddhists</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>6</strong></td>
<td><strong>Jains</strong></td>
<td><strong>0.45</strong></td>
<td><strong>0.38</strong></td>
<td><strong>0.40</strong></td>
<td><strong>6.1</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>0.68</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Not Stated</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>121.09</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Govt. of India population Census reports 2001 and 2011

Jains at the national level are mostly found in six states such as Maharashtra (1.2 percent), Gujarat(1 percent), Delhi (1 percent), Rajasthan (0.9 percent), Madhya Pradesh (0.8 percent) and Karnataka (0.7 percent)
accounting for 56 percent of the total Jain population of 45 lakhs in the 2011 census. There are two sects of Jains- Swetambar and Digambar; while the members belonging to the first sect are mainly into business, the latter are into agriculture and petty business. Poverty is high among Digambars. Hence Digamber Jains in Karnataka are given the backward tag of III B category as for reservation of jobs and seats in educational institutions.

In Karnataka most of the Jains are concentrated in eight (out of thirty) districts of the state viz. Belgaum, Bangalore Urban, Dharwad, Bagalkot, Mysore, Daksina Kannada Haveri and Shimoga, where more than 56 percent of them have resided in these districts and the rest have spread over in all other districts which is evident from the Table-1.2. Compared to other religious minorities, Jains are educationally advanced among all minorities in the country due to higher literacy rate among both males and females.

**Divisions in Jain community:**

A L Basham states in his book *The Wonder that was India:* ‘Out of this migration arose the great schism of Jainism, on a point of monastic discipline, Bhadrabahu the elder of the community, who has led the emigrants, has insisted on the retention of the rule of nudity, which Mahavira had established. Sthulabhadra, the leader of the monks who had remained in the North, allowed his followers to wear the white garments- ‘the schism did not become final until the 1st Century A D.’” Mrs Stevenson also said that the division became final in AD 79 or 82.
Table-1.2

Jain Population in Karnataka (District wise) in descending order as per 2011 Census

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Population Figures</th>
<th>Percentage to Total Jains in State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Belgaum</td>
<td>1,78,310</td>
<td>40.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Bangalore Urban</td>
<td>83,090</td>
<td>18.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Dharwad</td>
<td>29,037</td>
<td>6.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Bagalkot</td>
<td>25,198</td>
<td>5.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mysuru</td>
<td>14,419</td>
<td>3.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Dakshin Kannada</td>
<td>10,397</td>
<td>2.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Haveri</td>
<td>9,837</td>
<td>2.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Shimoga</td>
<td>9,234</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Bijapur</td>
<td>8,665</td>
<td>1.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Bellary</td>
<td>8,044</td>
<td>1.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Davangere</td>
<td>6,417</td>
<td>1.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Gadag</td>
<td>5,993</td>
<td>1.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Hassan</td>
<td>5,820</td>
<td>1.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Tumkur</td>
<td>5,067</td>
<td>1.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Gulburga</td>
<td>4,865</td>
<td>1.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Chickmagalur</td>
<td>4,710</td>
<td>1.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Udupi</td>
<td>4,534</td>
<td>1.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Raichur</td>
<td>4,156</td>
<td>0.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Chitradurga</td>
<td>3,778</td>
<td>0.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Mandya</td>
<td>3,607</td>
<td>0.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Uttar Kannada</td>
<td>3,624</td>
<td>0.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Koppal</td>
<td>2,898</td>
<td>0.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Kolar</td>
<td>2,494</td>
<td>0.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Yadgiri</td>
<td>1,579</td>
<td>0.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Bangalore Rural</td>
<td>1,045</td>
<td>0.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Chikkaballapur</td>
<td>975</td>
<td>0.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Ramanagar</td>
<td>859</td>
<td>0.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Bidar</td>
<td>680</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Chamarajnagar</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>0.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Kodagu</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Level</td>
<td>4,40,230</td>
<td></td>
<td>100-00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source : Govt of India, Religious census 2011.

Though there never were any fundamental doctrinal differences between the two sects but the division continues even to this day. This is due to the language followed by them. While the Digambaras in Karnataka perform puja in local language and perform it with the help of Purohit,
Svetambars of North India perform puja themselves in Hindi language without the help of Purohit.

There are four stages to attain renunciation by Muni and to become nude. A Gent has to undergo the stages of (1) Sravaka (2) Khsullaka (3) Iyalaka and (4) Muni Deexa as Muni. Sravaka becomes Khsullaka wears Langoti for some years and at a later stage he works under Muni sangh as a disciple and after knowing the capacity of the Khsullaka to control senses and longer fast as well as the learning of the Jain Agamas etc., the Head Muni gives him the Muni patta. Then he becomes Nude and take food in hand given by shravaks, walk on bear foot, lives in Tyagi houses built by sravakas sometime in the Jain Matts, Nudity indicates total renunciation from the worldly things but his duty is to teach (called Swadyay) more about the scripts, principles and thereby propagate Jainism.

Similarly the lady also has to pass through four stages 1) Sravaki 2) Kshullki 3) Aryaki and 4) Mataji. Sraavaki will have to be always in the Muni Sangh and follow her Guru but always have to wear white dress, keep fast, read scripts and deliver lectures but she cannot become nude as she is not Muni but Mataji.

Sub-Sects among the Digambars and Svethambars:

The sub–sects in Digambars are Terahapantha, Bispantha and Taranapantha. Some minor sects in South India emerged on the basis of occupations such as Panchamas, Bogara, chuturtha etc. Similarly, there are sub sects in Svethambars such as Murthipujakas, Sthanikwasi and Terapanthi etc. These sects emerged due to different approaches in practicing puja and also due to Some Munis preaching differently to the sravaka. Jainism does not believe in Idol worship but because of Hindu influence and the patronage of Kings and early Rulers they started building
Temples and Matts. In Karnataka, the profession followed gave rise to sects. For example, agriculturists were called as Jain Chaturthas, Bangle sellers became Bogar Jains, and jewellery sellers became Javari Jains and so on.

Whatever may be the number of divisions, all schools are unanimous in recognizing the Tirthankararas and the principles preached by them. The differences are superficial in that they pertain more to form than to the substance of theology, ethics and metaphysics of the Jain religion.

Divergence between the two sects:

Divergence is analyzed from different angles such as demographic, social and economic conditions of both sects of Jain community in the state of Karnataka. This is based on important sources of survey reports such as the report of the High Power Committee on Socio-Economic and Educational survey 1994 on Religious Minorities in Karnataka under the chairmanship of K Rahman Khan MP, submitted in 1995, and the second report submitted by Prof. Abdul Aziz and others of National Law school of India University Religious Minorities in Karnataka submitted to the Department of Planning Government of Karnataka during 2015-16.

The Demographic and Educational Divergence:

The Svethambar sect Jains continuously migrated from North and settled down in cities and towns of Karnataka and their main profession continues to be business, trade and commerce. But the Digambar sect Jains are natives settled in villages and small towns. Their main profession is agriculture and allied services as well as petty business. As per the 1995 report, (Rahman Khan) the number of Digambar sect Jains who lived in rural area were 76.11 percent as against 13.43 percent Svethambars. It indicates that 86.57 percent of Svethambars stayed in urban area and carried
their trade, and business. While Digambars continued to be cultivators, laborers and petty businessmen in the rural and semi urban areas.

In the first survey (Rehaman Khan) the total number of Jain families covered was 83 percent. The number of Digambar households were 44,412 and Svetambar households were 10,146, in the state of Karnataka. The sex ratio also differed between the two sects. While it was 907 females per 1000 male population for Digambars, the Svetambars had 888 females per 1000 males.

As far as literacy is concerned, the highest rate is with Jains among the religious minorities in the country or State. But, there is a difference between the two sects of Jains. While Digambars have a 83.86 percent literacy rate, Svetambars have 86.93 percent. This difference is due to their respective location and profession.

A pathetic situation is revealed by the 1995 report (Rehman Khan) about widows. Among all minorities, Digambar sect has the highest number of widows with 11.93 percent followed by other religious groups such as Christians 11.23 percent, Muslims 10.17 percent and the least per cent of 6.42 among Svetambar Jains. As per 2016 survey, the number of widows among the digambar Jains are 8,590 as against 760 of Svetambars.

However, the figures of 2011 Census are encouraging in terms of both literacy and work participation rate but figures are related to combined two sects of Jain community. According to the data presented in the Lok Sabha on July 21, 2016, the literacy rate in India rose by 8.2 percentage points over the decade, from 64.8 percent in 2001 to 73 percent in 2011. Minorities have shown considerable improvement in terms of literacy rates and work participation ratio over a decade as per Census 2011. Despite improvement, Muslims still lag behind other communities with a literacy rate.
of 68.5 percent, compared to Hindus (73.3 percent), Christians (84.5 percent), Sikhs (75.4 percent) and Jains (94.9 percent). Muslims, who comprise 14.4 percent of India's population, rank at the bottom of the higher-education ladder.

Jains reported the maximum improvement in work-participation rate by 2.6 percentage points, from 32.9 percent in 2001 to 35.5 percent in 2011. Jains were followed by Buddhists (2.5 percentage points), Christians (2.2 percentage points), and Muslims (1.3 percentage points). While Sikhs have seen a decline of 1.4 percentage points in work-participation rates, from 37.7 percent in 2001 to 36.3 percent in 2011 and Hindus have seen a marginal improvement by 0.6 percentage.
Economic Divergence:

Divergence in the economic field is very wide between the two sects of Jain community. Seventy percent Svetambara Jain families had an annual income above Rs.10,000 during 1994-95, as against 34 percent Digambar families. It is interesting to see that families having income upto Rs.6,000 are 29 percent among the Digambars while it is only 14 only percent among the Svetambars. As per the Rehman Khan report, the households below the poverty line are 50 percent among the digambers while it is 21 percent for Svetambars.

Table-1.3 Community-wise Percentage of Households According to Income Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Households below poverty line with income of Rs.6000</th>
<th>Households below income of Rs.10,000</th>
<th>Households income above Rs.10,000</th>
<th>Number of households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>834917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Converted Christians</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>52373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Christians</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>95116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Digambar Jains</strong></td>
<td><strong>50</strong></td>
<td><strong>66</strong></td>
<td><strong>34</strong></td>
<td><strong>44412</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Svetambar Jains</strong></td>
<td><strong>21</strong></td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
<td><strong>70</strong></td>
<td><strong>10146</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikhs</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhists</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parsees</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>398</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


From Table 1.3 it is evident that the Svetambar Jains are clearly having higher income compared to Digambar Jains. This might be due to the profession they are engaged in. This difference still continues even today. Another possibility is the location or residence. It is evident from the Survey-2015 that Digambar Jains have the highest rural population at 79.9 percent and Svetambars have the lowest rural population at 20.1 percent. In fact, over a period 1995 to 2015 the Digambar jain rural population has increased from 76.11 percent to 79.9 percent.
There is a North-South divide among Jains. The major difference is that Svethambars are migrants from Rajasthan, Gujarat, and UP while most of the Digambars are from the South. Majority of Digambars speak Kannada while majority of Svetambars speak Hindi/Gujarathi/ Rajasthani.

**Type of Schools Studied:**

Digambar Jain students of 10th standard and below, who studied in Government schools with Kannada medium are 59.18 percent and those who studied in English medium are only 0.98 percent. Students who studied in Private schools with Kannada medium are 12.37 percent and those who studied in English medium 7.48 percent.

On the other hand, the students of Svetambar sect who studied up to 10th standard in Government schools with Kannada medium are 17.22 percent and with English medium 5.13 percent, and those who studied in Private schools with Kannada medium are 3.62 percent and with English medium are 45.64 percent.

The differences between the two sects of jains are very clear. Thus, the pass percentage in primary and secondary education is higher among Digambers compared to Svetambers. On the other hand, the higher pass percentage is noticed in the SSLC, PUC and higher education level in respect of Svetambers. This indicates that Svetambers jains spent more money for higher education, specially the technical and professional education. The pass percentage in professional courses for Svetambers is 2.19 percent as against 1.02 percentage among the Digambers.

**Implications of the study:**

1. It is evident that both the sects of jains are worshipping the same Tirthankar idols, their ultimate aim is to imbibe the principles of
Jainism in the form of ‘Panchanuvrāt’ - truth, non-violence, non-stealing, aparigṛhi (non-possession of worldly things) and Brahmachārya (celibacy)

2 Jains strongly believe in the three gems of Jainism viz Right Faith, Right knowledge, and Right conduct called Rathnathrayas. In their holy scripture ‘TATHVATRA SUTRA’ there is a sentence which sums all the three gems as SAMYAK DARSHAN, JNAN, CHARITRANI MOX MARGAM.’

3 Whatever may be the number of divisions, all schools are unanimous in recognizing the Tirthankarās and the principles preached by them. The differences are superficial in that they pertain more to form than to the substance of theology, ethics and metaphysics of Jain religion.

4 The Svetāmbar sect Jains continuously migrated from North and settled in cities and towns of Karnataka and their main profession continues to be business, trade and commerce. But most of the Digambar sect Jains are natives settled in villages and small towns. Their main profession is agriculture and allied services as well as petty business.

5 Divergences are very wide between the two sects of Jain community in terms of income, assets and even education. While the pass percentage in primary secondary education is high among Digambars than Svetambars, higher pass percentage is noticed in the SSLC, PUC and higher education level in the case of Svetambars. This indicates that Svetambar jains spent more for higher education, specially for technical and professional education.
6 The divergence is explored on the basis of locality, profession and residence. Since digambaras live mostly in rural areas and depend on agriculture and petty business, it is needless to say that there is wide gap between them and Svetambars in Karnataka.

Suggestions:

In order to reduce the divergence among Jain community and to upgrade their socio-economic conditions, the following tentative suggestions may be considered.

1. The division of the community was started early by the then religious heads called Acharyas such as (BadhraBahu Muni, SthulaBadhra Muni). Now it should be corrected by the present religious leaders called Bhattacharaks. They are heading Jain Matts at different places. They should evince interest in uniting both the sects by organizing more frequent meetings among them and performing Aaradhanas, poojas and building temples.

2. Digambara sect Jains should change their profession and location as early as possible. Though this is happening in the rural areas, its pace is very slow.

3. Most important thing is digambaras should learn languages of Hindi, along with the local language of Kannada and come to the main stream of the society. Since Svetambaras are more flexible, they readily adapt to the changing circumstances, learn the languages of the region they live in and carry out their trade, business and commerce smoothly.

4. Skill development is a must for digambara jains. They will have to learn different skills. In this regard help may be sought not only from government but also from rich Jain philanthropists.
5. They should unite by shedding their sub-sects such as Panchamas, Chathurthas, Bogars, Banajigas etc. The Jain Associations and Committees of Basadi’s (temples) should strive hard to unite them.

****

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5) Hermann Jacobi: *Studies in Jainism* pp-1-Sahitya Samsodhaka Karyalaya, Ahmadabad. (Year)


Reports:


2) Report of National Law School of India University on Socio-economic conditions of Religious minorities in Karnataka- a study towards their inclusive development(2015) by Prof Abdul Aziz and Prof S Japhet.

3) Govt. of India population Census reports on *Religious Census -2001 and 2011*. 

115
4) Data presented in the Lok Sabha (lower house of Parliament) on July 21, 2016 on The literacy rate and work participation rate among the Religious Minorities in India.

5) Report from ISEC submitted to ICSSR New Delhi on “Upliftment of Socio-economic Conditions of Religious Minorities in Karnataka through KMDC Ltd.” A Study by Prof. R G DESAI.

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Appendix I

Seminar on Occasional Paper Series
October 27, 2016
Prof Abdul Aziz

About this seminar

Before I speak about the seminar it may be necessary to say a few words about the Chair on Religious Minorities Study. This Chair was instituted in April 2016 by the Directorate of Minorities Welfare, Government of Karnataka. The objectives of instituting this Chair are as follows:

- To carry out research studies on the problems of Minorities in Karnataka with a view to assisting the Directorate in its endeavor to formulate and implement development programes for the benefit of the Minorities.
- To organize training programmes for the officers of the Directorate of Minorities Welfare.
- To mentor Minority students under the guidance of qualified and well known Doctors, Engineers and Other Professional Resource Persons.
- To prepare and publish occasional papers on the problems of the Minorities in Karnataka
- And to undertake such other academic and policy orientated activity as is deemed necessary and relevant.

So far the progress under the Chair is as follows:

- A project sponsored by the Planning Department, GoK namely Appraisal of XII Five Year Plan of Karnataka was completed and submitted to the Planning Department.
- A paper on Ambedkar’s Views on Minorities presented in a conference in ISEC and is likely to be translated into Kannada.
• Initiated a study relating to Multi-Sector Development Programme in the selected blocks and urban settlements in North Karnataka as desired by the Directorate ofMinorities Welfare.

• Initiated a study on the Muslims and Christians Entrepreneurs engaged in informal sector activities in Bengaluru city.

• Under the head of Occasional Paper Series – four papers have been prepared and are going to be discussed in the present seminar.

• It is proposed to prepare a second tranche of four papers to be discussed in the forth-coming seminar towards the end of December. These papers are on topics such as:
  a. State of Urdu Schools in Karnataka
  b. Indian Democracy and Minorities
  c. Karnataka Government Budgets and Minorities
  d. Karnataka Government Programmes for the Development of the Minorities

Coming to the present seminar, I wish to state that four papers are going to be presented and discussed. The purpose of the occasional papers as conceived by us is to prepare some kind of baseline for understanding the socio-economic and cultural aspects of the lives of the Minorities in Karnataka. In all these papers the focus is on identifying the basic issues which are relevant to policy makers. Having identified these issues it is proposed to undertake research for detailed analysis so that, the policy makers at the Directorate should be able to formulate appropriate programmes for promoting development of the Minorities. The methodology of preparation, a word about each of the papers that is going to be presented shortly may be necessary:

• The First paper is Constitutional Rights of Minorities by Ms. Saika Sabir. Prof. V. S. Mallar, Visiting Professor, NLSIU will present his
own thoughts on this issue while also referring to Saika’s views on the theme. Prof. M. K. Ramesh will be the discussant on this paper.

- The second paper on Dalit Christians by Dr. Y. Moses will be presented by Prof. Abdul Aziz followed by remarks by Mr. Kiran Kamal Prasad who is the discussant on this paper.

- The third paper on Modernizing Madrassa Education by Mr. M. A. Siraj will be presented by himself and critical comments on the paper are going to be given by Prof. Haseen Taj.

- The fourth paper on socio-economic conditions of Jains in Karnataka by R. G. Desai will be presented by the author himself followed by discussant’s comments by Shri. Kantaraj

I shall be looking forward to a very fruitful discussion on these papers. The suggestions if any given by the participants will be useful to the authors.
Appendix II
Proceedings of the Seminar on “Occasional Paper Series on Karnataka Minorities” under Religious Minorities Chair, NLSIU, Bangalore instituted by the Directorate of Minorities Welfare, Government of Karnataka, held on 27th October 2016

By
Prof Abdul Aziz

1. The seminar was inaugurated by Prof Babu Mathew, who in his inaugural address referred to post-independence development which had some impact on the socio-economic conditions of minorities. He referred to the Indian Constitution which assures protection of rights of the religious minority communities.

2. Prof V S Mallar, who presided over the inaugural session, in his address specifically referred to the Constitutional rights of the minorities. While referring to these rights, he pointed out some instances where several other groups sought to seek protection and benefits under this Constitutional provision, which according to him was not fair. In his opinion such an anomaly arose mainly because of the fact that the term “minority” has not been adequately defined in the Constitution under article 366. Therefore, he suggested that the Government of India should take initiative to define the term “minority” and, as a follow up, should amend article 366 appropriately. Prof Mallar also suggested that Ms Saika in her paper, may like to refer to Schedule V and Schedule VI which talk about cultural identity of the minorities.

3. After the tea-break, the four papers submitted to the seminar were taken up one-by-one for presentation and discussion in each session of one-hour duration.
4. In the first technical session “Constitutional Rights of the Minorities” by Ms Saika Sabir was, in her absence, presented by Prof V S Mallar who, while doing so, also added his own views. The discussant, Prof M K Ramesh, in his address, appreciated the effort put in by the author and highlighted the main points of the paper. He suggested that the paper may be revised in the light of the following observations:

- The author refers to dual role in freedom movement but she mentions only one role and what the other role is not clear.
- Going by the title the reader would expect a critical evaluation of the Constitutional rights of the minorities. But the critical aspect of the constitutional rights is missing the paper.
- There is a gulf between what is assured in the Constitution and what exactly is actualised. Therefore, the author may identify what is actualised and what exactly the gulf id.

5. In the second technical session, Dr Y Moses’s paper on “Dalit Christians in Karnataka” was presented by Prof Abdul Aziz in the absence of the author who is away in Mauritius. The paper was critically commented upon by the discussant, Mr Kiran Kamal Prasad and other participants as indicted below:

- Having identified the problem of humiliation and discrimination perpetrated on Dalit Christians, the paper ought to have indicated appropriate measures for amelioration of their conditions. There should have been some discussion on how industrialisation and urbanisation as suggested by Ambedkar have been effective in improving their social and economic condition. The consensus was that the Dalits should be organised into a power group and thereby to negotiate with the Christian society for improving their own condition.
A brief introduction and conclusion may be added to the paper.

While discussing the socio-economic conditions of Dalit Christians, the author ought to have highlighted that triple burden which they bear on account of discrimination, i.e., discrimination from within the Christian community, discrimination by the Church and discrimination by the State.

6. Paper on Modernisation of “Madrassa Education” by M A Siraj was presented by himself in the third technical session. Prof Haseen Taj in her intervention as a discussant made the following comments:

- The major problem of Madrassa schools is lack of infrastructure and hence it ought to be dealt with separately.
- The Madrassa graduates are not marketable in India because they are trained only in religious scriptures and Arabic language. There is a need to adopt the model of West Bengal Madrassa system wherein secular subjects like Science and Mathematics, English and local languages are taught. This should qualify them to get into college education after their completion of 10th year in the Madrassa schools. The State may consider providing them scholarships after their 10th year of education so that they may pursue higher education.

- The certificates offered by the Madrassa schools which provide an integrated course may be recognised as equivalent to SSLC certificate.

- There is a need for clearing the phobia prevalent among the stakeholders of Madrassa system of education and there should be
some orientation programme for the management, teachers, parents so that the fear that modernisation of Madrassa education would ultimately result in saffronisation of Madrassa education.

7. In the fourth technical session, Prof R G Desai presented his paper “A Study of Socio-Economic Conditions of Jains in Karnataka”. Shri S Kantharaj in his remarks as a discussant, made the following observations:

- The division between Digambara Jains and Swetambara Jains was created by different groups of Gurus (Munis) who had their own following.
- The main merit of Jains is they never blame others. On other hand, they believe in self-help and self-reliance and thereby try to improve their own economic condition.
- Jains as a whole have higher literacy levels but literacy rate is lower in the case of Digambers who tend to concentrate in rural areas and engaged themselves in agriculture and petty business by reason of which they are poor and backward. In Karnataka Digambaras enjoy reservation facility under III-B.
- While Digambers speak Kannada, Swetambars speak Hindi. This adds to the cultural difference between the two groups.

8. In the Wrap-up session Prof Abdul Aziz summarised the main points of discussion on the papers presented in the seminar. This was followed by remarks by Prof S Japhet, Special Officer, Bangalore, Central University. The seminar concluded with a vote of thanks by Prof Abdul Aziz.
## Appendix III

### Seminar Programme

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time:</th>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10.00-10.20 am</td>
<td>Welcome and Inauguration</td>
<td>Prof Babu Mathew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.20-10.30 am</td>
<td>About the Seminar</td>
<td>Prof Abdul Aziz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.30-10.40 am</td>
<td>Presidential Remarks</td>
<td>Prof V S Mallar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.40-10.45 am</td>
<td>Vote of Thanks</td>
<td>Prof R G Desai</td>
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<tr>
<td>10.45-11.00 am</td>
<td>Tea Break</td>
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<tr>
<td>11.00-11.20 am</td>
<td><strong>Paper I: Constitutional Rights of Minorities</strong></td>
<td>Prof V S Mallar</td>
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<tr>
<td>11.20-11.30 am</td>
<td>Discussant</td>
<td>Prof M K Ramesh</td>
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<tr>
<td>11.30-12.00 noon</td>
<td>Discussion on the paper</td>
<td>Participants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.00-12.20 pm</td>
<td><strong>Paper II: Dalit Christians</strong></td>
<td>Prof Abdul Aziz</td>
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<tr>
<td>12.20-12.30 pm</td>
<td>Discussant</td>
<td>Dr Kiran Kamal Prasad</td>
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<tr>
<td>12.30-1.00 pm</td>
<td>Discussion on the paper</td>
<td>Participants</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.00-2.00 pm</td>
<td>Lunch Break</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.00-2.20 pm</td>
<td><strong>Paper III: Modernising Madrassa Education</strong></td>
<td>Mr M A Siraj</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.20-2.30 pm</td>
<td>Discussant</td>
<td>Prof Haseen Taj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.30-3.00 pm</td>
<td>Discussion on the paper</td>
<td>Participants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.00-3.20 pm</td>
<td><strong>Paper IV: Socio-Economic Conditions of Jain</strong></td>
<td>Prof R G Desai</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.20-3.35 pm</td>
<td>Tea Break</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.35-3.45 pm</td>
<td>Discussant</td>
<td>Shri Kantharaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.45-4.15 pm</td>
<td>Discussion on the paper</td>
<td>Participants</td>
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<tr>
<td>4.15-4.30 pm</td>
<td>Wrap-up Session</td>
<td>Prof Abdul Aziz</td>
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