

**Working Paper 394**

**'Caste' Among Muslims:  
Ethnographic Account  
from a Karnataka Village**

**Sobin George  
Shrinidhi Adiga**

ISBN 978-81-7791-250-0

© 2017, Copyright Reserved

The Institute for Social and Economic Change,  
Bangalore

*Institute for Social and Economic Change (ISEC) is engaged in interdisciplinary research in analytical and applied areas of the social sciences, encompassing diverse aspects of development. ISEC works with central, state and local governments as well as international agencies by undertaking systematic studies of resource potential, identifying factors influencing growth and examining measures for reducing poverty. The thrust areas of research include state and local economic policies, issues relating to sociological and demographic transition, environmental issues and fiscal, administrative and political decentralization and governance. It pursues fruitful contacts with other institutions and scholars devoted to social science research through collaborative research programmes, seminars, etc.*

*The Working Paper Series provides an opportunity for ISEC faculty, visiting fellows and PhD scholars to discuss their ideas and research work before publication and to get feedback from their peer group. Papers selected for publication in the series present empirical analyses and generally deal with wider issues of public policy at a sectoral, regional or national level. These working papers undergo review but typically do not present final research results, and constitute works in progress.*

Working Paper Series Editor: **Marchang Reimeingam**

# 'CASTE' AMONG MUSLIMS: ETHNOGRAPHIC ACCOUNT FROM A KARNATAKA VILLAGE

Sobin George and Shrinidhi Adiga\*

## Abstract

*The paper, by drawing from an ethnographic study conducted in a village named Bittahalli (changed name) in Shimoga district of Karnataka, attempts to gain some grounded understanding of caste-like sub-divisions among Muslims. It explores the internal differences among Muslims in the village, its reflection in their everyday life and its possible parallels to caste relations in Hindu religion. Highlighting their practices of endogamy, restrictions in social interactions, restrictions on the lines of purity and pollution and occupational segregations, the paper argues that sub-divisions among Muslims have clear caste overtones. While the higher status groups among Muslims in the village enjoyed more or less similar social status that of the Hindu dominant castes, the lived-realities of the lower status group Muslims were similar to that of Dalit Hindus and sometimes worse than Dalits in spheres like political participation and access to civic amenities. Although discrimination and deprivations of lower caste Muslims in Bittahalli have its context specificities, this particular ethnographic account adds to the evidence base of the claim for Scheduled Caste status by Dalit Muslims.*

## Introduction

It is generally accepted in social science academia that caste is not a phenomenon that is confined only to Hindu religion. Although not as pervasive as in Hindu religion caste-like sub-divisions exist in Islam (see Ahmed 1966, Jain 1975, Lindholm 2001, Ahmed 2003, Sikhand 2004) and Christianity (see Koshi 1968, Alexander 1977, Kananakil 1983, Lobo 2001, Oommen 2010, Robinson 2010, George 2012). The acceptance of the term 'Dalit Muslims' and 'Dalit Christians' in the academic discourses is informed from the social science research that revealed the perpetuation of caste-based discrimination against those who are considered to have lower caste/status origin in these religions and their development deficit as compared to 'others' within the religious group. For instance, the literature has already highlighted the discrimination and social exclusion that Dalit Muslims face including subordination in places like mosques, separate burial grounds, restrictions in marriages and occupational segregation, to list a few (see Ahmed 1992, More 2002, Deshpande and Bapne 2009, Khanam 2013). Recent reports<sup>1</sup> have revealed that Dalit Muslims are poorer than all other Dalits in both rural and urban India. Similarly they have the highest proportion of casual labourers and the lowest proportion in the regular wage category in urban India.

While Karnataka has been an important site for studies on *caste* (for instance, Srinivas 1956, Srinivas 1962, Srinivas 1994, Karanth 1996, Charsley 1998, Armstrong 1998, Gayathridevi 2013), such

---

\* Sobin George is Assistant Professor, Centre for Study of Social Change and Development, ISEC, Bangalore. E-mail: [sobin@isec.ac.in](mailto:sobin@isec.ac.in).

Shrinidhi Adiga was Research Associate at Centre for Study of Social Change and Development, ISEC, Bangalore. E-mail: [nidhikarje@gmail.com](mailto:nidhikarje@gmail.com).

This paper is drawn from a research project sponsored by the Indian Council of Social Science Research, New Delhi. The authors thank Lucky Prithviraj, Hussain Sab and Ummarsheikh for their support in conducting the fieldwork. Authors also thank the unknown reviewers for their excellent comments and suggestions. Usual disclaimers apply.

studies have tended to focus only Hindu religion to locate caste primarily because of the dominant *orientalist* understanding of Hindu origin and perpetuation of caste system and caste relations. However, like in other parts of the country, there is a growing realisation among the civil society groups in Karnataka on the intergroup differences in development outcomes within Islam and Christianity, which have now precipitated down to the demand for Scheduled Caste status for 'Dalit Muslims' and 'Dalit Christians'. If not many, some important studies from Karnataka have shown that Dalits in other religions, especially in Christianity suffer from similar forms of discrimination to that of Dalit Hindus from dominant castes of Lingayats and Vokkaligas (Moses n .d, Japhet 1987, Pinto 2010).

The official data from Karnataka categorise all Muslims (except forward class) including those who are believed to have Dalit origin into a single group of 'backward class'. For instance, except *Mughal, Irani, Bohara/Bohra, Cutchi Memon, Jamayat* and *Navayat* sub-groups of Muslims in Karnataka who claim noble origin and upper caste descendents, all sub-divisions in Islam<sup>ii</sup> are treated as backward class without considering their other markers of differences. However, our preliminary analysis drawing from the 68<sup>th</sup> round of NSSO data on employment and unemployment show that there are social groups with differences in development outcomes within Islam (see George 2016). The study showed that nearly all Scheduled Tribe Muslim households in rural areas were in the most vulnerable group of casual labourers in agriculture. The share of backward class Muslims in the category of casual labour in agriculture as well as non-agriculture in rural Karnataka was notably higher than that of the forward class Muslims. Similarly, the share of salaried class households among forward class Muslims was more than that of their OBC and ST counterparts in both rural and urban areas. George (2016) also shed light on the differences in educational levels across social groups within Islam. For instance, the share of non-literate was the highest among OBC Muslims followed by ST Muslims in rural Karnataka whereas the educational attainments of forward class Muslims were notably better than their OBC and ST counterparts in the state. While NSSO data provides some indications on the social groups within Islam in Karnataka, especially for STs, OBCs and others, it does give data on SCs in Islam (see table 1). As much as 75 per cent of Muslims identified themselves as backward classes. They are further classified as IIA, IIB, III A, IIIB and IV based on their graded degrees of social and economic backwardness as identified by various committees appointed by the state of Karnataka.<sup>iii</sup> Nevertheless, it is generally believed that the occupational groups like matt weavers, stone cutters, knife grinders, washermen have Dalit origin and bear charmers, snake charmers and Banhjaras have tribal origin, which are now listed under the blanket category of 'OBC'.

The literature on caste among Muslims in Karnataka thus is scanty and the existing sources of information on the existence of lower caste groups, especially Dalits among Muslims in Karnataka, are mostly informal. The paper therefore attempts to gain some grounded understanding of *caste* among Muslims by exploring the internal differences in Islam, the social and economic relations of various sub-groups among Muslims and across caste groups in Hindu religion, its reflection in everyday life of the people and its possible parallels to caste structures and relations by drawing insights from an ethnographic study conducted in a village named Bittahalli in Shimoga district of Karnataka. The questions that the paper attempts to address are as follows. What are the markers of internal differences among Muslims and how are the Muslim sub-groups socially positioned? Whether these

hierarchies and differences among Muslims have any meaning for social exchanges, economic organisation and mobility of sub-groups? Whether lower status groups among Muslims face similar kind of discriminatory treatments in various spheres of life as Dalits in Hindu religion face? And whether the religious identity acts as a marker of discrimination of Muslims and if so, whether it has any sub-group dimensions, which could further marginalise lower caste Muslims?

Since the paper holds on to an epistemological position that there is no universal meaning for caste-like sub-divisions in Islam, the selection of the ethnographic site for the present study was not based on any representative criterion. Nonetheless, certain considerations guided the selection of the district, *taluka* and the village. Since other sociologically relevant information for the present research such as the presence of caste-like practices among Muslims were not available, it was decided that the best possible way to narrow down to a district is to identify one which has a moderate distribution of Muslim population and moderate development outcomes in order to avoid extreme situations (for data, see tables 2 and 3). Out of various districts in Karnataka, Gadag has the highest share of Muslim population, which is 23.5 percent, and Mandya the lowest, which is 0.1 per cent. Bellary with 9.7 percent, Raichur with 8.3 per cent and Shimoga with 8.2 percent fall in the group of districts where Muslim population is somewhat moderately distributed. Since data across all development indicators are not available, it was decided to consider the educational status of Muslims, especially the percentage of non-literates, as an alternative for *development* although it is not a perfect indicator. The share of non-literates among Muslims is the highest in Raichur district (58%) and lowest in Chikmagalur (2.4%). Among the districts where Muslim population is moderately distributed the share of non-literates was 35 per cent in Bellari, 58 per cent in Raichur and 18 per cent in Shimoga. Shimoga therefore came in the group of both moderately distributed population and moderate educational status and hence was selected for the study. The *taluka* and village were selected by taking into account the availability of reasonably well-distributed populations of Muslim communities. Bhadravati *taluka* satisfied this criterion. Since there were several villages in Bhadravati, satisfying this criterion, a lottery method was adopted to zero in on to the village to be studied since it was not feasible to study more than one village in such in-depth ethnographic explorations. The village Bittahalli (changed name) was thus selected.<sup>iv</sup>

The study used ethnographic methods such as in-depth interviews, discussions and non-participant observation. It has mainly focused Muslim respondents in order to understand the experiential dimensions of exclusion from below, even though the researchers got views on the same from other caste/religious constituencies. In order to identify the respondents for in-depth interviews, the study mapped hundred households of Muslims from the village. From that, a group of fifty respondents consisting of women, working men, youth and elders from each caste/status group were identified for in-depth interviews and case studies. The field study took nearly four months from July 2013 to October 2013 to complete. The paper is divided into two parts. The first part reviews the available literature on caste among Muslims from various parts of the sub-continent. Given this backdrop, the second part presents the experiential dimensions of caste relations for Muslims from the ethnographic data collected from Bittahalli village.

## Caste among Muslims: A Brief Review

The sub-divisions within Islam, based on the attributes of origin, ethnicity, occupation and *biradiri*, which the scholars have already pointed out, are grounded mostly on the Ashraf, Ajlaf, Arzals sub-divisions in India (Ahmed 1966, Ahmed 1978, Ahmed 1992). Ashrafs, who are believed to be the descendents of the prophet with Arab, Persian or Turkish origin, are considered as the noblest. They are known by titles such as Sayyids, Qureshis, Sheikhs, Pathans and Mughal and are mostly landowners, traders, businessmen or merchants. Ajlafs are the middle level groups, but 'low-born' within the hierarchy who are, in India, believed to be converts of middle or higher level Hindu castes. They are into 'clean' occupations, such as farming, trading, cloth weaving etc. Arzals are the lowest in the hierarchy who are believed to have converted from lower castes and continue their traditional caste based occupations like leather processing, matt weaving, tanning, stonecutting, running laundry and barbershops, animal slaughtering and knife grinding, to name a few.

Sikhand (2004) has argued that this divide is largely based on the caste like characteristics in a country like India, where *Islaimisation* of the natives happened on a large scale. As he notes the conversion to Islam from other Hindu castes in India was a social process and "elements of the Islamic faith were gradually incorporated into local cosmologies and ritual practice while gradually displacing or replacing local or 'Hindu' elements". He further argues that this influence of caste practices in Hinduism on the converts is perhaps responsible for the continuance of caste like practices among Muslims in India. Some scholars also add to it by noting that the idea of equals in Islam for marriage and social exchanges legitimise the caste or *biradiri* concept in Islam, which is also based on hereditary. Another dimension of caste division in Islam relates to hereditary occupations, which forms one of the defining characteristics of caste. Khanam (2013) by quoting Ansari (1960) noted how caste like occupational patterns continue in Islam in new and old forms, which are as follows:

When we look at the occupationally specialised backward caste of both Hindu and Muslims, we can identify three categories. Ansari (1960) and others have also substantiated these as 1) castes that are now entirely Muslims, 2) castes that have larger Muslim than Hindu section and 3) castes that have larger Hindu than Muslim section.....Some of such castes in the first category include Atishbaz (firework makers), Chand (jesters), Bhishi (water carriers), Gaddi (graziers), Mirasi (musician and singers), Qasab (butchers), Momin Julaha (weavers) etc. The second category includes Darzi (tailors), Dhuniya (cotton carders), Kunjra or Kabariya (green grocers), Manihar (bangle/bracelet makers), Saiqalgar (metal sharpeners) and Rangrez (dyers and cloth painters). The third category includes Kumhar (potters), Nai or Hajjam (barbers), Teli (oil pressures), Dhobi (washermen) etc. (Khanam 2013: 126, *emphasis added*).

What is important to note is that the ideas of 'equal' and 'unequal' in Islam, as happened in the Indian caste system, have undergone several changes due to various social processes over a period of time. Caste attributes of these subdivisions also vary considerably across the country depending upon the local caste realities. For instance, in North India, especially in the state of Uttar Pradesh, the division

is mostly along the lines of occupational divisions of Hindu caste order such as priest, warrior, common and the serf (Ansari 1960). These groups also used to be endogamous as well (Ibid). Ahmed (1978) discussed the caste like occupational patterns and social organisations of Muslims in Gujarat. He has explained the way in which elements of caste get reproduced through institutions of marriage, especially in the forms of endogamous marriages and family customs, which include restrictions on inter-dining, praying and other obligations. Some scholars like Mines (1978) and More (2002) argued that in states like Tamil Nadu and Pondicherry, the Ashraf–Ajlaf division is not prominent due to the common Hindu origins of most of the Muslims in the region. Hence, it is not merely the heredity that featured in sub-divisions in Islam, but economic and educational status of families played an important role in determining *nobility*. D'Souza (1978) highlighted the caste like status groups of Muslims in Kerala. He listed the sub-divisions as *Thangals, Arabis, Malabaris, Pusalars* and *Ossans* in the order of hierarchy. Thangals are considered as converts from Brahmin caste, Arabis as decedents of Arab men and local women, Malabaris are converts from the groups of Hindu religion that follow matriarchal system, Pusalars are converted from lower caste fishermen and Ossans from the Dalit castes who belong to the occupational groups of barbers, cleaners, etc. In Karnataka, as Karanth (2007) noted, the occupational groups of barbers, stone cutters, Baiggars (Darvesu), washermen (dhobi), Tamil Muslims (Maliki/Labbe) and cleaners are considered as lower in the status hierarchy while Syeds stand at the highest position followed by Arabis, Sheikhs, Pathans and Malabaris. Similarly, in Andhra Pradesh those who are into 'unclean' occupations such as Dedukula (cotton cleaners), Hazam (barbers) and Fakir-budbudki (mendicants) occupy a lower social status, Syed, Sheikh, Pathan and Labbai who are considered as descendents of Arab traders and native women, enjoy the highest status (Saheb 2003 as quoted in Fazal 2010).

The continuity of caste practices within Islam could further be understood from the graded differences among Ashraf, Ajlaf, Arzals and the discriminatory practices prevailing against Arzals within and outside the religion similar to that against Dalits in Hindu religion. As Imtiaz Ahmed noted, the Shrudras and untouchables who converted from Hinduism to Islam in order to come out of its discriminatory caste practices, did not experience the egalitarianism that Islam professed, but continued to face discrimination and prejudices from the higher status group Muslims and upper caste Hindus. In other words, their primary identity remained more or less similar to that of their previous caste, though they converted to Islam. The continuation of caste based occupations also reproduced the *original* caste status even after several decades of conversion. For instance, as Ahmed (1992) noted, lower caste Muslims in North India are still identified by their caste occupations such as *Julahas, Kasabs, Dhobis, Hajjams, Lohars, Rangrez, Malis* and *Lal Baigi*.

The internal differences among Muslims on markers of origin, region, occupation and *biradiri* assume more sense when we view it through the lens of citizenship rights. The backwardness of lower castes in Islam in several instances, as studies have already pointed out, was similar to that of Dalits in Hindu religion. However, they are not protected under the affirmative action policy of the State similar to that of Dalit Hindus due to the constraints in the definition of the term Scheduled Caste, which is limited to Hindu, Buddhist and Sikh religions, in the Constitutional Order of 1950<sup>v</sup>. Although 'Dalit Muslims' now is an accepted category in the public sphere, it has not yet received official sanction for

being considered under affirmative action policies. However, the Central and State Governments, recognising their social and economic backwardness, have included several sub-sections of Muslims under the category of Other Backward Classes (OBC). Except some groups belonging to Ashrafs, most of the Muslims come under the Central and State list of OBC in India. For instance, in Kerala, OBC is a blanket category for all Muslims; in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh all Muslim groups, except *Mughal, Irani, Bohara/Bohra, Cutchi Memon, Jamayat* and *Navayat* are under OBC with further sub-categories (Fazal 2010); in Tamil Nadu nearly 95 per cent of Muslims are under OBC (Khanam 2013) and in Bihar most of the Muslim sub-groups are categorised either as OBC or as Most Backward Classes (MBC), to cite a few examples. In short, although Dalit origin of some of the socially backward groups in Islam is not officially recognised, there is an increasing realisation on the internal differences among Muslims, which keep them in social, economic and politically marginal positions as Sachar Committee and other committees instituted by various state governments to study the conditions of minorities, have brought out.

### **Bittahalli Village: Locating the Ethnographic Site**

Bittahalli is a small village, situated nearly eight kilometres from Bhadravathi town and twenty seven kilometres from the district headquarters of Shimoga. The village has 834 households with a population of 3550. Nearly 90 per cent of the working population in the village are in agriculture and related sectors. Out of the 834 households, 560 belong to Hindus, 260 belong to Muslims and 14 belong to Christians. Nearly half of the Hindu households belonged to Scheduled Castes (SC). Dalit sub castes include Adi Dravida (including those who identify themselves as Holey), Bovi and Korama. Dominant Hindu castes like Lingayats (with its various sub-groups), Vokkaligas and Kurubas constituted the remaining Hindu population in the village. The category OBC, which crosscuts Hindu and Islamic religions includes sub-groups such as Devanga, Gangamatha, Gounder, Kamma Naidu, Kuruba, Madivala, Uppara and Shetty, Balajaiga from the Hindu fold and Labbe, Ladaf, Nadaf, Darvesu, Kaka and Baig from Islam. Middle and upper caste groups who are categorised as general include Gowda, Lingayats, Naidus, Vanni Gounder and Vellala Gounder along with a small number of Brahmins. The sub-groups within Islam mainly included Syed, Sheik, Mugal, Patan, Maliki or Labbe, Baig, Ladaf, Nadaf and Darvesu. Some of the sub-groups among Muslims in Bittahalli were also known by their occupation like the Kasabs, Phulhara, Pulmali, Mochi, Chapparband, Nalbandh, Ossan and so on.

As per the data collected from the Gram Panchayat office, out of the total 834 households, 570 are listed as below poverty line (BPL) group, 100 households come under Anna Antyodaya Yojana and remaining 164 households fall under above poverty line (APL) category. The share of BPL households was the highest among Scheduled Castes (SCs), followed by Muslims. For instance, as much as 79 per cent of SC and 75 per cent of Muslim households in the village come under BPL category as per the data obtained from the village office. As it is already mentioned, most of the households in Bittahalli are of farmers and agriculture labourers. Some households also depend on casual work available in non-agriculture sectors, some on public works and a few comprises of salaried class. Most of the Muslim households in Bittahalli depend on casual labour available in agriculture sector and non-agriculture sector for a living. They work as daily wage labourers, middleman of agriculture products like arecanut

and coconut, *beedi* rollers, worker in small (arecnut, garment) factories, small household businessman, manual labourer in middle eastern countries, driver to list a few. A small percentage of Muslims are found to be in clerical jobs in schools, police station and post office.

### **Caste Differentials among Muslims in Bittahalli**

Caste differentiations among Muslims could be understood mainly by examining two aspects—the way ‘superior’ social groups within Islam treat others and the way upper and middle level Hindu caste groups view various status groups among Muslims since caste consciousness is more predominant among Hindus. The important question here is whether differences and hierarchies among Muslims have any meaning for social exchanges, economic organisation and mobility of various Muslim groups as in classical caste relations. It is, hence, attempted here to understand whether caste like practices such as social and occupational segregation, restrictions on interactions like inter-community marriages, inter-dining and untouchability are prevalent within these groups in the village. The following sections are based on the data obtained through in-depth interviews, which tried to understand the markers of differences among Muslims, caste-like practices and its forms in different spheres.

#### ***Rituals and worship***

It has emerged from the discussions that certain practices of worships of Muslims have connotations to their Hindu origin. For instance, sub-groups such as Pinjaras and Nadafs continue to practise some of the Hindu traditions of worshipping. Although worshipping any God other than Allah is non-Islamic, Pinjaras go to temple and offer prayers to the local Hindu deities. Similarly, other groups in Islam believe that Pinjaras do not strictly perform Namaz (prayer) and “do not perform it five times a day”. As it could be seen in the study area, Pinjaras have separate mosques in the village. Similarly, most of the Sunni groups including Syeds, Sheiks, Pathans, Maliki and Shaffi perform several rituals, which are similar to that of Hindu traditions. Though there is a growing movement for ‘pure Islamic traditions’ by groups like *Tablighi Jamaat*<sup>vi</sup> in the region, several Muslims practise those rituals which are similar to Hindu traditions that they have assimilated over a long period of time. The 60 year old Shafeeq Khan (changed name) who belongs to the sub-division of Pathan (Sunni sect) makes the differentiations clearer as follows:

We (Sunnis) read our holy books, worship God and light Agarbattis. But they (Jamaat and Tabliques) don't do anything. In our religion, after death we perform rituals on the third day and 40<sup>th</sup> day. We cut the goat and invite relatives. But they don't do anything. They just distribute dry-date fruits in Masjid after prayer. They just read the book (Quran) in Masjid. They don't decorate their house or they don't put *Baasinga* (a wearing specially worn on wedding day to forehead) or Garland each other during marriage. They conduct marriage at Masjid where as we celebrate it at home.

### ***Descent and nobility***

While differences in practices of worshiping is more of a recent origin with the coming up of religiously stricter versions of Islam and groups like *Tablighi Jamaat* and so on, the concept of nobility based on descendants, which have specific caste connotations in various parts of India has always been a marker of sub-divisions in Islam. The sub-divisions based on descent and regional differences in Bittahalli could be classified in a hierarchical way wherein those who call themselves Hanafis such as Syed, Sheikhs, Moghal and Pathan comes at top followed by Shaffi, Maliki and the rest which include Labbe, Baig, Darvesu, Ladaf and Nadaf<sup>vii</sup>. The regional dimension in classification was found to be strong as we could find Muslims from various adjoining states such as Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh reside in the village. For instance, Muslims who migrated from Kerala to this region are known as Shaffi or Kakka and Maliki or Labbe for people who migrated from Tamil Nadu. Those who belong to the groups of Sheikh, Moghal, Pathan are commonly known as Hanafis who speak Urdu and claim a noble origin.

### ***Preferences and restrictions: marriage and inter-dining***

Some of the characteristics of caste such as restrictions in marriages and inter-dining and social exchanges are found to be practised among sub-groups within Islam in Bittahalli. While there are no visible restrictions for marriages between two Muslims, sub-group preferences are found to be common for Hanafis, Ambalis (those who claim Iranian origin), Shaffis and Malikis in marriages except for exceptional situations. Among Hanafis, marriages usually take place between Syeds and Sheiks. Though the sub-group of Pathan also belongs to Hanafi and has more or less the same social status, marriages between Pathans and Syeds/Sheikhs are not generally preferred in Bittahalli for the cultural differences. Similarly, although Shaffis/Kakkas who have Kerala origin, though claim similar status position that of Hanifs, do not generally intermarry due to differences in culture. Hanafis and Shaffis in Bittahalli do not prefer Malikis due to differences in culture and their lower caste origin. It is illustrative from the words of Shafeeq Khan who explained why Hanafis do not marry from and marry off to Malikis of Tamil Nadu origin and Shaffis of Kerala origin.

They (Malikis and Shaffis) are not from this place. We (Hanafis) don't know their caste and origin since they came to this place long back. Some of them have come here recently from other place. We are here from generations. They (Malikis and Shaffis) say several stories on their caste background. We don't believe those. We don't give our girls to them and we too don't marry girls from their house.

Marriages outside the status groups like between Hanafi and non-Hanafis are found to be uncommon in Bittahalli. As it is reported, Hanafis do not prefer to enter into marital relationships with groups including Maliki, Baig, Qassabs, Ladafs, Pinjara, Darvesu, Pakzade, Phulhara, Mochi and Chapparbandh who are believed to have lower caste origin. It should also be noted that there are instances of such marriages; however it happened only between a forward class Muslim man and backward class woman (hypergamy). Such marriages have also occurred in situations like re-marriages of old Muslim men and marriages of Muslim men with disabilities who may not easily get *brides* from their own *biradiri* or status group. As reported by the respondents, the women married in such

situations would always occupy an inferior position of that of a servant. As most of the respondents noted, knowing *biradiri* or social group (read caste) background of a family is a necessary condition for perusing marriage proposals. Ajmal Pasha (changed name), who belongs to the sub-group 'Sheikh' made it very clear as follows:

We ask the caste of the family if we receive a proposal. We say if you are Sheikh or Syed then only we come to your home.

Similarly, Narghese (changed name) briefs that the restrictions in marriage have more to do with cultural and status differences, which are evident in their rituals, worshiping and life style. She puts across these differences as follows:

Pinjara, Nadaf and Baig are not clean. That is why they are called in that name. We (Hanafi) don't go to their houses. We don't send proposals to their house or they don't send proposals to us. We don't marry a girl/boy from Pinjara, Ladaf, Nadaf houses. They don't do Namaz regularly. Moreover, they wear Tilak on their forehead. Being Muslims we are not supposed to do that.

Inter-marriages in the lower rung of the status groups, however, are common in Bittahalli. For instance, except Darvesu and Pinjara communities, marriages within the lower rung status groups like Ladaf, Nadaf, Chapparbandhs, Labbe, Pakzade, Phulhara and Mochi are reported to be common. It is also important to note that people do not generally prefer marriages outside their kinship regions since they are not sure about the caste origins of the migrants, irrespective of the fact that they have been co-residing in the village for generations.

The notions of purity and pollution are evident in the practices of inter-dining as well. As reported by the respondents, the groups in the higher order of the hierarchy like the Syeds and Sheikhs do not prefer to eat from the houses of Muslim sub-groups including Ladaf, Nadaf and Pinjara who are believed to have Dalit origins. However, they invite all sub-groups in Islam if there are functions like marriages and celebration of festivals. There is no visible segregation of people based on their sub-divisions in such gathering. However, people who belong to Ladaf, Nadaf, Chapparbandhs, Darvesu, and Pinjara often occupy inferior positions since they receive Zakat.<sup>viii</sup>

### ***Occupational segregation***

As it is reported from other parts of the country, occupational segregation based on birth was found among Muslims in Bittahalli as well. Though nothing stops anyone in Islam from taking up any *religiously accepted* job, one could observe the reproduction of ascribed family occupation (based on *biradir*) among Muslims. For instance, the occupations of meat selling, washing, gardening, hair cutting, leather work, shoe making, stone cutting and matt weaving are undertaken only by Qassabs, Pakzade, Phulhara, Mochi, Chapparbandh, Pinjara and Ladaf and Nadaf respectively. Darvesu, the Begging community, is also treated separately by Muslims who belong to Hanafi groups.

Sub-divisions based occupations also appear to have caste like characteristics. For instance, occupational groups including Qassabs (Butchers), Phulhara, Pulmali (gardener) and Ossan (barber/priest) are considered as middle level caste groups by Muslims and Hindus in Bittahalli whereas

Mochi (leather worker), Chapparband (builders of hut/construction workers), Nalabund (horse shoe makers), Pinajara (cotton ginners), Pakzade (waherman), Darvesu (rag pickers/shoe makers), Ladaf/Nadaf (cotton beaters) are considered as lower castes converts to Islam from the Hindu fold. It should be mentioned that this classification is relevant only in the case of this particular village and may not have universal meanings, even though one cannot discount its possibility all through the region.

To sum up, the narratives of Muslims from Aralihall indicate that sub-divisions within Muslims resemble caste based subdivisions, which are similar to that in the Hindu religion. Several defining characteristics of caste such as social segregation, occupational division, restrictions on inter-dining and restrictions on inter-marriages have also been found to be true for various sub-groups in Islam. It is also important to note that factors like *biradiri* and ancestral origin are important determinants for Muslims in the study area to decide where they stand in the social hierarchy. The occupations of most of the Muslims that we interviewed also have relationships with their traditional occupations. Although there are instances of economic mobility, the likelihood of people continuing with the ancestral occupations is found to be high, which in fact limits their possibilities to move up economically. However, it should be mentioned that there are no loyalty and dependency-based rigid social and economic structures that reproduce these traditional occupations for lower caste Muslims as it is prevalent in the Hindu caste system. Lower entitlements in terms of education and land have been acting as strong forces that do not allow them to move out of such occupations. This works like a vicious cycle where being in traditionally low-rewarding occupations lead to lower entitlements and lower entitlements bind them to traditional occupations.

### **Social Positioning of Muslim Sub-groups *vis-à-vis* Hindus**

It is also important to understand how do caste groups outside Islam, mainly the Lingayats, Vokkaligas, Naidus, Holeyas, Bovis and Kormas understand and interpret the sub-divisions among Muslims. As it is already mentioned, although Hanafi Muslims claim a social position that is either equal or just below Lingayats in the hierarchy, Lingayats position them as below Devangas and above Dalits. The spatial organisation of the village provides a few indications on the social positioning of various caste groups within the religion. For instance, the village is spatially organised in such a way that one part of the village, which is separated by a link road is occupied by caste Hindus, mainly Lingayats, Vokkaligas, Upparas, Uppara-Shetty, Madiwalas, Kammas and Kurubas. Muslims and Dalits live on the other side of the road. The first layer of residential segregation in the village therefore is between caste Hindus and *others*. Second layer of segregation is within the same side of the road. It should be noted that Lingayats, Vokkaligas, Shetty, Kammas and Kuruba although live on the same side of the village link road, have separate settlements. Similarly, Dalits including Holeyas, Bovi and Koramas have separate settlements. Most of the Muslim settlements were outside the main village, nearer to residential areas of Dalits. Sub-groups like Sheiks, Syeds and Patans claim that their position in the social hierarchy is just below that of the Lingayats. However some of them noted that since they are less in number, they are placed just above the Dalits and lower to Devanga (Hindu OBC) caste. Although they live on the same side of the road where Dalits also live, their settlements are distinguishably separated from that of

Dalits. Muslims those who are migrants from Tamil Nadu like the Maliki or Labbe, Kakka from Kerala and those from Andhra Pradesh still live nearer to the settlements where Dalits live.

The social exchanges and interactions also evidence caste parallels and hierarchies across religious groups. It is noted by several Hindu and Muslim respondents that Lingayats and other caste Hindus like Vokkaligas do not eat in the houses of Muslim, irrespective of their social positioning. Anvar Sheriff (changed name), who belongs to the Syed group, explains this in the following words:

Women and older generations of caste Hindus will not eat from Muslim's house. Dalits and young men eat from Muslim's houses. Lingayat and Gowda women allow Hanafi Muslim women to enter their houses except place of worship (puja room) and kitchen. During festivals they offer food items to us and we do accept and eat them. But they don't eat anything given by us reciprocally on our festive occasions or marriages. There are restrictions that are being followed.

The play of hierarchy in social exchanges between Caste Hindus and forward caste is further elaborated by Hazeena (changed name), who belongs to Sheikh Community as follows:

We (Sheiks) don't go to their (Caste Hindus) houses. We don't eat from their houses. They bring sweets to us during their festivals. But in turn, they don't eat from our houses. If there are any functions in our homes or celebrations to our family members, they are comfortable if we take them to the restaurants for food. They come to our home and we too visit their houses. But we don't eat in each other's houses.

Since religious groups in Bittahalli are mutually independent in social and cultural spheres of life, social exchanges of these groups are limited to attending ceremonies like wedding and exchange of sweets and greetings on festivals. The participation in such social ceremonies depend more on the caste/status position of the households. The social exchanges between caste Hindus and Muslims belonging to the higher income and status groups like Syed and Sheiks are generally on parity although some of them practise restrictions on inter-dining due to reasons on purity/pollution and religious restrictions placed on some food items. Similarly, social exchanges between lower caste Hindus and Muslims are in a kind of equivalence without a great deal of restriction on visiting each other's home or inter-dining except some restrictions on certain food items. The caste Hindus, on the other hand, as reported by the respondents, tend to avoid social exchanges with Muslims of lower caste origin. While caste Hindus intermingle with forward caste Muslims to a certain extent, the sub-divisions of Islam such as Maliki, Pinjara, Baig, Ladaf, Nadaf, Chapparbandhs, Labbe, Pakzade, Phulhara and Mochi in the village are treated by the caste Hindus either at par or lesser/lower than their corresponding Dalit groups in Hindu religion by the caste Hindus. Similarly, Dalits in Bittahalli, especially Holeyas, Bhovis and Koramas live nearer to the settlements of Muslims from these sub-divisions. It is reported that Dalits mingle more with the above-mentioned sub-groups in the village than with caste Hindus. Dalits and lower caste Muslims eat in each other's houses and also participate in social ceremonies. To sum up, the social positioning of lower caste Muslims in Bittahalli is similar to that of the Dalits. However, the

Muslims from the forward class/caste in the village are treated better than the Dalits by the majority caste Hindus.

### ***Economic exchanges***

The interviews with respondents from various sub-groups among Muslims show that the exchanges between Muslims and non-Muslims (predominantly various Caste Hindus) are more of economic in nature. They rely on each other for economic transactions. For instance, most of the middlemen who buy agricultural products that Lingayat, Reddys, Nadiu and Vokkaligas produce are in fact Muslims. Similarly, Muslims run shops selling motorcycle and bullock carts accessories, repair shops, hardware shops, garment shops and other workshops. There is no visible play of religious prejudice or caste-based discrimination in economic transactions since they are purely based on the economic logic of interdependency, which works favourably for both the party. However, it should be highlighted that the business run by Muslims, Lingayats and other caste Hindus is purely on the basis of family and kinship and chances of Muslims men working in the shops run by Hindus and Hindu men working in the shops run by Muslims are found to be rare except in the cases of a few garment shops in the nearby town of Bhadaravati. It is also noted by the respondents that there is a clear order of preferences in business network relations and economic transactions in the village where kinship groups matter more or come first followed by caste and religion, if the same services are offered by all these groups.

Although economic interdependency defines the relationship between religious groups to certain extent in the village, there were instances of clashes and violence between Hindus and Muslims, especially during the procession of *Ganesh* festivals. However, these isolated incidents, as reported by the respondents do not seriously affect their other day to day relationships. The economic interdependence in fact acts as a balancing force most of the time. Ajmal Pasha who is a middleman for agricultural products explains it as follows:

They (caste Hindus) sometimes make remarks against us (Muslims) or even enter into fights after drinking. Only a few people behave like that. We just ignore it because we have to do business. See, these areca nuts...., I brought from Andhra (a Reddy family) people.

### ***Exclusion from Services: Common destiny of Dalits and lower caste Muslims***

The independence in social and cultural lives of Muslims and Hindus in Bittahalli insulates them to a great extent from being discriminated on the basis of prejudices in the social life. However in spheres like governance and public provisioning where resources and stakes of all socio-religious groups are more or less common, differential treatments, which could be attributed to prejudices based on religion and caste, do exist. Among others, discrimination in the sphere of local governance is an important aspect that has meanings for the everyday life of people. It came out frequently from the narratives of the lower 'castes' among Muslims like Pinjare, Maliki and Nadafs that they either do not participate in gramsabhas or they opt not to speak in such gathering even if they participate since such forums are

dominated by Lingayats, Vokkaligas, Reddys and economically better off persons from Muslim communities. Saineba (changed name) narrated what happens in generally in Gramsabha and how decisions are made there as follows:

I go there and simply listen to what happens there and return. Last time when I visited Gramsabha, Lingayats started to fight with each other on the issue of distributing pension to the elderly. Though the Panchayath here receives grants and has power to implement programmes, it doesn't distribute it based on rules of social equality. The Lingayats (as the dominant caste) take all decisions on everything here. They are dominating. They decided beneficiaries for the various development programmes. The community (Lingayats) itself is split into two parties and both fight with each other for getting benefits for their own respective members.

Similarly, it emerged very frequently from the discussions that Dalits and lower caste Muslims are not provided with information on the facilities meant for them from the local governing institutions, which excludes them from accessing such provisions. Jafer (changed name) who is an agriculture worker from Pinjara community explains it as follows:

No one informs us the facilities provided by Panchayats. We (Pinjara Muslim) should only go and seek information from others. If we visit and enquire about the facilities in the Panchayath office, they (caste Hindus and upper class/caste Muslims) would ignore us. A few from our groups have managed to obtain facilities like pensions, special aid, educational help, medical help etc. by paying bribes. Others won't get those facilities. The members of the dominant castes themselves avail of all those facilities without bringing it to our knowledge.

Out of these groups, the participation of Muslims of lower caste origin is found to be the lowest in Panchayats and Gramsabhas. The opportunities available for Muslims in Panchayats are normally taken by dominant groups like Syeds and Sheiks and chances of candidates contesting from lower caste Muslim groups to local self governing institutions are virtually non-existing. The participation of Holeyas, Bovis and Koramas in Panchayat and Gramsabhas is found to be better than that of the lower caste Muslims due to compulsory reservation of seats for Dalits. However, their levels of participation are found to be minimal due to the domination of forward caste groups in such forums.

The unequal and poor participation of lower caste Muslims in governance is reflected in their access to civic amenities, which are to be provided through local governing institutions. For instance the quality of roads and drainage in the colonies of lower caste Muslims and Dalits are found to be bad as compared to the settlements of caste Hindus and Muslims. Although they demand such services from the local bodies, it does not materialise very easily, if not taken up at a higher level. Majeed (changed name) who belongs to Maliki Muslim sub-group shared his experience as follows:

I speak and fight with them (Panchayat members and head) for restoring the damaged drainage facility in our locality. Drainage water used to get mixed with our drinking water. We complained against it in the Panchayath and submitted

applications several times. We also warned them that if they don't solve it soon, we will complain about the same to the Taluk Panchayath. But they just ignored it up to three months. When the local MLA visited the Panchayath, we brought this issue to his knowledge. We brought even the Tahasildar to the spot and showed it to him. Only then that the drain was repaired.

Similarly, the settlements of lower caste Muslims and Dalits were found to be deprived of proper drinking water pipelines, drainage and streetlights. It was reported by the respondents from Dalit and lower caste Muslims that the local Panchayat does not conduct maintenance works of roads, drainage and street lightening in their settlements whereas these services are well provided and maintained very well in the settlements of caste Hindus and forward class Muslims. It was illustrative from the conditions of the roads, drainages and drinking water pipes of these settlements. Similarly, while the drainages are covered and flowing in the settlements of caste Hindus and forward class Muslims, the flow is found to be blocked, which caused the drainage stink and breed mosquitoes at Dalit and lower caste Muslim settlements. Village sanitation committee, which is constituted under the National Rural Health Mission with the participation of the Gram Panchayat to clean the public water tanks and drainages, is not found to be functioning in lower caste settlements. Similarly, the approach roads in the settlements of caste Hindus are proper with tar and concrete, the roads in lower caste settlements of Muslims and Hindus are in bad conditions with patches and broken surface and deep holes. It was reported that although there are financial provision available in the local Panchayat to repair the public roads after monsoons, such works are not usually undertaken in lower caste settlements. It is also observed that most of the public services and its administrative offices such as health sub-centre, ration shops, ICDS centre (Anganwadi), post office, primary schools, police aid-post, veterinary clinic and Panchayat office are in the settlements of caste Hindus, which in turn systemically exclude lower caste Hindus and Muslims from accessing these services due to the dominance of forward caste group members in the localities.

### **Concluding Remarks**

The field study conducted in the Bittahalli village illustrated that *Muslim* is not a homogeneous identity and is distinguishably separated along the markers of nobility, occupation and ritual practices like in the graded system of caste relationships in Hindu fold. The sub-divisions among Muslims in Bittahalli could be classified in a hierarchical way in which Hanafis such as Syed, Sheikhs, Moghal and Pathan comes first followed by Shaffi (migrants from Kerala), Maliki (migrants from Tamil Nadu) and the rest which include Labbe, Baig, Ladaf and Nadaf and Darvesu. Graded practices of caste such as endogamy, restrictions on social interaction, hereditary occupations and restrictions on the lines of purity and pollution also have been found across these sub-divisions. For instance Pinjaras and Nadafs are considered to be lower status groups since they continue to practice some of the so called Hindu traditions while rest of the Muslims slowly moving to 'pure Islamic traditions' as professed by the Sunni missionary movements. Similarly, higher status groups like Hanafis do not prefer to enter into marital relationships with groups including Maliki, Baig, Qassabs, Ladafs, Pinjara, Darvesu, Pakzade, Phulhara, Mochi and Chapparbandh who are believed to have lower caste origin. Also, other lower status groups

among Muslim such as like Ladaf, Nadaf, Chapparbandhs, Labbe, Pakzade, Phulhara and Mochi do not prefer to marry from Pinjare and Darvesu groups. Furthermore, the status groups in the higher order of the hierarchy like the Syeds and Sheikhs do not prefer to eat from the houses of Muslim sub-groups including Ladaf, Nadaf and Pinjara who are believed to have lower caste origins. To sum, we could say that the forward caste Muslims, although, denied any form of exclusion based on caste origin, was found to have restricted social exchanges to their *biradiri* and status groups.

The nature of social exchanges of caste Hindus with various sub-groups in Muslims further endorsed the caste characteristics of Muslim sub-divisions. While Lingayats and others consider Muslim sub-groups such as Syed, Sheiks and Patans on par or a little less than them, they treat Muslim sub-groups like Pinjara, Maliki, Shaffi, Baig, Nadaf etc. at par with Dalit Hindus. Social exchanges are found to be more between lower caste Hindus and Muslims than lower caste Muslims and forward caste Muslims though Muslim brotherhood binds all Muslims based on religious belief together. The notion of Muslim brotherhood is found to be operating with a graded status and power relations in which lower caste Muslims are not always equal participants. These graded differences were visible in the development status of Muslim sub-group in Bittahalli. The paper has highlighted that the position of lower class/caste Muslims is similar to that of Dalits and they are differently treated by both upper class/caste Muslims and caste Hindus when it comes to participation in local governance and public provisioning where all social and religious groups are stakeholders. The differential accesses to such facilities, which are discussed in the paper, further confirm it.

## End Notes

- <sup>i</sup> For a discussion see, Deshpande and Bapne (2009), *Dalits in the Muslim and Christian Communities: A Status Report on Current Social Scientific Knowledge*, Draft Report Prepared for National Commission for Minorities, GOI.
- <sup>ii</sup> They include Mehtar, Dudekula Laddaf, Pinjari or Noorbash, Arekatika, Katika, Quresh, Achchukattalavandlu, Singali, Singamvally, Achchupaniavally, Achchukattuvaru, Achukatlavandlu, Attar Saibulu, Attarollu, Dhobi Muslim / Muslim Dhobi / Dhobi Musalman, Turka Chakla or Turka Sakala, Turaka Chakali, Tulukka Vannan, Tsakalas, Sakalas or Chakalas, Muslim Rajakas, Faqir, Fhagir Budbudki, Ghanti Fhagir, Ghanta Fhagir, Turaka Budbudki, Darvesh, Fakeer, Garadi Muslim, Garadi Saibulu, Pamulavally, Kani-kattuvally, Garadollu, Garadiga, Gosangi Muslim, Phakeer Sayebulu, Guddi Eluguvally, Elugu Bantuvally, Musalman Keelu Gurrallavally, Hajjam, Nai, Nai Muslim, Navid, Labbi, Labbai, Labbon, Labba, Pakeerla, Borewale, Deera Phakirlu, Bonthala, Qureshi / Qassab, Kureshi / Khureshi, Khasab, Marati Khasab, Muslim Katika, Khatik Muslim, Siddi, Yaba, Habshi, Jasi, Turaka Kasha, Kakkukotte Zinka Saibulu, Chakkittakanevale, Terugadu Gontalavaru, Thirugatigantla, Rollaku Kakku Kottevaru, Pattar Phodulu, Chakketakare, Thuraka Kasha. For more details, see, National Commission for Backward Classes, GOI (2015).
- <sup>iii</sup> As per the Nagana Gowda Committee 1961, the following castes/communities among Muslims were considered to be most backward. They include: Mapillas, Pinjara, Chapper Band, Laddaf, Kasab(Kasai), Katharga, Pudekula, Labbe, Pindare. The Second Backward Commission Report (Justice Venkataswami Report) 1983 identified castes/communities among Muslims on the basis of vocations. They include Chapper Band, Darveshi, Faqir, Hanafi, Jathagera, Kalal, Kathukari/kasai, Labbe, Laddaf/Nadaf, Madar, Mapillai/Moplas/Kaka/Byari, Mohamadiya, Momin, Pathan, Pendar, Phoolmali, Pinjar/Doode Kalu, Qureshi (Muslim Butchers), Syed, Sheik, Shia, Shafai, Sunni. The Chinnappa Reddy Commission (1990) appointed by the Government of Karnataka and the Government order of 1994 categorised the backward communities into I, II, III and IV sections. While Muslim groups such as Jalagara, Kasab, Kasai, Siddi, Sikkalgar, Nalabund, Dhobi, Kumbara, Chapparbund, Darvesu, Phul Mal, Rangrez etc are classified in category I, category IIB assured 4 per cent of the reservation exclusively for Muslims. For details, see Fazal (2010).
- <sup>iv</sup> The names of the village and respondents mentioned in the paper are not real to ensure confidentiality.
- <sup>v</sup> As per the Presidential Order 1950 "no person who professes a religion different from the Hindu religion shall be deemed to be a member of Scheduled Caste".

- <sup>vi</sup> Tablighi Jamaat is a Sunni missionary movement that works for the return of Muslims to primary Sunni Islam, and particularly in matters of ritual, dress, and personal behaviour.
- <sup>vii</sup> This order of hierarchy was arrived at after a group discussion in which members from all these sub-divisions participate.
- <sup>viii</sup> Zakat is a form of alms-giving treated as a religious tax and/or religious obligation in Islam, which, by Quranic ranking, is next after prayer in importance.

## References

- Ahmad, I (1966). The Ashraf-Ajlaf Dichotomy in Muslim Social Structure in India. *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 3 (3): 268-78
- (1978). *Caste and social stratification among Muslims in India* (ed). New Delhi: Manohar.
- (2003). A Different Jihad: Dalit Muslims Challenge to Ashraf Hegemony. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 38 (46): 4886-91.
- Alexander, K C (1977). The Problem of Caste in the Christian Churches of Kerala. In Harjinder Singh (ed), *Caste among Non-Hindus in India*. New Delhi: National Publishing House.
- Ansari, G (1960). *Muslim Caste in Uttar Pradesh: A Study of Culture Contact*. Lucknow: Ethnographic and Folk Culture Society.
- Armstrong, N (1998). Checks to integration: AKs of Mahepura. In Charsley and Karanth (eds), *Challenging Untouchability: Dalit initiative and Experience from Karnataka*. New Delhi: Sage Publications, pp 154-86.
- Charsley, S (1998). Increasing Autonomy: The Harijans of Rateyur. In Charsley and Karanth (eds), *Challenging Untouchability: Dalit initiative and Experience from Karnataka*. New Delhi: Sage Publications, pp 212-39.
- D'Souza, V (1978). Status Groups among the Moplahs on the South West Coast of India. In Ahmed, I (ed), *Caste and Social Stratification among Muslims in India*. New Delhi: Manohar.
- Deshpande, S and Bapna, G (2009). *Dalits in Muslim and Christian Communities: A Status Report on Current Social Scientific Knowledge*. Nation Commission for Minorities, Government of India.
- Fazal, T (2010). Between Identity and Equity: An Agenda for Affirmative Action for Muslims. In Mahajan, G and Jodhka, S S (eds), *Religion, Community and Development: Changing Contours of Politics and Policies in India*. New Delhi: Routledge, pp 228-47.
- Gayathri Devi K G (2013). *Sectarian Mobilisation and the Role of Caste Associations in Karnataka*. New Delhi: Concept Publications.
- George, S (2012). Dalit Christians in India: Discrimination, Development Deficit and the Question for Group-Specific Policies. *Working Paper Series, Vol. VI, No. 02*. New Delhi: Indian Institute of Dalit Studies.
- George, S (2016). *Discrimination, Health Access and Health Seeking Behaviour: A Study of Dalits and Muslims in Selected Villages of Karnataka*. Bangalore: Institute for Social and Economic Change. (unpublished research report)
- Jain, S P (1975). *Social Structure of Hindu-Muslim Community*. New Delhi: National Publishing House.
- Japhet, S (1987). Christian Dalits: A Sociological Study on the Problem of Gaining a New Identity. *Religion and Society*, 34 (3): 81-88.

- Kananaikil, J (1983). *Christians of Scheduled Castes Origin*. Monograph No. 10. New Delhi: Indian Social Institute.
- Karant, D (2007). Caste among Indian Muslims. In Ansari, A H (ed), *Basic Problems of OBC and Dalit Muslims*. New Delhi: Serial Publishers, pp 68-79.
- Karant, G K (1996). Caste in Contemporary Rural India. In Srinivas, M N (ed), *Caste and its Twentieth Century Avatar*. New Delhi: Penguin, pp 87-109.
- Khanam, A (2013). *Muslim Backward Classes: A Sociological Perspective*. New Delhi: Sage.
- Koshy, N (1968). *Caste in the Kerala Churches*. Bangalore: Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society.
- Lindholm, C (2001). Caste in Islam and the Problem of Deviant Systems: A Critique of Recent Theory. In T N Madan (ed), *Muslim Communities of South Asia: Culture, Society and Power*. New Delhi: Manohar.
- Lobo, L (2001). Visions, Illusions and Dilemmas of Dalit Christians in India. In Simon R Charsley and G K Karant (eds), *Cultural Subordination and the Dalit Challenge*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Mines, M (1978). Social Stratification among Muslim Tamils in Tamil Nadu, South India. In Imtiaz Ahmad (ed), *Caste and Social Stratification among Muslims in India*. New Delhi: Manohar, pp 159-69.
- More, J B P (2002). Ashrafs of Southern India: A Case Study of Madurai. *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 3 (1): 87-106.
- Moses, Y (n.d). *An Overview of Christians in Karnataka with a Special Focus on the Plight of Dalit Christians*. Retrieved from <http://gokdom.kar.nic.in/English/Downloads/ChairReligious/DALIT%20CHRISTIANS%20-%20Moses.pdf> (accessed on 12 February 2017)
- NLSIU (2015). *Comprehensive Study on the Socio-Economic Condition of Minorities in Karnataka*. Report submitted to the Government of Karnataka. (Unpublished)
- Oommen, T K (2010). India's Religious Minorities and State Policy. In Patil and Dabhi (eds), *Dalit Christians in India*. New Delhi: Manak Publications, pp 17-39.
- Pinto, A (2010). Situation of Dalit Christians in Bangalore. In Patil and Dabhi (eds), *Dalit Christians in India*. New Delhi: Manak Publications, pp 154-78.
- Robinson, R (2010). *Christian Communities in India: A Socio-Historical Overview*. Religions and Development Research Programme Working Paper Series, 1 (1), New Delhi: Indian Institute of Dalit Studies.
- Saheb, S A A (2003). Dudekula Muslims of Andhra Pradesh: An Ethnographic Profile. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 38 (45): 4908-12.
- Sikhand, Y (2004). *Islam, Caste and Dalit-Muslim Relations in India*. New Delhi: Global Media Publications.
- Srinivas, M N (1956). A Note on Sanskritization and Westernization. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 15 (04): 481-96.
- (1962). *Caste in Modern India and Other Essays*. Bombay: Asia Publishing House.
- (1994). *The Dominant Caste and Other Essays*. USA: Oxford University Press.

**Table 1: Distribution of Social Groups within Religion, Karnataka**

Religion	ST	SC	OBC	Others	Total
Hinduism	7.05	19.44	52.98	20.53	100
Islam	1.11		73.81	25.08	100
Christianity	2.89	2.18	30.55	64.38	100
Jainism	4.66		65.09	30.25	100
Others				100.00	100
Total	6.19	16.49	55.46	21.87	100

**Source:** Author's estimation from NSSO 68<sup>th</sup> round, employment and unemployment (2011-12), unit level data

**Table 2: Distribution of Population by Religion across Districts, Karnataka**

District	Hinduism	Islam	Christianity	Jainism	Others	Total
Belgaum	79.1	17.4		3.5		100
Bagalkot	90.5	9.5				100
Bijapur	75.9	19.9		4.2		100
Gulbarga	76.1	23.4		0.4		100
Bidar	78.6	20.5	0.9			100
Raichur	91.4	8.3	0.3			100
Koppal	84.0	16.0				100
Gadag	76.2	23.5		0.3		100
Dharwad	85.0	13.5	1.1	0.4		100
Uttara Kannada	83.1	14.7	2.2			100
Haveri	84.8	15.2				100
Bellary	88.7	9.7	1.1	0.6		100
Chitradurga	92.4	7.6				100
Davanagere	86.7	13.1	0.2			100
Shimoga	90.5	8.2	1.4			100
Udupi	71.3	27.8	0.9			100
Chikmagalur	91.0	7.5	1.5			100
Tumkur	84.1	15.7	0.3			100
Kolar	85.9	12.9	1.2			100
Bangalore	84.3	9.7	5.5	0.5		100
Bangalore Rural	95.3	3.1			1.6	100
Mandya	99.5	0.1	0.4			100
Hassan	98.9	1.1				100
Dakshina Kannada	62.5	29.1	8.4			100
Kodagu	80.0	19.5	0.6			100
Mysore	87.6	11.6	0.8			100
Chamarajanagar	93.3	6.0	0.6			100
Ramanagar	99.6	0.4				100
Chikkaballapura	86.0	14.0				100
Total	84.6	13.3	1.5	0.6	0.0	100

**Source:** Author's estimation from NSSO 68<sup>th</sup> round, employment and unemployment (2011-12), unit level data

**Table 3: Educational Status of Muslims across Districts of Karnataka**

District	NL	LWFS	TLC	OTH	BP	PRI	MID	SEC	HS	D/C	GRA	PGA
Belgaum	41.8			9.2	20.4	11.7	6.6	4.0	4.5	0.4	1.3	0.1
Bagalkot	35.2				16.9	17.8	11.1	10.7	4.5	2.3		1.6
Bijapur	28.4	3.4			20.5	8.8	12.6	7.5	13.8	3.7	1.3	
Gulbarga	56.7	0.0			15.4	7.2	6.4	7.7	4.4		1.9	0.1
Bidar	26.2				9.8	11.5	16.5	27.4	5.4	1.6		1.6
Raichur	57.9				11.2	6.0	13.4	6.9	3.6			1.1
Koppal	35.2	1.7			30.9	4.0	3.9	13.9	8.8	1.1	0.6	
Gadag	43.2				16.4	7.0	16.0	13.0	2.9	0.5	0.5	0.7
Dharwad	25.7	2.6			7.1	13.3	19.4	17.6	9.9	2.9	1.3	0.2
Uttara Kannada	20.2			0.2	23.3	19.7	21.1	11.3	2.9		1.3	
Haveri	26.8				23.2	29.5	2.5	16.2		1.8		
Bellary	35.0				27.0	23.2	7.5	3.2	1.6	2.4		
Chitradurga	18.3				16.4	10.6	21.6	11.4	16.2	4.3	1.2	
Davanagere	22.8				14.8	20.3	19.9	14.2	5.1		2.9	
Shimoga	18.3	1.1	2.2		15.1	25.4	15.8	13.4	4.4		4.3	
Udupi	15.8			0.2	18.5	23.0	24.2	13.1	3.3	0.5	1.4	
Chikmagalur	2.4				21.5	6.6	18.7	24.9	25.8			
Tumkur	26.6			1.1	8.2	18.8	26.7	17.0	0.9	0.4	0.4	
Kolar	13.7			0.4	10.5	15.8	28.4	22.1	4.3	0.5	2.1	2.3
Bangalore	21.5				13.6	7.7	14.2	22.7	16.0	1.7	2.6	0.0
Bangalore Rural	26.7				12.6	10.7	48.2	1.8				
Mandya	22.2				44.4	22.2		11.1				
Hassan	19.2				5.3	15.9	35.1	24.5				
Dakshina Kannada	20.7			0.4	16.8	17.0	27.0	9.3	1.4	1.7	5.3	0.3

Kodagu	14.1				12.2	24.5	29.8	14.2	5.1			
Mysore	27.4				20.3	16.0	15.3	6.6	5.9	1.5	3.7	3.2
Chamarajanagar	11.1				3.1	20.4	24.3	22.1	13.2	5.8		
Ramanagar	12.5				25.0		12.5			12.5	37.5	
Chikkaballapura	14.5				21.9	12.1	25.8	18.6	2.3		4.8	
Total	30.1	0.3	0.0	1.0	16.8	13.6	15.5	13.0	6.4	1.2	1.8	0.4

*NL= Not literate, LWFS = literate without formal schooling, TLC=Total literacy campaign, OTH=others, BP= Below primary, PRI= Primary, MID= Middle, SEC= Secondary, HS= Higher secondary, D/C= Diploma/certificate course, GRA=Graduation, PGA=Post graduation and above*

**Source:** Author's estimation from NSSO 68<sup>th</sup> round, employment and unemployment (2011-12), unit level data

## Recent Working Papers

- 329 **Identifying the High Linked Sectors for India: An Application of Import-Adjusted Domestic Input-Output Matrix**  
Tulika Bhattacharya and Meenakshi Rajeev
- 330 **Out-Of-Pocket (OOP) Financial Risk Protection: The Role of Health Insurance**  
Amit Kumar Sahoo and S Madheswaran
- 331 **Promises and Paradoxes of SEZs Expansion in India**  
Malini L Tantri
- 332 **Fiscal Sustainability of National Food Security Act, 2013 in India**  
Krishanu Pradhan
- 333 **Intergrated Child Development Services in Karnataka**  
Pavithra Rajan, Jonathan Gangbar and K Gayithri
- 334 **Performance Based Budgeting: Subnational Initiatives in India and China**  
K Gayithri
- 335 **Ricardian Approach to Fiscal Sustainability in India**  
Krishanu Pradhan
- 336 **Performance Analysis of National Highway Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) in India**  
Nagesha G and K Gayithri
- 337 **The Impact of Infrastructure Provisioning on Inequality: Evidence from India**  
Sumedha Bajar and Meenakshi Rajeev
- 338 **Assessing Export Competitiveness at Commodity Level: Indian Textile Industry as a Case Study**  
Tarun Arora
- 339 **Participation of Scheduled Caste Households in MGNREGS: Evidence from Karnataka**  
R Manjula and D Rajasekhar
- 340 **Relationship Between Services Trade, Economic Growth and External Stabilisation in India: An Empirical Investigation**  
Mini Thomas P
- 341 **Locating the Historical Past of the Women Tea Workers of North Bengal**  
Priyanka Dutta
- 342 **Korean Media Consumption in Manipur: A Catalyst of Acculturation to Korean Culture**  
Marchang Reimeingam
- 343 **Socio-Economic Determinants of Educated Unemployment in India**  
Indrajit Bairagya
- 344 **Tax Contribution of Service Sector: An Empirical Study of Service Taxation in India**  
Mini Thomas P
- 345 **Effect of Rural Infrastructure on Agricultural Development: District-Level Analysis in Karnataka**  
Soumya Manjunath and Elumalai Kannan
- 346 **Moreh-Namphalong Border Trade**  
Marchang Reimeingam
- 347 **Emerging Trends and Patterns of India's Agricultural Workforce: Evidence from the Census**  
S Subramanian
- 348 **Estimation of the Key Economic Determinants of Services Trade: Evidence from India**  
Mini Thomas P
- 349 **Employment-Export Elasticities for the Indian Textile Industry**  
Tarun Arora
- 350 **Caste and Care: Is Indian Healthcare Delivery System Favourable for Dalits?**  
Sobin George
- 351 **Food Security in Karnataka: Paradoxes of Performance**  
Stacey May Comber, Marc-Andre Gauthier, Malini L Tantri, Zahabia Jivaji and Miral Kalyani
- 352 **Land and Water Use Interactions: Emerging Trends and Impact on Land-use Changes in the Tungabhadra and Tagus River Basins**  
Per Stalnacke, Begueria Santiago, Manasi S, K V Raju, Nagothu Udaya Sekhar, Maria Manuela Portela, António Betaâmio de Almeida, Marta Machado, Lana-Renault, Noemí, Vicente-Serrano and Sergio
- 353 **Ecotaxes: A Comparative Study of India and China**  
Rajat Verma
- 354 **Own House and Dalit: Selected Villages in Karnataka State**  
I Maruthi and Pesala Busenna
- 355 **Alternative Medicine Approaches as Healthcare Intervention: A Case Study of AYUSH Programme in Peri Urban Locales**  
Manasi S, K V Raju, B R Hemalatha, S Poornima, K P Rashmi
- 356 **Analysis of Export Competitiveness of Indian Agricultural Products with ASEAN Countries**  
Subhash Jagdambe
- 357 **Geographical Access and Quality of Primary Schools - A Case Study of South 24 Parganas District of West Bengal**  
Jhuma Halder
- 358 **The Changing Rates of Return to Education in India: Evidence from NSS Data**  
Smrutirekha Singhari and S Madheswaran
- 359 **Climate Change and Sea-Level Rise: A Review of Studies on Low-Lying and Island Countries**  
Nidhi Rawat, M S Umesh Babu and Sunil Nautiyal
- 360 **Educational Outcome: Identifying Social Factors in South 24 Parganas District of West Bengal**  
Jhuma Halder
- 361 **Social Exclusion and Caste Discrimination in Public and Private Sectors in India: A Decomposition Analysis**  
Smrutirekha Singhari and S Madheswaran
- 362 **Value of Statistical Life: A Meta-Analysis with Mixed Effects Regression Model**  
Agamoni Majumder and S Madheswaran

- 363 **Informal Employment in India: An Analysis of Forms and Determinants**  
Rosa Abraham
- 364 **Ecological History of An Ecosystem Under Pressure: A Case of Bhitarkanika in Odisha**  
Subhashree Banerjee
- 365 **Work-Life Balance among Working Women – A Cross-cultural Review**  
Gayatri Pradhan
- 366 **Sensitivity of India's Agri-Food Exports to the European Union: An Institutional Perspective**  
C Nalin Kumar
- 367 **Relationship Between Fiscal Deficit Composition and Economic Growth in India: A Time Series Econometric Analysis**  
Anantha Ramu M R and K Gayithri
- 368 **Conceptualising Work-life Balance**  
Gayatri Pradhan
- 369 **Land Use under Homestead in Kerala: The Status of Homestead Cultivation from a Village Study**  
Sr. Sheeba Andrews and Elumalai Kannan
- 370 **A Sociological Review of Marital Quality among Working Couples in Bangalore City**  
Shiju Joseph and Anand Inbanathan
- 371 **Migration from North-Eastern Region to Bangalore: Level and Trend Analysis**  
Marchang Reimeingam
- 372 **Analysis of Revealed Comparative Advantage in Export of India's Agricultural Products**  
Subhash Jagdambe
- 373 **Marital Disharmony among Working Couples in Urban India – A Sociological Inquiry**  
Shiju Joseph and Anand Inbanathan
- 374 **MGNREGA Job Sustainability and Poverty in Sikkim**  
Marchang Reimeingam
- 375 **Quantifying the Effect of Non-Tariff Measures and Food Safety Standards on India's Fish and Fishery Products' Exports**  
Veena Renjini K K
- 376 **PPP Infrastructure Finance: An Empirical Evidence from India**  
Nagesha G and K Gayithri
- 377 **Contributory Pension Schemes for the Poor: Issues and Ways Forward**  
D Rajasekhar, Santosh Kesavan and R Manjula
- 378 **Federalism and the Formation of States in India**  
Susant Kumar Naik and V Anil Kumar
- 379 **Ill-Health Experience of Women: A Gender Perspective**  
Annapuranam Karuppannan
- 380 **The Political Historiography of Modern Gujarat**  
Tannen Neil Lincoln
- 381 **Growth Effects of Economic Globalization: A Cross-Country Analysis**  
Sovna Mohanty
- 382 **Trade Potential of the Fishery Sector: Evidence from India**  
Veena Renjini K K
- 383 **Toilet Access among the Urban Poor – Challenges and Concerns in Bengaluru City Slums**  
S Manasi and N Latha
- 384 **Usage of Land and Labour under Shifting Cultivation in Manipur**  
Marchang Reimeingam
- 385 **State Intervention: A Gift or Threat to India's Sugarcane Sector?**  
Abnave Vikas B and M Devendra Babu
- 386 **Structural Change and Labour Productivity Growth in India: Role of Informal Workers**  
Rosa Abraham
- 387 **Electricity Consumption and Economic Growth in Karnataka**  
Laxmi Rajkumari and K Gayithri
- 388 **Augmenting Small Farmers' Income through Rural Non-farm Sector: Role of Information and Institutions**  
Meenakshi Rajeev and Manojit Bhattacharjee
- 389 **Livelihoods, Conservation and Forest Rights Act in a National Park: An Oxymoron?**  
Subhashree Banerjee and Syed Ajmal Pasha
- 390 **Womanhood Beyond Motherhood: Exploring Experiences of Voluntary Childless Women**  
Chandni Bhambhani and Anand Inbanathan

Price: ₹ 30.00

ISBN 978-81-7791-250-0



## INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGE

Dr V K R V Rao Road, Nagarabhavi P.O., Bangalore - 560 072, India  
Phone: 0091-80-23215468, 23215519, 23215592; Fax: 0091-80-23217008  
E-mail: reimeingam@isec.ac.in; Web: www.isec.ac.in