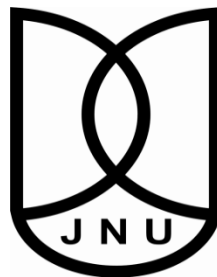


**CONFLICT AND EDUCATION IN A CITY: A STUDY OF  
MANGALORE, KARNATAKA**

*Thesis Submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial  
fulfillment of the requirements  
for the award of the degree of*

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**SUNDARESHA D S**



**ZAKIR HUSAIN CENTRE FOR EDUCATIONAL STUDIES**

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DECLARATION

I, Sundaresha D S declare that the thesis entitled “**Conflict and Education in a City: A Study of Mangalore, Karnataka**” is submitted in partial fulfillment for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree of this or any other University and is my original work.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

- BJP: Bharatiya Janata Party
- BJS: Bharatiya Janata Sangha
- BEIC: British East India Company
- CBSE: Central Board of Secondary Education
- CFMD: Citizen Forum for Mangalore Development
- CFI: Campus Front of India
- CPI (M): Communist Party of India (Marxist)
- DYFI: Democratic Youth Federation of India
- GSB: Gauda Saraswat Brahmins
- IMA: Indian Medical Association
- IRS: Institutionalized System of Riot Production
- KFCH: Karnataka Forum for the Communal Harmony
- MEIF: Muslim Educational Institution Federation
- NCERT: National Council of Educational Research and Training
- NDA: National Democratic Alliance
- NGO: Non-Governmental Organization
- NSUI: National Students Union India
- NWF: National Women's Front
- PFI: People Front of India
- PUC: Pre-University Course
- RBI: Reserve Bank of India
- RSS: Rastriya Swayamsevaka Sangha
- SDPI: Student Democratic Party of India
- SEZ: Special Economic Zone
- SVS: Shri Venkata Ramana Vidya Samsthe
- TRF: Talent Research Fund
- UPSC: Union Public Service Commission
- VHP: Vishwa Hindu Parishad
- WTO: World Trade Organization





## **Chapter 1**

### **Introduction**

The City is a state of mind, a body of custom and tradition that consists of structured attitudes and sentiments (Park, 1925). It is a concept, much more than a mere conglomeration of individuals and infrastructural components like streets, electric lights, buildings, hospitals, police, schools, and civil functionaries (Park, 1925). It is also considered the natural habitat of so-called 'civilized' human beings. Park quotes Spengler to justify this point, "that all great cultures are city-born. The outstanding man of the second generation is a city-building animal. This is the actual criterion of world-history, as distinguished from the history of mankind: world-history is the history of city men. Nations, governments, politics, and religions-all rest on the basic phenomenon of human existence, the city"<sup>1</sup>. In recent times the rapid growth of cities has changed their character which has significant implications for democratic rights and justice with the impact of neoliberal capitalist globalization (Routledge, 2010).

Cities have been the most dynamic spaces for economic, political, social and cultural transformation (Singh, 2013). As transformative spaces, cities provide educational and economic opportunities in the course of their expansion and growth. People who dwell in cities or are drawn to the cities aim at exploring and utilizing these opportunities which are limited in nature. These limited resources and opportunities give rise to competition among people. The complexities in the urban environment owe themselves mainly to the peculiarly open-ended nature of the urban. It is a common place for longstanding conflicts, sudden confrontations, distractions and discontinuities because cities are less coherent internally (Flanagan, 1990). When more than one individual is involved in fulfilling their economic and

political interests, there is competition for scarce resources and spaces. Thus, majority of the city dwellers are characterized by access to poor housing, lack of infrastructure, physical displacement, increasing inequality, homelessness and unemployment (Davis, 2006).

As Park (1921) argues, competition gets transformed into conflict when the element of contact gets added to the process. Conflict is increasingly a common phenomenon in cities. Moreover, this phenomenon is not limited to the developing world, as major metropolitan cities continue to become breeding grounds for political, economic and cultural crisis. The outbreak of rioting and looting in London, Liverpool or Manchester are a manifestation of the general unrest in cities of the developed world (Elliott and McCrone, 1982). However, it becomes a graver issue in developing parts of the world such as Latin America, Asia and Africa where it disrupts social and economic development. As per a World Bank report (2011) on violence in the cities, most of the conflict at different levels erupts in urban centers<sup>ii</sup> of the developing world. Further, the report states that even certain areas and neighbourhoods within the city get demarcated as dangerous and “no-go zones” due to recurrence of violence.

India too is not an exception to the global prevalence of ‘urban conflicts’. It is emphasized that conflict is urban centric in the Indian cities too (Robinson, 2012). As review of literature shows that conflict and violence take place much more in urban context than in rural India. Table 1.1 shows that violence is prevalent in cities and that in the case of some of the cities it is even a recurring phenomenon.

The different groups usually have interests or goals which are challenging in one or other way. These differences often lead to social or political conflict. Most of the conflicts do not involve violence; instead it is being expressed through economic competition, religious

expression, social segregation, competition based on political parties or other peaceful means (Kaufman, 2013, p. 91).

### **I. 'Conflict' and 'Violence': Unpacking terminologies**

In sociological work done on urban conflicts in India; violence, riots, and conflicts are interchangeably used. For example Saxena (1991) points out that, 'riot' has no articulation of demand; organisation of groups is informal and the leadership is spur-of-the-moment. However, Engineer (1994) says that riots are planned, though they might appear as spontaneous. Khan and Mittal (1991) points out that no riot takes place all of a sudden. It is the culmination of a brewing situation generated as a result of an atmosphere of fear, suspicion, and retaliation, a sense of injured honour or even petty violence. The product of tension is usually preceded by a certain amount of preparation, planning and organisation. One community may develop sense of distrust and hatred towards other, only few actual participate even at the zenith of the riot, in looting, burning and stabbing (Khan & Mittal, 1991).

Karl Marx (1990) situated conflict in the economic structure. Marx's theory of class conflict points out that social institutions and structures reflect the material reality of society. The economic structure has dominated over political structure. As long as capitalists control the means of production, they exercise power over social structures, making them inherently unfair towards the working class giving rise to conflicts between the capitalists and the proletariat.

Conflict, as opposed to riots, or 'violence', simply means the pursuit of incompatible goals by different groups (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, & Miall, 2011). Conflict arises when two or more individuals or groups contend with each other for a better share of government jobs political power, or any scarce resources. Conflict may also arise if two or more individuals or

groups follow reciprocally conflicting goals in political and cultural policies (Saxena, 1991). Prejudice, conflict and violence are inter related, one leads to the other, and yet these three sociological expressions of inter community relations have an autonomy of their own (Saxena, 1991). Each may exist independent of the other two. But it is convincing that prejudice and conflict may exist independent of the other two. But for violence either prejudice or conflict is necessary. Therefore, if conflict is not resolved through amicable ways, then it may lead to violence. We may not be able to study violence but one can study violence post-facto and if frequently violent incidents occur, it may certainly imply that there are conflicts in the city.

Prejudice and conflict needs to be distinguished from violence. Factors that can transform conflict into violence could be high relative deprivation, low legitimacy of the government, weak channels of communication, and high insecurity among a group (Saxena, 1991, p. 62).

According to Coser (1957) conflict can be assessed into two types, realistic conflict and non realistic conflict. Coser points out that realistic conflict arises out of frustration of specific demands and out of estimated gains of participants. Non-realistic conflicts happens with the mere intention of releasing tension, those are disruptive rather than creative in nature because they are built on negative rather than positive cathexes (Coser, 1957).

Park (1921) of the Chicago School of Sociology writes that both competition and conflict are forms of struggle but makes a distinction between both the terms. According to him, both are forms of interaction, but competition is a struggle between individuals or groups of individuals, they do not need to be in contact and communication. Whereas conflict is a contest in which contact is an essential condition. Although, in contemporary times, sociality has become digitalized and hence the indispensability of 'contact' in the propagation of conflict remains an open question. Park also claims that conflict is all the time conscious, in

fact, it elicits the deepest emotions and strongest passions and enlists the maximum attention. Competition, however, is continuous and impersonal, conflict is intermittent and personal. According to Kaufman (2013) there is a disagreement among scholars in using the term 'ethnic conflict' or 'communal conflict'. Kaufmann brings to light the politics behind these seemingly innocuous terms by looking at various conflicts in race relations. He problematises these categories by using the case of Whites and Blacks in the USA an example that can be considered as violence on the basis of both ethnicity and race. Is race different from ethnicity? Does the difference extend to Rawanda, where both Tutsis and Hutus are black? It is difficult to say if it is communal conflict or religious or sectarian or ethnic conflict in the relations between Muslims and Hindus in India, or between Sunni and Shi'a Arab in Iraq. For an anthropologist what all these cases have in common is that the groups involved are primarily ascriptive that is membership in the group is typically assigned at birth and is difficult to change (Kaufman, 2013).

According to Varshney (2002) makes an attempt to solve these riddles by shedding more light on the terms "ethnicity" and "communalism". The term "ethnic" is used in two distinct ways. In its narrower sense, "ethnic" means "racial" or "linguistic." The term communal is broadly understood in popular discourse, both in India and elsewhere. For example, for politics and conflict based on religious groupings, such as Hindus and Muslims, Indian scholars, bureaucrats and politicians used the term "communal," not "ethnic," reserving the latter mainly for linguistically or racially distinct groups.

The word 'ethnic' is explicitly used to refer to any group having a common historical heritage, such as race certainly, but also culture, language, religion - anything which binds people together into a community (Naidu, 1980, p. 33). The tendency to promote the religious grouping of a community for political purpose, in other words the phenomenon of imposing religion on politics is called as communalism (Shakir, 1979). Naidu (1980) too employs the



term 'communal' in her work, not in a narrow sense, but in the broader sense than merely religious or racial differences. According to her, the economic and political quality of the conflict among groups may be the same in each situation; still the actual conflict is described as religious in one country, ethnic in another, or merely linguistic in still another (Naidu, 1980).

### **Causes for communal conflict**

Pai and Kuma (2018) argue that cultural aspiration, deepening agrarian crisis, unemployment and inequalities and deep economic anxieties provided a fertile ground for a new communalism in economically backward states. They assert that communalism is more in political and economic in nature rather than social as widely believed (Pai & Kumar, 2018).

Upadhyay and Robinson (2012) argue that Hindu and Muslim communal atmosphere changed after the Rastriya Swayam Sevak Sangha launched the Ram Janmabhoomi/ Babri Masjid movement. Hindus were emotionally appealed and desired to replace the mosque with a Ram Temple (Raychaudhuri, 2000). After 1990s, Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) emerged as electoral success; it is visualized as social acceptance of its cultural and ideological hegemony (Pannikar, 1993). Desai (1984) argues that Hindu communalism is more than the influence of RSS. 'The danger of Hindu communalism is far broader than the influence of the RSS, which no doubt is the arch villain of the piece' (Desai, 1984, p. 196). Sangh paivar not only exploited religious sentiments for political gain and established cultural hegemony (Updhyay & Robinson, 2012). It maid Islamic groups asserted their cultural purity and have appealed to go back to original Islam followed by the Prophet at Mecca and Madrasas are seen source of growing Islamisation.

Imtiaz Ahmed (1984) points out that conflict arises out of the increased commercial and industrial potential of the cities and the keen economic competition that has come to characterize the relations between the communities over the few decades. Ahmed elaborates that each of the cities which are prone to outbreaks of communal conflict during 1970s and 1980s had a sizeable Muslim population, a large section of which comprised of what he calls artisans and craftsmen, menials and feudal retainers who led a parasitic dependence upon the landed aristocracy until zamindari abolition, but found themselves dispossessed once the mainstay of their subsistence had been reduced. Muslims engaged in their crafts were workers, supplying finished goods to middlemen and dealers who provide them with capital and material, or took to working as mechanics and technicians as most of these cities lacked developed industrial base and could not absorb a large population that was dispossessed of its means of livelihood by the abolition of the Zamindari system into the industrial sector (Ahmed 1984).

Ahmed (2019) argues that after partition of India and Pakistan, Muslims were less enthusiastic about their economic prosperity. They were engaged in their craft as workers, supplying finished goods to middlemen or working as mechanics and as technicians in most of these cities. This situation has drastically changed after 1960s. The economic growth, provided market for handicraft goods from abroad to Muslims. By saving out by increased wages a section of Muslim artisans and craftsmen were able to start their entrepreneurs and began competing with Hindu traders and craftsmen. Eventually Muslim craftsmen and workers engaged in export of goods to foreign countries. The sudden prosperity of oil exporting countries have become a boon for Muslim entrepreneurs. It was argued in the context of Moradabad riots that the foreign money has flown into the Muslim hands (Ahmed 1984, p. 234). As the Muslims were able to export goods to Gulf countries, it added to the

prosperity and economic visibility of Muslims in the cities that have been prone to communal tensions. Thapar (1980) also points out that Arab funds are feeding communalism.

Muslim entrepreneurs extended their investment into the real estate too. Usually Muslims are concentrated in the central part of the cities. However, there is little scope to expand in those predominantly Muslim neighbourhoods in the city, so they invested outside of the city. For example, Muslims have bought large chunks of commercial property in Moradabad near city highway, such as Wagidnagar, Mustafabad, Mahboobnagar and Islamnagar. As a result, there is sudden demand for land. It is alleged that land should be vacated by squatters so that commercial entities are built. That is why, it is claimed repeatedly riots were engineered to scare the occupants of the squatters (Ahmed 1984, p.236).

It has been observed that violence between Hindus and Muslims is a structural aspect of the Indian society. One of the analytical explanations is the incompatibility of the Hindu and the Muslim cultures (Jaffrelot 2011, p. 376). But historians emphasized the economic aspect of the contention between Hindus and Muslims; it comes from conflicts about real estate or commercial competition (Bayly, 1995). Sociologists and political scientists generally found this approach more applicable to explain communal conflict in India. Engineer too endorses this view when he comments that one of the reasons for the riot in Jabalpur in 1961 was acute economic competition between *bidi* manufacturers in the city, who were Hindus and Muslims (Engineer, 2019).

Ahmed (1984) argues that the communal riots have shifted from small *qasbas*<sup>iii</sup> to commercial and industrial cities. Even if they are not commercially or industrially developed, they at least have had a tremendous potential for explanation of business and commerce as a result of the monopoly that they might have been enjoyed in the production of specific local items with potential of a large internal or international market. Example, Jamshedpur, with its

steel complex, and Ahmedabad and Bhiwandi, both of which are important centres of textile manufacturing, are examples of flourishing commercial and industrial centers. It was business rivalry where Muslim cloth manufacturers were attacked in the 1984 Bhiwandi riots (Rajgopal, 1987). Aligarh, with its potential for lock-making; Moradabad, the home of brass wares; Varanasi, famous for carpet manufacturing and zari work, and Lucknow and Hyderabad, both feudal towns which have recently shot into commercial significance, are examples of traditional cities with potential for commercial growth (Ahmed, 1984). Meerut is another example where riots broke out as Muslims were the power loom owners who started to diversify economic activities from cloth weaving and printing into other sectors like transport and auto repair (Mitra & Ray, 2014).

According to Ahmed (2019), Muslim entrepreneurs and their greater economic visibility in the structure of communal relations in cities rose communal tensions. Today, he continues to argue, though Muslims have a small size of entrepreneurs, there is acute shortage of workers, and usually workers too are predominantly Muslim. Therefore, Muslim entrepreneurs are at an advantage over their Hindu counterparts (Ahmed, 1984). According to Ahmed this is a cause of conflict between both the social groups.

There are many scholars who have argued about economic interests in communal violence. Gyanendra Pandey (1991) argues that social scientists have over emphasized on the structural aspects for communal violence, but have provided little room for the human agency and human responsibility during the historical process. For him, economic dimension seems to appear as the master of all. He points out that the economic dimension tends to reduce all history to struggle for land and profit. According to him Bhagalpur violence in 1989 may be described 'economy of communalism' and argues that it is simplistic to project Bhagalpur violence as a manifestation of ugly face of our civilization. He notes that the attention needs to be paid on the dying industry, broke economy and the decadent feudal agrarian structure of

the city which provided stimulate for such violence. For him profit is the overwhelming motive.

Pandey (1991) too does not deny economic interest in communal violence, but he points out that social scientists have reduced everything into the lives of men and women to the play of material interest. The 'real' conflict lies in history or notions of honor, the centrality lies in people's attachment to particular cultural and religious symbols (Pandey, 1991). He reiterates that land and property are central aspects to perpetuate communal violence but there is insufficient room for people's emotions, feelings, perceptions (Pandey, 1991). In the analysis people's agency has been projected as passive. There is not much attention towards the agency. Scholars like Wilkinson (2004) and Horowitz (2001) have different take on the economic argument. Wilkinson (2004) points out that,

“Despite the disparate impact of riots on Hindu and Muslim, however, little hard evidence suggests that that Hindu merchants and financial interests are fomenting anti-Muslim riots for economic gain...the fact that economically motivated violence against Muslims occurs after a riot breaks out does not necessarily prove that this is why the violence broke out in the first place” (p. 30-31).

The same opinion was echoed by Horowitz too “It is difficult to know how serious to take commercial competition as a force in targeting choices. In some north Indian cities serious competition is said to play a covert, behind-the-scenes role, which makes proof or disproof very difficult” (Horowitz, 2001, p. 211).

Gupta (2010) compares Hindu-Muslim violence in cities like Mumbai in 1990 and Ahamadabad in 2002. According to him, Hindu-Muslim violence is not because of religious differences or economic motivations; rather it is due to the Hindu nationalist agenda. Gupta refutes Hasan's argument that scarcity of economic resources leads to communal conflict. He points out that over 90 percent of Muslims in India work in unorganized and informal sectors

and are underrepresented in organized sector and government jobs. He argues that the Muslim victims of violence are poor, no one wants to chase their job or economic gain, but he concedes that real estate speculators take advantage of such violence (Gupta, 2010).

## **II. Communal violence and political power**

Steven Wilkinson (2005) argues that politicians both cause and have the power to prevent communal violence through the control of state by law and order. He argues that riots took place because incentives were provided by the local and state level. Electoral competition in the democratic force is the reason for riot which takes place at local levels. He argues that the state governments defend minorities when it is in their electoral interest:

“Politicians in government will increase the supply of protection to minorities when... minorities are an important part of their party’s current support base, or the support base of one of their partners in a coalition governments; or when the overall electoral system in a state is so competitive-in terms of the effective number of parties that there is therefore a high probability that the governing party will have to negotiate or form coalitions with minority supported parties in the future (Wilkinson, 2005, p. 6-7)”.

Further, Wilkinson argues that higher competition for votes between political parties which leads to lower communal violence and the lower political parties’ competition for vote leads to higher rioting in cities. While Ashutosh Varshney (2005) shows through the statistical evidence that, between 1950 and 1975-1976, the ups and downs in riots seem to be at random. But, in late 1970s there were clear trends of ups and downs in violence each year. According to Varshney, compared to 1950-1976, more communal violence took place in India in 1977-95 and more people got killed. Therefore, Wilkinson’s central argument may not be acceptable. Varshney too disagrees with the argument of Wilkinson that ruling parties can control police but he says that the ruling party does not always get what they want. He says Indira Gandhi could not manage to control the communal violence in cities like Aligarh, Moradabad, Meerut, Hyderabad, Bhiwandi and Ahmedabad during her government in 1981-

1984. It cannot be said that she allowed her chief ministers to order police not to protect Muslims during the violence (Varshney 2005).

Brass (2004) argues that Hindu-Muslim communal violence is endemic especially in the northern and western states. He calls it as institutionalised system of riot production (IRS) and argues that the riots are not spontaneous, rather are calculated and deliberate action by key individuals. According to him in Meerut city, there is a clear connection between the timing of violence and election of legislative assembly in 1961-62 and the municipal elections in 1982 and the involvement of local politicians in the events that led to communal violence in the city was evident.

In the post independent India thus one can discern a connection between the timing of the riots and elections where riots were incited and led by local politicians (Brass 2005). The instrumentalist approach provides insight that religious conflict takes place when local elites use religion to alter space and resource-sharing in order to accumulate electoral and economic gain. Brass (2005) elaborates the argument that the two nation theory of India and Pakistan is perceived to be the subject of a broader communal conflict among Hindus and Muslims. He argues that riots have nothing to do with the antagonism between Hindus and Muslims before partition.

Veer (1996) also points out the relationship between religion and politics and how Indian religious identities have been shaped by not only politics but also pilgrimage, migration, language, language development and visual media.

Panikkar (1991) opines that ever since the British introduced the principle of elected representation in public institutions, communalism has become an integral part of Indian politics. Since then communal and religious identities have been exploited and encouraged for electoral purposes (Panikkar, 1991, p.8).

In Berenschot (2014), in his study of Muzaffarnagar communal violence, however goes beyond the political reasons. Author points out that the political machinations role in communal violence are known in the academic explanations for Hindu –Muslim violence in India. He raises an unaddressed question, example, when do the political elites make strategy? why do common villagers who do not share the same political interest could be instigated to participate in the violence?

In his study of Gujarat violence of 2002, Berenschot found that poor citizens are largely dependent on patronage networks to access to state institutions. According to him patronage networks are exchange networks and through these channels, political elites mobilize (electoral) support votes and campaign support. They compensate their supporters by providing them, with access to state resources such as jobs, public services or business contracts. This is how the politicians become mediators between bureaucracy, state machinery and citizens, which the author calls a ‘patronage democracy’.

The function of patronage network is to organize violence and also the political exploitation of social identities. The clientelistic strategies politicise the state bureaucracy. The inability of criminals who are well connected to politicians shows how politicians control bureaucracy. In the same view, less privileged citizens in order to access government jobs or loans engage in negotiation and exchanges of favors with political intermediaries (Jeffrey, 2002). Clientelistic electoral strategies patronage networks during the communal violence serve as the infrastructure for mobilization and organization of violence.

### **Identity based Conflicts**

The communal violence is linked with the identity politics too. It is known fact that in the Indian politics, social identities are useful tool to mobilise electoral support. Social identities like caste, regional or religion provides candidates with symbolic arguments to convince



voters. Through the use of different identity symbols and invocation of antagonisms between voters, politicians convey messages for communal polarization for electoral purpose.

Saxena (1991) observations that there is an average Hindu's prejudice against the Muslim community because, the Muslim rulers in medieval age ruined the Hindu culture, the Muslims separatist role in the freedom struggle, resistance to modernize themselves and recognize uniform civil code, family planning etc. and their extra-territory loyalties.

He argues that the Muslim prejudice against the majority community and sense of discrimination in jobs. It is also believed that conscious and concerted efforts are made to wipe out their culture and language (Saxena 1991). Other reason is the lack of preparedness and sufficient educational qualifications. This according to Saxena (1991), has further increased the sense of frustration among Muslim minorities.

Kakar (1996) argues that the intense and subjective experience of native land among Hindus and Muslims lead to conflicts. Kakar found the enigmatic relationship that links individual egos to cultural morality and religious conflict. His study explores cultural stereotypes, religious antagonisms, ethnocentric histories and episodic conflict to trace the development of both Hindu and Muslim psyche. He argues that early childhood is rooted in the religious identity which creates deep psychological anxieties and animosities towards the 'other'. He further claims that modernization and secularization intensifies the ethnic-religious conflict for power.

Singh (2015) points out that the critique of communal violence in India has focused primarily on inter-religious violence and activities of political and social organisations that are characterized from one or the other religious community angle. The fundamental weakness of this discourse is that it neglects the less visible political, soci-economic and cultural structures that usually give birth to communal violence. Author tries to identify institutional structure of

communalism in India like constitution, judiciary, security services; media (Singh, 2015) but the author does not go beyond very important institution that is education institution. The lens of institutional communalism allows us to go beyond the surface level of understanding communal violence and take us the deeper root of communalism which is embedded in the working of diverse range of institution.

Mack (1965) argues that the nature of the structure and the distribution of power engenders social conflict. 'Power structure and distribution is going to be central in understanding social order in the process social conflict. As social order differentiated, stratified, gives rise to conflict' (Mack, 1965).

### **III. Dynamics of Communal conflict:**

This section deals with the way communal conflict unfold in everyday life. It explains how various occasions like rumours and religious procession and festivals provide ground for communal conflict.

The escalation of communal violence grows out of pre-existing negative stereotypes, which were fertile soil on which mutual fear and distrust could grow (Spencer, 1990). The stereotype and rumour justify retaliation, leading to further incidents cited as confirmation of the original rumours and stereotypes (Jeffery and Jeffery 1994). A rumor is a belief which spreads rapidly among members of a particular population. It is often unproven and thus it can be factually incorrect (Allport & Postman, 1947). Sociologists study rumour as a form of collective behaviour. Rumour can persist without any solid evidence. People spread rumour because some people believe them and for, some others there are no surprise and they do not pay attention to that. It creates anxiety in the city as some believers might think it is true. Rumours have been described as public communication that are infused with private

hypotheses about how the world works (Rosnow, 1991). The structure of the rumour network and content can contribute to the conflicts (Rosnow & Foster, 2005). Word of mouth is an instrument to spread violence provoking rumour.

Kakar (2008) investigates the role of rumours that escalated conflict and anti-Muslim violence in Ahmedabad city in 2002. Kakar also collected rumours during the post-partition violence that ensued between Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, the 1969 riots in Ahmedabad, and the Hyderabad riot of 1990. These rumours, according to Kakar, left both the Hindus and Muslims sleep-deprived and had a very strong effect particularly on women and children. According to him, when rumours include threat of deadly conflict and violence against self and one's community; it gives rise to complex emotions. Rumours cause violence in cities.

There were series of instances of violence that broke out from 1960 onwards, which caused a number of casualties. Many of these instances of violence originated in Hindu as well as Muslim processions. It is not new that the procession is the time where simmering conflicts brake out in the form of violence. In the essay on the prehistory of communalism (Bayly 1995) shows that riots occurred in the wake of religious processions in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Sandria Freitag (1990) argues that religious processions define the 'sacred space' of the community. This is conducive to violence in certain contexts, since 'when one group's space overlapped another's... these circumstances often promoted riots' (Freitag, 1990, p. 135). Jim Masselos (1996) shows that communal violence pitched in opposition groups whose territories had previously been demarcated by religious festivals. Second, procession constitutes potential vehicle of communal violence because of their capacity for homogenising identities. The participants in a procession necessarily downplay the internal

divisions of their community and place more value on their sense of belonging to a religious group.

According to Kakar (1996), religious processions perhaps produce the most physical of all groups and rhythms of religious ritual are particularly effective in breaking down social barriers between the participants. For him, they produce a maximum of mutual activation of the participants and a readiness for action, often violent. Further, Kakar notes that, this is why violence, when Muslim-initiated, often began at the end of Friday afternoon prayers when congregants, who have turned into a congregation, stream out of the mosque, into the street in a protesting procession. He observes that the procession at Muharram for the Muslims and Dusshera and increasingly Ganesh Chaturthi for the Hindu are almost certain recipe for violence when they are preceded by a period of tension between the communities and when a precipitating incident has just occurred.

According to Jayaram (2010), the consensus among social scientists that modernization and secularization would replace religion with faith in science, education and the rule of law is unfounded. He points out that since 1980, religion has been on the retreat, rather there have been aggressive ethnic and religious mobilizations of various hues, including Buddhism and Hinduism and urban modernization has not engendered secularization of social life. He continues to argue that understanding urbanity with modernity, or urbanism with secularism, has resulted in serious misunderstanding of religion, ethnicity and identity in urban areas. In case of India, there is invocation of religion, caste, or linguistic affiliation and the feeling of security within the familiar and perception of threat from others, result voluntary or forced exclusion and formation of ethnic enclaves and ghettos (Jayaram, 2010). As Jayaram (2010) points that violence degenerate the social distances and rigid group boundaries and the main axis of the contradictions of modern society is increasingly changing from the economic sphere of production relationships to the social sphere of complex reproduction relationships.

The political economy approach to conflict has been adopted by Engineer (1989), Vanaik (1997), Bhargava (1998), Wilkinson (2000), Horowitz (2001), Varshney (2002), Shaban (2008), Cook (2013), Chatterjee (2014), argue that group conflict is fueled through a rise of Hindutva ideology in Indian politics. They also examine the local elites fund inter group conflicts.

Vanaik (2001) employed political economy approach to reflect on the rise of right wing political power. He argues that one of the reasons for growth of right wing political party is failure of Indian National Congress. Further he argues that economic instability compelled the Congress government to concede to the terms and conditions of International Monetary Fund and World Bank. Subsequently, the government aggressively implemented neoliberal policy in infrastructure, welcomed Foreign Direct Investment and several industries were set up to squeeze the low paid surplus labour power in India. There was country-wide criticism against Congress which was fuelled by debate on common civil code in early 1990s. This was also the period when Babri Masjid was demolished. In the late 1990s Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) gradually emerged as an alternative to Congress party. Once BJP came to power, they successfully pursued neoliberal policy.

Varshney (2002) analysis a city level ethnic violence in India. He recognises the existence or absence of civic ties between members of the two communities, which is the main reason that either leads to conflict or peace. He identifies two types of civic networks, one, 'associative forms of engagement' such as business associations, film clubs, professional organizations, sports clubs, trade unions etc; and two, 'everyday forms of engagement' such as routine interactions of life; which is, whether families in the neighbourhood from different communities visit each other, jointly take part in festivals, eat together and permit kids to play together in the neighbourhood.

Shaban (2008) also corroborates that the entrenchment of neoliberal policies and a deepening of social and economic divide are the primary reasons for the exacerbation of crime and social conflict in cities such as Mumbai. Chatterjee (2014) explains as how to the neoliberal policies fueled the existing inter-religious conflict and altered the local socio-cultural and economic structure of Ahmedabad city. She provides the insight that the local conflict is not isolated from the global policy. Global neo-liberal policy, according to her, impacted the local with support of the elite in the local government body. In the process of neoliberal industrial restructuring and urban renewal, local and global elites dispossess the urban poor in general and the minority ethnic poor in particular.

There are other studies that have analyzed the conflict over resources and struggle for political and economic dominance in the cities, example, Field and others (2008) explain that religious conflict and violence is an important issue in many ethnically diverse countries. They argue that conflict over resources is often at the origin of such violence. Negative economic situation shocks a community and the subsequent struggle for control over resources can help explain the outbreak of historical tension into an act of violence. Similarly, Datta (1980) highlights the economic reasons for communal conflict. According to him, power and property are the two sources of social conflict, property leads to power and power leads to property. According to Datta (1980) Indian society which divided into a multiplicity of castes, religious and linguistic groups are unmistakably pluralistic and here conflict very often takes the form of a contest between kinship groups. For Dutta, the contest is typically for ownership of land and positions in the administration.

One of the classical sociological studies of conflict in the Indian context is Ratna Naidu's (1980) *The communal edge to plural societies - India and Malaysia*. Naidu recognizes that communal conflict which occurs in India is not normal rather it is pathological and contests Simmel's perspective on conflict that is, it plays a role of integrating society. Naidu

elaborates on the nature of communal conflict in India highlighting that the communal situation is characterized by tension between culturally distinct, but geographically intermingled communities, economic competition, religious and cultural antipathies. She adds that memories of past conflicts underlie these tensions but the tension is essentially fed by the contemporary political processes. Naidu (1980) points out that the process of politicization takes place not on a single polarized issue, such as conflict of interests between classes, but multiple community centered issues like health, housing, education, transportation, location of industry, land use and so on. Second most important point according to her is the emphasis in the equalitarian ideology which has dominated government policies in most countries since the French Revolution. The egalitarian ideology has been operationalised by providing equality of opportunity by the land of constitution. But the recent conceptualisation of ideology of equality to the extent that demand is on “equality of result”, which becomes matter of redistribution of policies, protection against competition on a group basis on grounds of inherited socio-economic lags. The inevitable consequence of this has been the coalescence of group identities wherever and whenever seems profitable for members or the leaders of a group.

Third most important point according to Naidu is that modern technology and industrial development have accelerated migration on a large scale from rural to urban centres, from labour-surplus to labour scarce economies and from skill surplus economies to skill scare economies as from India to West Asia and South-East Asian countries. The migrants occupy the lower rungs of the status and the socio-economic ladder and from permanent sources of political discontent.

Another important work on conflict and violence in the city is Parthasarathy's (1995) *Collective Violence in a Provincial City* where he explores the political and economic relations in a provincial city and the incidences of collective violence. He argues that rural to

urban migration and rise of dominance of a rural rich community in the city of Vijayawada generated conflict. Caste, according to him, played a greater role as compared to metropolitan cities. Parthasarathy (1995) relates collective violence to the characteristics of provincial city where the Kamma community having an agricultural background dominated the city's economy, politics, education and culture which invited hostility from all other non-dominant groups. Their entrepreneurs created little employment growth; quick rates of profitability, a large illegal sector, and high degree of crime that amounted to conflict. Parthasarthy (1995) writes that the structure of the provincial city acquires its typical form from its susceptibility to large scale illegalities in the economy and the violent and conflictual styles used by groups in their struggles for social mobility.

### **Effects/Dynamics of Communal Conflict**

Literature reveals that in communal conflict prone cities, incidence of violence or strained social relationships or prevailing prejudices often take the shape of spatial segregation. In cities like Mumbai and Ahmedabad spatial segregation has often accompanied outbreak of major riots and few studies have looked into this aspect.

Shaban (2013), for instance, elaborates on the existence of very sharp residential segregation of Hindus and Muslims in different locations of Malegaon city in Maharashtra. It is pointed out that there has been monopolization by some caste and religious groups of certain occupations or activities, while others depend on the services or products. Although they all are city dwellers, their occupations are based on their ascriptive identities which indicates that ascriptive identities of caste and religion continue to shape social and economic life even in cities. Similarly, Acharya (2013) points out that Ahmedabad city has overcome the economic recession after 2002 riots but not social segregation. Ahmedabad's residential areas have



always been divided on social identity, many Muslims and Dalits were denied housing in certain areas because they eat non-vegetarian food.

According to Assadi (1999), as mentioned earlier, the coastal belt of Karnataka underwent a complete transformation after 1970s with the effective implementation of land reforms, the Gulf boom, the establishment of a large number of new industries and the expansion of banking. This provided space for a large number of belonging to different communities to compete with each other. However, the larger challenge came from some Muslims who were not only entering into the small businesses but also into the bigger businesses.

#### **IV. Education and conflict**

Mangaluru is known for high literacy rate, yet there is always conflict between the Hindu and the Muslim religious communities. There is need to explore how education is a factor in triggering communal conflict and also how conflict shapes educational choice and institutions in Mangaluru city. Mangaluru has a very high literacy rate of 94.03% (female 91.63%), is home to many educational institutions, including 11 Medical, 17 Engineering, 5 Dental and 145 degree colleges. It ranks highest in human development index in Karnataka.

Scholars like Engineer (1984), Horowitz (1985), Jayaram(1990), Amartya Sen (1993), Varshney (2002) and Vajpeyi (2002) established link between communal violence and literacy rate. Amartya Sen (1993) points out that the low level of elementary education leads to communal violence, as he explains, and in the northern part of India it contributes to the gullibility more than the southern part of India. He points out that the adult literacy in the 'Hindi belt' stretching from across the north and central India where Hindi is the dominant language is low. That is the reason why Ayodhya agitation came from three states, namely,

Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. All these states have disproportionately low adult literacy rate between 39 to 43 percent, according to the 1991 census (Sen, 1993)

Sen (1993) points out that obscurantism; communal fascism thrives on educational backwardness. It thrived in north India where school education is most limited so that one could recruit passionate masses of destructive volunteers in the name of Rama's birthplace and Hanuman's mace. As Sen compares with south India there is a little obscurantist agitation and a few cases of communal violence states like Tamil Nadu and Kerala where there are higher levels of education than the Hindi belt (Sen, 1993, p.21).

As Varshney (2002) argues, communal violence curve rise peaked in 1992, when the mosque in Ayodhya was destroyed. In 1994 and 1995, Hindu-Muslim violence dropped to very low levels. Varshney points out the limitations of Amartya Sen's analysis. For example, Sen has drawn a contrast between Kerala, which has the highest literacy rate in the country and lowest communal violence, and North India, which reports low on literacy but high on riots.

Varshney thus points out that the argument relies too heavily on a Kerala-Uttar Pradesh or Kerala-Bihar comparisons. He says that if we cast our statistical net wider, the argument breaks down. States with the lowest communal violence happen to be at two opposite ends of the literacy spectrum. Kerala and Rajasthan are both among the least occurred communal conflict and violence between Hindus and Muslims during 1950-1995. Kerala, as is widely known, is the most literate state in India, 90.59 percent, its literacy rate in 1991 was far above India's overall literacy rate of 52.21 percent. While Rajasthan, however, also communally peaceful, is among the least literate. At 38.81 percent, its literacy rate is among the lowest in India. Moreover, states such as Gujarat and Maharashtra have high levels of communal violence coexisting with high literacy rates. At 63.05 and 60.91 percent, respectively, both of these states were considerably above the national average in 1991. In additions to that,

literacy rates range from 60 percent (Aligarh) to 80 percent and above in Bombay and Baroda. The national average of urban literacy about 70 percent in 1991<sup>iv</sup>. Rural India, with a literacy rate considerably lower than that of urban India, is not the primary site of communal violence as data shows. So Varshney concludes that there is no systematic relationship between literacy and communal violence. For a whole variety of reasons, India ought to improve its literacy levels. But one should not expect that an increase in literacy will reduce communal conflict (Varshney, 2002, p.108).

Jayaram (1990) notices ironical correlation between education development and the propensity for discord. For instance, the country which dropped the first ever atom bomb on Hiroshima, the country which set about to exterminate Jews, the country which is characterized by the highest number of race riots, and the country which has perhaps the highest rate crimes against individuals, and the countries which are the most intolerant of individual dissension, are all highly educated (Jayaram, 1990, p. 205). Sociological evidence seems to indicate that in India more than the illiterate masses it is the educated elite which plays an important role in aggravating the communal situation (Engineer, 1984). Jayaram points out that violence and destruction of public property indulged in more by university and college students than by other categories of population. There is one observation that education itself would not ensure peace. Literacy is an important indicator of socio- economic and cultural development (Azim, 2005). It is regarded as both a means as well as an end of development.

Vajpeyi (2002) says that the content of a syllabus should be made in such a way that it should be useful for institutions of religious education like mathas, madrasas, or missions, which becomes proponent of political ideologies and breeding grounds of communally minded subjects. Communally minded group like the Tarik-i-Urdu and the Nagari Pracharini Sabha facilitated the process of community creation through education (Vajpeyi, 2002).

Horowitz (1985) points out that the uneven distribution of economic and educational opportunities are an important source of communal conflict. In African countries, there is evidence of rivalry experience among the different communities through the Christian missionary education. Some communities got advantage with Christian missionary education and others did not which caused violence. Some groups gained an advantage in the competition for the rewards in terms of employment and education opportunity. Another reason is that more wealth, better educated and more urbanized group is tend to be envied, resented and feared by the others (Horowitz, 1985). It is said that the rise of rationality and modernization would sweep away the ascriptive identities of religion, ethnicity, and nation- that had led to such violence and bloodshed.

**Table 1.1 Conflict and violence in Indian cities from 1950 to 1995**

States name	Names of the Cities	Conflict in cities (in percent)
Gujarat	Ahmedabad, Godhra and Baroda	76%
United Andhra Pradesh	Hyderabad	90%
Maharashtra	Bhiwandi, Jalgoan, Bombay, and Thane	85%
Uttar Pradesh	Meerut, Kanpur, Aligarh, Varanasi, Moradabad, and Allahabad	55%

Source :(Ashutosh Varshney, Ethnic and civic life: Hindus and Muslims in India, 2003)

There are many studies on conflict and violence but there are fewer studies on the link between education institutions and communalism in the urban context. The communalisation of Indian society has come to pervade all aspects of life, particularly area which are the most sensitive, such as education, the media, the force of law and order and even contemporary

culture in all its facets (Thapar, 1990). Conflict impact on the different areas of the city's life, it will have great effect on educational institutions as well. Further educational institutions also impact on the city.

Varshney (2003) provides statistics on conflict between religious groups that have occurred mostly in cities as compared to the rural areas. In Gujarat, for example, three cities, namely, Ahmedabad, Godhra and Baroda, accounted for about 76 per cent of the total riot related deaths in the state from 1950 to 1995. Over the same period, Hyderabad experienced over 90 per cent of all riot related deaths in the united Andhra Pradesh state; four urban areas in Maharashtra, namely, Bombay Jalgaon, Bhiwandi and Thane - accounted for 85 per cent of all riot-related deaths in the state; and six cities, namely, Meerut, Varanasi, Kanpur, Aligarh, Moradabad and Allahabad accounted for about 55 per cent of the total riot related deaths in Uttar Pradesh. Varshney (2004) points out some of the reasons for Hindu-Muslim conflict such as burning of a train; desecration of a religious building; attack on monuments or institutions or a building of great symbolic significance to a community, an evident unjust electoral defeat of a political party or organization; political brutality against a community; even victories and defeats in sports.

Most of the conflicts appear to be religious and communal in nature. Almost all the conflicts are termed religious or communal because the groups involved in them belong to different religious groups. But, at the same time, the sites of conflicts are often economically prosperous areas, a fact that has not been looked upon while documenting and interpreting the details of conflicts. Therefore, the present study laid stress on the need to explore conflict in a city not just as a matter of religious clash but also as emerging from a sense of insecurity that brings both communities together in rivalry or in aggressive assertion directed towards each other on account of unequal political and economic relations.

Cities have been the place where rural as well as urban people are looking for fulfilling economic aspiration. It is not only people look for jobs, but also for better facilities such as health, education and entertainment. City has been the ideal destination to establish educational institutions and hospitals. Whenever conflict occurs in cities, it affects all institutions, including education. In this study, it is trying to focus on how conflict in city impact on educational institutions and how educational institutions react to conflict in the city.

**Table 1.2 Communal incidences**

State	Incidents	Death cases	Number of Injuries
Uttar Pradesh	195	44	542
<b>Karnataka</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>229</b>
Rajasthan	91	12	175
Bihar	85	3	321
Madhya Pradesh	60	9	191
West Bengal	58	9	230
Gujarat	50	8	125

Source : [www.daijiworld.com](http://www.daijiworld.com),

Union Minister of State for Home informed in Lok Sabha that there were 822 communal incidents in country in 2017, 111 were killed and 2,384 injured. Uttar Pradesh being the most populated (241 million) state in the country has witnessed 195 incidents. Karnataka is the second highest communal incidents took place in the country. The state population is 68.4 million. 100 communal incidents took place, 9 people got killed and 229 people got injured. As report mentions that there were 125 incidents in Mangaluru city alone<sup>v</sup>. Union minister

accounts only 100 incidents in Karnataka state, but there are more incidents as far the local news paper report. Most of the communal incidents took place in Mangaluru. Other cities in the state have not witnessed communal conflict.

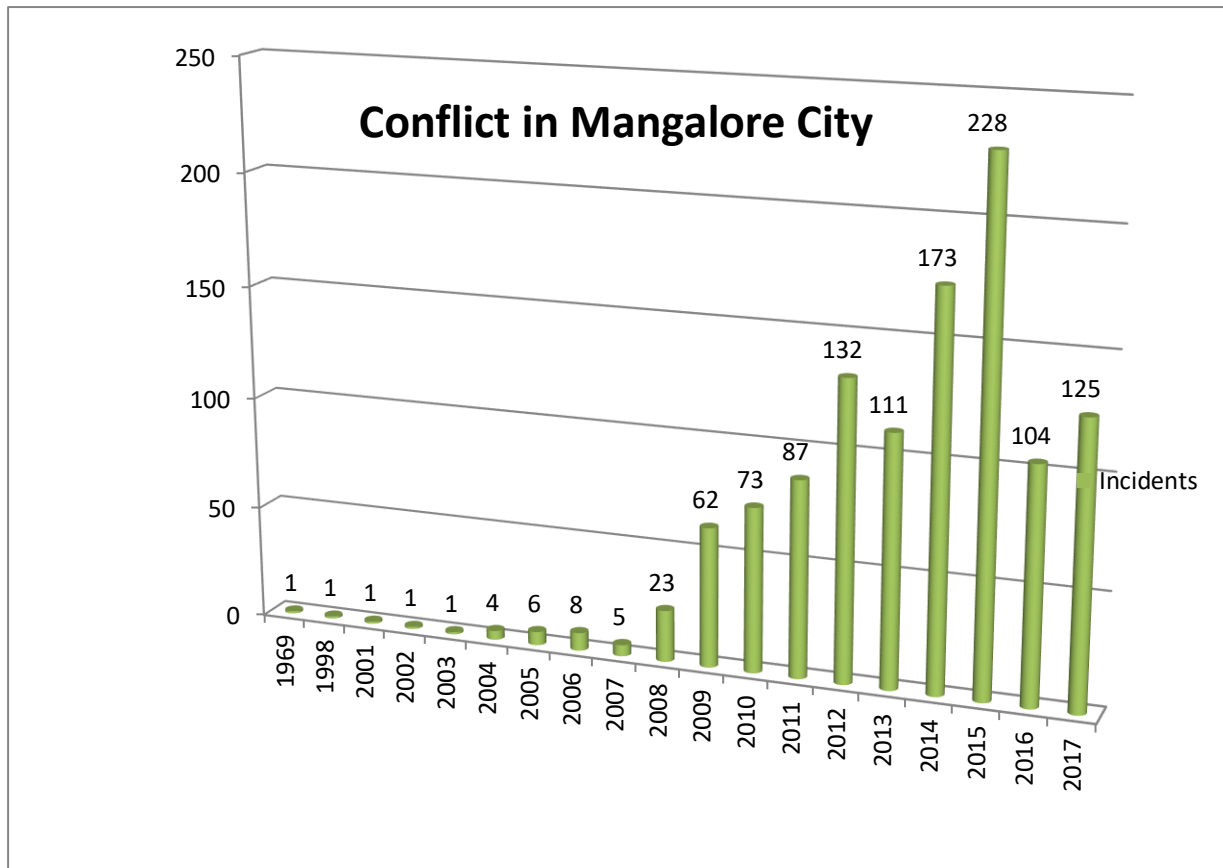
It is in this context, the proposed study seeks to ask questions such as: How is conflict in the city structured? How does it disrupt life and education in the city? How do communities, parents, students and educational institutions strategise and cope with the conflict and educational aspirations?

Scholars have tried to explain the cities that prone to communal tensions and repeated recurrence of communal violence. They explain communal violence through the demographic, economic, political and social structures of cities.

## **V. Mangaluru and its History of Conflict**

Mangaluru has been known for being a peaceful city. It is a fast growing coastal city in Southwestern Karnataka (Kuda, 2014). With its booming economy which is linked to national and international market, it has been absorbing cultures and tastes of different geographies from local to global, much faster than any other district in Karnataka. Mangaluru is the heart of a distinct multi-linguistic cultural region known as *Tulunadu*. It has been the homeland of the Tulu-speaking people, who include a number of different *jatis* (commonly understood as “sub-caste”) such as the Shivalli Brahmins, the land-owning Bunts, Billavas, who work on a range of occupations, and the Mogaveeras, a fishing community (Upadhyaya, 1996; Rao and Gowda, 2003).

**Figure 1.1: Conflict in Mangaluru city**



The conflict can be categorized into five stages. The first stage is from 1969 to 1990, in which Mangaluru hardly witnessed any major conflict until the 1960s. The first major act of conflict in the city broke out in 1969, centered on the port areas of Mangaluru, leading to the death of one person. Except for the incident in the late 1960s, there were hardly any conflicts until the late 1990s. The second stage starts from 1990 onwards, where Rastriya Swayamsevaka Sangha (RSS), Bhajargdal became active around the city in the wake of Ramjanma Bhumi/Babri masjid demolition issue. An incident of conflict broke out again in the late 1990s in Chokkabettu in Surathkal, north of Mangaluru, when hundreds of miscreants pelted stones and attacked residential areas. It all started when a scrap seller from the minority community was alleged to have stolen scrap from a house. From 1998 onwards until now, communal violence, particularly of communal nature, has been a recurring feature of the city. In the third



stage, from 1990s to 2008 is the period, National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government has been formed at the centre. People Front of India (PFI) was formed in 2006, which is an Islamic organization. There were few incidents occurring in the city, much of the ground was created during this period where PFI and RSS activities have been increased. The result of these organizations activities can be seen in the next stage.

The fourth stage is between 2008 to 2013 where BJP has formed government first time in Karnataka. It can be seen that cases have been increased during the BJP regime. National Women's Front (NWF) and Campus Front of India (CFI) established in 2009 which are the wings of PFI.

In the fifth stage is from 2013 onwards where Congress was ruling in the state. From the 2009 onwards conflict has been occurring more in educational institutions for wearing burqa or inter religious couple walking on the street. It is the result can be seen wearing Hijab has been the talking point in Karnataka in 2022. The controversy has started in Udupi, which is adjacent city of Mangaluru. The issue of Hijab has been discussed since 2009 but it became nationwide taking point with result of communal conflict which was under current for the last few decades.

Even when violence may not break out, an environment of intergroup hatred, hostility and tension prevails that may take a violent turn. As Varshney (2001) points out, absence of violence does not imply absence of conflict. The figure 1.1 shows number of incidents occurred during 1968 to 2017.

A study of local popular news papers, namely, '*Karavali Ale*' and '*Varth Bharati*' reveal the extent and basic character of intergroup conflicts which has been compiled in the form of a fact sheet by Suresh Bhat member of *Karnataka Komu Souharda Vedike* and also news papers reports. The fact sheet reveals that the first riot between Mogaveera (caste in Hindus),

a fisherman community and Muslims broke out in 1969, which went on for a week wherein there were some casualties. In 1972, at a place called Kalkada, one Muslim was kidnapped and killed. In the same year Premanath, BJP worker was murdered which led to communal riots between Hindus and Bairys. Following the Babri Masjid demolition in 1992, a curfew was imposed after a communal clash. Until late 1990s, there were no outbreaks of violence in the city. However, it again started in 1998, and became recurrent. As Figure 1 indicates the year of 2008, 2009 and 2015, 2017 were flashing points where there were rampant incidents of violence in the city: twenty three incidents in 2008, sixty two incidents in 2009. The year 2008 was also the period when for the first time BJP formed government in Karnataka.

**Table: 1.3 Incidence of conflict and violence in Mangaluru.**

Year	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Moral policing by alleged by Hindu vigilantes	17	30	22	24	39	35	13	17
Moral policing by alleged by Muslim vigilantes	2	1	3	17	14	11	5	5
Moral policing by unknown organizations	0	0	9	5	0	2	4	0
Related to allegations of conversion	10	15	1	9	9	8	5	3
Cattle vigilantism	4	8	13	8	22	22	12	22
Hate speech	1	3	10	2	8	7	1	8
Other communal incidents	39	30	74	46	81	143	64	60
<b>Total Incidents</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>132</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>173</b>	<b>228</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>125</b>

Source:<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/mangaluru/moral-cops-run-riot-split-communities-genders/articleshow/62377172.cms>

BJP party members won 34 out of 60 seats in the 2007 municipal elections, and the party took control of the state government in 2008. There were 73 incidents in 2010, 228 incidents in 2015 and 125 incidents in 2017<sup>vi</sup>. Congress political party ruled from 2013 to 2018 in Karnataka. There were 23 murders reported during 2018. As protest was organized against citizenship amendment act in December 2019, two persons died after the police opened fire to control the violent mob in Mangalore. It was only in Mangaluru protest was violent and death took place in southern part of India.

Widespread community support for a particular political party on the basis of religious ties is not uncommon, with Christians and Muslims supporting the more secular Congress Party and the various Hindu moving between various parties according to political exigency (Kuda 2014). Kuda (2014) situates the repeated communal conflicts against the backdrop of political leadership and contestations over political control in the region. It can be argued that while political parties may play a role in instigating an intergroup conflict along religious lines these do not explain the prevalence of an environment of hatred/hostility.

Karnataka Forum for the Communal Harmony (KFCH), a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO), highlights aspects that produce an environment of hostility and hatred. It documents instances of what it identifies as ‘moral policing’<sup>vii</sup>. Acts of moral policing carried out by particular religious communities as well as police often seems to have led to conflict. Their findings reveal that in 2013, there were 49 cases, out of which 29 were by Hindu groups and 16 by Muslim groups. Similarly, in 2014, 39 cases, out of which 25 by Hindu groups and 14 by Muslims groups.

There is a need to explain how political, social and cultural relationships among different social groups transformed Mangaluru city. And, what is the nature of social, economic and political relationship among Muslim Christian and Hindu communities? What are the

prejudices prevalent in the city of Mangaluru that lead to conflict in the city? Is there anything in the very nature of city that intensifies and contributes to the consolidation of prejudices among social groups? How educational institutions play role in conflict in the city?

## **VI. The Study**

Most of the studies analyze the logical reasons for the conflict based on secondary sources. There are very few studies on the link between role of education institutions and conflict in urban context. Unfortunately very few empirical studies have been carried out in an objective and unbiased manner which could through light on violence (Saxena, 1991, p. 57)

Despite the recurrence, communal tensions and riots have not received attention from the social scientists which they in fact deserve. Usually, they have been seen as an extreme expression of the communal phenomenon without any serious attempt to discuss their distinctive local features as social events (Ahmed, 1984). Cow slaughter, playing of music in front of mosques, or even desecration of religious places takes place in so many towns and cities on countless occasions. Hence it is necessary to understand those local factors that are crucial to spark off the deterioration of social relation those communal tensions and riots necessarily entail (Ahmed, 1984).

Imtiaz Ahmed (2019) identifies that social scientists have not paid enough attention, their explanation concentrated only religious factors such as cow slaughter, playing of music before masque or desecration of places by pigs etc.

### **a. Broad Research Objectives**

1. To explore and understand how the city of Mangaluru evolved and transformed over the years.
2. To explore how the educational infrastructure in the city of Mangaluru developed and grow the city.
3. To understand how Mangaluru city has become communally sensitive and how communal conflicts in the city disrupt social life and also social relationships.
4. To study the impact of conflict on educational aspirations of communities, parents, students and educational institutions in the city. Also, to study how educational institutions became sites of conflict and how they strategise to cope with the simmering conflict situations.

### **b. Specific Questions**

1. How did the city evolve and transform and what social, economic and political factors have contributed to the shaping of the city and the settlement of communities?
2. What are the roots of conflict in the city of Mangaluru and how has it been manifesting in everyday life and how has it been shape social interactions and relations between different groups?
3. How did the educational infrastructure develop and shape the city's identity?
  - a. What are the cultural, political and economic forces that shaped and are shaping the growth of education in Mangalore?
4. How did the changing communal relations and economic dominance shape the domain of education in the city?

- a. Who are the owners of institutions and who do they cater to?
- b. How does communal clustering take place around educational institutions?
- c. Which institutions and what kind of institutions are frequently at the centre of conflict?
- d. How are relationships within the institutions shaped by conflict?

**c. Methodology:**

The first step taken by the researcher was to understand and create a socio-economic and historical profile of the city of Mangaluru using secondary and primary sources of data. Secondary resources such as scholarly writings, official reports, census data, newspaper and popular articles were used. This helped in gaining some initial understanding of the city's history, demography, economy, politics and its evolution over time. This was followed by an ethnography of the city that was undertaken to understand its socio-spatial organization, map educational institutions. Secondary sources are Basel mission reports collected from Karnataka Theology College at Balmatta in Mangaluru. Basel mission reports from 1836 to 1870 accessed in the Basel mission library which is not available online. Remaining reports from 1870 to 1914 accessed through online from Yale University. For understanding other than Basel mission schools establishment, studied some of the articles and books written in Kannada language by Mangaluru residents. It also interviewed some of the educational institutions' founders. And lastly, sites which was prone to conflict and violence. More importantly, it aimed to identify and study the changing economic and social relations between the communities and how it affected the settlement patterns in the city. By keeping in mind the nature of the conflict which is communal in nature, ethnographic method was thought to be appropriate to understand various aspects of conflict in the city and how

education institutions are affected by the communalization of the city. Observations, in-depth interviews, informal interactions and personal interviews were primary data collection methods. Each interview with the respondents lasted for 45 minutes to 1 hour.

As explained before, the city has witnessed conflict and violence for the last three decades, namely post 1990s, so to be in a safer zone, the researcher established and informed the police department about the study. The reason for spending in the police personal is that researcher need protection to conduct a research. Since, the topic of research is sensitive; there was always a concern for security issue. That is why around two weeks were spent in the police residential area to get acquainted with them. Initially, the researcher had several conversations with police personnel. There were many constables recently deployed from the other cities in the Mangaluru and some of the police were native, they were able to provide insight about the transformation of the city and communalization and the way education institutions are affected. In the conversations all the police personnel informed the researcher to be careful as the study topic is sensitive. This interactions gave a sense of initial information about the city and also various spaces where police informed to be extra careful, researcher visited around the city on foot.

As a part of initial exposure to the city, researcher visited city market, Bandaru, Bengare, Ullala, Kodgi, Hampanakatte, Suratkall, Tanniru bhavi and also visited wherever industrial areas are located in the city. After having geographical familiarity with the Mangaluru city, researcher had visited Mangaluru University. Having read literature on Mangaluru city's transformation, the role of British and Basel mission contribution in establishment of schools and colleges, health sector growth, banking sector and rich cultural traditions, it was curious to know not a single scholar has written about the communal conflict which is recurring in the city. Researcher had visited Mangaluru University faculty members too to discuss the topic of the study through these.

In the first stage, the researcher began his fieldwork in May 2018 which was also a key moment for State elections. During this period election rallies and public programmes were being organized by different political parties competing for power. The researcher began by attending these programmes and listening to the speeches of existing and aspiring political leaders. The speeches helped to gain some insight into different kind of discourses. The public gatherings also gave an opportunity to identify and approach the leaders, organizers as well as local people who were attendees and speak to them about the city and communal conflicts.

Interviews with city's intelligentsia, community leaders, political leaders and elected representatives of town government and bureaucracy, heads of educational institutions, newspaper reporters, older generations of city dwellers who may have witnessed the city's growth and evolution helped in further building the city's profile and its everyday life. The city's intelligentsia included journalists who have written about the city who were approached by the researcher for interviews. Religious gatherings were also an important site for the researcher to understand the dominant narratives and discourses in the city.

In the second stage, more specifically, the researcher identified the areas that have often been at the centre of conflict. The conflict prone educational institutions and their social composition, economic contexts and political involvement were understood. Through newspaper articles and other available records, the researcher was able to identify the conflict prone areas of the city. These sites were frequently visited and local shop owners and their customers were observed and interviewed. Local shops in India are also popular sites where non-working people, retired old men, and working classes often congregate to talk, gossip and discuss topical matters. Thus, shops too were visited by older men in the age group of 60-70 years and this gave an opportunity to interact with the older generation to understand their perspective on the city's evolution and the increasing communal polarization in the city.



Establishing initial contacts and rapport helped in snowballing and finding more respondents to interview.

In the third stage, an attempt was made to understand the perspective of the educational institutions, teachers, students and parents in those institutions. Students' interviews have been conducted, all students' educational qualification is above degree, some students are students at present, and some students have completed their degree from the city. It was also seen where, when, how and what kind of educational institutions emerged in the city and an attempt was made to see who goes where and for whom such institutions are meant for. The researcher identified 12 educational institutions in the city and approached their top leadership and managements. The principals of the schools and colleges were requested to share religion wise data on student enrolment from 2018 to 2019. The school staff and students were approached and interviews were conducted to understand their perspective on conflict in the city and the involvement of educational institutions, manifestation of conflict within educational spaces. Further, teachers' perspective on communal violence in the city was gathered and understood. About 20 telephonic interviews were conducted by the researcher with faculty members in the year 2020 due to the lockdown induced by Covid pandemic.

There was another way in which the researcher was able to access college students. The researcher was staying in a paying guest accommodation which also catered to the male college going students. As a male researcher, it was, however, difficult to access and approach female students to interview. However, a female student known to the researcher helped in establishing few contacts with the female students.

In the fourth stage, some parents were identified for interview to understand their school choice and if religious affiliation of the school or composition was a factor influencing this

choice. The researcher began by interviewing the owner of the paying guest accommodation which had school going children. Later snowball technique helped in getting in touch with more parents. Unfortunately, some interviews with the parents had to be conducted on telephone due to the lockdown induced by Covid pandemic.

#### **d. Limitations of the study**

First, communal riots and tensions erupt suddenly it is not possible for a social scientist to anticipate and be present at a place for research purpose when communal riot is likely to break out. Second, study of communal conflict is risky and dangerous enterprise because of the violence and killing that accompanies them so that social scientists are averse to study them as events in process. During the communal violence, researcher could not be at the spot. Third, being a male researcher, it was difficult to access female students' freely. Last, some of the respondents were reluctant speak on this issue as it was.

#### **e. Chapterisation**

The chapter one introduced the overall context for the study and provides introduction. The chapter also deals with literature review and various reasons which were/are responsible for the communal conflict in urban context.

The second chapter explains the way in which Mangaluru city has changed historically during the pre-colonial, colonial and post-independence periods. How politics played an important role in restructuring the city from an agricultural-based city to secondary and later, how the city's economic activities rose in the tertiary sector. Further, it explains after the independence, the land reform act had played a significant role in changing the social,

economic and political structure of the city. The way government had recognised Mangaluru as an industrially underdeveloped city and helped to urbanise the city. It also discussed how consumerist culture, real estate industry, educational infrastructure and the health facilities altered the city's growth story.

Third chapter deals about the city's transformation as a center of education. Historical trajectory of the establishment of educational institutions has been traced. It explains the way education institutions were set up by different religions and castes to cater their own communities. The exponential growth of the educational institutions are not solely due to active role of government or private industrialists, rather it is due to various philanthropic individuals, and the community organisations, competition and cooperation among religious communities and castes, and their intent of protecting religious ethos of each other, business orientation made that has an educational centre.

The chapter fourth chapter deals with the theme of how Mangaluru city has become communally sensitive. This chapter explores various dimensions of conflict in the city and its impact on different domains of city life. It discusses how city life is being divided through politics, religious segregation, communal identity and the emergence of a communally divided society.

The fifth chapter discusses parental choice and school processes. The chapter explores how educational institutions have become a site for triggering communal conflict in the city and vice-versa. It discusses how the communal identities have become the driving force in taking admission in educational institutions and are reinforced through co-curricular activities like prayers, cultural programmes, dress codes and the absence or presence of discussion over communal issues in the classroom contexts.

The sixth chapter discusses the school culture and communalization. This chapter deals with how the culture of the educational institution provides an ambiance for communal conflict in a subtle way. Each community perceived either real or imagined insecurity of survival of their community and its identity. In order to protect each community's culture and identity, schools have been established either directly or indirectly. At the latent level, educational institutions try to maintain their culture. The attempt can be seen when it manifests in the form of violence in the city.

The chapter seventh and final chapter provides a summary of the study and draws conclusion.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Mangaluru: Economic, Social and Cultural life of the city**

Mangaluru is the headquarter of the Dakshina Kannada in Karnataka State. The city has a port that exports nearly 75 per cent of India's coffee exports (Paul, Sridhar, Reddy, & Srinath, 2012). Mangaluru has grown as a city primarily because of its economic activity and geographical location (Thakur, 1981). The city had a long history of trans-ocean trade, situated on the confluence of two rivers, the Gurupura and Netravati, which drain into the Arabian Sea. The chapter discusses and describes different aspects of the economic, political and cultural structure of Mangaluru city. The chapter explores how Mangaluru as a city evolved from the pre-colonial time to the present day through a discussion of the city's historical anecdotes, demographic change, social structure and composition, political economy, and cultural ethos. The chapter discusses how some important moments in Mangaluru's history such as the arrival of the British or the introduction of industries by the Basel Mission, later the Land Reforms Act introduced in the post-independence period and real estate industry growth after 1990s transformed the city's morphology. This discussion of economic and geographic changes also brings out the role of dominant groups in the city and social relations between different groups.

#### **I. Mangaluru and its origins**

There are several stories and meanings, explaining the origin of the name of the city and its many meanings which also reveal its historical and geographical make-up. Mangaluru is known by different names like Mandegor (Arabic), Maganur (Roman), Mangaruth (Greek), Mykalth (Local Malayalam), Mangalapura (Malayalam), Kaudiyal (Urdu), Kudla and

Tulunadu (Tulu), Kodial (Konkani) and Mangalore (English) Mangaluru (Kannada), Maikala (Beary) and other local names are Karavali, and Canara. The names Kaudiyal, kudla and Kodial for Mangaluru derive from Aluvekodi or the place where the river meets the sea, modified to *Kodi-Aluve*, *Kodiyala* and *Kudala* or *Kudla*. ‘*Aluve*’ in Tulu means the confluence of two rivers and *Kodi* means a place where a river meets a stream. Mangaluru lies at the junction of the Netravathi and Gurupur rivers. These are two rivers meeting at a place called *Kudla*. Further, the Gowda Sarswati Brahmins had come to Mangaluru in the 15th and 16th century A D, they called Mangaluru in their mother tongue as *Kodiyala*. That same word is used in Tulu language, in short as *Kudla* or *Kudala*.

According to Mangaluru Darshana (2015), historians state that the name Mangaluru first appeared in Maratoor scripts in Guntoor, Andhra Pradesh, and was mentioned in that script as Mangalapura. Greek geographer, Ptolemy mentioned Mangaluru as *Manganour*, and another Greek traveller Cosmas Indicopleustes calls Mangaluru as *Mangarouth* as it was the well-known port for exporting pepper. Father Montfaucon, in his book *Topography* calls Mangaluru as *Mangarouth*, a commercial centre (Rai 2015). In the 12th century A D, Yahudi trader, Abraham Ben Yaju stayed in Mangaluru for 17 years from 1131 to 1149; he called Mangaluru in Arabic *Manjarur*. Portuguese traveller, Duarte Barbosa referred to Mangaluru in French as *Mangalor*.

There is also a saying that Mangaluru’s name is derived from the Mangala Devi temple, a prominent temple in the city. Some argue that King Kundawarma built Mangala Devi temple in the 10th century A D. But it is said that there were many place names accompanied with Mangla before 10th century A.D. According to Bhatt (1979) Mangala means happiness, felicity, welfare, bliss and Manglapura means “city of prosperity”. It is also said that

Mangaluru was named after a lady, Mangale who belongs to Natha sect, who did penance in that place, and that is why the city is called Mangaluru.

Mangala also refers to the place where war equipment is stored. If the war equipment were found under the earth, the place is called *Nela Mangala*, if the war equipment were found on the left side of the city, the place is named *Eda Mangala*. Also, depending on the place or name of the king, different names are obtained like *Naga Mangla*, *Kui Mangla*, *Kanta Mangla*, *Beera Mangla*, *Pete Mangla*, *Mangla Pura*. But, importantly, what these diverse stories indicate is that it is a place where people from varying cultural and multi-linguistic backgrounds came and settled.

The city was known as Tulunadu before the Christian era (Ramesh, 1970). It is argued, the term Tulunadu is derived from Tulu language spoken by more than 75% of people in the city (Ichlangod, 2011). The name, Tulunadu, was used till the arrival of the Portuguese in 1498. Then, the Portuguese started calling the city, Canara. Later British took over Mangaluru in 1799 and called the city Mangalore. Muslims came to Mangaluru from Persia and Arab for trade. From the 16th century A D onwards Mangaluru was studded with the settlements of Arab and European traders and shippers (Rai, 2003). In the beginning, these were semi-permanent settlements where merchants from far-away regions stayed either to wait for winds to change or to collect cargoes (Jain, 1990).

Further, there is a saying that the city is the place of Parashurama. This land is also known as *Parashurama Sristi*. Parashurama was a Brahmin sage who was obliged by the sages to expiate the sin that he slew his mother by extirpating the Kshatriyas. Parashurama orders the Brahmins to settle in that land. As the water covered the land, he threw his mace (parasu) into

the sea, Gokarna to Kanyakumari. It is claimed that Parshuram brought Brahmins to this land and established them in 64 villages.

Mangaluru has been the place for many migrants. Havyak Brahmins migrated to Tulunadu. Bunts were the upper echelons of society who wielded power to accept or reject any immigrants. Bunt was a land owning caste, but welcomed all communities. As one of the Havyak Brahmins folk songs captures:

“To eat ghee-soaked rice aplenty, you go to Tulunadu  
The children of Tulunadu are indeed flawless  
Even as their rice is spotless” (Alva 2017)

It is said that this folk song was sent to their people who live in Sirsi and Siddapur. When Havyak Brahmins brought areca seeds to Tulunadu from Sirsi and Siddapur, they set up areca plantations in the new land. They demonstrated the cultivation and profitability of a commercial crop that was otherwise not well-known in Tulunadu. Till then, the region had been known for paddy cultivation and along with coconut and sugarcane. The areca cultivation transformed the economy of Tulunadu. As Eric Hobsbawm (1962) says, urbanisation and population movements go together. And this has precisely what has happened in the case of Mangaluru too.

As Ichlangod (2011) observes, Arab Muslims settled in the coastal area, there were intercultural marriages with the local people and the Arabs adopted the local culture and language. These Muslims are called Bearys as they were descendants of their Arab and Persian lineages. Ichlangod argued that some of the local people got converted to Islam.



Beary language is a mixture of Malayalam, Tulu and Arabic. Ichlangod (2011) says that more than 80% of Muslims of Tulu Nadu are Bearys.

## **II. Transformation of Mangaluru under Colonial Rule**

Krishna (2003), in his thesis<sup>viii</sup>, historically mapped how Mangaluru in the pre-colonial period was ruled by different kingdoms, like Alupas kingdom to the Vijayanagara, from Vijayanagara to the Keladi and from Keladi to the Mysore Sultan. All kingdoms altered the economic structure of the port town. Agriculture was one of the important economic sources of the city in the pre-colonial era. The land had been the centre of the rural relationships. Various rulers had adopted different policies to collect or extract revenue in the form of tax. So, various agrarian classes were formed as rich landlords at the top and insecure tenants and labourers at the bottom of the land structure. Bunts, who were landlords did not pay tax, instead, they fought for the kings on the war-field. The Brahmins were exempted from the payment of any land tax as they looked after the maintenance of temples. Further, rulers donated land to monasteries, Jain Basadis, to some relatives of royal families (Ramesh, 1970). Upper caste landowners extracted rent and free service without investment.

Mangaluru was known for its brisk trade before the British took over the city except for the restrictive trade measures of Tipu Sultan against his enemy countries, especially England. Although, Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan had encouraged the Arab trade in Mangaluru; the way the ruler provided tax exceptions and adequate security for merchants from other countries (Gopal 1971) proves how political support led to the economic growth in the city.

When colonial rulers replaced Tipu Sultan in 1799, the British brought a new culture to the city. There were two cultures, indigenous and colonial culture. Each culture has its

institutional system, including kinship, religion, education, law, recreation, values, and beliefs (Smith, 1965, p. 81). Roy (2020) points out that British colonial rule was not just another government. The new ruler did not come from an established ruling class. British were strangers to natives. The Indian economy was overwhelmingly agricultural, while the British were a mercantile population turning industrial by the end of the eighteenth century. Colonial rulers got new merchants, new policies, and new tax rules. It is important to notice that the British were committed to protecting trade and private investment. Encouraging mercantile model, economic activity and protection for private property set a way of the capitalist mode of production. India was crucial to Britain and the British Empire as a market for its manufactures, chiefly textiles, machinery, and metals, and as a source of food, migrant labour, industrial raw materials, and manufactured goods intensive in labour and natural resources (Roy, 2020).

British were not interested in starting industries in the city (Krishna 2003). They focused on export-oriented trade. South Asia began to experience two overlapping processes of change that transformed patterns of production and consumption at the end of the eighteenth century. This was the rise of colonial rule and the integration of the region in the emerging world markets for commodities, capital, and labour (Roy, 2020). British collected raw materials around the cities and exported them to England. Readymade material was sent back to India. The East India Company's commercial interests became deeply interwoven with its political ambitions (Watson, 1980). The British East India Company retained power for trade, later its trade privilege provided a way for the continuance of its power. This logical culmination of the mercantile - cum - imperialistic designs of the British worked well in Mangaluru (Krishna 2003).

Before 1800, Mangaluru could be identified as a port city<sup>ix</sup>. In the colonial situation, Mangaluru's trade and urbanisation grew along with colonialism. As the British had an economic interest in India, which is influenced by the philosophy of mercantilism, it kept favourable balance trade. In this larger political economy, colonial administration had emphasised ports and hinterland agricultural materials around Mangaluru city. The political developments also influenced urban growth in the colonial period. The British tried to restore political stability after the death of Tipu Sultan. Trade also prospered because of their control over Arabian Sea. The restoration of political authority on the west coast and the increasing mercantile activities led to unprecedented urban land growth. The core area (Bunder) continued to flourish, while several new areas also sprang up due to developed trade, crafts, education and industries. Ships loaded with commodities left from Mangaluru for England and other ports on the routes of intercoastal trade. Similarly, commodities imported from Europe and other British colonies were stored in Mangaluru. They then re-exported to various factories and markets on the Indian coast as well as other countries<sup>x</sup>. Rice, sandalwood oil, jaggery, coconut, salt, cardamom, chilly, paddy, iron, cane, cotton-thread, shawls, cloth, buffalo hides, mamties, etc., were the chief articles of import by land, white rice, coconut, pepper, salt, betel nut, cardamom, wheat, horses, etc., were the important articles of export<sup>xi</sup>.

The Mangaluru city growth was expanded by increasing density and population, as the city grew first into a trading place, then into a military and administrative centre, later expanded from a small centre for artisan-based manufacturers to international trade. At the same time, Mangaluru became the central point of trade for surrounding regions by sea and land. Colonial takeover marked an important stage in the city's development. Till now, all activities depended on rulers and officials; they got revenue from peasants and artisans. The new type of economic activity was based on commerce.

The British brought new administrative institutions such as the Collectors Office at Mangaluru which consisted of various offices like that of Sheristadar, Deputy Sheristadar, Gumastah, Moonshee, English Head Accountant, Deputy Accountant, English Writer, English Record Keeper, Jamadar, Delayat, Ructwan, Dufter-bund, Treasurer, Shroff, Duffedar, Peon, Mussagies, Sweeper, Toti, Bookbinder and Ink-Maker (Mohan 2001).

Most of the administrative head offices were established in Mangaluru. The Sub-Court was built in 1825. Mangaluru became centre for the judicial administration of the district. Mangaluru Municipality came into existence in 1866. The Webster Market was constructed in 1876, which is now called the Central Market, where vegetables and fish were available. District Munsif's Court was built in 1882. The Police Office was built in 1883. District Registrar's Office and District Board Office were built in 1884. District Court and Collector's Office were constructed in 1885. Taluk Office was constructed in 1896. Public Work Sub-division Office commenced functioning in 1912. The Sea Customs Office was constructed in 1913. The West Coast Electric Company first electrified the city in 1934.

During the century between 1834 and 1950, the trade, transport facilities, economic activity and population of Mangaluru, underwent expansion and change due to the arrival of the British and the Basel missions. This was reflected in the transformation of Mangaluru's physical shape and appearance. Settlements started to spread rapidly, especially when the industries were established elsewhere. When the British lifted the ban on missionaries to India, the Basel mission arrived in Mangaluru in 1834 and it remained in the city from 1834 to 1914. They established industries that can be classified into two phases such as first phase 1834-1852, second phase 1852 -1914. They experimented in industry and agriculture in the

early phase. Mission established industrial activities mainly based on local crafts. During this phase, the Basel mission made an effort to rehabilitate converts in agriculture (Raghaviah, 1990).

During the second phase, handloom weaving, tile factory, printing press were established. The Basel mission played a significant role in altering the structure of Mangaluru city. As soon as Basel mission established schools in the city, several other groups like Roman Catholics, Jesuits, Apostolic Carmel Society, Gowda Saraswath Brahmins and the Madras Government established several educational institutions.

Industrial growth had far-reaching economic and social consequences. Demographically, it generated a rapid growth in the population with high immigration. Until the 19th century, landless labourers and artisans from the rural areas and around the town created a considerable bulk of the labour force. Interesting changes in urban morphology were taking place with the establishment of the industries. The new industries were being established on the fringes and outskirts of the town. Labourers also started to settle down in areas around the factories (Balasubramanyam, 1967). Factories started to establish in the earlier rural areas within or on the fringes of the town, which before the setting up of factories, it used to be inhabited by agriculturists. With the establishment of factories and residential areas of the labourers, the rural areas were coming into the urban fold, and subsequently, physical urbanization was happening (Ray 1966). Some of the places urbanised with industries such as Kodialabialu, Balamatta, Jeppu, Kudroli. Thus, a concentrically conglomerated urban settlement with isolated linear extensions of handicrafts and trading settlements were taking shape.

The population growth of Mangaluru was not due to natural growth but because of population migration to the city. The British led mercantile economy encouraged commercial activities. Therefore, the exchange of the commodities, loading and unloading at the city port offered

employment opportunities in the army, mills, ammunition factories, railroads, dockyards, construction works, etc (Bhat 1993). Many people gave up traditional jobs and got employment in the tile and textile industries, railway and road construction works, and ship-building activities provided them with wider occupational choices. Thus, the trading and commercial, administrative, educational, industrial, medical and ship-building activities of the Government and private agencies in and around Jeppu, Bunder, Kudroli, Balmatta, Kankanady and Attavara accentuated the urban growth of Mangaluru.

**Table 2.1: Population Growth in Mangaluru city (1921-2011)**

Year	Population	Population increased in Percentage
1921	53,877	-
1931	66,756	23.90%
1941	81,069	21.44%
1951	1,17,083	44.42%
1961	1,43,000	22.13%
1971	1,65,000	15.3%
1981	2,01,000	21.8%
1991	3,46,000	72.1%
2001	4,19,306	21.1%
2011	4,88,968	16.6%

Source:(Rai 2015)

The population was increased by 23.90% and 21.40 % in 1931 and 1941, respectively. But the population increased by 44.42% in 1951. The rapid population growth was not natural; it was not a result of the increasing the birth rate but, was due to the migration that led to the rapid growth of the population. The city's population increased 22.13 per cent in 1961. Subsequent decades in 1971 and 1981, it has increased by 15.3% and 21.8% respectively. But as Table 3.1 shows, in 1991, the city's population had gone up by 72.1%. There are two reasons for this substantial increase in population mainly due to the agrarian revolution and industrialisation, beginning in the city in the 1980s. The land reforms legislation was implemented between 1965 to 1979. There were 3,52,662 tenants with 1,70,881 landowners in the Dakshina Kannada district<sup>xii</sup>. As the Monthly Report on Land Reforms Progress in Karnataka State<sup>13</sup> reveals, with the implementation of land reforms, 1,36,880 tenants benefited by the end of 1987. A large number of labour who lost the land and were working in the agriculture sector forced to move to the city. This aspect is discussed in detail in the next section.

### **III. Post-Independence Economic Restructuring and City Expansion**

#### **a. Land Reforms**

In the post-independent India, Mangaluru came under Karnataka state from Madras presidency. Indian state-initiated structural transformation such as direct and indirect measurements under planned economy to have a desired change (Poojary 1995). The direct measures included land reforms and land ceiling while indirect measures included monetisation of the economy and institutionalisation of private property rights; industrialising the economy; developing the pattern of extensive occupational specialisation and the formalisation of education; and institutionalising the democratic organisation of the polity

with its fully enfranchised citizenship and the multi-party system<sup>14</sup>. The first five year plan's objective was: one, to increase agricultural production by removing impediments in agricultural structure, and second, to eliminate exploitation and social injustice in the agricultural sector (Commission, 1951). That is why the land reform act was implemented by the then Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi, in the 1970s. The success rate of implementation in Mangaluru was higher than in any other district of Karnataka. The main landowners were the Brahmins, Bunts, Jains and the Christian community. The other castes like Billavas (Toddy-tappers), Mogaveeras (Fishermen), Nalikas (Scheduled Tribes) and many other castes were involved in cultivation, constituting the tenancy and agricultural labourers. Over time, the land-owning castes acquired modern education, secured government jobs, and thrived in the legal and medical professions, as the land-owning castes earned money; extensive land transactions took place during the first half of the twentieth century. It was primarily high caste owners who parted with their lands which were purchased by other members of higher caste families of landowners, money-lenders (Damble, 2002, p. 100). Until the land reform act was implemented, land tenants were tilling the land, now many tenants did not get land to till. So, many of them left agriculture and moved to the city for survival.

As the active tenant mobilisation and volatile protest in the name of Kisan movement against landlords during 1960s and 1970s took place, a political decision which is to implement land reforms act, changed the economic structure of Mangaluru city. When land reform act implementation got delayed, tenants got organised in the city. From 1957 to 1965 several raita-sangha (farmers organisations) were gathering in various parts of the city. There were sporadic agitations by riyat (tenants and agriculture labourers) in the city during the 1960s and 1970s (Gazetteer of Karnataka, 1973: 446).



There were 3,52,662 tenants and 1,70, 881 landlords (Census of India, 198, p. 512). As the protests intensified, there were sharp class cleavages but there was no caste conflict (Damle, 2000). The reason was none of the castes have a dominant majority and each caste lived in exclusion, even higher caste landowners and self-cultivating smallholders, tenants and poor labourers.

The effective implementation of the land reforms law resulted in making 1,36,880 tenants, land owners. The government claimed that the 1974 Land Reforms Act had provided 77.1% land to tenants<sup>15</sup>. The class struggle that took place between landowners and tenants and eventually changed the city's economic structure in Mangaluru.

Traditionally, most of the land was owned by Bunts, Brahmins and Saraswata Brahmins. Until the seventies, most of the economically wealthy classes supported the ruling congress party.

Christian, Hindu and Muslim who lost their land when land reforms were implemented in 1974, started migration to cities and towns of Coastal Karnataka, and then further migrated to Mumbai, the Gulf, Canada and Australia. As a result, Mangaluru has become a city contributing to the international diaspora which invest began heavily in the city's economy, which is why it is described as 'a remittance economy'.

Discontented landlords parted with Congress party as a result of the implementation of the land Reforms Act, and joined Jana sangh, which eventually became the BJP. The Bunts were erstwhile warriors and peasant caste in the city. They owned land over centuries, being loyal to Kings. The land reform act was a big blow for the Bunts. It was hard to digest the new law. For the Bunts, survival was a bigger question. They went out to travel far and wide to generate income and surplus. "By nature, Bunts are extroverts. When the Karnataka Land Reforms Act 1974 came into force, the youth started migrating to Bangalore, Mumbai and the Gulf in search of jobs. Their hard-working and creative nature found them various lucrative

offers. It's not just the hotel industry or other corporate jobs. Their attractive physical appearance, coupled with their creativity, found Bollywood and Sandalwood scouting for them as well," says Dr Indira Hegde, a national laureate<sup>16</sup>. "We cannot call it a social crisis yet, but the Bunts lost their lands in Mangalore and Udupi at a fast rate as the young generation kept leaving the heartland for careers overseas and to larger cities in India. There are about 10 lakh Bunts across the world, of which only 4 lakhs are residing in the heartland, compared to the 8.5 lakh population of the community in the region during Independence," says BLN Hegde, president, Bunts' Sangha. The youth moved in search of a jobs to Bengaluru, Mumbai and Arab countries<sup>17</sup>.

Bunts ventured into various sectors. Lokayukta Santosh Hegde, internationally renowned cardio-surgeon Dr. Devi Prasad Shetty, well-known ophthalmic surgeon Dr Bhujanga Shetty, multi-lingual film artiste Prakash Rai, background music wizard Gurukiran, supermodel and actor Aishwarya Rai Bachchan and emerging Sandalwood actor Shuba Punja. Bollywood actor Suniel Shetty, Shilpa Shetty, Shamita Shetty, and Shivadwaj, prominent philanthropists RN Shetty of Bangalore and SM Shetty of Mumbai. Now, Bunts have become an urbane community that tastes success in whatever it delves into.

Most of the tenants got land, but they could not be with the ruling Congress party. Many leaders belong to the landless community but numerically strong communities like Billava and Devadiga gave leaders like Janardana Poojari and Veerappa Moily who challenged landlords. These leaders may not be belonging to the wealthy community but through the democratic process, they were elected, eventually, they contributed to the growth of the city. So, it shows despite not having enough economic resources, politics became the base to bring change in the city.

Between 1961 and 1971, the number of tenants considerably reduced, but agricultural labourers enormously grew out of the agricultural sector by 42.1% (Damble, 1991). Because

all tenants did not get land. The landlords took away the land which was tilled by the tenants. The tenants and agricultural labourers left the agricultural sector. The agricultural labourers were absorbed in the household industry which witnessed a phenomenal increase of 77.5 per cent in 1961-71 and in the following decade i.e., 1971-1981, 77.4 per cent, which indicates a clear shift of labourers from the agricultural to non-agricultural sectors such as business, hotel, garage or automobile works, etc (Damble, 1991, p. 154).

The situation has changed since the 1960s in cities due to economic development of the preceding decade and the expansion of the market for handicraft goods abroad, which provided opportunities for them. Gradually generating savings out of increased wages flowing from the expanded quantum of work then available, at least a section of the Muslim artisans and craftsmen were able to work as small entrepreneurs and began competing with Hindu traders and craftsmen. Over time, Muslim craftsmen and workers are engaged as exporters of goods to foreign countries (Ahmed, 1984).

Export opportunities created by the sudden prosperity of oil-exporting countries have been a boon for some of these emerging Muslim entrepreneurs. A great deal was made at the Moradabad riots about the foreign money that has flown into Muslim hands from the export orders obtained from the Gulf countries, one of the leading buyers of luxury goods. This has added to Muslims' prosperity and economic visibility in the cities.

The growth of the tertiary sector effectively increased the wages of manual labours, which adversely affected small and medium cultivations. As the local labourer availability decreased which caused heavy inflow of manual labour from other districts of Karnataka, particularly Chitradurga, Davangere, Dharavada, Raichur, Bijapur, etc (Damble, 2002). Another reason behind the increase in the population by 72.2% in 1991 was the industrial growth in the city.

As far as the industrial growth is concerned, India altered its economic structure as it became an independent country. Land Reforms was not just an egalitarian or humanitarian move alone, but it also wanted to improve agricultural productivity (Poojary 1995). As workers were released from traditional bondage, they could not find employment in the secondary sector, which was still in the infant stage, therefore, a large number of workers, had been accommodated in traditional household industries.

Table 2.2 shows that employment generated in the secondary sector was only 15.31% in 1961 and later increased to 32.37 in 1991. Until 1981, the household industry dominated, 6.68% employment share in 1961 while other than household industries (that is manufacturing sector include small, medium and large-scale sector) shared 7.79%. The share of employment in the household industry was increased to 11.55% and 16.14 % in 1971 and 1981 respectively. In contrast, the manufacturing sector increased to 8.86% and 14.99% in 1971 and 1981 respectively. Therefore, the underdeveloped secondary sector forced labour to take their traditional occupation after land reforms.

#### **b. Growth of Manufacturing Sector in Mangalore**

There was a drastic change in the decade 1981 to 1991 in the manufacturing sector in Mangaluru as it increased from 14.99% to 28.13%. The manufacturing sector was underdeveloped when workers were released from land reforms, but there were no large-scale industries. To rectify that, the state developed modern small-scale industries. The Planning Commission set criteria to recommend the state governments for identifying the degree of industrial development. These were, per capita industrial output, number of factory employees per lakh of the population; and per capita consumption of electricity. The government of Karnataka applied these criteria to identify industrially backward districts with

some modifications. Based on these criteria, the government divided the state into three groups: Group I- industrially developed; Group II - moderately developed; and Group III - industrially backward.

**Table 2.2: Workers engaged in the secondary sector**

Sector	1961	1971	1981	1991
Primary and Tertiary sector	84.69	77.79	67.29	67.62
Secondary	15.31	22.21	32.70	32.37
1. Household industry(H.I)	06.68	11.55	16.14	01.09
2. Other than H.I				
3. Construction	07.59	08.86	14.99	28.13
	01.04	01.90	01.57	03.15

**SOURCES:**

- i) For 1961 and 1971 figures, Government of Karnataka, District Statistical Abstracts: Dakshina Kannada District, Mangaluru: Statistical Office, 1971, pp.112-117.
- ii) For 1981 figures, Government of India, Census of India - 1981, Series-9, Karnataka, Part III,A and B (i), General Economic Tables, Director of Census Operation, Karnataka, pp.242-245;
- iii) For 1991, Government of Karnataka, District Statistical Abstracts: Dakshina Kannada, Mangaluru: Statistical Office, 1993.

Dakshina Kannada District, though strong in terms of household industries at that time, was considered industrially backward and categorised under group III. Further, in 1980, the government of Karnataka identified 51 backward taluks in the entire state to promote modern industries by providing capital subsidies. The state government felt that the policy of backward-taluk approach to industrial promotion and development would be more useful and effective compared to backward-district approach. The state government identified three taluks of Dakshina Kannada District as industrially backward: Mangaluru, Udupi and Karkala. Once the industrially backward regions were identified, the State government — in addition to the Central government facilities — offered the new package of incentives to develop these regions industrially. The new package of incentives included the following: subsidy on the preparation of feasibility study for tiny and small-scale sectors, investment

subsidy, sales tax exemptions, development loans, pioneer unit subsidies, subsidies on electricity tariff, reimbursement of the cost of prototypes, subsidies for the purchase of generators, subsidies for procurement of know-how, reimbursement of the registration fee for promotion councils; and housing subsidies.

**Table 2.3: Allocation of small-scale industrial areas in Mangaluru**

Year	Plots	Acres of land
1984-85	41	30.50
1985-86	54	28.50
1986-87	55	27.50
1987-88	21	22.00
1988-89	14	7.50
1989-90	21	12.00
1990-91	43	19.75

Source: Government of Karnataka, Department of Industries and Commerce, Progress of Industrial Development of Dakshina Kannada, 1989-90 Mangaluru: Industrial Industrial Centre, 1990, p.3.

Mangaluru has many industries such as tiles, beedi, coconut oil, cashew kernel, food and beverages and manufacturing activities like rubber/plastic goods, wooden products, etc. The Basel Mission's establishment of tiles industries brought remarkable changes in the city's morphology (Prabhakar 1989). In 1865, the first tile factory was started at Jeppu, second tiles factory in Kudroli, named Kudroli Tiles Factory in 1882, and the third factory at Malpe in 1886. As Basel Mission earned profits, four more factories were set up in 1881 and more than 30 in 1910. During the 19th century, Mangaluru tiles and bricks were famous as the soil of the Mangaluru was suitable to make bricks and tiles. In Mangaluru also one can see that until the 1970s. By 1971, there were 43 tile factories in Mangaluru city. Annual tile production in India is more than 60 crore, more than 20 crores of tiles are produced in Dakshina Kannada

District (Mangalore Darshan 2015) alone. Tiles industry reached its peak in 1970, there were 43 tiles industries, but now reduced to 5 factories. At least ten factories closed down in 2007<sup>18</sup>.

The tiles industry has declined with the non-availability of quality clay and firewood in addition to a labour shortage and the city's inhabitants preferred concrete structures after the 1970s. Tiles were exported from Mangaluru to Arab countries and Gujarat during the 1970s (Devaraj, 2016).

Prabhakar (2001) points out that Mangaluru used to export tiles to Maharashtra, Gujarat and other countries, but later, tiles industries had stopped growth rapidly because of fuel subsidy, tax concession, and a good supply of electricity. Old machines caused high costs. Tiles industry had to compete with the alternative roof coverings like A.C.Sheets, concrete roofs etc. As the tiles industries were established in Gujarat and Kundapur, demand for tiles reduced which led to the growth of the beedi industry in the city.

### **c. Beedi Industry**

One of the major industries in the city was the beedi rolling industry. Mangaluru had become centre of a small scale beedi industry. Strangely, tobacco, beedi leaves and threads are not available in the city, yet, the city has evolved as the centre of the beedi industry. Tobacco from North Karnataka, threads from Gujarat and Tamil Nadu and paper from Mysore were brought to the city (Devaraj 2016). The raw material was distributed from home to home.

Before 1946, Beedi was running as a small-scale industry in an organised way. When there was a dispute between labour and owners, the beedi industry grew based on a contract basis. About 96 per cent of workers were women in the Beedi industry, between the age of 18 to 40 years (Iravattur, 2016). Most of the women from economically weaker sections was involved in rolling Beedi at their homes. It was a part-time, home-based job, it appeared as a negligible

job for many in the city, but women have significantly supported their family by involving themselves in the Beedi industry. One of the Beedi industry owners stated, that the Beedi industry has remarkably altered the economic structure of the Mangaluru city.

Women would make beedi and once in a week agents would collect the ready goods and they were paid weekly. This industry made a silent revolution in the city. Middlemen used to distribute raw material from home to home in their vehicles every week. Those who work in the industry used to get provident fund and insurance. Workers' children used to get financial aid for their children's education, health benefits from the employers. Around four to five lakh women got employment opportunities in Mangaluru city and the neighbouring villages (Devaraj, 2016, p. 283). In this way, the Beedi industry helped to improve the living standard of low-income groups in the city.

Ichlangod (2011) points out that Muslims were forced to accept Beedi labour as their occupation because the Muslim women traditionally remained secluded at home. Women were not allowed to work in the field outside of their homes. Father being the sole earner, had to feed a large family which pushed their family into extreme poverty and misery. For Muslim women, it became a blessing. The second reason was that many Muslim families did not send their children to school as the religious convention discourages them (Ichlangod, 2011). So both boys and girls are pushed.

There is no data on the year or decade wise growth of the industry but in the district, 1825 units were in 2005 and there was around 2.5 crore investment (Iravattur, Kigarike, 2016). These are few popular Beedi industries with names such as Prakash Beedi, Ganesh Beedi, Shani Beedi, Pilwan Beedi, Desia Beedi etc.



#### **d. Fisheries**

Marine fisheries are one of the major industries in Mangaluru. The fishery resources are estimated to yield around 4,25,000 tonnes per year (Government of Karnataka, 2000). It was one of the major sources of employment as well as a source of foreign exchange earnings. The fishing industry has undergone a major change. In 1950, the fishery was characterised as smallscale activity. But in 1966, a scheme for the construction and distributions of trawlers was introduced by the Dakshina Kannada District Cooperative Fish Marketing Federation of Karnataka. It aimed to increase fish production for domestic consumption and export. The fishery industry was modernised by various devices such as motorisation, port development, and providing new boats and fishing gear, resulting in a record rate increase in fish catch from the 1970s to early 1990s (Bhatta, Rao, & Nayak, 2003).

Shivaprakash (2016) argues that as fishermen's children got educated, they were able to borrow loans from the bank sector, and they also adopted modern technology to increase the fish products. In 2012-13, around 96000-ton fish was exported from Mangaluru port, it is worth 849 crores (Shivaprakash, 2016). Fishing was traditionally the occupation of the Mogaveera community but now other communities also work in the marine sector. Males go to get fish in the ocean while females are engaged in selling the fish from home to home. Fishing is usually done from October to May. From June to September fishermen do not go fishing as it is the breeding time. The famous fish market opens from 5 am to 10 am every day in Bandaru area of Mangaluru city.

#### e. **Food and Hospitality**

The hotel industry has been the alternative economic source during 1970s. As the feudal structures broke down, many erstwhile landlords moved to the hotel industry, which is one of the major industries for employment in Mangaluru. Brahmins, Konkani, Gowda Sarswat Brahmins led the hotel sector by starting vegetarian hotels. During the 1970s, under the brand name 'Udupi hotels', many hotels were established in the city as well as in other states in the country and abroad. The hotel was the monopoly of the Brahmins for a long period.

The poor Brahmins took up work as cooks and started hotel business in the city. The city dominated by Bunts, Billavas, and other backward castes however were looking to promote for non-vegetarian meal hotels too. Later Bunts and Billavas established non-vegetarian hotels as they migrated to Mumbai and Madras. Muslims established petty tea shops and fish meal hotels. The Bhatkali Hotel, which was known as for Biryani, was found in Mangaluru (Ichlangod, 2011).

Mangaluru has been grown an important city for medical facilities over the past few decades. The city offers best service in health sector. It has six medical colleges. The Indian Medical Association (IMA) Secretary, Dr. Kamath, says that there are over three thousand doctors in the city and nearly six hundred are registered under IMA<sup>19</sup>. The primary reason for people come to Mangaluru is that the city provides very economical medical treatment compared to other parts of the country. The cost of medical procedures is very less compared to the cost incurred in Bengaluru and other cities of India. For example, consultation fee for a reputed physician in Mangaluru would be around Rs 200/-. The same fee would be Rs 500/- in Bengaluru<sup>20</sup>. Therefore people staying in the Gulf countries, come back home for medical treatment, which is at nominal fees.

#### f. **Banking sector**

The banking is another sector that changed the structure of Mangaluru city. This city is known as the cradle of Indian banking. As industries, workshops and trade improved in the city; many small banks came into existence. Bank of Madras established its branch in Mangaluru in 1869. This bank used to serve only the rich and influential. Inhabitants deposited in the bank, but the bank later went bankrupt. As residences became economically better, they needed money lenders and kept money in a secured place. Gradually banks have been established.

There were 23 banks in the city, out of 27 nationalized banks in India. Four banks were born in Mangaluru city; such as Canara Bank, Syndicate Bank, Vijaya Bank, and Corporation Bank. There were 151 bank branches in 2000, but 220 branches are working in Mangaluru at present. As per the Reserve Bank of India (2013) data, out of 100 prominent banking centres in India, Mangaluru and Bengaluru got 37th rank and 3rd rank respectively. When the district population was 31 lakhs, bank account holders' number was 28.18 lakh, which is a remarkable achievement in the banking sector. Mangaluru city alone gave birth to 10 Banks. Three banks had been established in 1923, 1924 and 1925 on a community basis. Saraswati Samaja established Jayalakshmi Bank Ltd in 1923; Brahmin community established Karnataka Bank, Christian community established Catholic Bank Ltd on Festival of Sant Merry, each bank attracted their community account holders. All invested shares in their community banks. Though, there is no discrimination based on caste or religion, but in practice, all facilities are given to only Roman Catholics, their bank is the Mangaluru Catholic Co-operative Bank Limited (Tingalaya, 2016). There was competition, according to Tingalaya, where a politically influential landlord community, Bunts, established Vijaya Bank.

**Table 2.4: List of the Banks established in Mangaluru**

No.	Name of the Bank	Head office	Started on	Other Details
1	Canara Banking Coporation Bank, Ltd	Udupi now Mangaluru	28-05-1906	Nationlised in 1969
2	Canara Hindu Permanent Fund Ltd.	Mangalore Now Bangalore	01-07-1906	Nationalised in 1969
3	Canara Hindu Permanent Fund	Puttur	March 1920	Does not exist now
4	Pangala Nayak's Bank Ltd	Udupi	15-04-1920	By the family of Pangala Nayak, merged with Canara Bank
5	Jayalakshmi Bank, Ltd	Mangalore	11-10-1923	By the Saraswath community, Merged with Vijaya Bank, 1967
6	Karnataka Bank, Ltd.	Mangalore	28-02-1924	The only Private sector Bank of the District now
7	Udupi Bank Limited	Udupi	05-05-1925	Liquidated in 1956
8	Catholic Bank Ltd	Mangalore	05-06-1925	Merged with Syndicate Bank in 1961
9	Canara Industrial and Banking Syndicate, Ltd.	Udupi	20-10-1925	BY Upendra Pai, Madhava Pai and Vaman Kudva, nationalised in 1969
10	Mulki Bank, Ltd.	Mulki	15-07-1929	Merged with Syndicate Bank in 1961
11	Vijaya Bank.Ltd	Mangalore	02-05-1931	Nationalised
12	Bank of Mangalore, Ltd.	Mangalore	04-15-1931	Merged with Syndicate Bank
13	Kundapura Bank, Ltd.	Kundapura	12-08-1932	Not existed
14	Tulunadu Supply and Agencies, Ltd.	Udupi	02-10-1933	Not existed
15	Jaya Karnataka Banking and Trading company,Ltd.	Kalyanapura	26-11-1933	Not existed
16	Nagarkar's Bank,Ltd.	Mangaluru	25-09-1934	Merged with Syndicate Bank
17	Agricultural and Industrial Bank	Kundapur	07-11-1934	Not existed
18	Paimoney Bank(Private), Ltd.	Mangaluru	21-12-1934	Merged with Syndicate Bank
19	Atturu and Jawahar Bank Ltd.	Mangaluru	29-06-1939	Not existed
20	South India Apex Bank, Ltd.	Udupi	25-06-1942	Merged with Syndicate Banks
21	Maharashtran Apex Bank, Ltd.	Udupi	26-04-1944	Merged with Syndicate Bank
22	Prabhakara Bank, Ltd.	Moodabidre	28-03-1945	Not Existed
23	Netravati Grameena Bank	Mangaluru	10-10-1984	Rural Bank

Source: Poli 200, Page.119.

In 1974 when Land Reforms Act was implemented in Karnataka, it impacted the Bunt community in a major way. At this hour of crisis, Sunder Ram Shetty who is from the Bunt community helped mostly Bunts youth by providing jobs nearly 9000 individuals, mostly Bunts, in the Vijaya Bank.

One can see the political economy in the way the bank sector had emerged in the city. Saraswata Brahmins, Brahmins, Bunts are an economically wealthy community. Before independence, Saraswata Brahmins offered services in the British administration, so the British administration helped them to start their banks. Similarly, Brahmins established Karnataka Bank. Since Bunts were the rich landlords of the region, they started Vijaya Bank. It is not merely significant from political and economic angles, but also an important aspect from the religious angle too, where Christian, Saraswat Brahmins started their banks and provided loans for their community.

Among the Muslim community, Corporation Bank was established by Haaji Khasim Sahib, who was a rich trader in the city. Ammembala Subraya Pai established Canara bank. He was an advocate and social reformer. Dr. Thonons Madhava Pai, Shree Thons Upendra Pai, and Shree Vamana S. Kudvar established the Syndicate Bank. Initially, all banks reserved their share to their respective communities only, later extended it to all other communities.

**g. Other industries and Special Economic Zone in Mangaluru**

After the establishment of the seaport of Mangaluru in 1974, there was rapid growth in the city. A large number of micro and small enterprises, medium enterprises, large industries and mega industries came into existence. The large and mega-scale industries in the city included Mangaluru Chemical & Fertilizers, established in 1966; Kudremukh Iron Ore Project in 1976; Lamina Suspension Products Limited in 1976; Prakash Offset printers in 1983 for printing; Bharat Petroleum LPG Bottling plant in 1986; Hindustan Unilever Ltd in 1987;

Strides Arco Lab & Special Limited in 1995; Infosys Technologies Limited in 1995; BASF India Ltd in 1996; Mangaluru Refinery & Petrochemicals Ltd in 1996; Ultratech Cement Ltd in 1998; Total LPG India 1999; Rajashree Packagers Pvt. Ltd in 2000; Ruchi Soya Industries Ltd in 2001; Primacy Industries Pvt. Ltd in 2004; MPHASIS(India) Pvt, Ltd in 2005; Invenger Technologies in 2006; Infosys Technologies Limited, IT& ITS, SEZ in 2007; First Indian Corporation Pvt. Ltd in 2007; etc

As industrialisation was introduced by state and private owners, it generated employment opportunities. This is also another reason for the increase in population growth in the city in 1990. The government has selected a special economic zone (SEZ) in Mangaluru. SEZ aims to increase trade balance, employment, increased investment, job creation and effective administration. One of the largest SEZs in India is the Oil and Natural Gas Corporation- Mangaluru Special Economic Zone in Mangaluru.

Further, Sequent Scientific Ltd, is a pharmaceutical company manufacturing unit set up in Mangaluru. Syngene International, a contract research arm of Biocon, a manufacturing plant was set up at Mangaluru SEZ in 2020. Solara, a pharmaceutical company has its manufacturing plant at Mangaluru SEZ. Hindustan Unilever has set up a factory in Mangaluru which produces mainly Rin detergent. Suzlon has set up a wind energy generation plant at Mangaluru. Bakery and confectionery industries are found in the city. Primacy Industries Ltd. manufactures scented candles in Mangaluru.

The city has witnessed the growth of shopping malls too. Mangaluru as a shopping destination made great progress in the last decade. The emergence of malls has changed the face of the city by providing a cosmopolitan lifestyle. Earlier, all business used to happen in

Hamapanakatte, which is the heart of the city. But today malls seem to be at one place one finds all shops. Brands are associated with status, power and wealth and symbols attract customers. Brands like Nike, Reebok, Pepe, Adidas, Livi's Pantaloon and Fab india which were available only in bigger cities are now available in Mangaluru (Iqbal & Kumar, 2017). The mall culture was visible soon after the establishment of the Sibeem complex, which is a big commercial complex house with many retail shops. There is one supermarket name 'Zufri'. It was called a mall because it has some basic features of a mall-like children's play area, game zone, food joints, space for new product launch and also provides promotional space for exhibiting art, antique furniture, etc (Iqbal & Kumar, 2017).

A super market was started quite successfully by Adithya Birla Group, Nilgiris. People get many items under the same roof but it is not a mall but a new trend set mall culture. The Empire mall was established in 2007 on M G Road, Mangaluru. The empire mall fills the limitations of Saibeem complex and Super Market. This mall shook the entire Mangaluru with new brands, food court, centralised air conditioning system, escalator, lift facilities, walkways, parking facilities (Iqbal & Kumar, 2017). The success of Empire mall has led to the emergence of Bharat mall which is a bigger version of the Empire mall. It includes Multiplex theatres, Big Bazaar, Food Bazaar, Electronic Bazar, Furniture Bazaar, Pantaloons, Provogue, Book Mark, coffee day joint, Pizza Hut. Further, the success of the concept of Big Bazaar led to the surfacing of Easy Day and the Hypermarket. As the city natives started thronging, the City mall was started to woo Mangalurians with brands of international repute. This mall includes some international brands like Max, Westside, Citizen Watches, and lifestyle. The unique concept of this mall is to celebrate 'Indian and Local Festivals' to attract customers. The City mall is a bigger space than the Bharat mall and the Empire mall. Another mall is 'Capital Mall Asia' or 'Forum Fiza Mall'. This is one of the largest listed shopping

mall developers in Asia. Other shopping places are Time Square, Excel-Mischief Mega Mall, Golden Harvest Mall, Pio Mall, Mak Mall, Mangalore Central Mall, Plasma Mall, Golden Square, Inland Galore and Prestige Forum. The rapid change in mall culture and spending patterns of Mangaloreans indicate the huge growth in the city's economy.

Mangaluru has been considered a destination for education, which provides education in higher and professional courses. The city is also home to a wide variety of schools (details are discussed in the 5th chapter), engineering and medical institutions as well as health, management hospitality. National Institution of Technology, Suratkhil, is among the country's premier engineering colleges located in the city. The city is also home to medical institutions like Kasturba Medical college, A J Institute of Medical Science, Father Muller Medical College, KS Hegade Medical Academy and others that provide health care.

Mangaluru has all modes of transport like air, road, rail and sea. The city is considered the second largest business centre in Karnataka. Yet, the city did not grow as much as Bengaluru. The reason is, over the last three decades, Mangaluru has witnessed communal conflicts and violence, which hampered the industrial growth of the city. For example, hotel industries have declined ever since there was a pub attack in 2008. Another reason for the decline in industrial growth is that Mangaluru has hot weather conditions; employees do not prefer to work in the city.

#### **h. Real Estate**

The real estate industry started emerging in Mangaluru in 1990s<sup>21</sup>. The real estate industry of Mangaluru deals with residential and commercial properties in the city. Real estate companies are coming to the city with wide range of housing projects from 2 or 3 Bedroom, Hall, and Kitchen (BHK) flats to luxury apartments. The reason for real estate spurt are,



first, availability of properties at the centre of the city's locality such as Kodialbail, Pinto Lane, Kadri Bejai, and Kottara. Second, Mangaluru ranks 12th in the global list for healthcare, beating even some of the major cities in countries like Australia, Japan and the UK<sup>22</sup>. Mangaluru has some of India's most sought-after medical facilities, colleges, and hospitals. The wide availability of healthcare professionals, advanced medical technology and health infrastructure is also making it a booming destination of medical tourism. Third, Mangaluru offers an affordable range of houses to all classes, compared to other cities such as Mumbai or New Delhi<sup>23</sup>. Fourth, the city is an emerging education hub and has got some of India's major engineering and medical colleges like NITK and KMC. Lastly, the city is full of beaches, lush green mountains, and green hills.

**Figure 2.1: Mangaluru city view**



<https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.facebook.com%2Fmremng>

**Figure 2.2: Growing Real Estate Industry**



<https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.mangaluruonline.in%2Fcity-guide%2Freal-estate-industry-in>

In addition, there are work opportunities. Whilst most developers are local (although some firms with a national presence are now entering the local market), the labourers who build the buildings come from the northern part of the state, northern states of the country or even (it is whispered) Bangladesh<sup>24</sup>. The large real estate companies are Bhandary Builders, Raheja Universal, Mohitsam Complexes, Mahabaleswara Builders, Plama Developers, Vishwas Bawa Builders, Provident housing limited, Marian projects, Clavier, Prestige Group, Redrocks, Brigade Group, Shata Krishna, Godrej Properties, Rohan Corporation etc. The local politicians of city are on the increase more indistinguishable from the local real estate developers. land-owners are taking this opportunity for joint-builds with these same developers. Thus, Mangaluru is on the property map<sup>25</sup>.

#### IV. Social Structure, Cultural Ethos and Everyday Life in the city

The soul of Tulunadu (Mangaluru) culture is *Bhuta Kola*. Native Tulu population relies on spirit worship. So *Bhuta Kola* is central to understanding the culture of Mangaluru. It is a ritual dance of Tulu Nadu (Mangaluru). Along with *Kola*, *Pardhna*<sup>26</sup> is an important part of the Tulu culture. *Pardhana* tells the common people's heroic life story (Bilimale, 2008) and during the dance performance (*Kola*) the story is narrated. According to the legend, the poor were exploited by the wealthy class, so therefore the exploited poor come back to take revenge in the form of spirit. Understanding these ritual practices also gives an insight into the caste structure of Mangaluru society, and shows us which castes are at the bottom of the hierarchy.

Bhootaradhne means worshipping of nature or ancestors (Kootekar, 2012, p. 72) *Bhuta* name was given by Missionaries, Tulu people used to call their deity, Sathyolu. In the yearly ritual, the spirit comes to a man and set rules for village residences. Importantly, possession by the spirit is not preserved for a caste that learns scriptures; rather the spirit is said to possess only the lower caste that too, lowest caste in the caste hierarchy in the city. Moreover, every individual in the lower caste does not get that power. It is believed that some man who is bestowed with a special power gets possessed. This ritual is celebrated both in the city of Mangaluru and in the villages, in the outskirts of the city. In spirit worship, only flowers, leaves and rice are offered. The fact that it is always a lower caste individual who gets possessed also shows the caste-based differences in the society. As Dickey (2016) points out in her ethnography, one of her Brahmin respondents was discouraged by the priest to "possession was unsuitable for high-caste people, who typically value controlled and moderate behaviour. To let a deity inhabit her body meant she was temporarily not in control of herself" (Dickey, 2016, p.1). Folklorist K. Chinnappa Gowda<sup>27</sup> sees the ritual "as a form of

“catharsis” where the anger can be let out in a ritualised context. It is like a safety valve to prevent caste discrimination outrage from becoming a revolution”.

The city inhabitants draw inspiration from spirit worship. The very idea of spirit worship says that this land is *sathyada mannu* (soil of truth), meaning it is a land that does not tolerate injustice and lies. There is belief in protection from exploitation and a quick and affordable justice system to ensure that no one will snatch from those who have worked hard. According to local respondents, this idea of justice system helped the inhabitants to start a business, and local inhabitants benefited from spirit worship. Local inhabitants worked hard to compete with Basel mission. This confidence encouraged them to work hard, which eventually motivated them to progress in the city. Max Weber employs the term ‘calling’ as becoming a religious connotation of a task set by God. The concept of calling existed for all Protestants.

The city inhabitants are even today confident that they would get justice in the ritual dance which they may not get in the present legal system. The principal mediator between communities and the spirit is a community or tribe that lives most of the time in and off the forest. But they live in the city now. This mediator impersonates the spirit and is too reserved to Nalike, Pambada, and Parava communities who are the lowest caste within the caste system. The possessed man resolves the dispute between the conflicting parties. In a way, it is a native judiciary system; property disputes would be resolved in no time without spending too much money. It is believed that guilty would not get away without being punished. It is accessible to all. There is no need to pay money. No matter how strong a person is, economically or politically, justice is believed to be delivered. They might charge an extra amount for their service, but they do not cheat. Residents believe that it also cures diseases if

medical science fails to cure the disease. All castes would respect and touch the feet of the possessed man who is a lower caste individual.

It is observed that belief in this exists even today, buses or other vehicles stop in front of the temple and show respect, or sometimes money is offered in the donation box. Many vehicles have a name at the back of their vehicle's number plate, such as '*Koragajja*'<sup>28</sup>. Even today there is high respect for the *Kola*. And the local order is maintained through *Koragajja*. If they lost anything, they do not approach the police station rather they remember *Koragajja*. Even educated and youth follow the tradition. One can witness in the city, that near the *Koragajja* temple, people offer alcohol, *Chakkuli* (native snacks) and betel nut and betel leaf. There are 100 *Koragajja* temples in the city<sup>29</sup>. People can either approach the temple for the ritual or can also invite them home. One journalist writes: "The stage is a temple tucked between paddy fields on the outskirts of Mangalore. An industrial estate, a port, a Special Economic Zone and a petroleum refinery — all signs of the new India — surround the temple, where the tradition will come to life"<sup>30</sup>.

The caste system is quite different in the city. The caste inequality does not appear as a glaring trait of ancient Tulu culture (Alva, 2017). Bunts, Billavas, Mogaveeras, Brahmans, Bearys, Koragas are different communities that live together in the city. Bunts stood at the apex of economic power as they were owners of land properties. Bunts occupied neither the highest nor the lowest position in society. Bunts manage the institution of *Bhuta Kola*. Instead of Brahmans, the Billavas (a lower caste) played a major role in the worship of *Daivas* (deity), which was central to the Bunt as well as Tulu cultural beliefs. Billavas were largely connected to their ritual worship, that is why they earned the name *Poojary* (in Kannada *Pooja* means worship of deity), those who worship deity is referred to

as *Poojary*. Further, in all the rituals associated with birth, death or any auspicious occasions, washermen and barber castes would figure in them prominently. When we look at all these facts, we feel that social evils like caste discrimination, untouchability, and others did not exist in ancient Tulu society (Alva 2017). But one respondent says that the first time he invited Brahmin for the cradle ceremony of his nephew was recently. Because usually a Billava is supposed to perform the ceremony, the man drinks and uses derogatory words in public, so he avoided and called Brahmins<sup>31</sup>. This incident reflects how Tulu culture is changing. People of all castes had roles to play in Tulu culture. For example, the impersonation of the *daivas* during the ritual propitiation was the prerogative of people of the lowest castes like *Parava*, *Pambada*, *Nalike*, *Panoora*, *Kopala*. On those occasions when the landlord stood before the *daiva* to seek its blessings and assurances, those formal words were uttered by the lowest caste who impersonated the *daivas*.

With the coming of the Brahmins, who introduced the Vedic pattern of worship and later with the establishment of temple codes of ritual purity and impurity, untouchability, etc in temple rituals must have affected the normal fabric of Tulunadu. The blatant discrimination which we see elsewhere was not found in Tulunadu earlier. But its excesses were halted by the *daiva* worship, which was native to this land.

Folk worship in Tulunadu has been practised without interruption for centuries under the leadership of Bunts. Today, this worship has become a market of social prestige and pretension. But what is essential is the message of worship. So the ethos of spirit worship has become the base for Bunts and other communities of Tulunadu. Although many communities coexisted, Bunts community took leadership. Any written code or prescription does not govern its conduct and discipline. However, it is governed by specific unwritten codes or

customs that govern them. Residents draw inspiration from the value of Tulunadu to compete with Basel missions activities.

All natives do not necessarily follow Tulu culture. The city offers a rich diversity of religions and cults such as Vaishnavism, Shaivism, Jainism, Islam and Christianity. The city has several temples, churches and mosques, dargas. Though Muslims and Christians follow their religious script, still many Muslims and Christians follow Tulu culture. The Muslims worship two shipwrecked, Muslim traders Bobbariya bhuta (Bruckner 1995:31) and Ali Buta (Hikosaka, 1991). A pilgrim centre with a syncretic name — Bhagavati Ali Chamundi Kshetra draws Hindus and Muslims in huge numbers<sup>32</sup>.

The important temples of the city include Mangaladevi Temple at Mangaladevi, Manjunatha Temple and Matha of the Jogis at Kadri, Sharavu Mahaganapathi Temple at Hampankatta, several Mathas in the Car Street, Venkataramana Temple, Gokarnanath Temple at Kudroli and Brahma Baidarkala Garadi at Kankanady. The important Churches are Milagres Church at Hampanakatta, Rosario Church at Bolar and St. Aloysius Chapel at Bavutagudde. The important Mosques are Sayeed Shareeful Madani Dargah at Ullal, Jumma Masjid at Bunder, Idgah Masjid at Bavutagudde, and Badriya Masjid at Bunder.

Mangaluru is known for *Aliya Santana*. *Aliya Santana* is a system of inheritance which is dead for over half a century now. It was legally abolished. It applied not only to the Bunts but also to the Jains and other castes that had adhered to the matrilineal tradition in the city. Following the abolition of *Aliya Santan*, laws have been passed in conformity with the patriarchal system whereby properties are portioned among the rightful claimants. Thus, inheritance laws for Bunts are no longer conforming to the old matrilineal system, and they have joined the flourishing stream of patriarchy. Yet, what is astonishing is that Bunts even today adhere to matrilineal customs in their family relations and rituals. In marriage or rituals

associated with birth and death, the Bunts are patently matriarchal. Even today, married Bunt women would invariably mention their mother's family as hers and not her husband's. Once Bunts were wedded to the soil, but now many of them moved to cities like Bangalore, Mumbai or moved out of the countries searching for jobs or wider or better pastures.

**Figure 2.3: Muslim women taking help from Kola**



Various ancient traits mark the city's traditional culture such as Kola, Buffalo race, Yakshagna, Naaga puja. One can notice old tile homes as well as a contemporary model homes. It is also visible from contemporary city marks like pubs, malls, cinema theatres, universities, medical and professional colleges, apartments, better transportation service, banks facilities and information technology companies.



**Summary:**

This chapter discussed how Mangaluru city historically transformed during the pre-colonial, colonial and post-independence periods. How politics played an important role in restructuring the city from an agricultural-based city to secondary and later, how the city's economic activities rose in the tertiary sector. It has explained how the British administration helped Basel mission to arrive and initiate economic changes through agricultural experiments, industrial initiatives like tiles, weaving, and printing press. After the independence, the Land Reform Act had played a significant role in changing the social, economic and political structure of the city. The way government had recognised Mangaluru as an industrially underdeveloped city and the government's support helped to urbanise the city. It also discussed how mall culture, real estate, the growth of education and the health sector altered the city's growth story.

## Chapter 3

### **Educational Transformation in Mangaluru: A Historical Context**

Mangaluru has been a centre of various educational institutions, with about 144 primary schools, 52 high schools, 51 pre-university colleges, 79-degree colleges, nine engineering colleges, eight ITIs, six polytechnic colleges, 47 medical and paramedical colleges and five universities. This exponential growth of the educational institutions are not solely due to active role of government or private industrialists, rather it is due to various philanthropic individuals, and the community organisations, competition and cooperation among religious communities and castes, and their intent of protecting religious ethos of each other.

The Basel mission has arrived in 1834 and laid a solid foundation for the formal schooling system in Mangaluru. The Basel mission imparted Christian value based religious schooling to promote Protestant ethos. As a rivalry to the Basel Mission, Catholic Christians sought help from the Pope to establish Jesuit schools and colleges in Mangaluru. Apart from that other missionaries from Spain, and France set up schools to improve education in Mangaluru city. The city inhabitants established secular schools to protect their culture and ethos. Subsequently, Bunts, Brahmins and Konkani communities realized the importance of education by the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Further, the Billava and Muslim communities started educational institutions much later at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Apart from that the ambiance of *Tulu nadu*<sup>33</sup> culture played a significant role, being a matrilineal society, which provided an opportunity for the growth of women literacy across the religion and community in Mangaluru city.

#### **I. Pre Independence educational growth in Mangaluru**

The pre independence growth of education in Mangaluru can be understood in two phases, before Basel mission and after Basel mission. Before the arrival of the Basel mission to

Mangaluru city, historical documents say that as reveals that when William Adam<sup>34</sup> conducted an educational survey on India, and found that *Pathashala*, *Madrassa*, and Gurukula imparted education to all sections of the society. All district collectors reported the educational status of the respective district; but unfortunately, of undivided Dakshina Kannada (Mangaluru) the District collector did not provide a report on the educational status of Mangaluru. However, Aerya Lakshminaryan Alva<sup>35</sup> informs in his book ‘Hindana Hejje’(Foot Hill ) about the prevalence of education institutions before the arrival of the Basel mission. Before the arrival of the Basel mission, some rich Bunts had the practice of inviting teachers home. Sometimes teachers used to stay at home of the students to observe their learning. Further, some villages used to have ‘*Ayyanavara Garadi*’<sup>36</sup>, which used to function as a school (Alvas, 2017, p. 27). Alvas opines that sometimes Brahmin teachers would visit a Bunt household and impart rudimentary teaching on the sit out of the house or tell the students the stories of Puranas or recite Kannada *Kavyas*. In the early decades of the twentieth century, a few of the eminent Bunt householders had started schools in villages, although these schools were established for their children but others too benefitted in the bargain. The appointment of Timmappa as a school teacher after changing his name to Peter, who belonged to the Billava (lower caste) community (Prabhakar, 1998, p. 36) by the Basel mission in 1836, shows that there was an education system in Mangaluru before the arrival of the Basel mission. Otherwise, being born in a low caste family, it is difficult to understand how he got education before the arrival of Basel mission.

The Charter Act of 1813, passed by the British parliament, granted permission to Christian missionaries to entre India and preach Christianity. Within two decades, the Basel mission arrived. After the arrival of the Basel mission, they laid a solid foundation for the formal schooling system in Mangaluru. The mission’s goal was to spread the Gospel message to the entire world<sup>37</sup>. Since conversion was the main motive of the mission, it was hard to convert

inhabitants of Mangaluru as most of the Hindus were spirit worshippers. Missionaries thus found schools were the best way to spread the Gospel messages. Liberating individuals was not the intention of educational institutions which were established by the Basel mission. In order to attract the city residents, they tried to understand city culture and languages. They encouraged a local language that is why the first Kannada school was opened in Mangaluru in 1836.

The Basel mission made a comprehensive plan to convert local residents into Christianity. They established separate schools for Christians and non-Christians. Education for Christians consisted of primary and higher education. The purpose of education for Christians, as the Basel mission report says “is an essential duty of every Church... we do the utmost in power to establish primary schools in all our churches, so that even the poorest and the most ignorant may be brought up in the nature and administration of the Lord and may receive that amount of education that will enable them to read and understand the word of God and become intelligent members of the Church” (Mission, 1895). At elementary level, only Bible lessons were taught<sup>38</sup>. It was made an obligation for Christians to attend schools, as one of the mission reports says that “ the Christian elementary schools are obligatory on all our Christian children, boys as well as girls, and we take care that, wherever possible, children of Christian parents in out of the way places should not entirely go without instruction. Only the most necessary things are taught in these Schools, viz: Bible, reading, writing and arithmetic<sup>39</sup>. Another report says that “All Christian boys and girls are bound to attend these Schools, each station and most out-stations having one or several such Schools”<sup>40</sup>.

For Christians, nurseries were established particularly in industrial establishments. As missionaries converted natives into Christianity, these newly converted local dwellers lost their livelihoods as their community excommunicated them. In order to provide livelihood for newly converted city inhabitants, mission established tiles industries. When newly converted

inhabitants went to industries, converted parents were not really in a position to look after their children<sup>41</sup>. Therefore, nurseries were attached to all the Basel mission run industrial establishments. The Nurseries indeed helped the poor laborers of the various Mission industries. As the mission report of 1912 states, " nurseries are a great blessing in such places to the Christian congregation goes without saying, for not only are the small children kept there from the dangers of the street, but are also accustomed to cleanliness and orderliness and their interest in Bible stories and children's songs is not less than in the enjoyment they derive from their games<sup>42</sup>.

Along with that, Christian infant schools were established where children of less than six years of age and above three years were admitted. They were taught to play, sing songs and made to listen to biblical stories (Prabhaker, 1998, p. 106). The Mission also laid down a strict rule that the Christian parents should send their children, between six and fourteen years of age to schools<sup>43</sup>. The Mission's rule actually contributed to the increase in the literacy rate among the Christians, later which influenced other communities too to increase the overall literacy rate of the city.

Apart from the vocational schools, orphanages or boarding schools were also established for the poor Christians. Industrial schools were established to train workers in the Mission schools in the heart of Mangaluru (Balmatta) for the converted Christians. Needlework was taught to school girls. Night schools were set up in all the industrial centres. Two night schools were started for the apprentices of the Weaving Factory and Mechanical Establishment in Mangaluru in 1885. By 1886, two more night schools were started in the nearby Jeppu and Kudroli tile factory areas in the city. These schools greatly helped the workers to learn while they work for earning.

Missionaries were never interested in encouraging higher studies and were interested in promoting education till matriculation only. Rather interesting, the Basel Mission defended that South Canara residents were not interested to access college education. Actual intention was that the Basel Mission needed assistants to work in Christian institutions such as workshops and schools. By making them work in Christian institutions, the missionaries could also exercise control over them for spreading Gospel messages. They also emphasized that the Christians who studied in the Mission schools had an obligation to work at the mission establishments; seeking employment anywhere outside the Mission was regarded with disfavor (Prabhaker, 1998, p. 104).

Higher education in fact was provided for a selected few natives, who were willing to do evangelical work. As one of the reports says “it was not their responsibility to give education even to those who were not willing to enter the mission service”<sup>44</sup>. Another types of schools for Christians were middle schools, which were meant for training teachers to spread the mission work. The list of lessons taught in the middle Schools was as follows: “Sacred History, Catechism, Bible lessons, that is popular and practical explanation of Holy Scripture, Arithmetic, Geometry, Algebra, Universal History, the History of India, Canarese, English, Greek, Malayalam, Sanskrit and Singing”<sup>45</sup>. Besides, training schools were also established to train Christian school teachers.

The schools for non-Christians were seen as a means to impart Christian knowledge among the non-Christian children. Schools were seen as a long term investment. As reported in the Annual report of the Basel Mission (1873) “It is not to be expected that the labour bestowed on these schools will bear immediate fruits; we are sowing in hope and leave the rest to God”<sup>46</sup>. Further, another report (1874) says that the schools had a long term plan to bring Christianity: “The Bible is taught in all these Schools... Although the visible results in the

form of conversions are not frequent, we are confident that these Schools do not work in vain”<sup>47</sup>.

The Mission had an evangelistic aim clearly stated in the mission report for the year 1901: "Our Mission has always looked upon schools for non-Christians as a most important factor in the evangelism of India"<sup>48</sup>. This shows that the Basel Mission started schools to impart religious education to the young boys and girls of native converts on Sunday, and those schools were called "Sunday Schools". Those Sunday schools taught Bible for the children.

Anglo-Vernacular Schools were established for all castes, low caste as well as high caste Brahmin Students. The intentions of these schools were clear, nearly, to advance the conversion project and undermine Hinduism. According to the Mission report for the year of 1872, "These schools are established to bring those Hindoo youths under the influence of the Gospel who aim at a higher standard of education...we take great pains to impart sound secular instruction in them, yet we never lose sight of this chief aim... We have taken another step towards the principal aim of the school, which is to undermine heathenism and to sow the precious seed of the Gospel in the heart. Whilst a few years ago most boys of the upper class still defended their heathenish systems of religion with more or less vehemence, you may now sometimes hear them exclaiming. All the assertions about the Hindoo gods in our books are untrue ... very seldom attack their false religion in a direct way, but rather prefer the plain light of the Gospel to dispel their darkness"<sup>49</sup>.

It is interesting to note that the mission established schools specifically for Brahmin girls and for Panchamas (Dalits). Be it primary or higher education, the content of teaching in these schools was Bible. The missionaries always favored Christian teachers; there were very few non-Christian teachers in the Mission schools. "Though we do not have sufficient number of Christian schoolmasters, we still employ a considerable number of non-Christians, frequently

the former pupils of our mission schools—the Bible-lessons are of course always given by Christian masters, and it is our aim gradually to replace the non-Christian teachers by Christians” (Basel Mission, 1895). They appointed non-Christians because there were insufficient numbers of trained Christian teachers (Edona, 1940). Even teachers were employed as a tool to carry conversion in the city as the Mission Report says that ‘Once or twice a week all pupils go to the bazaar where one of them and some of their teachers preach to the heathen’<sup>50</sup>.

**Table 3.1: Basel Mission’s conversion number**

<b>Year</b>	Converted to Christianity	<b>Year</b>	Converted to Christianity
1847	762	<b>1862</b>	2969
<b>1848</b>	878	<b>1863</b>	3068
<b>1849</b>	995	<b>1864</b>	3191
<b>1850</b>	1153	<b>1865</b>	3227
<b>1851</b>	1366	<b>1866</b>	3392
<b>1852</b>	1578	<b>1867</b>	5384
<b>1853</b>	1713	<b>1868</b>	3591
<b>1854</b>	1862	<b>1869</b>	3772
<b>1855</b>	1952	<b>1870</b>	4209
<b>1856</b>	2015	<b>1871</b>	4371
<b>1857</b>	2060	<b>1872</b>	4727
<b>1858</b>	2247	<b>1873</b>	5057
<b>1859</b>	2548	<b>1874</b>	5284
<b>1860</b>	2733	<b>1875</b>	5757

Source: Basel Mission Report 1875, Page no. 10

Moreover, the day’s work is always opened with prayer in all these schools (Basel Mission, 1895). The mission intended to impart Christian values in education. It was also intended to project a hierarchy of religion, and Hindoo, had been looked down for their practices. These schools impacted the non-Christian schools. For instance, one of the reports mentions “As a



fruit of our Bible-lessons it may be pointed out that the morality of the Panchatantra will be changed into a morality more influenced by the fear of God, thus moral motives of a higher order will be introduced... a number of native officials, who have passed once through Mission Schools, are still under the influence of what they once heard about God and Christ in these schools.<sup>51</sup>” This is how initially education institutions were started to educate Christian boys and girls.

Major castes that inhabit the city of Mangaluru are Brahmins, Bunts, Billavas and Mogaveeras and minor castes are like Kulala, Devadiga, Ganiga, Gowda, Pambada, Nalike. First, the missionaries converted Billavas to Christianity, who are low caste and then Bunts who were landlords. Agricultural land was provided to the newly converted Christian as an economic incentive to carry out cultivation. The schools run with the profit accrued on agricultural land which then was reinvested in schools.

Unlike the other Christian Missionaries, as the table 3.1 shows, the Basel Missionary did not go for mass conversion of lowest castes. Though, the number was insignificant, it was efficient to disturb the city demography. The converted economically influential castes like Bunts, a few Brahmins, government employees and lower castes-like Billavas. They did not work with lower castes in the beginning, but later they worked. The Basel Mission realized the newly converted residents might get segregated and to prevent social exclusion and to refrain them from going back to their community they made a comprehensive plan.

It was mentioned in the missionary reports and also the Mangaluru Darshana that to the inhabitants of the city understood the Christianising project of the Basel Mission through establishing schools, factories, etc, and that the Hindu natives got agitated. As a result, the higher strata of the Mangaluru society started to establish their own schools.

The Christian religious nature of education and showing special preference to Christian students thus gave rise to a demand for secular education by the native people. Local people expressed concern for secular education which included local culture, languages (Mallipattana, 2016: 420). At the same time, city dwellers wanted English education but were clearly not in favour of Christian missionary schooling. Therefore, they formed a committee, with M. Ramappayya, Shrinivas Rao, L.Ramchandryya, N Sundar Rao, N Timmappaiyya, Saadarkhan, C.Rangappa, Naryana Pai, T.Muttuswamy Iyyangar as members in 1864. They decided to collect donation across the district from Rs 1 to Rs 3000 from *Mattas*, employers, farmers, local residents (Mallipattana, 2016: 420). The committee collected Rs 65,000 and submitted to Madras presidency for establishing a provincial school in Mangaluru city. A provincial school was thus established in 1865 in Mangaluru on the principle of admission to schooling irrespective of caste, community and religion. In 1879, the name of the provincial college is renamed as the Government College, again its name changed to University College, Mangaluru.

The Mission schools had 56.1% non-Christians in 1862. It got declined to 28.3% by 1872. The reasons were: first, there was a lack of Christian teachers in the vernacular schools<sup>52</sup>; Second, as the missionary schools grew in popularity and strength, Hindus belonging to higher strata of society started their own schools because of their suspicion that Christian schools were propagating the Christian faith and religion<sup>53</sup>; Third, the new government school teachers went on door to door campaign saying that in the Mission schools only “Padris” books were taught<sup>54</sup>.

The Basel Mission had 16 schools in 1896<sup>55</sup>. In 1911, there were 24 schools in Mangaluru<sup>56</sup>, which became 58 schools by 1928, and by 1947, there were 32 primary and higher primary and three high schools (Prabhakar 1998, p.126). The reason for decline of the Basel Mission was that it was not able to compete with its rival schools. Money was not the main motive of

the Basel Mission. So, its rival educational institutions were much organised and the Basel Mission could not compete with them. As one of the Basel Mission reports<sup>57</sup> reveals that, in 1880, two rival schools were started almost simultaneously, one was established by the Jesuits and another by the city Municipality. Roman Catholic students left the Basel Mission schools and took admission in Jesuit schools as these schools were attractive. In order to retain students, the Basel Mission provided fee relaxation. As the number of students in Basel Mission run schools declined it announced that the school fee was entirely free for those who attend these schools. It was against their policy as it was reported “We do not believe in free education, for, as a rule, people will only value what they pay for, but our school-fees are much below the usual rates and, in the case of very poor children, they are defrayed from the Poor-fund<sup>58</sup>”.

It may be noticed that the relationship between the Jesuit school established by Catholics and the Basel Mission schools were founded by the Protestants. The Basel Mission established elementary schools in rural areas while Catholics set up higher education in Mangaluru city (Ushadevi, 1998). Some important institutions started by the Catholics were St. Aloysius and St. Joseph’s schools and Colleges in Mangaluru. In 1867, because of the opposition on the part of the people in Mangaluru against the religious instruction in the Anglo-Vernacular school, the Basel Mission decided to close down some of the schools. The rupture these existed around that point only.

The setting of mission schools was not completely an unplanned process. It is often also due to rivalries between Christian churches (Horowitz, 1985, p.153). The Baganda become highly educated community in Uganda because missionary schools were confined to Kampala where Baganda are located (Richards, 1969, p. 45-46). The Bakongo of the Congo, the Ewe of Togo, Mpongwe of Gabon, Nyanja in Zambia all are benefited with missionary education and

all of them converted for educational advantages and clerical job under colonial rule (Horowitz, 1985, p.154).

Further, Canara girl's school was established to educate girls in 1894 by Sarswat Brahmin community. Basel Mission too started higher education from 1897. As Prashant Madta (2016) describes, St. Aloysius collage played a key role to expanding formal school in Mangaluru. For higher education the city dwellers supposed to either go to Mumbai or to Madras presidency and these were cities which were too far from Mangaluru. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Uttara Kannada district belonged to Mumbai province and Dakshina Kannada District came under the Madrass province. Mumbai Christians got education in Christian colleges and became rich by joining the British government, and this made the Mangaluru Catholics to mull over to have similar education institutions in Mangaluru too. Thus, about 18 Christian members under the leadership of Shree A.J Kuvelo wrote a letter to the then Pope with 250 signatures to open a Jesuit<sup>59</sup> educational institution in Mangaluru in 1874. As a consequence, St Aloysius College was found in 1880. This school welcomed all sections of Mangaluru residents. The Hand Book mentioned that not only Christians but also all religious students can take admission as there was no need to attend a class which is compulsory for Christians. St. Aloysius College was upgraded to first Grade College in 1887, as it was the only one college in Mangaluru at that point of time. Subsequently, there were many Christian organisations such as Apostalic Carmel Samsthe, Milaagris education institutions, Bethani institutions, Sister of Charity established schools in the city.

As Basel missionaries spread the Gospel messages across Mangaluru city, initially, conversion of Bunts and Billavas went smoothly but agitation started when a Brahmin priest got converted which provoked the entire community. During the period of 1869 to 1875, hundreds of Billavas converted, which was known as *Tulu* movement<sup>60</sup> by Basel Mission. Most of the Mangalureans speak Tulu language, which is why the conversion movement is

referred to as Tulu movement. In order to check the growth of missionaries Brahmo Samaja was established in Mangaluru in 1870 (Narayana, 1983). On the one hand, the uneducated Billavas got converted in rural areas, but on the other hand the educated Billavas protested against the missionaries with the support of Brahmo Samaja in Mangaluru city (Narayana, 1983, p. 87). The Tulu movement has restricted the Missionary work in Mangaluru by organising Brahmo Samaja. In 1903, Brahmo Samaja advised the dwellers not to send their children to missionary schools as they indoctrinated Indian young generation with Christian ideas<sup>61</sup>. Further, the Brahmo Samaja established a school at Nireswaly near a Missionary school in Mangaluru city and advised residents to send their children to Brahmo Samaja schools<sup>62</sup>. Apart from that, Annie Besant called Hindus to establish their own schools<sup>63</sup>. This incident gave birth to schools for Hindus. For example, Gowda Saraswat Brahmin (GSB) girls did not get admission in Christian run schools, so a man from GSB decided to start a school. The man met Annie Besant and she inspired him to start a school, today it is known as Annie Besant School and college in the city.

As Chandrakala Nadavar (2016) points out, the Saraswata community played a central role in educating Hindus in Mangaluru city. This community neither know about farming nor trade. Learning was their occupation. The legend is that the community originally lived on the bank of Saraswati river in North India, and as the river dried up, they migrated to South India. When the British administration started schools in 1801, Saraswat community first received school education and, being an upper caste, they developed a good bond with the British administration, so the British provided them with jobs in education, police, revenue, judiciary and other departments. The Saraswat community has been influential in every village wherever they lived. The community had a meeting to establish a secular school in Mangaluru in 1869. Subsequently, the community established Saraswata Samskruta School in 1870 at Shree Umamaheswari temple, later the school renamed as Ganapati Shaale. Even

today, it is running in the same old building itself. The school provided admission to all castes and religions, especially for Dalits (Nadavar, 2016). Saraswat community played a crucial role in collecting total money of 65,000 to establish a provincial school in 1865. "The period (late eighteenth and early nineteenth century) was marked among the Saraswats by a reaffirmation of ancestral dharma, but it was also a time of confrontation with new knowledge and values. Foreign missionaries offered increasingly valuable English education to those anxious to advance in government service, but at the price of exposure to another religion. The threat of religious conversion put Saraswat families on the defensive, and ultimately pushed them into Canara's first organized political mobilization-a campaign for the establishment of a government school at Mangalore"<sup>64</sup>.

The school is administered by the Saraswati Education Society. The community has also established hostels for lower caste students. In 1908, as the government ordered to hand over this school to Basel Mission in the wake of economic crisis, the community took it as a challenge to run the school by collecting contributions from people. The objective of this school was to impart Hindu Samskruti. Promoting spirituality instead of making the children divide along the lines of caste, creed and religion was the schools goal. Later, that school was shifted to Field Street near Mahmmyi Deval pond where the Christian missionary school was set up. This community is responsible for establishing Brahma Samaja and Theosophical Society in Mangaluru to stop the Basel Mission Christian project in schools.

The Canara College Principal, M S Malini, reveals that "girls used to get married soon after their primary school"<sup>65</sup>. So they started high school, even today the association is known as the High School Association. Raghavendra Rao (2016) explains that Canara education institutions were established in 1891 by Ammemballa Subbaraya Pai. Along with him, five teachers like A. Vasudev Rao, B.Padmanab Baliga, A. Padmanabayya, B.Vaman Baliga, and U.Srinivas Rao resigned from their jobs and started education institutions. So they established

a school in front of Kodiyal Bail Church in 1891. Today, there are 16 institutions; more than 10000 students getting education. Since the students used to come from villages, and plague and typhoid diseases were common, they found that establishing a hostel was the best solution. Therefore, in 1904, hostels were established. However, it was Gowda Saraswat Brahmin community school, which provided education to Hindus, Muslims, Christians, backward castes at lowest fee possible. In 1894, Canara Girls School was started by Subbaray Pai. Since school was not collecting a fee from students, they started a new concept called 'Musti Fund' (fistful money) many homes used to provide rice for the girl's education.

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, another transformation took place in the form of Bunts Association. As mentioned earlier, Bunts are land-owning castes who had coexisted with other castes and were a bridge that could connect the higher and lower castes of the society (Alva, 2017). Apart from them, Jains and Brahmins won the land and Billavas were numerically in majority and Mogaveeras (fishermen) numerically next to Billavas. Bunts played an important role in the educational development of Mangaluru being economically strong. They did not generally prefer a government job where one has to do somebody's bidding (Alva, 2017). Aerya Lakshiminarayan says that the Bunts realised that just land and wealth is not held out the future, but it is the knowledge that will help them. This realisation of the importance of education gave rise to Bantara Yaane Nadavara Sangha<sup>66</sup>. About 37 landlords held a meeting in 1907 to prepare a blueprint to offer education to Bunt youth. They started a hostel in 1908 called as Shri Ramakrishna Vidyarthi Nilaya or Bunt's Hostel. These hostels were not built for the children of the landlords; rather it was for the poor Bunt students who came from the villages. Since accommodation was available, a decision was taken to admit non-Bunt students too as inmates of the hostels (Alva, 2017).

Other communities emulated the Bunt model of educational support to their own community members. In 1915, some educated and well-off Brahmins started an association of their own,

called “Dravida Brahmana Sabha,” which bought a piece of land in Kodiyalbai, built a hostel for Brahmin students (Alva 2017). In those days, the Shanika Brahmin was not quite treated as equal by the other Brahmins. Therefore, Shanika Brahmins rented a house later built a hostel for their community students. Thus, the construction of hostels for their community made by the Bunt pioneers had many beneficial imitations in Mangaluru. Similarly, Annie Besant education institutions, Hindu Vidya Dahini educational institution in 1915, established schools for Hindus.

The religious and caste based education institutions awakened Muslims as well. In the beginning Muslims were reluctant to recognize importance of school education. Muslims were disinclined to attend schools as they thought that attending secular education might spoil the religious mind of the Muslim child. It was seen as *Haram* to impart secular education. Therefore, Muslims lagged behind in education. The same observation was made by Arshad Alam (2011) in his book ‘*Inside a Madarasa*’. Alam points out that Muslim families have a different understanding of education that *talim* (education) should go along with ‘*tarbiyyat*’(Character). Schools are concerned with education but do not pay attention on building character in children. Those who attend madrasas are ‘well behaved’, do not ‘talk unnecessary’, became *hoshiyar* (mature) (Alam 2011, p.148). According to Alam, many parents argued that the schools are *la-deeni* (non-religious/secular), that only Islamic education builds among children the character.

As Ismail (2016) opines, Muslim community in Mangaluru had begun to discuss establishment of a school in 1900. As the wealthy Muslim families in the city realized the significance of education, three men specifically, C.Mahamood Saheb, Haji M.Kuyamu, and Haji M. Moidinabba, established an institution called Madrasatulla Badriya in 1924. Later, Badriya primary school was opened in 1928; this was the first school run by Muslims in



Mangaluru city, and also in the undivided Dakshina Kannada District. After 1928, there was stagnation in the spread of schools from Muslim community until 1970s.

The driving force to establish educational institutions were religion, power, and economy. As discussed earlier, the very beginning of educational institutions started as a means of conversion by the Basel mission, but gradually the protests against it led to the starting of secular schools. The very term 'secular' itself says these newly established schools reject missionary schooling and set a competition in the education field in the city. It is important to notice that despite the fact that Mangaluru city was economically backward (Dharmpal 1983), the people's initiative to collect an amount of Rs 65,000, is quite significant. It also implies that the native residents realised and exhibited zeal and enthusiasm to establish schools. This is clear in the school prospectus that all castes and religious students are admitted.

### **Caste as a significant aspect of educational growth**

Along with the religious dimension, power is an important factor. To establish a school one needs to have political support. While the British were ruling, they extended support to the Christian missionaries. If the British were not supporting them, the Basel Mission could not have continued to engage in the conversion through educational activities. Converted used to get a job, that job was created with the help of land which was donated by the British.

As discussed earlier, Saraswat Brahmins and Bunts started most of the secular and non-Christian schools in the city. Gowda Saraswat community had no agricultural land as they migrated from North India. They were said to be good at learning, and therefore got benefitted by the British schooling. Since Gowda Saraswat Brahmins got schooled first, they were given the employment in the British rule. They had built a good bonding with the British and got permission to start schools and also engaged in the trade activities. Even

today, this community plays an important role in providing schooling and business in the city. Another community, Bunts have been historically well off, and that allowed them to start schools and colleges, especially hostels. They emphasised on the poor and rural students for giving them free schooling. Even today, Gowda Saraswat Brahmins and Bunts are influential in both economic as well as political spheres of the city. The schools and colleges established between the years 1836 and 1960 can be considered largely derived from religious contestation and caste aspirations.

## **II. Educational Development in Mangaluru post Independence:**

Today, in 2018, there are 144 primary schools, out of which thirty six schools are run by the government<sup>67</sup>. Out of thirty six schools, thirty two schools were established before 1962. Only four government schools were established between 1962 and 2018. There are 49 unaided schools, at present, however, there was only one unaided school established in 1885, and the remaining 48 schools were established after 1961. There are 41 aided schools, out of which only one school was established in the year 2000, remaining 40 schools were established before 1965. There are 52 high schools in which 48 schools are private. Out of 51 Pre-university colleges, 45 are run by the private sector. There are 67 private degree colleges and two government degree colleges. Out of 8 B.Ed, Colleges, one is government and remaining are private colleges. Out of eight engineering colleges one is Government College and remain seven are private colleges.

All seven medical colleges in Mangaluru city are run by private managements, Kasturba Medical College, was India's first private medical college established in 1953. Mangaluru and Manipal became a health hub because of A.B Shetty actively participated in politics, with his influence he brought India's first private medical college. As a result, Mangaluru city

alone accounts for 47 medical and paramedical colleges, all are run by the private sector. Remaining medical colleges are established after 1990. Five dental colleges' one Homeopathy College and three pharmacy colleges are also run by the private sector. Out of fourteen physiotherapy colleges, one is run by government and the remaining thirteen colleges are in the private sector. All twenty one nursing colleges are in the private sector.

**Table 3.2: List of Educational institutions in Mangaluru city**

Institutions	Number of Institutions
Primary schools	144
High Schools	52
Pre-university colleges	51
Degree colleges (Private colleges)	63
Degree colleges (Govt(under Mangaluru University )	2
B.Ed colleges(under Mangalore University )	8
Autonomus colleges (under Mangalore University )	4
Law College	1
University Constituent college	1
Engineering Colleges	8
Medical Colleges	7
Dental Colleges	5
Homeopathy College	1
Pharmaceutical colleges	3
Physiotherapy colleges	14
Nursing Colleges	21
Polytechnic colleges	6
Universities	5

Source: Mangaluru Darshana, 2016

There are five private polytechnic colleges and one run by the Government. Out of eight ITI colleges, two are run by government and the remaining two are run by private management.

There is a link between Mangaluru's growth as an educational centre and the restructuring of the city economically. In other words, one of the strong reasons for the incredible economic restructuring can be attributed to the effective implementation of land Reforms. Since Mangaluru was predominately an agrarian economy, the implementation of the Land Reforms Act brought a remarkable change in the socio-economic structure of Mangaluru during 1965 and 1979. After the implementation of the Land Reforms Act in 1973, schools have come to be treated as business entities. Land less labours got land so they were able to send their child to schools. The 1981 Census indicates that 3, 52,662 tenants with 1, 70,881 landlords (Damble, 2000). The Census of India, 1961 shows that in 1957, there were 4, 90,571 tenants in the entire District. In other words, before the implementation of the Land Reform Act, more than 70 % of cultivators were tenants (Damble, 2000). The government claims that success rate of the implementation of the Land Reform Act was 77.7%. That is, about 77.7 % of tenants got to land.

A substantial portion of agricultural labours was absorbed by household industry. This indicates a clear shift from agricultural labour to non-agricultural labour such as business, hotel, garage or automobile works, etc. This process has changed the socio-economic fabric of Mangaluru. As for the government records, 77.7% of the surplus land was distributed and these small landowners could send their children to schools and colleges. In other words, the acquisition of land by the tenants helped them afford education for their children, who emphasis on education for their children. This can be one possible explanation for explaining why there are a large number of private schools and colleges in Mangaluru in the post 1970s period.

Since these education institutions provided many opportunities for their own caste and religious communities, lower castes were largely left out and could not get any educational opportunity. That is why Narayana Guru Education institutions were set up in 1977 to cater to lower caste communities like Billavas and other communities at free of cost. At present there two sections of primary and secondary and two for Pre-University and Degree colleges run by the Narayana Guru Trust.

Unlike Muslims in other parts of the country, the literacy rate of Muslims in Mangaluru is better. As they observed other community's progress in education, they too started to establish community based education institutions. As they economically got better, they wanted to send their children<sup>68</sup>. Beary states that since the Muslim children were not good at study, Christian schools did not provide admission to Muslim students. Consequently, some of the community members took initiative to start schools and colleges for the benefit of children from Muslim religious community.

There was stagnation in the growth of Muslim education institutions until 1980s. B.A Moideen<sup>69</sup>, a local politician, has played significant role in bringing education revolution among the Muslim community in the city. He was a Minister for Higher Education in Karnataka from 1995 to 1999. He reflects about his early days, the state of affairs of his society, about the illiteracy and poverty among Muslims in an interview with the researcher. He shares his life experience that his father was an illiterate; but his sons were encouraged to pursue education. His daughters remained illiterate because they were forbidden to go to school at that point of time. It is not only his family, but it is the entire group of Muslim women who were deprived of education. He refers to Islam that it urges women to seek knowledge. He began to realise that women should come out of their ignorance, superstition and shackles of exploitation, which is possible only through education.

Moideen continues to observe that “I mooted an idea of general education in Madrasas combined with religious knowledge. We started nursery classes for children. This was started in my own village. The thought of starting a school met with resistance from the conservatives within his community around in 1980’s. It however, caught the imagination of the community at large with, hundreds of young men joining this movement”<sup>70</sup>.

Since all Madrasas used to function from 7 am to 9 am in the morning and 6 pm to 8 pm in the evening, the remaining hours it would remain vacant. For saving crores of investment on infrastructure of schools, Mosques were used as centres of education. Later, Muslim community formed the trusts and associations in 1985. Badriya was only one school for Muslims which was established in 1922. Until 1978, there were no schools from Muslim community except Badriya.

Third most important point is the acceleration of spread of modern technology and the industrial development which led to the migration of people on a large scale from rural to urban centres. There was migration from India to West Asia and South-East Asian countries. India had surplus labour while West Asia and South Asian countries were in need for skilled labourers. It strengthens the economic activities in the city. The migrants occupy the lower rungs of the status and the socio-economic ladder and from permanent sources of political discontent (Naidu, 1980, p. 6).

As people moved to Arab countries for jobs, they could earn money and pay fee for their children. And many of them thought of establishing schools like Christians and Hindus. This has resulted in Muslim mushrooming of schools run by Muslims in the city. Today, there are 125 Muslim run educational institutions. It was also observed in other cities, a large number of Muslims in Kota city had moved to West Asia and they have acquired a measure of prosperity in 1970s and 1980s (Engineer, 1989).

Further, the left movement was very strong until the 1970s in Mangaluru for two reasons, first, Mangaluru city has shared a border with Kerala, where left ideology was forceful, and second, there were some industries, where labours movements were on. As a result of the left political movement, many landless labours got land so that they could send their children to school in the 1970s. Secondly, migration made the people realize the importance of education while working in Arab<sup>71</sup>. So Mangaluru workers got motivation from the Arab to send their children to school so that their child does not work as their parents doing manual labour. This gave a huge boost for economic change which led to the educational transformation in the post independence era. At the same time, entire country in general, and Mangaluru, in particular, witnessed the sudden growth of educational institutions in the 1990s.

### **III. Post 1990s growth of educational institutions**

In order to understand the rapid growth of educational institutions one needs to recognize the context of neo-liberal reforms in India after 1991. Under the structural adjustment programme of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund imposed neoliberal policies on borrower countries in exchange of loan, neoliberal economic policies were imposed on African and Latina American countries since 1980s. However, as India borrowed a loan in 1991, it too has to adopt neo liberal policies and macro-economic reforms by liberalising trade barriers, privatize public industries and deregulating markets to promote foreign investment. Therefore, neoliberalism as a distinctive policy regime drove the present phase of capitalist globalization (Harvey, 2005; Nef and Robles, 2000). Nef and Robles (2000) points out that the program of neoliberalism re-establishes the rule of the market; deregulate the private sector; privatize the public sector. As a result of neoliberal policies from 1990 onwards the educational institutions mushroomed abruptly in Mangaluru city.

The impact of “neo-liberalism” can be seen in educational sector as well. The 1990s helped in the rapid growth of private higher education and emergence of large scale markets in higher education (Tilak, 2014). India has signed the World Trade Organization (WTO). The WTO has a considerable impact on the higher education system in Indian context. The WTO policy was against the use of public financial support for a growth of higher education.

School education and Higher education are mainly two categories of Indian education system. School education is divided into section primary and school education. After completion of school education higher education would be provided. Apart from the government-aided institutes, a large numbers of private institutes have come into being after 1990s. Privatisation has been made both at secondary and higher secondary level. <sup>72</sup>However, they are necessary to take recognition from the government. Private societies or trusts/ individuals run schools. But they are affiliated to a board set up by the government.

In the annexure shows that after 1990s, medical colleges, dental colleges, physiotherapy, nursing colleges, Hotel management colleges, polytechnic, B.Ed colleges, Pharmacy College, Homeopathy colleges, Engineering colleges, Degree colleges were established. It can be noted here that most of the educational institutions schools and colleges were established after 1990s. While the Christian established schools were established before 1990s and a few higher educational institutions were established. Whereas Hindus run schools were established from 19<sup>th</sup> century but it can be noticed that a group of institutions emerged. There were many higher educational institutions were established by Hindus such as Union of Karavali Colleges set up in 1996. It has established 1.Karavali Institute of Technology 2. Karavali College of Pharmacy 3. Karavali College of Nursing Science 4. Karavali Polytechnic 5.Karavali College of Hotel Management 6. Karavali College 7. Karavali College of Education 8. Karavali College of Interior Design and Fashion Design 9. Karavali College for Computer Application 10. Karavali College of Business Management 11.Karavali



College of Social Work. An RSS leader established Shree Devi education trust in 1992. This trust set up ten institutions after 1992 such as 1. Shri Devi Institute of Technology 2. Shri Devi College of Pharmacy 3. Shri Devi College of Physiotherapy 4. Shri Devi College of Nursing 5. Shri Devi College Mangaluru 6. Shri Devi College of Interior Designing 7. Shri Devi College of Fashion Designing 8. Shri Devi College of Hotel Management 9. Shri Devi College of Information Science 10. Shri Devi College of Social work. Similarly, Srinivasa Education trust established 17 colleges on various fields. Father Muller Charitable institutes established Medical colleges in 1999. Saiyadi trust established one college for engineer and another for Nursing. Dr. M.V Shetty education trust established 8 educational institutions. Further, Expert education institution established coaching institute and science colleges. This is how various trusts established educational institutions after 1990.

What one could see is that the Rastriys Swayammsevak Sangh (RSS) schools have been started since 1990 in the city. Coastal Karnataka is lined with schools which are owned by Sangha and its sympathisers. Shri Ram Vidya Kendra by Prabhakar Bhat, VHP leader M V Puranik runs Sharada Vidyalaya, One of the earliest members of VHP, Dr. Veerendra Heggade runs Shri Dharmasthala Manjunateshwara Education Society. Chancellor of Nitte Deemed University, Vinay Hegde and Dr. Mohan Alva runs Alva's Education Society often visible in RSS programs.

After 1990s there is was revolution in Muslim education institutions. Most of the institutions primary and high schools established after 1990s as shows first table in annexure. But, first higher and technical and medical education institution established in 1991 by Yenapoya management. The Islami Academic of Education was established by Mr. Yenapoya Abdulla Kunhi which is committed to uplift the minorities. He was a plywood industry owner and real estate builder. Yenapoya Management runs a Primary school, Pre-university College, Medical College, Dental College, Physiotherapy College and Nursing College in the city. For

the last five year more than 1700 minority students have got a Medical degree from this institution (Rai, 2016, p. 642). Later P.A Institutions of technology, Beary's Institution of technology contributing to lift Muslim community's education level.

**Summary:** This chapter explored the way in which educational intuitions transformation took place in Mangaluru city. It explains from historical point of view which begins from Basel mission initiative in establishing schools, and its rivalry schools like the city residents establish secular school. As Basel mission emphasis on primary education, Jesuits started higher education. In response to that Basel mission also started higher education and provided free education. Among the Hindus, Sarswat Brahmin community established schools including girl's schools. Further, Bunts set up hostels to encourage Bunts community students in the beginning of 20th century; later Muslim established the community school. After independence of India, Billavas and Muslim began to establish schools post 1990s. This is how it explains educational institutions socially and communally divided in transforming Mangaluru city. Hence, this chapter explored how collective insecurity leads to competition among different religious communities, collective sense of cooperation and commitment towards once own community and Tulu nadu culture, the hard work of communities, individuals efforts led to the growth of formal educational institutions centre in the line of socially and communally divided in Mangaluru city under cultural political economy.

## Chapter 4

### Communal Conflict and its impact on City Life

The chapter two discussed how Mangaluru city was restructured from pre-colonial to the colonial era to the post –colonial ear and chapter three presented the educational development in the city. This chapter seeks to understand how a city that was peaceful, prospering and cosmopolitan began to exhibit tendencies of conflict in the past few decades. It explores various dimensions of conflict in the city and its impact on different domains of city life. It discusses how city life is divided through politics, religious segregation, communal identity and the emergence of a communally divided society. Sources for this chapter are both primary and secondary.

As Galtung (1996) observes direct violence is an event; structural violence is a process with ups and downs; cultural violence is an invariant, a 'permanent', remaining essentially the same for long periods, given the slow transformation of basic culture (p.199). He however points out that the entire culture is not violent. In this context, the chapter discusses how different components of culture such as religion and ideology normalise structural and direct violence in the city. It explains how the media and entertainment industry have become driving forces for cultural conflict.

Ratna Naidu (1980) points out that politicization of the city context has taken place, not on single polarized issues, such as conflict of interest between classes, but along the multiple community centred issues such as health, housing, education, transportation, location of industry, land use and so on. As Mohan (2009) argues, there are often the erstwhile walled areas in large cities, where different communities are now in conflict. However, they once lived peacefully under feudal patronage for hundreds of years. Communal parties who stage

frequent communal riots exploit the grievance of these communities, because of the urban civic problems that they face.

Shaw (2012) notes that the country as a whole post-independence, the idea of citizenship and right to the city has been slowly changing with the continued communalisation of politics where political parties are divided along religious lines and engaged in competitive politics. Non-religious and so-called secular parties also engage in communalisation when a particular community is regarded as a vote bank and must be placated (Shaw, 2012, 110).

Since the end of the 1970s, politics in India have been marked by the very rapid ride of Hindu revivalism in a section of the society. It was witnessed in Dharavi in Maharashtra with the rise of Shiva Sena. Sujata Patel (2013) argues that this occurred in response to the emergence of 'identity-related concerns' among Hindus, who saw culture, shattered by two major forces. On the one hand, the social changes stemming from the political emancipation of the lower castes and, on the other, the economic changes brought in by the opening up of the market, the rapprochement to western values and consumerism created feelings of unease and vulnerability. However, this dominant religion based identity politics in the case of Maharashtra also converged with the politics of regional identity making it a very formidable case of rise of new kind of political upsurge that prepared ground for religious based communal politics in India subsequently. For instance, what emerged in the 1980s in the form of Bharatiya Janata Party and its penetration among masses is partly due to this development taking place in Maharashtra.

Further, the rise of Hindu nationalism in the 1980s and 1990s rested in large part of the shift of the urban middle-class base from Congress to BJP (Jaffrelot, 2000; Yadav, 1999). The convergences between middle-class interests, the rise of Hindu nationalism and the policies of economic liberalisation point to the ways in which the most effective cross-class political

alliances and movements in response to the disjuncture of liberalization have been manifested in the rise of the Hindutva movement (Fernandes, 2006).

Ahmed (1984) argues that the Muslims began to organised and asserting politically as there was an emergence of Muslim entrepreneurs in most of the cities that are prone to communal tensions in recent years. One is the outflow of Muslims to newer and less congested areas through extended investment in real estate. As in most cities, Muslims are concentrated in the central parts of the cities and their neighbourhoods are usually dilapidated and congested besides containing comparatively small-size houses. There is a little turnover of prosperity to that if one wishes to do investment in real estate, and one has to do it outside the old cities. The second effect of Muslim entrepreneurs is that the economic muscle extended to political assertiveness too. As they prospered, they begin to claim leadership. According to Engineer (1989), in the case of Kota industrial city, as Muslims acquired a measure of prosperity they began to show greater identity consciousness, which is a result of the competitive political process which contributed to making relations less harmonious. This sharpened the competition and disturbed the traditionally existing structure of communal relations. The third effect of the new found economic clout has been the greater cultural and social visibility of the Muslims. Their economic weakness reinforced the absence of educational institutions and the poor state of their religious and cultural institutions. The growing prosperity of at least some Muslims enabled them to build schools, undertake the restoration and renovation of old and dilapidated mosques and engage in numerous community betterment activities. All these made Muslims increasingly more socially, politically and culturally visible than was the case earlier.

It is observed that the emergence of Muslim enterprises and Hindus nationalism show that how religion is centre in the process. Religion is a central defining characteristic of civilisations (Huntington 1996). One can see the importance of religion in the evolution of

the earliest cities in Mesopotamia and Egypt, India and China (Kotkin 2020). Religion provides a view of the world that help people cope with disasters and the fear of death, offering hope for immortality (McNeill 1963). Religion has been a part and parcel of cultural and civilisational development of any community; it is a dominant theoretical pattern that filters into the major activities of the various religious communities (Shakir 1979). While Gramsci(1972) observes that there are three elements: religion, state and party, which are indissoluble, and in the real process of historical-political development there is a necessary passage from one to another (p. 226). Naidu (1984) also points out that religion is the very womb of cultural values. It gives impetus to nationalist sentiments planting the seeds of communalism. There is a link between religion and culture.

However, religion is not the only identity of India. As Kothari (1989) points out, the essential identity of India is cultural; not political or economic. It is the one civilisation that withstood various vicissitudes and still endured largely because of its basic identity of being cultural. The religious and cultural identities however grow deep and started to manifest in the everyday life of the city, which is why Lane & Ersson (2005) point out that the cultural approach has developed strongly in the 1990s in the urban studies. Cultural identity and the role of communities are extremely relevant in the post-modern age. Now, culture is inextricably interlinked with politics to an extent that is not visible during the twentieth century and communities are as important as associations in political life in many countries and even more important in a few.

It is observed that the main manifestations of cultural politics and the communalization of political life lie in the following trends: first, there is a renewed interest in ethnicity and religion. The communal revolution in politics has been a most vital aspect of the coming of a postmodern age where questions of meaning and identity preoccupy the city inhabitants' minds. Identities go hand-in-hand with globalization, but these trends have different sources.

Ironically, globalization both put a break to cultural politics and promote minority rights. Globalization is at a point of development when the interdependencies between the economies of the countries of the world have reached a level at which institutional integration is starting to take place on both a regional or global level. In the first stage of globalization is the flow of trade and financial capital take on dramatically increased proportions with the help of the technological revolution in the 'new economy'. In the second stage of globalization, there is a search for institutions to channel these interactions; it requires a common understanding bridging cultural differences. Perhaps the third stage will be the creation of world culture or a set of world cultures (Lane and Ersson 2005).

According to Naidu (1980), the rise of identity tide has been observed not only in underdeveloped areas but also in developed countries as Ireland, Canada, Belgium, Spain, the USA, and Soviet Russia. Paradoxically the universal rise of communal affections was observed when the intellectual tradition of the West reached its culmination and predicted human beings would cut loose from its umbilical cord of primordial attachments in its quest for modernity, progress, individualism and freedom (Naidu 1980). Many conflicts and barbarities in the world are sustained through the illusion of a unique and choiceless identity (Sen 2006).

### **I. Emergence of communal divisions in the city**

The emergence of Mangaluru as a site of awoken Hindu nationalism which is also seen often as a laboratory of rightwing in South India, goes back beyond the 1990s. The news paper reports on the communal violence in the city has a tendency to attribute the origin of demolition of Babri Mosque and the Ram Janma Bhumi rebuilding campaign. However, the

present study traces the growth of Hindu right wing to three phases such as before 1925, between 1925 to 1964 and post 1964s.

In order to comprehend the growth the right wing movement, 1925 is one of the important year because Rastriya Swayamsevak Sangha (RSS) was established. Though there were organisations that espoused the cause of Hindu revivalism prior to 1925 such as Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj or Hindu Mahasabha. The founding of RSS is very different in comparison to all these organisations. Therefore, it is significant to understand the situation prior to 1925 and after 1925 so far as emergence of Hindu revivalism in the city.

#### **a) Prior to 1925**

Brahmins had a major role in the emergence of Hindu ideology in the city of Mangaluru. There are two types of Brahmins such as Chitrapura Saraswat Brahmins and Gaudaa Saraswat Brahmins; they both are meat-eating Brahmins. These Brahmins had started mobilising in 1870 as a political Hindu group much before the RSS was set up in the city as a reaction to the conversion of non Christians into Christianity<sup>73</sup>. Missionaries arrived in India when the Charter Act of 1813 passed. It was the time when lower caste people were discontented with the caste hierarchy. The Basel mission's schools, economic activities and conversion were seen in this context as sites of freeing from the caste discrimination.

Billavas who were converted in those initial years of spread of Christianity in Mangaluru. They got schooled and later joined the British India company for jobs. Mass conversion took place between 1869 to 1875, which was known as Tulu movement. Brahmins were not bothered until then, but when one of the Saraswat Brahmins got converted then there was a protest from Brahmins. During this time, Ullal Raghunathaya, a Gaudaa Saraswat Brahmins informed to Keshub Chandra Sen who was a prominent member of the Brahmo Samaj based



in Calcutta<sup>74</sup>. Three Brahma Samajists arrived to start an organisation which was organised in a Billavas's home. While Billavas were doubtful about Brahma Smaja, the local Brahmins rejected Raghunathaya's leadership. So the city Brahmins started Prarthana Samaja in Mangaluru as a counter to Brahma Samaja to defend the interest of Hindus of Mangaluru.

Another organisation, Arya Samaja, was started in 1918 in the city as opposed to Brahma Smaja, it was largely of Sarswat Brahmins. Arya Samaja consisted of Brahmin castes such as Kotas, Havyaks and Shivalli Madhwas. Arya Samaja complemented the Brahma Samaj but the difference was that Arya Samaja made an association with Mogaveeras which is a fishing community. This was the time when the Minto-Morley of 1909 surfaced and segregated Hindus and Muslims nationally, and the effect was manifested in Mangaluru as well. This led to the growth of new organisation called All India Hindu Mahasabha, which created the anti-Muslim narrative which helped in the rise of right wing ideology. Earlier different organisations identified themselves with various identities in terms of following Sanatan Dharma or Vedas. From 1915 onwards, Hindus groups came together to revive 'glorious Vedic past' and, on the other side Muslims organised as Muslim League and the Jamaat-e-Islami. This difference got even more clearly pronounced after the Khilafat movement of 1921.

Meanwhile the Arya Samaja and Brahma Smaja were still focusing on the threat of the Christian conversions posed to the supremacy of Brahmin castes like Saraswat Brahmins, Shivalli Madhavas, Havyaks, Kotas,<sup>75</sup>.

#### **b) 1925 to 1964:**

The second phase is after 1925 when the RSS was established. Havyak Brahmins gets the credit of expanding the RSS Shakha network. Sanjeev Kamat, who is a Gaudaa Sarswat Brahmin, a lawyer by profession, was the first generation men joined in RSS in the 1940s<sup>76</sup>.

He shaped ground for right wing growth in the city. The city is encircled by religious pilgrimages like Kukke Kateel Durgaparameshwari, Subramanya and Dharmasthala Manjunatheswara, Udipi's Dwaita School of Vedic thought which gave ideal ground for Sangha's ideology. Before the establishment of Sangha, there were Chitrapur Saraswat Brhamins, Konkani-speaking Gaudaa Saraswat Brahmins, the Tulu speaking Shivalli Brahmins and the Kannada speaking Havyak Brahmins who had already laid the foundation by establishing All India Hindu Maha Sabha, Brahmo Samaj and Arya Samaj. Since Brahmin communities had control on mercantile as well as political domains they got opportunities to organise and strengthen the ideology. Until 1940s, Brahmins were addressing Christian conversions but now the attention was diverted from Christian conversion to anti-Muslim as there was demand for Pakistan. Initially, RSS was limited to Gaudaa Sarswat Brahmins' localities such as Pentlendpet, Dongarakerry and Car Street where Arya Samaj and Brahmo Samaj were located in the city. The RSS meetings were organised initially in Canara High School in the city.

Sanjev Kamat was introduced to Sadashiva Rao, who was the superintendent also a founder of the Canara Boys School. An arrangement was made to allow Rao to have access to the boys hostel like Sthanik Brahamin Association and South Kanara Dravida Brahmin Association hostel to recruit potential members as Karyakarta<sup>77</sup>.

### **c) Post 1964**

Mahatma Gandhi had visited Mangauluru in 1921, as a result of that the Congress as a national party grew. Gandhi brought together Bearies who are a mercantile Muslims community and Gaudaa Sarswata Brahmins. RSS could not get much mass support from non-Brahmins until independence. During 1964, Vishwa Hindu Parishad was set up in the wake of five lakh Dalits moving to Buddhism. Vishvesha Teertha is key to get support from the

lower castes from Mangaluru. Vishvesha Teertha is a seer of Udupi Krishna Matha, which is the most powerful of the eight such temples. He visited Dalit homes and mingle with non-Brahmins.

However, Brahmins were not in favour of Vishvesha Teertha's integration of Dalits, but this initiative had made a crucial impact on non-Brahmins. They felt elevated as Vishwasha Teertha stayed at non-Brahmin homes. It made a enormous impact on the attitudes of Dalits and non-Brahmin castes towards Hinduism. In 1979, Areay L. Naryana Alva became president of VHP for the next 20 years. Urimajalu Ram Bhat, one of the strong leaders who contributed to the right wing growth, who joined RSS in 1942. In 1952, Bharatiya Jan Sangha was set up and it ran Gauraksha campaign to save cows from slaughtering. Dina Dayal Upadhyaya who was a founder of the Bharatiya Janata Sangha (BJS), often used visit Mangaluru, Urimajalu Ram Bhat was intensely influenced by Upadhyaya. Ram Bhat fought the legislative election in 1957 and he was the only leader from BJS who did not lose his election deposit. Eventually, he won in 1977 in the background of the emergency.

From 1947 and until the 1980s, Mangaluru was represented by either Congress or Communist parties. Congress began to decline in the city from 1969 onwards as Late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi nationalised 14 banks in India, out of which 4 banks were from Mangaluru city. Vijaya Bank was established by Bunts who were a economically influential community, Canara Bank and Syndicate banks were founded by the Gowda Sarswati community. These communities were unhappy about nationalisation. Along with the 1974 Land Reform Act implementation the land owning communities once again were up against the Congress party. Third, during the emergency, Congress lost the mass support form the city. When the emergency was imposed, Prabhakar Bhat was arrested and he became a leader for the region. Today he continues to play a major role in the growth of RSS, VHP, Bhajaranga Dal and BJP for the last five decades in the city.

Since the 1970 onwards there were changes in the economic structure and reinvention of the Hindu identity. The political Left had lost its relevance with decline of industries. The vacuum was filled by the right wing organisations. Hindu Samrajyotsava first organised in 1981 by the VHP. L K Advani organised Ram Janmabhumi campaign from 1990 onwards at the national level while Pejawar Shree Swamy spearheaded the campaign Mangaluru and Udupi. This movement was countered by Janardhan Poojary who was the then finance minister who went on to revive non-Brahmin temples. He collected donations to build Gokarnatheshwara temple at Kudroli to provide 'alterative Hindu politics'. However, this plan was not successful, even Janardhana Poojary's caste also joined the Ram Janmabhumi campaign.

At the same time, the left parties fought from the material end. Neither the congress nor the left focused on cultural aspects of the city. In this context, RSS was able to successfully appeal to cultural consciousness among Hindus. Left parties portrayed Daiva Aaradhana, which is a practice of worshipping native Goddesses, as backward and a regressive practice. While RSS brought it under the Hindu identity, encouraging Tulu culture under the broader Hindu identity. RSS was able to integrate cultural consciousness, which was capitalised in following years in Mangaluru. As RSS reaped the benefits of revivalism of Tulu culture, the left political parties too demonstrated respect for *Kola* of Mangaluru culture. In Mangaluru, cutting across ideologies every political party now respect the local Tulu culture symbols and activities.

It is important to note however that Kola is followed by Muslims and Christians too in Mangaluru, so it is making a pan-religious cultural symbol. Arya Lakshmi Narayana Alva was the district president in Mangaluru in 1981 and he organised Hindu Smajothsava. Narayana a respondent, told during the interview that the theme of the programme selected was 'unity of Hindus' which was intended to send a message that there should not be any

discrimination. The programme was held after two months of mass conversion of more than 1000 Dalits to Islam at Meenakshipuram. After the programme Vishwa Hindu Parishad delegation went to the Dalit locality in Mangaluru to convince them against conversion and to stop their adoption of Christianity or Islam.

During that time newly emerging Muslim leader Syed Shahabuddin had issued aggressive statements on the issue of conversion of a few hundred dalits to Islam in Tamil Nadu. It is popularly known as the 'Meenakshipuram conversions (Engineer 1992). He took an aggressive step as he was in Jan Sangh and it invoked the communal sentiment among the Hindus. Since then, every year Hindu Samajothsava is organised in the city. In this programme, some of them are dressed up with Yakshagana attire, Koraga attire, Kola attire. It invoked in a way a sort of cultural consciousness among the city inhabitants. Along with collecting *Ittige* (bricks) to carry them to the Ram Janmabhumi, from door to door, it marked a serious foundation for the emergence of Hindutva political space in Mangaluru.

Ullala was a sensitive part of the city, which is previously a communist stronghold. Ullala and Bantwala were the only taluks from where CPI (M) used to win MLA elections. The Beedi Workers Union, Tile Workers Union, Landless Peasants Tenants Union, Workers at Cashew and garment factories saw the strongest mobilisation before 1970s. One of the communist respondents says, "when I worked at a tile industry, I am not just a farmer, I am not just a worker, the factory owners are not just ruling class, landless labourers are not just peasants". He adds that identities aren't that simple. That is why just the language of oppressor-oppressed insufficient. According to him, this was the reason communist politics lost its ground in the city.

Hadid, another respondent who is communist says that communist parties tried to mobilise people based on industry, which did not move beyond oppressor and oppressed, but the RSS

was able to appeal to culture and religious sentiments of the people: “These identities are significant for people as it is personal. When the RSS came up with a new identity, everyone embraced it which is like a long lost relative; everything associated with this identity was new for us”. According to him, no political party tried to appeal to the cultural consciousness of the inhabitants. “Communists could not think beyond textbook language, for example, CPI(M) always used the textbook language of *bandawala* (capital) and *badathana* (poverty)”. Another Left supporter says that Daiva Aradhane did not show respect as they do now. It is a non-Vedic practice which is followed by most Tulu-speaking Hindus. This could have been used as a base, but communists could not, but RSS did.

One respondent says that Daiva Aradhane was not celebrated much in the 1970s and 1980s compared to now. Communists ridiculed demon worship, as something unclean or a regressive practice, as it promotes animal sacrifice and only RSS projected Hindu identity and encouraged this cultural practice. As the economy grew from the money inflow of Gulf and Mumbai, it reinvigorated Daiva Aradhane. Tulu speaking communities comprise more than three-fourths of the population of the city<sup>78</sup>. Most of the Tulu speakers worship Daiva Aradhane.

Thus, several reasons could be provided for the growth of right wing foothold in the city. First, RSS for a long time remained a Brahmin centric organisation until 1970s. It was runned by Gauda Saraswat Brahmins who were a mercantile community in the city. Second, RSS organised its various programmes like Ganapati procession, *rakshabandhana*, *Ittigi pooje* to reach the masses in the city. Third, a majority of agrarian population in the early 1980s moved to urban settings like Mangaluru with the implementation of Land Reforms Act which created a new urban middle classes. All of these contributed to the creation of space for invocation of local culture and integrate ito the broader Hindutva agendas that were beginning to emerge at the national level. In a way the Hindu organisations of Mangaluru

tapped the local cultural vacuum and helped to evoke a homogeneous Hindu identity in Mangaluru.

## **II. Communalisation of Political Ecosystem**

A political science professor<sup>79</sup> at Mangaluru University with whom the researcher interacted observes that communal conflict is in the core of Mangaluru, but not in the city's periphery. The special features are communal conflict in Mangaluru is less violent and does not disturb the day-to-day life. Two political parties historically dominated Mangaluru, Congress always used to be the winning party and Left parties were in opposition. The Political Left was pretty strong until the 1970s. Since 1970 as tiles factories were closed, the party's backbone of labourers lost their jobs and some of the labourers got land from the land reform movement. Most of the landowners, Bunts, were in the Congress party. As the party implemented land reforms strictly, most of the Bunts joined the Janata Party and now in Bharatiya Janata Party(BJP).

Somshekhar who was member in RSS, a Hindu cultural organisation since 1941, attributes the initial spread of RSS in Udupi. He says that "we were the first to win election from Jan Sangh in the country. In 1968, we won 18 seats out of 23 in the Udupi Municipal Commission election. I was one of the elected councillors"<sup>80</sup>.

The BJP, an offshoot of RSS and a part of contested 110 MLA seats in the state of Karnataka in 1983 and won MLA seats in Mangaluru city as in assembly elections as was for the first time BJP emerged as an important force in the state. Nine out of 18 BJP MLAs are from the coastal districts of Dakshina Kannada and Uttara Kannada. From 1991 onwards, BJP has never lost a parliamentary (general) election from the Mangaluru constituency. The land owners who lost and got the land joined BJP as the Left lost its ground.

The city as a spatial context is expected to loosen the stifling social bonds of traditional community and to create a society of free individuals. However, the cities electoral processes reinforced contrary tendencies in the Indian society- Hindu, Muslim, Sikhs, and various caste groups paradoxically emerged as collective actors and often conflicted with one other in the city contexts in India (Khilnani 2004, 124).

Congress, on the other hand managed to hold on to castes like Moghaveeras, Devadigas, and Billavas. Manorama Madhvaraj, Janardhan Poojary and Veerappa Moily were given important portpolios as they belonged to these castes in Mangaluru. Oscar Fernandes, Margaret Alva, UT Fareed and BM Idinabba were leaders from Christian and Muslim communities.

Popular Front of India (PFI), is an Islamic organisation established in 2006 and its wings, Campus Front of India, is the student wing of an Islamic organistion established in 2009, National Women's Party set up in 2009, for women have emerged in response to RSS's branches like BJP, ABVP and Durgavahini in the city of Mangaluru. An offshoot of the PFI, the Social Democratic Party of India (SDPI), has become an electoral force. Muneer Katipallya, says SDPI and PFI are involved in moral policing. Sara Aboobacker, a renowned Muslim writer from Mangaluru, talks about seeing more Muslim women in a bourqa in the city as a result of this moral policing<sup>81</sup>. Katipallya<sup>82</sup> argues that Muslim youth are influenced by Wahabism when they moved to Gulf countries for work. People got money as well as the culture of Wahabism<sup>83</sup>. According to him, fundamentalism spread to the city from across the border state of Kerala. He says, in the early days, bourqa was not worn. A few Muslim women used to wear bourqa but not on such a big scale as visible in the city today. There was chronic poverty around the villages on the outskirts of the city, people were not able to buy Burqa and thus they ignored wearing it. Scarf, beards, pants above ankles, long-short lifestyles started to come after the arrival of pure Islamic ideology. So, PFI successfully



revived the Islamic ideology and brought together the community and thus benefitted in accessing political power in the city.

As mentioned earlier, the Land Reforms have altered the economic base of the city. He Landlords who lost their land and moved to Mumbai, Bengaluru and other cities in India and established the businesses and came back to the city with money. It may also be observed that the Muslims got ample opportunities in Arab countries, which has strengthened their economic power. They got money as well as ideological inspiration from Arabs countries. It was around the 1970s and 1980s, both seeds of the ideologies of Hindu as well as the Islamic fundamentalism were sown which then began to manifest in the city after the 1990s.

Interactions with the city's natives inform that one will never find Mangaluru people fighting for any economic reason. According to them, the city dwellers do not fight for economic reasons, because people heavily rely on each other, for example, Muslims, Bearys do fish and flower business, Mogaveeras do fishing, but Muslims sell it. One observes that Hindus and Muslims work together in the city. Dakke or Bandaru is the place where both religious people work together. Their economic interests converge in Dakka and Bandaru as it is here the Fish Market is located, which is the source of income/livelihood for both the group. The market begins early at 4 am and closes by 10 am. Mogaveeras are fishermen who put in their labor, they go to sea and get fish, but the fish is given to Muslims, who sell it to different parts of the city. But owners of lorries and tempos that are used in transportation are Muslims. No matter how much Hindus and Muslims hate each other, they come together in the fish market. Therefore no conflict has ever stopped economic activities in Dakke.

A police official notes that the conflict is in the genes of Mangaluru people.<sup>84</sup> All the time, people give a communal colour for every minor incident. According to one respondent, Mangaluru is communally sensitive because police are lazy, police made the city sensitive<sup>85</sup>.

Another policeman<sup>86</sup> who has lived for more than 40 years in the city responds that Ullala is the most sensitive place in Mangaluru. He says the people of Ullala are living with a communal mindset. People subscribe to newspapers based communal angle. Even that applies to Christianity as well. This communalism has started in the last three decades, according to them. He opines that Mangaluru city has several organisations. It is hard to carry out an investigation impartially. Organizations put a lot of pressure on case investigations<sup>87</sup>. As he claims that “police have lost self-respect; we are neither God nor astrologers. We do not know the truth, but if we try to investigate, they threaten with a case at the National Human Rights Commission, we need to go to court, and sometimes we get punished or transferred. So the police had become lenient to take on the real culprit”. Further, as he opines, Hindus and Christian celebrated festivals together until Mangaluru’s Christian prayer centre attack in 2008. It was suspected that some Hindu youth were involved in prayer hall attacks on the pretext that Christians were converting non-Christians to Christianity. The attack has strained the relationship between Christians and Hindus.

Some parts of the city are more sensitive than others. Even small incidents are given communal colour. There are two places in Ullala such as Mogaveera Pattana where Hindus are dominant and Kodi where Muslims are dominant. If there is a protest in Mangaluru city, police would be deployed in Ullala. The small festival like Kola and Kambala are celebrated with huge expenses; the intention appears that more than celebration of these festivals, it is kind of taking vengeance in a subtle way against the other communities.

In 1992, when the Babri Masjid was demolished, there was violence across the country (Jamil 2017), there was no violence in Mangaluru but city experienced tension. This is not to say that communal clashes did not take place in the city prior to this incident. But what researcher was informed that people would get back to normalcy soon after the incidents in the past, but this is not the case today. Now, hate simmers. Incidents erupt like volcanoes. A

former ABVP President in the city provides an analogy that “small incidents accumulate as they pass from one generation to other, and feeling of hate erupts with a small incident”. Mangaluru inhabitants are extremely religious. If something goes against their belief, they protest, be it Hindu, Muslim, and Christian. One of the senior editor of Deccan Herald says “if a small incident takes place in the city, I receive more than eight to ten calls from Arab countries”. Another respondent who is a faculty at Srinivas University says that when the Christian prayer hall was attacked in 2008, the President of the United States of America’s commented on the incident. That means, a small incident in the city draws a worldwide attention. All these incidents get reported on television as well as in the print media. Since the city is communally sensitive, people are vigilant in the city.

Varun, a social activist,<sup>88</sup> says that “the city is in conflict because of the political developments as well as the cultural aggression. “When Babri Masjid incidents took place I was in the second standard. I watched on TV that many shops were burnt in other parts of the country. That gave me an impression that Muslim as the other and I got to know that there was a temple, it was demolished, that we have to reclaim it now”. When he was in the college it was never hate mongering. There was DYFI student’s wing party, along with ABVP, NSUI. There used to be seminars. Friction between used to happen, student groups and the political leaders used to back them. But, it used to be resolved without much damage to all.

A former PFI Activist says that the reason for Hindus getting organised is that “RSS is active in Mangaluru, he says it is because of cultural identity”. Y.Mohammed Beary, who is the president of the Muslim Education Federation of India, says that “in the past, uneducated people lived very peacefully, no religious wall has been built”. He notes: “I had many inter-religious friends but their sons are not friends with each other, this is a curse for Mangaluru city. Politics have played a negative role in creating the wall, a lot of Muslims who do not actually follow Islam are engaged in anti-social activities. They are not part of Islam. It

amounts to killing the next generation. Hindus are the most secular in the world but there is also some communal fraction”.

### **III. Religion based Seggregations**

City life and spaces are constructed spatially, socially, and economically sometimes leading to polarisation, inequality, zone of exclusion and fragmentation and at other times constitute sites of power, resistance, and the celebration of identity (Bridge and Watson 2003, 251). There are no clear cut boundaries and no simple divisions between groups which can be easily mapped on the city spaces. These complexities are rarely represented in the statistics and Census (Bridge and Watson 2003, 253). But one could mark the segregation symbolically. During the 1970s and 1980s, the dominance of Marxist thought focused on economic rather than social divisions. It was seen from workers and owners of the means of production, social divisions were seen from economic force (Bridge and Watson 2003). However, it is noticed that there is segregation in Mangaluru city based on geography. Harvey (1985, 1989) argues that the production and organisation of spaces in the city are primarily to aid the capitalist accumulation. While Lefebvre (1991) says that we “must account for representational spaces, representation of space, but above all for their inter relationships and their links with social practices”. It is interesting to notice that Mangaluru city inhabitants settled in different parts of the city for commercial reasons as well as for safety and security reasons.

#### **a. Spatial Segregation**

Academics and governments often express their concern about the development of urban social realities that show a relatively high level of spatial differentiation (Boterman and Musterd 2017). They fear the dual or divided or segregated city. Urban geography reveals

that households can be found in certain types of urban environments depending on their individual position in the economic, demographic, and cultural spheres and depending on the history of the urban environment (Boterman and Musterd 2017, 388).

As one walks around the city one could notice that different communities have resided in different and particular places. Bandaru is the place where economic activities like fishing and export take place in the city. Most of the Muslim merchants live in the Bunder, Bolar and Kudroli areas, Central Market and Court wards. One of the respondents notes: “our ghettoisation is our strength, it helps us stay together and feel a bit secure” says Ansari. A student of St. Agnes who lives in Bandaru, says “the area is like two portions. On one side Muslims live and on the other side everyone lives”.

If one walks a little away from the Bandaru, one could see Saraswat Brahmin community reside, where around the Car Street (Ratha Beedi) there are around 32 temples located. One can see the Jewellery shops around the car street. Further, there is a market where fruits and vegetables are sold. As one moves from the market to Balmatt, various Churches are located. Around the Balmatt Christians reside in Kankanady, Balmatta, Bavutagudde, Jeppu, Bejai, Derebail. On the other side, Gujarati community resides in and around Bunder area, Kudroli, Kambla, Alake, Mannagudda and Kodialguttu. Mogaveera, the fishing community reside in the coastal area like Ullala, Jeppinamogaru, Mangaluru Thota, Kasba Bazaar, Bunder, Bolar. Since Bunts are landowners, they reside outskirts of the city.

It was a recent development of about three decades that the city has been segregated on religious grounds. There are certain places where police and military are always deployed as those places are seen as anticipated or conflict-prone zones. Bengare, Suratkal, Kodi and Mogaveerapattana in Ullala fall into this zone.

One of the conflict prone area is Bengare. It is a part of the Mangaluru city, and the river divides Bengare. Bengare was a settlement that began when the British built railways in the city about 125 years ago, by displacing about 45 fishing families from the mainland. Mogaveera community settled in Tota Bengare and Muslims settled in Kasaba Bengare. A wall divides Bengare into Kasaba Bengare and Tota Bengare. There is tension between the two communities. Each other community's children do not play together. At least eight military personnel and a police troop are deployed to prevent conflict. Police instructed inhabitants not to play after 6 pm. To provide a recent account, in 2018, an incident sparked the conflict, that Mogaveera community went to attend fishermen convention in Malpe on five Buses. As they were returning, four buses had passed the Kasaba Bengre which is a Muslim dominated area, in the last bus workers shouted slogans that provoked Muslims. Muslim community objected to sloganeering like " Amit Shah Zindabad" "Bharat Mata ki Jai" and stopped the Bus midway. A group of youth threw stones and empty bottles at the buses. This incident provoked Mogaveer community and Muslim community to indulge in throwing bottles and pelting stones. Later, the situation was calmed down with the intervention of both the community leaders. Such incidents keep occurring at Bangere, making it a communally sensitive and geographically segregated.

The early human ecologists had contemplated that the racial segregation, like ethnic segregation, would lessen with time, but later ecological research showed that racial segregation had intensified (Taeuber and Taeuber 1965). In Mangaluru too, the religious segregation seem to be increasing as the day passes. The city comprises of 18 percent Muslims, 13 percent Christians and 69 per cent Hindus (Cook, 2019).

Religious segregation is found in other cities of India too. According to Mangiarotti (2019), in riot affected areas like Sultan Shahi residents started leaving their homes and shops and resettling in areas which reflected ghettoisation. The resettling of people previously living in

mixed neighbourhoods occurred making same areas as religiously homogenous zones (Mangiarotti 2019).

It is also found in another study that Hindus and Muslims reside in separate blocks in the same neighbourhood in Gujarat (Chatterjee 2008). Further, it is pointed out that Hindus now built gates at the end of each Hindu Street to keep out Muslims. Roads separating the 'Hindu blocks' from the 'Muslim blocks' are referred to as the 'Border' and serve as battlefields during conflicts (Chatterjee 2008). A similar trend can be witnessed in Bengare where a wall separates between the two communities. The wall is erected on the playground. On one side Hindu kids play and on the other side Muslim children play. All the time police remain vigilant. This is how geographical spaces are segregated along religious line. At times incidents inflicted communal broke out these spaces always on boil. For example, Shivaji Statue was deified at Tota Bengare where Hindus live. It is evident that on the top of a Hindu's house saffron flag is being hoisted. Similarly, green flags are noticeable on the side of Muslim houses. This kind of communal making of residential areas is very evident in Mangaluru.

Shaw (2012) points out that in Kolkata, the Muslim population is highly concentrated in a few wards of the city like Topsia, Beniapukur, Tiljala and Tangra, and wards in old central Kolkata around Nakhoda mosque and Tiretta Bazaar. The reason for the existence of Muslim-dominated enclaves was that the sporadic communal disturbances post 1992, like Babri Masjid issue in 1992 and Gujarat riots in 2002 (Shaw 2012). Such outbreaks of violence increase the fear of the minority community about threat from the Hindu majority.

On the contrary, in Mangaluru, some of the city residents opined that Hindus are worried ever since around 6 lakh Kashmiri Hindus were torched and butchered which is still alive in the minds of Hindus. However, number of Kashmiri Hindus who has been harassed differs, as

sociologist T N Madan point out there are less than 10,000 Hindus out of 3,00,000 Hindus in Kashmir<sup>89</sup>. Also pre-Godra incident in 2002 is remembered in the city that Hindus are fearful that as the number of Minorities increase, Hindus might get the same treatment if Hindus are in minority. These feelings are engrained in some of the Hindus in the city.

Ullala is another controversial place in the city. Prabhakar Bhat, RSS leader says in the interview that wherever Muslims are in majority, conflict is visible in the city. So he says that it is more than 56% of the Muslim population in Ullala and that the area is tensed. He calls it mini Pakistan<sup>90</sup>: “There are several topics in India, speaking on which are deemed politically incorrect. The rapid growth of Muslim population in certain pockets of India is one such topic”. Bhat said, “My observation is based on the fact that the growth of Hindu families is limited to a child or two at the most. It is also a fact that while Muslims teach their children the Quran and Christians the Bible, there is no such effort in Hindu families”<sup>91</sup>. There are certain areas like Kotepura, Kodi, Mogaveerapattana, Suratkal, where tension simmers. In such places police do not permit processions as it is a communally sensitive place<sup>92</sup>.

#### **b. Symbolic segregation**

As mentioned earlier, flag and Bunting have been used as markers of territories. It is Bunting<sup>93</sup>, another way of symbolical segregation that eventually fuel communal tensions in the Mangaluru city. Bunting is not about publicity or the promotion of events. It marks territory and a show of power of dominance in the area<sup>94</sup>. As one walks around the city, it is not rare to find saffron or green flags and buntings flying overhead. Bunting is a show of power both among the Muslims and the Hindus. The young adolescents show a lot of enthusiasm and aggression while volunteering to put up flags. Muneer Katapalli shares his experience with his six-year-old daughter that when he was driving his daughter to school,



his daughter pointed out at few saffron buntings and innocently said that it was a 'Hindu' flag. Then he asked what our flag was and she instantly replied "Green". As he is a political activist in the city, he consciously does not speak of politics at home, but it took him some time to recover his daughter's perspective. But he says he is not surprised. Communalism has penetrated deeply into the lives of the people in the city. After 1992, children being raised in Mangaluru frequently overhear communal overtones at their homes and elsewhere. Another respondent says that the flag war began with Surathkal riots in 1998. The violence caused 12 days curfew, took lives of a few Hindus and Muslims. As each communal incident takes place, the segregation between Hindus and Muslims deepen.

There have been several incidents where different religious and political groups fought. In the recent case of murder of Deepak Rao, a 28 year old, who was involved in a skirmish with local Muslim groups over putting up buntings in Katipalla<sup>95</sup>. On every Hindu festival such as Ganesh Chaturthi, Dasara, Shivaratri, Kola, Jatre, Hindu groups erect flags or buntings in a particular area while Muslims will try to surpass their Hindu counterparts during Bakrid or Ramazan or in front of Mosques.

Katipalla accounts that bunting culture has existed earlier too, but it was more or less limited to the Hindu community, and mostly confined to the temples. The buntings did not comprise only of saffron flags, but random colours including red, white, yellow, navy blue, pink, and green. When Hindu Samajotsava was celebrated in the city in 1998, the city was decorated across the streets with saffron colour buntings. These buntings surprised city dwellers because it was an unseen picture before. Earlier, only temples were decorated with saffron flags but now this is common in both private and public functions. Inspired by the Hindus, Muslims who were never into such decorations also started to float green buntings during their festivals and observations<sup>96</sup>. Katipalla opines that the communal sentiment became embedded as part of the coastal Mangalorean culture.

While Hindus and Muslims show their symbolic power by putting saffron or green flag at their house, Christians keep cross at the gate or top of their houses. The city residents may speak of a secular outlook, but when it comes to questioning their own beliefs and faith, they have reservations and are defensive. Today, a person of a particular religion fears to enter the territory which has the bearing of signage of another religion, visiting a place like Bengare both Tota Bengare and Kasaba Bengare is a matter of suspicion. Other places like Kotepura and Mogaveerapattana in Ullala or Suratkal.

The insecurity of religious polarisation or social ostracism is such that people select their houses or location for business, children's school or recreation based on whose flag has claimed the territory the Hindu or the Muslim. These flags and buntings have a psychological impact and also help the faceless mob segregate and identify especially in furthering communal agendas. It can incite, provoke or flare up communal unrest. The lives and property of several innocents and bystanders have been lost. Three religions in the city show their power by using religious symbols explicitly. Muslim women cannot come out without bourqa, Muslim men with the shaved moustache. Similarly, Hindus are adored with Tilak on their forehead and the Christian women with the nun dress and especially most of the Christian houses hang the holy cross as marker of their religious identity.

In some cities, it was found that the bunting process led to communal violence. It was accused that Bajaranga Dal called convention with bunting spread over the main roads and they were accused of inciting violence in Bijnor town before the communal violence of 1990 (Jeffery and Jeffery 1994).

The symbolic segregation by flag wars extends to Bunder too. Bunder is a place in Mangaluru where the fishing trade happens. If one gets inside the Bunder it is visible that the flags on the mast of fishing trawlers docked at Bunder make the communal segregation

explicit. Hindu boats have saffron, pink and yellow flags with 'OM' emblazoned and Muslims have green flags. There is no record that Bunder ever witnessed a major communal riot, but it is strange that outside the wall of Bunder violence has erupted countless times during the past three decades. One of the respondents say that the culture of displaying the flags at the port has started in the last three decades. It is also said that Muslims and Christians are collectively competing with Hindus. Muslims and Christians collectively own 52 per cent of the boats and fishing community of Mogaveeras who are Hindu, own 48 per cent<sup>97</sup>.

Mangaluru native residents have a diversity of opinions on religion in the city. There are various kinds of inhabitants that first set of individuals who are close to nature; they believed in all religions and their teachings help the human well being. So they accepted every positive aspect of all teachings, this is the opinion among most of the formally educated or have been to in schools. The second layer of residents who have not read any religious script, have trust in religious heads like Maulvis and Fathers, and who believe that their religion alone is true and that of the others is false. Some say all paths lead to the same goal, another layer, who are educated who are aware that their community is doing wrong, yet they cannot stop, because they do not believe in them, and that they are the mute spectators. Another set of people criticise their religion based on certain valid grounds but do not express such views publically. They contemplate alone, they have a fear of ostracisation from society. Interestingly, some children believe that all religions are the same but parents force them to accept their religion as superior. If they do not accept their parent's opinion they fear not getting financial and emotional support from parents. They may not send their child to school, that too girl children would not be sent out. This is the reflection one gets from every religion that if inter religious students do not communicate with each other situation will be dangerous. The school is an obvious place to come together.

### **c. Moral policing**

Moral policing is the consequence of the city's subtle level of communalisation which aggravated since the 1990s. Moral policing is a new development in the city that came into the limelight after 2008. The youth from Sri Ram Sena and the Popular Front of India, SDPI, have been actively engaged in moral policing. Moral policing is an act to ensure that inter-religious couples would not roam around the city. It is another issue that works as a divisive force in the city. There is a constant rumour in the city that Hindu girls who are converted to Islam get married by Muslims.

One of the respondents reported that he was involved in moral policing and went to jail for the same reason. There are groups of inhabitants who are vigilant in the city. It is evident in some parts of the city that how moral policing groups are vigilant on girls as a respondent showed some of his friends roam around the city. If it is to find anyone involved inter-religious relations, the moral policing group first informs the girl, if she does not listen to them, then informs her parents. Then also, if the couple does not listen to them, they beat the boy, or if he goes with the vehicle, they damage it and inform to media, and they are ready to surrender before the police. The moral policing groups are not scared of police authority and its consequences. A respondent argues that "since the police are not doing their job, so we are taking charge, we want to save girls from falling into the trap".

Women have been considered as culture carriers in the city. Girls dancing in a pub are considered against the city's culture. Having a conversation with inter-religious girls and boys is prohibited. For Muslim girls wearing a hijab is compulsory in the city, now the restriction is imposed on Hindu girls as well.

Pub attack in 2009 in Mangaluru is an incident that illustrates how moral policing takes place in the city. On 24 January 2009, 40 activists who had allegedly belonging to the Shri Ram

Sena attacked the pub “Amnesia -The Lounge”. They beat up young women and men for violating traditional Indian values as heard in the video. The video is made and broadcasted on TV and Youtube. Pramod Muthalik, who is the head of Sri Ram Sena, says that “ whoever has done this has done a good job. Girls going to pubs is not acceptable. So, whatever the Sri Ram Sena members did was right”<sup>98</sup>.

Santosh M. Hangarki, owner of Amnesia -The Lounge says about the attackers that "some of them were students, some auto rickshaw drivers, even electricians. Many were drunk themselves when they arrived." It is suspected that a business rival hired the men for a price to kill a 26 day old new entrant into the business.<sup>99</sup>

There are two viewpoints in moral policing, first, it is the result of communalisation of the city. culture has been invoked to integrate a group and exclude others. The second viewpoint is that moral policing has been used to target business rivals.

Interestingly, many respondents in the city were happy that their culture is saved. The pub attack was criticised countrywide. Yet, it is strange to notice that inhabitants of the city did not support the pub attacker that is the Shri Ram Sena youth but they criticized the girls that these girls are spoiling the culture.

“Many asked why girls should go to such places. That this is a wake-up call for youngsters and parents”, says Vidya Dinker of Citizen Forum for Mangalore Development<sup>100</sup>. However, no one got punished for attacking the pub. Indirectly, pub attackers were encouraged. Pub culture has stopped in Mangaluru city, from that incident onwards couples do not go to pubs. Another incident that took place in Mangaluru was a homestay attack on 28 July 2012. This incident was discussed in the fact-finding report<sup>101</sup>. A birthday party was celebrated by a group of girls and boys. Again a group of youth attacked them for spoiling the city culture.

Several incidents took place by some of the youth from Hindus and Muslims. For instance, one analysis presented in a newspaper reveals that forty-five instances occurred in seven months in the district<sup>102</sup>. Whilst other analysis of 'communal incidents' include a breakdown of moral policing: 17 cases in 2010, 31 in 2011, 34 in 2012, 46 in 2013, 53 in 2014, 47 in 2015, and 2016, 23 in 2017<sup>103</sup>. Such moral policing is not the exclusive preserve of and outfits, with both Muslim and Christian groups too attempting to control the behaviour of those in their community (Cook 2019).

Satyajit Suratkal, South Karnataka Convenor of Hindu Jagarana Vedike, denies any involvement of his organisation in the attack on Morning Mist, but he defends the vigilante action : "What is the meaning of so many boys and girls staying together in one house? Our tradition is to wear full clothes, not like how they go to parties. People say whatever has happened was good."<sup>104</sup> Many residents were against pub culture. "Hindutva brigade finds popular support in the 4,84,000-strong conservative Mangaluru, cutting across age barriers. Many asked why girls should go to such places. That this is a wake-up call for youngsters and parents," says Vidya Dinker of Citizens Forum for Mangalore Development<sup>105</sup>.

In the field study, it was found in Jail that there were 324 inmates, as Jail Superintendent says "no inmates qualified educationally above 10<sup>th</sup> standard. Most of their education qualifications are below the 7<sup>th</sup> standard. All of their age is between 20 to 30 years old". Their social background is Mogaveera and Billava. Another unusual thing found is that Jail space has been separated for both Hindus and Muslims. It is interesting to note that the space of jail itself is separated and segregated based on the religion of the inmate. It is argued by the Jail official that if all inmates are put in the same jail, they fight among each other. That is why It is said that they are kept separate based on their religion.

There are several rival groups in the jail and many a times, inmates does petty crimes to come to jail and take revenge against the other groups. This was evident in 2015 when a murder took place in side the premise of the jail.

Even when a visitor comes, both parties are not called at the same time. Every six months the superintendent of the jail gets transferred on the pretext of incidents like murders or escapes from the jail. The new superintendents do not readily come to Mangaluru city. “Inmates would be happy if one gives Ganja instead of food or medicine”, says a jail official.

Jaru<sup>106</sup>, an author living in Mangaluru, says that if the youth do not get a proper job, they would be ready to work for political groups which is seen as an easy way of earning job. Another respondent says that “there are some politicians who engage a few youth to disrupt social order for their political mileage”<sup>107</sup>. Jaru continues to say that politics is not the right option; a political leader cannot rectify it because political leaders do not have a problem, but only workers have a problem. They fight with each other and have a drink at the bar.

“What is happening here is that there are different beliefs in the city, one needs to adjust with it. That adjustment comes through teaching. However, what is happening is ‘brain curb’ and ‘brainwashing,’ the situation is not helping to let the brain grow. If one community member gets murdered, it would be responded through another murder from another community. It is an example of brainwash”.

#### **d. Spiralling of communal divide in urban life**

The communally divided city’s life has reflected in other spaces like medical, law, jail etc. A respondent says “Muslim clients used to come to his friend who is a Hindu for many years. But it has all changed now; Muslim clients go to Muslim lawyers for the last ten years”. Another advocate opined that as responding to that he was invited by a Hindu group to join

the advocate association; he says most of the lawyers join the association, which happened in around 2003<sup>108</sup>. Consequently, the clients get segregated on the religious lines.

The same case is reflected in health sector as well. One respondent says, “Muslims go to Musslims doctors like Muslim run hospitals; they prefer to go to unity hospital”. He continues that the trend is happening over the last few decades.”<sup>109</sup> Another incident<sup>110</sup> is that if a patient dies in a hospital, depending on the religion of the patient, a group of youth would thrash doctors and professors of the Medical College and hospitals. For example, there was a protest called following the assault of assistant professor of Yenepoya Medical collage Abhijith Sudhakar Shetty by a group of 30 people following the death of a 65-year-old man Bavunni on 16<sup>th</sup> May 2017, who happened to be a Muslim. So all doctors shut down their clinics in Mangaluru and protested against the attack on the doctor in the city. More than 2000 doctors and nurses from both the districts of Mangaluru and Udupi had participated at Nehru Midana (Stadium name) at Mangaluru. During the protest, Pro-Chancellor of Nitte University M. Shantaram Shetty expressed concern that an increase in the number of assaults on doctors. Another speaker Dr. Raghavendra Bhat, President of the Indian Medical Association says, “we have so far not seen any one of the accused persons being sentenced by courts”. Deputy Commissioner of Police <sup>111</sup>said that nine cases of assault on doctors have been registered in the last three years. Vice Chancellor of Nitte university says that doctors are scared to provide service and that the culprits should be punished<sup>112</sup>. These kinds of incidents deepen the communally sensitive state of mind among doctors and lawyers.

The communal divide has been reflected in the city now and then in day to day life too. A man was thrashed by a group of Muslims at a city mall while arguing India is “Hindu Rastra” in 2019. In another incident, a Hindu girl went shopping with a Muslim boy at Forum Fiza Mall in Pandaweshwara. The moral policing group attacked but the timely intervention of police rescued both of them but no one has registered a complaint against anyone<sup>113</sup>. These



incidents are isolated, yet there is a common thread that the city's communally divided is reflected in different forms.

Another respondent who had observed in the city that, a Petrol bunk has been opened in Jappu (part of Mangaluru city), the owner is Christian; the respondent, who is a professor, has been living in the place for 55 years, he says "all Christians come to fill the petrol to Jappu only, despite having Petrol bunks near their houses in the city, all of them come to the same petrol bunk. What it implies is that there might have instructed at Church to get fuel in the community-owned petrol bunk". This is an example of how city life has been segregated.

#### **e. Entertainment**

In addition, there is a divide in entertainment space as well. Sports like cricket teams always used to have all religious youth, but after the 1992 names of the cricket teams changed to Om Shakti Cricketers, Shivaji cricketers, Green star cricketers, and India cricketers. Later, Hindus and Muslims shifted their houses to their community. Another respondent said that Hindus and Muslims used to play together before they fought. For the last two years, no team pleased with Hindu and Muslim players together.

Yakshagana is another cultural area where it is supposed to integrate different communities but it has become a space for strengthening communal sensitivity. Yakshagana<sup>114</sup> is an artistic combination of singing, dancing, oration with jokes, and colourful costumes. Yakshagana has started from Vijayanagara Empire, which is being continued even today. People irrespective of their social background enjoy the event of Yakshgana as the audience. Yakshagana is of two types one is Tala Maddale, a play performed where artists narrate the story without dance, another is with dance which will be held from long-night from 10 pm to until 6 am without a break. The content of Yakshagana is on Vedic values, Ramayana, Mahabharat,

Purana, Tulu Nada Siri, Bhutala Pandya, Amarashilpi Veera Kalkudaka, Pattada Padmale, Sorkada Siriginde, Kaadamallige, Veda, Vedanta, Kavya Shastra, etc. The conflict arose when Yakshagna is performed on the theme of Jesus Christ in 2018. Some of the Hindus protested Yakshagana has been used as a means to proselytise non-Christians to Christianity.

#### **IV. Subtle Manifestations/deepening of communalisation Process**

As responding to the conflict situation in the city, there are many conferences and public talks held in the name of peace. On the 2<sup>nd</sup> of May 2017, a programme called *Mangaluru Chalo Sammelana* was organised by Muslim Sangh Taneya Okkuta (United Front of Muslim organization). The conference was held on the pretext of communal conflict between two communities. The reason for the protest was that a Muslim boy (Ahmad Khureshi) had been harassed, who was arrested in the murder case (of Jokatte Prakash Poojari). Additionally, 15,000 police were deployed. 280 Masjid members participated in the conference. In the protest, Alleged police atrocity was criticised. An accused Muslim was arrested and kept in jail, and that man was produced on the stage. Then various speakers asserted that Muslims are being harassed. Shafeez Hasid, one of the speakers pointed out that the triple talaq judgment was given by the judiciary against the Islam shariyat law, therefore, “we have not given Muslim judge or lawyer, S Abdull Hakheem is the only one Judge in the Karnataka high court for the last 15 years. We (Muslim) are not able to give one Chief Justice of India, you all students should take a pledge you should become police, lawyers, judges, I.A.S, I.P.S officers”. There was an attempt to create awareness among Muslims that Muslims should participate in administration and bureaucracy. There is no trust in judiciary, police, or administration. Once Muslims get into the system then only the Muslim community can get justice<sup>115</sup>. If there is any Muslim accused or put behind the wall, there would be a huge

protest in the city by Muslims. On 2<sup>nd</sup> May there was a protest by Muslims against the police atrocities, and on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of May of 2017, Vishwa Hindu Parishad and Bhajaranga Dal staged a protest in support of police action.

There were several public meetings held in the name of bringing peace in the city, but It is felt that they are not concerned of peace; rather that they are thought to be strengthen to be the one community's prejudices. During a talk was held in the city titled 'Peace at the time of Hate', the Speaker pointed out that the city is a sensitive place. Speaker deepened the communally sensitive state of mind in the city inhabitants. The talk was not attempted to heal the city's communal division. Most of the audience were brought from Christian colleges. Muslims held another programme in Pura Bhavan at Mangaluru city. The programme was started with the Namaz in the evening. The programme was intended to bring peace and harmony in the city, but most of the speakers spoke about how Muslims are being targeted around the world, another spoke talked about how Muslims are organised in Kerala, other speakers talked about in Mangaluru context how to protest and why one should vote to particular candidate, how Asaduddin Owaisi is fighting for the Muslim community, etc.

A few days later, VHP held Sathyanarayana Vrata pooja. In the programme one speaker spoke about how to save cows, another speaker said that all non- Hindus are also Hindus but for some reason, Hindus converted to Christianity and Islam, one needs to bring them back. "Hindus ancestors and Converted Muslims and Christians are the same, so, therefore, we need to bring them back". All these programme are organized by either NGOs or some leaders in the name of bringing peace to the city. All these NGOs have political links and during the election, more such programme are organised.

If there is a question-answer session during the talk, the city inhabitants would ask for solution to the communal divisions. Whenever inhabitants ask for a solution speakers do not seem to provide any balanced solutions. The important point is that no programme is intended to bring peace. They never spoke against other communities directly but in a subtle way they speak against the other communities. In all the programme in the city, it was noticed that no programmes spits venom to the other, but there is politeness in the public talk. Programme such as these thus subtly strengthen the prejudice among the inhabitants communally.

Due to the delays in the judiciary, politicians get to deepen the communal sensitiveness. An individual (Kartik Raj) was murdered, who was an ABVP worker. So BJP leaders started to criticise that police did not take strict action against perpetrators. Meanwhile, the local MP would protest that Mangaluru would be burnt soon if justice is not given. After a few weeks, it was revealed that it was murdered by their own family. The investigation takes a long time, meanwhile prejudices furthered. The incident may be related to the individual, but the leader gets political mileage.

Gouraksha is another issue simmering in the city. There is an allegation that Muslims are killing the cattle. An incident took place at Vaamanjor on the 26<sup>th</sup> of July 2018 that two calves and a cow had been stolen from the home of Purushottama and Prema Poojary. At night, it is said that a group of men came and threatened the family not to come out if they want to save their life. And the cows were said to be stolen. From the next day onwards, there was protest and few leaders sat for fasting. As the incidents came to limelight Bhajarnaga Dal, VHP, Gauraksha Samiti organised a protest in the mid of the city in Nehru Maidana. As a part of the protest an artificial cowshed was created, grass and food were served to cows. Religious leaders arrived, Bhajan was organised, this was organised by auto drivers in the city, then Yakshagana was performed and food was served at the city. So, this is an example

of how an incident triggers the communally sensitive state of mind in the city. Speaker on the protest, a Bajaranga Dal leader argues that “Muslims issue fatwa against singing Vande Mataram, idol worship, on dress code. Islam is against steeling, if you have guts issue a fatwa against cow stealers”

In another case, Kalyani Amman used to domesticate cows at Nadu padavi near Konaje. She has had around 60 cows for the last 8 years and has lost 37 cows. She had complained at the police station but there was no action from the police. There are many narratives. Cow vigilantism is reported across the country. At the same time, cattle theft too is surprisingly on the rise in the communally sensitive city. It is reported that around 200 cattle theft incidents were reported in Udupi and Mangaluru districts in 2017, further, 22 cattle were stolen from Moodushedde area, 7 cattle in Kavoor, 5 from Vamanjoor, 2 from Attavar, 3 from Jappinamogaru and 4 from Ullala in the city in 2018<sup>116</sup>.

One of the respondents says that the cattle were stolen because it is easy to make money. He says “if one steals and sells it to a neighbouring state, Kerala, and one would earn nearly Rs 50,000 to 60,000 in a night”. One of the respondents from VHP argues that the city would be peaceful if cow stealing and love jihad stopped. As long as these continue there is no way that the city remains peaceful: “I do not ask anything from the police that when our Karyakartas (volunteers) make them aware of cow smuggling, every time they catch them, what do the police do, we want them to carry their duty”. He accuses the police as biased towards cattle stealers. This issue has been kept alive for the last three decades. It is not sure who is stealing cattle. But, it has created tension in the city. Bhajaranga Dal and VHP accuse some Muslims and accuses that the Congress MLAs support them.

## **Beef stalls set on fire in Mangaluru**

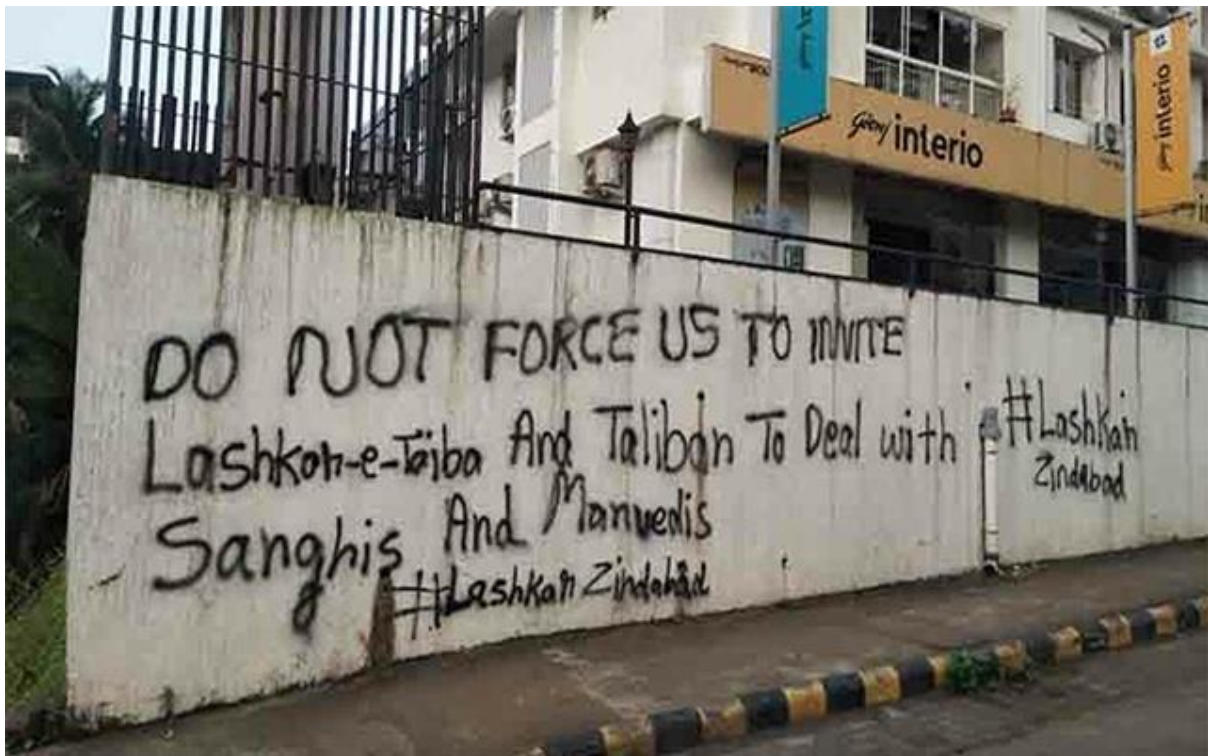
In addition, it is evident that each incident provides a ground for communal violence in the city. Objectionable graffiti was found on the walls of the city too. Days after the Karnataka government issued an ordinance to enact the Cow Slaughter Act, three beef stalls in Thokottu were allegedly set damaged by miscreants in the city. The three stalls were functioning from transitory sheds outside the now-demolished Thokottu market. The market is presently being rebuilt. Farooq Ullal, former Ullala CMC member, alleged that miscreants set on fire the stalls belonging to Lateef, Khader and Haneef, around 3 am<sup>117</sup>. The incidents happened in Mangaluru's Ullal within a week of Karnataka government passed the stringent anti-cow slaughter law,<sup>118</sup>.

Bridge and Watson (2003) explains the significance of economic explanations of social/special divisions and how differences are constructed in symbolic and cultural terrains. Therefore, a particular site can be ascribed meaning through codes that may be observable to others. For example, say Graffiti, or which may be hidden and only noticeable to those who "know". Such ascriptions of identity often in the more interstitial spaces of the city can signify powerful spaces of resistance and self-definition. The terrains and discourses which construct these identities can change swiftly as new strategies, such as new forms of communication, new styles or dress codes are displayed by marginal groups. It is not arguing that economic terrain is insignificant in constituting exclusion and marginality. Economic terrain intersects with other terrains producing new confluences of differences (Bridge and Watson 2003, 256).

Before any violence takes place, groups try to burst out communal conflict symbolically. For example, many slogans like *Hindustan Me rahna hai to Hindu bankar rahna hoga* (i.e., if you want to live in India, you will have to live like Hindus) were painted on the wall before communal riot broke out in Kota city (Engineer 1989). It was also noted that following the

Moradabad killings posters hailing Pakistan were pasted on walls (Thaper 1980). Similarly, Mangaluru city too witnessed graffiti on the walls of the city. Some of the unknown miscreants scribbled graffiti on the walls of an apartment in Mangaluru city. The graffiti has supported terrorist organisations. It was noticed on November 27, 2021. The graffiti says "Do not force us to invite Lashkar-e-Toiba to deal with Sanghis and Manuvadis"<sup>119</sup>.

**Figure 4.1: Defacing the city wall**



**Source**<sup>120</sup>

Yet another incident took place on November 29, 2020, that some miscreants defaced on the wall of old police outpost on the court premises. The Graffiti says that 'Gustak e Rasool ki Ek hi saza, sar tan say Juda' (only one punishment for offending Prophet-severing head from the body) in Urdu language and English translation.



**Figure 4.2 : Defacing the city wall**

Initially communal conflict remained at a latent stage, now and then, the latent feeling manifested in different forms like some times it appears through showing green or saffron flags or moral policing or availing health facilities, ect. The wall painting is evident that the latent feelings are gradually manifested on the city's wall. The communication on the wall might go on, other communities might answer by painting on the wall. This process might continue, it will not heal rather intensify the division in the city.

### **Summary**

This chapter has discussed geographical spatial segregation in Bengare, Ulla and Suratkal in the city and also explored the symbolic segregation by flags at the fishing boats at Bandaru and bunting during a respective religious festivals. It drew attention towards institutional segregation like hospitals, jails, lawyers and entertainment industry. Further, it discussed the moral policing and Gouraksha activities which kept Mangaluru city communally sensitive around the culture. The communal division has continued to reflect in public talk and on the city's wall as well. All this made the city in the past three decades a divided city.

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century cities grew based on an economy driven by heavy industries which employed the migrants, while the cities of the 21<sup>st</sup> century grow and sustain themselves on the production, distribution and consumption of cultural products and commodities (Scott



2000). The consequence of modernity and aggressive modernisation funded by developed western countries the developing world has begun to see their identity or reinventing their tradition, whether ethnic, religious or cultural as a demonstration point, asserting such identities often lead unavoidably to enmity and conflict (Dhanagare 2003). The conflict thus has become inevitable because cultural identities are civilisational identities and the most dangerous enmities are happening today among cultures lined up on two sides of the divide between the western and non-western (Huntington 1996, 20). In Mangaluru, communal conflict is between culture and religious faiths. Conflict is further accentuated by the market-centred globalisation which makes the local and regional cultures feel that their very survival is threatened (Dhanagare 2003). As consumerism spreads, changes are visible in people's lifestyles, cultural tastes, food, habits, dress codes and choices, and in modes of entertainment; changes even in norms and values are quite striking (Dhanagare 2003). Religious fanaticism and market fanaticism are not only flourishing simultaneously but are also competing with each other in globalisation. (Dhanagare 2003, 27)

## Chapter 5

### Communal Pathways to School Choice

The communal conflict is characterised by the tension between culturally distinct, but geographically intermingled communities. Economic competition, religious and or cultural antipathies, and memories of the past conflicts and humiliations underlie these tensions (Naidu, 1980). But the tension is created essentially by political processes of modern times which transform the individual from being a subject to a citizen, and makes them conscious of their rights and the possibility of pressing his/her right through the electoral mechanisms (Naidu, 1980).

Galtung (1969) argues that there are three layers of conflict, namely, direct conflict, structural conflict and cultural conflict. He claims that educational institutions are carriers of cultural conflict. This cultural conflict is the primary unit of analysis in this chapter. In spite of the increasing cases of communal violence in Mangaluru, it continues to be a major centre of education attracting students from across the country and abroad and yet there is a clear indication that in the backdrop of communalisation of the city, schooling became a site of conflict and communal polarisation too.

Specifically, the chapter explores how educational institutions have become a site for triggering conflict in the city and vice-versa. It discusses how the communal identities have become the driving force in taking admission in educational institutions and are reinforced through co-curricular activities like prayers, cultural programmes, dress codes and the absence or presence of discussion over communal issues in the classroom contexts. The chapter has three sections. The first section briefly introduces the schooling experience before the 1990s and how latent forces of communalization manifested themselves in a full blown

manner after the 1990s given the major political, economic and cultural transition in the country. The second section delves into the communal trajectory of establishments of educational institutions. The third section discusses the parental choices of schooling among three communities, namely, Christians, Hindus and Muslims.

### **I. Education as a site of communalization: The 1990s as a transition period**

This section deals that the schooling experience of before 1990s. It points out that schools had a larger role brining all religious students together. Students were flexible in learning other languages, taking part in other religious festivals before 1990.

Muneer Katipalla<sup>121</sup> said when he was studying in high school; he attended the government (public) schools. He had friends from all religious, and caste backgrounds. They used to visit one another's homes for each others, festivals Hindus, Christians, and Muslims respectively. Those who studied nearly twenty-five years ago, all the students, irrespective of their religious backgrounds, were familiar with all the major languages spoken in the city such as Tulu, Beary, Kannada, Konkani, and Hindi. Because of these inter-religious bonds which resulted in frequent interactions and visits at one another's places, Muslims whose mother tongue was Beary, could understand and speak Tulu. In the same way, Hindus could also speak Beary despite having Tulu as their mother tongue. But, for the last three decades, he opines, "being a social activist whenever I conduct a programme, I cannot speak in Tulu, because youth from Muslim dominated areas do not understand it anymore". The reason is that in the past, all communities got schooled in public government schools, but now students take admission in their own community and religious groups/individuals run schools.

Moral policing has become a normal feature in the city that aspires to be an education hub. There are just a few places left where youngsters can move about freely, without being

questioned. This moral vigilantism has caused to ghettoization of communities and even sexes, as students are unable to interact freely with the opposite sex especially couples from different religious. Prabhakar Bhat says it is a visible tendency, and an alarming one. “Successive governments have exonerated the perpetrators of such incidents, giving the goons a free hand and making them bolder. Communities are getting polarized. It’s all part of power politics, a very sad development for a region which could have marketed its human resources,” says Bhat.

Instances and scenarios such as that of Mangaluru are not isolated instances. In fact, India had witnessed dramatic change in the 1990s in terms of the religious communal polarisation in its urban settings. Adoption of liberalisation and privatisation policies, resurfacing of Ram Janma Bhumi-Babri Masjid issue, evacuation of Kashmiri Hindus, assassinations of former prime ministers Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi, etc seems to have galvanised the polarisation more actively. What was prominent thread running across the country was the increasing instances of communal division and surfacing of riots and violence. Mangaluru also did not remain unaffected. Having a communal history of the establishment of educational institutions, here too the impact of growing religious divisions got reflected in the way educational institutions are organised and were composed of. This communalisation manifested itself in the form of cultural conflict impacting the schooling choices of parents in Mangaluru. Table 5.1 presents a clear picture of the city in 2018.

Mangaluru University College is a government college, Which was established by, local people initially as a secular school in 1868. Eventually it became a college. It is one of the oldest educational institutions founded by Mangaluru residents. The institution is run by the state Government. St.Alysius instituion was set up in 1880 by Jesuits (Roman Catholics). It is a private college and one of the well known colleges.

**Table: 5.1 Students strength in schools and Colleges ( 2018)**

Name of the Institutions	Year of establishment	Number of Hindu students	Number of Muslim students	Number of Christian students	Total Number of students
St.Aloysius College	1880	6000	2000	2000	10000
St.Ann's College	1943	603	299	492	1394
Badriya school	1922	15	563	None	578
Badriya 11 <sup>th</sup> & 12 <sup>th</sup>	1980	None	146	None	146
Badriya Degree College	1989	20	300	5	335
Shri Ram Vidya Kendra	1995	3490	10	None	3500
Alvas Institution	1995	22500	2000	1500	26000
Sharada Institution	1992	5500	300	200	6000
Shri Ramakrishna College	2005	600	25	5	630
Shri Narayana Guru Institution	1978	1000	None	None	1000
Mangaluru University college	1868	1680	165	15	1800

St. Ann's is a womens college, established in 1943, by Apostolic Carmel. Badriya is a oldest Muslim education institution establsihed in 1928. The Narayana Guru Insituion was establsihed in1970, established by Billava community. Sharada school was establsihed in 1992 by Vishwa Hindu Parishat (VHP) leader Prof. B.M.Puranik. Sri Ram Vidya Kedra was establsihed in 1995 by Rastriaya Swayamsevaka Sangha's head In Mangaluru, Prabhakar Bhat. Alva's instituion was establsihed in 1995 by Mohan Alva. Sri Ramakrishna College

was established in 2005 by Bunt Alias Nadavara Mathru Sangh. Two educational institutions are affiliated to Christianity, and one institution associated with Muslims, one institution run by a backward community, two institutions are established by Sarswat Brahman community and two institutions by the Bunt community.

These institutions can be categorized into four terms of the way these institutions were established. The very first educational institutions were established by Christians which included both Protestants and Catholics. In fact, as discussed in the previous chapters, the first education institutions were established by Basel Mission in the city. From 1835 to until 1947, most of the educational institutions were established by either Protestants sect or Catholics. Initially, preference was given to Christians over other religious students in these schools. But the trend had changed gradually and educational institutions allowed admission for students hailing from all other religions too. From 1990 onwards, the Christian run educational institutions did not make discrimination in providing admissions. Interestingly, since 2014 onwards, a few educational institutions started to provide scholarships and, fee relaxation for backward caste students. All Christian educational institutions, Bible class was compulsory for Christians and moral class for non-Christian students. Over the last two decades Christian run institutions have been seen acquiring secular nature of schooling. There are various meanings for the word secular, however; here the word secular intends to include schools which provide admissions to students across religions and teach all religious scriptures. However, though Christian run schools do not teach religious scriptures except the Bible, yet they are open to all students across religious affiliations.

Second type of schools established by Hindus. Initially, Gowda Sarswat Brahmin's started schools to counter Basel mission's effort to convert Hindus to Christianity. Mangaluru University College was established in 1868 with the leadership of Gowda Sarswat community. Many schools were established by Brahmins where 'Hindu Samskruti' is taught.

There was no reference to teaching of Bible or Quran in these schools. Later Bunts started hostels and Mogaveeras also established educational institutions. Alva however, is an institution established by the Hindus where all religious texts are taught.

In the table 5.1, the researcher has collected data from five educational institutions established by Hindus. Out of the five educational institutions except Alva education institution, the number of students from Muslim and Christian communities are found to be insignificant. For example, Sri Ram Vidya Kendra does not have a single student from the Christian community. The founder of school is a Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh leader, and nearly 3500 students are studying in the school. Out of the 3500 students, less than ten students are from the Muslim community, remaining all other students are from the majority Hindu community in the city. This school provides free education, including books, clothes, and mid-day meals to all its students from the first standard to the twelfth standard. In this school, ancient model of education is imparted. It is mentioned in its prospectus that the school was founded on the ideal of Shri Ramchandra and education would be imparted on the line of 'Indianness'. The founder of the school, is known for criticising publicly Christians for conversions and also the Muslims for their allaged, involvment in stealing cows. In the city people talk about him as a Hindu leader. That is what is stated as a reason for absence of Muslim and Christian students in the school run by him.

Sharada Education Trust was established in 1995 by a Vishwa Hindu Parishad leader. The objective of the school, as stated in its prospectus, is to "provide modern education, focusing on Indian values and culture". In this school, Muslim and Christian students' took admission (300 and 200 respectively), as it is seen as better than Shri Ram Vidyakendra. But in case of Alvas, it is perceived by the parents, and community members as more inclusive. Another attraction of this school seen to be that it emphasizes on sports activities and culture, along with academics.

Third types of schools are established by Muslims. As stated earlier, thus first institution was established by Muslims in 1928. For a long time until 1980s, no other Muslim educational institutions were established. But, from 1990 onwards, there was sudden growth of educational institutions as the Table 5.2 shows.

Thus, this section showed that how educational institutions were flourished based on religious line. It also tells that how students were enrolled in the educational institutions which affiliated to particular religious belief system.

## **II. School Choices and Communal Path Ways**

The study reveals that the Christian students prefer to go to the Christian Missionary run educational institutions. According to a professor “there is a superior feeling that Christians have brought the present education system and that, they get better schooling in Christian run schools and colleges”. Another reason was said to be that in the Christian run educational institutions the medium of instruction is English and in the job market English is necessary therefore they would join their children in St.Aloysius College, which is a Missionary run institution. The Principal of the college says that the Christian colleges have been known for quality schooling and it is preferred by all students, irrespective of religion. But, St. Ann’s College Principal expresses anguish that “students from Hindu and Muslim communities are declining, for having perception that Hindus and Muslim students are being converted to Christianity in these institutions”.

During interviews with non-Christian parents, two major factors were found to play a prominent role in choosing Christian Missionary run schools despite having different religious affiliation. The first is superiority associated with these institutions which get them the status of elite institutions and the status parents wish to aspire by being associated with



these institutions. The second is due to the perception of 'better quality education' which is equated with, in many cases, with the fluency and knowledge of English, which is also associated with the Missionary Schools.

Peer pressure was also found to be a major factor in a few cases. For example, a parent says that he sent his daughter to St. Anns College because her daughter's friends have joined the College therefore she wants to join that College". Yet another parent reiterates the observation : "I prefer to send my son to St. Aloysius College because it has good reputation in the city and he will have friends from diverse regions of the country. I am happy that now he will be compelled to speak only in English and not in any other language. I am sure that it will be helpful for his future career and open more career prospects for him. In any case, he will be among 'good' people and will have a big network."

It can be noticed that students are looking for quality education and medium of instruction must be English. Students also follow their footsteps of their peer group. There is a public perception that Christian educational institutions provide English medium, quality education.

There was one very old school named, Badriya School, which was started in 1928 by a Muslim management. Until 1992, all religious communities attended the school. From 1993 onwards, student enrolment from other communities started dwindling to the extent of zero. The reason is said to be the change in attitudes among the city dwellers post Babri Masjid demolition. One of the teachers of the school says, "the Babri Masjid demolition had created fear among the students and parents. That is why non-Muslim students withdrew their admission from the school". Another respondent notes that "I was a ten year old boy; me and my parents were asked to remain in the Masjid only". He narrated that Hindus could attack Muslim houses anytime, so they decided to be in Masjid in a group. Another respondent says

that “he watched Masjid demolition on TV; he could not come out of his home. However, there was no riot or violence in the city, yet city dwellers developed distrust”.

These incidents in turn got manifested in terms of the admission trends in Badriaya School too with Muslims; Parents withdrawing their children from the school. As Badriaya College principal says, no other communities except Muslims send their children to the school now. He states that many non-Muslim parents were friends of him and he requested them to refrain from withdrawing their children’s admission from the school, yet he could not stop them. Non-Muslim parents were worried about their children's well-being. He confesses his failure that, even today “he could not get a single non-Muslim student to join his school post 1992 incidents”. Not only are the non-Muslim parents affected by the larger trends of communal conflicts being played out elsewhere in the country, these incidents did affect the Muslim parental choice too. Inhabitants from Muslim localities also began to prefer to send that children only to Muslim run schools in Mangaluru, by and large.

This suggests clearly that the macro happenings as well as the micro city context have had serious influence on how the school choice influence on how the school choice were panned out in Mangaluru. The Table 5.2 clearly establishes this trend. The table shows mushrooming of schools that cater to Muslim communities have mushroomed post 1992 period. One of the reasons for growth of institutions according to president of Muslim Education Federation of India Mohmad Beary says that “Muslim students did not get admission in Christian run schools in Mangaluru city”.

As mentioned in the Table 5.2, all the students are from Muslims religion. There are no students from the non-Muslim communities as stated by Mohmad Beary<sup>122</sup>, who is worried about the trend: “I am not able to understand why non-Muslim students do not take admission in Muslim run schools. It needs to be explored further. English is the medium of instruction

in most of the schools, yet non-Muslim students do not join these schools”. In order to cross check researcher attended MEIF meeting, where all the school founders were present<sup>123</sup>. All the participants reiterated in the meeting that their school do not have students from non-muslim community. Therefore, it is clear that President of MEIF and schools founders have made same point that only the Muslim students take admission in the Muslim run schools.

**Table: 5.2 Muslim run Schools in Mangaluru city**

SI. No	School Name	Year of establishment	Number of students	Medium
1	Badriya English Medium High School	1978	350	English
2	Adarsh Primary School	1981	115	English
3	Sayyid Madani Urdu Higher Primary School, Sayyid Madani High School	1983	500	Kannada
4	Crescent English Medium School	1988	500	English
5	Hasanabba Master Composite P.U. College, Noorul Huda English Medium School Noorul Huda Kannada Medium Girls High school	1989	528	Kannada and English
6	Sahara English Medium School	1989	698	English
7	Rahamaniya Pre-Primary School	1989	85	English
8	Islahi English Medium School	1990	640	English
9	Anjuman Composite P.U. College	1990	600	English
10	sh Primary School	1991	115	English
11	Falah High School	1991	828	English
12	Anjuman English Medium Higher Primary & High school	1992	271	English
13	Noble English Medium High School	1994	666	English
14	Hazarath Seyyid Madani	1996	1583	English
15	Beary Public School	1996	500	English

16	Kannur English Medium Higher Primary school and High School	1996	563	English
17	Hazarath Sayyid Madani English Medium School	1996	1583	English
18	Al-Badriya Composite PU College	1997	1431	English
19	Ansar Educational Institutions	1998	897	English
20	Qilriya English Medium School	2000	500	English
21	Al-Medeena High School	2000	964	English
22	Jamiya English Medium High School	2002	399	English
23	Green View High School	2003	291	Kannada
24	Hira Girls High school	2004	235	English
25	Hira Women's College	2005	248	English
26	Al-Furqan Islamic English medium school	2005	254	English
27	Prestige International School	2006	600	English
28	Peace Public School	2006	592	English
29	Sneha Public School	2007	242	English
30	A.R.K. Primary School	2007	244	English
31	Hira Public School	2008	168	English
32	Hira Women's P.U.College	2013	27	English

Source: MEIF (Muslim Educational Institutions' Federation Dakshina Kannada and Udupi Districts) Directory 2013.

Further interestingly, most of the teachers appointed in the Muslim run schools are from the non-Muslim communities. In spite of hiring highly qualified teachers from all religious background and providing good results, non-Muslim students are not found to be taking admission in the Muslim run schools. There are only three schools such as Ideal school, Sahara School and Nobel Schools, having other community students and the reason for this is said to be that these schools teach Bhagavad-Gita, Bible, and Quran. The founder of the Ideal school notes that his school teaches Ramayana, Mahabharata, Bhagvad-Gita and Quran,

therefore, is able to attract students from all communities, especially Hindu students. But rest of the schools said to emphasize on the study of Quran only.

Fourth type of educational institutions are secular institutions. Initially, Basel Mission established schools for conversion purposes, responding to that Hindus established schools to impart Hindu samskruti(values and culture), similiarly Muslims started schools at Masjid. As discussed earlier, it may be noted that some educational institutions are moving towards secular values, like all the Christian institutions provide admission to all students, though, they do not teach religious scripts apart from Bible. For a few of the Hindu institutions and a few Muslim educaitonal institutions teaching all religious scripts.

Here, two issues may be observed, first, communalisation of school managements and second, communalisation of student composition in educational institutions. It is important to know who runs which school and what kind of perception one carries in the city. For example, Shri Ram Vidya Kendra's founder who is an active leader of RSS, makes provoking speeches against non Hindu religions and therefore it may be observed in the students' composition that there are no Christian students and number of students from Muslim community is very insignificant. If one could see the caste of Sharada School whose founder is a VHP leader, but he is said to be polite in his language, and has a good reputation in the city, the student composition in his school reflects somewhat multi-religious composition. Another school, Alva's the founder is said to be quite liberal and that he treats all religious students in a similar manner, the student composition mirrors a cosmopolitan kind. Schools established in Masjid have the only Muslim students. It shows how the approach and attitudes of the schools managements get reflected in students' composition across different religious communities and a major indicator of and a contributor in the process of communalization of the city.

Similar trends were found in Ahmedabad. Thapan (2010) notes that the media in Ahmedabad reports repeatedly the inability of Muslim students to gain admission in the Hindu Schools, about the entry to housing that it is divided along religious lines. After 2002, Thapan states, Muslim children did not gain admission in some good schools in the Ahmedabad city.

There are political interventions, economic and cultural reasons behind the growth of Muslim and Hindu educational institutions, in particular. Political reason is that there was only one Muslim run school was back in 1928 in Mangaluru and until the 1980s there were not any additions to this school. When B A Mohideen<sup>124</sup> became the Minister for Higher Education, who hails from the city, he realized that Muslims, especially Muslim women, were not educated well. Being an Education Minister in the Karnataka state, it was not difficult for him to get permission from the government. Since there was no infrastructure already in place to start schools. He felt Madrasas which were running classes in Masjid could be used provide secular education to Muslim children. He realized that Madrasa classes are held in the morning and, the evenings and the remaining day was vacant, he asked all Masjid managements to start secular education which compelled the parents to send their children. That is the reason why in both Mangaluru and Udupi districts, about 125 Muslim management run schools were established. Once schools were started in the Masjid, Muslim parents started to feel safe to send their girl children for education. As a result, the Muslims literacy rate has increased. Later, schools were constructed and shifted from the Masjid to those newly constructed schools. However, it may be noted that despite starting schools with state syllabus Muslim schools largely have remained as segregated, catering only to members of their own religion.

Secondly, economical empowerment which accounts for the successful implementation of Land Reform Act and remittances from Arab countries, helped to establish schools and send their children to those schools and colleges. The land reforms provided land for landless

labourers particularly to about 1, 36,880 tenants and small farmers. This enabled small land owners to send their children to schools.

Third reason majorly determining the parental choices is cultural in nature. Firstly sending one's child into one's own community run school instils a sense of security among the parents regarding the well-being of their children especially in the aftermath of Ram Mandir and Babri Masjid demolition, which pushed Muslims students towards Muslim run schools and colleges. Secondly, writing Quran verses on the wall of Muslim run schools attract parents regarding the maintenance of 'Islamic culture' among children and this motivates parents to prefer Muslim run schools. Thirdly, since students are taught in Masjid premises they need not go to Masjid for Friday prayer. Fourthly, it eases the parents' anxiety regarding their daughters' education and, as mentioned, thus they get 'assured' first and foremost the well-being of their daughters. These reasons have shaped the parental choices for schooling in case of Muslim community.

Further, soon after the Madrasa schooling, the Muslim students join their community schools. Until 10<sup>th</sup> standard, they are taught in their own community schools and after the 10<sup>th</sup> standard, Muslim girls are not sent to colleges, if they are sent, it would be only to Muslim run colleges, or it would be women's college which is run by the Christian community.

Inter-community and inter-religious interactions do not take place as they attend schools run by their own community. Ismail (2016) argues that Muslim students do not mingle with other caste and community students. He adds that educational institutions are started on the lines of caste and religious community which in a way, helps students to get education. Ismail too points out that Mangaluru Muslim parents send their children to schools which are run by their community especially Muslims<sup>125</sup>. According to him "Only Muslim students take

admission in Muslim educational institutions, that is why more than 90 % Muslim students study in Muslim institutions”.

Since schools were started at Masjid, non-Muslim parents felt uncomfortable to send their children to Masjid schools. As a result, Muslim girls accessed schooling in Muslim run Management. One of the respondents who ran an NGO (Talent Research Fund) to empower Muslim city dwellers notes that though several educational institutions are established in the city for Muslim children, the quality of education in these institutions is not up to the mark. According to him, the NGOs working in the city strive to improve in the city’s quality of education. While bulk of Muslim schools cater to lower class Muslims, middle and upper-class Muslims send their children to Christian convent schools. In Ahmedabad too a wealthy businessman established a trust to run a school since 2004 to improve the educational conditions of the children of Muslim community (Thapan 2010). However, there has been a controversy attached to it as Bajarang Dal, a major Hindutva organization, believes that the trust is trying to introduce what they call “Pakistani” system of education through various practices such as having half-day school on Fridays and having vacation for Ramazan (Thapan, 2010). This marks the lack of trust between two religious communities.

Among the Hindu parents, schooling choices seem to be governed and guided by the similar factors like status and reputation of the school, community pressure, motivation to teach children about the 'Indian culture' and also a persistent sense of fear regarding the well-being of their children. Specifically, the fear of conversion is utmost on the minds of Hindu parents when it comes to Christian run schools. One of the respondents<sup>126</sup> observes that “I choose to send my daughter to Shri Venkata Ramana Vidya Samsthe (SVS) School in Bantaval because, first, there are many Christian schools in this area, so I preferred Hindu background of the school. Secondly, the school’s academic performance is in top five in the state. Thirdly, it is near my residence”. According to another respondent<sup>127</sup>, “In Christian schools,



discipline is excellent but the management's behaviour with parents is arrogant. There is a fear (*bhaya*) that Christian schools engage in religious conversions. That is why I preferred Hindu school. Among the Hindu run schools Shri Venkata Ramana Vidya Samsthe is the best school. He continues, "I had two options CBSE or State syllabus school. I preferred the state syllabus school". According to the respondent, "though these schools do not teach any 'Hindu culture' as such but my daughter's friends are Hindus. Our surroundings too make a huge impact on us that is why I put my daughter in Hindu school."

He further adds that the "school has advised students not to bring non-vegetarian food to school. However, some students bring non-vegetarian food, but hide it. Usually, teachers do not say anything even if someone brings the non-veg food. They do not check the food boxes. The reason school gives is that non-veg food induces sleep during the class. There is no hardcore rule though."

Another respondent<sup>128</sup> points out, "I send my child to Hindu run school because the school encourages extra-curricular activities. My daughter was conferred with Rajyapal award in Scouts and Guides. She goes for Bharatanatyam classes...drawing...her friends go for Yakshagana..."

Another respondent<sup>129</sup> says, "my daughter, in the second standard, goes to Madhusudhan School. The reason for sending to that school is that they teach Bharatiya Samskruti (Indian culture) and give importance to arts, like Bharatanatya, *Hindustani Sangeet*, etc. The school teaches Hindu way of life to the children, namely, how to give respect to Devaru (god) and to the elders. They teach prayers like *sharada Devi Stuti*. But Christian schools do not teach classical dance or songs, they do not teach our Indian culture but they teach only Jesus and Bible. They teach in English medium only. Another respondent<sup>130</sup> says that he is a Saxophone specialist and adds, "Muslim and Christian run schools do not teach our (Hindu) Samskruti,

they teach their Samskruti. In their schools one cannot put *bindi*<sup>131</sup> on forehead or tie *rakhi* around their hands”.

Yet another respondent<sup>132</sup> says that “I live in Bantavala, I have three year old daughter. There are many good schools like SVS, St. Pauls, Towsiff in our area, but I will not send my child to Towsiff School, which is run by a Muslim managment. Parents avoid sending their children to Towsif School. I might send my child to SVS School, reason is, and it is convenient. I have done M.Tech and work in Janara College”.

Further, he notes that the communalization is happening across the city through educational institutions and clearly states his disapproval towards this trend of religious ideologies, dominating the educational domain. He argues “Canara School, Sharada School are the best schools in Mangaluru, SVS is best school in Bantavala. I do not send my child to Sri Ram Vidaya Kendra in Bantaaval because rather educating, they do communal brainwash. I want to be away from that institution. I want to avoid Kattar (hardcore) Muslim and Hindu schools”. He further draws on to the 'secular' nature of Christian run schools as they provide a platform to all the religions. He says: "I prefer secular kind of education. I think that is why people prefer Christian schools. It is neutral. Hindu and Christian students do not go to Muslim schools because most of the faculties are Muslims. They give a break for Namaz. There are some schools like Bushra which is located in Sulya, it is a good institution because they teach Bhagavad-Geeta for Hindus, and Quran for Muslims”.

One needs to be careful while analyzing the fact that many educational institutions have started teaching different religious scripts. Field study insight says that it is not from the exploring and seeking point of view, rather from the point of business and imposing a belief system on students. It is a technique to marketize schools so that to attract all community students they show some flexibility while taking admission. For example, to attract Hindu

students for Muslim run institutions Hindu teachers are appointed. One respondent says that “this year it was given an instruction that all Hindus students should be given admission at free of cost in Muslim run schools but not for Muslim religion students”.

This reflects that the schools are not providing free education to their community but they provide free admission to other communities. At face value it would be said that the community would like to invite other communities so that there would be a harmonious interaction among various communities at school so that prejudice on one another community will be broken. But, further interview reveals that they would like to provide free education for a few years. Once the other community starts to take admission they would like to withdraw the free education policy. One can see the pure marketing strategy to increase students' numbers.

For Muslim students, performing Namaz has been an issue in educational institutions in the city. All Muslim run schools allow to do Namaz but not all non Muslim run schools grant permission. Many schools informally allow the Muslim students to pray Namaz on Friday. Some school does not provide a special provision for prayer on Friday. Some Colleges have allowed students to go to Masjid on Friday. Some non Muslim school's management have constructed a separate prayer room for the Muslim. As a result some Muslim students took admission in Hindus school, it pinched Muslim educational institutions that they failed to draw students as they cannot teach Bible and Bhagavad-Gita. But if any Muslim run school teaches Bible and Bhagavad-Gita, non-Muslim students take admission in that school. Friday prayer has become controversial to some schools because, many students who go for prayer on Friday, actually they do not go for prayer rather they roam around the city, therefore, in 2018 onwards Annie Besant College at centre of the city has stopped permitting to go for Friday prayer<sup>133</sup>.

The above incident can be seen as an isolated incident where a school has denied for the Muslim students to visit Mosque on Friday in the wake of students misuse the permission. But it can also create tension in the city. It actually has created a point where a series of communal incidents, this kind of school decision has deepened the communal divide in the society at the larger picture.

Interview with Muslim students who study in Christian run schools say that the Christian run schools do not give any provision to pray on Friday for the Muslim students. But unofficially, Muslims girls and boys do a prayer at the corner of the school; teachers do not interfere with their belief. There is a school called Alvas, there are 26000 students, out of which 1500 students from the Muslim community. Founder says he appointed an Arabic teacher from Masjid to teach Muslim students. Earlier he used to send Muslim children for Friday prayer, but now he does in school only. He constructed a prayer hall for Muslim. He says that all communities should live together; he conducts Iftar parties, Christmas, Deepavali, Ganesh Chaturthi, all festivals are celebrated, and all students are supposed to attend all those festivals. Although Hindu man runs the school yet Muslim and Christian students take admission for three reasons, one, this school includes all religions. The school has not made any emphasis on one religion over another religion. The composition of students also reflects the attitude that the school founder follows. The school manifested secular nature in the students' admission and while encouraging different cultures in the school. Therefore, it is of an inclusive nature, second, it has created a brand in the state that it provides a quality education, the school has produced many students, like first rank holder in 2016 UPSC civil service examination from the Alva education institution. Third, the school also provides free education to selected and meritorious poor students. And fourth, the institution encourages sports and cultural activities. The institution has a separate wing of sports and students were adopted under sports quota, free hostel facilities, uniforms and education are given. Many

students have represented the university, state, national and international competitions and grabbed the medals.

Further, the field insight provides different ways of increasing the number of students in particular schools. There is an understanding between school management and bus or auto rickshaw drivers who take students to schools. Bus and Auto rickshaw drivers get two hundred rupees per child if they get a student to a particular school. If parents are reluctant to send children to another school, drivers will agree to take the child. Because children come from remote areas, they can even drop children where parents desire to send but they do not agree.

### **Summary**

Choice of schooling in many cases aims at the upward mobility in terms of social status and class. Coupled with the interest of having wider and influential social network, such elite institutions become the foremost choice among many parents in case of Mangaluru. Such schooling preference of parents plays a crucial role in shaping the perceptions of students as well. For example, a study shows that students take admission in certain educational institutions, because they are influenced by their friends and parents (Alvarado & Turley, 2012). Yet another study found that students are indirectly influenced by their parents, who influence education ambitions and choices regarding saving money to fund their choices (Broekemier & Seshadri, 1999). But, in the present study, the major reason that emerged as a prominent driving force in guiding parents and shaping their choice of schooling for their children is the 'need to maintain religious values and sustain one's religious freedom'. This in turn continues to aggravate and be accentuated by the cultural conflict experienced by the people of the city in everyday life. In Mangaluru, the long history of the establishment of educational institutions on communal lines continues to feed the conflict among people

belonging to diverse religious communities. Religious freedom as provided by a few 'secular' institutions also fails largely to address the root of these conflicts. This makes the educational institutions a platform to enact one's religious identity without developing any sensitivity towards others' religious practices. It was established long ago in a study by Tweedell (1987) that religious factors may influence educational choices, as students' perceptions of institutional tend to be influenced by the religious subcultures of their upbringing. The present study delves into the process of this influence and inter-linkages between the educational institutions and cultural conflict and emphasizes how the choices of parents are shaped by the persistent fear regarding the 'well-being' of children and maintenance of the religious traditions.

## Chapter 6

### Education Spaces as Sites of Everyday Manifestation of Conflict

The rise of neo-liberal political economies and rise of neo-collectivist movements of identity, ethnicity, religion and self-expressivism impacted the educational institutions too. This may be a sign of a struggle to assert knowledge forms and values that transcend those of modern scientific and economic reason and marketization suggest signs of bi-polar societal tendency. That bi-polar tends, on the one hand, to economic interests and economic thinking with the market assumed as the dominant social agent relegating political action to response to market needs and failures and, on the other hand, in the weakened social arena that has resulted from heightened market action, a turn to culture in its reduced sense: communalisms, familism, tribal loyalties and of unreasoned emotional imperatives and individualist self interests (Casey 2012). Politics in the absence of society serves either a politicized economic rationality, or politicized communalist culturalism (Touraine, 1995). Neither is good for society, both portend further social fragmentation and conflict.

In this context, this chapter deals with how the institutional life provides a sense of communal polarisation and influences in a subtle way. According to Galtung (1990), the underlying cause of any violence is an unresolved conflict. There are four basic needs such as survival, wellbeing, identity or freedom. If there is incompatibility with any of these needs then the conflict would be deep. Each community perceived either real or imagined insecurity of survival of their community and its identity. In order to protect each community's culture and identity, schools have been established either directly or indirectly. At the latent level, educational institutions try to maintain their culture. The attempt can be seen when it manifests in the form of violence in the city.

## I. Schools as Sites of Cultural Conflict

As explained in the previous chapter communal violence has impacted all the sphere of the city. Educational institutions are not exception to it. Educational institutions have become battle ground in a subtle way. It has been manifested in cultural activities, curriculum, dress etc.

One of the respondents<sup>134</sup> says that communal conflict increased over the ten years. Education institutions played an important role. Educational institutions are set up by a certain community. Another respondent says that schools do not follow Mangaluru's Tulu culture. In Hindu run schools they practice Saraswati Vandana and Sharada pooje, this is not Tulu culture which is drawn from north India, and Muslims run school to teach, Islamic tradition from ancient days Koran which is from Arab. There is a lot of influence from Wahabism in Muslim education institutions. Christian run schools teach prayer from the Bible. None of them represent Mangaluru's Tulunadu culture such as Pardana.

Founder of a school says that his school does not provide entertainment for students. Singing, dancing and other activities are organised in the school as a part of the entertainment, but according to him it is against Tulu culture. He says that his school provides *Saamskrutika Karyakrama* (cultural program), not an entertainment activity. Further he explains that entertainment for enjoyment or forgetting sorrowness but *Samskruti* means culture of land, when one organises a program that should resonate or sink with the geographical culture of the land. Conflict extended to entertainment too. Students show their talent in school cultural programs.

One incident took place that Haleyangadi which is a place near Mangaluru city. It is a primary school which belongs to United Basel Mission Church. Every year students perform various programme for entertainment during the Annual Day of the school. So, students



wanted to perform Yakshagan titled “Chrita Mahime”( it is about Christ) in 2009. They practiced with Yakshagana artists. But, Bajaranga Dala activists went to students’ homes and threatened their parents not to perform Yakshagana on the decided theme (Santosh 2014).

**Figure 6.1: Cultural celebration**



Source: Photo:<https://www.thenewsminute.com/article/karnataka-school-run-rss-man-makes-kids-demolish-babri-masjid-play-114172>

Yakshagana has been a part of Mangaluru culture. It is argued that the college was using Yakshagana as a tool to convert children to Christianity. Another school Sri Ram Vidya Kendra High school in Kalladka performed a cultural programme on an Annual Day in 2016, where in demolition of Ayodhya’s Babri Mosque of 1992 was enacted and the play ended with the students erecting a Ram Temple in place of the Mosque. During the entire play Jai Shri Ram, Jai Sita and Jai Hanuman were chanted.

This incident has become an issue on social media and was widely criticised. But the founder of the school defended that it is a historical event which was depicted. “We have depicted

Jallianwala Bhag as well, why did not highlight anyone”<sup>135</sup>. It has been depicted as historical event but it promotes hate, destructive nature among children. Injustice might have happened in the past but promoting hate among the children is not acceptable. Such kind of activities promotes communal conflict in the city.

This school has been in the news ever since its establishment. Prabhakara Bhat, the founder says, “When we planned to start a school in 1995; curfew was imposed to stop the foundation stone ceremony. In spite of curfew, there were more than a thousand people gathered to participate in the school construction process. This shows why and what made local people to come together despite curfew on the day. The school provides free education to about 3500 students”.

Kollur Mookambika temple provides mid day meals to Sri Ram Vidya Kendra and Sri Devi School at Punacha. These two schools are run by RSS leader Kalladaka Prabhakar Bhat. So, in 2016, Ramanth Rai being a minister of Congress government stopped the food for the school. Those two schools protested in the city.

Sri Ram Vidya Kendra and Sri Devi Private School provide free mid-day meals, uniforms, textbooks for the students for which fund was granted by the government since 2001. Almost 94% of schools’ children come from poor background and hail from the Dalit, Adivasi and Backward caste background. Government is funding 52 schools but fund is withdrawn only for these two schools<sup>136</sup>.

**Figure 6.2: Students Protest**



<https://megamedianews.com/index.php/177719/students-parents-stage-protest-against-cancellation-of-uniforms-mid-day-meal-in-2-schools/>

As more than 3500 students go hungry every day, school management utilizes the opportunity to gain sympathy from Mangaluru city. School management started tilling a paddy land, where in students are made into groups and visit the paddy land, at the same time, Hindus from Mangaluru city start gathering rice, food items, and money to support the school from home to home and shop to shop. The school got huge sympathy and support from the public. This is how Sri Ram Vidya Kendra School and its founder has been in the limelight all the time for communal conflict in the city.



Galtung (1990) argues that there are three levels of conflict: direct conflict, structural conflict and cultural conflict. According to him, culture includes ideology, religion, language, etc. One could see how educational institutions are carriers of cultural conflict in the city. The cultural conflict at the latent level has not been much noticed, it would be noticed only when it manifests in the form of direct violence. Cultural conflict begins with religious symbols, like wearing burkha, putting vermilion, wearing anklets, flowers, particular colour shawls, singing songs from religious scripts, wearing religious symbols like, cross, etc. These all are symbolic, it is at latent level conflict manifests. If one connects these different incidents, one could see a broader picture that it is a cultural conflict and it is the cause of direct conflict in the city.

### **Moral policing in educational institutions**

There is a rumor about 'Love Jihad' which often creates tension in the city. 'Love Jihad' conspiracy theory alleges that Muslim men target non-Muslim women for conversion in to Islam by feigning love and enticing them into marriage. There is a rumor in the city that low fee Colleges target girls who study arts subjects and, that a few poor boys are hired to get phone numbers of poor girls. Further, there is suspicion among the people that whenever girls visit shops to get their mobiles recharged their numbers are given to some boys and they try to miss use it. It is believed by some replay that young Muslim shopkeepers lure the Hindu girls by providing them slippers, and fancy items at a low rate and gradually develop friendships with girls and take advantage of it.

There was an attack on aided government school for teaching foreign languages, especially Arabic during the weekends. Miscreants illegally entered the school and created a ruckus at St Thomas Higher Primary school at Padua Bandanthila<sup>138</sup>. They protested against the school management's decision to conduct special Arabic classes for students, along with other

foreign language classes. It shows how language has become content for cultural violence as pointed out by Galtung.

As students enter the college, an inter-religious community couple cannot walk on the streets of the city. Moral policing takes place from different organizations. When interviewed with college students, they say that they could walk together inside the premises of colleges but not outside the colleges. In Mangalore University, one of the respondents<sup>139</sup> says that if any couple like each other and belong to Hindu and Muslim, a group of students from both the communities come and warn the students to not to continue their friendship. If they continue it, they physically harass them. Once it happened with her that her friend liked a boy from inter religious faith, he was threatened to beat. So they could not continue their relationship.

At the primary and high school level schooling process does not allow mingle with the inter-religious community, at the college level public do not let intermingle with inter-religious students. This is how schooling has become means to divide communities rather than integrating. By chance, if an inter-religious couple gets married, that would be published on the front page of the local newspapers. Even they get married, and then-unknown threatening calls are given, one college principal shares his experience, who has an inter-religious marriage, his wife keeps getting a call from an unknown person and troubling them. Now inter-religious marriage association discusses the way one supposes to handle the situation in the city. An advocate shares his opines that when he studied during 1999, inter-religious marriage was not so sensitive issue, caste and religion was not an issue in the city at all but it has become a serious issue in 2002, 2003, and 2004 and lecturers encourage such controversy<sup>140</sup>. The fact finding report says that moral policing took place 49 cases in 2013, out of which 29 cases by Hindu groups and 16 by Muslim groups. In 2014, it was reported 39 cases, out of which 25 by Hindu groups and 14 by Muslim groups.

One of the respondents says there is a rumour that Hindu girls are being married by Muslim men by using Hindu names, and then Hindu girls are converted to Islam. Another respondent says that girls are the centre of the family system, if one converts a girl; it is equal to converting a family. So, Christians and Muslims want to increase their number as numerical strength plays a significant role in democracy, they want to increase the number.

It is a common sight that students move from college to the nearby mall called City Centre in groups exclusively of boys or exclusively of girls. If they are found as couples, interreligious Hindu and Muslim couples, then a group of youth would ask their religion if the religion is Hindu and Muslim then they warn to stop walking together.

In December 2008, Yenapoya Medical College students went for a tour and a group of people threatened the Muslim students not to go with Hindu girls. The schools and colleges confront this kind of everyday conflicts between the two religious communities in Mangaluru.

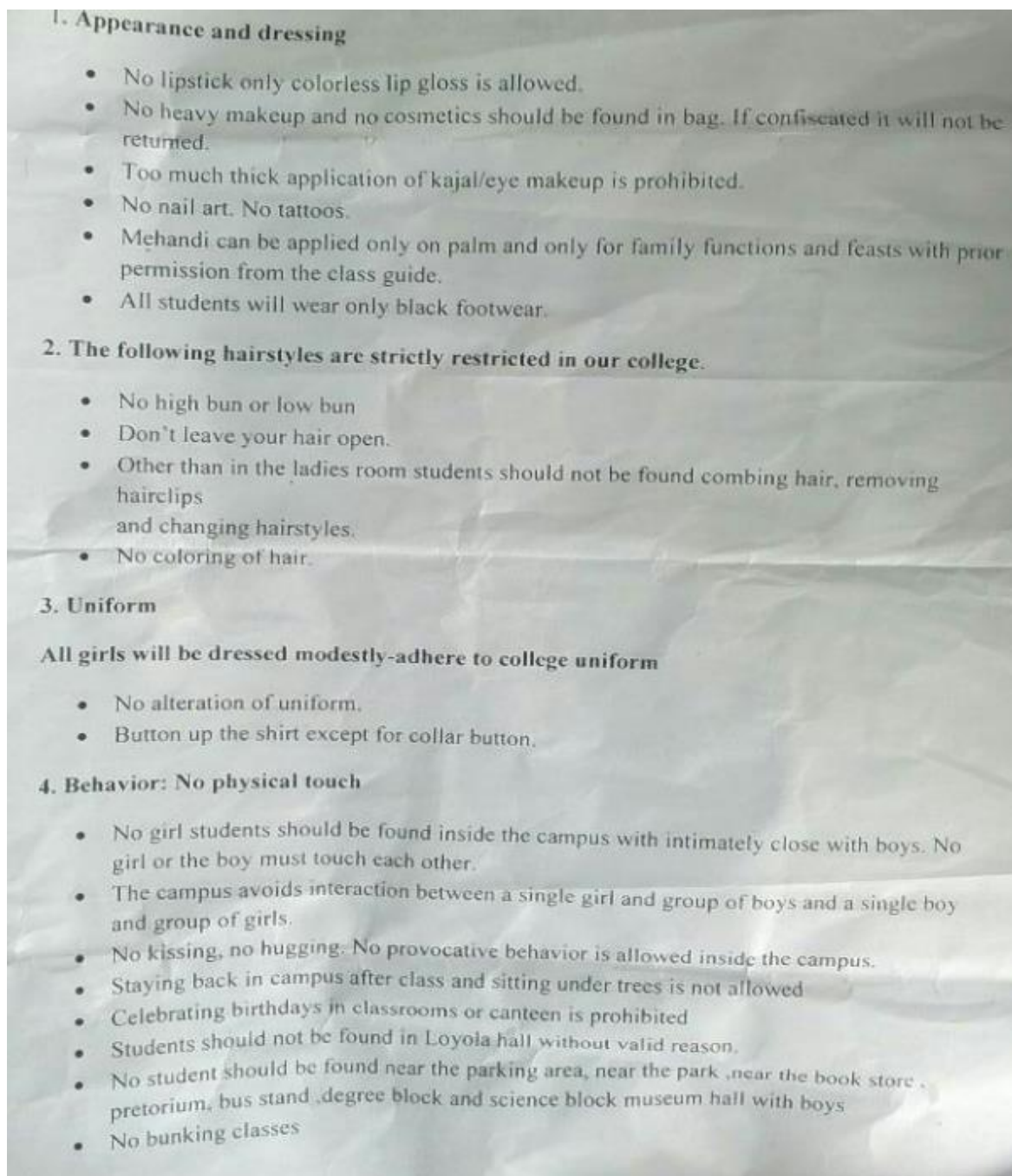
## **II. Practice of Cultural Symbols as Sites of Conflict in School**

### **Dress code:**

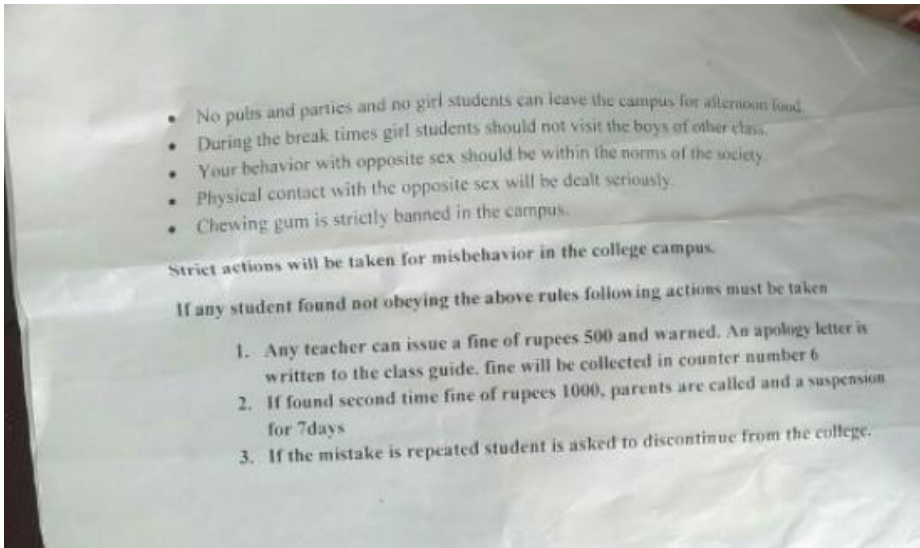
St. Aloysius College is a Christian education institution issued a written document to students in 2012 that said students should follow certain rules and regulations. As far as appearance and dress code are concerned, it states that girl students should not have lipstick and only colorless lip gloss is allowed. There should not be heavy makeup and no cosmetics should be found in the bag of students. If confiscated, it says that they will not be returned. Too much thick application of Kajal/eye make up is also prohibited. There should not be nail art and tattoos. Mehandi can be applied only on palm and only for family functions and feasts with prior permission from the class guide. All students will wear only black footwear. So far as rules for hair style are concerned, no high bun or low bun for the girls and they shall not leave

their hair open. Girl students are allowed to comb hair, remove hair clips and changing hairstyle only in ladies room. They are not allowed to do it outside the ladies room. There were many more such rules can be seen below.

**Figure 6.4: St. Aloysius College Dress code notice**







Source: <https://satshyatharien.com/2016/09/01/sexist-rules-in-st-alloysius-pu-college/>

The rule issued by the college management raised two issues- one from feminist point of view and another from religious point of view especially from some of the Hindus. It was criticised by various news channels and newspapers that the college management is imposing on women's freedom. This provoked some of the Hindu inhabitants and students and their parents that it is an attempt to do away with the *Hindu Samskruti* (Hindu Culture). It was alleged that it is a part of a conversion project. There was a protest in front of the college. Hindu leaders admonished the Christian fathers and school principals. They conveyed a message that students would come with the high aspiration to acquire quality education so they asked the colleges to stop these restrictions. Later, Christian run school management called a public meeting and apologized for the mistake in front of the media.

One of the respondents<sup>141</sup> says that he sends his daughter to a Hindu run school because that school does not put restrictions on buying uniforms from the same school. "We can buy it from anywhere. There are no restrictions to wear rakhi or tilak on the forehead". As far as dress codes are concerned, wearing scarf is necessary in Muslim schools. But Hindus and Christian schools do not have any religious dress codes but wearing uniform is compulsory.

In reaction to these restrictions, there is another school named Sharada, which consists of nearly 6000 students; there are not less than 10 % of students from Muslim community, more than 90% of students from the Hindu community. The school allows girl students to wear coloured dresses, flowers on the hair, ear rings, bangles, Kunkum on the forehead, anklets, nail polishes; and can dress up and keep a hairstyle as they wish. There is an emphasis on Hindu Samskruti. Some parents said that if they get admitted to Christian schools, they do not wear anything, gradually lose their culture, and eventually convert to Christianity. Therefore, some of the parents say that Sharada School facilitates to practice of Hindu Samskruti that is why they send their children to that school. Another parent says that “there is a fear of converting students to Christian religion that is why they send their children to Sharada School”. The conversion issue recurring appears over the last two centuries as mentioned in literature, but the issue of conversion remains as fresh as it was two hundred years ago in the city. One of the parents say that “the school emphasises on Hindu way of life, celebrates Sharada Pooja and Raksha Bandhan, it is compulsory to celebrate everyone irrespective of their religious background”. The school is known for quality education. The founder finds it difficult to provide admission to all aspiring as students he does not have enough seats in his school. In spite of charging high fees, there are no vacant seats in the school.

There is a feeling among some of the founders of schools that government discriminates while providing permission to establish schools. A respondent<sup>142</sup> says that government gives permission establish to Christian or Muslim institutions, but not for a Hindu. All the rules are applicable for Hindus but not for others. As he claims, other religions have friendly contacts with local bodies and they get permissions easily. Education department officers had asked the playground before authority provided a permission to him, he fulfilled all the rules then only he got permission but non Hindu schools do not fulfil the basic requirement yet they get permission.

St. Ann's principal expresses her apprehension that there is a public view that their educational institution converts students. This opinion is bothering them because admission has been declining every year. She claimed that there are good numbers of representatives from all communities. This is a women's college; they are planning to make it a co-educated college due to dwindling students' admissions.

Further, in the city, there was a protest from the parents that students are given uniforms with religious symbols. Mariambika School is located at Bedarabettu which is run under the auspices of Syro-Malabar Catholic Diocese of Beltangadi. The school has a considerable number of Hindu and Muslim students. There was a tense atmosphere, most of the Hindu parents staged protest against what they called 'Christianisation' of school and condemned the schools authority for incorporating religious symbols on the uniform<sup>143</sup>. The school distributed T-shirts, belts and identity cards which contained symbol of holy cross. However, police managed to put it under control and the School Management agreed to withdraw the uniform that had holy Cross symbol.

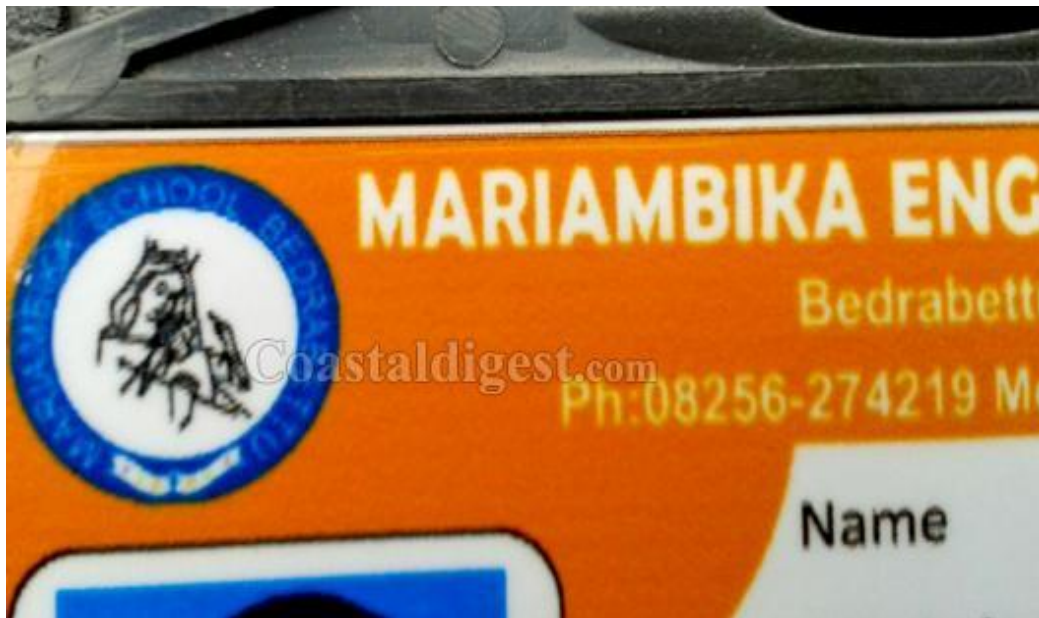
**Figure 6.5: School Uniform Belt**



All Photos source:<http://www.coastaldigest.com/christianization-school-uniform-triggers-controversy-hindu-parents-protest?page=5>

There are two Belts buckles. One could observe that the old one buckle does not have a Cross symbol but the new one has it at the middle of the buckle.

**Figure 6.6: School Identity Card**



Identity cards of Students contained cross symbol which can be seen clearly in **figure no.6.6**

**Figure 6.7: School T-shirt**



On the T-shirts and identity cards which are provided by Mariambika School, there is a cross symbol in the embossed mark.

**Figure 6.8: People Protest in front of school**



Parents staged a protest against school management on 4<sup>th</sup> September 2014.

One point of view says that there are no conversion activities in the educational institutions but such fresh attempts to impose religious symbols created mistrust on educational institutions.

Wearing burqa as uniform is another issue which divides students along religious lines. Some schools made burqa as a uniform. As a result, non Muslim communities do not prefer to take admission in those schools because they need to wear burqa. When students appear for the 10th exam, they are supposed to go to different colleges to write exams, but burqa as a uniform is not acceptable in all colleges. It had become controversial.

St. Aloysius College (Autonomous) in the city had passed a rule barring Muslim students from wearing burqa inside the classroom in 2012<sup>144</sup>. The new rule comes in the context of an incident when a girl student was caught cheating during the semester exams. A girl had allegedly hidden six foot sheet inside her burqa, with answers written all over them. Fr

Francis Almeida, who is the Campus Minister, said that from the next academic year, students would not be permitted to wear burqa in the classroom during examinations. “They should not cover their faces or wear burqa during the class. But they can wear headscarf and come in burqa to the college”<sup>145</sup>.

Some of the Muslims raised objection over the rule, staged a protest that if a nun can wear the religious attire, then why not Muslim girls wear burqa. This is a highly discriminatory to the Muslim community. The college management, at last, allowed wearing headscarf on classrooms but not burqa, while another educational institution prohibited wearing scarf as well.

Further, St. Agnes College has prohibited wearing Hijab or Scarf in school premises. As a result, on 25 June 2018, people staged a protest against management. A group of girls in burqa staged a protest along with Campus Front of India and argued that their democratic right to wear headscarves inside the classroom was taken away. The school management has issued a press release that “the college rule states that the students are not permitted to wear headscarf inside the classroom only. However, we have no objection if they wear it outside”<sup>146</sup>.

The trend has started in the last two decades, as one of the former students who run a business in the city from the same school says that “I completed my final year in 1998. I had Muslim classmates but There was no such issue during my years in the college. My Muslim classmates followed all the rules and regulations without a single complaint, and I feel, right now, the issue that has erupted is unnecessary”<sup>147</sup>.

**Figure 6.9: People Protest in front of school** <sup>148</sup>



Nusrath Fathima, one more former student says, "I completed my graduation from this institution recently, but I did not find any such issue during my studies. Be it the management or the staff, they are very cordial in treating the students. I was not wearing a hijab in the classroom, but once my classes were done I used to wear hijab on the campus. No one objected to it. As students, it is our duty to follow the rules and regulations of the college. It is nothing to make an issue of it at all. As students, if we do not follow the rules and regulations of the college then we do not deserve to call ourselves students."<sup>149</sup>

Some schools strictly ban wearing a scarf in school premises; some schools are lenient about rules that all students remove their scarf as soon as they enter the premises of school. The dress code for Muslim students has been a raging debate over the last few years. In August, 2011, a student in Moodbidri's Jain College stopped attending classes for not being allowed to wear a headscarf. The student sought permission from the District Commissioner to allow

her to wear a headscarf. Hadiya, a II year PUC student of Jain PU College, Moodabidri, told Bangalore Mirror that there is no question of stepping back. She said “though the response from the D C was not very encouraging, I will wait till he gets back to me, either directly or through the college. In case I fail to get a positive response, after consulting my elders, I will write to the Governor and the President of India”<sup>150</sup>

She had stopped attending college for over a month. She ran a signature campaign and got 50 Muslim and 15 non-Muslim students’ signatures. Abjijith M, Secretary of the Jain Vidyavardhaka Sangha that runs the college said, “The restriction on Hijab is only inside the classroom. We have no problem if Hadiya comes with the headscarf up to the corridor. But inside the classroom the uniform has to be followed”. He points out that it is a recent phenomenon that “last year, she attended college without a headscarf. This year, all of a sudden she has become particular about it”. The college correspondent Prathap Kumar said “in the past 39 years, hijab has never been an issue in our college. There are 980 students, of whom 30 per cent are Muslims”. Prathap Kumar conveys that wearing a dress was not an issue ever since the school started but the trend is a recent phenomenon<sup>151</sup>.

Again this incident goes back to 2009 when Sri Venkataramana Swamy (SVS) Degree College in Bantwal, took a similar action against students. The incident stirred up a controversy when the institution barred Ayesha Ashmin from wearing a headscarf to college. It is alleged that the college Principal warned her against wearing the headscarf and asked her to choose between her studies or her religion<sup>152</sup>. She said in an interview “I study at the SVS College. The college re-opened in July 2009 and two weeks later the college elections were held. Bharath, a final year student in the college, was elected as president. One day, he came up to me and told me that I should not be wearing a headscarf. He told me that if I don't take off the headscarf it could become an issue in college”.



The Hijab controversy happened in Mangaluru city in 2022. The root can be traced back to a decade ago. There were two colleges; Hijab conflict took place much early days such as Government First Grade College, Vittala and Government First Grade Collage, Uppinangadi in 2012. Headscarf controversy started in Vivekananda College in 2009-2011, Sahyadri College in 2017. St Aloysius College banned wearing head scarf in 2012. In 2017, Srinivas College in Mangaluru management banned wearing a scarf, they took undertakings before taking admission, but once they joined college, they protested against management<sup>153</sup>.

**Figure 6.10: Hijab Protest in Srinivas College**



Students of Srinivas Institutions protest the management's decision banning students from wearing burqa in classrooms.

Source<sup>154</sup>

Similarly, in July 2012, as many as 107 Muslim students had protested against the management of Sri Ramakunjeshwara First Grade College, Ramakunje near Uppinangadi, for banning Hijab in that college<sup>155</sup>. From 2007 to 2008, there have been an increasing number of incidents over wearing Hijab or burqa from Mangaluru to Hubballi and from Shivamogga to Mysore. Wearing a hijab or burqa in the classroom has been an issue in the state of Karnataka. It is not only unique to Mangaluru in Karnataka, but other Colleges in Bellarre

was also a focal point where over 100 male and female wore saffron shawls over their shirts and dresses for two months and forced the college management to take action against wearing headscarf.

This protest has also been witnessed in Hubballi- Dharwad in Kumareshwar Degree College and Government College in Hangal, Government Degree College of Bankapur, C G Bellad College of Akki Alur, and BR Tambakad First Grade College of Hirekerur. These institutions have sought guidelines from the State government<sup>156</sup>. Some Hindu students started to wear saffron scarves as demanding that in Government College, Ballare, wearing burqa should be banned. Later a protest staged after Srinivas College Mangaluru banned burqa<sup>157</sup>.

Another respondent says that “Mangaluru has been divided for the past three decades; the division is extended to other aspects of life. It is made compulsory for all Muslim children to attend Madrasa. One can observe the fact that, on the streets of the city, in the morning and in the evening children attend parallel religious education classes imparted in Madrasa. The trend of pressurising them to go to Madrasa has started for the last 25 years or so, according to many respondents. As other respondent, Shira, who is a Professor in a Medical college, whose father is an orthodox Muslim and her mother an orthodox Hindu, but she was given freedom to chose her religion, she is a protestant Christian and her husband belongs to Chathlic sect, she says that “when I was at primary school, I was never forced to attend Madrasa in Mangaluru city. I had the freedom to attend. After the 5<sup>th</sup> standard I visited Madrasa, but it was not compulsory to go to Madrasa, I went out of her choice, but now for the last twenty-five years, Girls are made compulsory to attend classes in Madrasa and wear burqa”.

Further, all Christian students are made compulsory to attend the Bible classes, whereas non-Christian students are taught a moral science class. One of the teachers says that in some

colleges there was secular prayer early in the morning. But since last few years, Bible song has been replaced. As a result, some lecturers from the same college feel insecure. There is a teachers' group based on religion, and they try to know about other colleagues' religious orientations. In response to this, other communities also started wearing vermilion (particularly Hindus) on the forehead. Teaching community themselves started to suspect each other and got divided among them. Whenever the teachers interact they seek to know about others religious affiliation. Further, when inhabitants go for Friday Namaz, pamphlets are circulated about coaching institutes or education institutions.<sup>158</sup> Masjid advertises their educational institutions for their community.

Thapan, in her study of Ahmadabad, points out the way Muslim community establishes its identity by schools which is existed in an atmosphere of exclusion and marginalisation (Thapan, 2010). In the study three schools, out of which Schools A, located in Muslim dominated area, students and teachers adhere to strict dress codes. The Hindu teacher wears dupatta and it is mandatory for all Muslim female teachers to wear burqa. They cover their heads with a scarf and wear a long skirt which covers whole body but their faces are open.

Thapan says that the identity of being a Muslim school is clear. The administrator of the school says, "It is perhaps the only school in Hindustan that gives vacation for Ramzan". Certain rules of discipline are drawn from religious practices. In another school, called, B school Thapan found that there is a holiday for Ramzan. In School C which is for Muslim girls, it is found that school asks students to get *zakat* from their parents (according to Islam everyone has given zakat that is extra income to the society) to school fund, which is a student welfare fund. So the school buys books, uniforms or anything needed by poor students in the school. There are other practices taken from Islam, like *ayyat* (the verse sung during assembly) and zakat (giving back to society) or nazams instilled in the values in students.

### **III. Curriculum and Pedagogical contexts as Sources of Conflict**

This section deals that how curriculum encourages certain religions and exclude other religions and how pedagogy propels the communal conflict in classroom. It also brings into notice that teachers too were not able to do their duty in the educational institutions without having fear.

A student says in the context of communal conflict in college premise that “there is a code of conduct in the classroom. Lecturers never used to discuss politics, all are very neutral”. For him, neutral means not discussing politics in classroom. Another student says that “usually teachers avoid talking about communally sensitive issues, even when students raise the issue. The teachers make it clear that it is a private issue. It is understood by teachers as well as students that tense situations prevail in the city on account of strained communal reality. Another student says that “the teachers discuss these discomforting issues not directly, but in a subtle way. Teachers do not devote much time to discuss the issue”. If one goes to teachers to discuss the issue, teachers would help them personally but not in the classroom". It shows that free speech space has narrowed, and students have started distrusting each other.

Students often discuss communal issues outside the classroom. As student politics deepen and communal division widen in the college, students tend to engage with discussion and arguments which may even evident in campus clashes. Interestingly, ordinary students are very intolerant about other political parties. Colleges too constantly make arrangements to deal with the unsettling situation due to communal divisions on campus. The colleges invite NGOs to discuss and address communal issues and provide moral education.

As researcher tried to take interviews with teachers, city dwellers and founders of educational institutions were reluctant to talk about the communal context in the city. The reason is that, as a founder of one of the educational institutions said ” Mangaluru is a peace loving city, it

hurts to know that city is reported as communal in newspapers and TVs”. The immediate reaction to this question is that they get angry. They are in denial mode. One can see two patterns from the respondents: that whose age is above forty who have nostalgic feelings about the city; about it is being a peaceful city. They are reluctant to accept that the city has been portrayed as a communally sensitive city. While youth from different communities blame the other community or some even blame their own community for provoking.

School principals and teachers have a different strategy to tackle communally sensitive state of mind in Mangaluru city. Alva College celebrates all religious festivals together; every religious festival is attended by all students irrespective of their religious backgrounds. They teach all religious texts and scriptures in the school and college and try to develop unity among all communities. A teacher is appointed from Mosque to teach the Quran in Alva’s educational institutions.

The Principal of Expert College says that “we are aware of the fact, but we do not bother to address the issue, because it leads to reduction in enrolments”. He stated that he had instructed lecturers in the college to be indifferent to communally sensitive issues. He does not want them to hurt any religious sentiments. Therefore, students are not allowed to wear religious symbols such as clothes and other markers if anyone wears, they would be discouraged. Principal of St.Aloysius College principle notes that, “we are aware of the fact that but we do not address issues of communal nature in the classroom explicitly, but we invite a speaker from outside who can speak on what we want to convey to students”. There are many non-government organizations that are affiliated to the college and speakers from these organisations are invited to discuss such issues in a balanced manner. Annie Besant College principal says that their strategy is that “we ask students to believe in god if your parent has done a good deed you will be alive”. It is however strange that, on one hand,

schools are advocating secular which means separation of religion from the school and on the other hand, schools encourage religious belief to deal with uncertainty and fear.

Another school principal says that “we are aware of the city situation, but we do not address the issue in the classroom”. The Principal observes that “we invite guest speakers from outside and ask them to tell what they want to convey or they invite such speakers who can speak their language in the school and colleges”. A teacher however says that conducting public talks was a thing of the past, now those issues have become a sensitive in the city and for the parents; the school has stopped conducting such public talks.

One respondent<sup>159</sup> says that “there is no communal conflict in the curriculum, but when politics enter into the campus, there is conflict. Local politicians try to exploit students and disturb the peace in the colleges. Only during elections and festivals, conflicts said to be taking place, but most of the time it is the media’s propaganda”. He continues, “Teachers can do nothing, we cannot influence a student”. Still, political agenda disturbs both students and teachers.

One principal said that he and his faculty members are aware of the city situation but they do not address these issues in the classroom. The Founder and the Principal of the college have decided to be indifferent to the city’s problems. Sometimes they know that politicians do injustice to the education institutions by stopping the grants. That is why the colleges are in a dilemma because political interference can disturb their institutional peace and survival. Since institutions have students from diverse social backgrounds, teachers do not want to talk about controversial communal issues.

It shows that teachers are not able to teach what they want to teach and have discussion like communal issue in classrooms. School management invites guest speakers to convey message what supposed to be said by a teacher.

Krishna Kumar (2016) argues that conflict is seldom included in debates on education. There is silence, no recognition of conflict in the study of childhood or teacher training programmes. Conflict and violence are routine phenomena in adult life that children witness in their social environment, that too in a city like Mangaluru. There is always news of conflict about the past over the last three decades. Further, Kumar (2016) makes an observation that children are deeply aware of social conflicts though this awareness does not necessarily find expression in language. As spectators of adult behaviour, children acquire the knowledge of conflicts that erupt or prevail in the adult world and shape relationships between groups and within groups. Students seldom find opportunities and encouragement to express their anxiety on inarticulate awareness of cultural significance of conflict. Kumar argues that neither the school nor family feels comfortable providing such an opportunity. During the 1984 riots in Delhi, orders were issued to principals to make sure that children did not discuss the riots in their classes. CBSE and state boards did not include conflict in the syllabus. Punjab government however did provide discussion of partition in 15 sentences. In West Bengal too, students get an opportunity to discuss. Now in the case of Mangaluru, teachers consciously avoid discussing communally sensitive issues with their students in the classroom spaces or outside of it.

Emile Durkheim (1973) in his classic work, *Moral Education* points out that it is the school and the family's task to educate the young into a moral civilisation. School and family are the main agents of the socialisation of the young in terms of instilling norms, values and beliefs of society. Durkheim clearly emphasizes the significance of society; it encompasses the individual for the maintenance of social order, consensus and well-being. As Durkheim rightly opines, it is society where individuals are born and it is which that nourishes, empowers with necessary tools and skills to meet challenges and contradictions in the society. Importantly, in the context of urban life, it is the city which creates and reproduces

communal conflict and the educational institutions become one of the significant agents where children are socialised.

The NCERT, in its discussion document on curricular reforms in secondary school education, provides a critique of increasing communalism in the Indian society and emphasises on value education (Thapan, 2000). It is not new which has been articulated by philosophers from Plato to Jiddu Krishnamurti, all of whom have emphasised the significance of values in education. Meenakhi Thapan (2000) points out that what is value, Durkheim's value emphasised sociality, Rousseau's *Emile* characterised a classic romanticism, Thoreau underscored an appropriation of the world of nature, Tagore was concerned about a human society, Vivekananda emphasised political freedom as well as the world of work, Krishnamurthy was concerned with bringing about social order through inner harmony. The overall emphasis on universal values, which surpass national boundaries.

### **Summary:**

The discussion in the chapter reflects that religion-based identity has become crucial to create communal conflict in the city. The school identity has become more important than what the school teaches for the child. Hindus would avoid sending their kids to Christian schools as they apprehend that their children might get converted to Christianity. Still, a significant number of Hindus students take admission in Christian run schools for the sake of quality education. Hindus and Christians would not send their students to Muslim schools because they need to wear burqa, the Quran needs to be read, and apprehend that the love Jihad might take place. Muslims and Christians may not admit their students to Hindu schools because they have a feeling of superiority as Christians who brought the present education system to the city and all need to celebrate all other religions festivals too. Thus the schools and



colleges become sites of manifestation of religious conflict, which in turn, is a symptom that already prevails in the city of a whole.

## **Chapter 7**

### **Conclusion**

Mangaluru is a multilingual, multi-religious and multi-culture city. Scholars have explored various areas, such as early colonial experience (Bhat 2002), agricultural revolution (Damble 2002), industrial establishment (Shishila 2002), banking sector (Tingala 2002), fishing and migration (Shanubhoga 2002), biodiversity (Hussain 2002), Tulu culture (Raghavan 2002), sports like cock fight( Rai 2017), buffalo race (Uchhila 2002) , Bhootaradhane (Gowda 2002), Yakshagana (Bilimale 2002; Nambiyar 2002), Kannada language( Desa 2002), Beary language (Inchlagodu 2011), Konkani language (Madta 2002) and socio-religious life in the city. Despite the fact that the city has been witnessing communal violence consistently for many decades now the area has still been largely unexplored. Many journalistic inquiries are available in the city, but there is a dearth of systematic and in-depth inquiries. The present study sought to address that research gap.

Mangaluru city has witnessed increasing incidents of conflict over the last three decades. From the 1990s onwards, there were frequent outbreaks of communal violence. Specifically, communal violence was rampant in 2008, 2009, 2015 and 2017. The thesis explores the underlying causes of communal conflicts in the city.

Review of literature resulted in certain trends focused on the factors explored erstwhile i.e religion, social identities, economic, political and electoral contexts. Out of these trends, two patterns were delineated to be explored further in relation to social conflict. First, the incidents of communal conflict have been frequent in urban contexts. Secondly, the relationship between education and communal violence has rarely captured the attention of scholars in this area. Following the path, the study sought to explore how educational institutions have provided ground for communal conflict in the city.

The ethnographic approach was adopted to achieve the objectives of the study. The study was conducted in Mangluru during 2017-2018. Since the area of the study was relatively sensitive and people initially showed reluctance to answer the questions directly as participants of the research, the researcher decided to gather data as a participant observant. During the course of the study, the city was explored in its everyday life. Field notes were taken and many semi-structured interviews were conducted.

After the review, to gain more understanding of the context archival sources available at the libraries both Basel Evangelical School and City library of Mangaluru were studied. The evolution of the city was traced since the 19th century. It unveiled that communal violence in the city has a long history and deep-rooted causes. While understanding the city caste system, it was found out that the framework of caste, specifically of Louis Dumount (1980) and works furthering his thesis fail to explain the structural evolution and arrangement of the society in Mangaluru. Here, unlike in other areas of the country, the priests of the temples come from the lowest rung of the society. These include the castes like Nalike, Pambada, and Parava. The city has developed a unique character where Tulu culture is largely followed by the people irrespective of the religions they belong to. The city has its own judicial system where people claim to get a free and fair justice system by worshipping *Bhutaradhana* (Spirit worship).

During the exploration, the educational transformation of the city was also traced which brought out that the deep seeds of communal conflict were sowed through the establishment of educational institutions on communal lines. Specifically, three religious communities namely Christians, Hindus and Muslims have established educational institutions to strengthen their own communities, in many cases, by furthering the motives of conversion. Moreover, private institutions have also been established while the government institutions

are not many in number, especially after the 1990s. The rapid growth of the educational institutions across the city is the outcome of both, competition and cooperation among various religious communities and caste groups and specifically the motivation to protect their own religious and cultural ethos.

The fourth chapter elaborates on the religious segregation in the city. Different religious communities dwell in segregated spaces in Mangaluru. Flags and Bunting have been markers of territories. Buntings facilitate the symbolic segregation that eventually fuels communal tensions in the city. These are not about publicity or the promotion of events. Rather, they mark territory and manifest the power of dominance in the area. While Hindus and Muslims show their symbolic power by putting saffron or green flag at their house, Christians keep cross at the gate or top of their homes. The communal atmosphere of the city is such that an individual wearing or carrying signs of a particular religion fears entering the residential dwellings of another faith. Visiting a place like Bengare, both Tota Bengare and Kasaba Bengare instill fear in people's minds. This stands true for the places like Kotepura and Mogaveerapattana in Ullala or Suratkal.

What sets apart the present study from the earlier studies conducted on segregation is the very finding that institutions are also getting segregated. It is subtly visible be in media, hospitals, and advocacy. Most importantly, the jail has been separated based on religion is a mirror of the city's trajectory of segregation.

On that note, the study, in the context of Mangaluru, confirms many of the findings of previously conducted studies. Jaffrelot and Gayer (2012) reveal the Muslim settlement patterns in India. As per them, Muslims mostly live in the clustered pockets of urban space, which is usually set apart from the residential space of the dominant community. In Bengaluru also, a few distinct tendencies of self-segregation among Muslim groups are

evident (Mohammad-Arif 2012). A similar segregation pattern was found in Kozhikode as well (Kanchana 2012). In north India, most cities where communal disturbances have been recorded in the past few decades show stark instances of 'ghettoisation' of Muslim groups in urban spaces (SCR 2006; Jaffrelot and Gayer 2012). Hindus and Christians also live geographically segregated along with the Muslims. There are certain places where police and military are always deployed, seen as anticipated or conflict-prone zones. Bengare, Suratkal, Kodi and Mogaveerapattana in Ullala fall into this zone.

What sets apart the present study from the earlier studies conducted on segregation is the very finding that institutions are also getting segregated. It is subtly visible be in media, hospitals, and advocacy. Most importantly, the jails separated based on religion mirrors the city's trajectory of segregation.

Three religions in the city show their power by using religious symbols explicitly. Most of the Muslim women can be seen in *bourqas* and Muslim men with shaved moustaches. Similarly, most Hindus can be marked with *Tilaks* on their forehead, and Christian women with the nun dress, especially in most Christian houses, usually wear the holy cross as a marker of their religious identity.

This permeates into the schooling experience as well and guides the parents' school choices based on religious lines. The desire of imparting their 'Indian culture', quality education, encouragement for co-curriculum activities, and physical proximity were the driving forces for admission to educational institutions. This chapter also highlights religious-based school choices after the 1990s. There is ample literature proving that after the demolition of Babri masjid, cities were divided into communal lines, which is a known fact, but how this incident divided educational institutions is a new finding in Mangaluru. It has not been found so far.

Thapan (2010), in her study in Ahmedabad, found that school segregation was based on religious lines.

Extending the argument further, the sixth chapter shows how educational spaces become the sites of communal conflict. This can be explained using the concept of cultural violence (Galtung, 1996). Cultural violence is carried forward by the educational institutions, languages, religions and ideologies. In Mangaluru, school activities like Yakshagana, cultural performances, prayer meetings and dress codes have become channels to instigate communal conflict. Curriculum and pedagogy failing to address the sources of conflicts have aggravated the problem even more and become the facilitators of communal conflicts.

Galtung (1996), the category of 'alienation' can be defined as socialization, meaning the internalization of culture. School plays a crucial role in socialisation process. There are two aspects of the process- desocialization from own culture and resocialization into another culture like the prohibition and imposition of languages. The problem is that any child's socialisation in the family, at school, by society at large is also forced, a kind of brainwashing, giving the child no choice (Galtung 1996, p.198). Consequently, one might conclude that nonviolent socialization provides the child with a choice, e.g. by offering him/her more than one cultural idiom (Galtung, 1996, p.198). At least in the case of Mangaluru, the schools do not provide the platforms for getting familiar with more than one *cultural idiom* or religious value. In this way, the religious identities remain segregated and the reproduction of the conflicts continues incessantly. This is in sync with the previous studies pointing out that the educational institutions are reproducing the status quo in society through selective knowledge dissemination, the 'hidden agenda', and marginalisation of 'other' cultures, the persistence of the inequalities and the conflicts prevalent in society (Thapan, 2000, p. 12). The School curriculum in Mangluru too provides a partial view of society,

increasing communal conflict rather than building a collective consciousness, an undeniable social reality.

Althusser (1971) argues that education is not a neutral, unbiased institution and supports the reproduction of social norms and values. In Mangaluru, schools impart religious values and norms. Here also, education serves as an 'ideological state apparatus' as opposed to repressive state apparatuses' of state (Althusser, 1971). It might be argued here that curriculum is one of the ways to socialise a child. Still, there are hardly any studies showing how schools shape children through non-curriculum activities like dress code, pedagogy, wall paintings, prayer, holidays for festivals etc. It explains the root cause of the recent burqa controversy in the city.

As Mark Juergensmeyer argues that India is witnessing, as elsewhere, modern liberal democracy which challenges indigenous religious forces and attempts to ignore religion (Juergensmeyer, 1993, p. 221). There are four instances that illustrate this point. First, the Ram Mandir and the Babri Masjid instance where RSS has gained considerable support. Second, violence in Punjab, demanded regional autonomy in what it was regarded as the defence of their religion. Third, Muslim brutality led to the exodus of Kashmiri Hindus in Kashmir and a fourth is violence against Christian erupted in various part of India after 1998 (Ganguly&Devotta, 2003, p. 221). The cultural values are deeply embedded. In the city, some Muslims feel that the Babri Masjid demolition made them insecure.

On the other hand, Hindus have perceived/ real, insecure feelings that the Muslim population is outnumbering Hindus, and the torturing of Hindus in Kashmir keeps reminding them. For Christians, an attack on a prayer hall made them insecure in the city; this type of violence in society is reflected in school (Salmi, 1999). That is why from 1990 onwards, non-Muslim students have withdrawn their admission from the Badriya School. The same trend is shown

from the 1990s onwards that Muslim students were mostly taking admission to Muslim-run educational institutions. Adding to that Pub attack, moral policing, love jihad, land jihad, Gaurksha dal, have created restlessness in the city. Schools are not isolated from the city milieu. There is a reciprocal relationship between the city and schools. But it is found that city shapes schools rather than schools shape city now.

The conflict between religion and politics in the context of state development can be in routine practicalities of performance in the USSR. As Ratna Naidu's (1983) article points out that the conflict in the workplace like Muslim population observing fast for 28 days in Ramzan, another ritual the five daily prayers amounted to 'economic sabotage' further Friday the day for communal prayer is a regular working day in the USSR (Naidu, 1983). Which directly affected the efficient function of the communist political economy. It was also observed during the field study that Muslim students demand a holiday on Friday for namaz. Some schools have provided, and some schools have arranged facilities in schools only.

The study explains how education institutions were, and continue to be, established on a communal line. Caste-based identity existed in the city, but caste identity has weakened by religious identity, so the sense of religion-based identity deepened after 1990. Earlier, Hindu and Muslim children used to play in Katipalya, Krushnapura, Kulai; these are the sensitive place today in the city. All religious students used to play together until the day of Babri Masjid was demolished. After the incidents, students created their cricket team which carries their religious name. Sports like cricket teams always used to have all religious youth, but after the 1992 names of the cricket teams changed to Om Shakti Cricketers, Shivaji cricketers, Green star cricketers, and India cricketers.

Most of the schools and colleges were founded by private owners as well as community and religious leaders. Most institutions are inclined towards their community and religion in the



city. There is division at the admission level; therefore, Mangaluru city's educational institutions do not have students from diverse backgrounds. Since educational institutions have students from the same community, students have friendships with the same community. There are hardly any opportunities to mingle with other community students. This process eventually creates ground for communal conflict in city. It was thought that religious identity would be removed as one gets formal education. In Europe, mass education weakened religion's power (Ganguly&Devotta, 2003, p. 221). But, in this city, it has strengthened the religious identity.

Moral policing is the consequence of the city's subtle level of communalisation which aggravated since the 1990s. Moral policing is a new development in the city that came into the limelight after 2008. The youth from Sri Ram Sena and the Popular Front of India, SDPI, have been actively engaged in moral policing. Moral policing is an act to ensure that inter-religious couples would not roam around the city.

The thesis has explored how the city evolved and how the process of city evolution contributed to the city's economic, social and cultural conflict. And how educational institutions are contributed to the growth of the city and how educational institutions inflict communal conflict in the city. There are no studies linking the relationship between communal conflict and educational institutions in an urban context. From this point of view, this study is unique.

# **ANNEXTURE**

## Educational Institutions in the City

### Primary and High Schools in Mangaluru

S.N	Schools Name	Year of establishment
1	Badriya English Medium High School	1978
2	Sayyid Madani Urdu Higher Primary School	1983
3	Crescent English Medium School	1988
4	Hasanabba Master Composite P.U. College, Noorul Huda English Medium School Noorul Huda Kannada Medium Girls High school	1989
5	Sahara English Medium School	1989
6	Rahamaniya Pre-Primary School	1989
7	Islahi English Medium School	1990
8	Anjuman Composite P.U. College	1990
9	Adarsh Primary School	1991
10	Falah High School	1991
11	Rarshad Primary School	1991
12	Hidayath English Medium High School	1991
13	Chaithanya Public School	1992
14	Anjuman English Medium Higher Primary & High school	1992
15	Noble English Medium High School	1994
16	Hazarath Seyyid Madani	1996
17	Beary Public School	1996
18	Kannur English Medium Higher Primary school and High School	1996
19	Hazarath Sayyid Madani English Medium School	1996
20	Al-Badriya Composite PU College	1997
21	Ansar Educational Institutions	1998
22	Ideal English Medium High School	1998
23	Qilriya English Medium School	2000
24	Al-Medeena High School	2000
25	Jamiya English Medium High School	2002
26	Green View High School	2003

27	Hira Girls High school	2004
28	Hira Women's College	2005
29	Al-Furqan Islamic English medium school	2005
30	Prestige International School	2006
31	Peace Public School	2006
32	Sneha Public School	2007
33	A.R.K. Primary School	2007
34	Hira Public School	2008
35	Hira Women's P.U.College	2013

Source: MEIF (Muslim Educational Institutions' federation Dakshina Kannada and Udupi Districts) directory 2013.

No.	Private Degree Colleges in Mangaluru	Year
1	St. Aloysius Evening College ,Mangalore	1966
2	Govinda Dasa Degree College, Suratkal	1967
3	Christ College, Kadri	1969
4	Carara College ,M.G. Road	1973
5	Besant Women's College	1977
6	Shri Dharmasthala Manjunatheshwara College of Business Management	1978
7	Unity Academy of Education, College of Food, Nutrition and Dietetics	1982
8	Sapthagiri College of Hotel Management Mangalore	1989
9	Badriya First Grade College Mangalore, Kandak	1989
10	National computer Centre, Attavara	1990
11	Mangalore Academy of Professional Studies, Kadri	1990
12	Mangalore Institute of Fashion Technology, Kankanadi	1990
13	Mangalore Academy of Professional Studies, Kadri	1990
14	Mangalore Institute of Fashion Technology, Kankanady	1990
15	Dr. M.V. Shetty Speech and hearing college, Vidyanagara	1991
16	Father Muller college, Kankanady	1991
17	Sarosh Institute of Hotel Administration, Kankanady	1992
18	Shree Devi College of Interior Design, Ballala Bhag	1992

19	Shree Devi Institute of Interior Design, Ballala Bhag	1992
20	Shree Devi College Of Hotel Management, Ballala Bhag	1992
21	Shree Devi College of Information Science, Mangalore, Ballala Bhag	1992
22	Moti Mahal College, Falnir	1992
23	Moti Mahal College of Hotel Management, Falnir	1992
24	Karavali Colleges, Bangra Koluru	1996
25	Karavali College of Applied Science, Vamanjoor	1996
26	Nitte Shankara Adyanthaya Memorial college	1998
27	Sharada College, Kodiyal bail	1998
28	Agasthya College of Management Studies, Urva Store Mangalore	1999
29	A J Institute of Management, Kottara Chowki	1999
30	Dr. M.V. Shetty College of Social Work , Vidyanagara	1999
31	Shree Devi Institute of Social work, Ballalabag	1999
32	Mangalore Institute of Fire & Safety Engineering	2001
33	Aaba Womens First Grade College, Surathkal · Surathkal	2001
34	Shree Bharati College, Nator	2001
35	Srinivasa School of Managment, Mukka	2002
36	Karnataka College, Ashokanagara	2002
37	Srinivasa Degree College, Pandaveshwara	2004
38	Vijayalakshmi Institute of Hospitality Sciences	2004
39	Shree Ramakrishna College, Bunts Hostel	2005
40	Maps Evening College, Kadri	2006
41	Premakanthi College, Mangudde	2006
42	Hira Womens First Grade College, Ulalla	2006
43	Shree Devi College, Mangalore	2006
44	Shree Gokarnanatheshwara College	2006
45	Adarsha College, Lady Hill	2007
46	Amrutha College of Education, Padil	2007
47	Mangalore Institute of Safety Engineering	2007
48	Laxmi Memorial College of Hotel Management	2008
49	Colaco College , Kankanady By-pass	2008

50	St Raymond's College, Vamanjoor	2009
51	St. Joseph College	2010
52	Padua College of Commerce and Management , Nantoor	2011
53	Mahesh College of Management, Kudroli	2012
54	Srinivasa Institute of Management Studies,Pandaveshwara	2013

SI. No	Name of Engineering Colleges	Year
1	National Institute of Technology, Suratkal	1960
2	Shree Devi Institute of Technology	1992
3	Karavali Institute of Technology	1996
4	P.A. Engineering College	1999
5	Canara Engineering College	2001
6	St Joseph Engineering College	2002
7	Sahyadri College of Engineering & Management	2007

SLNO	B.Ed Colleges in Mangaluru	Year
1	Shree Gokarnanatheshwara College of Education, Mangalore	1982
2	Karavli College of Education, Chowki	1996
3	Shree Premakanti College of Education	2000
4	Srinivasa College of Education	2004
5	St Aloysius Institute of Education	2004
6	Leelavathi Shetty College of Education, Mangalore	2007
7	Amrutha College of Education	2007

SI.No	Medical Colleges in Mangaluru	Year
1	Kasturba Medical College	1953
2	Father Muller Medical College	1992
3	Yenepoya Medical College	1999
4	A.J Institute of Medical Sciences	2002
5	Srinivas Institute of Medical Sciences and Research Centre	2009
6	Kanachur Institute of Medical Sciences	2016

<b>Sl.No</b>	<b>Dental Colleges</b>	<b>Year</b>
1	A B Shetty Memorial Institute of Dental Sciences	1985
2	Manipal College of Dental Science	1987
3	Yenepoya Dental College and Research Institute	1992
4	A J Shetty Institute of Dental Science	2002
5	Srinivasa College of Dental Science	2012

<b>Sl.No</b>	<b>Homeopathy College</b>	<b>Year</b>
1	Father Muller Homoeopathic Medical College	2006

<b>Sl.No</b>	<b>Pharmacy Colleges</b>	<b>Year</b>
1	Shree Devi College of Pharmacy	1992
2	Srinivas College of Pharmacy	2004
3	Karavali College of Pharmacy	2008

<b>Sl.No</b>	<b>Physiotherapy Colleges</b>	<b>Year</b>
1	Dr. M.V.Shetty College of Physiotherapy	1989
2	Pandayaraj Ballal College of Physiotherapy	1992
3	City College of Physiotherapy	1993
4	Lakshmi Memorial Collge of Physiotherapy	1993
5	Shree Devi College of Physiotherapy	1993
6	Srinivasa College of Physiotherapy	1993
7	Vikas College of Physiotherapy	1993
8	Father Muller College of Physiotherapy	1994
9	Nitte College of Physiotherapy	1997
10	Yenepoya Physiotherapy College and Research Institute	2003
11	Vijayalakshmi Institute of Physiotherapy	2004

<b>Sl.No</b>	<b>Nursing Colleges</b>	<b>Year</b>
1	Unity Nursing College, Mangalore	1982

2	Dr. M.V. Shetty College of Nursing, Panjimogaru	1987
3	Manipal College of Nursing	1990
4	Nitte Institute of Nursing	1992
5	K Pandyarajah Ballal Nursing Institute, Mangalore	1992
6	Co-operative Education Trust	1994
7	Kaaravali College of Nursing	1996
8	Laxmi Memorial College of Nursing	1997
9	S C S College of Nursing	1999
10	Sahyadri College of Nursing	2002
11	Shree Devi College of Nursing, Ballala Bhag	2002
12	Yenepoya College of Nursing	2002
13	Srinivasa Institute of Nursing	2003
14	A. Shama Rao Nursing School	2003
15	Sharada College, Natoor	2003
16	Masood College of Nursing, Mangalore	2004
17	Mangalore College of Nursing	2004
18	Indira Nursing & Parmedical College, Mangalore	2004
19	Rukmini Shetty Memorial College of Nursing	2005
20	Zulekha Nursing College, Mangalore	2006

<b>Sl.No</b>	<b>Polytechnic college</b>	<b>Year</b>
1	Co-operative Education Trust	1906
2	Karnataka Polytechnic	1946
3	Government Polytechnic for Women	1970
4	Karavali Polytechnic	1996
5	P A Polytechnic	2006
6	Kamath Institute of Technology Polytechnic	2007





## End Notes

1. Robert E. Park quoted in his article "the city" J Oswald Spengler, *Untergang des Abendlandes*, IV, 106.
2. Urban centers generally are understood as geographic areas in which population density is higher than in surrounding areas. The UN State of the World's Cities 2006/07 defines an urban agglomeration as the "built-up or densely populated area containing the city proper, suburbs and continuously settled commuter areas."
3. A large village with a market centre
4. Based on Government of India, India 1994 (Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1995), pp. 16–18.
5. [www.dajjiworld.com](http://www.dajjiworld.com)
6. Times of India, Mangalore's age old harmony caught in crosshairs of communal hate by Sagarika Ghosh on 5/5/2018 in Times of India, Compiled by Komu Sauharda Vedike.
7. Moral police is a blanket term used to describe vigilante groups which act to enforce a code of morality in India.
8. The thesis titled 'Urbanization of Mangalore a Colonial Experience (1799-1947)' submitted to Mangalore University in 2003.
9. Port city refers to a city which is more than a city located at a port. It is a city whose main economic base for its non-local market is its port (A.H., 1992).
10. Administrative Report of the Madras Presidency for 1861-62, Vol. 61.P.23
11. Report on External Commerce for the year 1813-14, Board Miscellaneous, Vol. 266, P.51; Malathi K. Moorthy, op.cit., P.91
12. Census of India, Madras, 1981:512.
13. Monthly Report on Land Reforms Progress in Karnataka State up to 31-8-1987, Revenue Department (Land Reforms) of Karnataka, Bangalore, P.4.
14. M. Chandra Poojary, 1995, unpublished thesis submitted in Mangalore university, Trends in entrepreneurship and regional development: A study with reference to Dakshina Kannada District.
15. Monthly report on Land reforms Progress in Karnataka State upto 31.08.1987, Bangalore. Revenue Department (Land Reforms), Government of India.
16. <https://www.dnaindia.com/lifestyle/report-bunts,-at-home-wherever-they-are-1373019>
17. <https://www.dnaindia.com/lifestyle/report-bunts,-at-home-wherever-they-are-1373019>
18. Govind D. Belgaumkar, Tiles are strong, Industry in brittle, *The Hindu* 12/11/2007
19. <https://www.mangaluruonline.in/city-guide/medical-tourism-in-mangalore>
20. <https://www.mangaluruonline.in/city-guide/medical-tourism-in-mangalore>
21. <https://www.mangaluruonline.in/city-guide/real-estate-industry-in-mangalore>
22. <https://bhandarybuilders.com/2018/04/04/reasons-to-invest-in-mangalore/>
23. <https://bhandarybuilders.com/2018/04/04/reasons-to-invest-in-mangalore/>
24. <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/162675497.pdf>
25. <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/162675497.pdf>
26. The word Pad-dana is derived from old Kannada word PaD-tana. The word paD(u) means song in old Kannada. Tana means state of being, equivalent of English suffix -hood.
27. <https://www.thehindu.com/features/magazine/in-high-spirits/article4605844.ece>
28. A man who born in low caste, Tulu people believe him that he maintains social order in the city.
29. Interview with Benet Amen
30. <https://www.thehindu.com/features/magazine/in-high-spirits/article4605844.ece>
31. Shraavan who is a resident of Mangalore
32. <https://www.newindianexpress.com/states/karnataka/2016/jul/10/Muslims-worship-Ali-Bhoota-at-Hindu-temple-in-Arikady-879162.html>
33. Tulu is a spoken language of Mangalore city. Nadu refers to place in Kannada.
34. Lord William Bentinck, the governor general of India appointed William Adam who was a Christian priest of Scotland, Dharmpal (1983) documented in his book 'Beautiful tree'
35. A writer and prominent literary figure in Mangalore.
36. It was working as a school system before formal introduction of school.
37. Annual Report of the Basel mission 1843, Page no 10.
38. Annual Report of the Basel Mission 1873, page no 56.
39. Annual Report of the Basel Mission 1874, page no 44.
40. Annual Report of the Basel Mission 1876, page no 63.

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41. Annual Report of the Basel Mission 1912,
  42. Annual Report of the Basel Mission 1912, page no. 61.
  43. Annual Report of the Basel Mission 1874, page no. 33.
  44. Annual Report of the Basel Mission 1872, Page no.57.
  45. Annual Report of the Basel Mission 1872, page no. 40.
  46. Annual Report of the Basel Mission 1873, page no. 63.
  47. Annual Report of the Basel Mission 1874, page no 44.
  48. Annual Report of the Basel Mission 1901, page no. 31.
  49. Annual Report of the Basel Mission 1872,page no.35.
  50. Annual Report of the Basel Mission 1874, page no 51.
  51. Annual Report of the Basel Mission for the year 1898, P. 101
  52. W. Schlatter, Geschite Per Basler Mission, (in German) vol. II, Basel, 1916, P.137.
  53. Quoted by W.F. James, A Historical Study of the Social Policy and Practice of the Basel Mission in South Kanara (1834-1914), 1969, page no. 27.
  54. Annual Report of the Basel Mission 1866, page no.27.
  55. Annual Report of the Basel Mission 1895.page no. 10-11
  56. Annual Report of the Basel Mission 1910. Page no.16-17.
  57. Annual Report of the Basel Mission 1879.page no.77
  58. Annual Report of the Basel Mission 1897.page no.81
  59. Jesuit is an organisation established by Saint Ignatius Loyola in 1534. School education was established in Europe by Jesuits in 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.
  60. Many Tulu speakers converted to Christianity known as Tulu movement.
  61. Annual Report of the Basel Mission 1904.page. 73-74
  62. Ibid., pp 62
  63. Ibid., pp 73-74
  64. It is mentioned in the first post series of 'how Mangaluru has been saffronised', by Greeshma Kuthar and noted in Frank F Colon's book A Caste in a Changing World'.
  65. Interviewed on 5/5/2008
  66. It is a bunt's organisation.
  67. The list of schools and years of establishment have been mentioned in Mangalore Darshana Book(2016).
  68. Interview with Y.Mohammed Beary on 22/2/2018
  69. He joined the Congress in 1969 and held various positions in the party before he got elected to the Karnataka State Assembly in 1978. He was a member of the Legislative Council for two terms, from 1990 to 2002.
  70. B.A Mohideen, Hon. President (MEIF), has written an article in MEIF Directory 2014,
  71. Interviewed with Mohammed Beary on 22/02/1018, who is a president of Muslim Educational Institutions Federation , Dakshina Kannada and Udupi District.
  72. Privatisation in educational institutions means running the institute without taking financial subsidy from the government.
  73. <https://www.firstpost.com/india/how-coastal-karnataka-was-saffronised-part-2-arya-samaj-picks-up-hindu-nationalism-after-brahmo-samaj-fails-to-unite-local-communities-6372841.html>
  74. <https://www.firstpost.com/india/how-coastal-karnataka-was-saffronised-part-2-arya-samaj-picks-up-hindu-nationalism-after-brahmo-samaj-fails-to-unite-local-communities-6372841.html>
  75. <https://www.firstpost.com/india/how-coastal-karnataka-was-saffronised-part-3-hindu-groups-organise-hindu-rashtra-is-defined-savarkar-makes-his-mark-6381771.html>
  76. <https://www.firstpost.com/india/how-coastal-karnataka-was-saffronised-part-1-hedgewar-sends-an-emissary-to-mangalore-a-shakha-is-born-the-rss-takes-root-6364981.html>
  77. <https://www.firstpost.com/india/how-coastal-karnataka-was-saffronised-part-1-hedgewar-sends-an-emissary-to-mangalore-a-shakha-is-born-the-rss-takes-root-6364981.html>
  78. How coastal Karnataka was Saffronised; part 11 by Greeshma Kuthar, Firstpost, on 15/15/2019.
  79. Interview with Mangalore university Professor Rajaram Talpadi on 5/4/2018
  80. <https://www.firstpost.com/india/how-coastal-karnataka-was-saffronised-part-8-bharatiya-jan-sangh-emerges-amid-nationwide-crackdown-on-hindu-nationalists-6415821.html>
  81. Valerian Rodrigues (2017) *the Hindu*, On 3<sup>rd</sup> August.
  82. Interview on 7/2/2018
  83. Wahabism is described as fundamentalist or puritan.
  84. Interview with Ravi Kumar (KSISF) on 2/2/2017
  85. Interview with Dinesh Hegade on 5/5/2017

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86. Interview with R(he does not want to reveal his name) on 6/5/2017
  87. Interview with Krishna who is Head constable on 3/4/2017
  88. Varun who was a former ABVP member.
  89. <https://thewire.in/uncategorised/old-memories-and-recent-encounters-from-a-world-we-have-irretrievably-lost>. Accessed on 22/05/2022
  90. <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/mangaluru/rss-leader-bhat-dubs-ullal-as-pakistan/articleshow/79003688.cms>
  91. <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/topic/Holy-Scriptures>
  92. Interviewed with Abdul Muneer Katapalli on 07/02/2018, who was a M L A candidates from CPI(M) for Mangalore north constituency
  93. Buntings are stings of small flags, and political parties or any groups usually tie them up in streets in the colour which represent them.
  94. The News Minute, 'Bunting' wars of Dakshina Kannada:The string of small flags which fuel communalism authored by Muneer Katipalla(he is the President if the state unit of the DYFI) on 1/8/2018
  95. The News Minute, 'Bunting' wars of Dakshina Kannada:The string of small flags which fuel communalism authored by Muneer Katipalla(he is the President if the state unit of the DYFI) on 1/8/2018
  96. The News Minute, 'Bunting' wars of Dakshina Kannada:The string of small flags which fuel communalism authored by Muneer Katipalla(he is the President if the state unit of the DYFI) on 1/8/2018
  97. How Coastal Karnataka was saffronised in Firstpost by Greeshma Kuthar
  98. [What is Sri Ram Sena?](#)". Archived from [the original](#) on 31 January 2009
  99. <https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/special-Report/story/20121008-wage-war-against-western-culture-and-love-for-jihad-in-mangalore-gives-rise-to-communal-tension-760007-1999-11-30>
  100. Interviewed on 10/02/2018
  101. <https://www.daijiworld.com/news/newsDisplay?newsID=146971>
  102. Analysis of newspapers reveals that from 1 Aug. 2008 to 15 Feb. 2009 there were fortyfive instances, see: PUCL-K, Cultural Policing in Dakshina Kannada, Mangalore: People's Union for Civil Liberties, 2009.
  103. Pinton, Stanley and Chethan Misquith, 'Moral cops run riot, split communities, genders', The Times of India, 5 Jan. 2018, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/mangaluru/moral-cops-run-riot-split-communities-genders/articleshow/62377172.cms>, last accessed 15 May 2018.
  104. <https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/special-Report/story/20121008-wage-war-against-western-culture-and-love-for-jihad-in-mangalore-gives-rise-to-communal-tension-760007-1999-11-30>
  105. <https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/special-Report/story/20121008-wage-war-against-western-culture-and-love-for-jihad-in-mangalore-gives-rise-to-communal-tension-760007-1999-11-30>
  106. Interview with Periyar Jaru, author many books, on 13/2/2018, who has been active in the city.
  107. Interview with Dr. Ismail who is a principal of city's college.
  108. Advocate Dinesh Hegde on 5/5/2017
  109. Professor Bivek Rai, on 15/05/2017
  110. I observed at Nehru Midan in Mangalore on 23/5/2017
  111. M. Sanjeev Patil, deputy commissioner of police (crime and Traffic).
  112. Dr. Shantarama Shetty addressed public speech at Nehru Midanon 23/5/2017
  113. <http://www.coastaldigest.com/mangaluru-moral-police-attack-hindu-muslim-friends-forum-fiza-mall>
  114. One can watch on YouTube to have a better understanding on Yakshagana .
  115. Muslim Muslim chao protest has been held on 2/5/2017 and I had been part of it.
  116. [www.daijiworld.com](http://www.daijiworld.com) ,Mangaluru: Cattle theft on the rise –Kalyani Amma lost 37 cows in 8 years by Dayananda Kukka on 26 July 2018.
  117. <https://www.newindianexpress.com/states/karnataka/2021/jan/10/three-beef-stalls-set-on-fire-near-mangaluru-2248015.html>
  118. <https://www.thenewsminute.com/article/beef-stalls-mangaluru-set-fire-141194>
  119. <https://www.daijiworld.com/news/newsDisplay.aspx?newsID=775681>
  120. <https://www.google.com/search?q=graffiti+in+mangalore>
  121. Interviewed with Abdul Muneer Katapalli on 07/02/2018, who was a M L A candidate from CPI(M) for Mangaluru north constituency on
  122. Y Mohammed Beary, President of the Muslim education institutions' federation D.K & Udupi District, interviewed on 22/02/2018
  123. Researcher was invited for the meeting on 22/05/2018

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124. he elected to the legislative assembly from Bantwal in Dakshina Kannada in 1978, who served as the General Secretary of Karnataka Pradesh Congress Committee under former Chief Minister Devaraj Urs from 1975 to 1980. He was also a Member of the Legislative Council from 1990 to 2002,
  125. Interviewed with Dr. Ismail, Principal of Badria Pre-University College on 16/03/2018
  126. Interviewed on 3/3/2021 with Dr. Jagadish, associate professor, his daughter in 10<sup>th</sup> standard.
  127. Dr. Ajay, Associate professor, interview on 7/3/2021, his daughter in 9<sup>th</sup> standard.
  128. Dr. Maneesh, Assistant professor, interviewed on 10/3/2021, his daughter is in 10<sup>th</sup> standard.
  129. Basant, lives in Mangaluru city, Urva, got his formal education until 12<sup>th</sup>, interview on 3/3/2018.
  130. Karwan, Musician, his education qualification is B.A, interviewed on 5/4/2018.
  131. Putting tilika in between two eyebrows, it is a practice of Hindu Samskruti.
  132. Dr. Rajay Bolar, Associate professor, he has 3 year old daughter, interviewed on 15/2/2021
  133. Interview with Annie Besant College staff on 2/2/2018.
  134. Interview with Shiva Acharya on 3/2/2018, who did B.Sc in Mangalore University College, Master degree in Journalism, was former city secretary of ABVP.
  135. Watching: Students enact Babri Mosque demolition in school owned by RSS leaders in Karnataka on 16/12/2016, scroll.
  136. The News Minute on Friday, August 11, 2017 by Theja Ram.
  137. <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/mangaluru/vhp-protests-against-christianity-and-islam-chapter-in-school-textbook/articleshow/64492965.cms>
  138. Times of India, Mangalore university introduces Arabic as optional language for degree students, Kevin Medona, April, 22, 2017.
  139. Interview with Sushma who is an M.Sc students on 12/5/2017
  140. Interview with Dinesh Hegade on 5/5/2017
  141. Interview with Dr. Maresh Assistant professor in Chanara college on 13/02/2021
  142. Interviewed on 5/2/2017 with Chandra Shekhar Damble who is founders of Sneha school,
  143. <http://www.coastaldigest.com/christianization-school-uniform-triggers-controversy-hindu-parents-protest?page=5>
  144. <https://www.daijiworld.com/news/newsDisplay?newsID=136224>
  145. <https://www.daijiworld.com/news/newsDisplay?newsID=136224>
  146. <https://www.daijiworld.com/news/newsDisplay.aspx?newsID=515909>
  147. <https://www.daijiworld.com/news/newsDisplay.aspx?newsID=515909>
  148. [https://www.google.com/search?q=Muslim+run+schools+uniform+photo+in+mangalore&tbm=isch&ed=2ahUKEwiRg\\_mzouPzAhX8\\_jgGHfKiDjMQ2-cCegQIABAA&](https://www.google.com/search?q=Muslim+run+schools+uniform+photo+in+mangalore&tbm=isch&ed=2ahUKEwiRg_mzouPzAhX8_jgGHfKiDjMQ2-cCegQIABAA&)
  149. <https://www.daijiworld.com/news/newsDisplay.aspx?newsID=515909>
  150. <https://bangaloremirror.indiatimes.com/bangalore/cover-story/17-year-old-student-ready-to-take-hijab-fight-to-president/articleshow/21540771.cms>
  151. <https://bangaloremirror.indiatimes.com/bangalore/cover-story/17-year-old-student-ready-to-take-hijab-fight-to-president/articleshow/21540771.cms>
  152. <https://www.rediff.com/news/interview/inter-wearing-a-headscarf-is-not-a-crime/20090820.htm>.
  153. Source: <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/mangaluru/veiled-politics-religious-sentiments-vs-uniform-dress-code-in-colleges/articleshow/55083073.cms>
  154. <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/mangaluru/veiled-politics-religious-sentiments-vs-uniform-dress-code-in-colleges/articleshow/55083073.cms>
  155. <http://twocircles.net/2014nov09/1415528137.html>
  156. <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/mangaluru/Veiled-politics-Religious-sentiments-vs-uniform-dress-code-in-colleges/articleshow/55083073.cms>
  157. Indiatoday news paper, *Mangalore burqa ban row*: on 1/9/2016
  158. Walking on the street near Bundaru on 04/05/2018
  159. Interview with Dr. Vinay Rajat is a sociology Professor on 19/05/2017

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