

KARNATAKA CHRISTIANS AND POLITICS

G. SHIRI

322.109
548 7 Sh 65 K

322,1095
487
Sh. 65 K



***INDIAN INSTITUTE OF
ADVANCED STUDY
LIBRARY SIMLA***

DATA ENTERED

C.I.S.R.S. Social Research Series No. 13

Karnataka Christians and Politics

G. SHIRI

Published for

THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF
RELIGION AND SOCIETY, BANGALORE

by

THE CHRISTIAN LITERATURE SOCIETY
MADRAS

CATALOGUE

Published by
THE CHRISTIAN LITERATURE SOCIETY
POST BOX 501, MADRAS 600 003

55697
10-3-78



Library IAS, Shimla



00058677

202.104543

Cover design by MADHU ADS.

PRINTED IN INDIA
AT THE DIOCESAN PRESS, MADRAS—1978. C9374

NOTE

This study was undertaken in 1973 as an M. Th. Thesis and later revised for publication.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE	PAGE
Introduction	I
CHAPTER TWO	
Methodology	7
CHAPTER THREE	
Karnataka State and the Christian Community	13
CHAPTER FOUR	
Christians in Political Activities	.. 30
CHAPTER FIVE	
Attitude Towards Politics 41
CHAPTER SIX	
Problems of Participation	.. 59
CHAPTER SEVEN	
Conclusion	.. 72
APPENDIX	
(i) List of Tables	78
(ii) Questionnaire	79
(iii) Bibliography	96

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of this study is to identify some of the major problems which hinder the Protestant Christian Community in Karnataka from a fuller participation in the political life of the nation, the State and of the localities in which the people live. In this task, various political activities and patterns of attitudes which are prevailing in the Community will also be traced.

The participation of the Protestant Christian Community of Karnataka in the political life of the State is quite often questioned by many fellow countrymen. The role of this Community in the pre-independence and post-independence periods is considered negligible. An assumption held by many is that the Protestant Christian Community is interested mostly in converting people into Christianity and has little or no interest in the political life of the State. Many times wild charges of extra-territorial loyalties were made by a few communal minded Hindus and organizations set against Christians because of their supposed lack of patriotism. It is learnt from knowledgeable persons and circles, that in the early period of national independence and formation of the State Government, when a few Christians demanded more representation of the Community in different Government bodies, they were told by some political leaders first to show their records of participation in the freedom movement and in active political life and then to ask for more representation. The same reaction was also shown, it is learnt, when a Church leader met the head of the Government to

request the Government to classify the Christian Community as one of the backward class communities so as to be entitled for certain concessions and privileges from the State.

Most of the leaders of the Protestant Christian Community today certainly agree that the Community is generally inactive in the matter of political participation, but they, however, show a tendency to consider the supposedly poor socio-economic conditions of the Community as the main reason for this situation. There is a strong tendency in the Community to blame the low socio-economic conditions and minority status for all omissions, particularly as far as inactiveness in socio-political participation is concerned.

However, a few people hold another view for all omissions: It maintains that the theological or religious orientation of Christians is the most important reason for the political inactiveness of Christians. It is believed that its religious orientation does not encourage the Christian Community to participate in political life. Moreover, it is said that the life of the Protestant Christian is much oriented to, and determined by, rather conservative religious norms and values and that to participate in any activity outside the religious sphere is almost sacrilegious.

What is stranger still is that not many in the Christian Community—either laity or clergy—consider this to be a problem. Many Church leaders, leave alone the laity, do not feel that the inactiveness of Christians in politics is a serious omission or a lack, about which the Community should be concerned at all. They are very prompt in recalling praises of Christian service in educational and medical fields, and add that the Christian

Community has contributed a great deal to the nation. However, they do not bother to question to what extent the Indian Christian Community and Indian Christians' money are responsible for these services in the educational and medical fields. On the whole, political participation seems to be outside the sphere of the concern of the Indian Christian Community.

This issue concerning the political participation of the Protestant Christian Community in Karnataka was selected for study because of its relevance in the context of the present political life of India. The people of this country and the world saw great political changes taking place in India at the beginning of this decade. It looked as though India was passing from a romantic and almost lethargic post-independence period to a much more realistic period of awakening. It is doubtful whether the hope of the dawn of a new political era has come true during the subsequent years. But it should be realized that until and unless people of this country realize their responsibility and awake to the new political needs, the realization of a better socio-economic and political life will remain a dream. It is in this context that it is imperative that the role and the attitude of the Protestant Christian Community as a 'participant' community in the political life of the nation or the State, is examined.

The primary focal point of this study is to determine (i) whether it is true that the Protestant Christian Community in Karnataka is politically inactive and if this is so, to what extent and (ii) what significant factors are responsible for this inactiveness: is it because of the religious orientation or the sociological situation of the Community? Or is it due to both? Or are there any other factors involved as well?

This study is primarily a sociological investigation. It is hoped that the findings of this study will (1) help the Community to understand the need for political participation and the problems related to such participation and (2) help the leaders of the Community by providing them with useful information which would contribute to making for greater participation of the Protestant Christian Community in the political life of the nation.

The details of the Methodology used in the study is given in a separate section of the book. However, in this introductory chapter certain terms and words used in the context of this book need to be explained.

(a) '*Politics*' or '*Political activities*': The word '*politics*' is defined by political scientists in different ways. '*Politics* is used to refer both to administration or legislation, and to the study of this department of human activity.'

The sociologist Neil J. Smelser thinks of polity 'as that part of the social system which is responsible for allocating the resources and facilities of the society'. Every individual is a member of the human society as well as of several smaller societies like religious, social, professional and so forth. One such society is the political society. Generally, a political society consists of many individuals: these individuals cannot meet physically to formulate or regulate political controls or laws. The power is entrusted to or exercised by a single individual or a group of individuals, who meet, deliberate and decide. Participation in this process could be called a political activity. Thus participation in politics becomes an essential part of man's existence in this world.

(b) *Christians* : Christians or Christian Community in Karnataka will be used only to refer to the Kannada speaking Protestant Christian Community in Karnataka State. Roman Catholics and non-Kannada speaking Protestants living in the State do not come under the scope of this study.

(c) *Participation* : A citizen can participate in the particular political society in which he lives, in different ways and at many levels. Voting in the elections, participation in the developmental programmes initiated by the Government, helping the government in times of crisis becoming a member of a political party and even becoming a leader ; observing or participating in the celebrations of days of national importance, cultivating an active interest in being more informed about the country and its problems—all these show a positive participation in the politics of the country. The employment of a person in Government service cannot ordinarily be counted as political activity ; political participation is a voluntary activity. It should also be noted in this context, that participation is not confined here to mean only party level activities or holding leadership positions alone, but it includes taking part in any of the political activities which were mentioned earlier, whether it is on a small scale or at a wider level.

(d) *Political inactiveness* : This is the reverse condition of political participation. The criterion of judging political inactiveness or activeness is not on the basis of the number of people represented in civic and legislative bodies or the number of people in active political leadership. Political inactiveness is judged on the basis of a person's or a community's general indifference and non-cooperative attitude toward political life and activity.

(e) *Theological or religious orientation* : This term refers here to the patterns of attitude which are developed in the Christian Community due to the influence of Christian teachings. It is an agreed fact that religious values and beliefs, to a great extent and in certain cases to the maximum extent, mould the personalities of men and values of society. This study examines whether any religious teachings developed among Christians contributed to a particular orientation or attitude with regard to politics.

(f) *Socio-economic conditions* : This refers to the general, social and economic condition of the Christian Community in Karnataka. The socio-economic conditions of the Christian Community are decided with reference to the needs of the Christian Community and also wherever possible, to those of the other communities in Karnataka. The economic resources, educational standards and achievement level and a few other factors concerning the social and economical status of the community are studied.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

This is basically a sociological investigation. Sociological research methods were employed in the study as far as possible. The main aim in making this factual study was to collect at first basic data such as income, age, sex, education, family type and so on, and then to trace patterns of political activities, attitude towards politics, world-view and wider society and nature of problems with regard to political participation which prevail in the Protestant Christian Community of Karnataka State. The whole methodology used in this work can be described according to the following categories :

(a) *Framing of hypothesis* : On the basis of certain general understanding and assumptions about the subject two hypotheses were formulated. The hypotheses are :

(1) The Protestant Christian Community in Karnataka is politically inactive.

(2) The theological orientation and low socio-economic conditions are major reasons for this inactiveness.

The hypotheses were formed on the basis of certain general assumptions about the Protestant Christian Community in Karnataka, and these were examined in detail to determine whether they are valid or not. A brief note on each of the hypotheses is necessary in this context.

Hypothesis(1) : One of the major concerns of this study was to find out how far the hypothesis (1) the Protestant

Christian Community is politically inactive, is true. It was not the concern of this study to examine whether the total Karnataka population is, in general, politically inactive as is sometimes assumed; neither will it come under the purview of this study to examine whether the Protestant Christian Community of Karnataka is politically inactive in comparison with its counterparts in other South Indian States.

Hypothesis (2): It is said that theological orientation and socio-economic conditions are the main reasons for the political backwardness of the Protestant Christian Community in Karnataka. It is also said that on the whole, the religious or theological orientation prevailing in the Community irrespective of denominational background does not encourage Christians to participate in politics. It is thought that an 'otherworldly' tendency which is strong in the Community is responsible for their non-participation or half-hearted participation in the political life of the nation. The Christian Community's long and strong association with western countries is also blamed for the Indian Christian's supposed lack of patriotism. Apart from religious orientation, a few socio-economic factors are also taken as the main cause for the political inactiveness of the community in Karnataka. The fact that they are a minority and a people coming mostly from the lower socio-economic strata, are considered among the major reasons for the supposed political inactiveness of the Protestant Christian Community.

The hypotheses were tested during the course of the field study.

(b) *Pre-test ; Questionnaire* : On the basis of the hypothesis and on the basis of some general study of the subject, a tentative questionnaire was prepared. This questionnaire

was pre-tested to examine its validity. The pre-test was conducted in a small town called Tumkur about forty miles north-west of Bangalore. A cross-section of this semi-urban Christian Community was interviewed with the help of the tentative questionnaire. The pre-test was found extremely helpful in revising the whole questionnaire. The questionnaire is a very important device in sociological investigation. The content of the questions, wordings and sequence of questions had to be carefully planned with a view toward extracting clear and reliable data for easy tabulation.

The questionnaire was prepared both in Kannada and English. The main parts of the questionnaire are: (1) general background of the respondent; (2) respondent's relation to political activity and related activities; (3) relation between respondent's religious faith and politics and (4) concluding evaluation of problems, motivation and attitudes in relation to political participation. The questionnaire included both open-ended and structured questions. A copy of the questionnaire can be found at the end of this book.

(c) *Selection of sample places* : A total of nine sample localities were selected for the field study. These nine areas or localities represent three main cultural, geographical and church denominational areas in Karnataka. For the convenience of the study these three main areas will be called 'state areas' and the nine sample areas selected out of those main areas will be called 'localities'. The three selected state areas were: (1) Mysore district (2) South Kanara district and (3) Raichur district. These three districts represent three geographical areas which are culturally very different from one another. Three different Christian Missions worked in these districts: Wesleyan

Methodist in Mysore district, Basel Mission in South Kanara and Methodist Church in Southern Asia (American Methodist) in Raichur. In socio-economic conditions too these three areas differ widely.

From each of the state areas three sample 'localities' or places were selected. This selection was made on the basis that each state area should include an urban area, one village with a comparatively higher percentage of Christians and another village with a comparatively low percentage of Christians. The idea behind this selection was that the sample study may include the Christians representing different kinds of socio-political stratas, such as an urban Christian Community where the Community is socio-economically relatively better off, a village where Christians have considerable numerical strength and a village where Christians are numerically a small minority. It was thought that a study of these types of representative Christian Communities would help to analyse and assess better the political activities and attitudes of Christians living under different conditions.

(d) *Field Study* : The nine selected localities were visited and studied during the summer of 1972. They were: Mysore City, Kastur and Masagapur villages in the Mysore district, Mangalore City, Uchilla and Basrur villages in South Kanara district and Raichur town, Matmari and Kurudi villages in Raichur district.

The questionnaire was a very useful device in collecting data. The people were met and interviewed at homes, schools, offices, shops and other working places. A total of 325 people representing the cross-section of the nine localities selected were interviewed. The selection of respondents was made mostly at random, with the help of the local Church workers at each locality.

Field techniques and observational methods were employed during the course of field research. Meetings with village headmen, talks with non-Christian neighbours and leaders, informal group discussions were held. Church services and other cultural functions were attended. Separate interviews were taken of Church workers employed in the respective localities, with the objective of understanding the historical picture of the local Christian Community. Thus various methods were used to get as much information as possible.

The field study was very interesting and very revealing. In urban areas more varied types of persons were found—some very enthusiastic, some very critical and sceptical about the study. However, none went to the extent of refusing an interview. The village interviews were most revealing of all. Apart from personal interviews, village Christians were met in groups for informal discussions on their socio-economic and political problems. These group discussions were very interesting and village Christians participated enthusiastically in them particularly in most of the Raichur and Mysore Areas.

Each interview generally took about half an hour to one hour. In villages, of course, it took considerably longer since a more careful and simplified method of interrogation was required. However, whether town or village, educated or illiterate, the same questionnaire was used in all the interviews.

(e) *Coding and Tabulation* : On the completion of the field work the entire task of categorising, coding and tabulating was done. A wide variety of answers were received for the seven open-ended questions. These answers were tentatively classified into a few categories, and these categories were tested by three coders independently. After necessary revision of categories all answers to

open-ended questions were coded. The answers to structured questions were also coded, and these codings along with those to the open-ended questions were transferred to the code-cards to make tabulation easier.

Description of the Sample

As stated earlier the sample represents three main areas or nine different localities of the Karnataka State. After careful consideration, out of the 325 questionnaires only 300 were taken for coding and tabulation. Therefore, the tabulation and analysis are based on the final sample of 300.

The sample includes a cross-section of the Christian Community of each of the nine localities. A proportionate number from the total Christian population of each locality was selected as respondents. The sample comprises fairly equal representation of respondents from each locality.

The sample includes 54% urban respondents and 46% rural respondents. It can be noted here that South Kanara and Mysore districts have more urban Christians than rural and this is one reason why the sample has a higher proportion of urban respondents.

Sexwise male respondents comprised 77% of the sample and 23% female. All the age groups from 18 years onward are evenly represented in the sample.

The sample includes almost equal representation of respondents belonging to three major Protestant denominations in Karnataka. Each denomination accounts for approximately $\frac{1}{3}$ of the sample.

In general, the sample is representative of people belonging to different age, sex, denomination, economical and educational background.

CHAPTER III

KARNATAKA STATE AND THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

I. Karnataka State

(a) *A general background* : Karnataka, the land between the rivers Godavari and Cauvery, is on the plateau region of peninsular India. Geographically, the State may be divided into three parts: (1) the narrow western coastal strip, which stretches for about 200 miles in length and about 50 miles in width along the Arabian Sea; (2) the hilly region of the western ghats, by the side of the coastal region, with sharply rising peaks for a length of 350 miles and a breadth of 50 miles; and (3) the plateau region which covers two-thirds of the total area of the State, with an average height of 2,000 feet and sloping towards the east. These are the three important geographical regions of Karnataka.

Karnataka State with 1,92,204 square kilometres is the sixth largest state of India. According to the latest general census, which was taken in the year 1971, the State has a population of 29,263,334 with an average density of population of 153 per square kilometre.

For administrative purposes the State is divided into four divisions and nineteen districts. There are eleven cities or towns with more than a lakh of inhabitants and 220 towns within a population range of below one lakh and above 5,000. According to 1971 census reports, there are 26,377 villages in the State.

Kannada is the language of the State and the spoken language of 70% of the people. There are also large sections

of the population in certain places, where Telugu, Tamil or Urdu is spoken. Tulu and Konkani languages are spoken in the coastal districts of South and North Kanara respectively, and the Coorgi language is spoken in Coorg district. But none of these three languages has a script of its own.

Karnataka is predominantly an agrarian state. The fact that only 24.31% of the State is urban and the rest is rural confirms this point. According to the 1971 census 65.46% of the working population in the State are agricultural workers and the rest are 'other workers'. Rice, ragi, maize are the important food crops; and coffee, cotton, sugarcane, cardamom, pepper, cashewnut and arecanut are the commercial crops. There are large coffee plantations in the rainy hill regions. Besides earning a handsome foreign exchange, the coffee plantations provide employment for thousands of plantation labourers. Karnataka is well known for sandalwood and its products like oil, perfumes and soap.

Agriculture in Karnataka is mostly dependent on rains. While there is sufficient rainfall in the coastal and hill regions, with an average rainfall of over 100 inches, the plateau region suffers greatly from insufficient rain, with less than 40 inches of rain per year. Only 36% of the total cultivated area has irrigational facilities. The large scale dependence on rainfall, often creates a crisis in the food and economic situation of the State.

Karnataka is the leading hydro-electricity producing state among the South Indian States. This is because of the good river water resources available at certain areas of the State. Surplus electricity is even sold to neighbouring States.

Karnataka occupies the eighth place in the industrial map among Indian States. Some of the strategic industries of the Indian Government are placed around Bangalore. Mineral industry is fast developing in certain parts and rich deposits of iron ore and copper are found in some areas of the State. There are also textile complexes in some places. However, one does not find a uniform industrial development here in this Karnataka.

Karnataka stands third in literacy among the South Indian States. While 32.54% of its population is literate, the literacy percentage of Kerala is 60.16%, Tamil Nadu 39.39% and Andhra Pradesh 25.56% according to the 1971 Census. The literacy rate of the State is marginally higher than the national percentage of literacy which is 29.35%.

There is a wide difference between the literacy rate of men and women as well as of urban and rural populations. While 42% of the males are literate, it is just 21% with females; while 51% of the urban population is found to be literate, only 25% is literate in the rural area. It is also found that only 14% of the female population of rural Karnataka is literate.

There are four universities in the State, one of them being exclusively for education related to agriculture and animal-husbandry. There are also a few highly advanced centres of learning in and around the capital city of Bangalore.

A notable fact in Karnataka is the disproportionate rate of literacy in different parts of the State. While coastal and hill region districts show a relatively better rate of literacy ranging from 45% to 35%, most of the plateau region districts, except Bangalore and Dharwar

districts, show quite a lower percentage. It is particularly notable that the three districts—Raichur, Bidar and Gulbarga, which account for nearly half the Protestant Christian population of the State, have the lowest percentage of literacy: 20%, 19% and 18% respectively. It may be noted that these districts were under Hyderabad Muslim dominion, during the British days.

As far as religion is concerned 86.46% of the population are Hindus. Muslims and Christians account for 10.63% and 2.09% respectively, according to the 1971 Census. While Hindus are found in majority in all the areas of the State, Muslims and Christians have larger concentrations at certain places. For example Dharwar, Gulbarga, Bijapur, Belgaum and South Kanara districts and Bangalore city have larger Muslim concentrations. As far as Christians are concerned, South Kanara, North Kanara, Dharwar, Bidar, Raichur, Chikmagalur and Belgaum districts, and Bangalore and Kolar Gold Fields cities have a good numerical strength of Christians. South Kanara district alone accounts for one-fourth of the total Christian population of the State. However, only about 10% of the South Kanara Christians are Protestants, and the rest are Roman Catholics.

Hindus in Karnataka belong to several caste, sub-caste and outcaste groups. Since no caste-wise census was taken from 1931 onward, official figures of the numerical strength of the different Hindu caste and sub-caste groups are not available. However, some estimation made by certain governmental and semi-governmental agencies are available. According to one such estimation there are about 250 Hindu caste groups in Karnataka. It is also estimated that 20% of the population are Lingaiths, 17 or 18% Harijans, 13 or 14% Okkaligas, 7% Kurubas (lit :

shepherds), 5% Bedas (lit: Hunters) 4% Brahmins and the rest belonging to tens of other smaller caste groups.

Lingaiths and Okkaligas are the two major politically significant communities in the State. Lingaithism which does not come under the caste structure of Hinduism was founded by a great reformer called Basava in the 12th century A.D. in the northern part of Karnataka. These numerically strong Lingaiths are good both in trade and agriculture, adventurous and advanced in many ways and play a predominant role in the political life of the State. The sociologist, Dr. C. Parvathamma, in her book, has compared Lingaiths to Protestants who made significant advancement after the Reformation, and adds that the liberal ethics and tradition-free religion of the Lingaiths made them most enterprising people.

Another politically significant community is that of Okkaligas (lit: agriculturists). Okkaligas are agricultural and land holders, sturdy and robust both physically and mentally. While Lingaiths are more numerous in the northern districts, Okkaligas are mostly found in coastal and hill region districts and also in some of the districts of old Mysore. Okkaligas are non-vegetarians and if the old caste criteria is applied, they come under the Shudra caste group. But by dint of their numerical and economical strength Okkaligas have become one of the prominent and politically stronger communities in the State.

It may be noted at this point, that till the time of State Reorganization, Okkaligas were in the forefront of state politics. But when the State was reorganized in 1956, and when the five districts of Belgaum, Dharwar, Raichur, Bidar, and Gulbarga which have a strong Lingaith population were added to the State, Okkaligas had a setback in the

political leadership of the State. With the accession of those five districts, the numerical strength of the Lingaiths in the State shot up. After the reorganization of the State, therefore, rivalry between Lingaiths and Okkaligas for political power is very often found in Karnataka politics.

Though Harijans are the second largest community (17% to 18%) they are not a political force in the State. They still suffer a great deal of social disadvantages and disabilities in most parts of the State. The result of the efforts made by the Government to raise the socio-economic condition of these people is far from satisfactory. Except in a few areas of the State, in most parts of Karnataka these people live in illiteracy and poverty. According to the survey made by Dr. C. Parvathamma of a sample place, the average land holding of a Harijan family is 0.29 only, while it is 10.05 with a Lingaith family. A State statistical department survey of a sample village indicated that literacy among Harijans as just 3.6%. Of course, there may be places where a higher percentage of literacy of these people may be found, but in general the literacy of these people is one of the lowest. There are 21 seats in State legislature and four seats in the Lok Sabha reserved for this community. However, they are yet to become a political force in the State; and all political parties have a share in exploiting the Harijan votes in the State.

Brahmins, who account for 4% of the State population, could be found today in all kinds of jobs, specially in key positions. They are also found in business and agriculture and they have a strong monopoly of the hotel industry in the State. Though as a community they are not a political force, they have considerable hold and influence on the political life of the State.

(b) *History of Karnataka*: According to historical sources available the first dynasty that ruled Karnataka was called Kadambas whose reign stretched for nearly fourteen centuries (c.c. 300 B.C.— 1,100 A.D.). After Kadambas, a few other kingdoms like Chera, Chola and Pallavas had established their power over certain parts of the State. Chalukyas were also strong for some time. After these dynasties, a kingdom called Ballals become strong for a period, until they were defeated by the Muslim ruler Mahmud Tuglak from the north. After the 'Ballals', the famous Vijayanagar Empire arose and was powerfully established for a certain period. This period is considered a glorious period in the history of Karnataka. Later, this kingdom too was overcome by an attack of a confederation of Muslim kingdoms in 1565 A.D.

When the Vijayanagar Empire fell, many smaller feudal states sprouted in many parts of Karnataka. One of the most important of feudal lords at this time was Wodeyar of Mysore, who laid the foundation of the kingdom of Mysore in 1610. His fourth successor extended the territories of Mysore and built a strong kingdom. But in the 18th century, a Muslim officer in the army revolted and seized power. It was his son Tippu Sultan, who became one of the most gallant kings of all time in Indian history. He fought bravely against the invading British. Tippu Sultan is rightly called the first freedom fighter of Karnataka. Unfortunately, Tippu was betrayed to the British, and the British set a representative of the old Hindu king's family on the throne.

By the first half of the 19th century the British were able to establish their power over the whole of Karnataka. It is important in this context to note how the British ruled Karnataka because it has great bearing on the socio-

economic and political development of those parts in later days. Bellary and South Kanara districts came under the jurisdiction of Madras Presidency, which meant direct British administration. Belgaum and Dharwar districts were ceded to Bombay Presidency. Raichur, Bidar and Gulbarga districts were part of the dominion of the Muslim ruler, Nizam of Hyderabad. Most of the remaining areas came under the British Commissioner's rule from 1832 though the Mysore kings continued as the nominal heads of this semi-autonomous State. Thus, it can be observed that Karnataka was not a single political entity in the pre-independence days. This understanding of the political set-up of Karnataka is quite important for any study, political or socio-economical, of the State.

From the beginning there was resistance against British rule. Severe resistance was offered by a few Indian rulers of small kingdoms. However, due to conditions peculiar to that time, it took a longer time for an organized resistance and active quest for national freedom to develop in Karnataka.

With Gandhiji taking over the national leadership of the freedom struggle from 1920, the national spirit began to manifest itself in Karnataka also. In several cities of Karnataka, Congress Committees were set up by then. The all-India Session of the Congress which was held in Belgaum in 1930, under the Presidentship of Gandhiji further boosted the freedom movement in Karnataka. Northern districts like Dharwar and North Kanara became hot beds of the freedom struggle and it was the people of these areas who made maximum sacrifices. As in other parts of the country, those areas in Karnataka which were under British rule directly were fired with nationalistic enthusiasm first. It may be noted that it took a longer time for those parts

which were under native rule i.e., old Mysore and Hyderabad, Karnataka, to be enthused with the spirit of nationalism.

The people of Karnataka actively participated in the freedom struggle. Men and women, old and young joined the movement. Many sacrifices were made by the people of Karnataka for the sake of national freedom, which were extolled by national leaders. In 1942, when the great Quit India movement started, Karnataka too vigorously joined in it. In 1947 national freedom was granted and Karnataka joined in the jubilation of this achievement. In the year 1950 the nation became a republic. In 1956, the States were reorganized on the basis of language and thus the present Karnataka State came into full existence. The State was called Mysore, but, from 1973, it was re-named Karnataka on the popular demand of the people.

In Karnataka, before State Reorganization, it was first the Okkaligas and then the Lingaiths who wielded major political influence, but after State Reorganization it became the Lingaiths and then the Okkaligas who were powerful in that order. The Congress Party is the oldest, largest and the most popular party in Karnataka. The Opposition to Congress was weak and ineffective. The P.S.P. provided a good, steadfast and consistent leadership in post 1957 legislature. However, its strength diminished on account of defections to the Congress and the formation of the S.S.P. The Swatantra and Jana Sangh were also built up steadily but, during later years, the former almost disappeared from the scene. Jana Sangh is quite strong in certain towns and cities, but its growth never reached any considerable extent.

In the 1971 Lok Sabha and 1972 legislature elections the people of Karnataka overwhelmingly elected the Congress (Ruling) Party. The strength of the Congress (O) group

58677

10.3.78

which includes some of the national leaders of its party like Sri Nijalingappa, seemed to have diminished in the wake of the overwhelming victory of Congress (R) in 1971 and 1972. But in recent days, the party is reviving its strength and in quite a few bye-elections it has shown good fight against the ruling party and won seats.

2. The Protestant Christian Community in Karnataka

(a) *General Background* : The Christian Community is a small religious minority in the State. According to the 1971 Census there are 6,13,026 Christians, which is 2.09% of the total population of the State. This percentage is about the same as the national percentage of Christians which is 2.6% according to the 1971 Census. The percentage of the growth of the Christian Community is + 25.73% according to the same Census.

Of the 2.09% which is the State percentage of Christians, Roman Catholics account for nearly two-thirds and the rest are Protestants. Karnataka has the lowest Christian population among the South Indian States. The following Table No. 1 illustrates this point.

TABLE NO 1. *Population of four South Indian States and their Christian population—1971 Census.*

Name of the State	Total Population	Christians	Christians Percentage
Kerala	21,347,375	4,494,089	21.05
Tamil Nadu	41,199,168	2,367,749	5.75
Andhra Pradesh	43,502,708	1,823,436	4.19
Karnataka	29,299,014	6,13,026	2.09

It can also be noted in this context that Karnataka has the lowest Protestant population of all the South Indian States.

The Protestant Christian Community in Karnataka represents three main denominational backgrounds. They are (1) Wesleyan Methodist (2) Basel Mission and (3) Methodist Church of Southern Asia (American Methodists). London Mission Society has also worked in this State, but since Christians belonging to this denominational background are very few—less than 4% of the total Protestant Community, the sample of that particular Community has not been taken in this study.

A brief account of each of the three denominations may be useful at this point.

(1) *Wesleyan Methodist Mission* : The Wesleyan Methodist Mission started its work in the year 1836. Its mission field was mostly confined to the areas of 'Old Mysore'. Mysore, Tumkur, Mandya, Bangalore, Hassan, Shimoga districts were all parts of the field of this mission. The mission was successful to a certain extent among scheduled castes and among a few other depressed communities in certain places. The mission work was vigorous during the time of the great famine of 1876-78. Many of the present Christians in these areas are descendants of those who were saved during this famine. According to some estimates there are about 45,000 Christians who belong to this denominational tradition in the State. This is roughly 22% of the total Protestant Christian population of Karnataka. In this factual study a city and two villages which were part of the Wesleyan Mission field were studied. These places are Mysore city, Kastur and Mesagapur villages both in Mysore district.

(2) *Basel Mission* : The work of the Basel Mission was started in Mangalore in the year 1834. South Kanara and Coorg in the south-west, Dharwar and Bijapur districts in the north of Karnataka were its main mission fields. This mission was able to attract a considerable number of middle and lower-middle caste group people into the Christian fold. However, most of these people were economically depressed. The Mission did some pioneering work in educational and industrial fields, but the expansion of the Church was considerably slow. It is estimated that there are about 25,000 Christians who belong to this tradition. This is about 12% of the total Protestant population of the State. Mangalore city, Uchilla and Basrur villages are three places which are covered under this factual study. All these three places are in coastal South Kanara district.

(3) *Methodist Church in Southern Asia* : The work of this mission started in the year 1885. Belgaum, Kolar, Raichur, Bidar and Gulbarga districts are their main areas of work. They were able to attract a large number of scheduled caste people in Bidar, Raichur and Gulbarga districts. The Christians belonging to this tradition account for little over 50% of the whole Protestant Christian population of the State. Raichur town, Matmari and Kurudi village in Raichur district are the three places covered in this factual study.

The Christians belonging to Wesleyan Methodist Mission, Basel Mission and London Mission are part of Church of South India, at present. The whole of the Church of South India is divided into three dioceses in the State. The Methodist Church in Southern Asia has only recently started negotiations to join the Church of North India.

(b) *Socio-cultural and economic conditions of the Community*: Socio-cultural and economic conditions of the community differ from area to area and conspicuously so from rural to urban areas.

The general social status of the community can be said to be quite low in most of the rural areas, while it is considerably better in urban areas. One of the major reasons for the lower socio-economic condition of the community is that most of the Protestant Christians come from socially ostracised outcaste groups. Only a few cases of conversion from higher castes are made and only in a very few areas conversions from other than Harijan or outcaste groups are found. It is basically because of this lower caste background that Protestant Christians in most parts of Karnataka continue to be at a disadvantage even today.

Most of the Christians in Karnataka belong to rural areas or have a rural background. Though there are large concentrations of Christians in urban areas, it was discovered that 54% of the urban Christians came from rural places, in their own lifetime.

The Protestant Christian families in Karnataka are mostly nuclear type families. It was found that 59% of the Protestant families are nuclear, 28% joint and 12% extended-nuclear families. While both in urban and rural areas nuclear families predominate more, joint families are found in rural areas more than in urban areas. The extended-nuclear families, referred to here, are those families comprised of only one married couple, but who also have one of the parents or closest relatives living along with the family.

It was found that a Protestant nuclear family consists

of an average of 5.7 persons, whereas a joint family consists of an average of 8.5 persons.

The factual study has discovered certain interesting facts about the educational level of the Christian Community. These can be listed as follows :

(1) There is a remarkable difference in the educational level and achievement of urban and rural Christian communities. Illiteracy and lower educational levels are found more in rural areas than in urban areas. This however, seems to be the same in the case of other communities also.

(2) While the Christian Community in the coastal South Kanara district is found to be almost literate, considerable amount of illiteracy is found in the Protestant Christian Community in other areas. The factual study has discovered that as much as 17% in Raichur area and 14% in Mysore area, of adult Christians are illiterates. It is also found that 39% of adult Christians of Raichur area are either illiterates or studied just upto two or three standards. While this figure is 24% for Mysore area, it is significantly just 7% for South Kanara area.

(3) It was found that there is uniformity with regard to the percentage of university educated Christians in different areas. An interesting fact is that certain areas which have considerable amount of illiteracy also have a good number of University educated Christians, whereas the South Kanara Christian Community which has practically no illiteracy, has considerably few University educated Christians.

(4) In general, Christians have a higher percentage of literacy than the literacy of the general population.

(5) It is significant that though the Christian Community has a fair percentage of literacy, the percentage of Uni-

versity educated is lower than that of the Hindu Community. The following Table No. 2, indicates this point further:

TABLE NO. 2. *University education according to religious groups¹.*

Zone & religion	Percentages	
	Male	Female
Bangalore City		
Hindu	13.8	2.8
Muslim	7.2	1
Christian	5.8	6.7

(6) It is also discovered that the speed of the growth of literacy among non-Christian communities is much higher than that of Christians. The following Table No. 3 indicates this point more descriptively.

TABLE NO. 3. *Literacy in different religious groups².*

Area and religion, Bangalore City	Age group	Age group	Age group
	15-24	25-44	45 and over
Hindu	56.6	46.4	37.6
Muslim	50.0	39.3	27.6
Christian	64.4	59.6	61.0
Towns			
Hindu	50.8	45.9	32.6
Muslim	36.8	33.1	24.4
Christian	57.7	53.8	58.3

¹ *The Mysore Population Study*, New York : U.N.O. Dept. of Economic and Social Affairs, 1961. p. 188.

² *Ibid.*, p. 189.

3. Economic Condition of the Community

The Protestant Christian Community in Karnataka is poor, in general. But there is much difference between urban and rural communities. A significant finding is that while 80% of the urban Christians have an annual income ranging from Rs. 2,000 to over 7,000, the annual income of 79% of the rural Christian Community is between Rs. 500 to Rs. 2,000 only. This indicates the great gulf existing in the economical condition of rural and urban Christian communities.

In general, there is uniformity among urban areas in the economic standards of the Community. But as far as rural areas are concerned they have considerable differences between them in this matter. For example, the economic condition of South Kanara village Christians is relatively better than that of Raichur village Christians. In Karnataka, as elsewhere, the economical condition to a large extent depends on how much irrigational facilities are available in each area.

In urban areas Christians are mostly in professional, operative or service categories of jobs like clerks, nurses, teachers, mechanics and drivers. Most of the urban Christians are paid workers. In many cases wives too are employed. In certain places a considerable percentage of the local Christian Community are workers in Mission establishments like hospitals, schools and so on. There may be a handful of Christian doctors but practically nobody is engaged in the legal profession. The same thing applies to trade and industry also. Practically few Christians, if any, may have ventured into trade and industry. It is found that in many areas Christians are good in operative jobs. A large percentage of urban Christian workers would be certainly in this category of

jobs like fitters, welders, drivers, turners and other kinds of mechanical workers. In many cities and towns Christians own garages, workshops and have a thriving business.

The economic conditions of the rural Protestant Christian Community is rather gloomy. The rural Christians are either landless agricultural labourers or holders of small pieces of land or cultivators of leased or tenanted lands. Most of the areas, in which Protestant Christians are found in large numbers are known as famine-stricken areas. The agricultural income is also low in most of these areas. Added to this, many Christians in the villages are in perpetual debt to money-lenders. Thus, on the whole, the economic condition of the rural Christian Community is quite poor.

The common tendency found among Christians, perhaps more so with the rural Christian Community, is to look upon the Church as an agency or place which gives them aid. Very seldom do Christians take risks or undertake new ventures. They want the Church to establish industries, schools, boardings and hospitals which can provide them jobs. Many times the policy or structure of the Church also helps in continuing this dependence of its members on the Church.

CHAPTER IV

CHRISTIANS IN POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

One of the major purposes of this factual study was to see whether Christians are involved in any kind of political activities and to assess the type and extent of their participation :

1. Christians in political leadership and party activities :

At the outset it could be said that practically no Protestant Christian could be located in the political leadership of the State. There are altogether five Christian members in the State legislative bodies—the Assembly and the Council, and interestingly all of them are women. Of the five, four are Catholics and all these are of South Kanara origin and all belong to Congress (R) Party. The one Protestant who is member of the Legislative Council is of Anglo-Indian background and she is not an elected member of the Council with party affiliation but a nominee of the Government selected mostly as a representative of the Christian Community in the legislature.

Protestant Christians are rarely found involved in active politics. There are a few Christians who are members of village panchayats and town or city municipalities and corporations. In recent years in a few of the city municipalities or corporations, the number of Christian members have been found to increase slightly and some of them found actively involved. One such place is Hubli-Dharwar corporation, where in recent years a few Protestant Christians are found actively involved in municipal politics. A few clergymen were also found who had started to be actively

involved in politics; for instance, the Principal of the Theological College, Mangalore and a pastor, (a prominent Church leader), were active in municipal politics in North Karnataka area. The slight increase in the number of Christian membership in a few town or city municipal bodies made some Christians think that Christian participation in politics has greatly increased. While the increase in the Christian membership in a few municipalities and quite active involvement of some of them is a commendable and an encouraging factor, it cannot be said that Christians have made the same progress in general, as far as the whole State is concerned.

In the last State Legislative Assembly Election in 1972, 13 Christians contested through various parties or as independants. Of these only three or four were Protestant Christians. Out of the 13 who contested only three persons were able to win, and all these three were Catholic women who contested with Congress (R) tickets from South Kanara constituencies. The rest lost, forfeiting their election deposits too.

As far as the rural areas are concerned, a handful of Christians are found who are members of village panchayats in some places. This was found to be the case comparatively more so in Mysore and Raichur areas than in the South Kanara area where villages do not have many Christians, generally. A few cases of Christians becoming chairmen or vice-chairmen of village panchayats is also noted in areas where Christians are found in considerable numbers. Of course, in places where Christians have considerable numerical strength, Christians are elected automatically as community representatives and do not generally have much political bearing.

The number of Christians in political parties is found to be very small. Those few thus involved belonged mostly to the Congress (R) camp, which is the ruling party in the State. Few Christians are found as officers in their party's executive or other committees, at the town or district levels.

Interestingly, some Christians are found in the Communist Party and its leadership in the South Kanara area. Particularly, two Christians who are in higher echelons of their parties—one in C.P.M. and another in C.P.I. Both of them have a good record of labour union activities in the district. Neither of these two are in touch with the Church nor is the Church in touch with them. Besides these two, a few more are found as members of the Communist Party, and also a few found to be secretaries of village Communist units in South Kanara district. A handful of Christians, mostly retired officers or higher educated Christians, are found to be members of the Swatantra or Congress (O) parties, in a few cities or towns of Karnataka.

2. Christians in the National Freedom Struggle :

The national freedom struggle is almost a past event now. It was a movement in which the national spirit and aspirations of the people were very extensively manifested. The extent of participation in this struggle carried great bearing in the post-independence days, on every community of the country—specially on minority communities. In this factual study special attention was given to trace the attitude of Christians towards this great movement and to see the extent of their participation in it.

It was found that an insignificant number of Christians participated in the freedom struggle. Those few who participated in the freedom struggle were disapproved of by

the Church and very often ridiculed by others of the Christian Community. There are cases of harassment and dismissal from service of a few Mission workers because of their participation in the national struggle or their approval of Gandhian ideals. This was because Gandhiji and his freedom struggle were not taken seriously by Christians in general. In the pre-independence days Christians generally gave their electoral support to the parties which opposed the Congress Party, with a pro-British policy. The Church leadership and the Christian Community carried a totally negative attitude towards the freedom movement and towards the Congress Party. But in the latter years of the independence struggle, the attitude of the Church changed considerably from that of total negation to that of limited sympathy. But the Church never encouraged at any time its members to support or join the freedom struggle. This factual study was able to trace just four Protestant Christians who participated in the freedom struggle. All four gave long accounts of bitter experiences with clergy and other Christians, because of their support to the freedom struggle. It may be noted at this point that while a few freedom movement participants or sympathizers were found in South Kanara and Mysore areas, virtually none could be located in Raichur area.

It was found that both urban and rural Christian communities carried almost the same attitude towards the freedom struggle. While questioned, just 7% of the respondents expressed that they had some sympathy for the movement, but they never actually dared to join the movement. Among the vast majority of respondents who never participated in the freedom struggle, the overwhelming majority expressed that they wanted British rule to continue in India. It was

discovered that the main reason for this kind of attitude was a fear complex—the fear that Christians might be harassed or persecuted in free India, in which Hindus would be the rulers. Christians thought that the interests of the Christian Community would be safeguarded if the British continued to rule. In fact, there was wild speculation in the wake of national independence, often quite groundless, about the imminent persecution of Christians, in quite a few circles of the Christian Community.

Another reason for Christian non-participation in the freedom struggle, was its economic dependence on Mission establishments. The Protestant Christian Community was mostly dependent on the Missions, particularly economically. Their community leaders who were then foreign missionaries belonged to either British, American or German nationalities, and for obvious reasons, they did not encourage anyone belonging to their fold to participate in the freedom struggle. Under these peculiar circumstances the participation of Christians in the national struggle could hardly be expected.

3. Participation in strikes and demonstrations:

On the whole Christians participate very little in strikes and demonstrations. Even if the strikes are of a very non-political nature, there is hesitation among Christians to join in them. However, this too passive attitude is definitely changing. It was found that Christians do not shy away from participating in strikes and demonstrations, to the extent they did before. The few Christians who are found to be very active in labour unions in some places, as already noted, belong either directly to Communist parties or are backed by such parties.

Why do Christians hesitate to participate in strikes? There may be several reasons for this. One important reason being the minority community complex. Other reasons are fear of losing employment and fear of harassment. It may be noted that most of the strikes or demonstrations have the support generally of one or more particular political parties. This support may be either from Communist or Jana Sangh parties in most cases. And these are the two parties which are disapproved of by Christians in general and they would not like to participate generally in strikes organized or supported by these parties. This applies to labour unions too. Occasionally, Christians might be found in workers' labour unions which have the political backing of Communists or even of the Jana Sangh, but rarely do Christians join demonstrations arranged by them.

Another reason for Christians hesitating to participate in strikes or demonstrations is that, on the whole, Christians do not approve of disorder. They are very seldom involved in violent strikes. Also, very often the Christian Community is eager to convey the impression that it is a peaceful community which does not indulge in any violent activities. This attempt of the Christian Community to show itself a peaceful and obedient community certainly has adverse effects also. There is danger of the Christian Community becoming quite passive and refusing to raise its voice against any injustice done.

4. How are Christians politically informed?

To trace the sources of political information is very important because it indicates the extent of one's political interests. It was found that the Christians are politically informed through many sources and means, on varied

levels. While newspapers and radios are the most common and important means of political information for the urban Christian Community, a large percentage of rural Christians still depend on hearsay as far as political information is concerned. The newspaper is yet to penetrate into most of the villages of Karnataka. A marked difference is noted, however, in the case of villages of South Kanara district, where newspapers and radio are found to prevail considerably more than in the other areas of the State.

Are Christians interested in reading newspapers and being informed about day to day politics? It was discovered that 54% of the respondents have a habit of, or active interest in, reading newspapers, urban Christians accounting for the bulk of this percentage. It was found that only 28% of the rural Christians have a habit of, and active interest in, reading newspapers, and again, of this, the rural areas of South Kanara—where reading of newspapers in villages is much higher—account for a larger percentage.

Very significant differences are noted with regard to the habit of reading newspapers, among the respondents belonging to three different areas. The following Table No. 4 illustrates this point more descriptively.

TABLE No. 4. *Habit of Newspaper reading among Christian respondents of different areas.*

Frequency of reading	South Kanara	Mysore	Raichur
Almost regular	74%	60%	22%
Not regular	20%	14%	33%
Never	6%	26%	45%

The above Table indicates the remarkable difference between the Christian communities living in different areas with regards to the usage of newspapers as a source of political information.

The Christian Community uses mostly regional language (i.e., Kannada) newspapers and journals. Certain Kannada magazines and weeklies have become quite popular such as *Sudha* and *Prajamatha*, *Kasturi* etc., and could be found in many Christian homes, especially in urban areas.

On the whole, sources and means of political information of the urban Christian Community are quite good, but the rural Christian Community, except in the South Kanara area, gives a rather discouraging picture. Poverty, illiteracy and lack of communication with the towns are found to be major reasons for this distressing situation of rural areas.

5. Voting pattern among Christians:

Voting is one of the important political activities of a citizen in any democratic nation. *How frequently do Christians of Karnataka vote?* The factual study has revealed some significant facts with regards to the voting behaviour of Christians in Karnataka.

It was discovered that in the three elections (Lok Sabha, State Assembly and Local Panchayat or Municipal) held during the years 1970-1972, 64% of the eligible Christian voters voted regularly. However, significant difference was noted between urban and rural Christian voting. While 70% of the rural Christians voted in all the elections it was only 49% with the urban Christian Community. Difference between men and women voters is also registered. While 61% of the men respondents voted regularly, it

was found that only 46% of the women voters voted regularly.

One significant finding with regards to the voting behaviour of Christians is that, while the regular voters represented mostly lower educational and economical levels, those who did not vote regularly represented higher income and educational brackets.

The following Tables 5 and 6 indicate this point further.

TABLE No. 5. *Regular Christian Voters income-wise.*

Level of Income	Regular voting
Below Rs. 2000	67%
Above Rs. 2000	48%

TABLE No. 6. *Regular Christian voters by educational level.*

Level of Education	Regular voting
Below Primary (including illiterates)	77%
Middle school and above (including postgraduates)	55%

The two Tables above clearly indicate how the Christians of different socio-economic and educational levels differ in the matter of voting in the elections.

Area-wise, however, Mysore area registered 66% regular voting, South Kanara 60% and Raichur only 46%. Urban area-wise, Mangalore stood first with 60% regular voters, Mysore City with 49% and Raichur town with just 23%.

Do Christians vote more promptly than other Communities ?
This could not be ascertained because the voting figures of other communities could not be had. On the whole, the voting rate of the Christian Community is marginally higher than that of the state average. According to the factual study the voting average among Christians is 64% which is a little higher than the state average which is 61.56%, as published by the election department of the State for the 1972 Assembly elections. However, though the general average of Christians' voting seems marginally higher to that of the state average, at some places Christians' voting average is found to be much lower to that of general figures which are published by the State. For example, while the voting average of South Kanara according to state figures is 66.64%, it is 60% for the Christian Community as per this factual study. While the State figures for Raichur district is 51.65%, the Christians' voting average is found to be 46% according to this factual study. But in Mysore district, while the state figure for polling percentage is 62.68%, the regular voting found among Christians is 66%.

According to state figures among the three districts which are under the survey of our study, South Kanara leads in high percentage of voting and a low percentage of invalid or rejected votes; Mysore district comes next in this regard; and Raichur has a lower percentage of voting and higher percentage of rejected votes. While the highest rejected votes in a South Kanara electorate is 2.86%, it is

4.15% and 5.54% for Mysore and Raichur Districts respectively.

6. Church Organized Programmes :

What programmes are there in the Church, which has a bearing on socio-political life? Some of the things which are found in churches could be listed as follows :

(1) *Prayer for the nation* : It is a liturgical prayer for the nation said in a few churches quite regularly on Sundays but in most of the churches, only occasionally.

(2) *Church services on national days* such as on Independence and Republic days : But this is not found in many churches. Most of the rural churches do not hold any services on these days. Only some churches in urban areas hold these services. But pathetically, in almost all churches the attendance in these services is a bare handful. Only in a few churches is the national flag hoisted on these days.

(3) *Collections for national emergencies* : Such as for Defence Relief, Flood Relief or Famine Relief. This was done in quite a number of churches in the State, but these kinds of activities are mostly confined to urban churches. No effort is made to develop these and other kinds of activities in the rural churches. It is encouraging to find that many urban churches have done appreciable work in this line.

(4) *Discussion groups on socio-political activities* : These could hardly be found in any of the churches. In a few city churches where the Student Christian Movement is active, discussion groups might occasionally be found. But in general, churches have no organized programmes which may help in the political education of the community.

CHAPTER V

ATTITUDE OF CHRISTIANS TOWARDS POLITICS

In the previous chapter, types of political activities which are prevailing in the Christian Community were briefly surveyed. Activities are the outcome of attitudes and social norms. This chapter will, therefore, deal mainly with the attitudinal pattern of the Protestant Christian Community of Karnataka.

i. Do Christians consider political activities as related to faith or contradictory to faith ?

What is the place of politics in their life ? Very interesting reactions were noted to this question. 53% of the Christians felt that faith and politics are not separate things but related. They thought participation in political activities should be considered as a part of Christian witness and service. It was mostly the rural Christians who held this attitude with 65% opining so, while it was just 43% with the urban Christians.

Of the total, 38% Christians felt that they welcomed scope for participation in political activities, but they would not think faith had anything to do with politics. They felt that political participation was a kind of social service and also added that participation was inevitable for the survival of the Christian Community. Interestingly, it was urban Christians who felt so, more than rural Christians. While 52% of the urban Christians expressed their attitude in these terms, it was only 26% of the rural Christians who opined so. Somehow, the better educated urban Christian did not like the idea of mixing religion with politics. Normally, he does feel the necessity of participating in

politics, but would prefer to see his religion separately from politics as much as possible. Even some of the Christians who were very active in politics, strongly felt against relating faith and politics. According to them they are two quite different spheres and they would like to serve them separately.

Many other characteristics were also found between these two different attitudinal patterns. It was mostly poor Christians who felt faith and politics were related, more than those at higher income levels. This is confirmed by the fact that while 61% of the respondents who are within the income brackets of Rs. 2000 per annum thought faith and politics as related, it is only 47% of the higher income brackets ranging from Rs. 2000 to 5000 and more, felt it to be so.

The same characteristic is found in the attitude of educationally different respondents. The following Table No. 7 illustrates this point more descriptively.

TABLE No 7. *Relation of Faith and Politics—Educational level-wise.*

Level of Education	Opinion(1) Faith and Politics related	Opinion(2) Faith and Politics not related
Below primary	72%	12%
Primary and middle	52%	36%
Matriculate and above (including postgraduates)	34%	45%

The above Table indicates the remarkable difference between the Christians of different educational levels, in their attitude on the matter of relation of faith and politics. It was also found that the younger age groups related faith and politics considerably more than the older age groups.

Remarkable difference between the attitudes of respondents belonging to three different geographical areas is also registered. The following Table No. 8 illustrates this point.

TABLE NO. 8. *Relation of Faith and Politics Area-wise.*

Areas	<i>Opinion (1)</i> Faith and Politics related	<i>Opinion (2)</i> Faith and Politics not related
Raichur	63%	16%
Mysore	46%	38%
South Kanara	41%	49%

The Table above further confirms a point already noted. It is often the younger age group i.e. around 20 to 40 years old, of rural Christians falling into the lower educational and socio-economic levels who relate faith and politics more and who see political participation as a Christian witness. The urban Christians hold a totally different attitude.

2. Could politics be a suitable vocation for Christians?

Can a Christian accept politics as a vocation? This was

rather a more direct question than the first; what does the community feel about this? It was only 62% of the Christians who thought politics could be an acceptable vocation for a Christian. Of the rest, while 10% expressed total remonstrance at this idea, 28% are undecided about this and felt that one could be involved in politics sometimes but not always and certainly not as a full time vocation.

It is again the rural Christian Community more than the urban, which welcomed the idea of politics as a vocation. While 80% of the rural Christians agreed to this, it was only 44% with urban Christians. The urban people carried a very bad image of the politician. It was not so with the villagers.

Income and educational level-wise, Christians of lower income brackets accepted politics being pursued as a suitable vocation more than those Christians belonging to higher brackets. It was significantly the older age groups who remonstrated against the idea of pursuing politics as a vocation.

3. How important is Christian Participation in politics?

How seriously do Christians consider their participation in politics? Or to what extent is it essential to participate in politics? It was discovered that an overwhelming majority of Christians—about 81% consider participation in politics very important or quite important. The other 19% felt that participation was either not so important or were wholly opposed to any kind of participation.

Interestingly, no significant difference is found between urban and rural areas or between three different areas—South Kanara, Mysore and Raichur. Respondents belonging to higher educational and income brackets

represented comparatively more of those who did not feel the necessity for political participation. But the difference was very much marginal.

The lack of any significant attitudinal difference on this question, among the respondents belonging to different socio-economic and other levels, suggests a fact which has already been confirmed by other data and observation. This fact is that, in general, the overwhelming majority of Christians, irrespective of their background or socio-economic standing, have begun to feel the necessity for participation in politics, on whatsoever ground it may be. The crux of the problem is not the question : whether to participate or not, but the quality, motivation and extent of participation and relating this participation to their total life and faith.

4. What motivates Christians to participate in politics?

The Christians who thought participation in politics was important, were motivated on different grounds. 57% of the respondents expressed that they are politically motivated primarily in the interests of the Christian Community. These people think Christians should participate in politics, otherwise they may lag behind and may lose political representation and other rights and privileges from the Government. They think that more Christians in politics will safeguard somehow, the interests of the Christian Community, and will also reveal the strengths of the Community to their best advantage.

41% of the respondents expressed their motivation for participation in politics primarily in terms of wider or national interests than not confining themselves merely to the interests of the Christian Community. But on the

whole, little over more than half the urban and rural Christian Community expressed motivation for political participation in terms of the Christian Community's interests. No significant differences between urban and rural Christians were found with regard to this. While 53% of the urban Christians expressed motivation in terms of the interests of the Christian Community it was 58% with the rural Christians, which is marginally higher than the urban figure.

It will be revealing to see how Christians express their motivation for political participation, in their own words. The following are some of the statements of the respondents themselves.

(a) Political participation primarily in national interest.

1. India is our land so we join in politics ;
2. For the progress of our nation ;
3. Supporting a secular party and being patriotic are Christian duties.

(b) Participation primarily motivated by Christian Community interest.

1. It helps the Christian Community ;
2. The Kingdom of God must develop thus ;
3. We are a minority community, we should be represented ;
4. For privileges ; since there are no Britishers now to help us, we don't have any other way, than joining in politics.

The above statements of respondents reflect their motivations more completely.

Remarkable differences were found on this issue between those of different areas. While South Kanara and Mysore areas represent both categories of motivations almost equally, Raichur area indicates a high degree of Christian Community interest. The following Table No. 9 illustrates this point more descriptively.

TABLE NO. 9. *Motivation for Political Participation—area-wise.*

Motivations	Mysore	South Kanara	Raichur
1. Primarily Christian Community interest	52%	58%	69%
2. Wider or national interest	48%	42%	31%

The above Table indicates that, in general, in all the areas the frequency of political participation in the interests of the Christian Community is found to prevail to a greater extent but in the Raichur area, it predominates. This indicates a pattern that the more rural an area is the more favourable to political participation, but motivation is based more on communal rather than national interest.

5. Attitudes towards a few political issues :

(a) *Which political party do Christians favour?* The Protestant Christian Community of the State were found to be mostly supporters of the Congress Party. The factual study discovered that 91% of the respondents are Congress Party supporters. This figure is for both the Congress parties i.e. Congress (R) and Congress (O). According to this study 87% of respondents support Congress (R) and 4% are found to be supporters of Congress (O). Only in a few urban places and in some industrial areas, supporters of other parties are found among Christians. Cases of some educated and retired officers supporting the Swatantra Party and industrial workers supporting Communist parties are found. But this is numerically very insignificant. The Jana Sangh and the Communist Party are the two parties which are greatly disliked in the Community.

No significant difference between urban and rural Christian Communities is noted with regards to supporting political parties, except that while in the villages Christians are almost all supporters of Congress (R), in urban areas some non-Congress following among Christians may be traced.

The Christians' support to Congress (R) is much in line with the support that party got among the general population of the State.

The following Table No. 10 indicates the position of different political parties in the last election.

TABLE No. 10. *Position of Political parties in the Assembly Election, 1972.*

Parties	No. of contested	Lost Deposit	Elected	Percentages of voted polled to total valid votes
1. Congress (R)	212	—	165	52.17
2. Congress (O)	176	32	24	26.22
3. Jana Sangh	102	80	—	4.30
4. Socialist	29	19	3	1.69
5. Swatantra	28	26	—	0.57
6. C. P. M.	17	13	—	1.03
7. C. P. I.	4	—	3	0.99
8. Janatha paksha	2	—	1	0.16
9. Independents	250	189	20	12.87

Unlike three other South Indian states, Karnataka never had a non-Congress Party ruling in the State. No such movements like D.M.K. or Communist which prevailed or still prevails in other South Indian states troubled this State. It is opined by many that Karnataka is one of the passive states where political consciousness of the masses is yet to be awakened.

The Christian Community's overwhelming support to the Congress Party is very much in line with the Indian Christian Community's support to this party. It is significant to note that the Congress Party which was not favoured

by the Christian Community in the pre-independence days is today held very much in trust by the same Community. Since national independence was achieved the Christian Community has remarkably changed its attitude to the Congress Party from one of distrust to strong trust. It is generally felt that the interests of the Christian Community will be safeguarded best by the Congress Party. The liberal and sympathetic attitude of many of the national leaders of the party towards Christians and other minority communities is the one major reason for their strong support.

The all-out support of the Christian Community to the Congress Party is manifested strongly at the beginning of this decade before the undivided Congress Party was split into two and the Prime Minister announced re-elections to ensure the people's support. It was a time of great political tension in the country. The heat of political tension had touched the Christian Community also. There was some conflict in the Community in the matter of which of the Congress parties it should support. The Christian Community as a whole stood by the Congress (R). Sermons were preached supporting the party and on the eve of elections in the course of their sermons many pastors openly asked their Church members to vote Congress (R). Appeals were sent by Christian organizations to Christians to support the Congress (R) Party. And in one instance, the C.S.I. Bishop's official letter carried an appeal requesting all the Christians to support and vote Congress (R). However, this raised a controversy in the open press and the Bishop's move was strongly criticised by a group of Christians. Finally the Bishop had to give a press note to explain his non-committal stand. As opined by many, at no other time had the Church shown greater interest in politics

than at the time of the Congress split which took place at the beginning of this decade.

(b) *What is the criteria in voting for a candidate?* On what criteria do Christians vote for a candidate; is it on the basis of the party to which the candidate belongs, or is it on the basis of the candidate's character or religion? Which is the most important criteria for Christians? It was discovered that most of the Christians vote on the basis of the party—which is the Congress Party in most cases. However, a considerable percentage among Christians give importance to the character or the personal integrity of the candidate. In the factual study, in response to this question 61% of the respondents said they vote on the basis of the party while 29% said their criteria is the candidate's character. It was found that urban Christians gave more importance to the character of the candidate, than the rural Christians did. The following Table No. 11 indicates this point more descriptively.

TABLE No. 11. *Chief Criteria in voting a candidate :*

Chief Criteria	Urban	Rural
1. Party of the candidate	48%	77%
2. Character of the candidate	44%	10%

(c) *What is the Chief Criteria in voting or supporting a party?* Is it a party's good leadership, past performances, attitude to minority communities or its economic policies? To this query, quite a number of mixed answers were received. A good proportion of respondents indicated all these four

criteria as chief considerations. However, economic policies and leadership of the party were pointed out as the chief criteria in supporting a party. The urban Christians were very concerned about the leadership, its quality and integrity and also the party's attitude to minority communities. The urban Christians felt that a party which guarantees and safeguards the interest of minority communities should be supported. Many of the urban Christians had bitter accounts to give of victimization or discrimination by the authorities belonging to the majority community. Their experiences have made the urban Christians very sensitive. On the other hand the village Christians pointed out the party's economic policy mostly as being the chief criteria. They want to be rid of poverty, they want sufficient to eat and clothe themselves with. Although the rural Christians pointed out this economic criteria as being most important they, in fact, use little discretion in voting. Generally they vote for a party for which the majority votes, or for the party for which the leaders of their community vote, and they vote for a party they have been voting for and which is in power, i.e. the Congress (R) Party.

(d) Are Christians politically radical, conservative or middle of the way? This is rather a complex question. While the educated Christians had no difficulty in understanding these terms and in explaining their stand, Christians with a lower educational level had some trouble. Therefore in such cases it was found necessary to explain these terms. In this context a radical is one who approves most of the socialistic measures e.g. nationalization, land reforms, privy purse withdrawal etc. The middle of the way is one who approves those measures partly. A conservative is one who opposes those measures mostly or fully. According to this, it was found that 55% of the

Christians were radical, 25% middle of the way and 10% conservative.

Quite significant differences between urban and rural Christians were found on this issue. The following Table No. 12 shows the break-up for urban and rural areas.

TABLE No. 12. *Political Leaning of urban and rural Christians :*

Political leanings	Urban	Rural
Radical	45%	70%
Middle of the way	28%	22%
Conservative	12%	8%
Not interested	10%	—

The Table above indicates the significant difference between urban and rural Christians on this issue. While the overwhelming majority of the rural Christian Community approve radical policies, the urban Christians are more critical, and much divided on this issue.

Interestingly, those who classified themselves as conservatives, represented mostly older age groups of urban, middle and upper class educational and economical background. Area-wise South Kanara registered the highest number of conservatives with 15%, followed by Mysore 9% and Raichur just 4%.

25% of the total respondents who classified themselves as middle of the way mostly represented higher income and educational brackets, with more of an urban background.

While the respondents of lower educational and income groups opted to be 'radicals' this was considerably low among those belonging to higher brackets.

The following Tables No. 13 and No. 14 indicate this point further.

TABLE No. 13. *Income level of those classified as radicals :*

Level of income (per annum)	Percentage
Below Rs. 2000	61%
Rs. 2001-5000	45%
Rs. 5001 and above	32%

TABLE No. 14. *Educational level of those classified as radicals :*

Level of Education	Percentage
Below basic primary (including illiterates)	71%
Primary and Middle	62%
Matriculates and above (including postgraduates)	44%

On the whole since Christians mostly belong to poor and lower middle classes, they are quite happy about the radical changes. But many urban educated Christians would rather prefer a middle of the way. Many of these

people nurse a fear that these socialistic measures will eventually end up in Communist rule, and many Christians do not want things disturbed, so they prefer a middle or a conservative way. Many educated Christians have no faith in the present socialism, they feel it is a hypocrisy, so they would rather support a middle of the way course.

6. Do Christians approve if pastors discuss political issues during the sermon?

Quite interesting results were found to this question. It was only 43% of the Christians who fully welcomed the idea, while as much as 40% accepted the idea partly, and 16% completely rejected it. Remarkable difference between the urban and rural Christian Community on this issue is noted. While 58% of the rural Christians welcomed the idea, it is just 32% with the urban Christians. While 48% urban Christians accepted it partly, this is 30% with rural Christians. While 18% of the urban Christians fully opposed the move, this is 12% with rural Christians.

Area-wise, Raichur accepted the idea most with 50% followed by Mysore 48% while South Kanara had just 35% of its Christians approving.

It was discovered that respondents belonging to lower income educational levels and younger age groups welcomed the idea more. More than men, women opposed bringing political issues to the sermon.

The following are some of the statements made by respondents in welcome or in opposition:

(a) Those welcoming :

1. I welcome it, because it is a political education.
2. To understand Indian politics.

3. Patriotism—it is the pastor's duty to educate the Church members.

(b) Those opposing :

1. Only spiritual topics should be preached.
2. The pastor should not be involved in political activity ; it brings problems to the pastor and to the Christian Community.
3. The pulpit is meant for the preaching of the Word of God only.
4. If he (pastor) has no Word of God to preach, let him do this at least !

The village Christians, as noted earlier, welcome the idea of mentioning political issues in the sermons. Basically they consider it the best way of getting to know things; whatever is new attracts them easily. Moreover they assume that the pastor knows well what to preach and what not to preach. But the more educated and critical urban Christian is not always ready to accept whatever is preached.

On the whole this question has worked out very well. Very clear attitudinal differences between those who approve bringing political issues to the sermon and those who oppose it, were found. Those who welcomed the idea mostly hold that faith and politics are related ; political participation is important ; politics could be a suitable vocation for a Christian ; and comparatively more expressed the motivation for political participation in terms of wider or national interest. But these positive attitudes were not found to be predominant among those opposed to discussing political issues during the sermon.

7. What about Christians forming a political party of their own ?

Should Christians form a political party of their own, like the Muslims or Sikhs did in this country ? Christian reactions to this question are very revealing. It is heartening to see that as much as 65% of the respondents totally opposed any such move of a Christian party, while 19% thought it could be done. Rural and urban Christian Communities did not differ much on this issue. However, comparatively, it is the better educated Christians who welcomed the idea of a Christian political party.

Area-wise, it was Raichur area and particularly Raichur town which welcomed the idea comparatively more than other areas. It is difficult to say on what grounds these people wanted a Christian party. Certainly for some, the bitter experiences of injustice and discrimination shown by other powerful communities gave them reason for welcoming a Christian political party. As for the Raichur Christians, the comparatively higher numerical strength of Christians in those areas might have prompted such a sentiment.

However, it is heartening to see the majority of Christians opposing such a move, and even village Christians expressing very strongly that Christians must live together with others and as such a party formation will only cause rift, trouble and disintegration.

8. What is the reaction of Christians towards Church initiated socio-political programmes ?

At the end of the last chapter, some of the socio-political or related programmes participated in by the Christian Community are cited. Does the Christian Community

approve of such programmes? Would it like more programmes of the same kind?

As to the first question, it is found that an overwhelming majority of Christians approve of praying for the nation, the President and the leaders of the country. They like praying for the peace and prosperity of the nation. But in most cases these prayers are quite militant prayers, ending with a supplication that India may be won for Christ one day. Christians approve the Church collecting money for defence, famine or flood or for other emergencies. These programmes are found quite successful in quite a number of urban churches, but have not really been introduced to the rural Christian Community.

In contributing to the funds mentioned above generally Christians think it is their duty to do so, while village Christians consider it *dharma* and Christian charity. However, it is besides, an attempt to show the public that Christians also co-operate in national emergencies and belong to the national stream.

It is true that Christians approve the Church-initiated programmes listed above; but will they welcome the Church initiating more of these? It was found that only 71% Christians would welcome the Church to organise *more* socio-political and related programmes. As much as 24% said that the Church need not organize more of these activities. Again, a significant difference between the urban and the rural Christian Community is found in this regard. While as much as 91% of the rural Christians welcomed the idea, it is only 54% with the urban Christian. This again confirms that the urban Christian wants to have politics set aside as far as possible from his religion.

CHAPTER VI

PROBLEMS OF PARTICIPATION

In the two previous chapters of this book, a brief survey was made of the political attitudes and involvements of the Protestant Christian Community. The present chapter deals mainly with the problems of the participation of Christians in politics in Karnataka.

However, before discussing the problems at length, it would be expedient at this point to list the important findings of this factual study.

A. Important Findings

(1) It was found that there is an almost total absence of Protestant Christians in the political leadership of Karnataka politics. Only Catholics are found in some of the higher positions of political life in this State.

(2) It was found that the overwhelming majority of Christians normally participate in general kinds of political activities such as voting, and do feel the necessity of participating in politics. But all do not carry a positive attitude towards political participation. A large proportion of Christians approve of participation because they consider it is unavoidable, inevitable, or essential for the survival of the Christian Community and its interests.

(3) As far as the three different areas—Mysore, South Kanara and Raichur—are concerned, no significant difference in political motivation or participation is found. But, on the whole, Mysore area has a comparatively more

positive attitude towards politics, while Raichur which is favourable to politics is passively so and South Kanara area is considerably critical of political participation. However, as far as the actual active involvement is concerned, South Kanara area registered a far greater number of Christians as freedom fighters, political party members and so forth, than the two other areas, respectively.

(4) It was found that it was mostly the rural and socio-economically lower placed Christians who are more enthusiastic about Christian participation in politics. Their voting averages are found to be much higher than those of Christians of higher socio-economic levels. In fact, this phenomenon of the greater political enthusiasm of socio-economically lower placed people than that of the higher placed, is a fact proved by many case studies, conducted by many sociologists. In this context, though the Christians of lower socio-economic levels indicate more interest in political participation, it cannot be said to be always of a positive and broader nature.

(5) It was noted that persons of younger age groups are found to be more favourable to politics than persons belonging to older age groups. There is no doubt that the younger generation of the present age is more exposed to politics than the older generation. A tendency towards an apathy to politics is also found among the younger generation, particularly in urban areas.

(6) Christians are found to be overwhelmingly supporters of the Congress Party. After the Congress Party split into two, the Community supported the Congress (R). Support to non-Congress parties among Christians is found to be remarkably little and is confined to a few urban or industrial areas.

(7) There are practically no effective or consistent programmes in the Church which would help to educate Christians politically or motivate them to participate in politics. A few programmes somewhat related are found only in a few urban churches. On the whole, no sincere effort is made by the Church towards political education for political involvement.

(8) It was found that as far as the general political participation of Christians is concerned, it cannot be considered inactive. Christians cannot be considered backward in political participation specially when the relative data of any of the other communities in Karnataka is not available.

(9) With regards to the problems of the participation of Christians, several problems were found. Most important among them being :

- (a) The poor socio-economic status ;
- (b) The Christian faith and orientation as a 'problem' ;
- (c) Minority Community complex ;
- (d) Lack of cohesion.

These problems will be discussed in the next section.

B. Problems Elaborated

(a) *Socio-economic status of the Community* : The poor socio-economic status of the Protestant Christian Community in Karnataka has much to do with the character of their political participation. However, in spite of the disadvantages and disabilities they suffer due to their lower socio-economic status, it does not seem to have affected

their general political participation much. In fact, it was discovered that Christians living in lower socio-economic conditions are found to be more enthusiastic about political participation than those Christians who are comparatively better placed. But, on the other hand, their disadvantageous socio-economic position has certainly affected their political aspirations and often denied them opportunities of entering into active political life.

A deeper examination of two aspects of this problem 1. social and 2. economic, will be worth making at this point.

1. Lower Social Status of Christians as a problem :

As noted in a previous chapter, an overwhelming majority of the Protestant Christians are originally from Harijan stock. There are only some exceptions to this rule in a few areas like South Kanara, urban Bellary and Belgaum and to a small extent, the Hubli-Dharwar area and a handful of places in the old Mysore districts. But even in these few places where Christians are not of Harijan background, the social status of the community cannot be said to be high.

When the Harijans were converted to Christianity, they found little or no rise in their social status in most of rural Karnataka. The social status of most of the village Christians is no better than that of the Harijans. This is particularly the case in Methodist areas and in Episcopal and Wesleyan areas in Hyderabad, Karnataka and old Mysore districts. Pathetic social conditions of the Protestant Christian Community were found in these areas during this factual study. Christians in these areas are neither allowed to take water from the village well nor may they

enter a village hotel. They may neither enter a non-Harijan Hindu's house, (except of some of the lowest Shudra castes), nor dine with them. There are dozens of disadvantages they suffer because of their caste background. And for their part, most of these Christians do not feel badly about these social discriminations either, since they have taken them for granted, as the normal course of order !

The lower social background of Protestant Christians gives them little or no scope in the political arena which is so greatly caste-ridden. In India casteism in its primitive form is fast disappearing in urban areas and slowly in rural areas. But casteism is manifested now through other ways. Today, caste has become politicised. Political leadership and active involvement seem to be now a limited concern of religiously high or middle placed, numerically and economically stronger communities.

Casteism and caste as political power are very strong in Karnataka. As the well known sociologist Prof. M. N. Srinivas says in his book, *Caste in Modern India*, 'anyone who wants to study the role of caste in administration ought to pay a visit to Mysore State'. In the bargain for political power between Lingaiths and Okkaligas, what is left out is shared by other communities. Brahmins and Muslims, however, get their share by their own means, but it was mostly some backward communities and Harijans who are left to their own destinies. It is next to impossible for a lower caste Hindu or a Harijan to make progress in politics. Basically they lack that 'social pull' which is so essential in the political field today. The Protestant Christians too in most parts of Karnataka suffer from the same disability.

To illustrate this point further, the example of Catholics and Protestants of South Kanara could be compared. It has been mentioned earlier that almost all the Christian representation in the State legislative bodies and cabinet are Catholics from South Kanara area. This interesting fact further confirms the argument, of how much a good social or caste background is essential in order to excel in politics. The Roman Catholics of South Kanara are mostly of a higher caste background, said to be that of the Gouda Saraswat Brahmin. Their social status in the area is quite high. Besides, this community has a considerable numerical strength and economic status in the district. All these elements have greatly helped the Catholic Community of this district to become a political force to contend with in this area and even in the politics of the State, to a certain extent.

This phenomenon involving a high caste background as prerequisite for progress in politics, is a feature not only of Karnataka but of many other states in India also. Excellent studies made by Prof. M. N. Srinivas, L. P. Vidyarthi, Rajni Kothari, Park, Tinker and several others have proved this fact.

However, the caste background of a person is not the sole deciding factor for excelling in politics. But it is one of the important factors. While it may not be a difficult problem, for an average person belonging to a higher or middle caste background to get into political leadership it will be a marathon job for a person of a lower caste background to do so even if he has a considerable political background. To illustrate this point, the example from the last Assembly Election of 1972 can be taken. Twenty-one Harijan candidates contested from the general seats and all of them, without exception, failed miserably, all losing their deposits.

The following Table No. 15 will illustrate more descriptively how disproportionately different religious groups are represented in politics.

TABLE No. 15. *Congress (R) Legislative Assembly members by their Caste/religion background, as in 1972 Election.**

Name of the Caste/ religion	Percentage in the State population	Number of MLAs
Lingaiths	20%	38
Harijans	18%	None from general constituencies. (24 from 29 reserved seats)
Okkaligas	14%	31
Muslims	10%	12
Kurubas	7%	9
Bedas (hunters)	5%	2
Brahmins	4%	13
Reddies (Land owners)	1%	6
Christians	2%	4

* A few smaller communities and their representatives who are few are not included in this.

2. Economic condition as a problem :

As a problem this does not seem to have directly affected much the general political participation of the Protestant Christian Community. But this has greatly affected the entry of Christians into active political involvement. The role of money in elections and in many other political activities need not be repeated. The Protestant Christians who mostly belong to the lower middle or poor classes in urban areas and mostly to poor classes in rural areas, cannot afford to spend money on political enterprise. The economic status of the Christian Community can be judged on the basis of the occupations in which the Christians are engaged. In urban areas the bulk of the Christians will be found either to be industrial workers i.e. mechanics, fitters, operators, drivers or Government and private employees such as teachers, clerks and nurses. In the villages most of the Christians are either landless agricultural coolies or tenants of a small land. One may seldom find a Christian with a large land holding. On the whole Christians belong to the working class and not to the capitalist class. This hand to mouth economic condition of the Protestant Christian has given little or no scope for them to progress in the political field where money is an important asset.

A glance at the list of State Legislature members and other political leaders will reveal certain significant facts and characteristics. Most of them are landlords, business men or lawyers. Seldom could one find a Protestant Christian landlord, merchant or lawyer. This economically backward status of the Community hinders, to a great extent, the Community's possibilities of entering into active involvement in State politics.

(b) *The Christian faith and orientation as a Problem :* When we say 'Christian faith and orientation' is a problem for political participation, it is sure to cause surprise and create remonstrance among many Christians. But it is a fact. It is no secret that the type of Christian faith with a strong conservative blend which is found in the Christian Community in many parts of Karnataka and the typical orientation to which the Indian Christian Community has been exposed, are to a great extent responsible for the non-participation of Christians in politics and their negative attitude towards politics.

It was found that the conservatism which created an 'other worldly' tendency among Christians is strong in certain areas. It is difficult to say whether it is more evident in one particular denomination than in another. The elements of this conservative tendency are found in almost all the denominations which work in Karnataka at different levels. While this conservatism has made some Christians reject politics as sinful, it has created in some a patronizing attitude towards politics and forced others to give only secondary importance to politics. These attitudes are neither correct nor do they encourage positive contribution. The following few statements of the respondents are given to illustrate these negative attitudes :

1. God is sufficient, politics not necessary ; we are in the world but not of the world. (Rejection.)
2. Christians should participate in politics to the extent of radiating Christian influence on our political leaders. (Patronizing.)
3. I wish the Church was really concerned firstly with its duties of spiritual caring. (Secondary importance.)

The above statements indicate a tendency which prevails strongly throughout the Protestant Christian Community. It is because of this tendency that the Protestants do not feel the need for participation in political life. Instead they say 'we are not backward ; we are quite forward in spiritual matters. If we are forward in spiritual matters, that is sufficient'.

The Christian Community in India had a peculiar orientation from its very beginnings. Due to the influence of missionaries coming from western countries and the resultant connection with these countries, the Community experienced a great problem of identity and found itself cut off from the mainstream of national life. This was clearly found to be manifested in the non-participation of the Christian Community in the national freedom struggle. It is a pity that the Christian Community should have shown such moral weakness at that time. But there are examples of Christians joining the national cause (though only a handful) facing the mockery, hatred and rejection of their own brethren and worse, even of the Church leaders. The Protestant Christian Community of Karnataka can boast of quite a few such persons who made this daring and sacrificial step.

An illustration to indicate the bias the Community carried to politics in pre-independence days, of a Christian who became a Communist labour leader would be worth mentioning at this point. This gentleman hails from South Kanara and was a very devoted Christian. He became first a Congressman then a Communist. It was in the year 1932, at Sunday service, that some pamphlets were distributed in his church. These pamphlets carried admonitions against drinking alcohol and were published by the Congress Party as part of the Temperance Movement which

was led by Mahatma Gandhi throughout India. But the distribution of these pamphlets—since they belonged to Gandhiji and the Congress—was not approved of by the Christians. The persons who distributed these handbills were abused to the extent of being manhandled by a few Christians, and there ensued conflict and confusion in the church. This person felt dejected at the narrow minded attitude of the Christians 'and local church authorities'. After all, the Church was also carrying on a temperance movement. Did the pamphlet have anything bad to say? No. When the cause was noble, why was the distribution of those pamphlets condemned and prohibited? This incident he says, was the starting point of his rejection of the Church and was responsible for his enlisting in the Congress movement. He later left the Congress also and joined the Communist Party and today he is one of the prominent leaders of the C.P.I. in his district.

It is true that the attitude of Christians to political life has undergone considerable change in the course of time during the post-independence era. But the process is not complete. The Community should be freshly oriented to its political responsibilities. Moreover, just realizing the need for political participation is not sufficient. It is necessary to raise the question whether it is positively motivated, or whether its motivation is based only on the interest of the Community. A positive motivation and a responsible participation are needed from the Christian Community today.

(c) *Minority Status of the Community* : The Protestant Christian Community is a minority community in the State. Because of this minority status, it is true that a very high representation of Christians in politics cannot be expected. But is the Community represented at all in the political

field and is it actively involved politically? Many times the minority status of the Community has become a good excuse for Christians and Church leaders to justify the lack of Christian participation in politics. But they must also question why some other minority communities in Karnataka have larger political representation and involvements, for example the Brahmins or the Roman Catholics or the Muslims. It is said that in India, the Sikh and Parsee Communities, who are much less in number than the Christians, are much more involved in politics than the Christian Community.

An interesting phenomenon revealed by this study was that where Christians are found to be numerous their political involvement does not always amount to much. But on the other hand, in certain places where Christians are fewer in number, their political involvements are found to be quite considerable.

On the whole, in one way minority status is a problem but on the other hand, it has been taken as an excuse to shun politics. A 'minority complex' has considerably crippled or hindered Christians from taking the initiative in politics. This minority complex has created a tendency towards escapism, conservatism and political inactivism. It is imperative that this complex be got rid of before it is possible for Christians to make their contribution to the political life of the State.

(d) *Lack of cohesion* : The lack of cohesion is another important reason which has been responsible for hindering the Christian Community from better participation in political life. Different kinds of disunity can be seen in the Christian Community. Firstly, since the Christian Community is scattered over a wide area of the State, any co-ordinating work in any comprehensive programme is

quite difficult to carry through. But there are other kinds of problems for which the Christian Community itself is mostly responsible e.g. groupism within the local Church, Church politics, gulfs prevalent between educated and uneducated, disparities between rich and poor Christians. Besides such internal divisions, there is division also on the basis of caste and region. Disunity on the basis of denominational affinity such as 'evangelical' is also found.

In spite of Church union, denominational unity and integration have not been achieved. The largest denomination in Karnataka, the Methodist Church in Southern Asia, does not have much interaction with the rest of the churches in Karnataka and *vice versa*. No sincere attempts seem to have been made to bring coordination to the whole of the Protestant Christian Community in Karnataka.

Finally, all the problems mentioned above are not impossible to solve. The Church itself can directly or indirectly help solve some of these problems, particularly in helping Christians adapt to new situations and to shed conservatism and minority complex. The Church also needs to give serious consideration to the adoption of various methods for the political education of its members. Since the problems of urban and village Christians differ, care should be taken to meet the varying situations differently.

The Church cannot be held entirely responsible for some problems, such as those arising from casteism and dire economic conditions. However, the Church should make a special effort to improve the socio-economic condition of the Community. Let us hope that the evils of casteism will not prevail for long against the unifying forces of urbanization and modernization.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

This concluding chapter will be concerned with two main things: (1) a short discussion on the validity of the hypothesis and (2) some implications of the findings of this study, with a few suggestions for action.

(1) *Validity of the hypothesis*: On the whole a mixed result was found with regard to the two hypotheses with which this factual study started. It would not be fair to say that Christians are backward as far as general political participation is concerned. Particularly, one cannot say that the Christian Community is backward when no relative data of any other community is available to compare. An overwhelming majority of Christians do feel the necessity for participating in politics, whatever their motivations may be. As far as active political involvement is concerned, definitely they are backward, compared with other minority communities like Muslims or Catholics.

Therefore, the first hypothesis, Christians are politically inactive, cannot be justified to the full extent. While the Community cannot be said to be backward in the matter of general political participation, it looks as though the Community is not found actively involved in the politics of the State. Again, as far as the Protestant Christian Community's general attitude to politics is concerned, it is not very satisfactory. It is indeed, most essential that a positive attitude towards political participation be developed in the Community.

The second hypothesis: Theological orientation and the socio-economic condition are the main reasons for political

inactiveness, is found justified but needs some qualification. While the theological orientation which created a negative attitude to politics has hindered participation in politics, the socio-economic conditions have affected not the general participation, but active political involvement. In addition to these two, some other problems such as the lack of cohesion within the Community and the minority community complex are discovered to hinder in one way or the other, political participation of Christians in Karnataka.

(2) *Implications and suggestions* : Christian participation in the political life of the State is not only an obligation by the virtue of citizenship, but it is also part of an obligation to the Lord Jesus Christ Himself.

How could Christians begin to be more actively involved in political life? And much more basically, how would it be possible for Christians to cultivate a positive attitude to politics and start considering politics not as something bad or unessential but as part of their responsibility?

The need for improving political participation can be tackled in two ways: (1) by political education of Christians and (2) by improving the socio-economic condition of the Christian Community. These two points need to be considered in detail.

(1) *Political education* : Basically, a few attitudes and norms of the Protestant Christian Community need to be changed, if better participation is to be realized. The Christians should first understand the vital need for their participation in political life. On the whole, the Christian Community needs to be politically conscientized. The Christian Community must learn to think on the basis of

the interests of the whole human community and not just in terms of its own interests. Religion should not be a barrier for participating in activities directed to the cause of justice. Commitment to Christ should not lead to separation from the national life or from the wider community but help to be an effective and useful instrument in building up a just society. As Dr. M. M. Thomas says ' the success of political economic and social efforts towards participant society depends on cultivation of basic attitude and powerful commitment to the spirit of justice through them '.

The Church in Karnataka must take on its own shoulders the responsibility of educating Christians about the needs of political participation. There used to be and still is now to a certain extent, a tendency to leave socio-economic and political matters to some other auxiliary agency like the Y.M.C.A. or to Regional Christian Councils. This tendency proves that the Church has given only a secondary place to these vital matters. The Church should not shirk its responsibility thus.

(2) *By improving the socio-economic condition of the Community* : Political education alone will not be sufficient to improve the situation and to overcome the problems of political participation in Karnataka. Along with the task of conscientization of Christians on the matter of political participation, the attempt to improve their socio-economic condition should also be made simultaneously. However, this does not mean that the improvement of the socio-economic condition of the Christian Community alone will achieve all. The need for the improvement in the socio-economic conditions of all communities is most essential for any integral development in the political life of the nation. It must not be forgotten that there are some communites

who live in greater poverty and ignorance than the Christian Community.

It was very clearly found in the factual study that village Christians, though favourable to politics and most interested in participating in it, cannot really participate because of their poverty and lack of education. Therefore, concerted and effective attempts should be made to improve the socio-economic condition of the Community. There are literally hundreds of villages where Christians are illiterate and also live in utterly poor social conditions. The churches need to give particular attention to the rural Christian Community instead of concentrating all their energies and resources in the urban areas.

Finally, the following suggestions may be worth considering to develop a better participation in politics by the Protestant Christian Community.

(a) A committee on socio-economic and political concerns should be set up on diocesan and area levels. This committee should be high powered and should be considered one of the important units of the whole Church. Organizing political education and action programmes should be the major concerns of this committee.

(b) It should be made compulsory to hold worship services on days of national importance. This should be a special service made interesting and meaningful as means of political education.

(c) On a few Sundays in the year, sermons should be preached which mainly focus on the citizenship of Christians, political responsibilities and so forth. Appropriate Scripture texts can be selected and given for these Sundays.

(d) Sunday Schools, youth fellowships and women's and men's fellowships, should have programmes related to this matter. Their programmes should cover discussions or classes or whatever else, directed towards political education, as well as programmes of action. Subjects like national problems, principles of Christian citizenship and ideologies of different political parties should be discussed in their meetings.

(e) Christians can form a Christian political association or become an affiliated branch of one such association already functioning elsewhere e.g., associations like the Christian Union of India, Indian Christian Association etc. Combined effort should be made in the matter of political education and action.

(f) Fundamentally, there needs to be a change in ministerial training too. After all, it is the pastors who work at the grass-roots level. Those pastors working particularly in the rural areas need to be aware of the wider horizon of their ministry. In-service and refresher courses should be organized for these workers aiming at the reorientation of present-day ministry. The theological courses, specially those in regional languages, should cover relevant subjects which include Christian participation in politics, ideologies of different political parties, political problems, etc.

(g) Christians should be encouraged to become members of political parties and to contest in elections wherever possible, in village panchayats or municipal or other elections.

(h) The Church should establish contacts with those few Christians, who are involved in politics, no matter to which party they belong. Proper encouragement should be given to their work, depending on each case.

(i) The Church should make its resources available for use of those organizations which are working already in this field such as C.I.S.R.S. and Ecumenical Christian Centre. The Church in Karnataka is fortunate to have some of these organizations within its geographical bounds. It will be for the good if the Karnataka Christian Community makes use of these organizations.

Some programmes indicated above may not be suitable to certain places. According to the situation of each area, political education and action programmes should be evolved. Basically, the Church should shoulder the responsibility and make sincere efforts towards this end. The Protestant Christian Community in Karnataka can afford no more to stand aloof from the political life of the country, with which its destiny is tied.

APPENDICES

LIST OF TABLES

	Page No.
TABLE NO. 1 Population of four South Indian States and their Christian Population—1971 census ..	22
TABLE NO. 2 University education according to religious groups	27
TABLE NO. 3 Literacy in different religious groups ..	27
TABLE NO. 4 Habit of Newspaper reading among Christian respondents of different areas. ..	36
TABLE NO. 5 Regular Christian Voters—income-wise ..	38
TABLE NO. 6 Regular Christian Voters by educational level.	38
TABLE NO. 7 Relation of Faith and Politics—Educational level-wise. ..	42
TABLE NO. 8 Relation of Faith and Politics area-wise.	43
TABLE NO. 9 Motivation for Political Participation—area-wise. ..	47
TABLE NO. 10 Position of political parties in the Assembly election, 1972. ..	49
TABLE NO. 11 Chief Criteria in voting a candidate.	51
TABLE NO. 12 Political Leaning of urban and rural Christians.	53
TABLE NO. 13 Income level of those classified as radicals. ..	54
TABLE NO. 14 Educational level of those classified as radicals.	54
TABLE NO. 15 Congress (R) Legislative Assembly members (MLAs) by their Caste/religion background. ..	65

QUESTIONNAIRE

CHRISTIANS AND POLITICS IN KARNATAKA

Introduction : The purpose of this study is to discover problems of the Christian Community in participating in the political life of Karnataka State in general, and to trace, why Christians are politically backward in this State, in particular.

Instructions : There are different types of questions in this questionnaire. Some, you have to *briefly answer* some you have to answer by *ticking* (✓) one of the alternative answers suggested, and some you have to *rank* as 1st, 2nd and 3rd. If none of the alternatives suits your position, write your *own answer* briefly. If any question is not relevant *please omit*.

*This survey is conducted, exclusively for an academic purpose.

*The opinions expressed by you will be kept confidential.

*Any suggestions or supplementary comments will be gratefully received.

*Thank you for your kind co-operation.

(Rev. G. Shiri, M.Th. Student, United Theological College, 17, Miller's Road, Bangalore-46).

PART I—*General Background*

1. Name
2. Your Sex : (a) Male
(b) Female
3. Age
4. Occupation

5. Marital status :
- (a) Married
 - (b) Single
 - (c) Widow(er)
 - (d) Other.
6. In what type of family do you live ?
- (a) Joint family
 - (b) Nuclear family (i.e. your own wife and children)
 - (c) Other.
7. What is the size of your family ?
- (a) Those under 15 years
 - (b) Those above 16 and under 25 years ..
 - (c) Those above 26 years and under 50 years
 - (d) Those above 51 years.....
8. Since how long you have been living in this place ?
- (a) Since birth
 - (b) Since years
 - (c) Other
9. What is your annual income ?
- (a) Less than Rs. 1,000
 - (b) Rs. 1,000-1,500
 - (c) Rs. 1,500-2,000

- (d) Rs. 2,000-2,500
- (e) Rs. 2,500-3,000
- (f) Rs. 3,000-3,500
- (g) Rs. 3,500-4,000
- (h) Rs. 4000-5,000
- (i) Rs. 5,000-6,000
- (j) Rs. 6,000-7,000
- (k) Above Rs. 7,000.

10. Your Church tradition :

- (a) C.S.I.
- (b) Methodist
- (c) Other.

11. Educational qualification :

- (a) No formal schooling
- (b) No formal schooling but attended
some adult literacy classes
- (c) Completed up to 3 classes
- (d) Completed upto 5 classes
- (e) Completed upto 8 classes
- (f) Completed Matriculation (S.S.L.C.)
- (g) Graduate
- (h) Postgraduate
- (i) Professionally trained
- (j) Other.

PART II—*Life in Relation to Politics*

12. Do you read Newspapers ?
..... (a) Yes, regularly
..... (b) Not regularly
..... (c) Never
..... (d) Other.
13. Which newspaper do you read ?
..... (a) *Deccan Herald*
..... (b) *Indian Express*
..... (c) *Hindu*
..... (d) *Samyukta Karnataka*
..... (e) *Prajavani*
..... (f) *Kannada Prabha*
..... (g) Other.
14. Do you read general weekly, fortnightly, monthly—
magazines and journals ?
..... (a) Regularly
..... (b) Not regular
..... (c) Never
..... (d) Other.
15. Which magazines and journals do you read ?
..... (a) *Illustrated Weekly*
..... (b) *Kasturi*

- (c) *Sudha*
 - (d) *Prapancha*
 - (e) *Karmavira*
 - (f) Other.
16. Do you have a radio at home ?
- (a) Yes
 - (b) No
 - (c) Other.
17. Do you attend public celebrations of national days, like Independence, Republic day ?
- (a) Almost, all
 - (b) About three quarters
 - (c) About half
 - (d) About a quarter
 - (e) Hardly any
 - (f) Other.
18. How much do you participate in Political and Social activities ?
- (a) Regular
 - (b) Somewhat regular
 - (c) Only occasional
 - (d) Seldom
 - (e) Never
 - (f) Other.

19. Please indicate briefly in 1 or 2 sentences the main reasons for your answer to Q. No. 18 above.
-
-

20. Did you ever participate in a political demonstration or a protest ?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No
- (c) Other.

21. What is your source of political information ?

- (a) Newspaper reading
- (b) Listening to radio news
- (c) Just talking with friends
- (d) Other.

22. Did you vote in the following elections held recently?

- (a) Lok Sabha—yes/no
- (b) Assembly—yes/no
- (c) Municipality/Panchayat or corporation—yes/no.

23. If you have *not voted* in one or more of the above-mentioned elections, what do you think was the main reason ?

- (a) My name was not in the electoral roll
- (b) I forgot to vote

- (c) I was busy with my own work
 - (d) I thought all the parties and candidates contesting were unfit for power
 - (e) I was just not interested in voting
 - (f) Other.
24. Which one of the following factors is most important in deciding your vote? You can rank them as 1st, 2nd and 3rd if you have more than one answer.
- (a) His party
 - (b) His personal integrity
 - (c) His caste
 - (d) His religion
 - (e) His education
 - (f) His money
 - (g) Other.
25. On what basis do you decide a party to be the best and most acceptable? You can rank the answers as 1st, 2nd and 3rd.
- (a) Its leadership
 - (b) Its attitude to minorities (Christians)
 - (c) Its previous history and performance
 - (d) Its economic policies
 - (e) Other.

26. Please indicate below, which Community in your place (Community means, Lingayaths, Okkaligas, Brahmins, Christians, Muslims etc) is :
- (a) Numerically strongest.....
- (b) Economically strongest.....
- (c) Politically strongest.....
27. What do you think is the main reason for the victory of the candidate in your constituency ? Rank them if you have more than one answer.
- (a) His religion
- (b) His money
- (c) His personal integrity
- (d) The popularity of his party
- (e) His caste
- (f) Other.
28. Did you in any way participate in the freedom struggle before 1947 ?
- (a) Yes
- (b) No
- (c) Other.
29. If you participated in the freedom struggle, in what way ?
- (a) participated in 'Quit India' movement

- (b) Attended public meetings and participated a little in some political demonstrations
- (c) Started wearing 'Khadi' dress
- (d) I was a staunch sympathizer though not very active
- (e) A sympathizer but inactive
- (f) Other.

30. If you did *not* participate in the freedom struggle, what was the reason ?

- (a) I was too young
- (b) I was a Government servant
- (c) I was a mission servant
- (d) I did not like India becoming free
- (e) I wanted Christian British rule to continue
- (f) I did not think Christians should participate in politics
- (g) Other.

31. Which political party do you normally support or think to be the best ?

- (a) Congress (Ruling)
- (b) Congress (O)
- (c) Socialist (P.S.P/S.S.P.)
- (d) Communist (Marxist/C.P.I.)

KARNATAKA CHRISTIANS AND POLITICS

- (e) Swantantra
- (f) Jana Sangh
- (g) Other.

32. In politics, do you consider yourself to be—

- (a) Conservative
- (b) Radical, seek to establish new forms of government
- (c) Middle of the road.
- (d) Not interested, feel that Christians should not participate in politics.

33. Please indicate briefly in 1 or 2 sentences—the main reasons for your answer to Q. No. 32 above.

.....
.....

34. Please indicate what type of involvement if any, you have with any political party :

- (a) I am an office-bearer of the party
- (b) I am an active member of the party
- (c) Not officially a member but canvassed for the party during elections
- (d) No official connection but a sympathy of the party
- (e) Do not support any political party
- (f) Other.

PART III—*Life In Relation To Faith And Politics*

35. Please indicate below how you as a Christian citizen, rate participating in politics ?
- (a) Extremely important
 - (b) Quite important
 - (c) Not so important
 - (d) Not at all important
 - (e) Other.
36. Please indicate which one of the following you have in your Church ?
- (a) Special services on national days such as Republic days etc.
 - (b) Prayers for the nation and rulers on every Sunday
 - (c) Defence Fund, Flood-relief and Famine-relief collections
 - (d) Prayers for the nation only on some Sundays
 - (e) Discussion groups, to discuss social and political issues
 - (f) Other.
37. Do you approve of these programmes organized by the Church (see 36) and/or do you think that the Church should concern itself with those things ?
- (a) Most heartily approve

- (b) I approve partially
- (c) I am undecided
- (d) I don't approve because
-
- (e) Other.

38. Would you want your Church to be *more* concerned about in national politics ?

- (a) Yes, I strongly welcome it
- (b) More involvement not necessary
- (c) I am not interested
- (d) Other.

39. Would you approve if your pastor preaches on political issues ?

- (a) I welcome it
- (b) I strongly oppose it
- (c) acceptable, but depending on situations
- (d) Other.

40. Please indicate briefly in 1 or 2 sentences—the main reasons for your answer to Q. No. 39 above.

.....

.....

41. Please recollect and indicate below whether your church prayed for the nation, particularly during the following events :
- (a) The last general election—yes/no
 - (b) Recent war with Pakistan—yes/no
 - (c) Other.
42. Which one of the following statements best describe your attitude toward non-Christians ?
- (a) They are sinful and need the Gospel
 - (b) We can learn from each other
 - (c) They are quite good, they need no Gospel
 - (d) They may be good, but still something is lacking
 - (e) Other.
43. Please briefly indicate in 1 or 2 sentences—the main reasons for your answer to Q. No. 42 above.
-
-
44. What do you think is the relation between political participation and your Christian Faith ?
- (a) I believe political participation as part and parcel of Christian life

- (b) Political participation is not a part of Christian life, but it is inevitable in society.
- (c) Christian faith is opposed to any political participation
- (d) Other.
45. Do you know any Christians who are actively involved in politics (e.g. as members of Panchayat, Corporation, municipalities, legislative or active party workers etc.)?
- (a) Yes
- (b) No
- (c) Other.
46. Do you think politics is a suitable vocation for a Christian?
- (a) Yes, most certainly
- (b) It could be taken only once in a while, when it is needed most.
- (c) No, it is not a suitable vocation
- (d) Other.
47. Please indicate below which one of the following programmes you will support as a means to political participation of Christians
- (a) Organizing a Christian Political *Party* and contesting in elections

- (b) Organizing just a Christian political
association to educate and guide
Christians but *not to contest* in
election
- (c) Other.
48. What do you think was Church's attitude to
politics, so far ?
- (a) Indifferent
- (b) Neutral
- (c) 'Pleasing the majority party' attitude
- (d) Concerned and sympathetic attitude
- (e) Other.

PART IV—*Evaluation*

49. If you feel that Christians *should* participate in
politics, briefly give 1 or 2 reasons :
- 1st
- 2nd
50. If you are *against* Christians participating in politics
give 1 or 2 reasons :
- 1st
- 2nd

51. What do you expect from the government as an Indian citizen ? Please state 1 or 2 things :
- 1st
- 2nd
52. What do you think is the chief reason that hinders Christians, from greater political participation at the present moment ? *Rank them* if you have more than one answer :
- (a) Our poor social and economic condition
- (b) Our minority-status
- (c) The negative orientation of our attitudes to politics due to Christian faith
- (d) Division and disintegration within the Church
- (e) I am not interested in any political participation
- (f) Lack of leadership
- (g) Other.
53. What do you think is the greatest problem of Mysore politics ?
- (a) Caste-domination
- (b) Immature electorate
- (c) Corrupt leadership

- (d) A reactionary forced party yet prospering in the name of Socialism.
- (e) Other.

54. What is your evaluation of the present-day politics in Mysore ?

- (a) Excellent
- (b) Good
- (c) Average
- (d) Fair
- (e) Poor
- (f) Other.

/

58677
10.3.78

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BETEILLE, ANDRE : *Caste, Class and Power*, University of California Press 1965.
- CHATTERJI S. K. : *Religious values and Economic Development*. A case study, Bangalore : C.I.S.R.S., 1967.
- CHATTERJI S. K. : *Political Prospects in India*, Bangalore : C.I.S.R.S., 1971.
- GANGADARAN K. K. (ed) : *Indian National Consciousness*, Kalamkar Prakashan, New Delhi, 1972.
- HASTINGS J. (ed) : *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 10. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark, 1918.
- MUTHANNA I. M. : *History of Karnataka*, Mysore, Usha Publishing House, 1962.
- PARK R. L. : *Indian's Political System*, Prentice Hall Inc. New Jersey, 1967.
- PARVATHAMMA C. : *Sociological Essays on Veerasaivism*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1972.
- SMELSER N. J. : *Sociology : an Introduction*, Wiley Eastern Private Ltd., New Delhi 1970.
- VARMA S. P. & BHAMBRI C. P. : *Elections and Political Consciousness in India*, Meenakshi Prakashan, New Delhi, 1967.
- VIDYARTHI L. P. (ed) : *Leadership in India*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1967.
- YOUNG P. V. : *Scientific Social Surveys and Research*, Prentice Hall of India Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1968.

Journals and Reports

- Religion and Society*, Vol. VIII, No. 1 (March. 1961).
- Statistics* 1968, Bangalore : Church of South India, Mysore Diocese.
- Annual Conference Report*, Bangalore : Methodist Church in Southern Asia (1970-71).
- 1971 *Census Reports*.
- 1971 *Lok Sabha Election Statistic Report*.
- 1972 *Assembly Election Statistic Report*.
- Mysore Population Study*, New York : U.N.O. Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 1961.

I. I. A. S. LIBRARY

Acc. No.

This Book was issued from the library on the date last stamped. It is due back within one month of its date of issue, if not recalled earlier.

--	--	--	--

Concessional Annual 'Library Subscriptions' for *all* CISRS publications are available to institutions and individuals. Please address enquiries to: CISRS, Post Box No. 4600, 17, Miller's Road, Bangalore-560 046.

CISRS SOCIAL RESEARCH SERIES

1. Community Development in a Maria Gond Village of Bastar*—*T. S. Wilkinson*
2. Ghotul School of the Maria Gonds of Bastar*—*T. S. Wilkinson*
3. The Effect of Migration on the Churches of Bangalore*—*Muthiah David Appavoo*
4. Caste in the Kerala Churches*—*Ninan Koshy*
5. Religious Values and Economic Development : A Case Study*—*Saral K. Chatterji*
6. Social Novels in Malayalam*—*Verghese Ittiavira*
7. Leaders and Leadership in the Trade Unions in Bangalore—*Julian Reindorp*
8. Land Reforms and Socio-Economic Change in Kerala—*M. A. Oommen*
9. Ambedkar and the Neo-Buddhist Movement—*Edited by T. S. Wilkinson and M. M. Thomas*
10. Youth Christian Council of Action : 1938-1955—*George M. John*
11. Man in Modern Tamil Fiction—*Vimala Manuel*
12. A Socio-Economic Survey of the Christian Community in Malwa—*K. P. Pot*

* Out of Print.



Library

IIAS, Shimla



00058677