

# **Jains in India and Abroad**

A Sociological Introduction



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**Prakash C. Jain**



**International School for Jain Studies**  
**New Delhi**

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## **Publisher's Note**

International School for Jain Studies conducts various programs for the students, scholars and faculty members of the universities of North America primarily and Europe, Asia in general. Since its inception, more than 250 persons have attended various programs conducted by ISJS. ISJS alumni occupy positions of significance in their respective universities and are regularly contributing to promote Jain studies, research and publication. Experience of ISJS so far had been the perception of Jainism as being mostly concerned with detachment with the world and aiming to attain liberation. This may be true for the monks but partially true for the laity and householders as Jains do form a small but highly educated, prosperous and socially involved minority community. ISJS had been taking several steps, like organizing eleven one day conferences on Social Consciousness in Jainism in the universities of India and abroad and regularly participate in seminars on topics of social relevance.

The present book by Prof. Prakash C. Jain, is the first publication by ISJS on this topic. Prof Jain is a senior adviser and faculty member of ISJS. I hope this is the beginning and the book shall arouse more research and publication in similar or associated topics concerning anthropology, social and professional ethics, economic, health and political scenario etc. Prior to this publication, ISJS had translated in English books on metaphysics (Jainism, key to reality, i.e. Tatvarthasutra in questions and answer form and Jain Legend (history of Jainism till 1500 A.D. i.e. Jain dharma ka Maulik Itihas by Hasti Malji in 4 volumes) for the benefit of ISJS alumni and associates and English speaking scholars which were published by different Jain research institutes.

We wish success to Prof. Jain on writing this up to date book on Jains in India and abroad and hope it will lead him to undertake more research projects on Jain sociology.

**Shugan C Jain**

Chairman

International School for Jain Studies

New Delhi

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## PREFACE

Ever since I was exposed to Max Weber's Protestant Ethic thesis during my M. A. (Sociology) studies programme, I had more or less decided to test the thesis by myself writing a dissertation on Jainism and the Jains. Reading Weber's insightful analysis of Jainism contained in *Religion of India* further strengthened my resolve to do that. An award of Canadian Commonwealth Scholarship for Ph.D. programme in the late 1970s that landed me at the Carleton University of Ottawa kept my resolve intact, where I wrote a term paper on the Jains for a course on Sociology of Religion. Unfortunately it could not go further for a number of reasons. Instead my academic interest got shifted to Indian Diasporic Studies – an academic subject that eventually earned me a Ph.D. degree. Nevertheless, an updated and thoroughly revised version of that term paper constitutes Chapter 5 of the book.

The book begins with an introduction of Jainism with its brief history in different parts of India and the sects and sub-sects that developed within it during the past two thousand years. Some basic social structural features such as family, kinship and marriage are also mentioned alongwith a brief note on food, festivals and places of pilgrimage of Jains. Chapter 2 highlights the salient features of Jain philosophy in terms of its metaphysics, ontology, epistemology and ethics which have been the basis of the Jain way of life for centuries. At the end, the Jain way of life and its practicality in diasporic context as well as India is critically examined.

During the mid-1990s, the Census of India 1991 data revealed a relatively slow population growth rate of the Jains vis-à-vis other five major religious communities of India, namely Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians and Buddhists. The findings were reported widely in the media that rekindled my interest to probe the problem further. Subsequently I wrote a brief article entitled "The Jains in the 1991 Census of India" that I sent for publication to a prominent Jain journal in India. The editor of the journal expressed his inability to publish the same saying "the committee does not want to publish it". I still fail to understand why, given the fact that an article based on the 1981 census data was earlier published by the same journal. My best guess is that perhaps the journal did not want to highlight the suddenly emerged situation of low fertility behaviour among the Jains in the 1991 census data. Meanwhile, the 2001 Census data on religious communities in India were also available, which prompted me to revise the article in the light of the new data. Chapter 3 in the present volume is an outcome of that exercise.

A large number of Jains are either ignorant about the size of their community and its other demographic aspects, or have serious misgivings about it. They often seem to nurse grievances against the Census of India authorities for under-estimating the Jain population. Many of them suggest at the same time that there are no less than 10 million Jains in India. Notwithstanding such a wild claim, the census data clearly point towards a figure of no more than 4.5 million Jains in India. The 1991 and the 2001 Census data also underline the fact of low fertility behaviour among the Jains.

The 2001 Census data further underlined the fact of ethnic revivalism that got intensified among them during the 1990s, as a result of which about 600,000 Jains “lost” to the Hindus returned back to the community. The rise of the Hindu fundamentalism in India since the late 1980s, demolition of the *Babri Masjid* in 1992, and the growing ethnocentrism among other communities might have been responsible for this phenomenon among the Jains, who otherwise have been very well integrated into the mainstream of the Indian society. It would be interesting to note the outcomes of the 2011 Census that might tell us whether the process is over or there is more to it.

Having been engaged in the field of Indian diaspora in general for the past three decades, it was natural for me to pay some attention to the Jain diaspora, which currently is estimated at around quarter of a million, and is growing steadily. Not only numerous socio-cultural associations have sprung up within the Jain diaspora, a number of Jain temples have been constructed in those countries where there is a sizeable Jain community. Lately, Jain diaspora has been in the process of projecting Jainism and the Jain way of life as rational and scientific. Towards this goal some literature is being produced that put emphasis on the Jainist principles of *ahimsa* (non-violence), *aparigraha* (non-possession) and *anekant* (relativism). Promotion of vegetarianism as well as Jainism as an area of serious academic research appears to be the twin goals of diasporic Jain activism.

The Jain diaspora has begun to exert its influence on the Jains in India. In the process the Jains in India are also trying to reach out to their counterparts abroad. These mutually reinforcing linkages can best be seen in the activities of such associations as the Federation of the Jaina Associations in North America, the Jain International Trade Organisation, Mumbai and Shree Bharatvarshiya Digambara Jain Mahasabha, Delhi. They have been active in the fields of not only trade and commerce but have also been propagating Jainism around the world. The Jain Diaspora and some of its activities are highlighted in Chapter 4. An earlier version of this paper was presented at Bangalore at a conference on the “Diversity in Indian Diaspora” (Jain 2011).

The book contains a large bibliography with special reference to Jain philosophy and religion, history, demography, anthropology, sociology and other social sciences. Needless to say, the five chapters and a bibliography constitute only a small book – essentially an outline of the theme “Jains in India and Abroad”. As mentioned above, the genesis of the book lies in differential circumstances over a long period of time, and therefore a certain amount of repetition of contents has been inevitable. There might be a number of other shortcomings in the book. Nevertheless, encouragement received from various quarters finally prompted me to put together the book. I earnestly hope that it would be useful to the general readers as well as the scholars.

I am grateful to Prof. Nathan R. B. Loewen of Vanier College, Montreal for reading earlier drafts of the manuscript and for making extensive criticism and comments towards improving the same. Some of the Ph.D. scholars working under my supervision, particularly Kundan Kumar, Jaffar Ali Khan, Rakesh K. Ranjan, Rajiv Kumar, Rajeevan Kunnath, Navendu Shekhar and Ms. Rajni Bala helped me in a number of ways in finalizing the book. Ms. Chanchal Jain and Mr. Sushil Jana of International School for Jain Studies composed the book on PageMaker and assisted in designing the cover page with great enthusiasm. I am thankful to all of them. Thanks are also due to Dr. Shugan C. Jain, India-Director of International School for Jain Studies, New Delhi for promptly accepting the manuscript for publication on behalf of the School.

And finally, the book is dedicated to the fond memories of my father Shri Ratna Chand Jain and my father-in-law Shri C. K. Saxena who, in spite of their different socio-economic and religious backgrounds, had some common “Jaintlemanly” qualities. The book also purports to be a gift to my wife Dr. Renu Saxena, and our daughters Ms. Rashi Prakash and Ms. Sanskriti Prakash who might learn about the Jains a little more systematically than had so far been possible for me by telling them in bits and pieces.

**Prakash C. Jain**

**New Delhi  
March 21, 2011**

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## Chapter 1

### THE JAINS

The Jains are an ancient community of India with their own distinctive religion and philosophy, worship and rituals, social customs and cultural traditions. Their estimated population in India is about five million. About a quarter of a million Jains live in diaspora.

This chapter introduces the Jains in terms of their history, major sectarian divisions within the community, social organizational aspects such as caste, family and kinship, life cycle rituals, and food, festivals and the places of pilgrimage. Finally, Jains' contribution to Indian culture and society is highlighted.

Jains are the followers of “Jina”, the conqueror, the spiritual victor, the one who has conquered all the worldly passions and desires. A *Jina* is a human being who obtained omniscience through his own efforts. There have been 24 such *Jinas* of which Mahavir (599-527 B.C.E.) was the last. The current Jain *Sangh* (order) consisting of a four-fold congregation of *munis* (male ascetics) and *aryikas* or *sadhvis* (female ascetics) and *shrawak* (male laity) and *shrawikas* (female laity) was established by Lord Mahavir. Besides *Jinas*, the profounder of Jainism in different periods in ancient times were also known as *Shraman* (monk), *Arhat* (worthy of worship), *Arihant* (destroyer of passions), and *Nirgranth* (detached). The religion followed by the Jains is called Jainism.

#### Origin and Growth of Jainism

Many scholars as well as the Jains themselves trace the origin of Jainism to the first Jain Tirthankar Adinath, or Rishabh Dev who was born to King Nabhirai and Queen Maru Devi (Jain, J.P 1983; Jaini 1979; Radhakrishnan 2002: 287; Sangave 1980). Adinath “is considered as the harbinger of human civilization because he inaugurated the *Karma-bhumi* (the age of action); founded the social institutions of marriage, family, law, justice, state, etc., taught mankind the cultivation of land, different arts and crafts, reading, writing and arithmetic; built villages, towns and cities; and in short,

pioneered the different kinds of activities with a view to provide a new kind of social order meant for increasing the welfare of human beings” (Sangave 2006: 19). Jains often claim that the indigenous name of India, i.e, *Bharat* comes after the name of Bharat, the eldest son of Lord Rishabh Dev, in whose favour he had abdicated his throne and renounced the world. Incidentally, his other prominent son was Bahubali who is also worshiped by the Jains, but not as a *tirthankar*. As already mentioned, Lord Rishabh was followed by a succession of 23 Tirthankaras ending with Lord Mahavir.

Contrary to this Jainist view of the origin of Jainism, some scholars believe that Jainism constituted a reformatory movement within Brahmanism and that it was organically connected in a sect-like manner with Brahmanism. Thus, according to Lunia (1960) both Jainism and Buddhism were not new faiths and they arose as a result of the “disappointment” of certain Hindus with the Brahmanical religion. Similarly taking into account the notion of Indian “Great tradition”, Singh (1973: 46) argues that both Jainism and Buddhism were the result of, “a process of inner dialectics in the worldview of Hinduism.” In other words, not only Hindu cultural tradition internally reorganized from time to time (cultural renaissance), “another kind of change in this tradition is revealed in the formation of new, autonomous traditions through differentiation” (Ibid: 45). Thus, according to Singh, Jainism and Buddhism were purely orthogenetic in nature.

Although from the point of view of national integration this kind of “synthetic” approach is expedient, it is not useful in social scientific understanding of history. It mistakenly equates Brahmanism (Vedic religion) to Hinduism. What is forgotten in this regard is the fact that Hindu Great tradition itself is the result (a process of synthesis) and not necessarily the cause of a variety of autonomous traditions.

It is being increasingly recognized that “Jainism was not a revolt in the strict sense of the term against the existing Brahmanical hierarchy” (Thakur 1975: 251). On the contrary, as part of the *Sramanic* tradition, Jainism had already originated and spread among certain ethnic groups. Ethnographic studies of ancient Indian society show how before the consolidation of Aryan Vedic tradition,



some of the cults prevailing among the local tribes such as *Asura*, *Pani*, *Bhils*, *Nagas*, *Mundas*, etc. went into the formation of *Sramanic* tradition (“one which originated in lay circles”) (see Jain, R.C 1970; also Guseva 1971). During the middle of the first millennium B.C.E, the interaction and assimilation processes between *Brahmanic* and *Sramanic* traditions were particularly intensive, owing to the fact that monarchic states in the form of *Janapadas* (republics) were being formed uniting several ethnic territories within their borders (Wagle 1966). The process of cultural assimilation was far from smooth, because each religious tradition was contending for superiority over the others.

The view that Jainism was not merely a protest movement within Hinduism is also borne out by the Jain belief as well as historical evidence that Mahavir (599-527 B.C.E.) revived the teachings (*Chaturyama Dharma*) of Parswanath who lived and preached during the ninth century B.C.E. and is regarded by the Jains as their 23<sup>rd</sup> *Tirthankar*. In other words, the origin of Jainism can be traced back to at least the ninth century B.C.E. As early as in 1826 a noted Indological scholar H.T. Colebrook (1977 11: 317) observed: “I take Parswanath to have been the founder of the sect (sic) of Jainas, which was confirmed and thoroughly established by Mahavir and his disciple Sudharma.” Many contemporary scholars also regard Parswanath (899-799 B.C.E.) as the founder of Jainism (e.g., Guseva 1971; Jaini 1979: 2, n. 2; Sechubring 1966: 1; Zimmer 1956: 181).

Teachings of Lord Mahavir attempted to undermine some of the basic elements of the established Vedic/Brahminical social order such as the caste system, dominance of the priestly caste (Brahmins) in socio-cultural and religious matters, ritualistic sacrifice of animals, secondary status of women, slavery, untouchability, monarchical basis of policy, etc. Both Buddha and Mahavir “spoke” in the language of the masses and thus sidelined Sanskrit, the holy language of the Brahmin elites. Mahavir as well as Parsvanath also admitted women and *Sudras* into his religious order.

## History of Jainism

### East India

Jainism has a long history since at least the 9<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E. when the *Chaturyam Dharma* of the 23<sup>rd</sup> Tithankar Parshvanath that emphasized *Satya* (truth), *Ahimsa* (non-violence), *Achaurya* (non-stealing) and *Aparigraha* (non-possessiveness) was being preached. *Chaturyam Dharma* served as precursor to Mahavir's religious and social order. East India therefore figures prominently in the early history of Jainism. Jainism enjoyed patronage of King Chetaka, the ruler of Vaishali, Kings Bimbisar (Shrenika) and Ajatsatru of Sisunaga Dynasty (642-413 B.C.E.), the Nandakings (413-322 B.C.E.) and the Emperor Chandragupta Maurya (322-298 B.C.E.) of the Maurya Dynasty (See Jash 1989; Tiwari 1996). In this context it is also suggested that Jainism was also patronized by Emperor Ashoka before he got converted into Buddhism. He was also instrumental in spreading Jainism into Kashmir. The grandson of Ashoka, Emperor Samprati also extended patronage to Jainism.

Beyond Eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, Jainism appears to have been popular in present day Orissa and West Bengal (Mukherji 1997). In Orissa King Kharavela provided royal patronage to Jainism during the second century B.C.E. Jainism continued to be reasonably popular in Orissa until the seventh century C.E. The Chinese pilgrim Hsueh Tsang who visited the region in 629 C.E. provides enough evidence to this effect. In Bengal, among other things, the indigenous people known as "Sarakas" (distorted form of the word *shrawaka*) are considered to be the Hinduized remnants of the early Jain people (Sangave 2006: 114). Not surprisingly, some contemporary Jain scholars and voluntary organisations have been showing great concern about the development of *Sarakas*.

### South India

Jainism reached to South India in 3<sup>rd</sup> Century B.C.E., when in order to escape the 12 years long drought in North India Acharya Bhadrabahu led a *Sangha* of over 7,000 monks to Shravanbelagola in Karnataka. Emperor Chandragupta Maurya was the part of the delegation. During the Christian era in Karnataka itself a number of rulers from various dynasties such as the Kadamba (3<sup>rd</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> century C.E.),

Ganga (350-999 C.E.), Chalukya (500-757 C.E.), Rastrakutas (757-973 C.E.), Western Chalukyas (10<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> Century C.E.), Hoyasala (1006-1345 C.E.), Kalachuris (1156-1183 C.E.), etc. patronized Digambar Jainism in varying degrees. Jainism also made “contribution to the success and greatness of the Vijayanagar Empire (1336-1565 C.E.) which is considered to have been the most magnificent product of medieval Hindu statesmanship” (Jain, J.P. 1983: 29). In Andhra and Tamil Nadu too Jainism had considerable influence for more than a millennium in the Christian era (Ayyangar and Rao 1922). The rise of Vaishnavism and Shaivism however forced Jainism to decline by 14<sup>th</sup> century A.D. in most of South India.

### **West India**

The migration of Jains from Eastern to Western parts of India probably occurred sometime in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Century B.C.E. following the decline of Jains’ clout in the Mauryan Empire. Some idea of the antiquity of Jainism in West India can be ascertained from the fact that Lord Neminath, the 22<sup>nd</sup> Tirthankar of the Jains had attained salvation on the Mount Girnar in Junagarh district of Gujarat sometime in the second millennium B.C.E. “Furthermore, ancient literary evidences suggest that Lord Mahavira, the 24<sup>th</sup> Tirthankar, had visited the Marathavada region and Maharashtra during his religious propagation tour of different parts of India” (Sangave 2006: 119).

In 446 C.E. the council of Jain ascetics met at Vallabhi and put down in writing the Jain canon. As Digambar Jainism flourished in South India, the West India became the strong-hold of Shvetambar Jainism. In Gujarat Jainism was patronized by the Rashtrakuta, Chalukya and Baghela rulers during 8<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> centuries C.E. (Sheth 1953). It was during the reigns of Baghelas that the beautiful temples at Satrunjaya, Girnar and Mt. Abu were built by the two Jain minister brothers Vastupal and Tejpal.

In Maharashtra from the 3<sup>rd</sup> Century onwards, “the powerful ruling dynasties like the Satavahanas of Paithans, Chalukyas of Kalyan, Rastrakutas of Malakhed, Yadavas of Devagiri and Silaharas of Kolhapur and Konkan had extended their royal patronage in a large measure to Jaina religion” (Sangave 2006: 120). The Jains in

Maharashtra can boast of having four major *Siddhakshetras* (places from where Tirthankars or other saints have attained *nirvana*) at Gajapantha (District Nasik), Magitungi (District Khamdesh), Kunthalagiri (District Osmanabad) and Muktagiri (District Amraoti); a large number of caves and cave-temples, including the famous ones at Ellora (Dist Aurangabad), Ter (Dist Osmanabad), and Anjaneri (Dist Nasik); some of the great Jain saints and scholars such as Samantabhadra, Virasen, Jinasena and Somedeva, and the largest proportion of Jain population in India (about 30% of all Jains in 2001 Census).

### North India

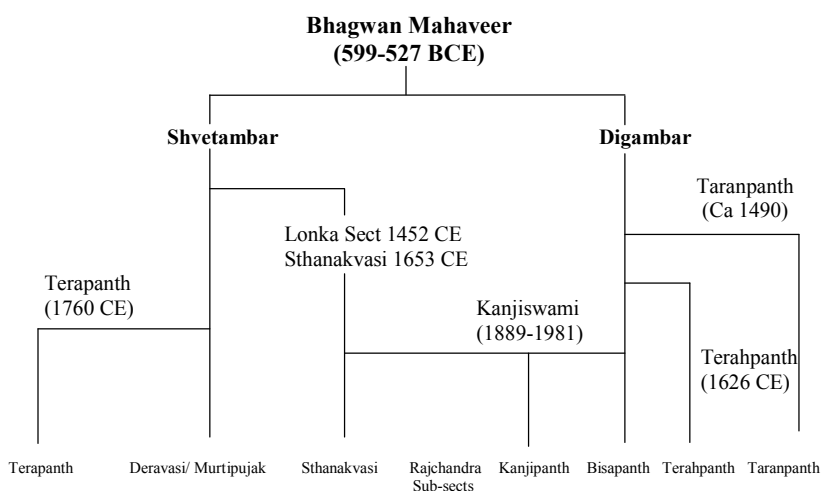
For about a millennium, beginning perhaps in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.E., Mathura, the capital of Surasena rulers, remained the stronghold of Jainism. Ujjain was an important centre of Jainism in central India which was the capital of Maurya Emperor Samprati (Jaina Asoka), the grandson of Ashoka. Emperor Samprati was also responsible for spreading Jainism to Kashmir, and some other parts of East India.

With minor exceptions here and there Jainism was generally deprived of royal support during the first few centuries of Muslim rule in north India. As a part of his *Din-e-Elahi* policy Mughal Emperor Akbar was favourably inclined towards Jainism. He had banned animal slaughter during the *Paryushan* days in his empire in 1583 C.E. Initially Jahangir had revoked this policy, but again decreed the same in 1610 C.E. Emperor Shahjahan was also tolerant of Jainism and allowed a Jain temple to be built in front of the Red Fort mainly for the Jains in his administration as well as the other residents in the locality. The presence of the *Lal Mandir* (red stone Jain temple) in Chandni Chowk is an eloquent testimony to this. "During the Mohammedan period, the Jainas particularly increased in the native states of Rajputana, where they came to occupy many important offices under the state as generals and ministers" (Sangave 2006: 122). In this context the name of Raja Bhamashah (1542-1598 C.E.), advisor of the Rajput warrior Maharana Pratap of Mewar, easily comes to one's mind. He had played a crucial role in numerous military exercises of Mewar against the mighty Mughal army, including the famous battle of Haldi Ghati.

## Sects in Jainism

Any religion and/or system of thought cannot remain undifferentiated or monolithic for a long time. Jainism too has not been an exception in this regard. Its spread over the large parts of India, varying interpretations of the Jain canons, and the revolt against the existing authorities at the time led to the formation of sections and sub-sections within Jainism at different points of time in its long history. The most important schism within Jainism in the form of Digambar and Shvetambar sects, known as the Great schism, occurred at the end of the first century C.E., which is about six hundred years after the *nirvana* of Lord Mahavir. Scholars point out that this was the eighth schism within Jainism – the first one caused by Jamali during the life-time of Tirthankar Mahavir himself (Dundas 1992: 41; Banks 1986; Jain, M.U.K. 1975; Jain, J.P. 1983). The schism was not the result of an abrupt doctrinal split, but a long drawn out process. The seeds of the Great schism were laid in the migration of

### Jainism: Major Sects and Sub-sects



a section of Jains from Magadha to Shravanbelagola on the eve of the 12-year long famine in Eastern India in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.E. It is said that the left-behind Jain monks “had been prevailed upon by their lay followers to cover their private parts with a strip of cloth (*ardhaphalaka*) while begging for alms (Dundas 1992: 43). The

*ardhaphalaka* sect and its descendents the *Yapanias* were possibly the prototypes of Shvetambar Jainas. Digambaras and Shvetambaras differ on about a dozen minor as well as major points. The major points of difference include the practice of nudity, “soteriology and women”, and the possessions of ascetics. Whereas Digambar Jainism requires its highest ranking ascetics to observe absolute nudity, and denies them to have any possessions other than *pichchhi* (broom made of peacock feathers) and *kamandala* (wooden pot), and believes that women cannot attain liberation, the Shvetambara Jainism is liberal on these counts. The Shvetambaras also believe that the 19<sup>th</sup> Tirthankara Mallinath was a female; Digambaras believe that all the Tirthankaras were male. These and other points of difference between the two sects however do not come in the way of their doctrinal unity. The most influential text of Jainism, the *Tattvartha Sutra* written by Acharya Umasvami/Umasvati (2nd century B.C.E.), is accepted by both the sects. The two sects got further sub-divided into a number of sub-sects at various points of time during the past 500 years or so (See Jain, M.U.K. 1975; Banks 1986; Dundas 1992).

### **Digambara Sub-Sects**

There are three major sub-sects within Digambara Jainism, namely Bisapantha, Terapantha, and Taranpantha.

#### **Bisapanth**

This is the original idolatrous (idol worshipping) stream of Digambar Jainism whose followers support the institution of *Bhattarak* (head of religious monastery or *math*) that flourished in the medieval period from 14<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Panth believes in worshipping idols of *Kshetrapals*, *Padmawati* and other deities’ alongwith those of the Tirathankaras. The Bisapanthis “worship these idols with saffrons, flowers, fruits, sweets, scented agarbattis i.e. insense [sic] sticks, etc” (Sangve 2006: 104). Bispanthi Digambar Jainas are mainly found in south Indian states, Maharashtra, Gujarat, and Rajasthan.

#### **Terapanth**

This reformer sub-sect originated within the Bisapantha sometime in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century C.E. as a revolt against the domination and conduct of the *Bhattarakas*. At the same time its origin is also traced

back to the Adhyatma movement in North India in which Pt. Banarsidas figures prominently. According to Lath, “the Terapanth proudly declares itself an offshoot of Banarsi’s *Adhyatma*, and reverses him as its *Adiguru*, the founder-teacher” (1981: iii). “In their temples, the Terapanthis install the idols of Tirathankaras and not of Kshetrapalas, Padmawati and other deities. Further they worship the idols not with flowers, fruits and other green vegetables (known as *sachitta* things), but with sacred rice called ‘*Aksata*’, cloves, sandal paste, almonds, dry coconuts, dates, etc” (Sangve 2006: 104). The Terapanthis are generally found in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan.

### **Taranpanth**

This non-idolatrous sub-sect was founded by Taran Swamy (1448-1515 C.E.) which was apparently influenced by Islam on the one hand and the teachings of Lonka Shah, the founder of the non-idolatrous *Sthnakvasi* subsect of Shvetambara Jainism on the other. In their temples, Taranpanthis worship the fourteen sacred books of their founder along with the sacred books of Digambara Jainism. Regarding religious or caste distinctions, the Taranpanthis are quite liberal vis-à-vis other Digambara subsects. Very few in number, Taranpanthis are found in parts of Bundelkhand and Malwa regions and some areas of Maharashtra. In Bundelkhand, Taranpanthis are also known as “Samaiyas”.

Besides these three major sub-sects, there are two minor sub-sects or traditions that emerged in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries within Digambara Jainism. One of them was originated with Shrimad Rajchandra (1867-1901) and the other with Kanji Swamy (1889-1981). These are briefly discussed below.

### **Shrimad Rajchandra ‘Sub-Sect’**

A child prodigy, Shrimad Rajchandra (formal name Shri Rajchandbhai Ravjibhai Mehta) was born in a merchant family. His father was a Vaishnava and his mother a Jain. He was greatly influenced by the writings of Digambar Jain saint and scholar Acharya Kundkund. In his teachings he emphasized on self-reflection and meditation, besides advocating reforms in crippling social customs. “Many of Mahatma Gandhi’s beliefs and practices came from his friendship with

Rajchandra. Gandhi's stance towards equality of women, emancipation of the lower castes, Satyagraha (truth struggle) was rooted in Rajchandra's guidance" (Jain 2007: 23). Shrimad Rajchandra has a small following in Gujarat, U.K. and the U.S.

### **Kanji Swamy Panth**

During the past few decades, a new sub-sect called Kanji Swamy Panth (KSP) in Digambara Jainism has emerged which is known after its founder Kanji Swamy. A Sthankavasi by birth, Kanji Swami who was based in the town of Sonagarh in Gujarat reinterpreted the first century Digambara Jain sacred text *Samayasara* written by Acharya Kundkund in a manner and perspective that gives more prominence to *Nischaya-Naya* (realistic/essential standpoint) than to *Vyavahara-naya* (practical standpoint). The *nischaya-naya* lays emphasis on understanding and contemplating on the true nature of the soul with a view of its purification, whereas the *vyavahar-naya* considered to be a temporary or transitory view-point helps us in adjusting with the practical issues in life. Emphasizing the former the Kanji-Panth obviously wants to minimize the religious rituals in Jainism. The Panth is also not favourable to nudity in Jainism. It is therefore more popular with the educated class and the diasporic community, and its influence has been steadily increasing. However, another scholarly opinion is that "the poorer and lower caste Digambaras tend to support the KSP" (Jain, R. K. 1999: 117). In any case, the Kanji Panth has created a sharp division within the Digambara Jain community in north and central India (Jain, Neeraj 2010) The critics believe that it violates the doctrine of *Anekantavada* – in this context the preference of one *naya* at the expense of the other (See section on Jain Epistemology in Chapter 2). Besides Sonagarh, Jaipur and Mumbai are the major centres of Kanji-Panth.

### **Shvetambar Sub-Sects**

Like Digambara the Shvetambara Jainism too is divided into three major sub-sects, namely *Murtipujak*, *Sthanakavasi* and *Terapanth*. These are briefly discussed below.

#### **Murtipujak**

*Murtipujakas* (idol worshippers, also known as *Dera-vasi* or *Chaitya-vasi* (temple residents), *Mandir-margi* (temple goers), or *Pujera*



(worshippers) constituted the original stock of Shvetambara Jainism. They worship idols of Tirthankaras which are richly decorated with cloths. The worship is done with flowers, fruits, saffron, etc. The ascetics, both male and female, wear white cloths and cover their mouth with strips of cloth while speaking; otherwise they keep them in their hands. They stay in temples or in the especially reserved buildings known as *Upashrayas* (Sangave 2006: 108). The followers of this sub-sect are mainly concentrated in Gujarat, but increasingly now they are also found in most major towns and cities of India.

### **Sthanakvasi**

This sect initially known as Lonka sect founded by Lonka Shah in Ahmadabad in 1474 C.E. was subsequently reformed in 1653 C.E. by a Surat-based layman, Viraji. At that time followers were known as *Dhundiliyas* (searchers). Then and later on they were also called *Sthanakvasi* meaning those who performed their religious activities not in temples but in *Sthanakas* (Prayer Halls). The *Sthanakavasis* do not believe in building temples, idol-worship, and pilgrimage. The ascetics wear white cloths and cover their mouth with cloth strips. The *Sthanakvasis* are mainly found in Gujrat, Rajasthan, Punjab and Haryana.

### **Terapanth**

An offshoot of Sthnakvasi sub-sect, Terapanthi sub-sect was founded by Achrarya Bhikanji in 1760 A.D. Like Sthnakvasis, Terapanthis also do not believe in idol-worshipping. Since its inception some 250 years ago, it has been closely organized under eleven successive Acharyas of the Panth, including the current incumbent Acharya Mahashraman. Its 9<sup>th</sup> guru Archarya Tulsi (1914-97) had earned considerable name and fame for himself for his *Anubrata* movement that emphasized five small vows of Jainism for moral wellbeing of the masses. Mainly concentrated in certain areas of Rajasthan, Terapanthis are also found in some major towns and cities of north and central India.

To sum up, it is indeed ironical that a religion that professes *anekantvad* (doctrine of relativism) should be having so many sects and sub-sects and that too with arrays of contestations and confrontations taking place within and among them. Apart from the

contestations involving differences of doctrinal opinions, debates, rivalries and modes of worship, there have also been frequent confrontations between the Digambar and Shvetambar sects over the ownership of pilgrimage places (See Jain, R. K. 1999: 76-82). Thus during the late 1980s there were about 134 such disputes taking place in India (Dundas 1992: 48).

### **Jain Associations**

Almost all the Jain sects, sub-sects and castes have their own associations whose annual meetings are organised at local, regional or national levels. Depending on the level of association and the exigencies of the time, a wide variety of issues pertaining to the community are deliberated on in these meetings and conventions. Thus for example, about 115 year-old Bharatvarshiya Digambar Jain Mahasabha had deliberated upon a large number of other issues such as the need for maintaining a distinctive identity of the Jains; restoration and proper maintenance of Jain pilgrimage places; need for social reforms within the community, especially regarding child marriage, dowry system, old-age homes and the homes for the disabled; education and emancipation of women; demand for declaration of Mahavir *Jayanti* as a public holiday in 1939 and then in the early 1950s; support for Mahatma Gandhi's *satyagraha*, *swadeshi* and civil disobedience movements, etc. Incidentally, at one stage the Jains did demand for a separate electoral roll and representation in the Council, though it did not materialize. The association was also quite vocal in opposing the Hindu Code Bill of 1949 and Untouchability Removal and Harijan Temple Entry Bill on the ground that by the passage of these Bills the Jains too would be affected by the provisions of the Bills as legally they are clubbed with the Hindus, whereas in reality the Jains constitute a separate religion and community (See Kothari 2004).

Besides Bharatvarshiya Digambar Jain Mahasabha and the other sectarian associations, the non-sectarian Jain associations too have emerged from time to time. These include Jain Young Men Association (1899), Bharat Jain Mahamandal (1910), Jain Political Conference (1917) and Jain Milan (1953). Jain Milan was reorganised in 1966 as Bhartiya Jain Milan which presently has more than 800 units all over India. Besides promoting Jain religion, culture and

literature, the association is devoted to the Jain unity. It also brings out a monthly magazine *Bhartiya Jain Milan Samachar*.

### **Jain Social Organisation**

Jains' social organisational patterns closely resemble those prevalent among the Hindus. The Jains share the kinship and marriage structures of the regional-linguistic area they are located in. Thus for example, "the cross-cousin marriage is neither allowed nor practiced by Jains in the northern India but in the Deccan and Karnataka the cross-cousin marriage is not only allowed but preferred also" (Sangave 1980: 156). Caste and sub-sect endogamy and the *gotra* exogamy are generally practised by the Jains. According to the People of India Project reports that were based on surveys of about one hundred Jain "communities" (sic), "Cross-cousin marriage [involving Father's Sister's Daughter (FSD)] is reported among 14 communities (14 per cent against 44.01 per cent at the national level), cross-cousin [involving Mother's Brother's Daughter (MBD)] among 15 (15 per cent against a national level 51.09 per cent) and uncle-niece marriage in six communities" (Singh 1998: 1328). The findings further suggest that "Sorrorate junior is practised in 44 communities (44 per cent against a national average of 58.04 per cent) and levirate junior in five communities (5 per cent against a national average of 30.33 per cent)" (Singh 1998: 1329).

Jains prefer adult marriage, arranged through negotiations, but with the consent of the potential bride and the groom. Earlier, marriages before the puberty of a girl were common, but now the girls are married around 18 years of age and boys around 22. Monogamy is an expected norm. As among the Hindus, in Jains too a *sindur* (vermilion) mark, *bindi*, toe-rings, *mangalsutra* and glass bangles are the symbols of a married woman. Dowry is accepted in cash and kind, and the amount of dowry is on the increase. Residence is patrilocal. Divorce and widow remarriages are generally discouraged. Widower remarriage however is quite common. According to the findings of the People of India Project mentioned earlier, "widows and female divorcees are permitted to remarry in 29 communities (29 per cent as against a national average of 81.36 per cent), while widower remarriage is permitted in 97 communities" (Singh 1998: 1329). Jain marriages are performed at the bride's residence, though in some

parts of India, especially in Bundelkhand, this trend has been completely reversed since about the beginning of the present century, mainly due to the shortage of marriageable girls and economic reasons. In the changed circumstances, the financial burden of the marriage mainly rests on the shoulders of the groom's family.

Jains live in both nuclear and extended families. But nuclear families have been on the increase in recent decades. As per the 1981 census the average size of the household among Jains was found to be only 5.86 persons (Jain, M. K. 1986: 43). Sons inherit property, equally. Succession is held by the eldest son. Jain women do not get a share in their parental property. Prior to 1950s, women were kept secluded, but now-a-days they are educated, and many of them are find professional employment (receptionists, teachers, doctors, accountants, IT professionals, etc.). The Jain women are also greatly involved in observing religious rituals and acquiring knowledge of Jain philosophy and religion (Reyneil 1991).

### **Life-Cycle Rituals**

The Jains observe many life-cycle rituals of which the birth, marriage and death are the most important ones. During the seventh month of pregnancy of a woman, they observe a ritual called *Sad* in which the pregnant woman is offered sweets, fruits, flowers, etc. by the women of the family and relatives. In some areas this ritual is known as *Athwan* which is observed in the eighth month of pregnancy. The pregnant woman goes to the temple and worships the deity. A feast is organized on this occasion. Childbirth usually takes place in a hospital or at home under the supervision of a doctor. On the tenth day of the child's birth the *nahavan* ritual is preformed when the house is cleaned and the mother takes a bath. Birth pollution remains for 40 days.

The pollution period is followed by *Namkaran Sanskar* in which the child is named after consulting the horoscope prepared by a Brahmin or Jain astrologer. Cereals are fed to the child, for the first time when he is about six months old. The child is bathed, dressed in new clothes and taken to the temple to worship the idol. On his return,

he is fed *khir* (made of milk, sugar and rice) by the eldest member of the family.

The *mundan* ceremony of a male child is observed in the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> year. This is generally done at a pilgrimage place, at a local temple, or in a specified temple for which a vow was taken. It is optional in case of a girl child. The *Hajjam* (barber) cuts the hair for which he is paid in cash and/or kind. The child is given a bath and taken to the deity. A swastika mark is made on his skull. An offering of some cash is given to the deity.

The marriage ceremony is preceded by *sagai*. The bride's parents and some elder members of the girl's family go to the bridegroom's house and place fruits in the lap of bridegroom. The bridegroom's party goes to the bride's house for *godbharai*. Appropriate gifts including clothes, cosmetics and fruits, are given to the bride.

At the auspicious time, the marriage rite is performed by a Brahmin or a Jain priest, amidst the chanting of hymns. *Saptadigaman* or *Saptapadi* (walking seven times around the sacred fire) is an essential ritual. The ritual of *Kanyadan* (giving away of the bride) is performed by the father, brother, or the guardians of the bride. The wedding rituals usually come to a close after *sindurdan* (application of vermilion by the bridegroom on the forehead of the bride). On the following day, the bride goes to her husband's house.

After death, the body is cremated on a fixed burial place, on the bank of a river, lake or pond. The last rites are generally performed by the eldest son. The person who lights the pyre is called the *karta* (chief mourner). He has to observe several restrictions for a period of thirteen days. On the day after the cremation, head is shaved by the male members of the family and other relatives who thereafter go to collect the ashes of the deceased and disperse/submerge them in the nearby water body. This is followed by the *Pagdi* ceremony in which a headgear is tied on the head of the *karta* declaring him the head of the family.

### **Food, Festivals and Pilgrimage**

Jains generally are strict vegetarians. Their diet varies according to the regional-linguistic area they live in. The staple food consists of

*roti* (bread) and/or rice. They also consume most vegetables and fruits available locally. They also eat pulses like ahrar, moong, urad, chana, moth, massor, rajma, etc. They regularly consume milk and milk-products like curd, ghee, butter, paneer. Alcoholic drinks are prohibited by the community. Smoking of cigarettes, bidis and chewing tobacco, betel leaf, betel nuts, cardamom and cloves was quite common amongst the males until a generation ago, but now the consumption of tobacco products is on the decline.

Jains generally celebrate all the major Hindu festivals such as Rakshbandhan, Dashahra, Deepawali, and Holi. Different reasons are given for celebrating them. Thus Deepawali, for example, is celebrated by the Jains not so much because that day Lord Rama returned to Ayodhya after the victory over the Lanka king Ravana, but because Tirthankara Mahavira attained *Nirvana* on the same day. The birthday of Lord Mahavira (Mahavira *Jayanti*) has been a public holiday in India since the late British days for which the Jains had to indulge in some politics.

Other important festivals celebrated by Jains are *Paryushan Parva/Das Lakshan* (last eight/ten days of *Bhadra*) and *Ashtanika* (the last eight days of *Kartika*). These are regarded very auspicious by the Jains. During these days the atmosphere in most Jains families is charged with high spirituality and almost all the Jains make it a point to go to the temples for worship, and recite or listen to the scriptures. In many temples or *Sthanakas* Pandits are also engaged to deliver religious discourses in the evenings. At the conclusion of *Paryushan/Das Lakshan*, *Pratikraman* or *Kshamavani* ceremony is held in which repentance of faults and forgiveness is asked for and given to all. Some Jains do the same thing through newspaper advertisements, and/or through sending hand-written or printed letters by post, or through emails.

Jains have a vast network of pilgrimage places (*Teerth Kshetras*) all over India. These can broadly be classified into four categories. “The *Kalyanaka Kshetras*, associated with the birth and other memorable events in the life of the Tirthankaras; the *Siddha Kshetras*, where the Tirthankaras or other saints attained *Nirvana*; the *Attishaya Kshetras*, associated with some miracle or myth; and *Kala Kshetras*, reputed

for their artistic monuments, temples, and images” (Jain, J. P. 1983: 128). The following are the major Jain pilgrimage places: Ayodhya, Mathura, Varanasi, Champapur, Hastinapur, Patna, Rajgrahi, Kundalpur, Pawapur, Sammedshikharaji, Giranara, Khandagiri, Taxila, Sonagiri, Devagarh, Khajuraho, Gwalior, Chanderi, Mahavirji, Chittor, Ajanta-Ellora, Ranakpur, Mount Abu, Dharmasthala, Mudhabidri, Sravanabelagola, etc. This is obviously not an exhaustive list.

Jains often go on pilgrimage in groups. During the winter months a large number of Jains can be seen traveling from place to place in the reserved buses, jeeps, and cars. Others travel by trains and some even by air. Air conditioned vehicles, hotels, and *dharmashalas* have facilitated the pilgrimage even during the summer months. In recent years some temple sites in Nepal, Japan, Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia, Kenya, the U.K., Canada and the U.S., etc have been fast emerging as the new pilgrimage places, at least for those who can afford to visit them.

### **Jains’ Contribution to Indian Culture and Society**

Throughout their long history Jains have made tremendous contribution to the Indian culture and society which is quite disproportionate to the size of the community. Undoubtedly, the most lasting contribution of the Jains has been to Indian Philosophy. The Jain philosophy is an original, independent, distinct and complete thought system with its own brand of metaphysics, ontology, epistemology, logic and ethics (See chapter 2). According to Jain philosophy, the world is real; it is neither an illusion (*maya*) nor untrue or unreal (*mithya*). So is the spirit, or soul. Jainism is also unique in devising an elaborate theory of Karma that explains the interactive nature of soul and matter.

Besides the doctrine of Karma, the other original contribution of the Jain philosophy is the twin-doctrines of *Anekantvad* and *Syadvad*, that is, the doctrines of many-sided view-points, and their comprehension and expression. Apart from helping one to comprehend the complete reality, they also promote intellectual tolerance which is very much needed today in order to avoid religious and ideological fundamentalism.

Jainism has been a living religion for at least 3,000 years now. Its ethical codes of conduct that centre around *Anuvratas*, and especially *Ahimsa* and *Aparigraha* are of universal value. Jainism is unique in extending the concern of “Live and Let Live” to all the creatures including microbes and even plants (See Singhvi 1990). Jainism had historically exerted a great influence on Shrishaiva, Vaisnava, Lingayata and other Saint-sects in medieval times in terms of the spread of vegetarianism and teetotalism.

Perhaps the most original items in the Jain ethical codes of conduct are *Sallekhana* (the art of dying) and *Kshama* (forgiveness). On the whole, the Jain ethical code of conduct has tended to steer its followers towards rational thinking regarding certain social customs such as *Sati* and *Shraddha*. It also discourages superstitions such as worshipping certain deities for getting cured of diseases, and/or restoring good health. Again, another characteristic feature of Jainism is the common code of conduct for its ascetics and laymen or laywomen. This perhaps has been an important factor in the survival of Jainism for so long even in the face of adverse political conditions.

Next to philosophy and religion, the contribution to languages and literature by the Jains is quite remarkable (Winternitz 1946). The Jain literature includes a vast body of non-canonical works, poetical narratives (*Puranas*, *Charitras*, *Kathas*, *prabandhas*, *kavyas* and *mahakavyas*, etc) and scientific and technical literature pertaining to astronomy, astrology, cosmology, mathematics, geography, economics, grammar, logic, philosophy, poetics, lexicography, etc. Much of this literature which put Shramanic values to the fore emphasizes misery and sufferings in the world (*Samsar*) and the ways to overcome them not through sacrifices and priestly help but through good moral conduct and compassion. Through their writings the Jains have enriched not only the ancient languages such as Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhramsa, but also many modern Indian languages, namely, Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi, Kannada, Tamil and Telugu. Much of this vast Jain literature continues to be stored in innumerable Jain temples and *Shastra bhandaras*, and remains unclassified and unpublished as yet (Balbir et al. 2006: Bhargava 1968: 226-55; Jain, K. C. 1991).



Jains' contribution to Indian arts and architecture is no less significant. Their contribution in these fields covers various architectural forms such as temples, cave temples, temple cities, pillars (*manasthambhas*) and towers, sculptures, and a wide variety of paintings, frescoes, and manuscript-illustrations (See Chandra 1949; Nagar 2000). Building temples has been a matter of utmost pride for the Jains. Dilwara Jain temples at Mt. Abu, Ranakpur Jain temples, temples at Khajuraho, ancient cave-temples of Udaigiri and Khandgiri, cave-temples of Ellora, temple cities of Shatrunjaya (Gujarat), Girnar (Gujarat), Sammedshikhar (Bihar), Sonagiri (M.P.), Mudhabidri (Karnataka), the Bahubali statue at Shravanabelagola (Karnataka), the *Kirti-Sthambha* at Chittor are some of the best examples of the Jain architecture (See Singhvi and Chopra 2002). Most of these monuments, particularly the temples, had been funded by single wealthy individuals. As temple construction is considered a meritorious act, scores of temples are being built annually by the Jains all over India, in spite of the fact that their heritage monuments are being neglected in the absence of proper funds and management. Needless to say, the Jain heritage, both physical and socio-cultural needs to be appreciated and preserved.

A majority of Jains have always enjoyed relative economic affluence and a high social status due to the fact that they have been traders, merchants, or bankers. A nineteenth century observer went to the extent of claiming that "half the mercantile transactions of India pass through their hands" (Thornton 1898: 40). Be that as it may, the Jains continue to make their mighty contribution to the Indian economy even though the Indian economy itself has undergone a sea-change. The Jains have taken the full advantage of modern education system and a significant number of them have entered into a wide variety of professions and services, besides consolidating their position as trading and commercial petty bourgeoisie in the Indian economy. Additionally, the Jains hold quite a substantial amount of ownership in real estate, share-market and mass media and publishing industries. *Rajasthan Patrika* Group, *Lokmat* Group (Maharashtra), *Gujarat Samachar*, *The Times of India* Group and *Mathribhumi* Group (Kerala) are the outstanding examples of mass media ownership by the Jains.

Besides the spread of secular education among the Jains, the 20<sup>th</sup> century also witnessed the development of Jainology that happened along with Indological studies. With the donations of the Jain community, a large number of Jain Sanskrit *vidyalayas* (schools/colleges) were established in which the intending students studied free of charge subjects like Sanskrit language and literature, grammar, logic and Indian philosophy, in addition to Jain religious texts. In north India this movement was spearheaded in the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century by Ganesh Pasad Varni, a *Kshullaka* who was instrumental in establishing, directly or indirectly, a number of Sanskrit *vidyalayas* all over north India, including the reputed ones at Varanasi, Arrah, Morena, Jaipur, Hastinapur, Indore, Jabalpur, Katni, Sagar, Mahavirji, Papauraji, Sadhumal, etc (See Varni 1948). These *vidyalayas* produced generations of Jain pandits, priests, and students who have helped in raising the level of knowledge about Jain philosophy and religion among the Jains.

Until about the 1960s Jains' contribution to the Indian public life in modern times was quite remarkable. With thousands of them serving jail terms and scores of them having sacrificed their lives as martyrs during India's independence movement (Jain, K.C. and Jyoti Jain 2006), the Jains' political participation was certainly exemplary, which was further sustained by their disproportionately high representation in the Constituent Assembly of India, and in the first few parliaments and in some state assemblies. It is only during the last four decades that their role in public life has significantly dwindled.

Historically, however, this has not been so. "The Jains, especially in southern and western India, produced a large number of monarchs, ministers and generals" (Sangave 2006: 134). Even the Jain saints were no indifferent to the secular affairs of the country. They were frequently consulted by the kings regarding political matters. In south India "the Jain saints were virtually responsible for the founding of the Ganga kingdom in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. and the Hoysala kingdom in the 11<sup>th</sup> century A.D." (Sangave 2006: 134).

As part of the *Shramanic* value system, Jainism puts a great emphasis on the establishment of egalitarian social order (Nevaskar 1978).

Besides social equality, gender equality is an equally important concern for the Jains. It is interesting to note that at least in principle Jainism is open to all irrespective of caste, colour, creed, gender or wealth, though in practice Jains observe all forms of discrimination and exclusion. The Jains do accept the Hindu *Varna Vyavastha*, but only as a system of division of labour, and not in terms of any ascriptive criterion (birth). What is implied here is the fact that the social order is a man-made system, and not a divinely ordained one. This had far reaching impact on the status of Sudras, and also on the institution of slavery. Incidentally, the Jainist conception of society is anarchist or atomistic. It accepts the view that the society is the sum total of individuals. The quality of society is determined by the quality of its constituent units. Obviously, this conception of society does not recognize the *sui generis* (self-dependent) property of society.

The contribution of Jainism to the Indian socio-cultural value system is subtle and diffused yet quite significant. The five *Anubratas* of which *Ahimsa* has become synonymous to Jainism constitute the core of this value system. The Jainist concern of *Ahimsa* extends from controlling individual passions to managing inter-personal and family relations, to inter-group tolerance, to maintaining world peace, and to preserving ecological balance and sustainability (See Amar 2009).

Vegetarianism is the most visible expression of Jainist concern to *Ahimsa*. So much so that the overwhelming majority of Jains not only “rigidly abstain from eating non-vegetarian food and intoxicants, some of them even avoid eating roots and tubers like potatoes, onions, garlic, radish and carrot, while many renounce supper and avoid the use of honey and stale butter because they are afraid of destroying living creatures in the bargain” (Singh 1998: 1330). For the same reason, most Jains drink only strained water, and avoid eating after sunset.

Mahatma Gandhi’s *Satyagraha* in South Africa and India and its impact on the racial equality movement of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in the U.S. are some of the successful political applications of *Ahimsa* (Hay 1979). Therefore, it was highly appropriate that 2<sup>nd</sup> October,

the birth day of Mahatma Gandhi, should have been celebrated as the World *Ahimsa* Day by the United Nations.

Last, but not the least, Jainism stands for self-reliance, humanism and social welfare. It is often said that there are no beggars and criminals in the Jain community. The Jains run the largest network of philanthropic activities, including schools and hostels, hospitals, dispensaries, birds hospitals, drinking water facilities, and non-governmental organisations for disbursement of loans and scholarships for students, and other forms of charities. Of the 16,000 cow-sheds in India, 12,000 shelters are run with the donations of the Jains.

### **Concluding Remarks**

This chapter introduced Jains as a community in the wider context of Indian history and society. It is argued that the Jains belong to the *Shraman* tradition, an indigenous tradition that is older and rival to the Vedic tradition. As a community, the Jains have been an integral part of Indian society and culture since time immemorial. Of all the religious communities in India, the Jains have been closest to the Hindus in terms of social organizational features and life cycle rituals, and the overall cultural ethos. So much so that the Jains, in spite of belonging to a separate religion, are often subsumed within the *Vaishya* category of the Hindu *Varna* system – a situation that they have been trying to protest and correct since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and more intensely since the early 1980s by claiming for themselves a separate community identity as well as the formal legal status.

## Chapter 2

### JAIN WAY OF LIFE

In the previous chapter some of the basic sociological features of the Jain community, and the Jains' contribution to the Indian culture and society have been highlighted. This chapter focuses on the Jain identity and the way of life which is mainly derived from their philosophy and religion, and more specifically from the doctrinally prescribed ethical code of conduct. The chapter also takes into account the Jain way of life in the diasporic context of North America and Europe.

The Jains primarily derive their identity from religion, that is, Jainism. This has been so for centuries now. Time and again the unequivocal emphasis has been placed in Jainism on the *moksha-marg* as the true path of liberation. That the Jain social identity as well as the culture and the way of life are distinct from others is clearly highlighted by Prof. Vilas A. Sangave (1980: 350) in his celebrated sociological survey that was done in the late 1940s. He writes that “the features of Jaina culture are quite distinct from other cultures especially in matters like outlook towards life and world, insistence on spiritual progress, and observance of *Ahimsa* or creed of non-violence in all possible ways. The basic difference, it is stated, lies in the religious philosophy of Jainas and as religion moulds the entire way of life automatically becomes separate from other ways of life.”

Occasionally, a case is made out of the Jains being placed by some scholars in the *Vaishya* category of the Hindu *Varna* system. As has been pointed out by other scholars (Banks 1992; Cort 2001; Jain, J. P. 1983; Jain, R. K. 1999, Sangave 1980) this claim does not stand up to empirical scrutiny. In most of India, the Jains maintain their distinct way of life and identity. This is not the case, perhaps, where certain Jain castes (e.g. Agrawal, Khandelwal and Oswal) closely interact with their Hindu counterparts leading to even matrimonial relations (e.g. Agrawal, Khandelwal and Oswal Jains in Gujarat, Delhi and parts of Western Uttar Pradesh). The consistent campaign since the early 1990s exhorting the Jains to return themselves as Jains in the 2001 census and in the 2011 census has further been helpful in consolidating the Jain identity in terms of religion. It must however

be added that the Jain identity cannot be divorced from its sect/sub-sect as well as the regional-linguistic context in which a particular Jain caste or community reside. Additionally, the divide between northern and southern Digambar Jainism can be fruitful in contextualizing any sociological analysis (See Carrithers 1988; Jain, R.K. 1999). More or less the same is true about other religious/ethnic communities in India, including the Hindus.

### **Jain Philosophy**

In India Jainism as well as Buddhism has since long been recognized as a heterodox philosophical system. The traditional Indian philosophers regarded the two systems as *nastik* (non-believers, i.e., non-believers in the authority of the Vedas). As such, they are not part of the Hindu *Shad darshanas* (Six philosophical systems). Nevertheless, they have been recognized as formidable, autonomous and independent philosophical systems which merit attention in Indian philosophical discourses. In the West, however, a number of scholars until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century treated Jainism either as a sect of Hinduism or as an offshoot of Buddhism (Barth 1969: 151; Eliot 1962; Lilly cited in Shah 1932; Weber 1878; Wilson 1861: 344). As Dasgupta (1963: 169) explained:

Notwithstanding the radical differences in their philosophical notions, Jainism and Buddhism which were originally both orders of monks outside the pale of Brahmanism, present some resemblances in outward appearances, and some European scholars who became acquainted with Jainism through inadequate samples of Jaina literature easily persuaded themselves that it was an offshoot of Buddhism.

Thanks to the researches of a number of German Indologists, (Buhler 1963; Jacobi 1946), Jainism is no longer considered merely a sect of Hinduism, or an offshoot of Buddhism. In the words of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (1969: 73): “Buddhism and Jainism were certainly not Hinduism or even the Vedic Dharma. Yet they arose in India and were integral parts of Indian life, culture and philosophy. A Buddhist or Jain in India is a hundred percent product of Indian thought and culture, yet neither is a Hindu by faith.”

## Jain Metaphysics

Jainism does not believe in the "Creator" of the universe. It believes in the entity of the world. It further believes that the reality (*sat*) is uncreated, and is characterized by origination or appearance (*utpad*), destruction or disappearance (*Vyaya*), and permanence (*dhrauvya*). Every object of reality is also characterized by modes (*pariyays*) and qualities (*gunas*) through which persist the essential sub-strata through all the times.

The Universe, according to Jainism, consists of six substances (*dravyas*): (i) living creatures or souls (*jiva*), (ii) matter (*pudgal*), (iii) medium/principle of motion (*dharma*), (iv) medium/principle of rest (*adharma*), (v) space (*akash*), and (vi) time (*kala*). These can be classified into two categories: living and non-living. Whereas *jiva* is the living substance, the rest of them are non-living. These *dravyas* are uncreated and indestructible. Their essential qualities remain the same; it is only their mode of condition (*pariyay*) that can and does change.

## Jain Ontology

The characteristic feature of *jiva* or soul is consciousness. The soul is the doer of all actions, and is the enjoyer of the fruits of its actions. The souls are of two kinds: (i) *Sansarin* (mundane) or *Baddha* (in bondage), and (ii) *Siddha* (liberated) or *mukta* (free). Mundane souls are the embodied souls of living beings in the world and are still subject to the cycle of birth and death. On the other hand, *Siddha jivas* are the liberated souls and they will be embodied no more (Sangave 2006: 30). The liberated souls in their pure condition possess the following four attributes: infinite perception, infinite knowledge, infinite power, and infinite bliss. In contrast, the mundane souls exist in the impure state as they are permeated with subtle psychosomatic matter called *karma*.

The Jain philosophy is based on the nature and interaction of the two constituent elements of the Universe, *Jiva* and *Ajiva*. The interaction is explained by the doctrine of Karma which is a remarkable feature of the Jain philosophy. According to Sangave (2006: 38), "The supreme importance of the doctrine of Karma lies in providing a rational and satisfying explanation to the apparently

inexplicable phenomena of birth and death, of happiness and misery, of inequality in mental and physical attainments, and of the existence of different species of living beings.”

### **Doctrine of Karma**

In Jainism Karmas are defined as a form of matter (*pudgala*) which are very fine and subtle and cannot be comprehended by any of the human senses. They are almost psycho-somatic in character and permeate the universe. Every phenomenon in the universe is the manifestation of Karmic energy.

All the existential conditions and enigmas of the world such as the all pervasive cycle of birth and death, suffering and happiness, wide variety of species of living beings, their differential mental and physical abilities and other characteristics can be explained by the doctrine of Karma which, as already mentioned, maintains that the soul is the doer of action and therefore has to bear the consequences of karmas. It further maintains that all the worldly souls are already in bondage of varying degrees. This bondage of karmas with soul obscures the innate qualities of the soul.

The doctrine further assumes the transmigration of the soul after death into the next life. The balance sheet of the karmas in this life and the previous ones determine the kind and quality of next life. The doctrine further asserts that the *moksa* or liberation can be achieved only by completely destroying all the karmas. The structure and dynamics of the karma doctrine can be summed up in terms of the following seven *tattvas* or elements:

- (i) *Jiva*, i.e., living substance,
- (ii) *Ajiva*, i.e., non-living substance,
- (iii) *Asrava*, i.e., the influx of karmic matter into the soul,
- (iv) *Bandha*, i.e, bondage of soul by karmic-matter,
- (v) *Samvara*, i.e., the stopping of asrava, the influx,
- (vi) *Nirjara*, i.e, the gradual removal of karmic matter, and
- (vii) *Moksha*, i.e., the attainment of perfect freedom from the karmas.



Whereas the first two items represent the structural elements of the universe, the last five unfold the dynamics of the Karma doctrine. “Stated briefly, *karma* is matter which ‘flows in’, *asrava*, and ‘sticks’, literally. What I do, sticks to me, and determines my character, the quality of my life and relationships. My thoughts, emotions and my speech are also ‘acts’. They are called *bhavasrava*. They determine my perceptions, which lead me to act in the way that I do....It is my thoughts and emotions, whether my own or inherited, that draw a veil over my perceptions. Untruth, delusion, and violence are its outcome. Jainism suggests to us that *anekanta-vada*, or the many-sidedness of truth; *a-prigraha*, or not-grasping; and *a-himsa*, or not-violence are the true basis of human freedom” (Badrinath 1996).

Karma doctrine is a corner stone of the Jain philosophy. Jain scholars have gone into great details by classifying *karmas* into eight kinds and 148 sub-kinds. Based on the criterion whether a particular karma obstructs or destroys the essential attributes of the soul, the eight karmas are divided into the following two categories: (i) the *ghatia* (obstructive) and, (ii) the *aghatia* (non-obstructive) karmas. The former category consists of (a) *Jnanavarniya* (knowledge obstructing), (b) *darshanavarniya* (conation obstructing), (c) *vedaniya* (which causes feelings of pleasure and pain, etc.) and *mohiniya* (deluding) karmas. In the latter category are included the rest of the four karmas, namely: (a) *ayuh* (age), (b) *nama* (body making), (c) *gotra* (family determining) and (d) *antaraya* (karmas which hamper the innate qualities of the soul). It is easily clear that the *aghatia* karmas are mainly concerned with the state and particular conditions of embodiment (name, age family, etc.).

A cursory look at the typology and functioning of *karmas* would suggest to their over-deterministic role in human life, but the Jain scholars emphatically maintain that theirs is not the doctrine of fatalism. Instead it is only a law of cause and effect. “Jainism does not fortify its followers by the terrors of *karma* nor does it make them languish in unhealthy, effeminate fatalism, as many people think all oriental religions do, but on the contrary, it trains the individuals to become a true hero on the battle field of self-conquest” (C. Krause quoted in Sangave 2006: 44).

## Jain Epistemology

Jain epistemology deals with the nature of objects of knowledge, means of knowledge, and the modes of comprehension and expression of reality. The objects of knowledge consist of all the six substances and associated phenomena as mentioned earlier. These substances not only display the properties of quality and modification, they are also extended over infinite space and time (past, present and future). Additionally they are subject to origination, destruction and permanence. Moreover, when it comes to social phenomena they are additionally complex by virtue of being subjective, symbolic and dynamic, and also diverse over space and time. Thus, according to Jain philosophers the reality is complex and multifaceted (*anekanta*). The recognition of this fact is summed up in the doctrine of *Anekantvad*. They further assert that such a reality can be fully comprehended only by an omniscient being, and not by ordinary human beings who have various kinds of limitations in their comprehension and expression of reality. This is more evident in the light of the fact that in terms of its means of acquisition, knowledge is classified by the Jain scholars into five categories: sense knowledge (*mati-jnan*), verbal or scriptural knowledge (*shruti-jnan*), extra-sensory perception or clairvoyant knowledge (*avadhi-jnan*), thought reading or telepathy (*manahparyay-jnan*), and omniscience, absolute or perfect knowledge (*kevala-jnan*).

The fact that a human being can apprehend only partial reality led the Jain scholars to introduce the doctrine of *Nayavada* which is a system of describing reality from different points of view or standpoints (*nayas*). No single standpoint can be claimed as the only valid one. Thus the doctrine recognizes the relative validity of other standpoints. At the same time it provides a framework to introduce another doctrine, namely the doctrine of *Syadvada* which simply states that given the fact that our statements are only conditionally or relatively true, they must be “qualified with the term *Syat*, i.e. ‘in some respects’, or ‘somehow’, or ‘in a way’, with a view to emphasize its conditional or relative character (Sangave 2006: 48).

## Jain Ethics

Jainism is basically a salvation religion - a religion that puts significant emphasis on attaining *moksha*. In terms of the karma doctrine, the

complete freedom of the soul from *karmic* matter is called *moksha*. In Jainism *moksha* is not a place in heaven, but the attainment of the state of liberated soul, a final emancipation from the endless cycles of birth and death. According to German sociologist Max Weber, Jainism is a liberation religion of “cultured professional monks”, and as such it requires considerable amount of spiritual education and training on the part of those who wish to follow the path of Jainism.

The Jain path to salvation consists of simultaneous pursuit of the right belief or perception, right knowledge and right conduct (*samyak-darshan*, *samyak-jnana* and *samyak-charitra*). The three together are known as *ratnatrayh* (three jewels) in Jain philosophy. The right belief consists in believing in the fundamentals of Jainism. According to Acharya Umaswami, “*Tattvartha Sraddhanam samyag-darsanam*”, that is, right belief is the faith in the true nature of the substances as they are (*Tattvarthadhigama-Sutra*, Chapter 1, Sutra 2). At the same time, right belief also consists in believing in the true Jain god, the true Jain scriptures (*shastras*), and the true Jain preceptors (*gurus*). The observance of right belief additionally requires the eight essential requisites, freedom from three kinds of superstitious beliefs (*mudhatas*), and freedom from eight kinds of pride or arrogance (*mada*). All these conditionalities are extremely difficult in practical observance as these are required to be rigorously followed by those who wish to advance on the path of salvation.

The second jewel of the *tri-ratna* of the liberation path, the right knowledge consists in having full comprehension of the real nature of soul and non-soul (i.e. matter) in such a manner that such knowledge should be free from doubt, perversity, and vagueness or wide finiteness” (Sangave 2006: 58). We have already discussed the five kinds of means of acquiring such knowledge. How to do that has been deliberated upon at great length in Jain scriptures in terms of the right kinds of requirements that are again rigorous in observances. In short, “the right knowledge can be acquired by pursuit with devotion, by reading sacred scriptures, understanding their full meaning and significance in proper time and with punctuality, imbued with zeal, proper behaviour and open mind” (Sangave 2006: 60).

The right conduct is the third integral component of the path of salvation. The right conduct is defined by Jain scholars as proper, appropriate and truly natural conduct of the soul which is conducive to its salvation. In practical terms it comprises the ethical code and the rules, and disciplines which an aspirant is required to pursue. In Jainism more or less common rules of conduct are prescribed for the laity and the ascetic of both sexes. Obviously, the rules prescribed for the laity are less rigorous compared to those for the ascetics for the simple reason that the householders have to earn their livelihood and maintain the family life. Looking at the rigorous conditionalities associated with right perception, right knowledge, right conduct, etc., it is difficult for a sociologist to escape the conclusion that there is a strong element of indoctrination in Jainism. It does allow free inquiry but only within the parameters set by itself.

### **Code of Conduct for the Householders**

Four sets of ethical code are prescribed for Jain householders: Twelve *vratas*, eleven *prtimas*, six *avashyakas*, and a number of appropriate conducts. It would appear that whereas the first two sets of conduct are more specific in nature in terms of their number as well as observance, the last two sets are general and perhaps flexible in practice. Thus, the fourth set of conducts known as *Bhadra* (gentlemanly) or *marganusari* (accessory to the path) consists of 17, 21, or 35 rules according to different authorities.

### **Twelve Vows**

The twelve vows prescribed for a Jain householder comprise the five *anuvratas*, three *gunavratas* and four *sikshavratas*. The five *anuvratas*, so-called because they are only lesser, partial, limited and qualified vows, and not absolute vows as prescribed for the ascetics, are *ahimsa* (abstention from violence or injury to living beings), *satya* (abstention from false speech), *achaurya* or *asteya* (abstention from theft), *bramhacharya* or *shil* (abstention from sexuality or unchastity), and *aparigraha* (abstention from greed for worldly possessions).

The first vow demands abstinence from intentional injury or killing of life for food, sport, pleasure or some other purpose. As much as possible violence must be avoided in thought, words and deed.

Defensive violence if necessary however, is allowed for the householder in order to protect his country, society, family, religious institutions, and property. Injury to life is also permitted to householders who might commit it during their vocational calling such as agricultural, industrial or other occupational activities. Injury should be limited to the minimum possible extent.

The second vow demands that one must not only abstain from telling lies, but also avoid using harsh or abusive language. Language that hurts the feelings of others or amounts to ridiculing, backbiting and flattery should also be avoided. The third vow *achaurya-anuvrata* demands abstaining from stealing, robbing, or misappropriation of others' property. It also includes abstinence from cheating and using dishonest or illegal means in acquiring any worldly possessions. The fourth vow, *shil anuvrata* demands abstention from having sexual relations with anyone except one's own lawfully wedded spouse. The fifth, *parigraha-parimana-anuvrata* requires the imposition of a limit on one's needs, acquisitions and possessions.

During the course of observing the above discussed five vows a householder has to guard himself against committing certain infringements and transgressions

such as tying up living beings or keeping them in bondage, mutilating them, beating them, overloading them and starving them, in the case of the first vow; preaching falsehood, divulging other people's secrets, forgery, misappropriation, and disclosure of a man and wife's secret talk, in the case of the second vow; adulteration, abetment of theft, receiving stolen property, violation of government laws, and use of false weights and measures, in the case of the third vow; avoidable match making, intercourse with an unchaste married person, prostitution, unnatural offence or sex perversion and inordinate sex desire, in the case of the fourth vow; and to exceed the limits set by oneself with regard to landed property, movable effects and riches, servants, pet animals, and other worldly goods, in the case of the fifth vow (Jain, J. P. 1983: 86-87).

In addition to five *anuvratas*, a householder is required to practice three *guna-vratas* (the multiplicative vows) that enhance the effect and value of the *anuvratas* manifold. These are: (1) *dig-vrata*, taking a life-long vow to limit one's worldly activities to fixed points in different spatial directions, (2) *desa-vrata*, taking a vow to limit the above also to a limited area, and (3) *anarthadanda-vrata*, taking a vow not to indulge in purposeless moral offences.

Besides five *anuvratas* and three *guna-vratas*, a householder is also required to practice four disciplinary vows (*siksha-vratas*) which are intended to prepare the aspirant gradually for the discipline of ascetic life. These are *samayika*, *prosadhopavasa*, *upabhoga-paribhoga-parimana*, and *atithi-samvibhaga*. The first one requires the householder to contemplate or meditate preferably thrice a day for about forty five minutes each. The second vow requires him to fast on two days of the lunar fortnight, namely, the eighth and the fourteenth. The third requires a householder to limit on daily basis his or her enjoyment of consumable and non-consumable items. And the fourth vow requires the householder to share food with the guest including ascetic, recluse, pious or needy person.

Observance of five *anuvratas* and abstention from wine, meat and honey together constitute eight *mulagunas*, that is, basic or primary virtues of a householder. Similarly, the three *guna-vratas* and four *siksha-vratas* combine to form seven *shila-vratas* that supplement the *anuvratas*.

In addition to the twelve vows, a householder is expected to undergo in the last days of his/her life the process of *Sallekhna*, that is, peaceful or voluntary death which is different from suicide in that the latter is regarded in Jainism as a cowardly act and even a sin (Streeferk 1997). For Jains *Sallekhna* is an equanimously-planned preparation for the inevitable death, and therefore a religious act. (Baya 'Sreyas' 2007).

That *sallekhna/santhara* has been a living tradition is borne out by the findings of a recent study (Baya 'Sreyas' 2007) which is based on the sample size of 350 cases of 'voluntary peaceful death' (extrapolated figure 2,400 cases) in Udaipur district during the

period 1994-2003. The study suggests (i) that compared to Digambaras (26%), about three times more (74%) Shvetambar Jains practice *santhara*; (ii) that overall householders, both males and females, embrace the vow of voluntary peaceful death in much greater number than their ascetic counterparts (p. 263); (iii) that within the Digambar tradition the practice was found to be five-times less prevalent among the householders (4.3%) than among the ascetics (22.3%). The situation was found to be reverse in Shvetambar Jainism with 62.3% householders and only 11.1% ascetics practicing *santhara*. The incidences of voluntary peaceful death were reported more from the urban areas (62.9%) than from the rural areas (37.1%). The study further suggests that maximum number of such incidences take place in the 61-90 years age-group with average age of the practitioners being 77 years. Old age and/or incurable disease was found to be the main cause of death. The overwhelming majority of people took the vow of *santhara* when they were fully conscious and remained on the death-bed for more than one day (p. 267).

### **Eleven Stages (*Pratimas*)**

*Shravaka-Pratimas* consisting of eleven steps plan chart out the course of spiritual journey prescribed for the householders. Each step like a rung in the ladder progressively leads to the higher stage of spiritual progress. These are briefly presented below.

1. *Darsana Pratima*: At this first stage the householder is required to observe all the practical aspects of the Right Belief. He is also supposed to have given up eating meat, wine and honey and five *udumbara* fruits. Hunting, gambling, prostitution and adultery are strictly prohibited.
2. *Vrata Pratima*: The householder is required to observe without transgression the twelve vows discussed earlier.
3. *Samayika Pratima*: It consists of self-contemplation and meditation in general for fortyeight minutes, three times daily so that one could concentrate on spiritual values, and purify one's ideas and mind.
4. *Prosadhopavasa Pratima*: It involves regular fasting twice a fortnight in each lunar month, accompanied by meditation, hearing of religious discourse and study of scriptures.

5. *Sachitta-tyaga Pratima*: This pratima consists in abandoning the use of animate items such as roots, fruits, seeds, etc. without getting them sterilized by boiling etc. One is also refrained from serving such food to others. A householder should also not trample upon any growing plant or pluck fruits from a tree.
6. *Ratri-Bhojan Tyag Pratima*: At this stage the householder is required to give up forever eating or drinking anything after sunset. To offer food and drinks to others at night is also prohibited.
7. *Brahmacharya Pratima*: At this stage the householder leads a life of absolute continence and gives up sexual gratification in any manner even with own spouse. It also includes avoidance of personal decorations.
8. *Arambha-tyaga Pratima*: This stage requires the householder to renounce all occupational activities – agriculture, business, service, or profession.
9. *Parigraha-tyaga Pratima*. At this stage the householder is required to give up almost all the worldly possessions, except bare minimum necessary for the preparation of an ascetic life.
10. *Anumati-Tyag Pratima*: The householder in this stage refrains from showing any concern about family affairs. “He would not even express his agreement or disagreement, approval or disapproval in such matters. He is for all purposes an anchorite, or recluse, only that he is still living in the home with other members of his family” (Jain, J. P. 1983: 90).
11. *Uddista-tyag Pratima*. At this stage the householder becomes a wandering monk after leaving his home. He lives in the forest or a lonely place in the company of an ascetic.

On attaining the eleventh stage the householder can choose to become either a “*Kshullaka*” or an “*Ailaka*” depending on his preference for dress and style of meal-taking, etc. Thus whereas the *kshullaka* uses a loincloth and an upper garment, the *ailaka* uses only a loin-cloth. The former applies instruments for cutting his hair, keeps a broom in place of a *picchi*, takes his meal once a day either in the palm of his hands or in some pot in a sitting posture, and observes fast on every *parvan* day. The latter pulls out his hair and takes his meals in the palm of his hands” (Bhargava 1968: 145).



## Accessory Rules

A number of rules, known as *bhadraka* (gentlemanly) or *marganusari* (accessory to the path), are advocated for the guidance of a lay follower in his day-to-day practical conduct and behaviour. Their exact number -- seventeen, twenty-one, or thirty-five -- differs from authority to authority, but many of the qualities advocated are common.

These rules are: to earn one's living lawfully; to pursue one's economic and religious activities without conflict; to keep one's expenditure within the limits of his income; to avoid misuse of money; to undertake a task according to one's capacity; to specialise at least in some one branch of learning, art or industry; to take proper and wholesome food; to observe cleanliness of person and environment; to live in a proper and suitable house; to avoid residing in a habitation or locality which is not peaceful and congenial to one's own way of living; to spouse a suitable person; due respect and care of one's parents; due care, protection and maintenance of wife, children and other dependents; to have love for one's country and to uphold national character, ideologies and culture; to avoid doing things contrary to the customs of one's country, social group or family; to adopt fashions of the place and times one lives in, that is, adaptability; to follow the lead given by old and experienced persons; to respect the wise and the pious; to have love for the god; to avail opportunity of listening to religious discourse; fear of sin., i.e, to fear from committing sinful acts; to cultivate a sense of duty and responsibility; to be ready to serve fellow human beings; to develop manners, decent behaviour and proper conduct; to avoid talking ill of others; to refrain from wickedness; to avoid being cruel; to be amiable and sweet in speech; to be amicable; to be impartial; to be tolerant; to have a yielding disposition, as opposed to obstinacy or stubbornness; hospitality; charitability; generosity of heart; gentility; popularity, i.e, to try to win the love and esteem of others; to be kind and compassionate; gratefulness; prudence; modesty; humility; to avoid being vain, proud, conceited, arrogant or haughty; honesty and truthfulness; to avoid hatred; to refrain from

being jealous; to try not to give way to anger, greed, or abnormal sexual passion; to try to practice sense-control; to save oneself from being deluded; and to have a comprehension of one's ultimate goal" (Jain, J.P. 1983: 84-85).

It is clear that the cultivation of these qualities paves the path of spiritual progress.

### **Code of Conduct for Ascetics**

"The ascetics, whether male or female, are those fully dedicated souls who have renounced worldly life and pleasures, adopted a life of renunciation and asceticism, and devote themselves to the pursuit of *moksa* or liberation, by attending primarily to their own spiritual wellbeing and secondarily to the moral welfare of the society in general" (Jain 1983: 81-82). Thus the ascetics are not only the spiritual self-seekers but also the "community builders" (Folkert 1993). They are in regular interaction with the laity – the interaction being especially intense during the four-month rainy season (*chaturmas*). As in other religions, in Jainism too the ascetics constitute a tiny minority, perhaps numbering about 5,000, including women ascetics. However, their authority and influence over the laity is extra-ordinary. Apart from the personality factor, much of their institutionalised legitimacy and authority is derived from their spiritual attainment along the path of salvation (See Carrithers 1989; Cort 1991; Flügel 2011; fohr 2001; Goonasekera 1986; Sethi 2010; Valley 2003). The Digambar tradition prescribes the following twenty-eight qualities of a monk which are known as *Mulagunas*:

- 1-5 Five great vows (*pancamaha-vratas*),
- 6-10 Five-fold path of vigilance (*panca-samitis*),
- 11-15 Control of five senses (*Indriya-jaya*),
- 16-21 Six essential duties (*Saddvaiyakas*),
- 22 Pulling out of the hair (*Kesa-luncana*),
- 23 Nudity,
24. Non-bathing,
25. Sleeping on the ground,
26. Not cleaning the teeth,
27. Taking food in standing posture,
28. Eating only once in twenty four hours.

The Shvetambar tradition, as already mentioned, does not take nudity to be an essential quality of a monk. Besides this, the last two qualities also do not find a place amongst essentials of a monk in the Shvetambar tradition. The Shvetambar tradition enumerates the following 27 qualities as essential for a monk:

- 1-5      Five great vows,
6.       Not taking food in the night,
- 7-11    Controlling the five senses,
12.      Inner purity,
13.      Purity of possessions of a monk,
14.      Forgiveness,
15.      Detachment,
16.      Mental goodness,
17.      Vocal goodness,
18.      Physical goodness,
- 19-24. Protection of the six types of living beings,
25.      Three-fold discipline,
26.      Forbearance, and
27.      *Sallekhana-vrata*.

It would be observed that the ethical codes of conduct for both the ascetics and the householders are more or less common, though in the case of ascetics it is more rigorous for obvious reasons. There is also a gradation in both the codes, and the householders and the ascetics are required to follow a graduated course of conduct keeping in mind the individual capacity of the person. Moreover, it must also be kept in mind that “though the rules of conduct as prescribed by Jainism appear to be too elaborate and sometimes even superfluous, yet the basic idea behind these rules is that of self-realisation. When there is a feeling-realisation of the true nature of the self and when one is completely lost in the bliss of self-meditation, the observance of all the moral rules becomes spontaneous coming from within and not being an imposition from without” (Bhargava 1968: 220).

### **Practicality of Jain Asceticism for Laity**

Scriptural reading of Jainism and particularly that of its ethical codes of conduct establishes the salvation or *moksha-marg* discourse as

central to Jainism. The *moksh-marg* ideology exhibits all the characteristic features of a religious orthodoxy which can be defined as the way of life involving regular interaction with ascetics, observance of rituals, “recitation of prayers and mantras, full acceptance of the authority of Mahavir and his teachings, and a concern with correct practice and sectarian exclusivity, all typically associated with women and old-people” (Dundas 1992: 233). It was therefore quite appropriate for Max Weber and many other scholars to characterize Jainism as soteriological religion (Jaini 1979; Sangave 1980; Weber 1958).

Recent fieldwork-based studies of Shvetambar Jains in Gujarat and Rajasthan however do not entirely support this view (e.g. Banks 1992; Cort 2001; Laidlaw 1995). Thus, in his ethnographical study of Shvetambar Murtipujak Jains in Jamnagar, Marcus Banks (1992) points out “the lack of knowledge about doctrines and also the lack of modeling of the lay behaviour after ascetic ideals” (cited in Jain, R.K. 1999: 51). According to Banks, “Jainism in practice therefore is a collaborative project undertaken by both lay and ascetic (rather than the graduated project implied by P. S. Jaini’s (1979) account of lay and ascetic paths, where the former is seen as wholly subordinate to the latter” (Banks 1992: 3).

In his study of Shvetambar Jains in Jaipur, Laidlaw also examines the practicality of Jain asceticism, and argues that the “asceticism which lay Jainism exudes comes not from uniform adherence to a set of socially enforced rules” (1995: 170) “There is no single view expressed either in ancient sacred texts or in religious debate and practice today” (p. 191). The numerous vows including those of fasting and dietary practices that Jain laity undertakes are often voluntary and based on personal decisions “which Jain teachers have charted out, and around which contemporary asceticism tends to move” (p. 191). Laidlaw further argues that “the self that Jainism proposes for its followers to make of themselves is fragmented and incomplete, torn between conflicting ideals and focused ultimately on an impossible one” (1995: 20-21).

Similarly, John Cort (2001: 186) in his study of Shvetambar Murtipujak Jain community of Patan, Gujarat argues that the

*moksha-marg* ideology, spelled out some two thousand years ago in such works like *Tattvarth Sutra* and *Uttradhyay Sutra*, “has remained remarkably consistent throughout the Jain history.” It is however mainly practiced only by ascetics and a few Jain laypersons, and for the vast majority of laity it is not compelling. For the latter the realm of wellbeing is more important which involves “a mix of health, contentment, peace and prosperity”. Furthermore, “the *moksha-marg* ideology and the value of wellbeing are held in unresolved tension because of the multivocality of the symbols by which the two are expressed. According to the *moksha-marg* ideology, an individual has to make a choice between wellbeing and the *moksha-marg*. In practice the two are held in tension, and people act and live on the assumption that one can have it both ways; following practices of the *moksha-marg* brings wellbeing, and pursuit of wellbeing (within certain boundaries) advances one at least a small way along the *moksha-marg*” (Cort 2001: 200).

These studies need to be contextualised in terms of the sectarian monastic organisation in that the Shvetambar lay Jains are not generally stratified along the path of *moksha-marg* unlike their Digambar Jain counterparts. As Cort (1989: 663) himself remarks elsewhere, “The principal hierarchical differentiation among Digambar occurs *before* full initiation as a *muni*, in the level of advanced householder ship of *brahmachari*, *ksullak* and *ailak*, while the mendicants consists mainly of the single level of *munis*, with hierarchy determined by seniority of initiation. The Shvetambars, on the other hand, exhibit uniformity among the laity – they are all just *sravaks* (men) and *sravikas* (women) – but a graduated hierarchy of initiatory ranks among the mendicants”.

The sect-specific monastic organisation in Jainism becomes more clear when we contrast these studies with two studies of north Indian Digambar Jains done by Ravindra K. Jain – one based on the autobiography of *Kshullak* Ganesh Prasad Varni (1948) that describes in detail the organisation of Jains in the Bundelkhand region of central India and the other, a brief ethnography of Digambar Jains of Baraut of Meerut district in Uttar Pradesh (Jain, R. K. 1999: 50-82 and 83-100). These studies maintain that in Varni’s accounts of Digambar Jain communities of Bundelkhand the “doctrine and practice are

closely tied up with each other” and that there is “a continuous and ever-increasing stress on the path of purification among Digambar Jain householders” (Jain, R. K. 1999: 51), which manifests in hierarchical differentiation of laity in the form of *brahmachari*, *kshullak* and *ailak* (collectively called *tyagis*). Along with *tyagis*, Jain pandits (teachers and scholars) form a significant intermediate layer between the ascetics and the laity in Bundelkhand region. The sectarian context thus puts the *moksh-marg* ideal and ascetic-laity interaction in some perspective. However, Cort’s thesis cannot be dismissed lightly. Indeed, it provides deeper insight into the world of Jain laity as rightly argued by Peter Flügel (2006) in his review article of *Jains in the World*. Undoubtedly, more studies are required on the issue before we discover the underlying sociological patterns.

On-going social change and modernization in India has been exerting considerable pressure on the *moksha-marg* ideal which can be seen in the laxity in observance of prescribed codes of conduct for ascetics and laypersons. It has affected the daily life of a large segment of the Jain community, particularly those who have been living in large cities and metropolises. The emergent value system reflected in contemporary cinema, television and mass media is adding to this impact. There have been significant changes among the Jains in their daily routine, food habits, religious and life-cycle rituals, inter-personal relations, structure of the family and even that of the community. In most of these spheres one can notice a certain amount of moral dilution in the orthodox Jain way of life.

Increased individualism, competition and consumerism in the context of the growth of capitalism in India have disturbed the equilibrium of the traditional Jain way of life as indeed all other traditional ways of life. Increased incidences of economic crimes, corruption, dowry demands, and female foeticide, use of alcohol and non-vegetarian food, and general disinterest in religion in the young generation have given rise to concern in the Jain community leadership to arrest these trends. Emigration and diasporic experience of the Jain communities in Europe and North America have also thrown up somewhat similar concerns that address the core issue of retaining the Jain identity in the face of emergent liberal value system.

*Shithilachara* or the laxity in observance of the *mulachara* on the part of the *sadhus* has been an old problem in Jain community. The rigorous code of conduct is not appropriately followed by some of the ascetics. A number of them have not been able to control such basic impulses as anger, greed, pride and envy. Some of these behavioural traits are extended to intra-group and inter-group levels. A subtle under-current of rivalry and politics can easily be discerned among the various *muni-sanghas*. So much so, that they avoid sharing the public meeting platforms with each other. Some of them are also accused of *ekal-vihar* (moving or living alone, and not with the *sangh*), inviting criticism from many quarters in the Jain community. Seeking name and fame has also been a weakness with some *sadhus* and *aryikas* – something which is strictly prohibited in Digambar Jain ascetic code of conduct. There has been an increased tendency among them to getting celebrated their birthdays and *deeksha* days, etc. Patronage is also provided by most *sadhus* to rich *shrawakas* for getting new temples built, and for getting published their own religious discourses in book forms.

Whether the salvation ideology and its twin pillars, namely *mulachara* and *shravakachara* require any change or modern reinterpretation in the context of the contemporary life is a moot sociological question. The orthodox Jains would obviously support the *status quo* in this regard. The reformists on the other hand would certainly insist on some changes. Inconclusive seminars have also been held on *Shravakachar* and *Mulachara* with no concrete plan to modify or even reinterpret the old codes of conduct, although the need for doing something about this situation has been underlined in the face of increasing laxity in observing the prescribed codes of conduct.

### **The Jain Way of Life: Diasporic Context**

Diasporic Jains in their respective country of residence cannot practice religious orthodoxy in the same manner in which their counterparts in India can afford to do. This is so for at least two important reasons: (i) since the Jain ascetics are generally not allowed to travel abroad, they are not available for interface with the community, and (ii) the time constraint and other social

environmental factors do not allow a majority of diasporic Jains to indulge in elaborate religious rituals.

Such circumstances have prompted the diasporic Jain community to practice two variant value systems of orthodoxy, namely neo-orthodoxy and heterodoxy (See Banks 1992; Dundas 1992; Jain, R.K. 1999: 16). A study of Leicester Jains done in England and an anthology on the Jain way of life published in the U.S. amply illustrate these developments (Banks 1992; Jain, Y. 2007). Before we further discuss the emergent Jain way of life in certain diasporic context, a definition each of the two concepts mentioned above would be in order. According to Dundas (1992: 233), neo-orthodoxy “presents itself as modern and progressive with an emphasis on those aspects of Jainism which can be interpreted as scientific and rational and can therefore be accommodated to and encompass western modes of thought.” Again to quote Dundas (1992):

Heterodoxy involves an interpretation of Jainism as theistic and frees from the metaphysical complexities which many feel to be a feature of the religion, with the god-makers being viewed as in some way the manifestation of a supreme deity and endowed with the capacity to intervene directly in human affairs and offer assistance. Here God-focused devotion plays an important part in the Jains who have espoused this heterodoxy see no incongruity in, for example, worshipping in Hindu or Sikh temples.

It must be pointed out here that in India too, there are a few adherents of the two value systems (See Mardia 2003; Kachhara 2005; Rankin 2007).

Interestingly, the first initiative that reinterpret Jainism as per diasporic requirements has come from North American Jains in the form of an edited book “Jain Way of Life” by Yogendra Jain, an engineering professional in the US. The book should be considered as a major step in “repackaging” Jainism which is relevant in the modern context for Jains and non-Jains. The book, as the subtitle reads, provides an excellent guide to “compassionate, healthy and happy living”. According to Yogendra Jain, the Jain way of life



essentially consists in respecting and honouring all living beings through the practice of non-violence, non-absolutism and non-possessiveness. These are briefly discussed below.

### **1. Non-Violence (*Ahimsa*)**

Non-violence, as already mentioned, is central to Jainism. Not surprisingly, the edict “*Ahimsa Permo Dharmah*” (Non-violence is the supreme religion) is the motto of Jainism. Quite a few Jain beliefs, rituals and practices, including choice of occupation emanate from this central theme (Amar 2009; Weber 1958).

There is no equivalent term in English for *ahimsa*, the closest being “non-violence (avoidance of injury or reverence for life)” But these terms do not fully explain the meaning of *ahimsa*, because the Jainist notion of *ahimsa* is much deeper, extensive and all inclusive, wide-ranging than these terms would imply. The Jains believe that every living organism howsoever small is endowed with a soul which in its inherent nature and potentialities is no different from that of the human beings. Therefore, one must avoid any kind of injury—mental, verbal and physical—to all organisms, including oneself. As Yogendra Jain (2007: 13) put it, “The circle of non-violence is multi-layered. We begin with being nonviolent toward the self. This means that we do not harm ourselves physically by smoking, drinking, or using illicit drugs. Also, it means that we do not harm ourselves mentally by stress, self criticism, or negative thoughts. From the self, we expand our circle of non-violence toward family. Probably the most difficult practice is compassion and forgiveness toward our enemies, which is the next circle, and finally environment.” (See also Chapple 1993, 2002).

From the perspective of Jain doctrine, practice and belief, violence is one of the most pervasive phenomena in our daily life. While some forms of violence are quite manifest, many other forms are latent, unintended and unavoidable. Jainism does take into account the numerous situations in life where one has to face dilemma about the use of violence, and compromise the vow of *ahimsa*. This becomes clear when we look into the typology of violence suggested in the Jain scriptures. Accordingly, violence is classified into the following four categories: life-style-generated (*arambhi*), vocational (*udyogi*), defensive (*virodhi*) and intentional (*sankalpi*). For example, bathing

and cooking food does involve violence to micro organisms (*arambhi himsa*). Agricultural and some other occupational activities might also involve violence (*udyogi himsa*). This type of violence can be avoided by the householder only when he has reached at the eighth step of his spiritual progress (*pratima*). Violence used for self-defense or country's defense is called *virodhi himsa*. While these three kinds of violence are conditionally permitted, intentional violence (*samkalpi himsa*) involving violence for the sake of fun or violence performed under intense passion is absolutely prohibited. In any case, Jainism requires all forms of violence to be minimized at any cost. (Jaini 1990; Vallely 2004).

The cycle of violence is also vicious which can be broken only by transforming ourselves at the levels of thought, speech and action. Thus anger, hatred, curse, hurting and discrimination need to be transformed into forgiveness, understanding and love. It is for the reason of cruelty to animals that strict vegetarianism has been the way of life with the Jains for thousands of years.

## **2. Non-Absolutism (*Anekantvad-Syadvad*)**

We already discussed in previous pages the centrality of *Anekantvad* and *Syadvad* in Jain philosophy. The infinitely multi-faceted reality and its conditional perception by human beings and consequently varied viewpoints force us to accept the fact that reality can be comprehended and stated only relatively.

An understanding of *Anekantvad-Syadvad* would not only help in avoiding absolutist or one-sided views, but also help in forming attitudes and opinions that are informed by tolerance, open-mindedness, and spirit of dialogue. "Absolute Truth cannot be grasped from any particular viewpoint alone because absolute truth is the sum total of all the different viewpoints that make up the universe. Because it is rooted in the doctrines of *Anekantvad* and *Syadvad*, Jainism does not look upon the universe from only anthropo-centric, ethno-centric or ego-centric viewpoints. It takes into account the viewpoints of other species, other communities and nations, and other human beings. Jains encourage dialogue and harmony with other faiths" (Jain, Y. 2007: 14).

### 3. Non-Possessiveness (*Aprigraha*)

Non-possessiveness is one of the five vows prescribed for laymen as well as ascetics. This vow “asks for minimizing accumulation of possessions and personal enjoyment. The wants and desires must be reduced and kept in check as much as possible in thoughts, words, and actions. With the limited resources on this planet, we must be aware of the consequences of our possessiveness. Unchecked possessiveness can lead to great direct harm to oneself, family, society, and the environment” (Jain, Y. 2007: 17).

Besides laying the foundation-stone of the Jain way of life for a modern living, and suggesting ways for self-evaluation with respect to a number of constituent elements as discussed above, the book *Jain Way of Life* also gives tips on a number of day-to-day activities such as healthy diet, responsible food purchasing, eating and drinking out, purchasing of household items including cruelty-free products, excelling in work-place, donations and gift-giving, family celebrations, vacationing, etc.

Further on, for those living abroad, the book also gives guidelines for how to raise children, how to get them through schooling, how to develop partnership with non-Jain groups. For the Jain readers especially, the book offers briefs on Jain festivals, Jain pooja, prayers and symbols, Jain scriptures, *Paryuashan parv* and *Das Lakshan*, *Kshamvani parv*, meditation, practice of equanimity and *Pratikraman*, Jain philosophy and history, comparison of Jainism with other religions, Jain Centres and Societies of North America.

The book *Jain Way of Life* not only prescribes a code of conduct for Jains to live life in modern times but also provides a methodology for measuring one’s progress in living a Jain way of life. Thus a number of five-point scales of self-evaluation have been developed by the author/editor with respect to various aspects/items pertaining to one’s mind, body, possession, consumption, spirituality, life and the world. For example, the section on “My Mind & My Body” has the following nine scales on forgiveness, anger, passions/sexuality, active mind, death/preparation, pride, relaxation/meditation, body care, and vibrations/karma. The section “My Things” has four scales on greed, money, material possessions and travel. The section “My

Consumption” consists of scales on food, drinks, personal/care products, nutrition and eating. The section “My Life & My World” has scales on family/friends, entertainment, animal compassion and care, possession/work, social service, other living beings and environment. The section “My Spirituality” has five scales on multiple views/*anekantvad*, knowledge, religion and scriptures, traditional celebrations and prayers. A few scales are presented below in order to enlighten the readers about them (Jain, Y. 2007: 37, 39, 45). The author recommends that the Jain way of life is to progress towards level 4 and 5.

### **Greed**

1. I ‘m obsessed with getting a bigger house and car, and I want more money. I ‘m very jealous of friends and family.
2. I desire a better and better house, car, or more money. I am jealous of friends and family.
3. Occasionally, I desire more comfort and have mild jealousy towards others.
4. I have minimal internal greed, no enviousness of others and I appreciate the things I do have.
5. I am in constant equanimity and balance.

### **Pride**

1. I ‘m arrogant about personal success, wealth, education, appearance and family.
2. I know that pride is wrong and must be balanced. Occasionally, I imply external pride in conversation with others.
3. I show no external pride, but occasionally have internal pride.
4. I have minimal internal pride.
5. I have no internal or external pride.

### **Profession/Work**

1. I ‘m critical of others at work, even though my own work lacks luster, and tend to cheat.
2. I avoid works which directly create, sells, or promote violent and/or sensual products; I tend to exaggerate my accomplishment and performance.
3. I have a strong spirit of collaboration and team work.

4. I mentor others, listen to my colleagues and conduct my business with care and compassion.
5. Both my work and family life are strong and balanced. I do non-profit work regularly.

The above discussion of Jain way of life is only a particular example of some diasporic Jains' attempt to reconcile their tradition with its new context, and should not be construed as an alternative to the orthodox Jain way of life which is based on a long and consistent history of Jain teachings, scriptures and practices. The discussion is also illustrative of the fact that no religion remains statically homogenous over any period of time or span of geography.

### **Concluding Remarks**

The Jain identity is crystallized around Jainism which also provides the Jains with a world-view and a way of life that embodies self-reliance, social equality, inter-group tolerance, non-violence, and limiting one's desires and needs. Furthermore, this way of life is "built on the bed-rock of self-realization, the entire conduct is imbued with the spirit of *Ahimsa*, sanctity of all life, equity and equanimity and the thinking processes dominated by *Anekantist Syadvada*" (Jain, J. P. 1983: 174). In the face of social change and modernization, however, the orthodox Jain way of life appears to be steadily eroding, and this has been for some time now a cause of concern in the Jain community leadership in India and abroad. Moreover, for how long Jainism and the Jain way of life would be carried forward in future by its declared adherents is a moot sociological question for the simple reason that the demographic dynamics of the Jains in India has begun to show some disturbing signs. This is analysed in the next chapter.

## Chapter 3

### JAIN DEMOGRAPHY

Whatever might have been the numerical strength of the followers of Jainism in the past, presently they add up to less than five million souls the world over. Nevertheless, this figure represents the largest Jain population in modern times. The smallest population of the Jains in India with about 1,117,000 persons was recorded in 1921 census. Even if we add the then population of overseas Jains, the figure would hardly exceed the 1,150,000 mark.

Taking a bit larger historical perspective on the extent and causes of decline of the Jain population in India, it can rightly be maintained that

since the beginning of the medieval period (*circa* 12<sup>th</sup> century) till the first quarter of the present (twentieth) century, the community had been continuously losing in numbers, so that which had been once a major religious group on the sub-continent was reduced to a small minority .... Most of the Brahmana, Kshatriya (Rajput), Kayastha and Sudra followers became converts to other faiths under the influence of Christian missions, Muslim Tabligh, the Arya Samaj movement, or the Vaisnava, Virasaiva and other sectarian preachers. Nevertheless, Jainism is still diffused throughout the length and breadth of the Indian Union, and there is hardly any city, big town or trade centre where the Jains are not to be found” (Jain, J.P. 1983: 30-31).

This chapter analyses the major population characteristics of the Jains as per the 1991 and 2001 censuses of India. The 2001 census data are derived from *Census of India 2001: The First Report of Religion Data* (2004). The 1991 census data are based on the *C-9 Religion Table* which gives data for persons, males and females separately for each of the six major religious communities, viz., Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists and Jains and combined figures for “other religions and persuasions” and “religion not stated” by total, rural and urban for India, states and union

territories. The 1991 and 2001 census tables correspond to Table C-VII-Religion of 1961, 1971 and Table HH-15 of 1981, the only difference being that the figures of religion for 1961, 1971, 1991 and 2001 were based on the religion of the individual whereas the figures presented in 1981 were based on religion of head of the household.

### **Population Size**

Jains are one of the oldest indigenous religious communities of India. During certain periods of ancient and medieval history, a number of kings and other ruling elites as well as large sections of the population were Jains, in modern times the Jains have been a minority community in India (Jain 1975; Sharma 1976). Exactly how small has been the Jain community in recent times was not known until 1881 when the first systematic census of Indian population was undertaken. In 1881 the total Jain population was enumerated at 1,221,896 or 0.48 percent of the total Indian population. Since then the Jains have seldom constituted more than half-a percent of the total population of India (See Table 3.1). With the enumeration of 4.2 million (0.4%) Jains in the 2001 census of India they still constitute the smallest religious community in the country. The corresponding figures for other religious communities are: Hindus 827 million (81.4%), Muslims 138 million (12.4%), Christians 24 million (2.3%), Sikhs 19 million (1.9%), Buddhists 7.9 million (0.8%), other religious communities 6.6 million (0.7%).

In the 1991 census, Hindus were enumerated as the largest religious community (82%) followed by Muslims (12.12%), Christians (2.34%), Sikhs (1.94%), Buddhists (0.76%) and Jains (0.4%). As can be seen in Table 3.2, the religious composition of the Indian society in the census year 2001 continued to remain more or less the same with minor variations. The average decadal growth rate was found to be 21.5%. Against this only Hindus (20.0%) and Sikhs (16.9%) showed less than average growth rate during 1991-2001, whereas Muslims (29.3%), Christians (22.1%), Buddhists (23.2%) and Jains (26.0%) grew at higher than average rate. Other important religious communities enumerated in the 1991 census were Jews (5,271), Zorostrians (76,382) and Bahai's (5,575).

About a quarter of a million people were listed as unclassified. In the 2001 census only 69,601 (33,949 males and 35,652 females) Parsis/Zoroastrians were enumerated.

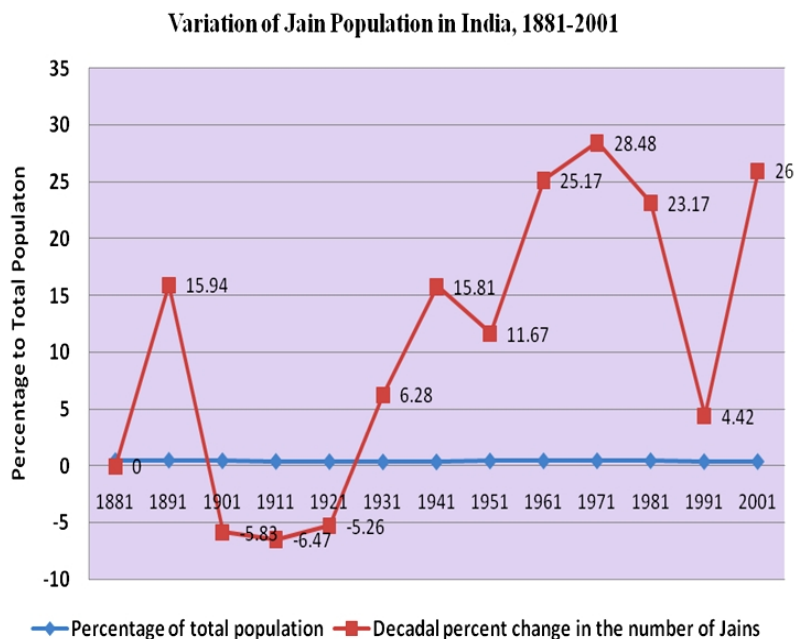


Figure:1



**Number of Jains (in 000s) in India, 1881-2001**

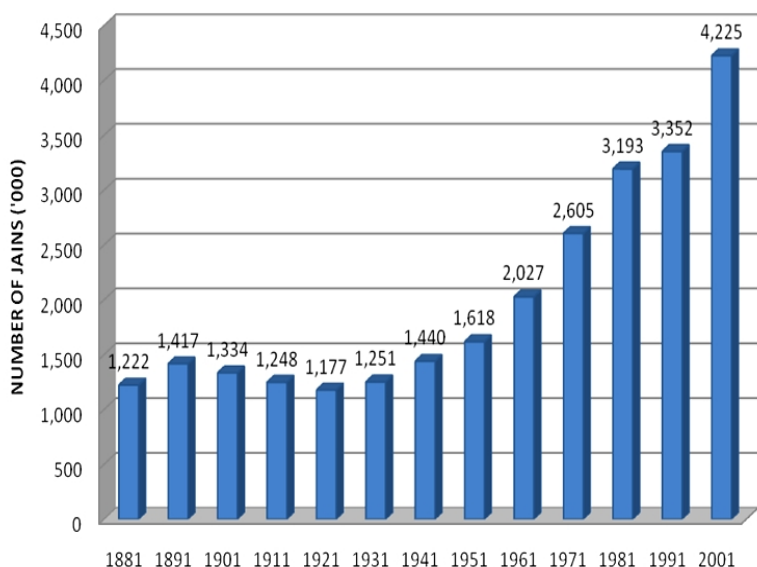


Figure: 2

### **Population Growth Rate**

During the decade 1881-1891 Jain population did increase by about 16% but went on declining in the 1901, 1911 and 1921 censuses. The 1891 level of the Jain population was restored only in 1941. Since then until 1981 the Jain population had been increasing continuously at varying rates ranging from 12% to over 28% per decade. Between 1981 and 1991 the Jain population grew by only 141, 065 persons, or by 4.42%. This was one of the lowest decadal growth rates in the Jain population since 1921. This is also the most striking feature of the 1991 census of India with respect of the Jain population.

The slow growth in Jain population can be attributed to the decline in fertility rate due to affluence among the Jains and their upper middle class status. When most demographers were expecting less than 4% population growth rate of Jains in the 2001 census, they were surprised to discover that it turned out to be over 26% during the decade 1991-2001. This time around “ethnic revivalism” is considered to be the main cause of population growth among the Jains. According to the Indian Census officials, the “respondents

were allowed to look at the information collected from them by enumerators and sign the forms after verifying that they were to their satisfaction in 2001 census. This was the first time this procedure was followed. Earlier, many of the enumerators might have recorded Jains as Hindus. But with the respondents verifying and signing the form, they would have insisted on being registered as separate, as Jains and not Hindus. This could be one of the reasons for the jump in Jain growth figures” (Nagarajan 2004).

However the birth rate still continues to be low among the Jains. Thus the proportion of child population (0-6 age group) among the Jains was found to be only 10.6%, which the Commissioner’s report of the 2001 census attributed to “low fertility” in the community. Comparative figures for Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs and Buddhists were 15.9%, 15.6%, 13.5%, 12.8% and 14.4% respectively (Table 3.2). The total fertility rate (TFR) among the Jains was estimated to be 1.8 for the year 1998-99 as against the national average of 2.7.

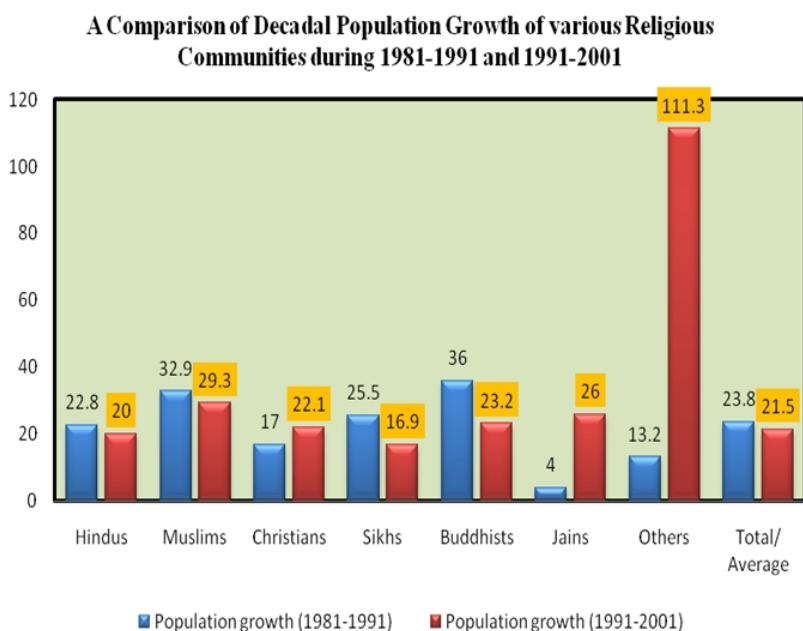


Figure: 3

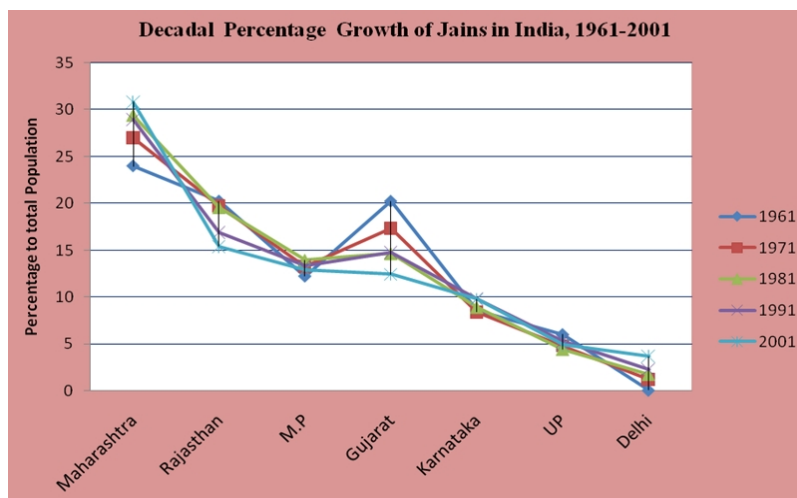


Figure: 4

### Population Variation by States/Union Territories

Table 3.3 presents data regarding distribution of Jain population by States and Union Territories for five consecutive census years since 1961. The variation in Jain population across the states and union territories has not obviously been uniform. Data in this table clearly suggest that as per the 1991 census data, in 14 States and five union territories there was varying increase in Jain population over the 1981 figures. These states and union territories are: Andhra Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh, Goa, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Manipur, Nagaland, Tamil Nadu, Tripura and Uttar Pradesh, Andman & Nicobar, Dadar & Nagar Haveli, Daman and Diu, Delhi, and Pondicherry. In the 2001 census, however, all the states and union territories showed varying percentage of increase in the Jain population. No Jains were reported in Lakshadweep in any census year. There was no census taking in Assam in 1981 and in Jammu and Kashmir in 1991.

As per 1991 census, in nine States and one Union Territory Jain population varyingly had declined during the decade 1981-1991. These States and the Union Territory along with percent decrease in population are listed as follows: Bihar (-16.53), Haryana (-0.52), Meghalaya (-17.90), Mizoram (-63.64), Orissa (-5.12), Punjab (-23.24), Rajasthan (-9.85), Sikkim (-62.96), West Bengal (-11.14), Chandigarh

(-18.95). It is remarkable, however, that no decline of Jain population was registered in any state and union territory in India between 1991 and 2001. It must be pointed out here that during the 1990s there was a vigorous campaign in the Jain ethnic media to the effect that during the census enumerations they should return themselves as “Jains” and not “Hindus”. The media still continues to exhort them to write their surnames as “Jain” in addition to, or in place of using caste, sub-caste, clan or family names.

If by some definition or devise India could be divided into Eastern and Western halves then it can very well be established that at least 90% of total Jain population lives in Western half of the country and only less than 10% in the Eastern half. Incidentally as per 1991 census figures, in the seven North-Eastern States only about 24,000 Jains were enumerated. Of these over 20,000 lived in Assam alone. The corresponding figures for the census year 2001 were about 29,000 and 24,000 respectively.

Among the union territories the largest number of Jains lived in Delhi: about 74,000 in 1981, a little over 94,600 in 1991 and 155,122 in 2001. In other Union Territories, Chandigarh had 1,531 Jains in 1991 followed by Dadra and Nagar Haveli (529), Pondicherry (470), Daman and Diu (212) and Andaman and Nicobar (17). Corresponding figures for the census year 2001 for Chandigarh, Dadra & Nagar Haveli, Pondicherry, Daman and Diu and Andaman & Nicobar were 2,592; 864; 952; 268 and 23. No Jains were reported in Lakshadweep in any census year since 1951 (Table 3.3).

### **Concentration in Seven States/Union Territories**

Table 3.4 presents data about variations in the number and percentage of Jains and decadal percent population change among them in seven major States/Union Territories, namely Gujarat, Karnataka, Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Delhi. In 1951 Gujarat had the largest number of Jains followed by Rajasthan and Maharashtra. In 1961 however Maharashtra became the number one State to have the largest number of Jains, followed by Gujarat and then Rajasthan. Since then Maharashtra has been continuing to have this distinction with ever increasing concentration of the Jain population within its boundaries. Thus in the 1991 census

report there were 965,840 Jains in Maharashtra followed by 562,806 in Rajasthan and 491,331 in Gujarat. The corresponding figures in the 2001 census were: Maharashtra 1,301,843, Rajasthan 650,491, and Gujarat 525,305. Meanwhile in the 2001 census Madhya Pradesh with 545,446 Jains emerged as the state supporting the third largest Jain population after Maharashtra and Rajasthan. These four States, together with Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh, and Delhi accounted for about 90% of the total Jain population in India in 2001. The varying pace of population growth can be attributed mainly to inter-state migration, ethnic revivalism and natural increase.

### Urbanisation

A highly significant population characteristic of the Jains in India is their high degree of urbanization. Thus as per 2001 census 3,215,706

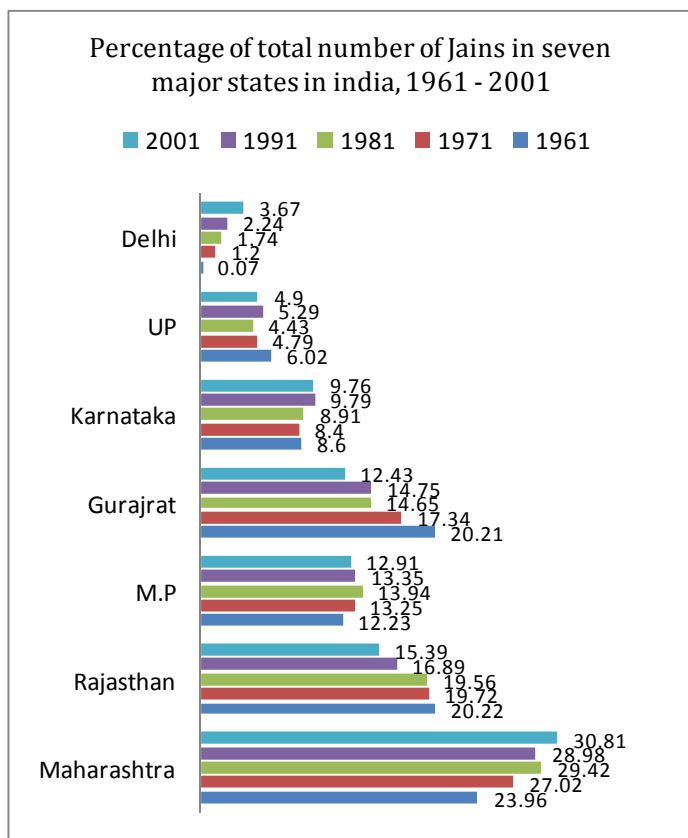


Figure: 5

lived in urban areas, whereas only 1,009,347 lived in rural areas. About 64% of the Jains lived in cities and towns in 1981.

This figure increased to about 71% in the 1991 census and to about 75% in the 2001 census. Thus today Jains are the most urbanized religious community in India. Apparently this has been so for over a century now. State-wise distribution of the Jain population in terms of rural-urban breakup and gender for the census year 1991 is presented in Table 3.5, and for the census year 2001 in Table 3.6.

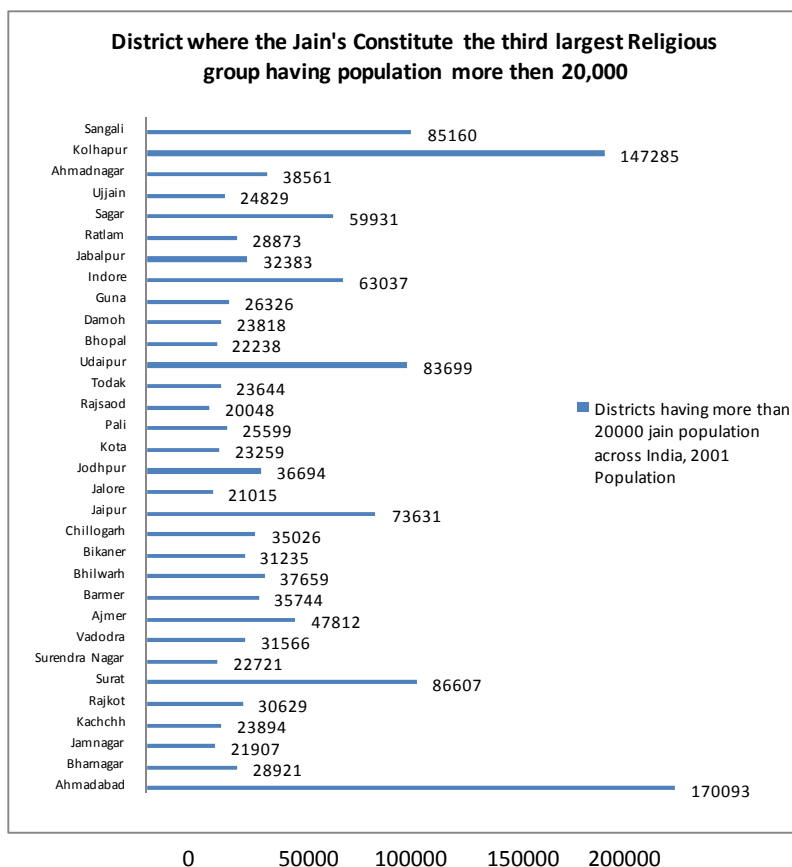


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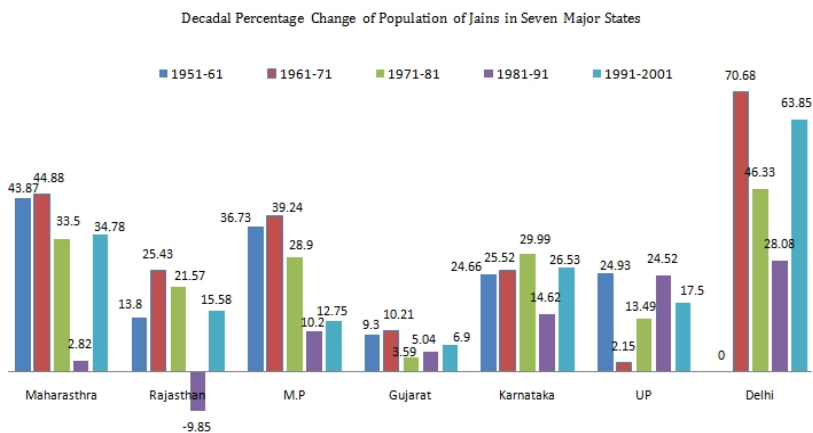


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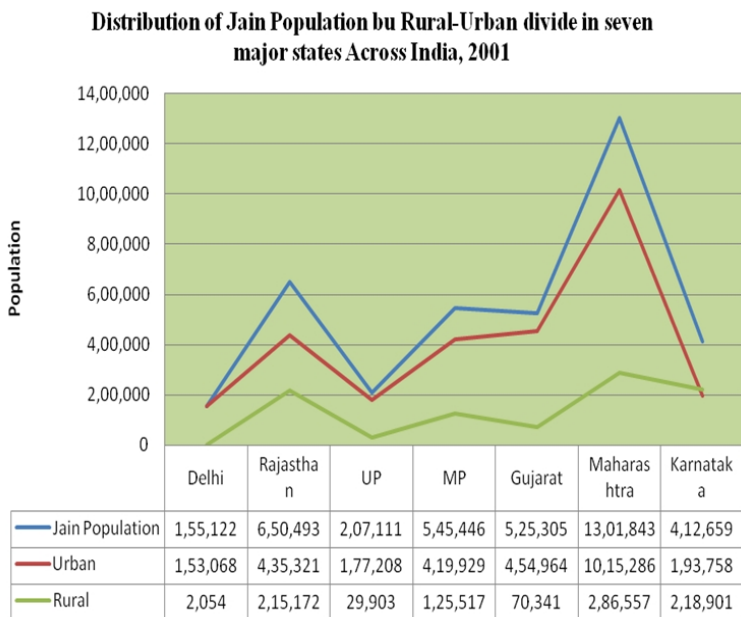


Figure: 8

## Sex Ratio

The 1991 census data reveal that of the 3,352,706 Jains, 1,722,715 were males and 1,629,991 females. The sex ratio (females per 1,000 males) thus comes to 946 which suggest a slight improvement over that for the census year 1981 that is 941. The sex ratio among the Jains was thus found to be better *vis-à-vis* Hindus (925), Muslims (930) and Sikhs (888) but worse than that among the Christians (994) and Buddhists (952). Unfortunately, this gain was wiped out in the 2001 census in which case there were only 2,047,655 females for 2,177,398 males. Thus the sex ratio among the Jains in 2001 declined to only 940. "Among the major states Kerala has returned the highest sex ratio of 996 for Jains. In Gujarat and Rajasthan also sex ratio of Jains is high at 969 and 966 respectively. In twenty states Jain population has sex ratio between 901 and 950" (*The First Report on Religion Data 2004*: xviii).

Even more alarming aspect of sex ratio among the Jains is the sharp decline of sex ratio in the 0-6 age group which is only 870 compared to 927 for all religious communities in India, 925 for Hindus and 950 for Muslims. In terms of state-wise distribution, sixteen states and union territories had a child sex ratio below 850 among the Jains (*The First Report on Religion Data 2004*: xviii). Among the major states having large Jain population sex ratio in the age group 0-6 is low at 832 in Gujarat, 878 in Rajasthan and 906 in Madhya Pradesh (Table 3.7).

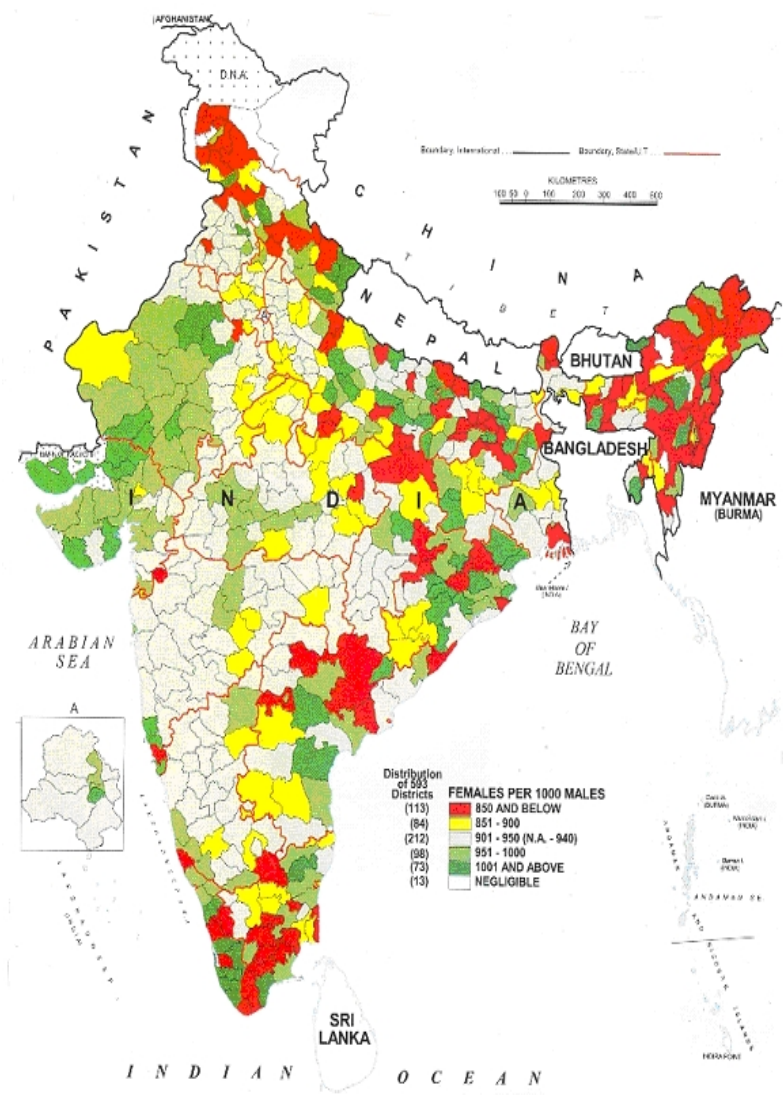
On another measure, that is, the proportion of child population in the age group 0-6 years to the total population, the Jains are again lagging behind all other religious communities in India (Table 3.7). Thus Jains had the lowest proportion of child population (10.6%) compared with the national average (15.9%), Hindus (15.6%), Muslims (18.7%), Christians (13.5%), Sikhs (12.8%) and Buddhists (14.4%). "The proportion of population in the age group 0-6 among the Jains reveals that among the major states Karnataka accounts for highest proportion of 12 percent which is far below the national average. Gujarat has the lowest proportion of 9.2 percent. Low fertility trend among the Jains is evident from the fact that except two states all other states have child population proportion below 14 percent. Jains have reported the lowest child population 9.2 percent



in Gujarat followed by West Bengal (9.6%) among the major states” (*The First Report on Religion Data* 2004: xx).

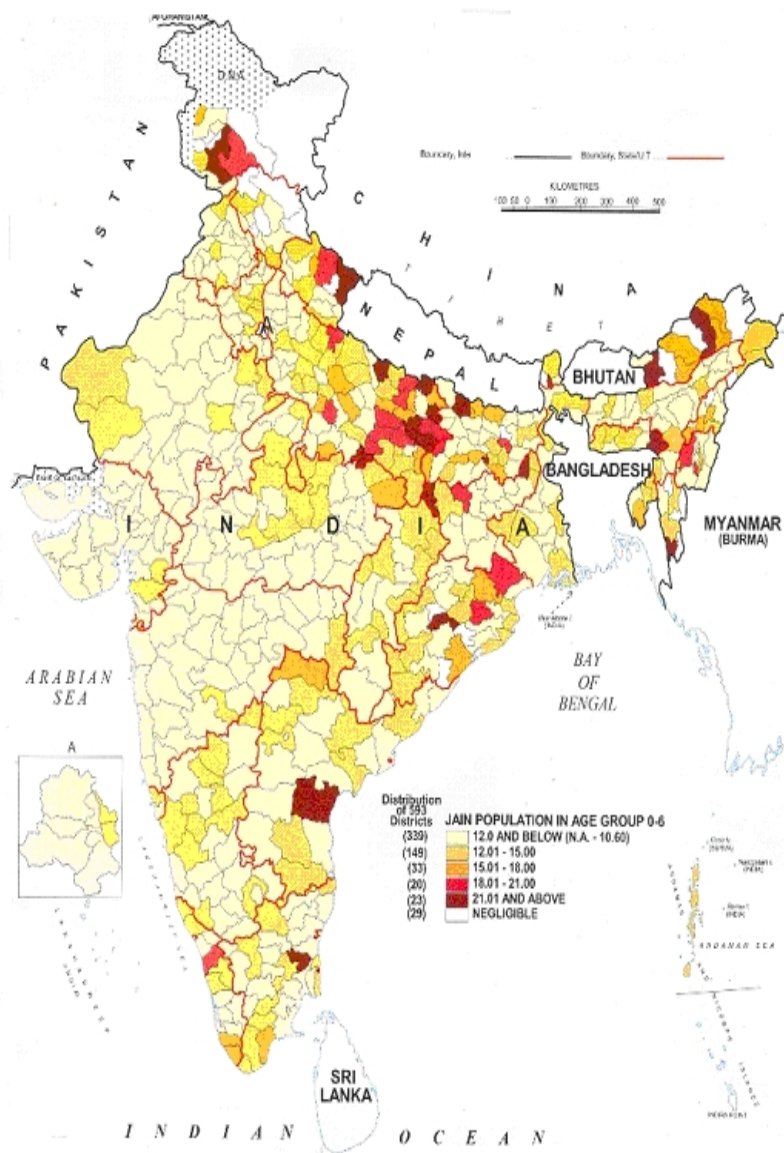
In the absence of any study on the subject the causes of declining sex ratio among the Jains are not easy to find. Apparently the prevalence of female foeticide could be one factor in this regard. Female child *diksha* and discouragement of widow remarriage in the community could also be the contributing factors (See Sangave 1980: 29-30). Needless to say, this decline in sex ratio has begun to give rise to a number of marital and social problems among the Jains that in turn have been contributing factors in lowering the sex ratio – a vicious circle indeed.

Map 1: Sex Ratio among Jains in India by Districts, 2001



Source: Census of India 2001 (2004)

Map 2: Proportion of Population in Age Group 0-6 among Jains by District, 2001



Source: Census of India 2001 (2004)

## SEX RATIO AND CHILD SEX RATIO AMONG VARIOUS RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES : 2001

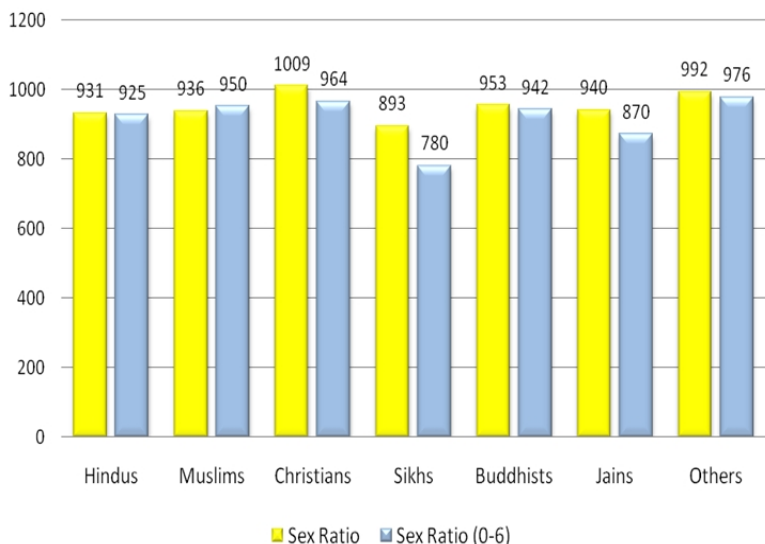
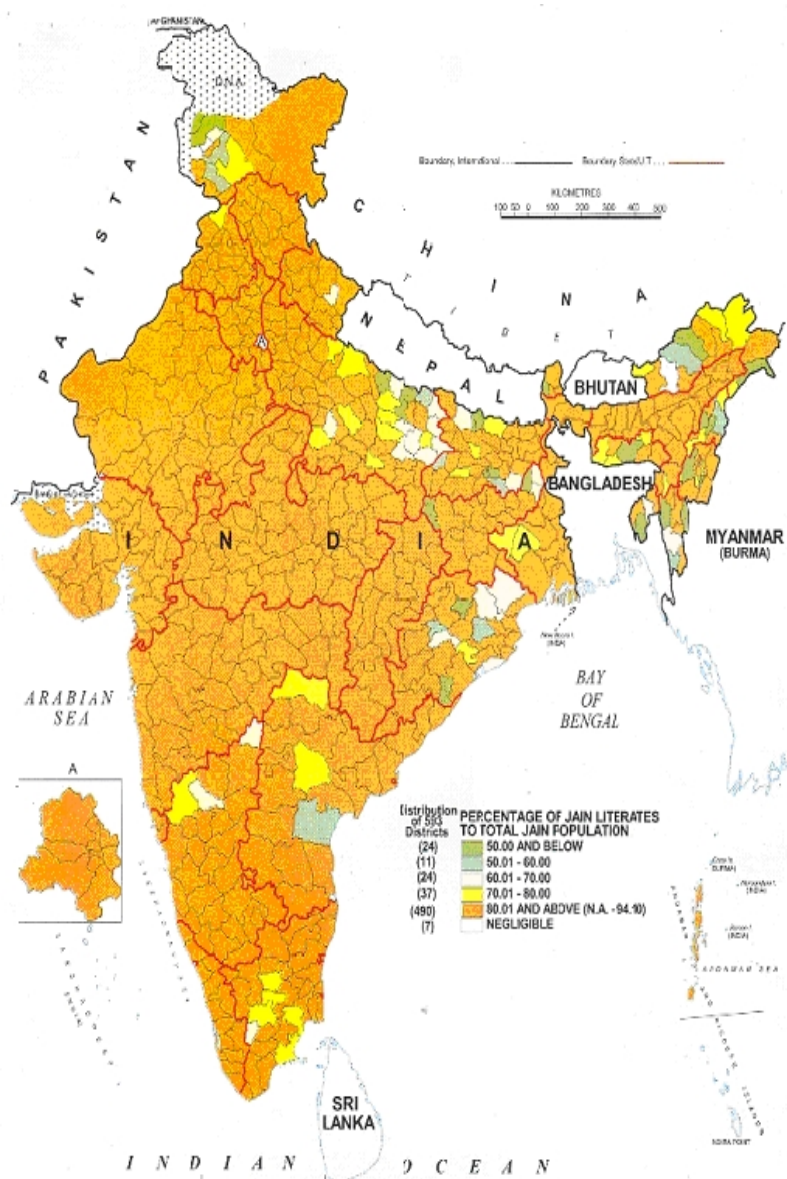


Figure: 9

### **Literacy, Work Participation and Occupation**

Literacy-wise, in 2001 Jains with a figure of 94.1% were the most literate community, followed by Christians at 80.3%, Buddhists 72.7%, Sikhs 69.4%, Hindus 65.1% and Muslims 59.1% (Table 3.8). It must be noted that in as many as 29 states of India the literacy rate among the Jains is above 90%. The national average for literacy is 64.8%. In all the religious communities female literacy was found to be lower than the male literacy by about 11 percentage points. It stood at 53.7%. In female literacy too, the Jains take the lead with a figure of 90.6%, followed by Christians (76.2%), Sikhs (63.1%), Buddhists (61.7%), Hindus 53.2% and Muslims (50.1%). In twenty-nine states and union territories the female literacy among the Jains is 80% or above (Table 3.9). According to the report of the Registrar-General and Census Commissioner of India, the Jains are likely to reach the goal of universal literacy for the total population any time now" (*The First report on Religion data 2004: xxi*).

Map 3: Literacy among Jains in India by Districts, 2001



Source: Census of India 2001 (2004)

### Literacy, Female Literacy and Work Participation Rate in India by religious Communities, 2001

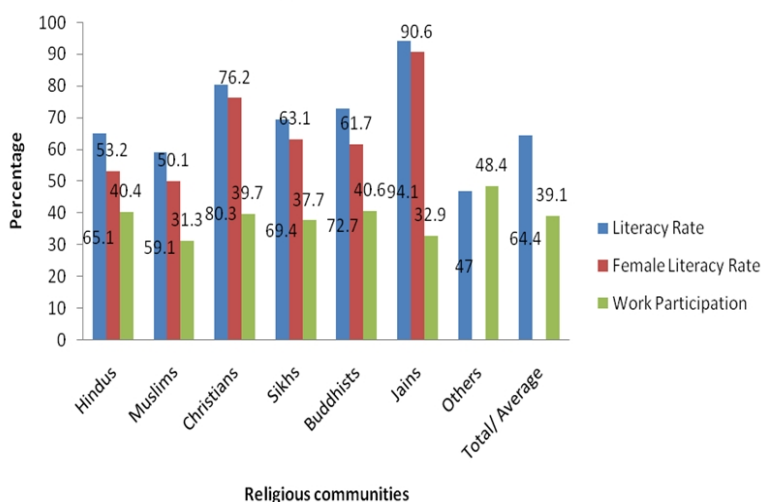


Figure: 10

### Religious Communities and their Occupations, 2001

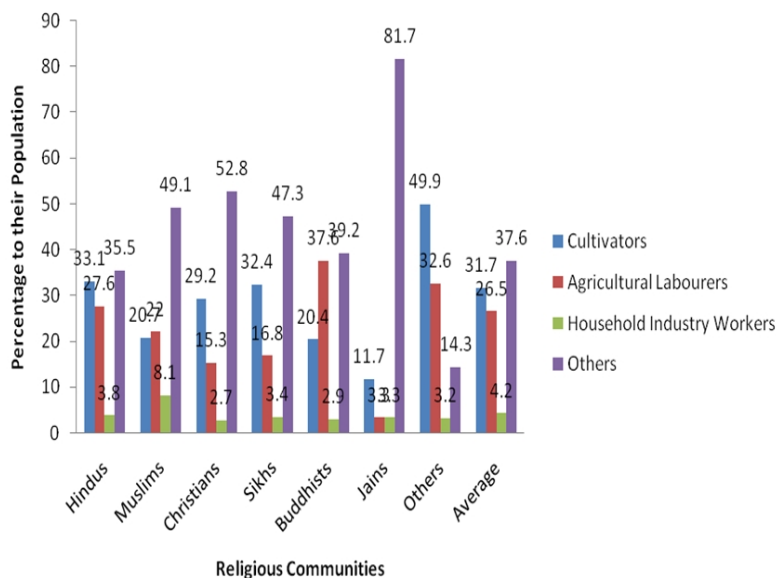
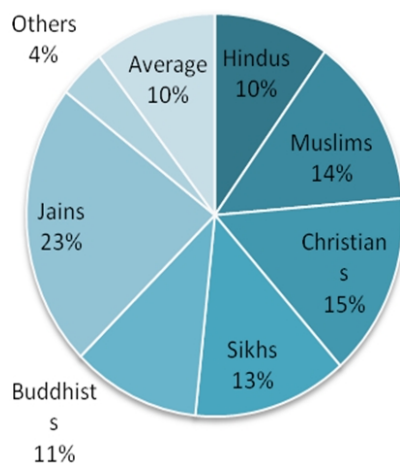


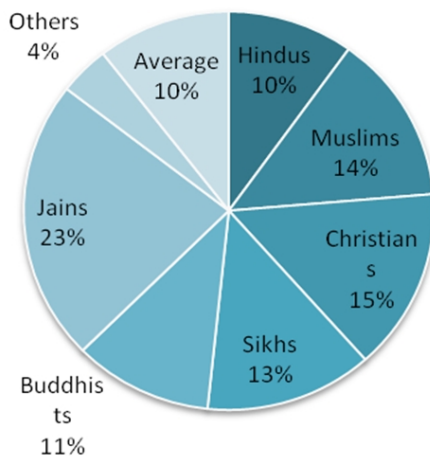
Figure: 11

**Distribution of Category of Workers by Religious Communities,**  
**2001**

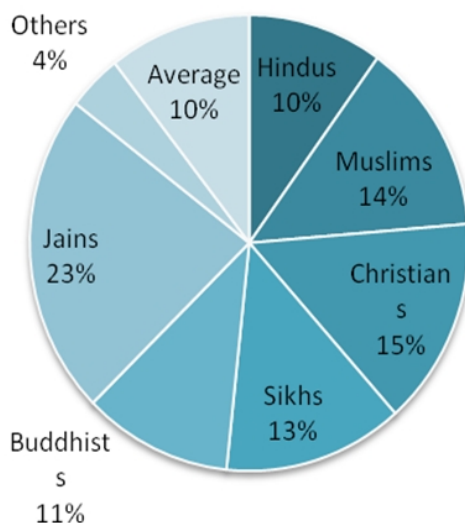
**Cultivators**



**Agricultural Labourers**



## Household Industry Workers



## Others

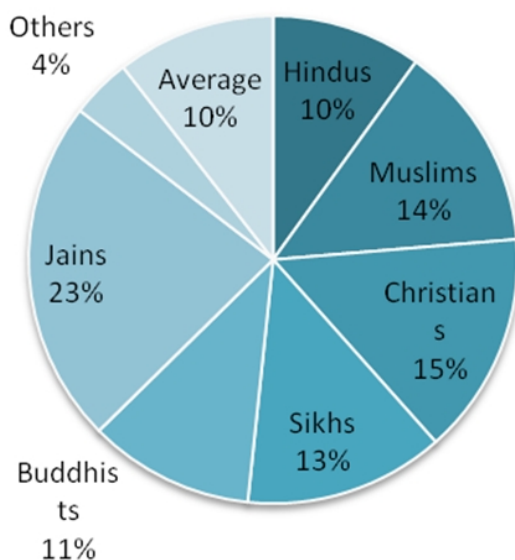


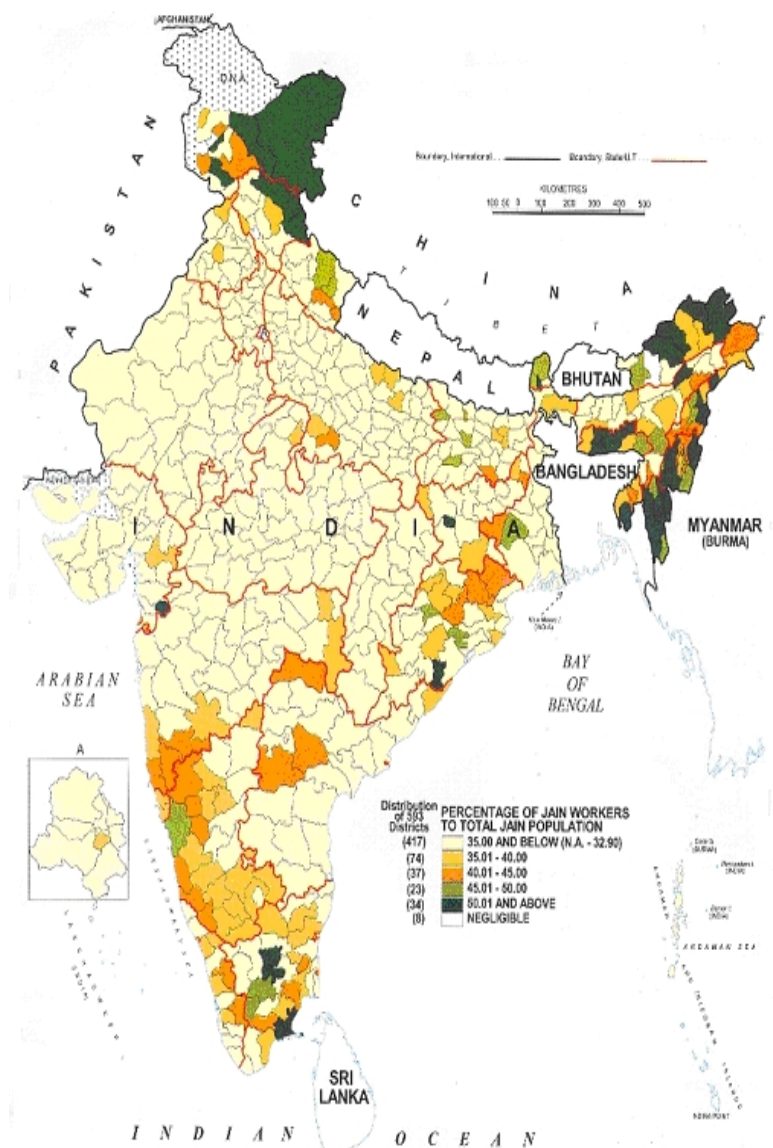
Figure: 12



Along with the highest literacy rate the work participation rate (WPR) or percentage of workers to total population is also highest among the Jain males (55.2%) followed by Sikhs (53.3%) and Hindus (52.4%); the WPR for all religious communities being 39.1 percent in the 2001 census (Table 3.10). The lowest WPR for the male population is found among the Muslim males (47.5%). In spite of the highest literacy rate among the Jain females however their WPR in 2001 census was the lowest (9.2%) preceded by Muslims (14.1%) and Hindus (27.5%). This suggests that gender gap in regard to WPR is extremely sharp among the Jains. Apparently lots of talent among the Jain women is not being properly utilized. It is likely that most Jain women spend their time either in performing religious activities or in doing household chores. It is also very likely that they do not feel the need for economic employment given the fact that the Jains are economically a better off community. But these are only just hypotheses. These require sociological validation through fieldwork in different parts of India.

In terms of the four broad work participation categories, namely, cultivators, agricultural labourers, household industry workers and other workers (this last category includes workers in tertiary sector, such as service, manufacturing, trade and commerce and allied activities) the distribution of Jain population was heavily skewed in favour of the “Others”. Only 11.7% of the Jain population was engaged as cultivators, 3.3% as agricultural labourers, and less than 3.0% as household industry workers (Table 3.11). Thus the business character of the Jain community is evident from the 2001 census data. But again, systematic sociological studies are needed to ascertain the precise nature of the economic and occupational status of the Jain community in India.

Map 4: Work Participation Rate among Jains in India by Districts, 2001



Source: Census of India 2001 (2004)

## Conclusion

The Jains have always been a minority community in India in modern times. Since the 1881 census the Jains seldom constituted more than half a percent of the total population of India. The current population of Jains is estimated around 5.0 million. They are heavily concentrated in the western half of India, particularly Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh and Delhi. About 250,000 Jains are in diaspora, mainly in North America, the U.K and East Africa. Estimatedly about 80% of the Jain population belongs to the Shvetambar sect and the rest are Digambars. Close to 75% of Jains live in urban areas. Other demographic features include very high level of literacy, the lowest infant mortality rate and the medium level of sex ratio (940 in 2001 compared to 931 for Hindus and 950 for Muslims. During the 1981-1991 decade, the Jain population had increased very slowly, that is, at the rate of only 4.42% compared to 23.17% for the previous decade. This firmly confirmed the urban middle class character of the community.

Two major demographic challenges that the Jain community in India is facing today are the very low rate of population growth and the declining sex ratio not only among the adults but also among the younger generation. Both these trends are quite evident from the data available from the 1991 and 2001 census reports. Although due to ethnic revivalism the decadal growth rate of the Jain population during the 1991-2001 decade has jumped to 26.0 per cent, in all probability it will come down to around 4.0 per cent by the next census date in 2011. The sex ratio among the Jains is also likely to further drop slightly by that time.

**Table 3.1: Variations in the number of Jains since 1891**

Census	Number of Jains (in 000s)	Percentage of total population	Decadal percent change in the number of Jains
1881	1,222	0.49	-
1891	1,417	0.51	15.94
1901	1,334	0.47	-5.83
1911	1,248	0.41	-6.47
1921	1,177	0.39	-5.26
1931	1,251	0.37	6.28
1941	1,440	0.37	15.81
1951	1,618	0.45	11.67
1961	2,027	0.46	25.17
1971	2,605	0.47	28.48
1981*	3,193	0.48	23.17
1991**	3,352	0.40	4.42
2001	4,225	0.40	26.0

\* Excluding Assam where, census was not held in 1981 owing to disturbed conditions.

\*\* Excluding Jammu & Kashmir where 1991 census was not held.

#### Sources:

1. Kingsley Davis, *Population of India & Pakistan*, Russell & Russell, New York, 1951, pp. 178-179
2. Census of India, 1961, Paper No. 1 of 1963, Religion, R.G. Office, New Delhi, 1963, pp. ii-viii.
3. Census of Indian, 1971, Paper No. 2 of 1972, Religion, R. G. Office, New Delhi, 1972, pp.2-5.
4. Census of India, 1981, Paper No. 4 of 1984, Household Population by Religion of Head of Household, R.G. Office, New Delhi, 1984, p. 26 (figures amended as per Errata issued subsequently by this office).
5. Census of India, 1991, Paper No, 1 of 1995, Religion, R.G. Office, New Delhi, 1995.
6. Census of India 2001, First Report of Religion Data. R.G. Office, New Delhi, 2004.

**Table 3.2: Demographic Indicators of the six Major Religious Communities of India, 2001**

Religious Communities	Percentage of total population	Population growth (1981-1991)*	Population growth (1991-2001)	Sex Ratio	Sex Ratio (0-6)	Proportion of Child Population in Age group (0-6)	Infant Mortality
Hindus	81.4	22.78	20.0	931	925	15.6	77
Muslims	12.4	32.76	29.3	936	950	18.7	69
Christians	2.3	16.89	22.1	1009	964	13.5	49
Sikhs	1.9	25.48	16.9	893	780	12.8	53
Buddhists	0.8	35.98	23.2	953	942	14.4	54
Jains	0.4	4.42	26.0	940	870	10.6	47
Others	0.7	NA	111.3	992	976	18.0	80
<b>Total/ Average</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>23.05</b>	<b>21.5</b>	<b>933</b>	<b>927</b>	<b>15.9</b>	<b>61.3</b>

\* Excludes figures of Assam and Jammu & Kashmir.

Source:

1. Census of India, 2001.
2. Infant mortality data are based on National Family Health Survey (NFHS-2), 1998-99, Indian Express, Delhi, November 18, 2001.

**Table 3.3: Total population-Jains, 1961-2001(India, States and Union territories)**

India/States/Union territories	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
India	2,027,281	2,604,646	3,206,038	3,352,706	4,225,053
Jammu & Kashmir	1,427	1,150	1,576	*	2,518
Himachal Pradesh	95	626	1,046	1,206	1,408
Punjab	48,754	21,383	27,049	20,763	39,276
Chandigarh	**	1,016	1,889	1,531	2,592
Uttaranchal	\$	\$	\$	7,870	9,294
Haryana	**	31,173	35,482	35,296	57,167
Delhi	29,595	50,513	73,917	94,672	155,122
Rajasthan	409,417	513,548	624,317	562,806	650,493
Uttar Pradesh	122,108	124,728	141,549	168,389	207,111
Bihar	17,598	25,185	27,613	11,332	16,085
Sikkim	19	-	108	40	183
Arunachal Pradesh	14	39	42	64	216
Nagaland	263	627	1,153	1,202	2,093
Manipur	778	1,408	975	1,337	1,461
Mizoram	***	-	11	4	179
Tripura	195	375	297	301	477
Meghalaya	***	268	542	445	772
Assam	9,468	12,917	*	20,645	23,957
West Bengal	26,940	32,203	38,663	34,355	55,223
Jharkhand	\$\$\$	\$\$\$	\$\$\$	11,717	16,301
Orissa	2,295	6,521	6,642	6,302	9,154
Chhattisgarh	\$\$	\$\$	\$\$	43,213	56,103
Madhya Pradesh	247,927	345,211	444,960	447,111	545,446
Gujarat	409,754	451,578	467,768	491,331	525,305
Daman & Diu	+	223	140	212	268
Dadra & N. Haveli	120	303	372	529	864
Maharashtra	485,672	703,664	939,392	965,840	1,301,843
Andhra Pradesh	9,012	16,108	18,642	26,564	41,846
Karnataka	174,366	218,862	297,974	326,114	412,659
Goa	68	333	462	487	820
Lakshadweep	-	-	-	-	-
Kerala	2,967	3,336	3,605	3,641	4,528
Tamil Nadu	28,350	41,097	49,564	66,900	83,359
Pondicherry	76	237	277	470	952
Andn & Nicobar Is.	3	14	11	17	23

## Notes:

1. The Census 2001 Population figures for India and Manipur exclude those of Mao Maram, Paomata and Pural sub- divisions of Senapati district of Manipur.
2. In 1991 figures for Uttaranchal, Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand, Bihar, Chattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh have been recasted as per the Jurisdiction in 2001 census.
3. All religious communities include 'Religion not stated'.
4. Population figures for 1961 are as per 'Social and Culture Tables' part-II-C (i), Census of India 1971, 1981 as per 'Religion'- Paper 2 of 1972, Census of India 1971, 1981 as per 'Household population by religion of head of household'-paper 4 of 1984, Census of India 1981 and 1991 as per 'Religion' –Part IV – B (ii) Census of India 1991

\* No Census conducted, \*\* Included under Punjab, \*\*\*Included under Assam, \$- Included under Uttar Pradesh, \$\$-Included under Madhya Pradesh \$\$\$- Included under Bihar, +- Included under Goa. ++- India figures for 1971 excludes population of Sikkim that is 209, 843 as per 'Household population by Religion of Head of the Household, Paper 3 of 1985, Series 19, Sikkim .

**Table 3.4: Variations in the Number and Percentage of Jains and Decadal Percent Population Change in Seven major States since 1961**

State / Number of Jains	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
Maharashtra	485,672	703,664	939,392	965,840	1,301,843
Rajasthan	409,417	513,548	624,317	562,806	650,493
M.P	247,927	345,211	444,960	490,324	545,446
Gujarat	409,754	451,578	467,508	491,331	525,305
Karnataka	174,366	218,862	284,508	326,114	412,659
UP	122,108	124,728	141,549	176,259	207,111
Delhi	29,595	50,513	73,917	94,672	155,122

<b>Percentage of total no. of Jains</b>	<b>1961</b>	<b>1971</b>	<b>1981</b>	<b>1991</b>	<b>2001</b>
Maharashtra	23.96	27.02	29.42	28.98	30.81
Rajasthan	20.22	19.72	19.56	16.89	15.39
M.P	12.23	13.25	13.94	13.35	12.91
Gujarat	20.21	17.34	14.65	14.75	12.43
Karnataka	8.60	8.40	8.91	9.79	9.76
UP	6.02	4.79	4.43	5.29	4.90
Delhi	0.07	1.20	1.74	2.24	3.67

<b>Percent Population change during</b>	<b>1951-61</b>	<b>1961-71</b>	<b>1971-81</b>	<b>1981-91</b>	<b>1991-2001</b>
Maharashtra	43.87	44.88	33.50	2.82	34.78
Rajasthan	13.80	25.43	21.57	-9.85	15.58
M.P	36.73	39.24	28.90	10.20	12.75
Gujarat	9.30	10.21	3.59	5.04	6.90
Karnataka	24.66	25.52	29.99	14.62	26.53
UP	24.93	2.15	13.49	24.52	17.50
Delhi	--	70.68	46.33	28.08	63.85

**Source: As in Table 1.**

**Table 3.5: Distribution of Jain population by states, Rural/Urban background and Gender 1991**

<b>States/UT</b>	<b>Rural/ Urban</b>	<b>Persons</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>
India	Total	3,352,706	1,722,715	1,629,991
	Rural	997,718	505,578	492,140
	Urban	2,354,998	1,217,137	1,137,851
Andhra Pradesh	Total	26,564	14,103	12,461
	Rural	1,092	594	498
	Urban	25,472	13,509	11,963
Arunachal Pradesh	Total	64	42	22
	Rural	17	13	4
	Urban	47	29	18
Assam	Total	20,645	11,512	9,133
	Rural	4,512	2,577	1,935
	Urban	16,133	8,935	7,198



Bihar	Total	23,049	12,053	10,996
	Rural	4,208	2,228	1,980
	Urban	18,841	9,825	9,016
Goa	Total	487	253	234
	Rural	128	73	55
	Urban	359	180	179
Gujarat	Total	491,331	244,390	246,941
	Rural	120,893	57,201	63,692
	Urban	370,438	187,189	183,249
Haryana	Total	35,296	18,355	16,941
	Rural	4,748	2,508	2,240
	Urban	30,548	15,847	14,701
Himachal Pradesh	Total	1,206	640	566
	Rural	121	62	59
	Urban	1,085	578	507
Karnataka	Total	326,114	168,824	157,290
	Rural	188,389	96,328	92,061
	Urban	137,725	72,496	65,229
Kerala	Total	3,641	1,837	1,804
	Rural	1,499	742	751
	Urban	2,142	1,095	1,047
Madhya Pradesh	Total	490,324	255,189	235,135
	Rural	128,049	66,843	61,206
	Urban	362,275	188,346	173,229
Maharashtra	Total	965,840	499,729	466,111
	Rural	263,514	136,377	127,137
	Urban	702,326	363,352	338,974
Manipur	Total	1,337	706	631
	Rural	27	11	16
	Urban	1,310	695	615
Meghalaya	Total	445	254	191
	Rural	49	26	23
	Urban	396	228	161
Mizoram	Total	4	4	-
	Rural	-	-	-
	Urban	4	4	-
Nagaland	Total	1,202	690	512
	Rural	12	9	3
	Urban	1,190	681	509
Orissa	Total	6,302	3,328	2,974
	Rural	1,938	1,011	927
	Urban	4,364	2,317	2,047
Punjab	Total	20,763	10,662	10,101
	Rural	1,327	675	652
	Urban	19,436	9,987	9,449
Rajasthan	Total	562,806	284,198	278,658

	Rural	220,718	108,905	111,813
	Urban	342,088	175,243	166,845
Sikkim	Total	40	26	14
	Rural	-	-	-
	Urban	40	26	14
Tamil Nadu	Total	66,900	34,882	32,018
	Rural	12,415	6,148	6,267
	Urban	54,485	28,734	25,751
Tripura	Total	301	181	120
	Rural	85	57	28
	Urban	216	124	92
Uttar Pradesh	Total	176,259	91,999	84,260
	Rural	37,406	19,727	17,679
	Urban	138,853	72,272	66,581
West Bengal	Total	34,355	18,326	16,029
	Rural	5,223	2,744	2,479
	Urban	29,132	15,582	13,550
Union Territory				
Andman & Nicobar Island	Total	17	8	9
	Rural	13	6	7
	Urban	4	2	2
Chandigarh	Total	1,531	804	727
	Rural	47	27	20
	Urban	1,484	777	707
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	Total	529	267	262
	Rural	290	140	150
	Urban	239	127	112
Daman & Diu	Total	212	115	97
	Rural	9	8	1
	Urban	203	107	96
Delhi	Total	94,672	49,120	45,552
	Rural	989	538	451
	Urban	93,683	48,582	45,101
Lakshadweep	Total	-	-	-
	Rural	-	-	-
	Urban	-	-	-
Pondicherry	Total	470	268	202
	Rural	-	-	-
	Urban	470	268	202

Source: Adapted From *Census of India, 1991; Paper I of 1995, Religion*, Registrar – General and Census Commissioner, New Delhi, 1995, pp. 6, 10 and 14.

**Table 3.6: Distribution of Jain Population by Rural-Urban Background**

State/Union Territory	Total population	Jain Population	Urban	Rural
<b>India</b>	<b>1,02,86,10,328</b>	<b>42,25,053</b>	<b>3,215,706</b>	<b>1,009,347</b>
Jammu & Kashmir	1,01,43,700	2,518	2,040	478
Himachal Pradesh	60,77,900	1,408	1,148	260
Punjab	2,43,58,999	39,276	37,265	2,011
Chandigarh	9,00,635	2,592	2,570	22
Uttaranchal	84,89,349	9,249	8,167	1,082
Haryana	2,11,44,564	57,167	50,829	6,338
Delhi	1,38,50,507	1,55,122	153,068	2,054
Rajasthan	5,65,07,188	6,50,493	435,321	215,172
Uttar Pradesh	16,61,97,921	2,07,11	177,208	29,903
Bihar	8,29,98,509	16,085	12,903	3,182
Sikkim	5,40,851	183	126	57
Arunachal Pradesh	10,97,968	216	130	86
Nagaland	19,90,036	2,093	1,984	109
Manipur	21,66,788	1461	1,369	92
Mizoram	8,88,573	179	45	134
Tripura	31,99,203	477	287	190
Meghalaya	23,18,822	772	432	340
Assam	2,66,55,528	23,957	20,354	3,603
West Bengal	8,01,76,197	55,223	45,869	9,354
Jharkhand	2,69,45,829	16,301	11,688	4,613
Orissa	3,68,04,660	9,154	6,038	3,116
Chhattisgarh	2,08,33,803	56,103	45,837	10,266
Madhya Pradesh	6,03,48,023	5,45,446	419,929	125,517
Gujarat	5,06,71,017	5,25,305	454,964	70,341
Daman & Diu	1,58,204	268	212	56
Dadra & Nag. Hav.	2,20,490	864	601	263
Maharashtra	9,68,78,627	13,01,843	1,015,286	286,557
Andhra Pradesh	7,62,10,007	41,846	39,856	1,990
Karnataka	5,28,50,562	4,12,659	193,758	218,901
Goa	13,47,668	820	721	99
Lakshadweep	60,650	-	-	-
Kerala	3,18,41,374	4,528	2,328	2,200
Tamil Nadu	6,24,05,679	83,359	72,427	10,932
Pondicherry	9,74,345	952	928	24
And. & Nico. Is.	3,56,152	23	18	5

*Source: Census of India (2001).*

**Table 3.7: Sex Ratio among the Jains, 2001**

State/UT	Jain Population	Proportion of Jain Population	Sex Ratio	Sex ratio (0-6)	Proportion of child Population in the age group 0-6 yrs.
<b>India</b>	<b>42,25,053</b>	<b>0.4</b>	<b>940</b>	<b>870</b>	<b>10.6</b>
Jammu & Kashmir	2,518	0.0	856	887	10.9
Himachal Pradesh	1,408	0.0	877	644	10.5
Punjab	39,276	0.2	914	758	10.2
Chandigarh	2,592	0.3	940	940	10.0
Uttaranchal	9,249	0.1	930	833	9.8
Haryana	57,167	0.3	911	798	11.3
Delhi	1,55,122	1.1	935	849	11.3
Rajasthan	6,50,493	1.2	960	878	10.7
Uttar Pradesh	2,07,11	0.1	911	846	11.9
Bihar	16,085	0.0	904	853	11.0
Sikkim	183	0.0	664	615	11.5
Arunachal Pradesh	216	0.0	662	545	15.7
Nagaland	2,093	0.1	852	768	11.7
Manipur	1461	0.1	842	771	10.1
Mizoram	179	0.0	738	1000	16.8
Tripura	477	0.0	916	1036	11.9
Meghalaya	772	0.0	906	926	13.5
Assam	23,957	0.1	866	922	10.5
West Bengal	55,223	0.1	929	920	9.6
Jharkhand	16,301	0.1	928	852	11.1
Orissa	9,154	0.0	933	895	10.8
Chhattisgarh	56,103	0.3	922	922	11.7
Madhya Pradesh	5,45,446	0.9	925	906	11.3
Gujarat	5,25,305	1.0	969	832	9.2
Daman & Diu	268	0.2	1000	1071	10.8
Dadra & Nag. Hav.	864	0.4	895	831	13.8
Maharashtra	13,01,843	1.3	942	862	10.1
Andhra Pradesh	41,846	0.1	936	912	11.3
Karnataka	4,12,659	0.8	926	892	12.0
Goa	820	0.1	885	867	11.5
Lakshadweep	-	-	-	-	-
Kerala	4,528	0.0	996	845	9.7
Tamil Nadu	83,359	0.1	933	889	10.8
Pondicherry	952	0.1	900	692	11.6
And. & Nico. Is.	23	0.0	917	500	13.0

*Source: Census of India (2001).*

**Table 3.8: Literacy, Female Literacy and Work Participation Rate in India by religious Communities.**

Religious Communities	Literacy Rate	Female Literacy Rate	Work Participation
Hindus	65.1	53.2	40.4
Muslims	59.1	50.1	31.3
Christians	80.3	76.2	39.7
Sikhs	69.4	63.1	37.7
Buddhists	72.7	61.7	40.6
Jains	94.1	90.6	32.9
Others	47.0		48.4
<b>Total/ Average</b>	<b>64.4</b>		<b>39.1</b>

*Source: Census of India, 2001*

**Table 3.9: Literacy rate among the Jains, 2001**

State/Union Territory	Total population	Jain Population	Literacy rate	Male literacy rate	Female literacy rate
India	1,02,86,10,32	42,25,053	94.1	97.4	90.6
Jammu & Kashmir	1,01,43,700	2,518	86.5	89.2	83.3
Himachal Pradesh	60,77,900	1,408	96.3	97.7	94.8
Punjab	2,43,58,999	39,276	95.9	97.4	94.2
Chandigarh	9,00,635	2,592	97.3	98.7	95.8
Uttaranchal	84,89,349	9,249	96.3	98.2	94.4
Haryana	2,11,44,564	57,167	94.2	97.4	90.7
Delhi	1,38,50,507	1,55,122	96.8	98.5	95.1
Rajasthan	5,65,07,188	6,50,493	94.0	98.6	89.3
Uttar Pradesh	16,61,97,921	2,07,11	93.2	95.9	90.3
Bihar	8,29,98,509	16,085	93.3	95.7	90.8
Sikkim	5,40,851	183	90.7	93.8	86.2
Arunachal Pradesh	10,97,968	216	85.2	91.7	75.7
Nagaland	19,90,036	2,093	94.5	96.6	92.2
Manipur	21,66,788	1461	94.5	95.4	93.5
Mizoram	8,88,573	179	61.7	65.9	55.7
Tripura	31,99,203	477	82.9	86.9	78.4
Meghalaya	23,18,822	772	69.9	74.1	65.3
Assam	2,66,55,528	23,957	95.3	97.2	93.0
West Bengal	8,01,76,197	55,223	92.8	96.5	88.9
Jharkhand	2,69,45,829	16,301	90.9	95.6	86.0
Orissa	3,68,04,660	9,154	93.3	96.6	89.6
Chhattisgarh	2,08,33,803	56,103	96.8	98.7	94.8
Madhya Pradesh	6,03,48,023	5,45,446	96.2	98.5	93.6
Gujarat	5,06,71,017	5,25,305	96.0	98.4	93.5

Daman & Diu	1,58,204	268	94.6	97.5	91.6
Dadra & Nag. Haveli	2,20,490	864	94.4	97.7	90.7
Maharashtra	9,68,78,627	13,01,843	95.4	98.3	92.3
Andhra Pradesh	7,62,10,007	41,846	93.2	96.5	89.6
Karnataka	5,28,50,562	4,12,659	84.3	90.9	77.2
Goa	13,47,668	820	95.7	96.3	95.2
Lakshadweep	60,650	--	--	--	--
Kerala	3,18,41,374	4,528	95.5	97.6	93.4
Tamil Nadu	6,24,05,679	83,359	92.2	95.8	88.4
Pondicherry	9,74,345	952	96.3	98.9	93.6
And. & Nico. Islands	3,56,152	23	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Source: Census of India, 2001*

**Table 3.10: Distribution of Category of Workers by religious Communities, 2001**

Religious Communities	Cultivators	Agricultural Labourers	Household Industry Workers	Others	Total
Hindus	33.1	27.6	3.8	35.5	<b>100.0</b>
Muslims	20.7	22.0	8.1	49.1	<b>100.0</b>
Christians	29.2	15.3	2.7	52.8	<b>100.0</b>
Sikhs	32.4	16.8	3.4	47.3	<b>100.0</b>
Buddhists	20.4	37.6	2.9	39.2	<b>100.0</b>
Jains	11.7	3.3	3.3	81.7	<b>100.0</b>
Others	49.9	32.6	3.2	14.3	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Average</b>	<b>31.7</b>	<b>26.5</b>	<b>4.2</b>	<b>37.6</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*Source: Census of India, 2001.*

**Table 3.11: Work Participation Rate among the Jains, 2001**

State/Union Territory	Total population	Jain Population	Work participati on rate	Male work participati on rate	Female work participati on rate
India	1,02,86,10,328	42,25,053	32.9	55.2	9.2
Jammu & Kashmir	1,01,43,700	2,518	34.6	55.9	9.8
Himachal Pradesh	60,77,900	1,408	33.8	54.5	10.2
Punjab	2,43,58,999	39,276	32.7	56.1	7.2
Chandigarh	9,00,635	2,592	34.4	54.5	13.0
Uttaranchal	84,89,349	9,249	30.1	51.1	7.4
Haryana	2,11,44,564	57,167	31.1	52.6	7.4
Delhi	1,38,50,507	1,55,122	31.2	54.4	6.3
Rajasthan	5,65,07,188	6,50,493	30.1	52.0	7.3
Uttar Pradesh	16,61,97,921	2,07,11	28.8	50.1	5.5
Bihar	8,29,98,509	16,085	29.9	53.2	4.2
Sikkim	5,40,851	183	38.3	54.5	13.7
Arunachal Pradesh	10,97,968	216	42.6	55.4	23.3
Nagaland	19,90,036	2,093	33.7	57.5	5.6
Manipur	21,66,788	1461	37.6	55.6	16.3
Mizoram	8,88,573	179	60.9	69.9	48.7
Tripura	31,99,203	477	41.1	64.3	15.8
Meghalaya	23,18,822	772	48.1	63.0	31.6
Assam	2,66,55,528	23,957	32.9	57.1	5.0
West Bengal	8,01,76,197	55,223	32.9	56.5	7.5
Jharkhand	2,69,45,829	16,301	30.5	52.4	6.8
Orissa	3,68,04,660	9,154	30.5	54.1	5.2
Chhattisgarh	2,08,33,803	56,103	30.7	54.1	5.4
Madhya Pradesh	6,03,48,023	5,45,446	31.4	53.7	7.4
Gujarat	5,06,71,017	5,25,305	31.9	56.2	6.8
Daman & Diu	1,58,204	268	36.9	66.4	7.5
Dadra & Nag. Haveli	2,20,490	864	35.8	59.4	9.3
Maharashtra	9,68,78,627	13,01,843	34.5	57.0	10.6
Andhra Pradesh	7,62,10,007	41,846	30.4	55.3	3.9
Karnataka	5,28,50,562	4,12,659	39.3	58.2	18.8
Goa	13,47,668	820	37.1	60.0	11.2
Lakshadweep	60,650	--	--	--	--
Kerala	3,18,41,374	4,528	36.0	59.7	12.3
Tamil Nadu	6,24,05,679	83,359	32.3	55.3	7.7
Pondicherry	9,74,345	952	32.0	55.5	6.0
And. & Nico. Islands	3,56,152	23	30.4	58.3	--

*Source: Census of India, 2001.*

**Table 3.12: Number of persons and selected population characteristics of Jains in the districts having at least 10,000 Jains, 1981**

**I. Districts having 100,000 and more**

Sl. No.	District	Population	Growth rate, 1971-81	Level of Urbanisation	Sex ratio	Average household size
1.	Greater Bombay	341,980	52.18	100.00	869	5.730
2.	Belgaum	127,306	15.59	21.32	946	5.965
3.	Kolhapur	121,722	30.51	23.84	1,098	6.307
4.	Ahmedabad	119,235	14.60	95.92	955	5.573

**II. Districts having 50,000-99,999**

Sl. No.	District	Population	Growth rate, 1971-81	Level of Urbanisation	Sex ratio	Average household size
5.	Udaipur	92,093	17.31	38.27	988	5.387
6.	Delhi	73,917	46.33	99.41	893	6.017
7.	Sangli	67,304	13.20	25.92	946	5.644
8.	Pune	65,907	41.85	76.19	907	6.013
9.	Kachchh	57,454	0.61	22.98	1271	3.987
10.	Pali	50,116	12.38	43.87	1080	4.980

**III. Districts having 20,000-49,999**

Sl. No.	District	Population	Growth rate, 1971-81	Level of Urbanisation	Sex ratio	Average household size
11.	Jaipur	47,416	26.69	74.32	917	5.792
12.	Thane	45,609	158.75	71.91	857	5.483
13.	Sagar	45,144	21.95	58.11	913	6.203
14.	Ajmer	44,263	18.82	58.43	928	5.764
15.	Jalore	41,873	20.49	27.44	1,164	5.082
16.	Bhavnagar	39,802	1.68	94.99	917	6.236



17.	Indore	39,074	49.40	94.99	917	6.236
18.	Ahmednagar	33,565	18.47	40.87	936	5.994
19.	Barmer	32,627	28.37	48.73	989	6.077
20.	Bhilwara	32,483	20.71	30.91	973	5.467
21.	Churu	31,645	22.72	77.88	1,043	6.483
22.	Banskantha	31,028	-2.29	31.20	1,028	5.207
23.	Meerut	30,710	16.16	64.41	936	5.628
24.	Dharwad	30,629	37.44	41.74	892	6.601
25.	Bangalore	30,108	95.23	97.72	829	6.777
26.	Chandigarh	29,984	28.10	46.98	940	5.515
27.	Jodhpur	29,558	19.82	72.49	940	6.042
28.	Rajkot	28,973	-9.08	93.82	1,009	5.403
29.	Nasik	28,792	34.17	58.13	931	6.248
30.	Mandsaur	28,453	20.92	52.65	940	6.397
31.	Surendra Nagar	28,358	0.48	81.54	1,006	5.413
32.	Jabalpur	26,858	38.62	79.15	906	6.153
33.	Jamnagar	26,739	-10.73	56.46	1,034	5.336
34.	Surat	26,312	29.67	71.09	892	5.516
35.	Jalgaon	24,589	25.64	54.13	941	5.853
36.	Bikaner	24,342	9.32	78.40	1,012	6.784
37.	Sholapur	24,141	14.91	50.35	928	5.659
38.	Ratlam	24,096	26.88	80.10	932	6.308
39.	Sirohi	23,977	24.90	39.48	1,141	4.984
40.	Aurangabad	23,323	33.36	47.95	920	5.927
41.	Agra	23,179	9.05	70.92	960	5.912
42.	Nagpur	23,013	19.43	51.24	1,037	6.186
43.	Bijapur	23,011	28.04	37.79	948	6.717
44.	Madras	22,812	32.91	100.00	848	6.595
45.	Mahesana	21,347	-11.22	61.90	1,008	5.033
46.	Ujjain	20,950	20.54	81.31	924	6.224
47.	Calcutta	20,487	8.19	100.00	726	6.632
48.	Guna	20,265	27.42	63.52	903	6.775

#### IV. Districts having 10,000-19,999

Sl. No.	District	Population	Growth rate, 1971-81	Level of Urbanisation	Sex ratio	Average household size
49.	Vadodara	19,062	9.59	84.27	971	5.314
50.	Tonk	19,041	27.65	39.79	934	6.290
51.	Damoh	18,639	23.40	33.31	929	5.723
52.	Dhule	17,073	30.97	48.98	908	6.438
53.	Nagpur	16,853	42.33	85.53	940	5.754
54.	Akola	16,720	10.24	58.66	937	5.921
55.	Kheda	16,242	-6.28	64.23	994	5.366
56.	Lalitpur	16,234	30.04*	51.56	830	9.161
57.	Bhind	15,778	31.45	70.95	883	6.807
58.	Sawai Madhopur	15,719	59.12	36.65	932	5.798
59.	Banswara	14,667	40.48	25.36	937	5.774
60.	Muzaffarnagar	14,138	16.35	71.46	936	6.707
61.	Sabarkantha	13,857	14.12	49.53	1,045	5.261
62.	Valsad	13,725	22.62	70.12	900	5.492
63.	Vidisha	13,683	26.27	69.13	921	6.007
64.	South Kannad	13,646	14.22	15.77	1,027	5.140
65.	Kota	13,106	28.88	80.39	891	5.756
66.	Dungarpur	11,972	23.00	31.30	954	5.555
67.	Jaipur	11,474	43.41	84.91	906	7.299
68.	Sitara	11,293	26.07	58.79	934	5.689
69.	Gwalior	11,248	27.78	88.37	930	6.636
70.	Buldhana	11,168	8.38	48.22	957	5.953
71.	Yavatmal	11,124	28.84	46.15	924	5.923
72.	Osmanabad	11,113	33.57	39.72	951	6.073
73.	Parbhani	11,100	-7.37	51.76	922	5.701
74.	Tikamgarh	11,029	36.23	47.07	901	5.729
75.	Shajapur	10,973	17.21	66.97	940	6.417
76.	Durg	10,835	39.72**	73.02	877	6.751
77.	Bhopal	10,721	29.76***	97.17	914	5.634
78.	Amravati	10,447	4.80	63.44	927	5.638
79.	Dhar	10,339	11.89	56.19	943	6.398
80.	Alwar	10,321	30.50	48.78	932	6.236

Source: Jain, M.K. 1986: 48-50.

\*Relates to Lalitpur and Jhansi districts together in 1981 as no separate population figures are available from 1971 Census.

\*\*For Durg and Rajnandgaon together in 1981 as population figures for each of these are not available from 1971 Census.

\*\*\*Growth rate computed by clubbing Bhopal and Sehore districts of 1981 together as no separate figures are available for them in 1971.

**Table: 3.13: Districts Where the Jains Constitute the Third Largest Religious Group.**

State/District	Jain Population	State/District	Jain Population
<b>Gujarat</b>	<b>525,306</b>	<b>Madhya Pradesh</b>	<b>545,448</b>
Ahmadabad	170,093	Bhopal	22,238
Amreli	2,309	Chhattarpur	9766
Banaskantha	18,544	Damoh	23,818
Bharnagar	28,921	Dewas	6,767
Gandhinagar	7,769	Dhar	12,397
Jamnagar	21,907	Guna	26,326
Junagrah	4,291	Hara	1,505
Kachchh	23,894	Indore	63,037
Mehsana	7,122	Jabalpur	32,3838
Navsari	13,575	Katni	5,307
Panchmahal	4,382	Mandsaur	19,519
Palam	5,136	Morena	7,177
Porbander	589	NarshaPur	8,178
Rajkot	30,629	Neemach	14,626
Sabar Kantha	11,198	Panna	4,534
Surat	86,607	Raisen	10,459
Surendra Nagar	22,721	Rajgrah	1,854
Vadora	31,566	Ratlam	28,873
<b>Rajasthan</b>		Sagar	59,931
Ajmir	47,812	Satna	3,162
Bansbara	18,406	Sehore	5,936
Barmer	35,744	Sahjapur	13,536
Bhilwarh	37,659	Shivpuri	12,093
Bikaner	31,235	Tikamgrah	14,604
Bundi	13,186	Ujjain	24,829
Chillorgrh	35,026	Vidisha	17,757
Churu	13,882	West Nimad	6,273
Dansa	3,908	<b>Maharashtra</b>	
Dungar	12,542	Ahmadnagar	38,561
Dholpur	2,685	Kolhapur	147,285
Jaipur	73,631	Sangali	85,160
Jalor	21,015	<b>Uttar Pradesh</b>	
Jhalawar	11,759	Agra	18,463
Jodhpur	36,694	Baghpat	17,929
Karauli	3,760	Banda	884
Kota	23,259	Etawa	3,176
Nagaur	17,478	Firozabad	19,237
Pali	25,599	Jhansi	7,620
Rajsadod	20,048	Lalitpur	19,797
Swai Madhopur	10,660	<b>Delhi</b>	No district is qualified
Sikar	3,957	<b>Karnataka</b>	No district is qualified
Sirohi	12,427		
Toak	23,644		
Udaipur	83,699		

## Chapter 4

### JAIN DIASPORA AND ITS LINKAGES WITH INDIA

This chapter profiles the global Jain diaspora that was formed during the past one hundred years or so. The profile is presented in terms of migration patterns as a result of which the diaspora has been formed, population estimates, sectarian composition, economic/occupational status, and the number and activities of socio-cultural associations, etc. At the end of the chapter, Jain diaspora's linkages with India are also discussed. Since the Jain diaspora evolved in close association with the wider Indian diaspora, it would be useful to begin with a brief note on the Indian diaspora.

#### Indian Diaspora

Until recently the term 'diaspora' referred to the Jews living in different parts of the world outside Israel – their ancestral "homeland". Of late, however, the purview of the term diaspora has been broadened to refer to any population group settled abroad but maintaining close links with its homeland. As such diasporas can be defined as "ethnic minority groups of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material links with countries of origin– homelands" (Sheffer 1986: 3).

Modern organized diasporas constitute trans-state triadic networks involving ethnic diasporas, their host countries and homelands, and as such they have significant ramifications for international relations and international politics, and other activities. The ties diasporic communities maintain through visits, marriages, remittances, and trade networks, transfer of technology and skills and political lobbying for the homeland are some other aspects of diasporic activities. Like the Jewish, Chinese and other major world diasporas, the Indian diaspora too provides an interesting case study of all these activities.

Modern Indian diaspora is about 200 years old – largely a creation of British colonialism in India and some other countries of Asia, Africa, Oceania and the West Indies. This is evident from the fact that the vast majority of Indians migrated to the British colonies only

(two major exceptions being Surinam and Reunion Islands – then Dutch and French colonies respectively).

Whereas the expanding capitalist plantation economies in the overseas British colonies created a great demand for labour and other occupational groups (especially traders, artisans and government servants), in India a combination of the following factors led to the exodus of Indians abroad: decline of handicraft industry, increase in land revenue, famines in the second half of the nineteenth century, sluggish and enclavist industrialization and mass illiteracy.

Indian migration overseas began with the export of indentured, contract or “coolie” labour in the 1830s when following the abolition of slavery in the British Empire labour was needed to work on the sugar plantations in various British colonies. Until the Second World War Indians emigrated mainly as indentured or contract labourers to British Guiana, Trinidad, Surinam, South Africa, Fiji, Mauritius, Reunion; and as *kangani* or *maistry* labourers to Burma, Malaysia, Singapore and Sri Lanka. Along with these, the migration of traders also took place, especially to Burma, Malaysia, Fiji, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and South Africa. Such migration, however, was proportionately very small. This form of emigration is known as “free” or “passage” emigration – the nomenclature being derived from the fact that the emigrants paid their own passage and were free in all respects (Jain, P. C. 1990; 1999).

Following the Second World War Indian migration to the advanced industrialized countries of Europe and North America had also begun to gain momentum. The post-war economic expansion in these countries created heavy demand for skilled labour and professionals. Simultaneously, immigration laws were also relaxed in Canada and the U.S. This form of overseas Indian migration of skilled and educated personnel, popularly known as the “brain drain”, thus resulted in the formation of sizeable Indian communities in Britain, Canada, Australia and the U.S. Since the early 1970s Indians have also been migrating to the oil-rich Persian Gulf and other West Asian countries (Jain, P. C. 2007). Some Indians have been settled down permanently in these countries.

To sum up, five distinctive patterns of Indian emigration during the past two hundred years or so can be identified: (1) indentured labour emigration, (2) *Kangani/maistry* labour emigration, (3) “free” or “passage” emigration, (4) “brain drain” type, or voluntary emigration to the metropolitan countries of Europe, North America and Oceania, and (5) temporary manpower/labour emigration to West Asia. Whereas the first three forms of migration were colonial phenomena, the last two are the results of the inherent contradictions of the post-colonial socio-economic development in India. The current global Indian Diaspora population is estimated at about 30.0 million.

### **Jain Diaspora**

Since the Jains are not known to have migrated abroad as labourers, in this chapter we are mainly concerned with the last three forms of migration. In other words, the Jains emigrated mostly in relation to trade, business or commerce or as professionals and semi-professionals. Thus, for example, as “passage” or “free” emigrants they migrated to South Africa, Eastern African countries of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, Fiji and Hong Kong (Jain 1990, 1999; Mangat 1969; Ramchandani 1972; Vaid 1972). The Jains also migrated to Britain, Canada, the USA, Australia, New Zealand and many European countries. Lately they have also been migrating to oil-rich Persian Gulf countries and to Israel. It is against this general background of the world-wide Indian Diaspora that the various Jain diasporic communities in different parts of the world are briefly discussed in the following pages.

### **East Africa**

Although India’s trade relations with East Africa go back to antiquity, the sizeable Indian and particularly the Jain diaspora could emerge only after the consolidation of the British colonial rule in East Africa. Thus a beginning was made in 1899 when a couple of Jains migrated to settle in Mombasa. Their descendents can still be found in Kenya (Shah 1977: 371). The Jains as a community in East Africa grew slowly during the inter-war period, and rather rapidly after the Second World War. In 1930 there were about 2,000 Jains in East Africa: about 1,000 in Nairobi, 500 in Mombasa, 100 in Dar-es-Salaam, and the rest elsewhere. By the late 1940s their total number was estimated at 7,400: 6,000 in Kenya, 1,000 in Tanzania and 400 in

Uganda (Mangat 1969: 142). “In 1963 the total for East Africa was estimated at 32,000, with a possible 25,000 in Kenya (including 8,000 in Nairobi and 4,000 in Mombasa). The group in Uganda was rather small with a few families in Kampala and some scattered in the smaller townships. In Tanganyika, as well as scattered settlers, there were an estimated 850 Jains in Dar-es-Salaam, and 850 in Zanzibar” (Shah 1977: 372).

Almost all the Jains in East Africa have been Shvetambars originating from Western India, particularly Saurashtra, Gujarat, Kutch and Maharashtra. These can be further divided into two main groups: (1) the Visa Oswals, also known as Halari Jains; and (2) the Kutchi Jains. “In Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika, the majority of Jains were Visa Oswals, and it was only in Zanzibar that approximately half of the community were Kutchi Jains and the other half Sthanakvasis” (Shah 1977: 372). A great majority of Jains had been *Dukawalas* or traders, settled in urban areas (Jain 1990: Chapter 4). With the advancement in education in the East African countries, in due course of time some of their descendents also diversified into other vocations.

Being mostly traders and professionals the members of the Indian diaspora including the Jains formed a “middleman minority” in East Africa. They faced racial discrimination in East African countries not only from the White settlers but also from the native Africans, particularly during the latter phase of their national independence movements. Consequently many Indians chose to migrate to Britain, Canada, the United States and other countries. In 1972 the Ugandan dictator Idi Amin expelled about 70,000 Indians. Unfortunately we do not know precisely as to how many Jains were affected by these moves and where and when they migrated. A recent report suggests that there were at least 13,000 Jains living in Kenya in 2003; the vast majority being concentrated in the capital city Nairobi and the rest living in Mombasa, Kisumu, Thika, Eldoret, Nakuru and Kitale. Although there are different sects of Jains living in Kenya (Shvetambara Mirtipujaks, Sthanakvasis, Digambaras and a few who follow Srimad Rajchandra), strong sectarianism is absent (Shah 2003: 4). Digambaras in Kenya who constitute a tiny minority have a temple called Digambar Jain Chaityalaya in Nairobi that was constructed in 1980. A Shvetambar Jain temple already existed in Nairobi since

1926 and one in Mombaa since 1963 (Dundas 1992: 233). Prominent Jain associations in Kenya and Tanzania are: Young Jains Nairobi; Shree Sthanakvasi Jain Mandal (Jain Bhavan, Forest Road, Nairobi); Jain Shvetambar Derawasi (Lagoni Road, Mombasa); Visa Oshwal Community, Thika; Jain Sangh of Tanzania, Dar-Es-Salaam.

Young Jains Nairobi, (YJN) a non-sectarian Jain organisation has been active in Kenya since 1996. Inspired and modeled after Young Jains UK, the YJN has undertaken a large number of projects in the fields of ecology, education, health care, and other aspects of community services in Kenya. Besides establishing an educational institution named Shree Chandana Vidyapeeth in Nairobi, the YJN has adopted several schools for its numerous activities, including distribution of food and scholarships. The ecological projects undertaken by the YJN include tree planting, Nairobi National Park clean-up, paper recycling and water projects, etc. By 2006, the YJN had completed 150 water projects in Kangundu, Kajiado, Kitui, Machakos and Mbeere districts. Another sixty were in progress. In all, more than half a million families had been benefiting from these projects that provide clean drinking water. The YJN had raised and spent over a million U.S. dollars on them, at times in partnership with UNICEF, Rotary Club International, Lions Club International and other local charitable organisations.

Elsewhere in Africa, Sudan hosts a small community of Jains who are of Gujarati origin and are settled in older part of the capital city. There are also small number of Jains in Ethiopia, Eritrea, South Africa, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe – perhaps not more than one hundred in each country. Lusaka (Zambia) has an association called Jain Association.

## **West Asia**

“The ancient Jain canonical text – the *Sutrkratanga* makes reference to the Jain influence on the Persian King Karusha and the prince Aradak of ancient Persia in circa 558 BCE, i.e. over 2,500 years ago”. A medieval text *Jagaducharita* narrates the life and work of a Jain merchant Jagadu who owned ships and had maintained a trade post at Ormuz and carried out trade with Persia. Whether this kind of migration of Jains during the ancient and medieval periods led to the



formation of significant diasporic communities is not known. What is known with some certainty is the fact that as early as in 1549 “Ormuz had a small colony of the Jains and Hindus who were described “as complete vegetarians and worshippers of cows” (Lach 1965). Historical records of the Jain rulers from southwestern coastal regions of India show that they not only established a sea-route but also transshipped their commodities. These Jain officers and merchants thus made large gifts of precious stones and Jain images to their temples back in their country, and these precious gifts are now vaulted at the Jain *matha* in Moodbidri, an important Jain town from historic times to the present, situated at about thirty miles from the Arabian sea coast” (Kumar 1996: 49).

A very small number of Jains have also been migrating to the West Asian countries, particularly to countries and territories in the Persian Gulf/Red Sea region since the second half of the nineteenth century when the region came under the British influence and/or administration, and economic opportunities were made available in pearl financing and general trade. Aden, Muscat and Dubai were particularly important in this regard. Subsequent to oil-price hike during the 1970s the Jains have been migrating as professionals as well as traders in significant numbers to all the Gulf countries.

In fact we do not have much information about the Jains in different Gulf countries. In the United Arab Emirates some five hundred families/individuals were reported to have been living. In Kuwait the reported figure of total Jain families/individuals is about 70-80. Elsewhere there must be a sizeable Jain community in Oman, and much smaller communities in Bahrain, Qatar, Yemen and Saudi Arabia. In Kuwait and the UAE there are branches of the Jain Social Group, a Mumbai-based Jain socio-cultural association.

Due to restrictions on non-Islamic religions in these countries, there are no organized religious activities in most Gulf countries. However even then, clandestine organizations and activities may not be ruled out. Thus one Jain informer in UAE told me about the existence of a Jain association that is named as “Haryana”. In Kuwait an association is named Arihant Social Group whose members belong to both the major sects of Jainism. One Jain Pandit recently recounted his

experience of conducting and celebrating 18-days long *Paryushan Parva* in August 2006 in Kuwait (Jain “Sahityacharya” 2007: 5). According to him, different homes were selected for hosting the daily ceremonies in such a manner that no Kuwaiti, Pakistani or other “fundamentalist” individuals should reside in their neighbourhood. These select houses were also supposed to be away from any mosque. A “Happy Birthday” cardboard was displayed at the entrance of the house. Morning worship and religious discourse were frequented mostly by both young and old. In the evening the religious discourse was followed by *Aarti* and *Bhajans*. There are about 500 Jain families in UAE, of which about 125 are Digambar. Besides the above mentioned associations the existence of two more socio-cultural associations in Dubai was reported by the *Jain Gazzett* dated 25<sup>th</sup> October 2010, namely Arihant Mitra Mandal and Digambar Jain Samaj.

International trade in gems and diamonds has led some Jains to settle in Israel as well as Belgium, South Africa, the U.K. and the U.S.A. In Israel there are about thirty Jain families consisting of about 150 individuals. Almost all of them are Gujarati Svetambar Jains tracing their origin to Palanpur, and are involved in diamond business. “The Gujarati community is socially active and, by and large, well respected in Israel. It has set up an informal association called the Gujarati Indian Association that celebrates major cultural festivals” (*Report of the High Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora* 2001: 115). According to one observer (Shah 1998: 80), “Jain diamond traders have won major export awards both in India and Israel. Jain scholars are made welcome in these places and these unique niche business communities are actively involved in philanthropic work”.

### **South and South-East Asia**

We do not have information about the population of Jains in various South Asian countries, except Nepal in which case there were about 21,500 Jains in the late 1990s (Gall 1998: 565, 567). Current population could be estimated at about 30,000. There is also a Jain Temple situated at Bhagwan Mahavir Jain Niketan in Kathmandu. It serves all the major sects of the Jain community. There are about half a dozen Jain associations in Nepal. The major ones being: Nepal

Jain Parisad. Nepal Swetamber Terapanthi Sabha, Shri Digamber Jain Parisad, Nepal Jain Mahila Mandal, Terapanthi Mahila Mandal, Nepal Jain Yuvak Parisad, etc. ([www.nepaljain.com](http://www.nepaljain.com)).

During the British period a number of Jains migrated to Southeast Asian countries of Burma, Malaya, Singapore, Hong Kong and Japan. In Burma the capital city of Rangoon hosted about 10,000 Jains. In 1956, a Jain temple was constructed there. A military coup in 1958 compelled a majority of them to migrate elsewhere. The Jain population in Myanmar is presently estimated at about 2,000. In Malaysia, Singapore and Hong Kong a considerable number of Jains have been residing for a couple of generations.

Malaysia hosts about 3,000 Jains. Almost all of them belong to the Swetambar sect. "They are mostly ethnic Gujaratis, with a lineage in Malaysia of several generations. It is possible that some of the early Jains arrived way back in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Malacca, which today has a strong Jain community (<http://www.jainheritagecentres.com/abroad/malaysia>). There is also a Jain temple located at First Garden, Ipoh. It was built by a Jain businessman Bharat Jasani. The Temple houses the idol of Parshvanath, and now serves as a pilgrimage place as well as a cultural centre. It is managed by a charitable trust called Shantiniketan Foundation. The temple is designed after a famous one in Tithal in India.

The Jains have been living in Singapore for more than a century now. Although only a few Jains had settled in Singapore during the 1920s and 1930s, their number and organized activities increased only after the World War II. Until 1965, these activities were carried out at 79 Waterloo Street, and since 1978 at 18 Jalan Yasin off Jalan Eunos. The two storey-building named "Jain Sthanak" consisted of a big hall, kitchen, store, parking lots on the ground floor, and an office, a library, and a hall used for religious functions on the second floor. In 1995, a new building with modern amenities was constructed with a donation of Singapore \$500,000 by Shrimati Nirmalaben Doshi in loving memory of her husband, Shri Chandulal Doshi, Society's founder trustee and former president. Now the building is named Shrimati Nirmalaben Chandulal Doshi Jain Sthanak.

Presently there are about 1,000 Jains in Singapore, about 95 per cent of them being from the states of Gujarat and Rajasthan. Singapore Jain Religious Society has been running a “Jain *shala* (school) every Sunday morning. A chartered bus shuttles the children from their homes to the Sthanak and back. The Society library has religious and cultural books in Gujarati, Hindi and English. Ladies have their *satsang* every week. The members also use the Sthanak premises for marriages and other social activities (<http://www.sjrs.org.sg/history.html>). Besides the Singapore Jain Religious Society, there are three more Jain associations in Singapore, namely Jain Sangh of Singapore at 54 Arab Street; Jain Sangh in Katong; and Singapore Jain Society on 150 South Bridge Road. The Society is managed by a committee which is elected annually at a general body meeting.

In Hong Kong there are about 500 Jains, mainly Gujarati and Rajasthani. Most of them migrated to Hong Kong in 1980s, and are mainly engaged in diamond trading business. The Hong Kong Jain Sangh had founded a Jain temple in 1996. The Jain Centre of Hong Kong Ltd. (4-B, 4/F Wealthy Hts, 35-37 Macdonnel Road) and the Jain International (38a, Macdonnel Road, 4<sup>th</sup> Floor) are two more Jain associations in Hong Kong.

In Japan, the Jain community is relatively small consisting of about 50 families, but a Mahavir Swamy Jain Temple exists in Kobe since 1984. The idol of Bhagwan Mahavir was flown from Bombay in 1984 and the *panch kalyanak pratishtha* was held in April month of the same year. However the formal opening ceremony of the temple was held on 1 June 1885. The temple is located at Ijinkan quarters of Kitancho, Chou-Ku-Kobe, Japan.

Thailand hosts a major Jain community in Southeast Asia. It consists of 500 families of which about 100 families belong to the Digambar Jain sect and the rest to the Svetambar sect. The Digambar Jains have got an association called the Digambar Jain Federation, Bangkok, whereas the Svetambars are organised through an association named Bangkok Jain Sangh. Most of the Jains in Thailand are reportedly doing business in gems and jewellery. A majority of them lives in Bangkok which now boasts of two Jain temples – one

each for Svetambars and Digambars. Whereas the three-storey Digambar Jain temple called Shri 1008 Mahavir Digambar Jain Mandir came into existence in 2006, the Svetambar Jain temple was constructed a few years ago. Interestingly, a periodic Jain pilgrimage tourism from India to Thailand and some other countries of the region has also begun to take place in recent years. Jakarta, Indonesia also hosts a small Jain community of about 80 families with an association Jain Social Group.

In other countries of the Asia-Pacific region, New Zealand had only 57 adherents of Jainism in its 2001 census. In Australian census the Jains are not listed separately and therefore they are enumerated along with the Hindus. Small communities of Jains are there in Canberra, Melbourne, Adelaide, Perth and Sydney – the total amounting to about a thousand souls. There is a Jain temple in Canberra since March 2000, and another had come up in Melbourne in April 2008. In Melbourne an association called Melbourne Shwetambr Jain Sangh is active since 2002. Jain Society of Sydney is located at 38 Ourimbah Road, Mosman, Sydney.

### **United Kingdom**

Barrister Champatrai Jain was perhaps the first Jain to have gone to England for getting a degree in Law during 1862-67. Subsequently he visited Europe several times, studied Christianity, and wrote a few books on comparative religion (e g., *Science, Jainism and Christianity*, and *Confluence of Opposites*). The next Jain scholar to have visited Britain in 1896 and again in 1901 was Virchand R. Gandhi, who was instrumental at that time in getting a few Christians converted to Jainism in the US and the U.K. One such convert Mr. Herbert Warren wrote a book called *Jainism in Western Garb* (1912). In 1905, J. L. Jaini, a prominent Jain scholar, visited Britain where he wrote and published his well-known book *Outlines of Jainism*.

Besides these scholars a very few Jains immigrated into England either from India or East Africa until the mid-1960s. Since the late 1960s a small number of Jains began to migrate to the U. K. individually under the Commonwealth Immigrants Quota System. About the same time Jains from East Africa also began to settle in England, particularly following the introduction of the Voucher

System by the British Government. The policy of Africanization pursued by the newly-independent East African states that culminated in the expulsion of Asians from Uganda in 1972 was the major push factor for the Jains as well to get out of East Africa (Ramchandani 1978). Some Jains also immigrated into Britain from Ethiopia, Sudan and Yemen during the 1960s and 1970s due to adverse political situations there. Thus of the estimated total population of about 20,000 Jains in Britain in the mid-1990s, about 5,000 were from India and about 15,000 from East Africa and elsewhere (Shah 1977: 371). By the late 1990s there were 30,000 Jains in the U.K. -- 25,000 in London, 1,000 in Leicester, 500 in Manchester and 500 in Birmingham. Presently, the Jain population in the U.K. is estimated at around 50,000.

Jains' socio-cultural and religious needs in Britain are being looked after by about half a dozen temples and more than thirty associations. Major Jain temples are: Jain Temple, Leicester; Kailash Giri Jain Temple, London; Shree Parshwanath Digambar Jain Mandir, London and Bhagwan Mahaveer Jain Temple, Middlesex. The Jain Temple of Leicester is located at a converted church which was bought by the Jains in 1980 with the blessings of Shri Chitrabhanuji. The *pratishta mahotsav* was held in 1988 under the guidance of H. H. Shri Charukeerthi Bhattarak Maharaj of Shravanbelagola. The Temple has the idol of Bhagwan Chandraprabhu as the main deity. A ten feet high idol of Bhagwan Bahubali in a *kayotsrga*, goddess Padmavati and other Jain idols are also there in the temple. The Temple premises also have three *sanctum sanctorums* dedicated to the Shwetambar sect, besides a big hall, a school and a library, the boarding and lodging facilities are also available in the Temple complex.

Of the numerous Jain socio-cultural associations in the U. K., the following three are the most important ones: the Jain Samaj Europe, the Oswal Association of the United Kingdom and the Navnat Vanik Association (U.K.). "The Jain Samaj Europe has established a Jain Centre in the city of Leicester. This centre is a major symbol of Jain unity, the first centre of its kind to embody co-operation among Jain groups by including in one building a Shvetambar temple, a Digambar temple, a Guru Gautam mandir, a Sthanakvasi *upashraya*

and a Shrimad Rajchandra *Jnana Mandir*. Its fine Jain architecture, including elaborate interior and exterior carvings, has made it a major tourist attraction and place of pilgrimage for the Jains. The Jain Samaj Europe has published books and a journal on Jainism. Jains in Europe are seeking to widen their activities through the creation of 'inter-faith' links such as the Jain-Christian Association, the Jain-Jewish Association and the Leicestershire Ahimsa Society for the Care of Nature" (Shah 1998: 80).

A major initiative taken by the Jains in U. K. was the establishment of Institute of Jainology. The Institute, conceived in 1983 at the first International Jain Conference in London, has campuses in Greenford (Middlesex, U. K.) and Ahmedabad (Gujarat, India). It is a charitable trust registered in 1986. The following are the major aims and objectives of the Institute: (1) To raise awareness of the history, art, philosophy, and practices of the Jain faith to the Jain and the wider community. In particular, to promote its relevance to today's world with regard to key aspects such as the environment and respect for all living beings. (2) To provide a platform for interaction between different community organizations, where all Jains, regardless of their tradition and background, jointly promote the faith with the aim of encouraging a sense of Jain unity. (3) To promote interfaith relationships in order to acquaint the Jain community with other religions to create a better understanding of Jainism. (4) To provide more opportunities for the study of Jainism, both at community level, at institutions of higher learning and to facilitate scholarly research on Jainism through the establishment of scholarships and cataloguing of Jain manuscripts and artifacts.

The institute commenced its activities with educational programmes; by bringing guest scholars from India to the UK, publishing newsletters and distributing religious literature and books. In various activities of the institute the Oshwal Association and the Navnat Vanik Association are deeply involved. One of the major achievements of the institute has been the finalization of *Jain Declaration on Nature* which was incorporated by the World Wide Fund (WWF) on nature in October 1990 as official entry of the Jain faith into the WWF Network on conservation and religion. The preparation of this document involved about thirty scholars from

different countries including late Dr. L. M. Singhvi, a prominent jurist, a Jain scholar, Indian parliamentarian and a former Ambassador of India to U. K. who had prepared the final draft. Among other activities of the institute the translation of the Jain scriptures under the Jain Sacred Literature Trust is important. This included the translation of the 5<sup>th</sup> century *Tatvartha Sutra* (a compendium of Jain philosophy and ethics by Vachaka Umasvati) into contemporary English under the guidance of late Dr. Nathmal Tatia and published by Harper-Collins Publishers in 1994. In 2006 the IOJ in collaboration with the British Library also published a *Catalogue of the Jain manuscripts of the British Library* (in three volumes) compiled by Nalini Balbir, Kanubhai Sheth, Kalpana Sheth and late C. B. Tripathi (2004).

Jain Academy of the United Kingdom was founded in 1991 which has been offering an undergraduate course in Jain philosophy and religion from De Montfort University in Leicester. The Academy is also associated with an educational and research centre at Bombay University. The School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London has also started M. Phil. and Ph. D. programmes in Jain Studies in recent years.

Besides U. K., Belgium hosts a well-organised Jain community consisting of about 400 families, numbering about 1,500 persons. They have been there since about the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The majority of the Jains lives in Antwerp, and they are engaged in the diamond business. A Jain temple and a meditation centre (*upashray*) exist in Wilrijk (near Antwerp) which was completed in August 2010. There are two cultural associations in Belgium: one is called Jain Cultural Centre and is located at Hoventerstraat 2, Room 345, 2018 Antwerp, and the other is Jain Ashram located at 15 Ahornen Laan, Wilrijk, Antwerp.

### **United States**

Sri Virchand R. Gandhi is credited as the first Jain visitor to North America when he attended the Parliament of World Religions in Chicago in 1893. He stayed with the Howard family for two years and lectured extensively on Jainism. His next visit to the U.S. occurred in 1896. Another Jain to have visited the U.S. was Barrister Champat Rai



Jain. He addressed the World Fellowship of Faiths in Chicago on 30<sup>th</sup> August 1933. A third name often mentioned in this context is that of Sri J. L. Jaini of the World Jain Mission of Aliganj, Etah, India, who had traveled to the U.S., the U.K., Germany and some other European countries.

The first Jain settlers in US had arrived in 1944. For the next 30 years a very small number of Jains continued to immigrate and settle in the US. Meanwhile, two Shvetambar Jain monks Shri Chitrabhanuji and Muni Shushil Kumarji did considerably towards propagating Jainism in North America and Europe. The former first visited North America in 1971 and had established many Jain meditation centres and contributed substantially through his discourses and publications. Similarly Muni Shushil Kumarji who first visited North America in 1975 was instrumental in establishing the International Mahavir Jain Mission (IMJM) at Blairstown in New Jersey in 1991, and its numerous branches in the U. S., Canada and other parts of the world. The Blairstown IMJM also known as *Siddachalam (The Jain Tirth)* has emerged as a major Jain pilgrimage centre in North America. The Canadian headquarter of the IMJM is located at Scarborough, Ontario.

Until 1950s there was no Jain diasporic community worth the name in the U.S. From 1960s onwards a considerable number of professionals, academics and students began to settle in North America. During mid-1960s the Jain population in North America was estimated at about 15,000; a majority of them being Gujaratis. By the early 1980s this figure increased to “20,000 plus”, constituting about one-fourth of the total Jain diasporic population (Dundas 1992: 232).

A statistical profile of the Jain community given in the *1986 Directory of Jains* shows that the majority of the respondents were either engineers (33.1%) or in the medical field (19.8%); even though Jains are known as businessmen in India, a small percentage (12.1%) are self-employed in the United States” (Williams 1988: 64). By 1990s the population of Jains in the U.S. had increased to about 50,000 and presently it is estimated at 150,000. In the U. S. 80 percent of Jains live in ten states, dominated by New Jersey (16 percent), California

(15 percent), and New York (12 percent), with significant representation in Maryland, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, and Texas.

By the mid-1990s there were 55 Jain socio-cultural associations /societies/centres in the U.S. catering to a wide variety of community needs. Currently such associations may number more than one hundred. The Harvard University's Pluralism Project had identified 107 Jain centres/societies in the U.S. by 2007, including about two dozen Jain temples. In order to co-ordinate the activities of a certain number of these associations the Federation of Jain Associations in North America (JAINA) was formed in 1981 "which had more than 6,000 participants in their ninth biannual convention in 1997" (Shah 1998: 82). The 15<sup>th</sup> JAINA convention was held at Los Angeles during July 2-5, 2009, and the next one is scheduled at Houston, Texas in July 2011.

JAINA is a non-sectarian federation of 65 Jain organizations representing more than 140,000 Jains living in the USA and Canada. It was initiated at the first Jain Convention in 1981 in Los Angeles under the guidance of Shri Chitrabhanuji and the late Acharya Sushil Kumarji and formed at the second Jain Convention in New York in 1983. Since that time JAINA has striven to foster brotherhood, friendship, and unity among various Jain communities and to preserve, protect, and promote Jain heritage. JAINA has also been very active in forging relationships with interfaith and multi-faith organizations. JAINA headquarters are located in Getzville, New York, but Jain centres can be found in over half of the 50 states. JAINA functions through more than 300 volunteers from all corners of North America. The Executive Committee of JAINA is elected every two years from a group of Directors nominated by member organisations.

Lately JAINA has been very active in developing and publishing educational materials for Jain children so that they are able to fully understand their Jain heritage. The organization is also working to create liaisons with academic institutions in North America to expand the scope of Jain studies. They supported the formation of the Ahimsa Centre at California State Polytechnic University and are

in the process of looking at programs at Stanford University and the University of Pennsylvania. JAINA became a member of Religions for Peace-USA to help better fulfill its interfaith mission. This past May JAINA graciously hosted a meeting of the Executive Council of Religions for Peace-USA in the beautiful new Jain Centre of America in Flushing, Queens. Nearly 30 persons in attendance were treated to a tour of the Temple and introduction to Jainism. JAINA has also been working closely with Religions for Peace International in preparation for the VIIIth World Assembly of Religions for Peace in Kyoto, Japan.

Diasporic Jains are particularly keen to pass on their social values and cultural heritage to the next generation. Towards this end the JAINA had established in July 1991 a “committee” called Young Jain Association (YJA) that puts emphasis on projects relating to Jain youth between the ages 14-29. The mission of the YJA is “to be recognized as a national and international umbrella youth organisation for establishing a network to share Jain heritage through young people” ([www.yja.org/aboutyja](http://www.yja.org/aboutyja)). The objectives of the YJA are: (1) to create a forum for sharing Jain religion; (2) to instill a sense of pride among Jain youth about their heritage; (3) to address the problems, difficulties, and concerns facing Jain youth; (4) to assist and to promote charitable community activities; (5) to prepare Jain youth to become successful Jain leaders of tomorrow; (6) to foster and strengthen local Jain youth groups. The YJA administrative setup includes an executive board and committees for education, publications and the website. The 9<sup>th</sup> biennial convention of YJA was held in July 2010 in New Brunswick, New Jersey.

Judging by the performance of the YJA and the interest shown by various diasporic Jain youth in its activities, the future of the YJA appears to be very bright. In fact the “Young Jain” movement has already spread into many other countries, besides the U.S. Thus we now have associations like Young Jains UK., Young Jains of Singapore, Young Jains of India, Young Jains of Nairobi, etc. there is not only an association named Young Jain Professionals in the U.S., Jain associations have also come up among the university students (e.g. Cambridge University Young Jain Society, Young Jain Students Oxford, Young Jain Students Warwick, etc.). The first national convention of

the Young Jains of India in which about 250 youth between ages 18 and 40 had participated was held during December 23-25, 2005 at Indore. Based on the themes of *Ahimsa*, *Aparigraha* and *Anekant*, the motto of the Convention was “Progress through Jain Way of Life”.

The Jain community in North America has been slowly moving towards institutional completeness in terms of building temples, establishing socio-cultural associations, attempting to socialize the new generation in the Jain way of life and increasingly continuing marriages within the community. More than 3,500 Jain youth regularly attend Jain *Pāthashālās* (schools) once a month on Sundays in about 70 Jain centres of North America. The Jain education committee provides support to all the *Pāthashālas* of North America in terms of text books and other logistics. The Jain *Pathahālas* at Los Angeles, San Jose, Chicago, Detroit, Houston, New Jersey, Toronto, Washington DC, and Boston centres have 100 to 400 students. North American Jains have a great reputation for supporting humanitarian relief activities, Jivodaya activities, and temple construction. JAINA Education Committee also requests financial support to build the Temple of Knowledge (Jain *Jñān Mandir*) which can benefit every Jain family of North America and worldwide.

## Canada

Jains in Canada are often hyphenated with their US counterparts. Most Jain activities are also tied up with those of the US Jain communities. In the case of Canada it is difficult to say who migrated first to Canada and when. In all probability the first Jains must have migrated to Canada after India's independence, particularly from the 1950s onwards. Since then a large number of Jains have migrated to Canada first under the Quota system and subsequently under the Point system. These were joined by a small number of East African Jain refugees who were expelled from Uganda by Idi Amin Dada in 1972. As per Canadian Census data, there were 1,410 Jains in 1991 and 2,455 in 2001. It is difficult to reconcile these figures with an estimate that suggested that in the early 1990s there were about 10,000 Jains in Canada (Kumar 1996). According to the same source, all Canadian provinces except Saskatchewan, Prince Edward Island, Yukon and North West Territories, had Jain residents. Ontario was the host to the majority of Jains followed by Quebec and British

Columbia. This trend of geographical distribution still holds good. As in the U.S., in Canada too a majority of Jains reside in urban and industrial centres and happen to be professionals.

### **Diaspora-Homeland Linkages**

All diaspora by definition are supposed to maintain, a multiple linkages with their respective homelands through trade relations, socio-cultural associational networks, marriage, pilgrimage and tourism, etc. These linkages are initiated and maintained from both the sides. Talking about the associational networks in the case of the Indian diaspora, for example, the annual event of the *Pravasi Bhartiya Divas* (Indian Diaspora Day) organized by the Government of India since 2003 can be considered as a major initiative by the homeland, whereas the Global Organisation of the People of Indian Origin (GOPIO) that started in 1989 in New York was a diasporic initiative. The Jains are no exception in this regard as can be seen from the activities of some of their socio-cultural associations discussed below.

### **JAINA**

Earlier we made a reference to JAINA whose membership is open to all the Jains in North America irrespective of their sect, language or region. JAINA is a federation of 65 Jain associations of USA and Canada and as such provides a forum for fostering co-operation and unity among various Jain communities in North America. Its major objectives are as follows:

1. To promote religious and educational activities related to the Jains religion and to develop better understanding of the Jain religion.
2. To assist and promote charitable and humanitarian activities in North America and worldwide.
3. To actively promote vegetarianism and Nonviolence.
4. To provide and promote academic and cultural exchanges amongst Jains everywhere.
5. To assist existing Jain associations and support the formation of new Jain associations in North America.
6. To serve as a liaison with government agencies in pursuance of the above objectives.

7. To foster cordial relationships with interfaith or multi-faith organisations.

JAINA is recognized by USAID as well as the Ministry of Welfare and the Ministry of External Affairs of the Government of India. Its objective is to promote Jain culture and religious values including vegetarianism. Besides holding conventions every two years, the Federation also brings out a journal called *Jain Digest* which is mailed to 7,500 families free of charge (*Times of India*, 07<sup>th</sup> January 1998). JAINA's activities in the US also include promoting and protecting the rights of the members and maintaining their identity. In order to keep Jain cultural and religious heritage alive in the younger generation, Jain Youth Camps are held at regular intervals which also provide them with a forum for exchanging ideas on issues like premarital sex, cross religious marriages, drug abuse and so on. It also provides matrimonial services and sends youths to India on pilgrimage. Jaina Education Committee also organises workshops from time to time on themes that are relevant for the youth living in western countries. In 2010, for example, a workshop was organised on the theme "Striking a Balance: Examining Social, Cultural, and Spiritual Environment". This kind of problem is generally faced by the Jain youth while growing up in North America.

JAINA has also instituted its highest award, the *Jaina Ratna*, which is presented to an individual for exceptional dedication and contribution towards promotion of Jainism in North America. The Federation among other things has proposed to institute a peace prize worth U.S. \$100,000. The Jain community in the US has been sending relief and medical supplies not only to India but also to other countries affected by natural calamities. The Federation had won acclaim for assistance rendered to Rwanda refugees during the disturbances there. Teams of doctors have been visiting India to hold medical camps in various parts of the country at the instance of the Federation.

### **Jain International Trade Organisation**

Earlier known as *Shree Jain Vyapar Udyog Seva Sansthan*, Jain International Trade Organisation (JITO) was established in 2007 which is a Mumbai-based global association of Jain businessmen,

industrialists and professionals. JITO has the blessings of the Swetamba Jain Muni Padam Sagarji Maharaj. Its major objective is to promote intra-community networking among the Jains and towards this end a global directory of 100,000 prominent Jain entrepreneurs has been prepared. In January 2007, and again in January 2008, JITO organized in Mumbai triple grand events consisting of an international multi-trade fair, a Jain cultural pavilion and an international conference of concerned Jains. On both these occasions the fairs were organized over a sprawling area of 270,000 sq. ft., which housed over 700 stalls. There was a presence across sectors such as gems, jewellery and precious stones, textiles, construction, metals and much more. Pavilions, rooms and conference facilities had been made available for participants from different sectors of industry, including large, small and medium enterprises. The fairs had attracted participation from business persons and speakers from around forty countries over the world. The objective here was to establish lasting networks for personal and professional interaction with a view to identifying various opportunities in trade, commerce and industry. Indore hosted the third JITO fair and convention in January 2009. The fourth fair and convention was held in January 2010 at Ahmadabad.

By encouraging the Jains to identify business opportunities in their own community, JITO is giving them the chance to understanding the large and vibrant community that they are part of. Going ahead, JITO plans to achieving several goals-educating and helping businessman, identifying job opportunities, encouraging ethical business practices, setting up charitable institutions, helping the youth enter and succeed in different aspects of public life, settling inter-community disputes amicably and working with the administration to promote good governance. JITO had also launched two new wings called Jain International Women's Organisation (JIWO) and Jain International Youth Organisation (JIYO) in 2007. The JIWO was aimed at providing Jain women a platform to unite and showcase their talent and empower them economically. Similarly, the JIYO's main objective is to provide a platform to young Jain entrepreneurs to interact and gain purposeful knowledge from the experienced and well established business leaders. At the same time JITO had taken initiative for arranging facilities in Delhi and Chennai for coaching

central and state level civil services aspirants. The facilities would also include free boarding and lodging.

For promoting education and encouraging bright Jain students to pursue higher studies, JITO has launched JITO Educational Loan Programme (JELP). JITO's objective behind JELP is to ensure that no bright Jain student is deprived of higher education due to lack of financial resources. The Loan Assistance Programme will not only support needy Jain students but also motivate them to aim higher and to be ambitious about their educational career. JITO has finalized with Oriental Bank of Commerce (OBC) a Scheme for providing educational loans at very competitive interest rates and terms.

Thanks to its extensive national and international contacts, JITO has recently launched a project called JITO Employment Assistance Programme (JEAP) that, as the name clearly suggests, assists in providing employment to prospective Jain candidates. Lately, JITO has also started providing some funding to Jain candidates fighting elections at various levels of the Indian political structure. It also does lobbying with Indian political parties for getting tickets to potential Jain candidates.

### **Jain Social Groups' International Federation**

Initially started in Mumbai in January 1965, Jain Social Group (JSG), renamed Jain Social Groups' International Federation on 15 August 1980, is a non-profit, non-sectarian global organisation of Jains. In 2003, the federation consisted of 235 groups in India and 15 abroad, with a total membership of about 70,000. Its membership is open to only married couple members. "There are also junior groups for youngsters where single membership is accepted. The federation comes up with a newsletter, the *Mangalyatra*, where the activities of all groups are mentioned" (Kothari 2003: 22). The founder president of this federation C. N. Sangahavi is also instrumental in the formation of World Jain Confederation and the Indian Vegetarian Congress, among others. The 11<sup>th</sup> international convention of the Jain Social Group Confederation was held at Udaipur during 23-25 January 2010.



## **International School for Jain Studies**

One of the major initiatives taken up by some of the Jain associations in North America and the U. K. in 2005 was the beginning of the International Summer School for the Jain Studies that is organized at various places in India and Thailand. The participants include faculty members as well as graduate students from universities of US, UK, Poland, Canada, Singapore, Thailand and Philippines. The programme is supervised by a joint Indo-American Academic Council, presently chaired by Professor Cromwell Crawford of the Department of Religion and Philosophy at the University of Hawaii, USA.

The International School for Jain Studies provides an important link between the Jain community and the academic world. The Jain community despite its small number has, and continues to have, a large impact on Indian religious, social and cultural life. The academic study of Jainism is still an underdeveloped area of research. The spirit of the ISSJS is to work towards rectifying this omission in scholarly inquiry by fostering an interest in Jainism in universities around the world.

ISSJS programmes are run by International School for Jain Studies, a project of Mahavir Vision Inc, a non- profit organisation. ISJS works in collaboration with Academic Studies of Jainism in North America (ASJNA), World Council of Jain Academies (WCJA) and Jain Academic Foundation of North America (JAFNA), University of Ottawa, American Institute of Indian Studies and Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute (SICI), Calgary and New Delhi.

ISSJS programmes were started in 2005 with only seven scholars. Since then about 200 participants have benefitted by attending these programmes in seven annual summer programmes. The participants came from twenty five universities of the world. In April 2009 and May 2010 the ISSJS programmes were also organized at Mahidol University, Bangkok, Thailand.

A series of about ten seminars on the theme “Social Consciousness in Jain Religion” have been organised by the School at different cities in India and Ottawa, Canada during the year 2010. In 2010

International Summer School for Jain Studies had conducted four stand alone programmes consisting of sixty scholars and students:

A) **ISSJS in Bangkok, at Mahidol University:** This programme was held from April 25<sup>th</sup> to May 15<sup>th</sup>. A total of fifteen scholars including faculty, students as well as some businessmen, and media persons from USA now settled in Bangkok and studying Buddhism were enrolled for the programme. The teaching faculty included two Jain Scholars from India and a few Thai ISJS alumni.

B) **ISSJS in India:** Here three different programmes were offered in the months of May, June and July. These were:

a) **Ottawa University Programme** One three week programme was specially designed for Prof. Anne Vallely's Class at University of Ottawa, Ottawa, Canada. The class size was of thirteen and included Graduate and Post-Graduate students. Prof. Anne Vallely herself traveled to India to facilitate the programme.

b) **Three-week programme** for eighteen undergrads students from eight universities in USA and Canada.

c) **Six-week programme** for Grad students, Post Docs and full time faculty. This was an advanced level course in Jainism. A total of fourteen scholars participated and they came from USA, Canada, Czech Republic, Thailand, Norway, India, South Korea, Denmark and Slovenia representing eight universities.

The ISSJS programme is intended to provide an opportunity to pursue experiential and academic Jain studies in India during the summer months to scholars in philosophy, religion, anthropology, theology and South Asian studies associated with the recognized university systems. During this period the participants study in the cities of Mumbai, Jaipur, Varanasi and Delhi (including Hastinapur) and also undertake a few one day pilgrimage tours to holy Jain centres.

The course of study follows a daily schedule of academic lectures by notable Jain scholars covering a range of topics from Jain history,

philosophy, rituals, ethics and contemporary Jain life. An important part of this programme is the opportunity to contextualize what is learned in the class room by visiting academic, historical places of interests, interacting with the members of the Jain community and participating in cultural activities. In addition, ISSJS also provides opportunities to learn languages like Prakrat and Sanskrit, study Jain holy texts like *Acaranga Sutra*, *Uttradhyaana Sutra*, *Rattankarand Shrivakachar*, *Samayasara* for short periods.

### **Shree Bharatvarshiya Digambar Jain Mahasabha**

Shree Bharatvarshiya Digambar Jain Mahasabha is the foremost association of Digambar Jains in India. It was established in 1894 by Seth Raja Lakshmandas Tongya of Mathura, a founder-member of the Indian National Congress. The Mahasabha was formally registered in 1895. Some of the Jain stalwarts who have been associated with the Mahasabha include Raja Dwarikadas Rayees of Mathura; Seth Manikchand, J.P., Bombay; Barrister Champatrai Jain; Sir Seth Hukamchand, Indore; Sir Seth Bhagchand Soni, Ajmer; Nirmal Kumar Jain Sethi, Delhi. Mahasabha's numerous activities are carried out through the following five wings, with each of them having a separate set-up: Shree Bharatvarshiya Digambar Jain (Dharma Sanrakshni) Mahasabha (established in 1895), Teerth Sanrakshni Mahasabha; Shrut Samvardhini Mahasabha (2004), Mahila Mahasabha (2006), and Mahasabha Charitable Trust (1988).

Since its inception the Mahasabha has been publishing a weekly newspaper "Jain Gazette" in Hindi. Other affiliated organizations also publish monthly magazines namely, *Prachin Teerth Jirnodhar*, *Shrut Sambardhani*, and *Jain Mahiladarsh*. Mahasabhas' various activities--religious, socio-cultural, educational are concerned with most aspects of the community life of the Digambar Jains. In 2007 the Mahasabha launched a political consciousness forum in order to encourage Jains to have increased participation in the political life of the country.

For the past few years the Mahasabha has been active in reviving and establishing its branches in the U. S., Thailand and Kuwait. In the U.S. the Management Guru Dipak Jain heads one such unit at Chicago. The other one is located in San Francisco. Bangkok city not

only hosts a unit of the Mahasabha, but also has a Digambar Jain Temple. The Mahasabha is also attempting to revive the magazine “Voice of Ahimsa” that used to be published during 1920s and 30s, and in which a number of scholars including Barrister Champatrai Jain, J. L. Jaini, Kamta Prasad Jain, Ajit Prasad Jain, etc. were involved.

In addition to these activities the Mahasabha’s Foreign Department is also attempting to achieve the following objectives: (1) to encourage people involved in the teaching, study and research of Jainism all over the world; (2) to provide guidance and financial help to needy Jain students who wish to go abroad for pursuing higher studies; (3) to host Jain archeological exhibitions from time to time at different places; (4) to establish a guest house in Delhi which would be made available to the Jain visitors from abroad; (5) to publish a quarterly English/Hindi magazine pertaining to the activities of Jains abroad. (6) to get financial assistance from Diaspora Jains for preservation and development of Jain archaeological sites and places of pilgrimage in India; (7) to assist in preservation and development of Jain archaeological sites, old manuscripts, museum artifacts, etc which are located abroad. These objectives suggest that the Mahasabha is actively involved in establishing the multi-faceted homeland-Diaspora linkages within the global Jain community, particularly in North America. These objectives clearly suggest that the Mahasabha is actively involved in establishing the multi-faceted homeland-Diaspora linkages within the global Jain community.

### ***Siddhachalam and Sarvodaya Teerth***

Besides Mahasabha, many other Jain associations and individuals have been involved in different activities. We already alluded to the first U.S. visit of Jain Sthanakvasi Muni Sushil Kumarji in 1975. He was the first Jain Muni to have gone abroad. He extensively lectured in the U.S. not only on Jainism but also on *ahimsa*, ecological preservation, vegetarianism and world peace. Besides establishing *Siddhachalam* as a major pilgrimage centre in North America, he was also instrumental in establishing International Mahavir Jain Mission that was recognized by the United Nations as an NGO. At the same time Jainism was also recognized as a major world religion by the U.N. Spread over 120 acres of land, *Siddhachalam* hosts 27 houses and

two temples, each dedicated to Lord Adinath and Lord Parshvanath. Inspired by Muni Sushil Kumarji, the Jain community in North America has decided to develop *Siddhachalam* as a *Teerthraj*. A project called “Shikharji at Siddhachalam” is underway since August 2010 whereby the famous Jain pilgrimage place Shikharji, the *Nirvan Bhoomi* of 20 *Teerthankars*, will be replicated at *Siddhachalam*. The *bhoomi-poojan* and *khanan mahotsava* for the same was done on 28<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> August 2010. The project is likely to be completed in the next few years.

Similarly, Acharya Chandanaji, a disciple of Upadhyay Amar Muni has not only been active in the fields of education, healthcare and rehabilitation works for flood and earth quake victims in Kutch, Bihar and other parts of India through *Veerayatan* since 1972, she has also established a large retirement and vacation resort community in the U.S. known as *Sarvodaya Teerth*.

### **Bhagwan Mahavir Chair for Jain Studies**

Jain Education and Research Foundation established in 2006 by a section of the Jain community in the U.S. to foster the core principles of Jainism has established with one million dollar endowment at Florida International University, Miami. The endowment is a part of a larger initiative by the Jain community to establish an academic education centre. Under the spiritual guidance of Late Acharya Mahapragya, with the blessings from Acharya Mahashraman, and through the efforts of Samani Charitra Pragna (Vice Chancellor, Jain Vishva Bharti University, Ladnun) and Dr. Dipak Jain (renowned educationist and management expert, ex-Dean, Kellogg School of Business, Northwestern University), the foundation established a historic milestone when it endowed a perpetual professorship in Jain Studies at FIU in 2010. It is presently chaired by Dr. Nathan Katz, a professor of comparative religion at FIU. Samani Charita Pragna and Unnata Pragna of Jain Vishva Bharati, Ladnun (Rajasthan, India) have also been associated with the Jain Studies programme since 2006. They have been leading meditation sessions while also teaching graduate and post-graduate courses at FIU. This was the first ever endowed professorship on Jain studies anywhere outside of India. The efforts of JERF have received acclaim all around including special blessings from H.H. Dalai Lama. This is a unique, first ever initiative in

western world by the Jain community and will hopefully pave the way for many more to come in near future.

### **Concluding Remarks**

The Jain diaspora was mainly formed during the past four decades though its history can be traced back to the late nineteenth century. It made a small beginning in the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in East Africa, and has been continuing to flourish there in spite of two World Wars, the great depression, Africanisation and the expulsion of Indians from Uganda. In countries other than East Africa the Jain diaspora could not emerge until the last quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when the Jains began to emigrate to the industrially developed countries in Europe and North America, Australia, New Zealand, and the Persian Gulf countries. Unlike in India where the Jains continue to remain overwhelmingly a trading community, the diasporic Jains have emerged mainly as communities of professionals.

With the increase in their numerical strength over the years the Jain diaspora has acquired an independent identity – independent of the Hindu diaspora. Everywhere they are consolidating their distinct identity and life style by forming socio-cultural or religious associations, building Jain temples and promoting vegetarianism, etc.

Of the total diasporic population estimated at about quarter-of-a-million, about 90% of the Jains abroad live in just five countries, namely the US (140,000+), the UK (50,000+), Nepal (25,000), Kenya (15,000), and Canada (5,000). For the past few years the small diasporic Jain population has been exerting a significant amount of influence on the Jains in India through such international associations as the Federations of Jains Associations of North America (JAINA), Jain Samaj Europe, Jain Social Group International Federation, Jain International Trade Organisation, and the International Summer School for Jain Studies, etc. Making people aware about Jainism as a world religion and spreading its messages of *ahimsa*, peaceful co-existence and vegetarianism appear to be high on the agenda of the Jain diasporic pro-activism.

### TOWARDS A SOCIOLOGY OF THE JAIN COMMUNITY

There is considerable amount of literature on the Jain philosophy and religion. The social anthropological and sociological studies of the Jain community, however, continue to remain scarce. This chapter attempts to identify and suggest some of the major areas of the Jain community that require social sciences studies. Before we do so, a cursory look at the anthropological/sociological historiography on the subject would be useful.

Sociological studies of Jainism begins with the German sociologist Max Weber's book *Religion of India* (1958) which contained a half-chapter on Jainism titled "Heterodox Soteriology of the Cultured Professional Monks". This small piece provides significant sociological insight into the structure and functioning of the Jain community and religion. However, his work remained virtually unknown to the world until its translation into English in 1920s. Meanwhile, in the late 1950s an Indian sociologist V.A. Sangave (1980) had published a major work on the Jains which was mainly based on scriptural material and a preliminary social survey. Surprisingly, Weber does not figure in this work.

After Sangave's work, no major sociological/anthropological work on the Jains was done for over a decade until 1971 when Balwant Nevaskar published his book on a comparative study of the Jains and the Quakers using some of the propositions of the Weberian Protestant Ethic thesis. Again after a gap of about twenty years or so a group of scholars at Oxford and Cambridge and other western universities began to publish research papers and books based on their fieldwork in India, particularly in Gujarat and Rajasthan (Babb 1998; Banks 1992; Carrithers 1989; Carrithers and Humphrey 1991; Chapple 2002; Cort 1991; Dundas 1992; Folkert 1993; Humphrey and Laidlaw 1994; Laidlaw 1995; Valley 2003). A cursory look at this literature published since the late 1980s suggest that much of it is concerned with the Jain religious themes such as renunciation, worship, rituals and role of the mendicants in the community. These developments have inspired some Indian scholars (Jain, R.K. 1999;

Jain, P.C. 2004; Lath 1991; Singhi 1991) to undertake social scientific studies of the Jain community. During the late 1980s, the Anthropological Survey of India's People of India Project did collect some descriptive data on about one hundred "Jain Communities" (sic) across India but they are sketchy and repetitive (Singh 1998). Nevertheless, it can fairly be stated that a great scope is there to conduct anthropological/sociological studies on various aspects of the Jain community. Some of these aspects are briefly discussed below.

### **Population Dynamics**

Jain demography is discussed in detail in Chapter 3. To recapitulate, in modern times, the Jains have been a small religious community in India (Sharma 1976). Thus in 1881 when the first systematic census of India was taken, the total Jain population was enumerated at 1,221,896, that is, 0.48 per cent of the total Indian population. Two million more members were added to the community after the elapse of a century in 1981, and a million more in the next two decades. However, all through these years the Jains never constituted more than 0.50 percent of the total population of India.

During the decade of 1981-1991 the Jain population grew very slowly, that is at the rate of only 4.42 per cent compared to 23.17 per cent for the previous decade. The population growth rate however was high (26.0%) during 1991-2001 period giving the impression that the trend of slow growth rate had been reversed. Ironically there are no corroborating data in the 2001 census to this effect. On the contrary, the available data on the fertility behaviour of the Jains, namely the proportion of population in the 0-6 age-group clearly suggest that the community has low fertility rate *vis-a-vis* other major religious communities. How then to explain the sudden jump in consecutive decadal growth rate from 4.2% to 26.0%. As already explained in Chapter 3, the answer to this question given by demographers and sociologists suggests that the sudden jump occurred not due to change in fertility behaviour but because of "ethnic revivalism" among the Jains – resulting from a community-wide campaign during the 1990s to declare themselves as "Jains" and not Hindus in the 2001 census returns. A similar campaign was done for the 2011 census.



Jains are increasingly becoming urban dwellers. In 1901 about 30 percent Jains lived in urban areas. This figure went up to about 75 percent in 2001 census. For obvious reasons this represents the continuity in rising urbanization trend among the Jains. The 1971 census data also suggest that the Jains are “more urban in the areas where they are few in number and more rural in the areas where they are comparatively large in number” (Sangave 1980: 17). As already discussed, other demographic features include a very high level of literacy, the lowest infant mortality rate, and medium level of sex ratio (940 in 2001).

Although spread all over the country, the Jains are found to be heavily concentrated in the western half of India. Thus according to the 1991 census, the five Indian provinces of Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Karnataka alone had over 86.0 percent of the total Jain population. If we add two more states to this list, namely Delhi and Uttar Pradesh, then the seven states together accounted for over 94.0 percent of the total Jain population in 1991. In 2001 these seven states accounted for about 90% of the total Jain population – a slight reversal of the trend due to low natural increase and/or out-migration. Bihar, the cradle of Jainism, had less than one percent of the Jains living there. Today Jains in Bihar and Jharkhand are mostly confined to the districts of Aurangabad, Bhagalpur, Bhojpur, Munger, Patna, Ranchi and Hazaribagh. Given the fact that the majority of Jain Tirthankars lived and preached in Bihar and other parts of eastern India, the historical shift from Bihar to western half of India where overwhelming majority of Jains today live is both interesting and intriguing and requires analysis in terms of the changing political economy of India over the millennia.

Almost all the Jain community related demographic trends highlighted in various census reports need sociological validation through fieldwork in various parts of India. In particular, extensive studies are required to be done about causes and effects of falling population growth rate, low sex ratio and allied aspects of fertility behaviour. Similarly, in and out migration trends pertaining to Jains in India needs a thorough investigation. With over 75% of them living in urban areas in India, the situation has been causing marriage problems in rural areas as the city and town-based girls are unwilling

to get married in villages. The low sex ratio within the community has already been exacerbating this social problem. Additionally, we need to know the nature and extent of inter-religious and inter-caste marriages taking place among the Jains. Needless to say, similar studies are required to be done on the major Jain diasporic communities. How these communities were formed and got consolidated, what is their economic and occupational status, what are their socio-cultural problems – all these aspects deserve adequate attention of the social scientists. The philanthropic activities of the Jain diaspora and their ramifications on the Jain community in India too are an emergent field of inquiry.

### **Social Organisation**

In chapter 1 we discussed at some length the social organisation of the Jain community in terms of sect/sub-sect, caste, kinship and family, etc. A few additional observations are added here in the context of some of the ethnographic studies done recently. The social organization of the Digambar Jain sect displays individualistic, prophet derived and sect-like character in contrast to the Svetambar Jainism which shows the group bound, priest derived and church like ambience (See Jain, R.K. 1999: 34). Each sect is divided and subdivided into a number of subsects and sections and sub-sections (Jain, M.U.K. 1975). In spite of being a small community, contestations and confrontations between and within different sects/sub-sects have not been lacking altogether among the Jains (Dundas 1992: 44-48; Jain, R.K 1999: 76-82).

Although Jainism does not sanction caste system, the Jain community today is divided into a number of castes and sub-castes. The caste system among the Jains probably arose during the medieval period. However, it is not as rigid as among the Hindus. As Sangave (1980: 81) put it, “Among the Jains the castes were not arranged in a hierarchical order of respectability. No restrictions were put on social intercourse between different caste members and there was no lack of choice of occupation.” Recent ethnographic studies suggest that caste rankings are based more on economic status rather than ritual purity (Banks 1992: 253; Dundas 1992; Singhi 1991). Apart from exclusive Jaina castes there are a number of *Vaishnav* Hindu castes among whom there are Jaina followers.

The Hindu Aggarwals of Delhi and western Uttar Pradesh are the well-known examples who inter-marry with the Jains. In short, the caste system among the Jains has been transmuted into competitive endogamous status groups.

Socially, Jains are not a self-sufficient community. Whereas at the all-India level the Jain community can be treated as a statistical category, at the local level it constitutes what sociologists have termed as the “partial community” – partial in the sense that not all kinds of castes and occupations are present in it. In fact an overwhelming majority of Jains are engaged only in so-called “clean occupations”. There are no exclusive Jain villages or towns in any part of India or elsewhere. Also, unlike the Sikhs for example, the Jains are neither regionally concentrated nor do they have a particular language or script to identify with.

There is some degree of ambivalence among the Jains with respect to their social status vis-à-vis the majority Hindu community. One view is that the Jains are Hindus and as such they fall in the *vaishya varna* of the *varna vyavastha*. The other view of course is that the Jains are outside of, and distinct from, the Hindus and their caste system. Empirically we do not know which self-perception is prevalent among the Jains and to what extent. Nevertheless, the two views have differential implications for their ethnic boundary maintenance and their ethnic relations vis-à-vis other communities.

Historically, Jainism and Buddhism represent the rise of urban mercantile community in the Indian social structure. The orthogenetic growth of the ancient Indian cities played an important role in the consolidation of Jain faith. Conversely, Jainism and Buddhism became instrumental in the growth of cities and city culture. In this connection Weber (1958: 84) makes the point that whereas in the West, “cities used armed force to protect themselves and gain ascendancy”, in India pacificism of urban salvation religions such as Buddhism and Jainism with their emphasis on *ahimsa* helped develop not only a business-congenial atmosphere in the cities, it was also instrumental in degrading at the same time the peasant way of life vis-à-vis business and commerce.

Besides the role played by the political economy of the ancient Indian cities, the other factor which internally helped in the evolution of Jains as predominantly a business community was Jainism's emphasis on *ahimsa*. The practice of *ahimsa* led to the exclusion of the Jains "from all industrial trades endangering life, hence from all trade which made use of fire, involved work with sharp instruments (wood or stone work); from masonry; and in general from the majority of industrial callings" (Weber 1958: 199). Although there is no religious sanctions for doing agricultural work in Jainism, "various restrictions on its practice have been introduced on the basis of *ahimsavrata*" (Williams 1963: xxii).

Sociologically, one of the most important consequences of emphasis on *ahimsa* in Jainism was the evolution of the Jains as relatively an occupationally homogeneous community. This occupational homogeneity and specialization of Jains must be conceived as part of the process of functional integration within the wider system of division of labour in the Hindu society. This is so because except for religion, for all practical purposes, the Jains function as a caste or status group within the Hindu caste system. While ritually remaining outside the caste system Jains think themselves as equal, indeed superior, to Brahmins (Banks 1992: 253). In Gujarat state where Jains are highly concentrated, they along with *Vaishnava Baniyas* are regarded at the top of the social hierarchy (Panchanadikar and Panchanadikar 1970: 25). More or less similar situations obtain in other parts of India.

Jain community requires a whole range of anthropological/ sociological studies pertaining to its social structure, social stratification and social change both at micro and macro levels across India in different regional-linguistic settings. Thus for example, the caste system, a basic social structural unit of Indian society, though prevalent among the Jains has not been adequately studied (a few exceptions being Agarwal 1974, Banks 1942, Cort 2004). The scholars have named as many as 84 castes among the Jains, but in actuality the number of caste in a particular locality has perhaps never exceeded a dozen or at the most two dozens. Numerous caste associations, their history and activities need to be documented in a more systematic manner than hitherto done.

What kinds of inter-caste relations obtain among Jains in terms of marriage, commensality, food taking, religious observances, etc. are some of the issues that need investigation. Inter-caste competition in business and profession, hierarchal status and mutual perceptions and stereotypes are other related areas of concern to social scientists.

Sectarian divide among the Jains in India has been a much studied phenomenon in terms of historical causes, philosophical and ritualistic differences but its sociological significance in terms of monastic organization, life style differences, social and economic attitudes, business ethic, etc. is perhaps yet to be understood. In this context it is more interesting to note that Jain Diaspora at this stage of its existence has been displaying less sectarianism than among the Jains in India.

Beside the caste system among the Jains, the Jain family is another institution that needs to be sociologically/anthropologically researched in a wide variety of settings. These settings can be differentiated in terms of rural/urban residence, social/economic class, sectarian divisions, level of urbanisation, etc. The central issue is whether the Jains continue to have the traditional joint family structure or not. What are the structural and functional features of the emergent nuclear family? What is the role of grandparents in this new family? To what extent it is psychologically supportive of the young generation. Problems of alcoholism and drug abuse, and other forms of deviant behaviour also need to be addressed, especially within the context of metropolitan cities.

Marriage as an institution has been the corner stone of the Indian family. With the increased pace of urbanisation and modernisation however the marriage institution is increasingly witnessing a number of changes: late marriages, love marriages, divorce etc. Although Jains constitute a separate religious minority community, in matrimonial matters they are governed by the Hindu Marriage Act. Along with the demand for a minority status, there has also been the demand for having a separate Marriage Act for Jains (See Appendix III). Nevertheless, in most parts of the country the Jains follow more or less the same rituals as among the Hindus. In recent decade there

is increasing practice of conducting marriage by Jain priests. Most Jain marriages follow caste/sub-caste endogamy and *gotra* exogamy. Inter-religious and inter-caste, inter-sect marriages are few and far between, but we do not know precisely the extent of such marriages.

Small size of the Jain community, sectarian divide, caste endogamy, low sex ratio, lack of widow remarriage, practicing of *Bal Diksaha* -- all these factors have tended to aggravate the problems of marriage among the Jains in that the availability of choice of marriage partners is increasingly being restricted. In the rural areas the situation has got further aggravated by the fact the girls from cities or towns are not willing to get married to boys in rural areas. Needless to say, these issues need sociological investigations. Patriarchy and its impact on the status and role on women and youth are other social issues requiring sociological investigation in the context of the Jain community.

### **Economic Status**

For over a century now, the relative affluence among the Jains has been noted by a number of scholars (Weber 1958; Hardiman 1996; Stevenson 1915). In some sections of Indian society, namely the peasantry in north and central India, the Bengalis in general, etc. the Jains are stereotypically regarded as wealthy, though obviously they are an economically stratified community. The overall perception of the Jains as a wealthy community can be attributed to the fact that they have traditionally been engaged mainly in trade, commerce, and banking. Since the 18<sup>th</sup> century a number of Jains have also been engaged in industrial production in a big way. According to Sangave (1980: 356), "The contribution of Jain community is considered to be most prominent in the economic field. In modern industrialization the place of Jains is second only to that of Parsis in India. The names of leading business and industrial magnets of India like Sheth Kasturbhai Lalabhai and Sheth Ambalal Sarabhai of Ahmedabad, Seth Walchand Hirachand, Sir Chunilal B.Mehta, Sir Santidas Ashukaran, Sheth Kantilal Ishwardas and Sheth Punamachand Ghasilal of Bombay, Sir Sheth Hukumchand of Indore, Sir Bhagchandji Soni of Ajmer and Sheth Santiprashad Jain of Dalmia-Jain concerns of Calcutta are, it is stated, sufficient to prove the Jaina contribution to

Indian commercial and industrial advancement. Further the Jains are for the last so many decades the prominent indigenous bankers having branches all over India and even abroad and in this capacity they have catered to the enormous financial needs and transactions of all people.” Not surprisingly, the Jains have varyingly been described by scholars as “the Jews of India”, “the middlemen minority”, “the marginal trading community”, “the capitalist without capitalism”, etc. (See Bonacich 1972; Hardiman 1996; Laidlaw 1995: 104; Nevaskar 1971).

The business and trading character of the Jain community has been continuing even today. Thus according to the 2001 Census, only 18.3% of the Jain population was engaged in “working class” jobs (11.7% cultivators, 3.3% agricultural labourers, 3.3% household industry workers); the rest, that is, 81.7% were in “other” occupations. These other occupations comprise various trade and commercial activities and the modern education-based professions such as teaching, engineering, medicine, law, accountancy, management, information technology, etc.

The Jains have also vigorously entered into some new professions such as business management, computer and information technology and healthcare related professions. Thus a large number of them own specialised medical clinics, nursing homes and even hospitals, etc. In the past few years, a number of them have also entered in the field of education by establishing schools and colleges. Some of them have even opened new universities. Theerthankar Mahavir University, Moradabad and Mangalayatan University near Aligarh are cases in point. In these cases it is the individual entrepreneurship rather than the institutional ones (eg. deemed/proposed universities at Ladnun and Shravanbelagola) that need to be underlined.

In recent years the Jains have themselves begun to take pride in their affluence and their contribution to the national exchequer. Thus it is claimed that in spite of comprising only 0.5% of India’s total population, the Jains’ contribution to the country’s GDP is about 25%. The Jains’ share in direct income tax revenues is about 24%. About 46% of the share market is held by the Jains. They also own up

about 28% of the private property in India. About 62% of the charity donations come from the Jains. And finally, the Jains also constitute an affluent diaspora. It must be pointed out here that these statements that keep appearing in a section of the Jain ethnic and diasporic press from time to time are not based on reliable data, and therefore the readers are warned to take them only provisionally. The relative affluence of the Jains in India still remains to be scientifically quantified.

Two contradictory explanations can be offered in regard to the relative affluence among the Jains. One is the Weberian in terms of the Protestant ethic thesis. Weber maintains that there is “a positive relationship between Jainism and economic motivation”. Weber seems to suggest that although Jainism is spiritualised in the direction of “World renunciation”, some features of inner worldly asceticism are also present in it. These are reflected in such virtues as thriftiness, self-discipline, frugality, abstention, economy of time etc, which eventually promote savings and accumulation of wealth. The other is the Marxist explanation in which the historically-evolved predominantly petty bourgeois class position of the Jains vis-a-vis the dependent, impoverished mass of the Indian peasantry and its exploitation by the former can account for the prosperity of the Jains. Unfortunately hardly any work has been done along these lines although both the perspectives offer a number of hypotheses for systematic studies (Hardiman 1996; Weber 1958).

### **Minority Status**

As already noted, Jains have been a minority community since at least the beginning of the modern times. Presently the Jains as an affluent minority face two major problems. One of these relate to seeking and maintaining its separate ethnic/religious identity *vis-a-vis* the Hindus. The 2001 census figures pertaining to the Jains suggest that ethnic revivalism has been taking place among the Jains. Thus compared to the 1991 census figures where the Jains registered only 4% decadal growth rate, in the 2001 census their growth rate was about 26%. The Indian census authorities as well as demographers believe that this dramatic change in the growth rate is not due to change in fertility behaviour among the Jains, but rather



because of the fact that more and more of them preferred to be returned as “Jains” rather than “Hindus”.

In spite of the Jains being enumerated separately in Indian censuses since the very beginning, it is unfortunate that they have not been officially accorded the minority status by the Government of India. On 29<sup>th</sup> October 1993, a notification was issued by the Central Government that included Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists and Zoroastrians as distinct religious minorities, and excluded Jains. This prompted a Jain social activist Mr. Bal Patil to approach the High Court. Subsequently a division bench of the Bombay High Court comprising of Justice Ashok Desai and Justice S.S. Parkar had directed the Central government to take an early decision as to whether the Jains constitute a distinct religious minority or not.

Mr. Bal Patil, who filed the petition against the Central Government, has authored a book titled *Jainism*. He has argued that the Jains do not believe in any Creator of the world, and that they do not accept the Vedas as the supreme authority. Hence, they do not come under the umbrella of Hinduism, argued Mr. Dhananjay Chandrachud who appeared for the petitioner. Although the Central Government was served with notices to appear in the case there was no counsel to represent their point of view in the court. Hence, the matter was heard *ex-parte*.

According to press reports, Mr. Chandrachud told the Court that the Central Government has already decided to confer the status of a distinct religious minority on the Jains and this recommendation was only awaiting the approval of the cabinet. Mr. Chandrachud also told the Court that the sociological, historical and cultural material proved that Jainism was a separate and distinct religion, and the National Commission for Minorities (NCM) considered the Jains as a distinct religious minority. The Commission also noted that Jainism differed from Buddhism in its tenets and beliefs and even the founding fathers of the constitution recognised Jainism as a religion distinct from Hinduism.

Therefore efforts are being made by the Jains to seek the legal recognition to their minority status. The Jains have been demanding

minority status at the national level for the past few years with representations in the Central Government, National Minority Commission and State Legislatures. The Supreme Court of India had directed the Central Government to take a final decision in this regard by 28<sup>th</sup> November 2004. Subsequently, the central government had decided in 2009 to make necessary amendments in the constitution to accord the minority status to the Jains. However, the amendment act is yet to be passed by the Indian Parliament. After a long time there is a Jain Minister of State in the cabinet.

In response to the affidavit filed by the Central Government the Supreme Court had also subsequently given the ruling that under section 30 of the Constitution of India, the decision about according minority status on the grounds of language or religion can be taken by the respective State governments and not by the Central Government. Thus, so far only eleven Indian states/union territories, namely Maharashtra, Karnataka, Rajasthan, Chhattisgarh, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Tripura, West Bengal, Delhi and Andhra Pradesh have already granted minority status to the Jain community.

Apart from the numerical and legal aspects of minority status, more serious problem relates to the progressive erosion of the Jain values, or the Jain way of life, particularly among the younger generation, and amongst those settled abroad. The disintegration of the caste system, increasing inter-caste/religious marriages, use of alcohol and non-vegetarian food are some of the concerns of those who wish to retain the traditional value system of Jainism.

The second problem with which the Jains have to come to terms with is their slow growth rate which had come down to as low as about 4% in the 1991 census and was expected to come down further. However, the 2001 census data with over 26% decadal growth rate do not confirm this trend. It is widely believed that this high growth rate of Jains in the 2001 census was due to ethnic revivalism and not due to any change in their fertility behavior. Therefore only the next census report would be able to confirm the slow growth rate trend decisively. Logically, the affluent minorities of the world such as the Jews and the Parsees share the predicament of

demographic stagnation and eventual decline in the long run and the Jains appear to follow the same trend.

### **Political Status**

Being mainly engaged in business and professions and thereby being economically well-off the Jains appear to have little time or desire for entering the field of active politics. At least this has been so for the past few decades. A large number of Jains vigorously participated in India's national independence movement. Whereas thousands of Jains went to jails all over India as freedom fighters during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, at least 20 of them were hanged to death by the British for their varying acts of patriotism (Jain 2006). As Prof. Sangave (1980: 355) put it,

In the Non-Co-operation Movement of 1919 many Jains left the Government service or abandoned the legal practice and in the 1942 struggle the Jaina students who lived together became the nerve centres of revolution. In supplying finance to national movements the contributions of Jainas, it is clearly mentioned, was greater as compared to their number in the country. Those who could not participate directly did contribute in an indirect manner. The Jains are intensely national and they whole-heartedly supported the Indian National Congress. It must be remembered that even though they form a small minority community they never demanded for them specific rights like separate electorate or reservation of seats in Assemblies.

After India's independence, six Jains, namely Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain (Saharanpur, UP), Mr. Balwantsinha Mehta (Udaipur, Rajasthan), Mr. R. L. Malviya (Sagar, MP), Mr. Bhawani Arjun Khimji (Kutchha, Gujarat), Mr. Chimanbhai C. Shah (Saurashtra, Gujarat) and Mr. Kusumkant Jain (Indore, MP) were members of the Constituent Assembly of India. A small number of Jains were politically active in initial decades after independence. Thus there were 35 Jain members in the first Parliament of India comprising the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha. This number got progressively reduced to the extent that in the current parliament there are only three Jain members in the Lok Sabha, and two in the Rajya Sabha. The reasons

for this state of affairs are not difficult to find. The small population of the Jain community, lack of adequate concentration in any particular parliamentary/legislative constituencies, sectarian and factional disunity do not generally encourage any political party to put up a Jain candidate in today's caste/community-based electoral politics. A few of them who are selected for the job are either chosen on the basis of their extraordinary personal integrity and/or social influence or on the basis of their money power.

The general mood within the community during the past few decades therefore has been one of political indifference or apathy. In a country ridden with caste and communal politics, so the argument goes, the Jains as a tiny minority community find it difficult to mobilize enough votes and support for their candidates. So the next best thing for them has been to indulge in "indirect politics", as it were, by making donations or even bribing the political parties or political leaders. The infamous Jain Hawala case in which scores of politicians (of different political parties) and bureaucrats had allegedly received funds from abroad through the Jain Brothers is symptomatic of this phenomenon.

During 60 years of India's independence Jains have produced only about half a dozen Chief Ministers in Madhya Pradesh and one in Rajasthan, a handful of cabinet ministers in the central government and only a small number of ministers/members of legislative assemblies in various Indian states/Union Territories. The enlightened opinion in the Jain community is that there has been a deficit of politicians among them which has hampered their progress on issues such as the declaration of Jains as a minority by the states as well as the Union governments. Many problems pertaining to the Jains have remained unresolved in various Indian states due to "political weakness" of the community. With these considerations in mind the Jain Political Forum was launched in June 2007 by the members of the *All India Digambar Jain Mahasabha*, Delhi which also has separate wings for Women and Youth. Recently the Jains have joined hands with some of the Hindu Vaishnav/Bania castes in order to enhance political representation through various political parties. Thus, on 19<sup>th</sup> September 2010 a political convention was held in Lucknow in which a number of politicians from both the

communities participated under the banner “Vaishya Self-Pride Mahakumbh”.

Notwithstanding the deficit of politicians however, Jain community has certainly produced scholars, authors, saints and philosophers, educationists, engineers, doctors, scientists, teachers, lawyers, accountants, bureaucrats, publishers, filmmakers and social activists in numbers disproportionate to their size in India (See Appendix IV).

Against this backdrop the entire range of political activities of Jains at national, provincial and local levels need to be studied. Thus, for example, why only Madhya Pradesh could produce so many Jain Chief Ministers? Or, what explains the rise of Veerendra Kumar as two-time M.P. and minister from Kerala which has a Jain population of only 4,000 in the entire state. The history, organisation and functioning of various Jain associations such as Young Men’s Jaina Association, Shree Baharat Varshiya Digambar Jain Mahasabha, Shvetambar Jain Mahasabha, All India Shvetambara Jain Conference, All India Sthanakvasi Jaina Conference, Dakshina Bharat Jaina Sabha (Digambar), Maharathtriya Jain Sabha (Shvetambar), Bharat Jaina Mahamandala, All India Digambar Jain Parishad, Bhartiya Jain Milan, etc. need to be analysed. At the same time, ethnic Jain press/journalism, journalists and their associations need our attention. Attention is also needed to take stock of Jain academic/religious magazines and journals. Finally, Jain professional associations (of Chartered Accountants, Engineers, Doctors, Pandits, etc.) as well as the Jain NGOs are to be sociologically investigated.

To sum up, the Jains as a community display a less interactive role in politics and humanitarian events. Proactive and physical participation appears to be lacking among the Jains which they try to compensate by making donations for various causes of their concern.

### **Dualistic Organization**

Like the Jews and Parsis, the Jains are basically a trading community. Such “marginal” communities are characterized by their having the dual ethic or dual value system (e.g. absolute vs relative, in-group vs out-group, etc.), which help them in adjusting with their respective majority communities on the one hand and in maintaining their own

separate identity on the other. The Jains can be considered distinct from the Hindus in more or less the same way in which the Sikh and the Buddhists are.

German scholar Max Weber maintains that the Jains are an exclusive “merchant sect” (sic) and that there is apparently “a positive relationship between Jainism and economic motivation which is otherwise quite foreign in Hinduism”. Weber seems to suggest that although Jainism is spiritualised in the direction of world renunciation, some features of inner worldly asceticism are also present in it.

In Max Weber’s typology of religions the basic orientation of Jainism is characterized as “other worldly asceticism”. As Weber (1958: 195) put it, “it is spiritualized in the direction of world renunciation. Homelessness is the basic holy concept. It signifies the break of all worldly relations. Thus, above all, indifference to all sense perceptions and avoidance of all action based on worldly motives”. The ultimate aim of a Jain ascetic is to attain *nirvana*, which means “salvation from the body, the source of all sin and lust of all limitations of spiritual power”. Corresponding to these goals, an elaborate and severe code of conduct exists for the Jain monks.

It must be pointed out here that Weber’s ideal typical form of extreme asceticism is required to be practiced only by a minority of monks and that, too, step by step. The layman, unless he wishes to do so, is not required to follow this path of salvation. As Basham (1959: 292) rightly maintains: “Full salvation is not possible to the layman. In this Jainism differs from Buddhism and Hinduism, which concede it in very exceptional cases”. According to Jain belief Mahavir was the last Tirthankar to reach *Nirvan*. In these degenerate days, the only hope for layman and even for monks lies in ending up in one of the 16 heavens, depending upon their past and present *karmas* (incidentally, there are 7 hells). This dualistic (or, better to say “stratified”) ethical code and corresponding religious organization and their organic integration into a single continuum is a unique feature of Jainism. The following rather lengthy quotation from *Jaina Yoga* by Williams (1963: xxi) adequately summarizes the ethical dualism present in Jainism:

The polarity of householder and ascetic is indeed one of the most characteristic features of the Jaina structure. The layman has the obligation to cherish his family; the monk must sever all ties with them. The layman is enjoined to perform dravyapuja: not only does he offer fruits and flowers and sweetmeats but he cleans the image, and if he has skill in music and dancing (accomplishments which when put at any other use are regarded as undesirable and indeed harmful) he should display it; the monk on the other hand may offer only mental praise. Even if the tradition provides that as little water as possible should be used, the household must still bathe frequently, but in theory at least the ascetic should never bathe. The monk – the Digambara monk-should be naked but the layman has to be decently clad, and for all religious ceremonies must wear at least two pieces of cloth. This antithesis of the partial and the complete vows disappears to some extent in some of the avasyaka rites where the layman is assimilated to the ascetic but in general it may be said that where the monk is excessive, since his life is the negation of compromise, moderation must be the keynote of existence for the householder whose life is rooted in compromise.

In Jainism the notion of *ahimsa* (non-violence) has been pushed to the extreme. It prohibits not only physical violence to any creature (including vegetables) but also violence in thought (*bhāvahimsa*). Observance of *ahimsa* again reflects the characteristic dualism. Thus while a layman takes only partial vow of *ahimsa*, an ascetic is required to take greater vow. In case of layman, to practice *ahimsa* in milder form is based on two considerations: (1) a householder has to earn a livelihood, and (2) he has to safeguard himself and his country against enemies. In spite of this however, “there has never been a Jain war – the Jains never attempt to convert anybody to Jainism; nor do they trespass on anybody’s territory” (Harshadbhai Sanghrajka, <http://www.jainology.org> accessed on 12/1/2007).

The dualism is present not only in ethical practices and organization of the religious order of the Jains, it is reflected at the metaphysical and the epistemological levels of the Jain philosophy as well. In Jainism consciousness (*jiva*) and matter (*ajiva*) both are real for they

both exist. For the Jains world is not an illusion; it is real. But epistemologically speaking, this is valid only from the empirical standpoint (*paryayarthika naya*). From the transcendental point of view, however, Reality and Existence, and Reality and Substance are identified as one which finds expression in a cryptic proposition of a Jain classic: “All is one because all exists” (*Tattvarth-Sutra Bhasya*, I. 35).

Spiritual individualism or “individuation” and familism constitute another set of dualism which is very strong among the Jains. Individuation refers to the individual quest for salvation and in the case of Jainism it is particularly derived from its elaborate karma theory. The essence of familism on the other hand is filial obedience and parental authority.

At the metaphysical level, the sense of individual responsibility in Jainism stems from what Weber (1958: 108) in case of Protestantism termed “an unheard-of inner isolation of the individual”. The gap between human frailty on the one hand and the belief in the perfectibility of man on the other further intensifies this inner isolation. In the case of Jainism, this resulted neither in “radical devaluation” nor in “mistrust” of human relationships as Weber finds in the case of Protestantism. Therefore, it should not be surprising that contrary to Calvinist anti-familism “in its emphasis upon a first obedience to one’s own soul and to God” (Strodtbeck 1958: 156), the Jains display rather a strong sense of familism and jointness of the family.

Although the emphasis on familism restricted the growth of impersonal relationships, and national formal organization, nevertheless, it contributed towards normative and functional integration of the joint family and consequently a sense of discipline which is so essential in business and commerce. Although no cross-religious studies exist regarding the extent of breakdown and disorganization of joint family in India, it can well be hypothesized that the practice must be less among Jains (Jain 1986). Joint family not only checks division of property, it is less “expensive” and encourages savings. Joint family bonds also help businessmen in retaining a tight control over their resources and management.



Family plays an extremely important role in imparting skills and training to the younger generation regarding trade and commerce. When these occupations become hereditary it is but natural that for each successive generation, older generation must serve as a “reference” group. In the process the collective representations are also passed on to the next generation perpetuating gerontocracy and socio-cultural conservatism in general.

### **Religious Ethic**

Taking into account this pervasive dualism, it is difficult to label Jainism as only “world rejecting” asceticism. But at the same time while it cannot be labeled as “inner worldly” asceticism, some of the characteristics of this ideal type are indeed present in Jainism. Thus as briefly discussed below the twin doctrines of predestination and the calling implied in Protestantism are only indirectly present in Jainism but they must be understood in the light of the doctrine of Karma, and not in relation to God. Many aspects of rational conduct promoting savings such as thriftiness, self-discipline, frugality and abstention as part of this worldly concept of asceticism, however, are directly present in Jainism.

In Jainism salvation does not depend upon the grace of God, for as an atheist religion it denies the existence of God. Instead, it places singular emphasis on “individualism” in the sense that every soul can attain perfection – its true “*dharma*” (nature), i.e., perfect wisdom, unlimited perception, infinite power and unbounded happiness, etc. What hinders it from doing so is its increasing bondage with *Karmic-matter* (psycho-physical micro-particles). Karmas are destroyed only when moksa or nirvana is attained, which means perfect freedom of the soul from all kinds of matter (see Jaini 1979). In Jainism karma functions automatically; one is responsible for one’s thoughts, words, and acts. No one, not even the God, can intervene in this routine. This is something very characteristic of Jainism. In order to stop the influx of karmas one is required to have right faith, right knowledge, and right conduct. It is not sufficient to stop the influx of bad karmas and destroy the accumulated karmas, it is also necessary to “earn” good karmas.

Therefore, a Jain must always be on his guard, apprehensive of sin. According to the author of *Jaina Yoga*, a Jain “works hard, conforms to conventions, obeys constituted authority, leads a frugal and unostentatious life, and carefully calculates the consequences of every step he takes. This conception of the lay life which follows logically from the dogmas of the creed is assuredly the main factor responsible for the close association, so often noted, of Jainism with the middle-class trading community. Such a conclusion is very far from the view, which falsifying the picture of its origins, regards it as tailor made for the bourgeoisie” (Williams 1963: xxii).

McClelland (1961: 369) comparing three religiously diverse minority business communities of India, i.e., Jains, Vaishnava Hindus and Parsees, seems to be correct when he writes: “What all these religious viewpoints appear to mean for the individual behaviour is a sense of being religiously on his toes, so to speak. He must consider the religious significance of every act, not in the ritualistic and brahminical sense but in the sense of having to make a responsible decision as to whether he is showing reverence for life or contributing to his eternal salvation” (emphasis added). In the “negative” sense this McClelland finds reflected in the denial of their handing over the religious authority to the experts (priestly class) or “tradition that prescribe minutely for them how they should behave ritually”. Weber (1958: 204) rather misunderstands this “innovative individualism” when he writes of Jainism: “Its ritualistic attitude was not completely clear and could not be in the absence of a supramundane God and an ethic anchored to his will. While the sect is constituted on the principle of strict separation and while the laity is bound to the monks, it has not been provided with a fixed ritual of its own”.

This strong religious and ethical foundation whose popular expression we find in *Bania* stereotype of being “strict about ritual purity and religion in general” (Miller 1975: 63) offers a well-rounded commercial ethic. Limitation of desires and self discipline are important qualities for a successful businessman in the long run. One of the five basic vows for a layman, the self-prescribed limitation of possession (*parigraha-pariman vrata*) is perhaps directly responsible for cultivating these qualities. Stevenson (1915: 209) writes: “The

Jaina have shrewdly realized that the true way of increasing our wealth is by curbing our desires. When we remember that the Jaina creed has forced its holders to become a commercial people, we can see the special value this view of limitation might have, if it were really lived up to”.

More direct attempts at savings of time as well as money by the Jains can be seen in the absence of expensive rituals among them which, by way of comparison, are absolutely essential for traditional Hindus. The death ceremony is a case in point. Among the Jains the mortal remains of the dead are not necessarily taken to the confluence of sacred rivers or to the places of pilgrimage; instead they are consigned to a local river, lake, and pond or even in the bushes. “Jains neither performs the *shradha* ceremony nor gives *Dana* or gifts to Brahmins” (Sangave 1980: 345). *Pindadana*, i.e., the custom of offering rice balls to the dead has no sanction in Jain religion, and the custom of giving death feasts is also on the decline, particularly in big cities. Perhaps the Jains were also first among those who adopted one-day marriages (instead of three-four days long ceremonies), and group marriages for the poorer sections of their community. At the individual level the prescribed simple way of life further helped in having considerable savings. In the words of Nevaskar (1971: 198-99): “Abstinence from intoxicants, meat, and honey, avoidance of status pride and anger regulated the daily life of a Jain. He simply had no way left in which to squander his wealth.” Thus, to quote Weber (1958: 201), “as with the Puritans, the strict methodical nature of their prescribed way of life was favourable in accumulation of wealth.”

Jainism as a religion is relatively a better researched area, especially in terms of studies of rituals and worship, role of mendicants, duties of laymen and laywomen, sect-wise organisation of religion, and religious ethic, etc (See Babb 1998, Carithers 1989, Cort 1991, 2001; Folkert 1993, Humphrey and Laidlaw 1995, Weber 1958, Williams 1963). Still, lots of sociological investigations are required in all these areas. Thus for example, what percentage of Jain population is deeply motivated by the concept of *moksha*, and the Jain path of liberation, and therefore rigorously follow the course of householder’s duties is a moot sociological question. How the

householders perceive and put to practice various *anuvratas*, *gunavratas*, *shiksha vratas*, etc. and how many of them are at what stage of eleven *pratimas* are some of the questions that need investigations in order to understand the nature of religiosity among the Jains (Banks 1992; Cort 2001; Laidlaw 1995). At the more basic level, the knowledge as to how many Jains routinely avoid the use of leather goods, honey, wine, onion, garlic, potato, tomato, non-vegetarian food items, etc. will be further useful. Is there any gender or generational variation about these issues?

Jainism's origin, growth and spread across India are also better researched areas (Ayyangar and Rao 1922; Desai 1957; Guseva 1970; Jain, J.P. 2005; Jaini 1979; Sangave 1980; Shah 1932) along with its emphasis on opposition to the caste system, dominance of priestly caste, ritual sacrifices, secondary status of women, slavery and monarchical basis of polity, etc. However, comparative religious studies vis-à-vis Judaism, Christianity, Islam, etc. are needed. Jainism as a religion and way of life can well be compared with various forms of Shiism practised by such trading communities as Bohras and Khojahs, or Ismailis in which case the control of the priest on the adherents of Islam is relatively high. Various Vaishnavite sects of Hinduism also have considerable resemblance to Jainism in ethical conduct and rituals. In these comparisons the nature of indoctrination, the role of mendicants and other religious intermediaries and particularly the head priest or head of the church, the "closed" nature of the community, religious ethic, etc. would be the fruitful points of departure.

Beyond the history of Jainism in different regions of India for different periods of time which is rather well documented, we need to have historical studies of Jain communities in various major cities and towns across India. These should incorporate not only Jains' entrepreneurial activities, but also incorporate aspects of their political, socio-cultural and religious life. Their maritime commercial activities also need to be documented.

The changing nature of the Jain monastic organisation, particularly in Digambar Jainism in terms of competition for religious power among various religious agents such as *munis*, *bhattarakas*, *tyagis* and

*pandits*; and their inter-relationships with the *seths* (wealthy businessmen) and the laity deserve our attention. This complex relationship not only generates power politics within the community but also sets the tone of religious discourse and practices at a given point in time (Jain 1999: 80-82). There is a growing tendency of “domestication” among the Jain *Munis* whereby they appear to have developed a stake in a particular place that is organised somewhat like a *Math* (See also Carrithers 1989). Even a certain amount of politics and rivalry among them has been noticed by alert observers. Along with ethnic revivalism one can also see the rise of religious fundamentalism, particularly in north India in terms of punitive fines for night eating and even arranging marriage ceremonies during the night.

### **Segmental Orientation**

Drawing upon the Weber’s typology of asceticism and mysticism, Clark (1973: 87) “draws attention to an apparent regularity or recurrent pattern in the relationship of the two religious types to the social context in which they occur”. In general he argues that while asceticism is characterized by “segmental orientation”, mysticism by “stratificatory orientation”. He substantiates his thesis on the basis of a comparative study of Judaism and Hinduism which are representatives of asceticism and mysticism respectively.

The assumption behind this typology is that religious groups invest their energy along either of the two dimensions of conflict -- segmental conflict between provinces, states, empires, etc. on the one hand, and stratificatory conflicts between classes and status groups on the other (Clark 1973: 87). In other words, segmental orientation is primarily characterized by “out group” conflict while stratificatory orientation by “in-group conflict”. The typology, however, is not necessarily bipolar and does not rule out the possibility of a single continuum between asceticism and mysticism as well.

In the case of Jainism, the segmental orientation particularly in its formative period is well documented whereby it had to wage a constant battle for its existence against “Hinduism” and later on Buddhism. Thus, the claim for religious superiority and distinct

identity is one factor in maintaining its segmental orientation. Another factor contributing towards Jain's segmental orientation was their minority and "peripheral" status in relation to Hindu majority. Their occupational specialization further rendered it a relatively closed system in spite of its open door policy to all, irrespective of caste, class, and creed. Segmental Orientation of Jains helped them prevent from developing elaborate stratificatory orientation within, i.e., caste system, etc.

Segmental orientation of a community creates hindrances in its adjustment with other communities. Apparently this must have been more so in the case of Jains who predominantly as a community of traders and merchants had to be dependent on non-Jains for various services as well as market. This places them in a paradoxical situation of isolation and adjustment. More than anything else the survival of Jainism and the disappearance of Buddhism from India during the medieval period clearly highlight the nature of this paradox.

Accounting for Jainism's ability to weather the Muslim assault during the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, Horenle (1898), Stevenson (1995/1915) and Lamb (1958) suggest that Jain monastic organization largely explain this phenomenon. Lay adherents, though part of the monastic organization, do not live in monasteries. Thus when monastic settlements were assaulted by Muslims, lay adherents still survived taking refuge among Hindus, who themselves were subjected to harassment. This sympathy or affinity was not incidental. As already mentioned there are many similarities of religious beliefs and practices between the two. Among others, the Jains share with the Vedantins the notion of soul (*atma*) and its reincarnation and karma theory, although Jainist notion of soul (*jivatma*) derives from animism and has far-reaching implications in their system of thought. Buddhism, on the contrary, altogether denies the existence of the soul.

Stevenson (1915: 6) further observes that Jain's "worship exactly resembles Hindu worship, and their domestic chaplains, though not their temple officials, are still Brahmins." Thus, unlike Buddhism, Jainism did not cut itself off from the core Hindu community. As part of the mechanism of this adjustment Jains also started incorporating

the Hindu pantheon heroes like Rama, Krisna, etc. into their mythology and wrote their stories within the framework of Jainist theology and interpretation. They also started participating in several Hindu festivals on one pretext or the other giving their own Jainist reasons for doing so. Thus the process of “Hinduization” (or is it “Jainisation”?) can be thought to be aimed at boundary maintenance and cultural “self-sufficiency” as it were, and thereby maintaining the segmental orientation.

### Inter-Ethnic Relations

Jain’s sense of tolerance and peaceful coexistence with other communities can be related to their epistemological doctrine of relative pluralism (*nayavada*) which puts emphasis on non-absoluteism (*anekantvad*) in regard to seeking truth and knowledge. It states that the reality can be comprehended from an infinite number of standpoints which have been classified into seven types known as *saptabhangi naya* (seven-fold standpoint). In other words, no single proposition can express that whole of Reality. And even then “the truth of each affirmation is... only conditional, and inconceivable from the absolute point of view. To guarantee correctness, therefore, each affirmation should be preceded by the phrase ‘*syat*’ (‘may be’) (Dasgupta 1963: 179). This doctrine is known as *syadavad* (doctrine of may be). In short, the doctrines of *anekant* and *syadavad* constitute one of the distinguishing features of Jainism. The Jains are particularly proud of this part of the Jain philosophy and in all probability it reflects in their definition and perception of social reality.

In the wider context of the Indian socio-cultural diversity and pluralism, inter-ethnic relations of Jains vis-a-vis major religious and ethnic communities require anthropological/sociological investigation. Historically, the Jain had to suffer a lot, especially in the medieval period in South India when Hinduism was being revived. Not only hundreds of Jain *Munis* were put to violent death, Jain and Buddhist temples were destroyed and/or converted into Hindu places of worship.

In modern times with the exception a few violent clashes between Jains and Hindus over the contents of Jain *Ramayana*, and some other issues, the relations of Jains with the Hindus and other ethnic groups

have by and large been cordial. Nevertheless, the Jains do maintain varying degree of social distance vis-à-vis rest of the communities in India. In different parts of India Jains tend to behave like upper caste Hindus and as such they did and do practice untouchability against the Dalits. An experiment of integration of Dalits (Bhangis in Udaipur) into the Jain fold under the auspicious of Acharya Tulsi could not go smoothly far enough (see Shyamlal 1981). However, on the positive side of it, the Jains do maintain cordial relations including inter-marriages with Hindu Banias in many parts of India, particularly in Gujarat, Western U. P. and most metropolitan towns. The services of Brahmin priests are utilized on the occasions of birth and marriage. And the Rajput and other Kshatriya castes are treated respectfully by the Jains. In village India the Jains have been the part of the *Jajmani* system. It is equally important to study the inter-ethnic relations of the Jains with Muslim, Sikh, Christian, Parsi, Buddhist and other religious communities.

### **Conceptual Frameworks**

Two major considerations have to be made in relation to any sociological study of the Jains, or for that matter, any other minority community in India. The first one is that the Jain community cannot be studied in isolation. Socio-economic development, changes in value system, social structural changes, demographic changes, community's role in politics – all or any of these aspects can be studied only in the wider context of the Indian society, and that too in the historical perspective.

The second consideration relates to the fact that sociology is a multi-paradigmatic social science, and as such a number of theories are available to analyse various social phenomena pertaining to the Jain community. At the macro level theories of modernization and Marxist/neo-Marxist theories provide two mutually opposed paradigmatic perspectives on community's contemporary as well as historical developments and social changes. As already pointed out, Max Weberian Protestant Ethic thesis can additionally be useful in analyzing the prosperity, business ethics and socio-cultural life style of the followers of Jainism. At the micro level, symbolic interactionism can take care of family situations. Ethno-methodological and other phenomenological theories too can



fruitfully be used in order to analyse the self-perception and identity of the Jains in various regional-linguistic settings. The case study method would be appropriate for investigating activities of any social unit, institution etc. of the Jain community. Many other phenomena such as consumption patterns, voting behaviour, opinion polls, etc. can adequately be taken care of by survey research methods. In short, a wide variety of theories and methodologies are available for researchers for carrying out anthropological/sociological studies.

## **Conclusion**

The current status of anthropological/sociological literature clearly suggests the need for more systematic studies of Jainism and the Jain community. The list of topics suggested here for social science research is not exhaustive. Clearly there is an urgent need for identifying the knowledge gaps in the anthropological/sociological studies of the Jain communities. The compilation of a good bibliography on the Jain community should be the first major step towards building a credible body of social science on the subject. Besides anthropology and sociology, history and political science and demography are other disciplines that can further enrich the social science studies of the Jain community.

Hitherto too much emphasis has been placed on the researches of the Jain philosophy, religion and literature. In the process the social science studies have been totally neglected. The community and its leadership therefore need to be sensitized to the importance and the lopsided development of the Jain social studies. Before it is too late, a well thought out strategy by the Jain research institutions, associations, business houses and NGOs to plan and execute social science research projects on the Jain community is the need of the hour. The lack of specialists and funding constraints might be the major stumbling blocks in this regard. But then for a prosperous community like the Jains it should not be difficult to overcome these hurdles. In this regard, the Jains can learn a lesson from the Jews who constitute one of the most researched communities in the world.

# Appendices

## APPENDIX – I

Population by religious communities					
S No.	State / UT	Religious Communities	Persons	Males	Females
1	India	All Religious Communities	1,028,610,328	532,156,772	496,453,556
2	India	Hindu	827,578,868	428,678,554	398,900,314
3	India	Muslim	138,188,240	71,374,134	66,814,106
4	India	Christian	24,080,016	11,984,663	12,095,353
5	India	Sikh	19,215,730	10,152,298	9,063,432
6	India	Buddhist	7,955,207	4,074,155	3,881,052
7	India	Jain	4,225,053	2,177,398	2,047,655
8	India	Other Religious Communities	6,639,626	3,332,551	3,307,075
9	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	All Religious Communities	356,152	192,972	163,180
10	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	Hindu	246,589	134,878	111,711
11	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	Muslim	29,265	15,736	13,529
12	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	Christian	77,178	40,529	36,649
13	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	Sikh	1,587	873	714
14	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	Buddhist	421	310	111
15	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	Jain	23	12	11
16	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	Other Religious Communities	238	128	110
17	Andhra Pradesh	All Religious Communities	76,210,007	38,527,413	37,682,594
18	Andhra Pradesh	Hindu	67,836,651	34,278,050	33,558,601
19	Andhra Pradesh	Muslim	6,986,856	3,562,239	3,424,617
20	Andhra Pradesh	Christian	1,181,917	580,319	601,598
21	Andhra Pradesh	Sikh	30,998	17,264	13,734
22	Andhra Pradesh	Buddhist	32,037	16,342	15,695
23	Andhra Pradesh	Jain	41,846	21,613	20,233
24	Andhra Pradesh	Other Religious Communities	4,768	2,450	2,318

25	Arunachal Pradesh	All Religious Communities	1,097,968	579,941	518,027
26	Arunachal Pradesh	Hindu	379,935	217,195	162,740
27	Arunachal Pradesh	Muslim	20,675	12,726	7,949
28	Arunachal Pradesh	Christian	205,548	102,606	102,942
29	Arunachal Pradesh	Sikh	1,865	1,475	390
30	Arunachal Pradesh	Buddhist	143,028	72,618	70,410
31	Arunachal Pradesh	Jain	216	130	86
32	Arunachal Pradesh	Other Religious Communities	337,399	168,613	168,786
33	Assam	All Religious Communities	26,655,528	13,777,037	12,878,491
34	Assam	Hindu	17,296,455	8,951,108	8,345,347
35	Assam	Muslim	8,240,611	4,252,691	3,987,920
36	Assam	Christian	986,589	502,756	483,833
37	Assam	Sikh	22,519	13,508	9,011
38	Assam	Buddhist	51,029	26,322	24,707
39	Assam	Jain	23,957	12,840	11,117
40	Assam	Other Religious Communities	22,999	11,795	11,204
41	Bihar	All Religious Communities	82,998,509	43,243,795	39,754,714
42	Bihar	Hindu	69,076,919	36,077,374	32,999,545
43	Bihar	Muslim	13,722,048	7,061,908	6,660,140
44	Bihar	Christian	53,137	26,913	26,224
45	Bihar	Sikh	20,780	11,057	9,723
46	Bihar	Buddhist	18,818	10,220	8,598
47	Bihar	Jain	16,085	8,446	7,639
48	Bihar	Other Religious Communities	52,905	27,336	25,569
49	Chandigarh	All Religious Communities	900,635	506,938	393,697
50	Chandigarh	Hindu	707,978	403,191	304,787
51	Chandigarh	Muslim	35,548	21,539	14,009
52	Chandigarh	Christian	7,627	3,947	3,680
53	Chandigarh	Sikh	145,175	76,000	69,175
54	Chandigarh	Buddhist	1,332	717	615
55	Chandigarh	Jain	2,592	1,336	1,256
56	Chandigarh	Other Religious Communities	257	136	121
57	Chhattisgarh	All Religious Communities	20,833,803	10,474,218	10,359,585
58	Chhattisgarh	Hindu	19,729,670	9,915,670	9,814,000
59	Chhattisgarh	Muslim	409,615	210,829	198,786

60	Chhattisgarh	Christian	401,035	198,471	202,564
61	Chhattisgarh	Sikh	69,621	36,662	32,959
62	Chhattisgarh	Buddhist	65,267	32,444	32,823
63	Chhattisgarh	Jain	56,103	29,186	26,917
64	Chhattisgarh	Other Religious Communities	95,187	47,255	47,932
65	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	All Religious Communities	220,490	121,666	98,824
66	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	Hindu	206,203	113,650	92,553
67	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	Muslim	6,524	3,855	2,669
68	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	Christian	6,058	3,185	2,873
69	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	Sikh	123	96	27
70	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	Buddhist	457	279	178
71	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	Jain	864	456	408
72	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	Other Religious Communities	90	48	42
73	Daman & Diu	All Religious Communities	158,204	92,512	65,692
74	Daman & Diu	Hindu	141,901	83,569	58,332
75	Daman & Diu	Muslim	12,281	6,827	5,454
76	Daman & Diu	Christian	3,362	1,729	1,633
77	Daman & Diu	Sikh	145	92	53
78	Daman & Diu	Buddhist	126	92	34
79	Daman & Diu	Jain	268	134	134
80	Daman & Diu	Other Religious Communities	103	57	46
81	Delhi	All Religious Communities	13,850,507	7,607,234	6,243,273
82	Delhi	Hindu	11,358,049	6,249,351	5,108,698
83	Delhi	Muslim	1,623,520	911,006	712,514
84	Delhi	Christian	130,319	62,763	67,556
85	Delhi	Sikh	555,602	288,675	266,927
86	Delhi	Buddhist	23,705	12,958	10,747
87	Delhi	Jain	155,122	80,150	74,972
88	Delhi	Other Religious Communities	2,174	1,162	1,012
89	Goa	All Religious Communities	1,347,668	687,248	660,420
90	Goa	Hindu	886,551	462,186	424,365
91	Goa	Muslim	92,210	49,391	42,819

92	Goa	Christian	359,568	170,680	188,888
93	Goa	Sikh	970	590	380
94	Goa	Buddhist	649	357	292
95	Goa	Jain	820	435	385
96	Goa	Other Religious Communities	353	189	164
97	Gujarat	All Religious Communities	50,671,017	26,385,577	24,285,440
98	Gujarat	Hindu	45,143,074	23,538,770	21,604,304
99	Gujarat	Muslim	4,592,854	2,370,832	2,222,022
100	Gujarat	Christian	284,092	142,881	141,211
101	Gujarat	Sikh	45,587	24,987	20,600
102	Gujarat	Buddhist	17,829	9,439	8,390
103	Gujarat	Jain	525,305	266,768	258,537
104	Gujarat	Other Religious Communities	28,698	14,452	14,246
105	Haryana	All Religious Communities	21,144,564	11,363,953	9,780,611
106	Haryana	Hindu	18,655,925	10,041,282	8,614,643
107	Haryana	Muslim	1,222,916	654,040	568,876
108	Haryana	Christian	27,185	14,175	13,010
109	Haryana	Sikh	1,170,662	618,558	552,104
110	Haryana	Buddhist	7,140	4,004	3,136
111	Haryana	Jain	57,167	29,914	27,253
112	Haryana	Other Religious Communities	1,255	701	554
113	Himachal Pradesh	All Religious Communities	6,077,900	3,087,940	2,989,960
114	Himachal Pradesh	Hindu	5,800,222	2,939,150	2,861,072
115	Himachal Pradesh	Muslim	119,512	66,173	53,339
116	Himachal Pradesh	Christian	7,687	4,220	3,467
117	Himachal Pradesh	Sikh	72,355	38,118	34,237
118	Himachal Pradesh	Buddhist	75,859	39,066	36,793
119	Himachal Pradesh	Jain	1,408	750	658
120	Himachal Pradesh	Other Religious Communities	425	212	213
121	Jammu & Kashmir	All Religious Communities	10,143,700	5,360,926	4,782,774
122	Jammu & Kashmir	Hindu	3,005,349	1,647,533	1,357,816
123	Jammu & Kashmir	Muslim	6,793,240	3,525,446	3,267,794
124	Jammu & Kashmir	Christian	20,299	12,733	7,566
125	Jammu & Kashmir	Sikh	207,154	114,524	92,630
126	Jammu & Kashmir	Buddhist	113,787	58,610	55,177
127	Jammu & Kashmir	Jain	2,518	1,357	1,161

128	Jammu & Kashmir	Other Religious Communities	97	51	46
129	Jharkhand	All Religious Communities	26,945,829	13,885,037	13,060,792
130	Jharkhand	Hindu	18,475,681	9,582,113	8,893,568
131	Jharkhand	Muslim	3,731,308	1,924,730	1,806,578
132	Jharkhand	Christian	1,093,382	541,703	551,679
133	Jharkhand	Sikh	83,358	45,348	38,010
134	Jharkhand	Buddhist	5,940	3,151	2,789
135	Jharkhand	Jain	16,301	8,457	7,844
136	Jharkhand	Other Religious Communities	3,514,472	1,766,245	1,748,227
137	Karnataka	All Religious Communities	52,850,562	26,898,918	25,951,644
138	Karnataka	Hindu	44,321,279	22,549,324	21,771,955
139	Karnataka	Muslim	6,463,127	3,302,582	3,160,545
140	Karnataka	Christian	1,009,164	497,205	511,959
141	Karnataka	Sikh	15,326	8,811	6,515
142	Karnataka	Buddhist	393,300	206,227	187,073
143	Karnataka	Jain	412,659	214,244	198,415
144	Karnataka	Other Religious Communities	115,460	58,715	56,745
145	Kerala	All Religious Communities	31,841,374	15,468,614	16,372,760
146	Kerala	Hindu	17,883,449	8,690,473	9,192,976
147	Kerala	Muslim	7,863,842	3,776,371	4,087,471
148	Kerala	Christian	6,057,427	2,981,790	3,075,637
149	Kerala	Sikh	2,762	1,611	1,151
150	Kerala	Buddhist	2,027	1,081	946
151	Kerala	Jain	4,528	2,268	2,260
152	Kerala	Other Religious Communities	2,256	1,153	1,103
153	Lakshadweep	All Religious Communities	60,650	31,131	29,519
154	Lakshadweep	Hindu	2,221	1,776	445
155	Lakshadweep	Muslim	57,903	28,921	28,982
156	Lakshadweep	Christian	509	422	87
157	Lakshadweep	Sikh	6	6	0
158	Lakshadweep	Buddhist	1	0	1
159	Lakshadweep	Jain	0	0	0
160	Lakshadweep	Other Religious Communities	0	0	0
161	Madhya Pradesh	All Religious Communities	60,348,023	31,443,652	28,904,371
162	Madhya Pradesh	Hindu	55,004,675	28,685,595	26,319,080

163	Madhya Pradesh	Muslim	3,841,449	1,991,181	1,850,268
164	Madhya Pradesh	Christian	170,381	85,356	85,025
165	Madhya Pradesh	Sikh	150,772	80,122	70,650
166	Madhya Pradesh	Buddhist	209,322	107,416	101,906
167	Madhya Pradesh	Jain	545,446	283,359	262,087
168	Madhya Pradesh	Other Religious Communities	409,285	201,734	207,551
169	Maharashtra	All Religious Communities	96,878,627	50,400,596	46,478,031
170	Maharashtra	Hindu	77,859,385	40,496,085	37,363,300
171	Maharashtra	Muslim	10,270,485	5,437,926	4,832,559
172	Maharashtra	Christian	1,058,313	530,975	527,338
173	Maharashtra	Sikh	215,337	117,736	97,601
174	Maharashtra	Buddhist	5,838,710	2,977,607	2,861,103
175	Maharashtra	Jain	1,301,843	670,236	631,607
176	Maharashtra	Other Religious Communities	236,841	119,113	117,728
177	Manipur	All Religious Communities	2,166,788	1,095,634	1,071,154
178	Manipur	Hindu	996,894	505,108	491,786
179	Manipur	Muslim	190,939	96,787	94,152
180	Manipur	Christian	737,578	373,173	364,405
181	Manipur	Sikh	1,653	1,091	562
182	Manipur	Buddhist	1,926	1,025	901
183	Manipur	Jain	1,461	793	668
184	Manipur	Other Religious Communities	235,280	117,106	118,174
185	Meghalaya	All Religious Communities	2,318,822	1,176,087	1,142,735
186	Meghalaya	Hindu	307,822	168,517	139,305
187	Meghalaya	Muslim	99,169	52,455	46,714
188	Meghalaya	Christian	1,628,986	812,961	816,025
189	Meghalaya	Sikh	3,110	1,810	1,300
190	Meghalaya	Buddhist	4,703	2,513	2,190
191	Meghalaya	Jain	772	405	367
192	Meghalaya	Other Religious Communities	267,245	133,899	133,346
193	Mizoram	All Religious Communities	888,573	459,109	429,464
194	Mizoram	Hindu	31,562	23,528	8,034
195	Mizoram	Muslim	10,099	7,946	2,153
196	Mizoram	Christian	772,809	389,155	383,654
197	Mizoram	Sikh	326	251	75
198	Mizoram	Buddhist	70,494	36,540	33,954

199	Mizoram	Jain	179	103	76
200	Mizoram	Other Religious Communities	2,443	1,231	1,212
201	Nagaland	All Religious Communities	1,990,036	1,047,141	942,895
202	Nagaland	Hindu	153,162	96,808	56,354
203	Nagaland	Muslim	35,005	21,690	13,315
204	Nagaland	Christian	1,790,349	922,406	867,943
205	Nagaland	Sikh	1,152	774	378
206	Nagaland	Buddhist	1,356	761	595
207	Nagaland	Jain	2,093	1,130	963
208	Nagaland	Other Religious Communities	6,108	3,150	2,958
209	Orissa	All Religious communities	36,804,660	18,660,570	18,144,090
210	Orissa	Hindu	34,726,129	17,615,951	17,110,178
211	Orissa	Muslim	761,985	391,234	370,751
212	Orissa	Christian	897,861	443,245	454,616
213	Orissa	Sikh	17,492	9,448	8,044
214	Orissa	Buddhist	9,863	5,180	4,683
215	Orissa	Jain	9,154	4,736	4,418
216	Orissa	Other Religious Communities	361,981	180,156	181,825
217	Pondicherry	All Religious Communities	974,345	486,961	487,384
218	Pondicherry	Hindu	845,449	425,459	419,990
219	Pondicherry	Muslim	59,358	28,303	31,055
220	Pondicherry	Christian	67,688	32,214	35,474
221	Pondicherry	Sikh	108	70	38
222	Pondicherry	Buddhist	73	41	32
223	Pondicherry	Jain	952	501	451
224	Pondicherry	Other Religious Communities	158	83	75
225	Punjab	All Religious Communities	24,358,999	12,985,045	11,373,954
226	Punjab	Hindu	8,997,942	4,874,765	4,123,177
227	Punjab	Muslim	382,045	213,023	169,022
228	Punjab	Christian	292,800	154,673	138,127
229	Punjab	Sikh	14,592,387	7,692,776	6,899,611
230	Punjab	Buddhist	41,487	22,171	19,316
231	Punjab	Jain	39,276	20,523	18,753
232	Punjab	Other Religious Communities	8,594	4,655	3,939
233	Rajasthan	All Religious Communities	56,507,188	29,420,011	27,087,177



234	Rajasthan	Hindu	50,151,452	26,122,326	24,029,126
235	Rajasthan	Muslim	4,788,227	2,482,394	2,305,833
236	Rajasthan	Christian	72,660	36,591	36,069
237	Rajasthan	Sikh	818,420	432,534	385,886
238	Rajasthan	Buddhist	10,335	5,734	4,601
239	Rajasthan	Jain	650,493	331,871	318,622
240	Rajasthan	Other Religious Communities	5,253	2,895	2,358
241	Sikkim	All Religious Communities	540,851	288,484	252,367
242	Sikkim	Hindu	329,548	177,900	151,648
243	Sikkim	Muslim	7,693	5,346	2,347
244	Sikkim	Christian	36,115	18,428	17,687
245	Sikkim	Sikh	1,176	1,061	115
246	Sikkim	Buddhist	152,042	78,191	73,851
247	Sikkim	Jain	183	110	73
248	Sikkim	Other Religious Communities	12,926	6,519	6,407
249	Tamil Nadu	All Religious Communities	62,405,679	31,400,909	31,004,770
250	Tamil Nadu	Hindu	54,985,079	27,732,367	27,252,712
251	Tamil Nadu	Muslim	3,470,647	1,718,511	1,752,136
252	Tamil Nadu	Christian	3,785,060	1,864,044	1,921,016
253	Tamil Nadu	Sikh	9,545	5,515	4,030
254	Tamil Nadu	Buddhist	5,393	2,887	2,506
255	Tamil Nadu	Jain	83,359	43,114	40,245
256	Tamil Nadu	Other Religious Communities	7,252	3,854	3,398
257	Tripura	All Religious Communities	3,199,203	1,642,225	1,556,978
258	Tripura	Hindu	2,739,310	1,405,428	1,333,882
259	Tripura	Muslim	254,442	130,788	123,654
260	Tripura	Christian	102,489	52,815	49,674
261	Tripura	Sikh	1,182	1,074	108
262	Tripura	Buddhist	98,922	50,575	48,347
263	Tripura	Jain	477	249	228
264	Tripura	Other Religious Communities	1,277	726	551
265	Uttar Pradesh	All Religious Communities	166,197,921	87,565,369	78,632,552
266	Uttar Pradesh	Hindu	133,979,263	70,756,011	63,223,252
267	Uttar Pradesh	Muslim	30,740,158	16,028,562	14,711,596
268	Uttar Pradesh	Christian	212,578	108,430	104,148
269	Uttar Pradesh	Sikh	678,059	361,320	316,739

270	Uttar Pradesh	Buddhist	302,031	159,408	142,623
271	Uttar Pradesh	Jain	207,111	108,350	98,761
272	Uttar Pradesh	Other Religious Communities	9,281	4,961	4,320
273	Uttaranchal	All Religious Communities	8,489,349	4,325,924	4,163,425
274	Uttaranchal	Hindu	7,212,260	3,646,560	3,565,700
275	Uttaranchal	Muslim	1,012,141	539,740	472,401
276	Uttaranchal	Christian	27,116	13,833	13,283
277	Uttaranchal	Sikh	212,025	111,723	100,302
278	Uttaranchal	Buddhist	12,434	6,992	5,442
279	Uttaranchal	Jain	9,249	4,791	4,458
280	Uttaranchal	Other Religious Communities	770	437	333
281	West Bengal	All Religious Communities	80,176,197	41,465,985	38,710,212
282	West Bengal	Hindu	58,104,835	30,069,503	28,035,332
283	West Bengal	Muslim	20,240,543	10,470,406	9,770,137
284	West Bengal	Christian	515,150	257,337	257,813
285	West Bengal	Sikh	66,391	36,738	29,653
286	West Bengal	Buddhist	243,364	122,877	120,487
287	West Bengal	Jain	55,223	28,631	26,592
288	West Bengal	Other Religious Communities	895,796	451,334	444,462

Source: Census of India 2001

## APPENDIX – II

**Table:** Distribution of Population of Indian Religious Communities by Caste Categories

Religion/Caste	SCs	STs	OBCs	Others	All
Hindu	22.2	9.1	42.8	26.0	100
Muslim	0.8	0.5	39.2	59.5	100
Christians	9.0	32.8	24.8	33.3	100
Sikh	30.7	0.9	22.4	46.1	100
<b>Jain</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>2.6</b>	<b>3.0</b>	<b>94.3</b>	<b>100</b>
Buddhist	89.5	7.4	0.4	2.7	100
Zorastrian	0.0	15.9	13.7	70.4	100
Others	2.6	82.5	6.2	8.7	100
Total	19.7	8.5	41.1	30.8	100

Source: Distribution obtained from merged sample of Schedule 1 and Schedule 10 of NSSO, 61<sup>st</sup> round Survey.

## APPENDIX - III

### Letter to the Prime Minister of India Requesting the Enactment of Separate Jain Marriage Act

Hon'ble Shri Manmohan Singh  
Prime Minister of India  
7, Race Course Road  
New Delhi

Hon'ble Shri Manmohan Singh Ji,  
Sub: Enactment of JAIN MARRIAGE ACT- Request for

With due respect we have the honour to submit herewith the following facts for your kind perusal and consideration and passing necessary orders on the subject of Enactment of a separate JAIN MARRIAGE ACT so that the followers of Jain Religion may register their marriage under the proposed Jain Marriage Act instead of Hindu Marriage Act as done at the moment. We have very solid grounds for saying so which are based on the following amongst other grounds:

1. That Sir, Jainism is an important, fully developed and well-established religious and cultural system, purely indigenous to India and totally different from Hinduism. It has been proved beyond doubt that Jainism is different from Hinduism and that Hindu Law is not applicable on the Jain Community.
2. That Sir, many states in India including Delhi, West Bengal etc have declared Jain community as religious minority community and as such the Hindu Marriage Act should not be applicable on the Jain Community.
3. That Sir, Late Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, the erstwhile Prime Minister of India has mentioned in his famous book "Discovery of India" that Jainism is different from Hinduism. He further states that with our present knowledge of Jainas and their sacred literature, it is not difficult to prove that Jainism, far from being an offshoot of Buddhism or Brahmanism, was one of the earliest home religions of India.
4. That Sir, Dr. Hermann Jacobi and others are also of the opinion that Jainism was related to the primitive philosophy of India, because of certain of its metaphysical conceptions, animistic beliefs, rituals or morals.

5. That Sir, in the Hindu religious scriptures, marriage is termed as “Yagna” and those who did not pursue this “Yagna” were described as “Yagnaheena” and were looked down upon. But in Jaina tradition, a marriage is said to be completely performed when it was held according to the Jaina rituals. A marriage in Jain community is held under the presence and witness of 'Deva, Shastra and Guru’, and also in the presence of elderly people known as 'Panchas' and it is said to be formally completed only after taking seven-fold rounds (“*Saptapadi*”) of a pot containing 'Fire'. Only then, a marriage is said to be actually performed according to Jain rituals.
6. That Sir, according to Jaina tradition, a marriage is a religious act which includes in itself the sixteen moral acts (*Samskar*). The reason behind taking seven-folds rounds of a pot containing 'Fire' is that the children born out of the wedlock may achieve the seven most important posts like 'Sajjati' “Sad Grahasthata”, Muni Diksha, Indra Pad, Chakravarty Pad, Tirthankar Pad, Nirwan etc. For achieving these most holy posts, the seven fold rounds are taken which is called 'Saptapadi'.
7. That Sir, as already said, in the Jaina tradition, marriage is said to be a religious act and as such a marriage is said to be performed according to Jaina rituals if only it is held under the presence and/or witness of Deva who is represented by either an idol or a 'Yantra' and only after performing “Hawan”. The most learned Jaina Acharya Pujiyapada of 5<sup>th</sup> Century A.D. has said that a marriage is said to be performed only when it is performed in the presence of 'Deva', 'Dwija' (Pancha), 'Fire' (*Devadwi jagni Sakshipurvak Kanyadan Vivaha*).

From the above points, it is crystal clear that the marriage system of the Jain community is totally different from that of the Hindus. We, therefore, implore upon the Central Govt. to enact a separate Jain Marriage Act so that the people belonging to the Jain community may perform their marriage according to the Jain tradition and rituals and for this act of kindness, we shall remain ever grateful to you.

Thanking you,

Yours Sincerely,

Nirmal Kumar Jain Sethi,  
National President  
Bharatvarsheeya Digambar Jain Mahasabha, New Delhi

(The letter was written sometime in May, 2007)

## APPENDIX – IV

### Twentieth Century Jain Public Figures

(The following lists are by no means exhaustive)

#### Acharyas

1. Acharya Atmaramji - Guru of Acharya Vijay Vallabsuriji.
2. Shrimad Rajchandraj - 19th Century philosopher/mystic.
3. Acharya Vallabhsuri - Jain Acharya of 20th Century; A postal stamp of Rs. 4.00 was issued in his honour by the Government of India in 2009.
4. Virchand R. Gandhi (1864-1901) – Barrister and Jain scholar, First Silver Medalist Jain at First Ever Parliament of World Religions at Chicago, USA (1893); A postal stamp of Rs. 5.00 was issued in his honour by the Government of India in 2009.
5. Kanji Swami - 20th Century philosopher/mystic/founder of Kanji Swami Panth.
6. Champaben - 20th Century philosopher/mystic.
7. Acharya Bhikshu - Jain Acharya, founder of Terapanth Shvetambar sect; A postal stamp of Rs. 5.00 was issued in his honour by the Government of India.
8. Kshullak 105 Shri Ganesh Prasad Varni (1874-1961) – Digambar Jain Saint, Educationist and Reformer; A special cover was released in 1999 on the occasion of 125<sup>th</sup> birth anniversary by the Postal Department, Government of India.
9. Kshullak Jinendra Varni (1922-1983) – a prominent scholar and author of five volumes of *Jainendra Sidhanta Kosha* and *Saman Suttam* Compilation.
10. Acharya Tulsi (1914-97) – 9<sup>th</sup> Svetamber Jain Acharya with Revolutionary vision, proponent of Anuvrata movement a postal stamp of Rs. 3.00 was issued in his memory by the Government of India in 1998.
11. Acharya Mahaprajna – 10<sup>th</sup> Jain Acharya of Svetamber Terapanth.
12. Acharya Shantisagar – Digambar Jain Acharya of 20th Century.
13. Acharya Chitrabhanu – Preached Jainism in North America in 1970s and 80s.

14. Muni Sushil Kumar (1926-94) – Shvetamber Jain Monk who was main driving force behind many Jain temples in Europe and North America.
15. Aryika Gyanmati Mataji – Creator of Jambudwip pilgrimage complex at Hastinapur (U.P.).
16. Acharya Rajneesh (1931-1990) - "OSHO", philosopher, thinker, spiritual guru.
17. Shwastishri Charukeerti Swami (b. 1949) – Bhattarak, Shravanbelagola.
18. Chandra Swami (b. 1950) - Controversial godman,-tantrik.
19. Acharya Chandanaji, social worker, founder of *Veerayatan*.

### Politicians

1. Ajit Prasad Jain – a prominent politician from Saharanpur in Uttar Pradesh, India. He was a veteran freedom fighter who was member of the UP Legislative Council before independence. He was a member the Constituent Assembly of India. He was appointed the rehabilitation minister and then Union Food minister in the cabinet of Pandit Nehru. He was elected to the Lok Sabha three times and Rajya Sabha twice. He played a prominent role in the formulating Zamindari abolition bill and for agricultural reform in India which went a great way in launching the green revolution in India. He is remembered for his courage, honesty and great social work done for the poor.
2. Balwantsinha Mehta - Member of the Constituent Assembly of India.
3. R. L. Malviya – Member of the Constituent Assembly of India.
4. Bhawanji Arjan Khimji - Member of the Constituent Assembly of India.
5. C. C. Shah - Member of the Constituent Assembly of India.
6. Kusumkant Jain - Member of the Constituent Assembly of India.
7. Annasaheb B. Latthe - First Finance minister of Maharashtra, Diwan Of Kolhapur, Educationalist, Social Reformer, Author, Awarded the Title "Diwan Bahaddur" by the then Viceroy of India.
8. Sarkar Laxmichand Hingarh - Business Tycoon; had equivalent powers of King and was honoured with title of *Sarkar* by Maharaja of Jodhpur.

9. Sunder Singh Bhandari – Ex-Governor of Gujarat.
10. Sundar Lal Patwa - Former Chief Minister of MP and Cabinet Minister of India.
11. P C Sethi - Former Chief Minister of MP, and Union Home Minister.
12. Virendra Kumar Sakhlecha - Former Chief Minister of MP.
13. Takhtmal Jain - Former Chief Minister of Central Province.
14. Mr. Mohan Lal Sukhadia - Ex-Chief Minister of Rajasthan and ex-Governor of various states.
15. Misrilal Gangawal, ex-Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.
16. Himmat Kothari - Minister in MP Govt (Cabinet/Forest).
17. Raghavji Bhai - Minister in MP Govt (Cabinet/Finance).
18. Jayant Mallya – Minister in MP Govt (Cabinet/Urban Development).
19. Sri Paras Jain - Minister in MP Govt (State/Higher Education).
20. Birendra Hegde – Member of Parliament, well known social activist, Padma Bhushan Awardee.
21. Jawaharlal Darda - a veteran freedom fighter and journalist, Congress leader and founder of the *Lokmat* group of newspapers. Mr. Darda was elected to the Maharashtra Legislative Council between 1972 and 1995. He made a mark in the governance in Maharashtra by his admirable handling of the portfolios of energy, industry, irrigation, health, food and civil supplies, sports, youth affairs, textiles and environment as a Minister.
22. Dr. Laxmi Chand Jain (1925-2010) – Development economist, Ex-High Commissioner to the Republic of South Africa, Ex-member of Planning Commission and recipient of Magsaysay Award for public service. Padma Vibhushan awardee, 2011.
23. Jairamdas Daulatram – Cabinet Minister in Nehru’s Government from Gujarat.
24. Manubhai Shah – Cabinet Minister in Nehru’s Government from Gujarat.
25. Seth Achal Singh – Congress M.P. in Nehru’s Government from Agra.
26. L. M. Singhvi (1931-2007) - Prominent Jurist, Former Indian Ambassador to UK, Member of Parliament, Padma Bhushan Awardee.
27. Dalchand Jain-Freedom fighter, Ex-Member of Parliament.

28. Abhisek Manu Singhvi – Advocate, General-Secretary & spokes-person of Indian National Congress party, a Member of the Parliament (Rajya Sabha).
29. Virendra Kumar, Kerala, two-time Lok Sabha MP and Minister of State in I. K. Gujaral and Devegoda Cabinets; author, publisher and owner of *Mathribhumi* Group of publications.
30. Nirmal Kumar Jain Sethi, National President of Bharatvarshiya Digamber Jain Mahasabha since 1981.
31. Pradeep Jain “Aditya” – Congress M. P. (Lok Sabha) and Minister of State (Rural Development).
32. Dileep Gandhi – BJP M.P. (Lok Sabha) from Ahmad Nagar, Maharashtra.
33. Raju Shetty – Independent M. P. (Lok Sabha) from Hatkarangale, Maharashtra.

### **Businessmen**

1. Sir Seth Hukum Chand, Indore – Industrialist.
2. Sir Bhagchand Soni, Ajmer – Industrialist.
3. Kasturbhai Lalbhai – Founder of Arvind Mills, Industrialist, Padma Bhusan Awardee (1968).
4. Subodh Kumar Jain (1920-2006) – Industrialist, patron of Jain Siddhant Bhawan and Jain College, Arah.
5. Shahu Shanti Prasad Jain -- Business tycoon, Calcutta.
6. Shahu Shreyans Prasad Jain -- Business tycoon, Calcutta.
7. Shahu Ashok Kumar Jain -- Business tycoon, Calcutta.
8. Shahu Ramesh Chandra Jain – Business tycoon, Calcutta.
9. Shri Harakh Chand Nahata (1936-1999), Calcutta – Leading businessman, entrepreneur, philanthropist and writer; a postage stamp of Rs. 5 was issued in his honour by the Government of India in 2009.
10. Indu Jain and Vineet Jain - Owners of Bennett, Coleman & Co. Ltd., which owns the *Times of India* and other related media brands.
11. Samir Jain, 56 – Vice Chairman, Bennett Coleman & Co.
12. Vinnet Jain, 44 – MD, Bennett Coleman & Co.
13. Tejraj Dedavat - Jain business tycoon & founder of Bombay umbrella industry (M/S Oswal Umbrellas).
14. Late Ram Lal Golcha - Famous Jute businessman who established in Nepal a biggest business house.



15. Walchand Hirachand Doshi- Founder, Balchand Hirachand group; A postal stamp of Rs. 5.00 was issued in his honour by the Government of India in 2004.
16. Narendra Patni -- Patni Computer Systems, a billion dollar IT company.
17. Suresh Patni – Industrialist, Chairman, Impex Group of companies, Kolkata.
18. Gautam Adani -- Chairman, Adani Group.
19. Ashok Patni – R. K. Marbles Group.
20. Pradeep Jain – Parsvanath Builders Group.
21. D. K. Jain – Luxor Group, Delhi.
22. Suresh C. Jain – Founder and Chancellor of Tirthankar Mahaveer University, Moradabad.
23. Pawan Jain – Founder of Mangalayatan University, Aligarh.
24. Devendra Kumar Pandya – Siddhumal Kagzi Group, Delhi.
25. Dr. Trilokchand Kothari – Author and businessman, Om Group of Companies, Kota/Delhi.
26. Deepchand Gardi – Barrister-at-Law, Real Estate Business Group, Mumbai.
27. Sanjay Jain – Chairman, Floriana Group, Delhi, Marble business.
28. Kanhayalal Patawari – Plastic Business, Delhi.
29. Raj Kumar Jain – Emkay Group, Business, Delhi.
30. Ashok Oswal – Textile and Hosiery Business, Ludhiana, Punjab.
31. G. D. Mundhra – Mundhra Group of Industries operating in Chemicals, IT, Textile, Cement, Machinery etc.
32. Harshad Mehta – Stockbroker, Mumbai. He was involved in a major shares scam in 1990s.
33. Dr. Pukhraj Bafna, Padam Shri Awardee, 2011.

### **Literature and Journalism**

1. Nathuram Premi (1881-1960) - Publisher and Scholar of Jainism, founder of Hindi Granth Karyalay and Manikchandra Jain Granthamala, Historian, Researcher, Social reformer and Editor of *Jain Mitra* and *Jain Hitaishi*.
2. Jainendra Kumar – Famous Hindi novelist, short story writer, thinker.
3. Rama Jain – Wife of Sahu Shanti Prasad Jain & founder of the publishing house Bharatiya Jnanpith, New Delhi and Varanasi.
4. Girilal Jain -- Former editor of *The Times of India*, Delhi.

5. N. P. Jain – Present owner and publisher of the famed publishing house of indological books, Motilal Banarsidass Pvt. Ltd.
6. Akshaya Kumar Jain – Former editor, *Nav Bharat Times*, Delhi.
7. Lalit Darda – *Lokmat* Group, M.P. Rajya Sabha.

### **Jainology/Education/Science/Teaching**

1. Pandit Jugalkishore Mukhtar (1877-1968), Jain Scholar.
2. Pandit Shuklal Sanghvi (1880-1978), Scholar and Author.
3. Dr. Hiralal Jain (1899-1973), Jain Scholar.
4. Dr. A. N. Upadhye (1906-1975), Jainologist.
5. Dr. Jyoti Prasad Jain (1912-1988), Historian.
6. Barrister Champat Rai Jain—Jain scholar, author (Hardoi).
7. Kamta Prasad Jain – World Jain Mission, Aliganj, Etah.
8. Justice J. L. Jaini – Chief Justice, Indore State High Court, Jain scholar.
9. Dr. Karmveer Bhaurao Patil - educationalist and social worker, Padma Bhushan Awardee; A postal stamp of Rs. 0.60 was issued in his honour by the Government of India in 1988.
10. Dr. Jagdish Chandra Jain - renowned Jain philosopher and Prakrit scholar; A postal stamp of Rs. 2.00 was issued in his honour by the Government of India in 2004.
11. Annasaheb B. Latthe - Started the magazines *Sri Jinavijay*, *Pragati Ani Jinavijaya*, *Deccan Rayat* and wrote many books on Jainism and politics.
12. Pt. Phool Chandra Siddhantshastri (1901-91) – scholar, author and editor of many books.
13. Pt. Kailash Chand Shastri– scholar, author and editor of many books.
14. Pt. Indra Chandra Shastri –Jain scholar, author, editor; A postal stamp of Rs. 5.00 was issued in his honour by the Government of India.
15. Pt. Mahendra Kumar Jain, Jain Nyayacharya.
16. Prof. Bhag Chandra Jain 'Bhaskar' - Renowned Scholar of Jainism and Buddhism. He is a recipient of the President's (Rashtrapati) award, 2004.
17. Prof. Rajaram Jain; Recipient of Rashtrapati Award for Prakrit Studies.

18. Prof. Gokul Chandra Jain; Recipient of Rashtrapati Award for being “an outstanding scholar in Prakrit, language & literature, 2008.
19. Prof. Prem Suman Jain; Recipient of Rashtrapati Award for Prakrit Studies, 2006.
20. Prof. V. A. Sangave (1920-2011) – Renowned Sociologist, author of *Jain Community: A Social Survey* and other works.
21. Dr. Hukamchand Bharill - Jain scholar, author and orator. Secretary-General of Pandit Todarmal Smarak Trust, Jaipur.
22. Dr. Vikram A. Sarabhai (1919-71) - World famous space scientist of India, Padma Vibushan Awardee; A postal stamp of Rs. 0.20 was issued in his memory by the Government of India in 1972.
23. Shahil Mehta - Renowned Mathematician
24. Prof. Daulat Singh Kothari (1906-1993) – Physicist, former UGC Chairman; A postal stamp of Rs. 5.00 was issued in his honour by the Government of India in 2011.
25. Prof. P. S. Jaini – Scholar of Buddhism and Jainism, University of California.
26. Professor Jagdish N. Seth - Renowned author, consultant, lecturer, and philanthropist. Author of *Chindia Rising*, *Rule of Three*, *Clients for Life*, and *Tectonic Shift*.
27. Devaki Jain, (born 1933) -- Development economist and Padma Bhusan Awardee.
28. Dr. Dipak C. Jain -- Dean Emeritus, Kellogg Business School, Northwestern University, Chicago; he has been named Dean of Instead Business School.
29. Ajit Jain – Chairman, Reinsurance division, Berkshire Hathway, USA.
30. Anshuman Jain – London-based NRI who is tipped to succeed as co-head of Deutsche Bank, the largest private bank in Germany
31. Prof. Rajmal Jain -- famous astronomical scientist who has been involved in the launch of Chandrayan-2 as the principal investigator and chief engineer. He was the first Asian recipient of “International Young Astronomer” award in America.
32. Bhaskar H. Nalte Jain -- a senior Defence scientist at Hindustan Aeronautics Limited, Bengaluru. He was involved in designing

the Pilotless Light Combat Aircraft which is being used in the Indian Airforce.

### **Entertainment**

1. V Shantaram - Pioneer of Indian Film Industry, recipient of Dada Saheb Phalke Award; A postal stamp of Rs. 4.00 was issued in his honour by the Government in 2001.
2. Pt. Umakant & Pt. Ramakant Gundecha - Foremost exponents of dhrupad style of Indian classical music.
3. Komal Kothari (1929-2004) - Prominent folklorist and ethnomusicologist and Padma Bhusan Awardee.
4. Asha Parekh - Famous leading lady of Bollywood, Ex-Chairperson of the Central Board of Film Certification.
5. Sooraj R. Barjatya - Film Producer & Director.
6. Kalyanji - Anandji - Music Directors.
7. Ravindra Jain - Music Director.
8. Anuradha Paudwal – Singer.
9. Bharat Shah - Diamond Merchant and Film Producer.
10. Sanjay Leela Bhansali- Famous Film Maker.
11. K Lal - Famous Magician.
12. Darsheel Safary - Award winning child artist of Bollywood film "Taare Zameen Par".

### **Sports**

1. Pavananjay Chougule - First Indian Athlete in Olympics.
2. Dilip Doshi - Former Indian Test and One Day Cricketer.
3. Anju Jain - Former Captain, Indian Women Cricket Team.

## **APPENDIX – V**

### **JAIN ASSOCIATIONS ABROAD**

#### **Africa**

Shree Sthanakvasi Jain Mandal, Jain Bhavan Forest Road, P O Box 46469, Nairobi, Kenya, East Africa.

Jain Svetamber Derawasi, P.O. Box 80711, Lagoni Road, Mombasa Kenya, E Africa.

Visa Oshwal Community, Thika, Kenya, East Africa

Jain Association, P. O. Box 50272 (RW), Lusaka, Zambia.

Jain Sangh of Tanzania, P.O.Box 3016, Da- Es-Salaam, Tanzania, East Africa.

#### **Asia**

Singapore Jain Religious Society, 18 Jalan Yasin, Off Jalan Eunus, Singapore.

Jain Sangh of Singapore, 54 Arab Street, Singapore 0719.

Jain Sangh, Katong, P O Box 106, Singapore 9143.

Singapore Jain Society, 150 South Bridge Road, 04-Fook Hai Bldgs, Singapore 0105.

Jain Sangh of Kobe, 6-17 Yamamoto Dori 2- Chome, Chico-ku, Kobe 650, Japan.

Mahavir Swami Jain Temple, 7-5 Kitano-Cho, 3 Chome, Chuo Ku, Japan.

Jain Centre of Hongkong Ltd, 4-B, 4/F Wealthy Hts, 35 -37 Macdonnell Rd, Hong Kong.

Jain International, 38a, Mac Donnell Road, 4<sup>th</sup> Floor, Hong Kong.

Jain Social Group, P.O. Box 4396, Al Maktoum St., Deira, Dubai, U.A.E.

## **Europe**

Young Jains, 199 Kenton Lane, Harrow HA3 8TL, Middlesex, U.K

Digambar Visa Mevada Jain Association, 116 Kingscourt Road,  
London SW16, U.K.

Bhakti Mandal, 23 Silkfield Road, Collindale, London NW9, U.K.

Federation of Jain Organization, 11 Lindsay Dr., Kenton Harrow,  
Middlesex HA3 OTA, U.K.

International Mahavira Mission, 25 Sunny Garden Road, London  
NW4, U.K.

Jain Association, 1 Hartford Ave, Kenton, Harrow HA3 8TA,  
Middlesex U.K.

Jain Association of UK, 61 Upper Selsdon Rd., Sanderstead CR2 8DJ,  
Surrey, U.K.

Jain Centre, 36, Masons Ave., Wealdstone, Harrow, Middlesex, U.K.

Jain Pragati Mandal, 49 Highfield Avenue, London NW 11, U.K.

Jain Social Group, 153 Chalklands, Wembley, Middlesex HA 9900, U.K.

Jain Samaj Europe, 27 Homefield Ave, Leicester LE2 2BG, U.K.

Jain Samaj Manchester, 12 Cringle Dr., Cheadle, Cheshire SK8 1JJ, U.K.

Jain Sangh Birmingham, 679 Shirley Road, Hall Green, Birmingham  
B28 9JX, U.K.

Jain Sangh -- East London & Essex, 167 Eastern Ave., Redbridge Ilford,  
Essex IG4 5AW, U.K.

Jain Social Group, 153 Chalklands, Wembly, Middlesex, U.K.

Jain Social Group, 2 Hillside, Bishop's Walk, Croydon, CRO 5 BA, U.K.

Jain Social Group, London, 18 Wickham Road, Hendon, London NW4  
2SU, U.K.

Navnat Vanik Assn. of the U.K. 19 Hedge Lane, London N13 5SJ, U.K.

Jain Social Group Midlands & North, 4 Spinney, Cheadle, Cheshire  
SK8 1JA, U.K.

Jain Social Group, South London, Hill Side, Bishop's Walk, Croydon,  
Surrey, CRO 5BA, U.K.

Navyug Jain Pragati Mandal, 127 Denzil Road, London NW10 3XB,  
U.K.

Mahavir Foundation, 18 Florence Mansions, Vivian Ave, Hendon,  
London NW4, U.K.

Navyug Jain Pragati Mandal, 79 Friar Rd, Orpington BR5 2BP, U.K.

Vanik Samaj-Coventry, 17 Poitiers Road, Cheylesmore, Coventry CV3  
5JY, U.K.

Oshwal Association of U.K, Coopers Lane Road, Herts ENG 4DG, U.K.

Oshwal Association UK 123 Jensington, PK Creek Harrow, U.K.

Vanik Association, 71 Pretoria Road, Streatham, SW16 6RL, U.K.

Vanik Samaj of U.K., 92 Osborne Road, Brighton BN1 6LU, U.K.

Shree Digamber Jain Association,  
The Broadway (Off Locket Road), Wealdstone, Harrow, Middlesex,  
HA3 7EH, U.K

The Jain Academy, UK, 49 Highfield Avenue, Golders Green, London,  
NW11 9EU, UK

Jain Cultural Centre, Antwerp, Hoventerstraat 2, Box 444, Room 345,  
2018 Antwerp,  
Belgium.

Jain Ashram, 15 Ahornen Laan, Wilrijk, Antwerp, Belgium

Jain Association International (Germany)  
V. Schweriner Str., 524558 Henstedt Ulzburg, Germany  
Phone. +49 4193 968360; Fax: +49 4193 968361  
website: [www.jain-germany.de](http://www.jain-germany.de)

## **JAIN ASSOCIATIONS/CENTRES/TEMPLES IN NORTH AMERICA**

### **United States of America**

Jain Centre of Greater Phoenix,  
P.O. Box 64221, Phoenix, Arizona 85041  
Phone: 602-863-1073  
Website: <http://www.jcgp.org>

Jain Centre of Northern California,  
722 South Main Street, Milpitas, California 95035  
Phone: 408-262-6242  
Website: <http://www.jcnc.org>

Jain Centre of Southern California,  
8072 Commonwealth Ave. Buena Park, California 90621  
Phone: 714-739-9161  
Website: <http://www.jaincenter.net>

Jain Society of Greater Sacramento,  
5239 Fair Oaks Blvd, Carmichael, California 95608  
Phone: 916-488-2601

Jain Society of San Diego,  
9474 Black Mountain Road, San Diego, California 92126  
Phone: 858-676-1150

Jain Centre of Connecticut,  
7 Trailing Ridge Road, Brookfield, Connecticut 06805  
Phone: 203-775-1906

Jain Centre of Greater Hartford,  
23 Fellen Road, Storrs, Connecticut 06268  
Phone: 860-487-0607

Jain Centre of Colorado,  
10976 West 66th Ave. Arvada, Colorado 80004  
Phone: 303-420-7049

Jain Society of Southern Florida,  
6100 Old Winter Garden Rd., Orlando, Florida 32835  
Phone: 407-295-8694



Jain Society, Inc. of Tampa Bay,  
5513A Lynn Road, Tampa, Florida 33624  
Phone: 813-962-2487

Jain Society of Central Florida,  
407 W. Citrus Street, Altamonte Springs, Florida 32714  
Phone: 407-323-3509  
Website: <http://jsocf.org/>

Jain Centre of Ft. Meyers,  
6759 Highland Pines Cir, Fort Meyers, Florida 33912  
Phone: 941-561-2731

Jain Association of Palm Beach,  
3949 Whaleboat Way, Wellington, Florida 33414  
Phone: 561-793-3564

Jain Vishwa Bharati USA,  
7819 Lillwill Ave, Orlando, Florida 32809  
Phone: 407-852-8964  
Website: <http://jainvishwabharati.org>

Augusta Jain Community,  
408 Hastings Place, Martinez, Georgia 30907  
Phone: 706-863-6976

Hindu/Jain Temple Society of Augusta,  
1421 Lukes Road, Augusta, Georgia 30907  
Phone: 706-860-3864  
Website: <http://www.augustahts.org>

Jain Society of Greater Atlanta,  
669 South Peachtree Rd., Norcross, Georgia 30071  
Phone: 770-613-0103  
Website: <http://www.jsгатemple.org>

Jain Society of Metropolitan Chicago,  
435 North Route 59, Bartlett, Illinois 60103  
Phone: 630-837-1077  
Website: <http://www.jsmconline.org>

Jain Society of Kansas City,  
15404, W-79th Terrace, Lenexa, Kansas 66219  
Phone: 913-599-4582

Jain Society of Southern Louisiana,  
3829 Deer Creek Lane, Harvey, Louisiana 70058  
Phone: 504-340-4283

Jain Society of Metropolitan Washington,  
1021 Briggs Chaney Road, Silver Spring, Maryland 20905  
Phone: 703-620-9837  
Website: <http://www.jainsocietydc.org>

Jain Centre of Greater Boston,  
15 Cedar Street, Norwood, Massachusetts 02062  
Phone: 781-762-9490  
Website: <http://www.jcgb.org>  
Website: <http://www.pluralism.org/resources/slideshow/jcgb/index.php>

Jain Sangh of New England,  
124-A Cummings Park Dr., Woburn, Massachusetts 01801  
Phone: 781-245-0051  
Website: <http://www.jsne.org>

Jain Society of Greater Detroit,  
29278 West 12 Mile Road, Farmington Hills, Michigan  
Phone: 248-851-5246  
Website: <http://www.shubhlabh.net/detroittemple.html>

Jain Centre of Lansing,  
1047 Prescott Street, East Lansing, Michigan

Jain Centre of Minnesota,  
147, 14th Ave SW St. Paul, Minnesota  
Phone: 651-636-1075  
Website: <http://www.jaincentermn.org>

Jain Centre of Greater St. Louis,  
725 Weldman Road, St. Louis, Manchester, Missouri  
Phone: 636-230-3330  
Website: <http://www.jcstl.org>

Jain Centre of New Jersey,  
233 Runnymede Road, Essex Fells, New Jersey  
Phone: 973-226-2539  
Website: <http://www.jaincenternj.org/>

Jain Sangh of Pennsylvania, New Jersey,  
and Delaware 3401 Cooper Avenue Pennsauken, New Jersey  
Phone: 856-662-2627  
Website: <http://www.jainsangh.org>

Jain Vishva Bharati of North America,  
151 Middlesex Ave, Iselin, New Jersey  
Website: <http://www.jvbna.org/>

Siddhachalam (International Mahavir Jain Mission),  
65 Mudd Pond Road, Blairstown, New Jersey  
Phone: 908-362-9793  
Website: <http://www.siddhachalam.org/>

Jain Association of Elmira,  
108 Lincoln Road, Horseheads, New York  
Phone: 607-796-9065

Jain Centre of America,  
43-11 Ithaca Street, Elmhurst, New York  
Phone: 718-803-0195  
Website: <http://www.nyjaincenter.org>

Jain Centre of Syracuse,  
4013 Pawnee Drive, Liverpool, New York  
Phone: 315-622-3287

Jain Sangh of Hudson Valley,  
18 Stephen Drive, Hopewell Junction, New York  
Phone: 914-226-6016

Jain Society of Buffalo,  
1560 North French Road, Getzville, New York 14068  
Phone: 716-634-7469

Jain Society of Albany,  
450 Albany-Shakers, Rd., Loudonville, New York 12211  
Phone: 518-785-7470

Jain Society of Rochester,  
14 Ambergate Rise, Pittsford, New York 14534  
Phone: 716-264-9834

JAINA – (Federation of Jain Associations in North America),  
P.O. Box 700, Getzville, New York  
Phone: 716-636-5342  
Website: <http://www.jaina.org>

Jain Meditation International Centre (JMIC),  
401 East 86th Street, #20A, New York, New York 10028  
Phone: 212-362-6483

Jain Society of Las Vegas,  
1701 Sagberry Dr., Las Vegas, Nevada 89144  
Phone: 702-304-9207  
Website: <http://www.hinhutemplelv.org>

Jain Study Centre of North Carolina (Raleigh),  
509 Carriage Woods Circle, Raleigh, North Carolina 27607  
Phone: 919-469-0956  
Website: <http://www.jainism.org>

Jain Study Group of Charlotte,  
7400 City View Dr., Charlotte, North Carolina 28212  
Phone: 704-535-3440

Jain Centre of Central Ohio,  
2770 Sawbury Blvd. Columbus, Ohio 43225  
Phone: 614-596-7887  
Website: <http://www.icoco.org/>

Jain Centre of Cincinnati/Dayton,  
6798 Cincinnati-Dayton Road, Cincinnati, Ohio  
Phone: 513-885-7414

Jain Centre of Toledo,  
7219 Cloister Road, Toledo, Ohio 43617  
Phone: 419-841-8985

Jain Society of Greater Cleveland,  
14835 Lancelot Ln., N. Royalton, Ohio 44138  
Phone: 440-748-3420,  
Website: <http://www.jsgc.org>

Tulsa Jain Sangh,  
8707 E. 133rd Place, Bixby, Oklahoma 74008  
Phone: 918-369-3163

Jain Society of Oregon,  
5432 S.W. Seymore St., Portland, Oregon 97221  
Phone: 503-292-1965

Young Jains of America (YJA),  
5432 SW Seymour Street, Portland, Oregon  
Website: <http://www.yja.org>

Hindu/Jain Temple of Pittsburgh,  
615 Illini Drive, Monroeville, Pennsylvania 15146  
Phone: 724-325-2054  
Website: <http://www.hindujaintemple.org>

Jain Centre of South Central PA,  
301 Stelgerwalt Hallo Rd. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 170706  
Phone: 717-898-6173

Jain Sangh of Allentown,  
4200 Airport Road, Allentown, Pennsylvania 18130  
Phone: 610-868-1231

Samarpan Hindu/Jain Temple,  
6515 Bustleton Avenue, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19149  
Phone: 215-537-9537  
Website: <http://www.samarpantemple.org>

Samarpan Jain Sangh, Inc,  
9701 Bustleton Avenue, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19115  
Phone: 215-464-7676

Jain Society of Pittsburgh,  
1010 Summer Ridge Crt., Murrysville, Pennsylvania 15668  
Phone: 724-327-6570

Jain Group of Greenville,  
108 Meaway Crt., Simpsonville, SC 92681  
Phone: 803-967-4605

Jain Society of Middle Tennessee,  
2273 Pewitt Drive, Clarksville, Tennessee 37403  
Phone: 931-648-9535

Jain Society of Greater Memphis,  
2173 East Glendalen Dr., Memphis, Tennessee 38139  
Phone: 901-755-3600

Jain Centre of West Texas,  
1110 Juneau Ave., Lubbock, Texas 79416  
Phone: 409-295-1600

Jain Society of Houston,  
3905 Arc Street Houston, Texas 77215  
Phone: 713-789-2338  
Website: <http://www.jain-houston.org>

Jain Society of North Texas,  
538 Apollo Road, Richardson, Texas 75081  
Phone: 972-470-0606  
Website: <http://dfwjains.org/>

Jain Vishwa Bharati Institute Preksha Meditation Centre – Houston,  
1712 Highway 6 S, South Houston, Texas 77077  
Phone: 281-596-9642

Jainova (Jains of Northern Virginia),  
3728 Persimmon Circle, Fairfax, Virginia 22031  
Website: <http://www.jainova.org/index.html>

Jain Religion Centre of Wisconsin,  
N4063 W243 Pewaukee Rd., Highway 164 North,  
Pewaukee, Wisconsin 53072  
Phone: 262-242-0245  
Website: <http://www.jainwi.org>

Prerana Yoga & Meditation Foundation,  
1302 Deer Run, Morgantown, West Virginia 26505  
Phone: 304-594-1818

## Canada

Jain Society of Alberta, Heritage Park,  
Tower South 203, 2910 - 109 Street, Edmonton, Alberta T6J 7H4  
Phone: 780-435-9070  
(Edmonton also has a Bhagwan Mahavir Jain temple).

Jain Society of Toronto,  
48 Rosemeade Avenue, Etobicoke, Ontario MBY 3A5  
Phone: 416-241-2044

Bhagwan Mahaveer Jain Temple/Jain Society of Toronto,  
247 Parklawn Road, Toronto, Ontario M8 Y 3j6  
Phone: (416) 273-9387 Temple (416) 251-8112

Jain Association of Ottawa-Carleton,  
3 Huntwood Court, Ottawa, Ontario K1V 0R3  
Phone: 613-736-0783

The Jain Centre of British Columbia,  
4431 Price Crescent, Burnaby, B.C. V5G 2N5  
Phone: 604-438-2243

Montreal Jain Association,  
1830 Eduardo Lauren Blvd, St. Laurent, Que. H4L 2C2  
Phone: 514-747-9707

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## GLOSSARY

<i>Acharya</i>	: The head of a group of sadhus
<i>Adharma</i>	: Medium of rest
<i>Agama</i>	: Sacred precepts
<i>Aghatiya Karma</i>	: The non-destructive karma
<i>Ahimsa</i>	: Abstention from injury to living beings
<i>Ailaka</i>	: The grade of ascetics of Digambara sect below that of Nirgrantha grade
<i>Ajiva</i>	: Non-soul, non-living substance
<i>Akasa</i>	: Space
<i>Akshata</i>	: Sacred rice
<i>Ananta-darsana</i>	: Infinite perception
<i>Ananta-Jnana</i>	: Infinite knowledge
<i>Ananta-sukha</i>	: Infinite bliss
<i>Anasana</i>	: Fasting
<i>Anatmavada</i>	: Belief in the non-existence of soul
<i>Anekanta</i>	: Manifoldness
<i>Anekantavada</i>	: Many sided view point, doctrine of manifold aspects
<i>Anumana</i>	: Inference
<i>Anupreksha</i>	: Reflection
<i>Anu-vrata</i>	: The five small vows
<i>Aparigraha</i>	: Abstention from greed for worldly possessions
<i>Ap-kaya jivas</i>	: Water-bodied souls
<i>Apta</i>	: Tirthankara
<i>Arambhi himsa</i>	: Life style violence
<i>Arati</i>	: Waving of lights in front of an idol
<i>Arjika</i>	: A female ascetic
<i>Artha</i>	: Wealth, worldly prosperity, meaning
<i>Asatya</i>	: Falsehood
<i>Asrama</i>	: A stage in life
<i>Asrava</i>	: The attraction of karmic matter towards the soul
<i>Asubha-asrava</i>	: Influx of vice or demeritorious karmas into the soul
<i>Asteya</i>	: Abstention from theft
<i>Atichara</i>	: Transgression, short-coming
<i>Atithi-samvibhagavrata</i>	: A vow to feed ascetics and/or pious householders

<i>Atman</i>	: Soul, spirit
<i>Atmavada</i>	: Belief in existence of soul
<i>Avadhi-jnana</i>	: Clairvoyant knowledge of matter
<i>Avasarpini</i>	: Descending
<i>Avasyakas</i>	: Necessary daily duties
<i>Avatara</i>	: Incarnation
<i>Avidya</i>	: Ignorance
<i>Avirati</i>	: Vowlessness, non-renunciation
<i>Ayu-karma</i>	: The age-determining karma
<i>Baddha jives</i>	: Souls in bondage
<i>Bahya-parigraha</i>	: Actual possession of worldly objects
<i>Bahya-tapa</i>	: External austerities
<i>Bandha</i>	: Bondage of soul by karmic matter
<i>Bhadrak</i>	: Accessory rules of conduct
<i>Bhakti</i>	: Faith, devotion
<i>Bharata-varsa</i>	: India, i.e, the country named after Bharat, the eldest son of the first jaina Trithankara Adinatha
<i>Bhasa-samiti</i>	: Regulation of mode of speech
<i>Bhattaraka</i>	: A Dharma-guru of a Digambara sect
<i>Bhavana</i>	: Contemplation
<i>Bhogabhumi</i>	: Enjoyment-region
<i>Bindi</i>	: Red dots that most Indian women put on forehead
<i>Bisapantha</i>	: Name of a sub-sect of Digambara Jainas
<i>Brahmacharya</i>	: Abstention from unchastity or sexuality, celibacy
<i>Brahmachary-asrama</i>	: The first stage in, stage of study
<i>Chaitya</i>	: Idol or statue
<i>Chaityalaya</i>	: A temple
<i>Chaityavasi</i>	: Temple residents, another name of Muripujaka sub-sect of Shvetambara sect
<i>Chakravarti</i>	: Emperor, a paramount sovereign
<i>Charitra</i>	: Biographies of great teachers and personages
<i>Chatur-indriya jivas</i>	: Souls having first four senses of touch, taste, smell and sight
<i>Chaturyama Dharma</i>	: Fourfold religion propagated by Lord Parsvanath
<i>Chaurya</i>	: Theft
<i>Dana</i>	: Charity
<i>Darsanavaraniya karma</i>	: The conation-obscuring karma

<i>Dasalaksana dharma</i>	: Observance of ten virtues
<i>Deravasi</i>	: Temple residents, another name of Murtipujaka sub-sect of Shvetambara sect
<i>Desa-vrata</i>	: A vow to limit worldly activity to a particular area
<i>Deva-gati</i>	: Celestial condition of existence
<i>Dharma-guru</i>	: A religious authority
<i>Dhrauvya</i>	: Permanence
<i>Dhundhia</i>	: Searchers, another name of Sthanakavasi sub-sect of Shvetambara sect
<i>Dhyana</i>	: Meditation, concentration of mind
<i>Digambara</i>	: Sky-clad, naked, name of a major sect of Jains
<i>Dig-vrata</i>	: A vow to limit worldly activity to fixed points in all directions
<i>Diksa</i>	: Initiation
<i>Diksa-vidhi</i>	: Initiation rite
<i>Dravya</i>	: Substance
<i>Dravya-naya</i>	: The substantial point of view
<i>Dvindriya jives</i>	: Souls having first two senses of touch and taste
<i>Esana samiti</i>	: Regulation of seeking or eating food
<i>Ganadhara</i>	: Spokesman of Tirthankara
<i>Ghatiya karma</i>	: The destructive karma
<i>Gotra karma</i>	: The family-determining karma
<i>Grantha</i>	: Book, correct use of the words
<i>Grharambhi himsa</i>	: Accidental injury due to household activities
<i>Grhasthasrama</i>	: The second stage in life of a house-holder
<i>Guna</i>	: Quality
<i>Guna-vrata</i>	: A multiplicative vow
<i>Gupti</i>	: Regulation, control
<i>Himsa</i>	: Injury, Violence
<i>Jina</i>	: Spiritual victor
<i>Jinakalpi sadhu</i>	: An ascetic who observes prescribed rules of conduct in the strictest form
<i>Jiva</i>	: Soul, spirit, living substance
<i>Jnana</i>	: Knowledge
<i>Jnanavaraniya karma</i>	: The knowledge-obscuring karma
<i>Kala</i>	: Time, period, age
<i>Kama</i>	: Pleasure, want, desire
<i>Kamandalu</i>	: A wooden water pot
<i>Karma</i>	: Subtle particles of matter

<i>Karmabhumi</i>	: Life based on efforts
<i>Karta</i>	: Head of the family
<i>Kasaya</i>	: Passion
<i>Katha</i>	: Story, tale
<i>Kavya</i>	: Poetry
<i>Kaya-gupti</i>	: Regulation of bodily activity
<i>Kayotsarga</i>	: Practicing penance in a standing posture
<i>Kevalajnana</i>	: Pure infinite knowledge
<i>Kevali</i>	: The omniscient
<i>Kshama</i>	: Forgiveness
<i>Kshullaka</i>	: The lowest grade of ascetics of Digambara sect
<i>Kulakara</i>	: Law giver
<i>Loka</i>	: Universe
<i>Madhya-marga</i>	: Middle path
<i>Maha-Kavya</i>	: Epic
<i>Maha-vrata</i>	: A great vow
<i>Manahparyaya-jnana</i>	: Capacity to know other's mind
<i>Mandira-margi</i>	: temple goers, another name of Murtipujaka sub-sect of Shvetambara sect
<i>Mangal-sutra</i>	: Sacred wedding necklace worn by married ladies
<i>Manu</i>	: Ancient Hindu law maker
<i>Matha</i>	: Monastery
<i>Mati-jnana</i>	: Sense-knowledge
<i>Maya</i>	: Deception, illusion
<i>Mithya</i>	: Unreal
<i>Mithyadarsama</i>	: Wrong belief
<i>Mohaniya karma</i>	: The deluding-karma
<i>Moksha</i>	: Attainment of complete freedom of the soul from karmic matter, salvation, Nirvana
<i>Moksha-marga</i>	: Way to salvation
<i>Mudhata</i>	: Superstitious belief
<i>Mukti</i>	: Complete liberation or emancipation
<i>Mundan</i>	: Head shave
<i>Maula-gunas</i>	: Basic attributes, root-virtues
<i>Mumhapatti</i>	: A piece of white cloth kept always on the mouth by Shvetambara sadhus
<i>Muni</i>	: An ascetic
<i>Muni-dharma</i>	: Ethical code for ascetics
<i>Murtipujaka</i>	: Idol-worshipper, a major sub-sect of Shvetambara sect
<i>Nama karma</i>	: The body-making karma



<i>Nama-karan</i>	: Naming ceremony
<i>Naraka-gati</i>	: Hellish form
<i>Nastik</i>	: Non-believer
<i>Naya</i>	: A particular point of view, a mode of expressing things
<i>Nayavada</i>	: System of describing reality from different points of view
<i>Nirgrantha</i>	: Naked, a naked ascetic, the highest grade of Digambar ascetics
<i>Nirjara</i>	: Gradual removal of karmic matter from the soul
<i>Nirvana</i>	: Salvation, liberation
<i>Nischaya naya</i>	: The realistic point of view
<i>Niyoga</i>	: Levirate
<i>Padmavati</i>	: Goddess associated with Lord Parshwanath
<i>Panch-endriya jivas</i>	: Souls having all five senses of touch, taste, smell, sight and hearing
<i>Papa</i>	: Demerit
<i>Parigraha</i>	: Worldly attachments and possessions
<i>Parigraha-parimana</i>	: Limitation of worldly attachments
<i>Parigraha-parimana vrata</i>	: A vow not to exceed worldly attachments beyond a pre-determined limit
<i>Parisaha</i>	: Suffering of sufferings
<i>Paryaya</i>	: Mode or form
<i>Paryushan parv</i>	: Holy days of spiritual purification
<i>Pichhi</i>	: A peacock-feather whisk-broom
<i>Prabandhas</i>	: Epic
<i>Pramada</i>	: Carelessness
<i>Pramana</i>	: Means of acquiring knowledge
<i>Pratikramana</i>	: The recitation of the formulae of confession of past faults
<i>Pratima</i>	: A stage of ethical progress in a householder's life
<i>Prayaschitta</i>	: Expiation
<i>Prosadhopavasa</i>	: A vow to fast on the four days of a month
<i>Pudgala</i>	: Matter
<i>Puja</i>	: Worship
<i>Pujera</i>	: Worshippers, another name of Mutipujaka sub-sect of Shvetambara sect
<i>Punya</i>	: Merit
<i>Purana</i>	: A biography of great teachers or persons
<i>Ratna-traya</i>	: The three Jewels, viz., samyak-darsana, jnana and charitra

<i>Sachitta</i>	: Flowers, fruits and green vegetables
<i>Sadhu</i>	: A male ascetic
<i>Sadhvi</i>	: A female ascetic
<i>Sallekhana</i>	: Ritual peaceful voluntary death by fasting
<i>Samanya kevali</i>	: The jina or the omniscient involved in his own salvation
<i>Samiti</i>	: Carefulness
<i>Samayika</i>	: Equanimity, meditation
<i>Samsara</i>	: World, cycle of transmigration
<i>Samsari jivas</i>	: Mundane souls, embodied souls
<i>Samyak-darsana</i>	: Right conduct
<i>Samyak-jnana</i>	: Right knowledge
<i>Samyak-charitra</i>	: Right conduct
<i>Samvara</i>	: The stopping of asrava
<i>Sankalpi himsa</i>	: Intentional injury
<i>Sanyasa-asrama</i>	: The last life-stage of absolute renunciation
<i>Sapta-bhangi</i>	: Another name of Anekantavada, the doctrine of seven-fold predication
<i>Sapta-padi</i>	: Seven steps around fire in marriage
<i>Saraks</i>	: A tribal Jain caste in eastern India
<i>Sat</i>	: Reality
<i>Sati</i>	: Custom of entering the pyre of husband
<i>Satya</i>	: Truth, abstention from false speech real
<i>Satyagraha</i>	: Truthful right
<i>Sastra</i>	: Scripture
<i>Shraddha</i>	: Custom of offering rice balls to the dead person
<i>Shraman</i>	: An Ascetic; Religious tradition opposed to the Vedic tradition
<i>Siksa-vratas</i>	: Disciplinary vows
<i>Sila-vratas</i>	: Supplementary vows
<i>Sindoor</i>	: Vermilion
<i>Sravaka</i>	: Male householder, a layman
<i>Sravaka-dharma</i>	: Ethical code for layman
<i>Sravika</i>	: Female householder, a Jain lay-woman
<i>Sruta-jnana</i>	: Scriptural knowledge
<i>Subh-asrava</i>	: Influx of virtue or meritorious karmas
<i>Siddha jiva</i>	: A liberated soul
<i>Sthanaka</i>	: A building meant for prayer and religious activities
<i>Stanakavasi</i>	: Major sub-sect of Shvetambara sect, sthanaka-residents
<i>Sudra</i>	: Forth category of Hindu Varna system

<i>Sutra</i>	: Aphoristic expression, religious text
<i>Svadhya</i>	: Self study of scriptures
<i>Svastika</i>	: The particular sign considered propitious
<i>Syadvada</i>	: Many-sided view point, the doctrine of qualified assertion
<i>Syat</i>	: In some respect, somehow, in a way
<i>Tapa</i>	: Penance, austerity
<i>Tarana-pantha</i>	: Name of a sub-sect in Digambara Jainism
<i>Tattva</i>	: Principle, reality
<i>Terapantha</i>	: Name of sub sects within Digambar and Shvetambar sects
<i>Tithankara</i>	: One who makes the Tritha, ford maker across the stream of existence, great guide
<i>Tiryancha-gati</i>	: Sub-human form
<i>Trasajiva</i>	: A mobile soul
<i>Triindri-jivas</i>	: Souls having first three senses of touch, taste and smell
<i>Udyami himsa</i>	: Occupational injury
<i>Upabhoga- paribhoga</i>	: A vow to limit enjoyment of consumable and non-consumable things
<i>parimana-vrata</i>	
<i>Upadhyaya</i>	: The sadhu in charge of instruction
<i>Upasraya</i>	: A building meant for stay of Shvetambara ascetics
<i>Utpada</i>	: Origination, appearance
<i>Utsarpini</i>	: Ascending
<i>Uttama akinchanya</i>	: Supreme non-attachment
<i>Uttama arjava</i>	: Supreme simplicity
<i>Uttama brahmacharya</i>	: Supreme chastity
<i>Uttama dharma</i>	: Supreme virtue
<i>Uttama ksama</i>	: Supreme forgiveness
<i>Uttama mardava</i>	: Supreme humility or tenderness
<i>Uttama sanyama</i>	: Supreme self-restraint
<i>Uttama satya</i>	: Supreme truthfulness
<i>Uttama saucha</i>	: Supreme purity
<i>Uttama tapa</i>	: Supreme austerity
<i>Uttama tyaga</i>	: Supreme renunciation
<i>Vaiyavrttya</i>	: Rendering service to saints
<i>Vanaprasth-asrama</i>	: The third stage in life of retirement from worldly activities
<i>Vanaspati-kaya jiva</i>	: Vegetable bodied and bacteria type soul
<i>Varna-vyavastha</i>	: Four-fold division of Hindu society
<i>Vayu-kaya jiva</i>	: Air-bodied soul
<i>Vedaniya karma</i>	: The feeling karma

<i>Vimoha</i>	: Attachment, delusion
<i>Vinaya</i>	: Reverent attitude, modest behaviour
<i>Virodhi himsa</i>	: Protective injury
<i>Vrata</i>	: A vow
<i>Vrati</i>	: A person who observes <i>vratas</i>
<i>Vyavahara-naya</i>	: The practical point of view
<i>Vyaya</i>	: Destruction, disappearance
<i>Yoga</i>	: Activity of mind, speech and body.

## PLATES



Jain Temple,  
Ranakpur,  
Rajasthan



Jain Temple,  
Chaitanyadham,  
Gujarat



Jain Temple,  
Palitana,  
Gujarat



Kirtistambh,  
Chittoregarh,  
Rajasthan



Statue of Bahubali,  
Sravanabelagola, Karnataka



Statue of a Jain Teerthankar  
in Jain temple, Antwerp, Belgium



Jain Temple, Dilwara,  
Mt. Abu, Rajasthan



Jain Temple, Chicago, USA



Jain Temple, Houston, USA





Jain Temple, Boston, USA



Jain Temple, California, USA



Jain Temple, Kenya



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