CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The present study, "Social Stratification and Education Among Muslims: A Comparative Study of a Village and a Town in Basti District U.P." is an humble attempt to investigate and analyze the attitude of the Muslims toward education based on sub-castes, income, education and rural urban differentials residing in Village Kausauri and Basti town. Kausauri is about 18 Kms. from Basti and Basti is around 170 Kms. from Lucknow, Capital of Uttar Pradesh.

In Kausauri Village there are 13 Muslim sub-castes while on the other hand there are more than 13 Muslim sub-castes residing in Basti. Since, the investigator hails from Kausauri, hence, he has taken into account only those 13 sub-castes from Basti whose members are also residing in Kausauri, inorder to submit a meaningful and logical comparative analysis based on social stratification.

Historically, Khans hailing from Kausauri and Basti were the Zamindars and enjoyed political supremacy and higher social prestige in the society, as compared to others. Furthermore, Khans residing in Kausauri and Basti though numerically less in number but on account of their comparatively better socio-economic backgrounds and political linkages still enjoy dominance over other Muslims in both these places. The dominance of Khans residing in Kausauri and not in Basti is markedly noticeable by the fact that they have
a separate burial ground where other than Khans are not permitted to bury their deads, but Khans residing in the nearby villages are allowed to bury their deads in the same burial ground.

It is a common belief that majority of the Muslims except Khans to a great extent hailing from Kausauri and Basti remained educationally backward. There might have been various factors for their educational backwardness but economic reasons, ignorance about the importance of education, lack of leadership and meagre educational facilities etc. at both these places are generally being attributed as the major reasons for the educational backwardness of the Muslims of these areas. Furthermore, though Basti is a district town is still backward from the point of view of education as well as industry and trade as compared to other districts of Uttar Pradesh. Muslims hailing from Kausauri and Basti probably on account of their ignorance and lack of leadership, despite Government's educational policies and programmes have failed to achieve the expected educational accomplishments till today. Moreover, there seems to be marked variations in the educational accomplishments among the 13 sub-castes of the Muslims residing in Kusauri and Basti.

A. Beteille (1965), has pointed out that Brahman Land Lords had opted for modern education in order to get government jobs for the retention of their higher status in Sripuram. The
findings of Beteille seems to be realistically applicable to the enlightened Muslims Land Lords in general and Khans of Kausauri & Basti in particular. It has been observed that Muslim Land Lords of Kausauri and Basti have succeeded in retaining their status in the society on account of change in their attitude from traditional to modern educational system based on rationalistic and scientific principles.

Objectives: The following are some of the major objective of the present investigation.

1. To investigate and compare the attitudes of different Muslim sub-castes residing in Kausauri.
2. To investigate and compare the attitudes of different Muslim sub-castes residing in Basti.
3. To study and compare the responses of the subjects hailing from different economic backgrounds and residing in Kausauri.
4. To investigate and compare the responses of the respondents hailing from different economic backgrounds and residing in Basti.
5. To study and compare the responses of the subjects hailing from different educational backgrounds and residing in Kausauri.
6. To study and compare the attitudes of the respondents
representing different educational backgrounds and residing in Basti.

7. To investigate and compare the responses of the subjects hailing from Kausauri and Basti.

**Hypothesis:**

The investigator tend to test the following hypothesis:

1. It is proposed that Muslim sub-castes residing in Kausauri differ in their approach.
2. It is expected that different sub-castes residing in Basti hold variations in their approach.
3. It is proposed that respondents hailing from different economic backgrounds and residing in Kausauri exhibit differential outlooks.
4. It is expected that the subjects hailing from different economic backgrounds and residing Basti differ in their approach.
5. It is proposed that respondents representing different educational background and residing in Kausauri differ in their approach.
6. It is expected that the subjects hailing from different educational background and residing in Basti exhibit differentials in their attitude.
7. It is proposed that the respondents hailing from Kausauri
and Basti exhibit variations in their approach.

Islam attaches immense importance to the acquisition and extension of education. To quote Prophet:

"Acquire knowledge because he who acquires it in the way of the Lord, performs an act of piety; who speaks of it, praises the Lord, who seeks it, adores God; who dispenses instruction in it, bestows alms; and who imparts it to its fitting objects, performs an act of devotion to God. Knowledge enables its possessor to distinguish what is forbidden from what is not; it lights the way to heaven, it is our friend in the desert, our society in solitude, our companion when bereft of friends; it guides us to happiness; it sustains us in misery; it is our ornament in the company of friends; it serves as an armour against our enemies. With knowledge the servant of God rises to the heights of goodness and to a noble position, associates with sovereigns in this world, and attains to the perfection of happiness in the next" (S.M. Jaffar, 1972:1).

S.M. Jaffar (1972), Islam attaches immense importance to
the acquisition and extension of *ilm* or knowledge, which with all its scholastic appurtenances involved in the study of the Qur'an, the Ahadith and other sciences, is the only road to the apprehension of truth. The plea of ignorance does not weigh with it because it is often used as a subterfuge. Apropos of it there are recurring passages in the Qur'an. The Surah-i Iqra, the first revealed version of this Holy Book, opens with an injunction addressed to the prophet to 'read', and the place assigned to education in Islam can be best appreciated in the light of importance attached to ink, pen and paper—the three indispensable instruments of acquiring and extending knowledge. The same surah is also partially devoted to the art of uniting and its indispensability as a means to the same end. Besides, there are numerous traditions (Ahadith) treating of the subject and enjoying it as a religious duty. Votaries of Islam have always held learning and erudition in honour verging on veneration. With such an attitude towards knowledge, Islam has immeasurably contributed to the wisdom of the world and the science of humanity. For the achievements of Islam in the realm of letters, the histories of Ibn-i-Khaldun, Ibn-ul-Athir and a host of historians whose accounts exhibit the height of civilization to which the Musalmans had attained. Suffice it to say here that while the whole world was sunk in barbaric ignorance, Baghdad, Cairo, Cordova,
Damascus, Kairowan, Nishapur and Seville reared their heads, show as bacons and shed their light far and wide, illuminating the west as well as the East, then steeped in the darkness of ignorance.

S.M. Jaffar (1972:6-7), the teachings of Islam are meant for all human beings. Muhammad recommended education as meritorious in the eyes of the Almighty and invited all and sundry to acquire it, to say or to suppose that the nobler sex was debarred from acquiring it, is wholly against the spirit of His teachings. He emphasized on the acquisition of learning and made it compulsory for all the Faithfuls, - men as well as women. We know for certain that Bibi Fatima, his own beloved daughter, was efficiently equipped with intellectual attainments. She used to participate in the discussions on the controversial question of Caliphate (Succession). It was undoubtedly on account of her extraordinary erudition that she was known by the honorific appellation of 'the Lady of the Light'. Zainab, Hamda, Hafsah, Al-Kalleyyeh, Safia, Maria and many more whose names cannot be enumerated here on account of the paucity of space all left an ineffaceable impress on the literature of their times. They have since been regarded as true models of womanhood, whose footsteps every woman should aspire to follow.

Education in pre-independence India was categorically
exclusive. Several forces converged to create this exclusiveness. First, the notion that knowledge is sacred and, therefore, not to be imparted to the ritually impure lower castes. Second, the fact that the country had very limited use of formal schooling. A small, educated manpower was required for administration and there was some room for the functioning of scribes, scholars, doctors, lawyers, mathematicians, and so on. But, on the whole, the economy had not advanced beyond a rudimentary division of labour and family based skills and crafts adequately seemed most of the needs of a society that lined by simple subsistence or feudal agriculture. Third, the fact that neither the native princes who had preceded them, nor the British colonial rulers, were committed to schooling the masses and the British, in particular, consciously subscribed to what was known as the 'downward filtration theory' or the conviction that benefits provided to the masses would eventually trickle down to the rest of the population. Finally, and perhaps most significantly, the fact that until very recently the Indian consciousness and conscience had not really been invaded by sentiments of equality, by a sense of the social and political obligation to provide for education, both as a basic human right and as an instrument of social mobility, and by the awareness that
universalization of schooling is the cornerstone of economic advance and social development (S. Chitnis, 1987: 80-81).

Inspired by the dreams of economic development, through the application of technology and industrialization, and fired by the ideals of democracy, equality, abolition of caste and by the vision of their country as a strong, integrated and advancing nation, the planners for independent India set high store on education. They saw it as a basic human right and as an instrument for economic, political and social change and development. The Indian constitution initially promises free and compulsory education to all children up to the age of 14 years. The constitution also promises equality of opportunity for education at all levels, and special provision for the educational advancement of some of the weaker sections of the society, such as, the Scheduled Castes (former untouchable castes) and Scheduled Tribes, traditionally excluded from schooling.

The transition has been extremely difficult. The backlog of illiteracy and inherited educational disparities of various kinds for instance, between the rural and urban population, between men and women, between children from the families involved in agriculture or in urban labour and children from families in white collar occupations, between the upper castes and the lower castes and, of course,
between the rich and the poor have proved to be much too forbidding to overcome. Efforts to universalize schooling and to establish equality of opportunity for education have been thwarted by many factors for example, the sheer inability of the rural as well as the urban poor to spare children for school, or the inability of the government to ensure efficient administration of the facilities provided; and, above all, the inability to halt the new forces towards inequality that seem to have been let loose as the massive expansion, or virtual explosion, of education in the country has led to a dilution of standards, devaluation of qualifications and cut-throat competition for admission to the few courses that carry social prestige and value in the employment market (S. Chitnis, 1987: 81-82).

Education and social stratification go hand in hand, even though the causal nexus between the two is not yet undisputably established. The Muslim community in India is known to have lagged behind the rest of the society in educational progress during the past several decades. A major culprit for the relative backwardness of the Muslims during the colonial period was allegedly the British policy of antagonism and suppression of Muslim interest in India. The post colonial period has witnessed rapid progress in the educational status of the different regions, communities and
economic groups. However, the rate of progress achieved do not seem to have been uniform among these various groups. The earlier disparities still persist. One of the sections which has thus remained backward is the Muslim community, which is the largest minority group in India accounting for about 12 per cent of India's total population. Even in Kerala which has entrenched itself among the rest of the states in India in respect of literacy levels, Muslims there also seems to have remained educationally backward. Moreover, the relative educational backwardness of the Muslim community is seen to be intimately related to its backwardness in social and economic statuses as well. The factors which account for such backwardness are not obvious. It is therefore timely and appropriate that the extent of its backwardness, the factors which account for it and its impact and implications for the development strategy of the state are systematically analysed (A. Kareem, 1988:1-2).

E. Durkheim (1968), defined education as the action exercised by the older generations upon those who are not yet ready for social life. Its object is to awaken and develop in the child those physical, intellectual and moral states which are required of him both by his society as a whole and by the milieu for which he is specially destined.

In the simplest societies, where there is in any case little specialization of function, education is not
organized as a separate activity; it is provided by the family, the kin group and the society as a whole through participation in their everyday routines of living. But in many primitive societies above the simplest level formal instruction is given at puberty before initiation as an adult member of the society. Lowie gives as an example the educational scheme of the Yaghan (Tierra del Fuego): 'Each Yaghan novice gets two sponsors, who supervise his conduct throughout the several months' seclusion. Physically, each boy or girl has to learn rigorous self control. For moral instruction the neophytes jointly listen to some venerable tribesman's lectures. In addition to mass instruction, each boy or girl is tutored by some close relative who has noted defects in the pupil's character and now takes pains to correct them. Finally, there is true vocational preparation. The girl's training, to be sure, amounts to little more than rounding out previously acquired skills. The boys, however, are relatively backward at corresponding tasks of adult life, and hence require schooling (T.B. Bottomore, 1970:262).

In more developed societies, formal education acquires greater importance, the period of systematic instruction increases, and a specialized occupational group of teachers is formed. Thus, in ancient India formal instructions were
provided by the Brahmins. 'The pupil's first introduction was at the age of 5. He commenced by learning the alphabets for the first time, and this was open to the children of all ages, then followed the ceremony of tonsure, which was followed by the students initiation ceremony at the normal age of 8 for a Brahmin, 11 for Kashatriya, and 12 for a Vaisya. The entire educational system was based upon this ancient system of studentship which laid more emphasis on life than on learning or instruction. It was based upon constant personal contact between teacher and pupil, bound together by a spiritual tie, living in a common home. The student, after his initiation, entered into a new life whereby he was re-created by his teacher and had to undergo a two-fold course of discipline - physical and spiritual (S.Basu, 1957:316-32). Throughout the centuries the Brahmins, who were the repositories of learning and the directors of Hindu life, continued to brood upon and to elaborate the sacred texts and to transmit their study in religious institutions - tols and vidyalayas and chatuspathis - to succeeding generations. Technical skills were imparted chiefly through the family and the occupational group, in informal and practical ways (T.B. Bottomore, 1970: 263).

The disorder accompanying the decline of the Mughal Empire brought about a deterioration and contraction of the
educational system, and the subsequent establishment of British rule in India, though it made possible educational progress, also created new problems. At first the British rulers supported traditional Hindu schools and promoted the establishment of new schools and colleges; but in 1835 the decision was taken that the Government should aim at the promotion of European literature and science in India, that the medium of instruction should be English, and that the Education Fund should be employed on English education alone. This policy received the support of many Indian reformers, like Ram Mohan Rai, and generally of the new commercial middle class; but as D.P. Mukherji observes, it tended to reinforce the separation of the upper classes from the rest of the society. Effort was concentrated upon the education of the upper and middle classes, and relatively little progress was made in establishing an adequate system of primary education. Thus in 1881-2 it is estimated that 1 in 10 boys and 1 in 250 girls between the age of 5 and 12 years attended school, and most attended for such short periods as not to become permanently literate. In 1939, 90 percent of the population were still illiterate undoubtedly, therefore, the educational system tended to maintain and even increase the gulf between the upper classes and the mass of the population, and to make this separation more
complete by transforming it into one language and general culture (T.B. Bottomer, 1970: 263-64).

Higher education in most Western countries traditionally, involved the languages and culture of classical Greece and Rome, and this reinforced the distinction between the educated gentleman and the rest of society (T.B. Bottomore, 1970:265).

The communist countries have made large claims for their success in establishing social equality, but to take one instance, while the progress of education in the USSR since 1917 has been extremely rapid, it has not resulted in the elimination of educational privilege. In India, since the achievement of independence, there has been considerable progress in the expansion of educational facilities, and with the development of village schools and of educational opportunities for children of lower castes, there is substantially more equality of access to education yet there are still notable inequalities; basic education which incorporates Gandhi's ideas on the combination of intellectual and manual work is provided for children (and most do not go beyond the primary stage of education), but the upper classes of Indian society still send their children to English type grammar and public schools (T.B. Bottomore, 1970: 265-66).
The above submitted findings show that educational differences are closely related to social stratification as well as on other types of social differentiations, between the sexes, ethnic groups, or religious groups, have also frequently been associated with differences in kind or quality of education. In many societies, at different times, religious minorities have been discriminated in all matters even in education.

Thus the function of education in preparing the child for a particular milieu in society (as Durkheim defined it) has traditionally meant preparing him for the membership of a particular group in the social hierarchy. The experience of modern egalitarian policies indicates that it is very difficult to eliminate this feature, because the intellectual and social criteria frequently overlap; the children of high status families as compared to lower status family are in general better qualified for higher education because of a variety of advantages which they enjoy.

Durkheim observed, education also prepares the child for life in society as a whole, by transmitting common social traditions through language, religion, morals and customs of the society. The inculcation of national values has been especially apparent in modern societies, and was for long reflected in the social prestige of teachers (T.B. Bottomore, 1970:267).
The emergence of new nation-states and the growth of nationalism in nineteenth-century Europe were concurrent with the spread of literacy and in most societies they resulted in an increasing emphasis upon indoctrination in the educational process. The same phenomenon has reappeared in the twentieth century, in those societies which have attained independence from colonial rule or have constituted themselves as modern nation-states, but it has been countered by other influences. The diffusion and acceptance of the ideal of the underlying unity of mankind, despite international conflicts, has brought greater tolerance of cultural diversity and genuine efforts to conceive and present each specific cultural tradition as a single element in a larger and richer whole. At the same time, while educational differentiation within societies has remained, increasing social mobility through the educational system has tended to break up the dominant national culture, and to create diversity. In India, the British system of education had, besides its disadvantages, one extremely good effect in establishing for the first time, the opportunities of higher education for members of the lower castes. The growth of science and the rapidity of social change have also affected the codes of behaviour taught in educational institution, imparting to them, in some modern societies, a tolerant or
tentative character which may have as one result adolescent and adult aimlessness. A balance between firm traditions and standards of behaviour, tolerance, adaptability to change, and the spirit of free inquiry, is difficult to attain, and some of the failures of modern education (exacerbated by other social influences) in its prime function of socialization can be seen in the youth problems which are prevalent in all industrial societies. A country such as India, which is just embarking upon a period of rapid change, may well experience such difficulties in an acute form and there is indeed much evidence of inter-generational conflict over social values, expressed in opposition to arranged marriages, in student indiscipline, and in general juvenile lawlessness (T.B. Bottomore, 1970: 267-268).

With the achievement of mass literacy in modern industrial societies the social prestige of the teacher tended to decline, for he was no longer set apart as the literate man; moreover, teachers for the primary levels of education were themselves recruited from the lower social strata. In addition, the growth of business established the pre-eminence of wealth in conferring prestige and power. As an Indian educationalist writes of present day India, in sharp contrast to the past when teachers were honoured however poor or powerless they may have been, contemporary India places a disproportionate emphasis on monetary
British education in India was frequently criticized for its secular character. It is criticized as being alien to the Indian temperament, which is essentially religious, and as offending against the cherished conviction that religious and moral instruction is a necessary part of education. To it are ascribed a decline or disappearance of respect of youth for ages, a denial of the natural authority of parents over their children and of teachers over their pupils, a widespread disregard of religious and social sanctions, and a growth of moral laxity. Recently educational planning in India has in fact largely followed the British precedent by placing the major emphasis upon the secular aspect of education, the communication of modern knowledge, and by leaving aside the problems of moral and religious instruction.

Since this study is based on social stratification and education among Muslims, hence, it becomes necessary to refer the operative aspects of castes practices among the Muslims. According to G. Ansari (1960), Muslim social structure is also organised according to caste principles. In Kusauri caste and class structure constitute the basis of social interaction. This phenomenon is also found in Basti. In the village, caste structure divides the population into unequal
categories. But this inequality is not based on ritual purity as it is found among Hindus rather on lineage and economic basis. It has been observed that Khans (who are landlords) are settled towards the right side of the main entrance. There are only three families of the Zamindars but they occupy almost one third of the total village homestead area. They own about one third of the cultivable land in the village. Kasais (butchers) settled at the outskirts of the village. Chamar Mangtas who are treated as a special category, have settled at a distance from the main village. Similar pattern has been reported by A. Beteille (1965). The settlement pattern of Kusauri village reflects the continuation of the traditional Hindu caste structure. But such rigid system of the settlement is not noticeable in Basti town.

There is a controversy among sociologists about the concept of caste and class for the study of Indian society. The protagonist of the caste studies show a bias for its continuance and functionality (J. H. Hutton, 1964; J.S. Furnivall, 1939; E. Senart, 1930). The advocates of class studies have different ideological upbringings and look at every thing from the point of class alone (A.R. Desai, 1948). Due to this a combination of concepts have been applied for deeper and realistic understanding of the Indian society. Caste as the singular institution of
social ranking has been characteristic argument during fifties in the studies of Ghurye, Myradal, Leach, Srinivas, Marriott and Lewis. All of them have treated caste as coterminous with the entire gamut of social relations and thought it to be an all inclusive basis of social stratification (A. Beteille, 1969:17). Multidimensionality of social stratification has been emphasized in the sixties in the studies conducted by A. Beteille (1965), A. Bhatt (1975), and P.C. Aggarwal (1971). Ramkrishna Mukharjee (1957), Kathleen Gough, (1960) and Joan Mencher (1971). However, look at caste from a class point of view. Class is considered as a characteristic feature of the Western society and is characterized by its emphasis on democracy, individualism and openness. On the contrary, caste as the core feature of the Indian society is defined as an archaic institution lacking in democracy, individualism and freedom (K.L. Sharma, 1980). To A. Beteille (1965:3-4). "Caste can be viewed as a system of enduring groups whose mutual relations are governed by certain broad principles. Caste as enduring groups can be located with relative ease, since they are named and have fairly well defined boundaries. Classes are categories rather than groups. By class we mean a category of persons occupying a specific position in the system of production". In the agrarian
The economy of Kusauri consists of landlords, landowners, tenants, agricultural laborers, and other petty businessmen. Relations which are found among them that are dependent upon standardized character and are fluid in nature. However, it has been observed that persons whose economic conditions are sound belong to landlord families with good educational background. Those, whose economic conditions are not sound, belong to non-zamindar families with poor educational background. Normally, one whose caste status is high, is high in educational status too.

Caste and class are related to the broader phenomenon of social stratification in different ways. Caste system is clearly a hierarchical system. In the class system such as landlords, tenants, and agricultural laborers also constitute hierarchy. Due to the impact of modern education and democratic political system a small tenant can become more powerful than a small landlord. However, such things were not found in Kusauri. Due to education and political power one finds that traditional hierarchy is still maintained in the Kausauri village and Basti town.

Education was the monopoly of the landlords in the past. We don't find any drastic changes in this trend in Kusauri and Basti. No doubt there is one school in the village at present, but this school provides only rudimentary
religious teaching. Modern education which opens the avenues for government jobs is still the monopoly of the landlord families. Education as such has not helped in changing the rigidity of the caste system, on the contrary, it has strengthened it. To quote A. Beteille (1965:5) "Education not only enables the Non-Brahmans and Adi-Dravidas to compete on more equal terms with the Brahmans for white-collar jobs, but also provides them with more equal chances of political participations". Such is not the situation in Kusauri or Basti. Unlike Sripuram, in Kusauri Khans were and are more educated than the rest of the Muslim community. Consequently, Khans are taking more advantages of the modern education than the other caste with a few exceptions. The traditional elite of Kusauri, comprised of Khans who were landlords, their control over the village affairs is not the same today as it was earlier. This is manifested in the elections of the village. However, one leader who comes from the non-zamindar family enjoy influence in a small section of the village.

Changes which have taken place in the social system of Kusauri can be viewed from different point of views. It can be stated that in Kusauri a relatively closed social system is being transformed into one which is relatively open. The role of education could be seen in the sphere of
caste, economic, political and other spheres of life among Khans (a dominant caste in Kusauri). Today some of the dominating authorities among the Khans have been challenged by other castes.

The investigator has selected this problem of study because to the best of his knowledge no such work has been done. Furthermore, it is expected that the findings may prove useful to the educational planners as well as in providing guidance to educationally ignorant Muslims of the society. Map 1.1. shows the location of Kusauri in Basti district. It also shows the location of Basti town in the province of Uttar Pradesh.