KEEPING THE TRADITION ALIVE:
AN ANALYSIS OF CONTEMPORARY JAIN RELIGIOUS EDUCATION FOR CHILDREN IN INDIA AND NORTH AMERICA

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ABSTRACT

How do Jains, adherents of one of the oldest minority religions in India, maintain their identity and protect their way of life when surrounded by non-Jain religions? Even more striking, how do Jains in the United States, where they constitute a minority within the Indian minority, maintain their traditions amidst a multi-cultural American society? Seeking upward mobility, Jains in post-independence India, have migrated locally, regionally, and internationally and these migrations have disrupted their social, religious, and cultural practices. My thesis looks at the ways in which Jains have addressed these disruptions. I analyse how they have restructured their traditional religious education, transforming it in a variety of ways, producing a range of contemporary Jain religious schools for children, both in India and the United States.

I argue that these new religious schools serve an important function in maintaining ancient Jain traditions, but have, at the same time, initiated significant structural as well as curricular changes that have transformed some of those traditions: widening the gap between Jain children and Jain mendicants, and reallocating authority within the Jain community by enabling laywomen to shape the curriculum and to teach in part-time religious schools, to name a few. The thesis pays attention to these changes, the reasons for the changes, and their consequences.

Using in-depth curriculum analysis and formal interviews, I examine contemporary Jain religious schools for children in the image-worshipping Digambar tradition and the non-image worshipping Shvetambar Terapanth tradition in India, and in mixed traditions in the United States. These Jain schools are growing exponentially in number and popularity within India and America, but have largely remained unexamined. This study aims to fill an important gap by closely analysing the rituals, leadership, and curricula of these new religious schools and their role in shaping modern Jain traditions.

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I have italicised Prakrit, Sanskrit, and Hindi words that refer to technical terms used in this dissertation, rendering them in Roman script. For ease of reading, I have chosen to omit diacritic marks in these terms. Wherever I have used such a word for the first time, I have provided its meaning in parentheses, for example, *sanskar* (value). Also, I avoid the use of anglicised spellings such as Mahavira, but prefer Mahavir because it more closely follows common usage spelling. I do not italicise but capitalised proper names such as Tirthankar Mahavir; however, where I use the same word as a generic term, I have italicised it, like *tirthankar*. Finally, I have not italicised words of Indian origin like karma or guru that are commonly used in English.

GLOSSARY

aarti	the waving of a flaming lamp in front of the divine image
abhakshya	not suitable for eating
abhishek	annotating ceremony
acharya	spiritual teacher-cum-head monk
ahimsa	non-harming
ahimsak aahaar	non-violent food
anarya kshetra	non-Aryan lands
anantkaya	infinite living-bodies
antakshari	a game of songs
anupreksha	contemplation
aparigraha	non-possession
arhat	divine; worthy of worship
ariyaka	nun of the Digambar tradition
asana	physical posture
ashta-dravya	eight types of dry ingredients offered in ritual worship
ashtakam	eight-versed hymn in Sanskrit
ashudha	impure
bal diksha	child-initiation
chahdhala	six long Digambar poems
chaityalaya	home shrine
charitra	conduct
chowki	low table
dana	charity
darshan	philosophy
deva darshan	viewing of the image
Deva-Shastra-Guru	Spiritual Victor-Scripture-Monk
dharmik antakshari	a game of religious songs
dharmik gyana	Faith Education
Digambar	sky-clad; one of the two main branches of the Jain traditions
Divali	Indian festival of lights
dravya puja	worship with material offerings

ekagrata	concentration
guru	spiritual-teacher; head monk
guru vandana	veneration to the spiritual teacher
gyana	knowledge
Gyanshala	part-time children's religious school in the Shvetambar Terapanth tradition
gyanarthi	a Gyanshala attending child
Jain *mandir*	Jain temple
jaymala	the victory garland
jina	spiritual victor
kandmool	root vegetable
karma	action
kayotsarga	relaxation
mahaprana dhvani	sound meditation
Mahavir Jayanti	birthday of Tirthankar Mahavir
mantra	holy syllable
moksha	liberation
muhapatti	a rectangular or squarish piece of white cloth worn over the mouth
mumukshu	aspirant
muni	mendicant; monk
murti	image, idol, icon
namokar mantra	holiest Jain mantra
nassiyan	residential temple complex
pachees bol	twenty-five fundamentals realities
Pathshala	part-time children's religious school in the Jain tradition
puja	worship
puja thali	metal plates
punya	meritorious action
ratri-bhojan-tyaga	abstaining from eating after sunset
sadhu	monk
sadhvi	nun
samani	partial nun
samayik	sitting in a meditative posture without worldly activities
sangha	order of monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen

sanskar	value
sanskar gyana	Value Education
sari	Indian dress for women
shastra bhandar	a place for storing scripture
shastri	male scholar
siddhanta	principle; doctrine
shivir	camp
Shvetambar	white-clad; name of the tradition, whose mendicants wear white garments.
sravak	layman
sravika	laywoman
stuti	verse
swadhyay	the study of scriptures
tattva gyana	exposition of realities
Terapanthi	followers of Shvetambar Terapanth tradition
tirthankar	spiritual-victor; ford-maker
tyaga	vow
vandana	venerate
vyaktitva nirman	Personality Development
vidyarthi	scholastic student

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Every community that wants to last beyond a single generation must concern itself with education.
Walter Brueggemann

Overview of the Thesis and Argument

Post-independence India has witnessed far-reaching changes in communication and transportation technology, the mass media and the mobility of people and ideas – all of which have led to a homogenisation of Indian society. As a reaction to this homogenisation, urbanisation, globalisation and commoditisation of ideas, people belonging to religious and ethnic communities have been seeking to redefine their identities. At every level, religious migrant communities have sought to achieve this by addressing young minds, in particular, through the institutionalisation of children's religious education.

The Jain community, for example, is a religious minority community, whose adherents have migrated in search of better pastures not only within India, but have also sought opportunities abroad. While seeking social acceptance in their new surroundings, they also feel the need to know about their roots and to transmit this knowledge of their history, traditions, and ethics to the next generation. Being proud of their rich and distinct tradition, Jains have made an organised effort to maintain the continuity of their philosophy and way of life. They have institutionalised religious education, employing modern teaching methods to transmit traditional knowledge.

This thesis is an attempt to trace important shifts from traditional to contemporary Jain religious education for children in India and the United States. I seek to explain these shifts through local, regional, and international migration of Jain communities along with their middle-class aspirations. I show that Jains perceive their relocation as posing challenges in the maintenance of their tradition and its cultural values. To address these challenges, Jains have sought to reconfigure their children's religious education. My aim has been to examine the changes and discern the resulting shift in religious education, targeted towards the twenty-first century Jain children in India, especially its content and form, and the difference it has made to the first and second generation American Jains. Against this background, I have engaged my project with the following core questions: What has changed in Jain religious education for children in recent decades? Why? What have been the consequences?

Jain religion, one of the world's oldest living religious traditions, is distinct from Hinduism and Buddhism, and it is the only non-Vedic tradition that has had a strong continued presence throughout Indian history to the present day.[1] Followers of this religion – the Jains – worship, venerate, and follow the teachings of *jinas* (*tirthankars*, spiritual victors).[2] Jains are not a homogeneous group: they are doctrinally divided into denominations and sub-denominations and culturally divided into castes, sub-castes, and economic classes.[3] Streams of image-worshipping and non-image-worshipping are found amongst the Jain sects. Figure 1 provides an overview of the Jain tradition.

[1] One remark that Lawrence Babb made on this situation was: "Unlike Buddhism, Jainism never spread outside India; but also unlike Buddhism it did not die out in India." *Absent Lord: Ascetics and Kings in a Jain Ritual Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 2. Also see Ch. 7 in Padmanabh S. Jaini, *Collected Papers on Buddhist Studies*, (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publ., 2001).

[2] *Jinas* are 'spiritual victors', human teachers, who have attained infinite knowledge and have preached the doctrine of *moksha* (salvation). Such figures are also called *tirthankar.* Jains maintain that there are twenty-four such *tirthankars* in this time cycle. These *jinas* or *tirthankars* are objects of veneration. Mahavir is the twenty-fourth and the last one. For a detailed explanation, see Padmanabh S. Jaini, *The Jaina Path of Purification*, Reprint (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1990), 2.

[3] For a fuller discussion on Jain caste and sub-caste across India, see Vilas Adinath Sangave, *Jaina Community: A Social Survey*, 2nd ed. (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1980).

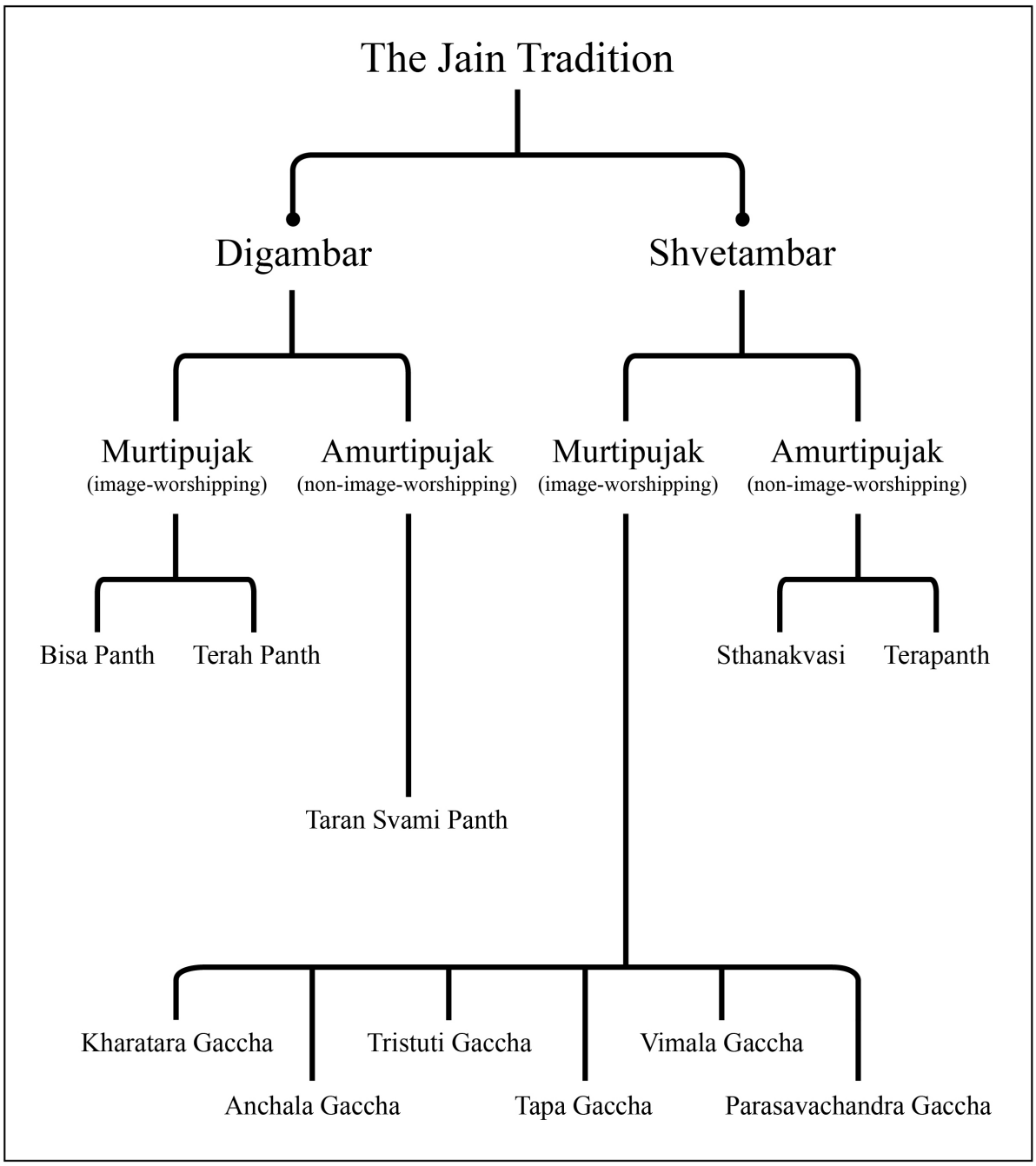

Figure 1. An overview of Digambar and Shvetambar Jain traditions**.**

As can be seen in the figure, except the Taran Svami Panth, most Digambars are image-worshipping Jains; whereas, the Shvetambar tradition comprises both streams: *murtipujak* (image-worshipping), and *amurtipujak* (non-image-worshipping). There is a wider variety amongst the *murtipujak* stream grouped under the broader category of Shvetambar, while two traditions Sthanakvasi and Terapanth belong to the *amurtipujak*. The multiple groups and sub groups within the Shvetambar *murtipujak* have contributed to this stream having the highest number of *acharyas* (head monks), *sadhus* (monks) and *sadhvis*

(nuns), representing a dispersed power structure.[4] Similarly there are numerous *acharyas* under the Sthanakvasi tradition. Because of their large numbers, the Shvetambar *murtipujak* and Sthanakvasi traditions are considered as mainstream Shvetambars. Contrarily, the Shvetambar Terapanth stream is relatively recent, representing a smaller number of monks, nuns, all under the authority of one *acharya*. Despite its small population, it is a widely spread community.

For the present thesis, I have examined children's religious schools operated by the image-worshipping Digambar Jains of Jaipur, the Shvetambar Terapanth Jains in Jaipur and other parts of India, and a mixed Jain group in the United States.[5] Of this mixed diaspora group, most are Shvetambar *murtipujaks*. In this way, I have been able to examine children's religious education spanning all major Jain traditions.[6]

Despite the ritualistic diversity, all Jains accept *ahimsa* (non-violence) as their prime precept. Jains express *ahimsa* theologically as non-injury to any life form, and practically by promoting a vegetarian way of life. Some Jains (especially among the diaspora) consider a vegan (abstaining from the consumption of animal and dairy products) lifestyle as the highest form of non-violent living. In this study, I show that, in India and overseas, being vegetarian is one of the primary markers of a Jain. As a result, children's religious schools in India and abroad are striving to keep young Jains as vegetarians.

In this thesis, I prefer the term "Jain traditions" to "Jainism" as the former speaks of the Jain communities that I explore, while the latter denotes a system or a set of doctrines.[7] Accordingly, I use the terms "Digambar tradition," the "Shvetambar Terapanth tradition," and the "American Jain tradition" in the three case studies. The traditional Jain community, comprising monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen, has undergone significant changes with different forms of migration. In the Indian context, while the community retains these four divisions, I show a shift in the roles and activities of monastics and their contact with laypeople, leading to a redistribution of responsibility. Since monastic vows prevent fully

[4] For a detailed study on Jain monastics trends along with their statistics, see Peter Flügel, "Demographic Trends in Jaina Monasticism," in *Studies in Jaina History and Culture: Disputes and Dialogues*, ed. Peter Flügel (London; New York: Routledge, 2006), 312–98.
[5] Jaipur is situated in Northern India and it is the capital city of the Indian state of Rajasthan.
[6] In my various discussions with Jain scholars in India regarding the sects and sub-sects within Jainism, they maintain the view that there are four main sects in Jainism. A similar view is found in Flügel, "Demographic Trends in Jaina Monasticism," 360.
[7] Wilfred Cantwell Smith distinguishes between religion and tradition. He argues that religion is "confusing, unnecessary and distorting"; tradition, on the other hand, denotes the process of lived religion. Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *The Meaning and End of Religion*, Reprint (Minneapolis, Minn: Fortress Press, 1991), 50–51. Deba Mitra Bhikkhu makes a similar distinction in his thesis regarding "the Buddhist tradition" and "Buddhism." Deba Mitra Bhikkhu, "Dhamma Education: The Transmission and Reconfiguration of the Sri Lankan Buddhist Tradition in Toronto" (Doctoral thesis, Wilfrid Laurier University, 2011).

ordained monks and nuns from travelling outside India, this restriction has resulted in a diaspora Jain community comprising only laymen and laywomen. As a consequence, the authority to decide what and how children should learn rests completely on the lay community. I show how the distancing from monastics, which accompanies migration, has influenced the treatment of curricular material for Jain children's religious education in India and in the United States.

My main argument in this study is that, to maintain the tradition, Jain adherents – whether Digambar (sky-clad) or Shvetambar (white-clad) – within India and outside, have focused on children's religious education, contributing to the exponential growth of contemporary Jain *pathshalas* (religious schools) in number and prominence.[8] I present a glimpse of this worldwide expansion to justify their growing significance for the Jain tradition. Gyanshala (founded 1992), began with 46 centres and has presently grown to 441 centres across India;[9] Shri Digambar Jain Sraman Sanskrit Samsthan (founded 2004), has 405 centres located across India;[10] Shrimad Rajchandra Divine Touch (founded 2004), has 6,000 children in their 230 centres across the globe;[11] and Look N Learn Jain Gyan Dham (founded 2007), claims to teach 20,000 children at centres in Australia, Dubai, Muscat, Sudan and the USA, besides those in India.[12]

The mapping of contemporary Jain religious schools for children, across denominations, presents a daunting task, because they are spread throughout rural and urban regions in India and abroad. Instead of presenting a map of these schools, I undertake the study of four urban-based part-time Jain schools that, together, provide a representative picture of the educational strategies that Jain communities are employing to respond to contemporary challenges. I examine these schools through three case studies: the Digambar Pathshalas (in Jaipur), the Shvetambar Terapanth Gyanshalas (in India), and American Jain Pathshalas (in the USA).

By examining some of these religious schools for children, I specifically argue that, while Jains perceive that these schools ensure the continuity of their traditions, they are also

[8] Digambar tradition is referred to as sky-clad, because their male ascetics remain naked. Shvetambar tradition is referred as white-clad, because their monks and nuns are dressed in white. Also see Chapters 2 and 9 in Paul Dundas, *The Jains*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 1992).
[9] Muni Udit and Muni Himanshu, *Gyanshala Eka Prarupa*, 8th ed. (Kolkata: Jain Shwetambar Terapanthi Mahasabha, 2012).
[10] I received this information from the brochure introducing the school and its activities.
[11] "Shrimad Rajchandra Divinetouch," Children Activities, n.d., http://www.shrimadrajchandramission.org/sr-divinetouch.
[12] Hemali Chhapia, "Kids Propagate 'real Spirit' of Jain Festival," *The Times of India*, September 2, 2013, http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/mumbai/Kids-propagate-real-spirit-of-Jain-festival/articleshow/22218613.cms.

effecting changes within it. I demonstrate how the conditions of local, regional, and international migration pose profound challenges that have influenced the formation and reformation of children's religious education. The reforms, in turn, have contributed to broad changes that are reshaping the ongoing Jain tradition in the twenty-first century.

I further argue that the relocations, associated with the rapid growth of a Jain middle class within and outside India, have threatened Jain communal living arrangements, dietary practices, and access to temples and renunciant communities. This disruption has undermined Jain culture and the continuity of their traditions. To minimise the loss, Jain ascetics and leaders have revived children's religious schools, teaching traditional Jain values, beliefs, and practices to a new generation that they envisage will increase the likelihood of the long-term survival of the tradition. These schools have addressed many contemporary issues, including the prevalent attitude of Jains in "mispresenting their religious affiliation" as Hindus.[13]

My argument builds on the works of scholars who have examined the Indian middle class. I draw from Sanjay Joshi's seminal work on the Indian middle class. He urges us to expand our investigation of the middle class beyond mere economic status (such as the lower middle class, upper middle class and so on). Accordingly, he demonstrates ways in which the middle-class category is tied to modern and traditional imaginings and construction of class, community, nation, and gender relations.[14] Focusing on the Indian middle class of Mumbai, Leela Fernandes notes "a shifting role of the middle class and their attitudes, lifestyles, and consumption practices." Further, she asserts: "The spread of consumer items such as cell phones, rising wage levels for managerial staff of multinational companies, and expanding consumer choice for goods such as cars, washing machines, [and] colour televisions have produced an image of the rise of new emerging middle-class culture in India."[15] Although Fernandes's analysis is wide-ranging, the story of middle-class Jains has remained largely untold.[16] Whitney Kelting provides one of the early descriptions of middle-class Jains: an urban middle class, and mercantile community.[17] The groups of Jains that I have examined in Jaipur and other parts of India as well as the United States identify themselves as belonging

[13] Jagdish Prasad Sharma, "Jainas as a Minority in Indian Society and History," in *Jainthology*, ed. Ganesh Lalwani (Calcutta: Jain Bhavan, 1991), 222.
[14] Sanjay Joshi, *Fractured Modernity: Making of a Middle Class in Colonial North India* (New Delhi ; New York: Oxford University Press, USA, 2001).
[15] Leela Fernandes, *India's New Middle Class: Democratic Politics in an Era of Economic Reform* (Minneapolis: Univ of Minnesota Press, 2006), xv.
[16] Based on her fieldwork with Shvetambar Jains of Pune, Whitney Kelting provides some information about contemporary middle-class Jains. For more see M. Whitney Kelting, *Heroic Wives Rituals, Stories and the Virtues of Jain Wifehood* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, USA, 2009).
[17] Kelting, 5.

to the middle class. Their anxieties about maintaining their traditions correlate with the changes affecting children's religious education in the Jain tradition.

Despite an increasing academic interest in Jain communities, the growing middle-class aspirations for upward mobility and the influences these have exerted on children's religious education have rarely been studied. In this thesis, I analyse the interplay of modern middle-class values with the local, national, and transnational mobility of the Jain population and show how it has initiated new developments within the contemporary Jain tradition. The pursuit of middle-class status and concomitant migration, have presented significant challenges to the continuity of Jain traditions. My focus is on the proliferation of new models for children's religious education and the way these models address those challenges. The subjects in this study are limited to urban-based Jains, especially those who are involved with new models of religious education.

I proceed with the argument outlined above, in three steps. I develop each step within an independent case study which explores either one or two contemporary Jain religious schools, their contexts, and curricula. First, I provide a composite account of the religious, historical, and cultural context in which the particular religious school was founded. Examining the historical roots of children's religious education demonstrates the continuities between the past and the present. Next, I analyse the contemporary curricula, teaching methods, and extra-curricular activities implemented in the schools. I explain how these schools transmit religious knowledge, foster Jain identity, and maintain Jain culture in the twenty-first century. Finally, I show how these contemporary children's religious schools demonstrate a shift in the treatment of children's religious education in the Jain tradition. This shift is evident in teaching engaged Jain values rather than exclusively doctrinal principles and also in adopting child-friendly modern teaching methods rather than traditional methods. I show that migration, upward mobility, and identity shifts have driven these innovations. Children's religious education opens a window on the reforms undertaken by Jains and also on the broader trajectories of change to which such reforms have led.

I show that for the Digambar Jains, suburbanisation – local outward migration from the walled city of Jaipur, Rajasthan, to new suburbs in the Jaipur metropolis – has attenuated the community's connection with temples and, in particular, with temple-run traditional *pathshalas*. It has also accentuated the minority status of Jain communities. Digambar Jains consider Jaipur as an important city for their culture and heritage, and also for their prominent Digambar population. Despite this prominence, I show one way in which Digambars in Jaipur have responded to suburbanisation by reconfiguring their traditional

pathshalas with the hope of reconnecting children with religion. This is the subject of my first case study.

In the second case study, I show that the regional migration of Jain Shvetambar Terapanthis (followers of Terapanth), from rural regions of Rajasthan to cities and towns across India, has driven a shift in the treatment of children's religious education and the formation of "Gyanshalas" (children's part-time religious schools). Like the Digambar Jains, Shvetambar Terapanthis also perceive that regional migration has contributed to a decline in the religious practices of children. By examining Gyanshalas in Jaipur and other parts of India, I show the Terapanthis hope that by institutionalising children's religious education, they can address the concerns of the widely dispersed communities and seek to strengthen Terapanthi identity by standardising the religious education curriculum.

In the final case study, I show that the international migration of Jains from India to the United States has intensified their alarm about sustaining the Jain tradition. To address their concerns about the survival of Jainism outside the homeland, American Jains have established "American Jain Pathshalas," a term in which the adjective "Jain" means "pan-Jain." I argue that the context of the diaspora has coloured the development of the JAINA (Federation of Jain Associations in North America) curriculum adopted by these Jain Pathshalas, especially in their drive for a pan-Jain identity.

In my analysis of each case study, I show that these schools aspire to instil Jain *sanskar* (values) in their successive generations. In doing so, they have managed to change within the contours of the modern world, because they cannot entirely negate modern influences. I identify that reforms have further generated intended as well as unintended consequences for Jain traditions. These consequences have affected laypeople's practices rather than Jain monastic practices and, in doing so, have changed the relationship between these two groups. I show how laywomen have assumed greater authority to interpret Jain principles as they take upon themselves the responsibility to guide future generations of Jains. Their teaching roles in Pathshalas and Gyanshalas give them de facto authority and an influence in shaping the tradition that they have not had before. The shift from women being exclusively housewives to becoming teachers has gained impetus because of the improved availability of education and the wider exposure to other cultures resulting from various forms of migration.

This section has provided an overview of the key elements of my study and its significance. In the sections that follow, I will clarify the concepts used, review relevant literature to show what my study seeks to contribute, describe my research methods and data-

collecting sources, give my rationale for the selection of religious schools, and outline the dissertation chapters.

Clarifying Key Terms and Concepts

Before describing the research in more detail, I will first define key terms related to children's religious education and then outline the framing concepts. Clarifying the usage of education is necessary because some of the terms appear in the pan-Indian education system in general, rather than exclusively in Jain education.

Education

Education is often taken to narrowly refer to formal schooling.[18] By contrast, my approach to education here is broad and includes the transmission of knowledge about religious and cultural values.[19] Organised institutions with structured learning programmes provide this transmission through informal part-time learning. The curricula in such institutions are developed either by Jain monastics or laity. Jain laity administer the education centres; the participants in these schools are urban Jain children, who are also attending mainstream schools elsewhere, and the teachers are voluntary laymen and women, with the majority being women teachers.

Pathshala (Religious School)

The word "*pathshala*" literally means "a hall for reading or study." In Sanskrit, *pathshala* means a school. Over centuries, the term *pathshala* has been widely used in India for religious and non-religious schools. Presently, the term is mainly used for religious schools in urban regions of India and is not unique to the Jain vocabulary. For example, one of the Hindu religious communities calls their children's religious school the Pushtimargiya Pathshala.[20] The Digambar Jain tradition also employs the term *pathshala* to generically refer to children's religious schools. Similarly, the Jain diaspora has given the name Jain Pathshala to their religious schools.[21] For the purpose of this thesis, the term *pathshala* refers to a part-time, optional school for religious instruction within Jainism. I have kept the usage of the

[18] Pierre R. Dasen, "Informal Education and Learning Process," in *Educational Theories and Practices from the Majority World*, (SAGE Publications Pvt. Ltd, 2008), 26.
[19] Dasen, 25.
[20] "Pushtimargiya Paathshala," n.d., http://www.vallabhkankroli.org/activities_pushtimargiya%20pathshala.htm.
[21] Recently, scholars have translated Jain Pathshalas as "Sunday Schools" in their articles on Jainism. Anne Vallely, "Jainism," in *The World's Religions: Continuities and Transformations*, ed. Peter B. Clarke and Peter Beyer (Routledge, 2009), 325–37.

term capitalised when referring to the name of the school such as the Chitrakoot Digambar Pathshala, and have kept *pathshala* in lower case and in italics when referring to it as a generic term such as Digambar *pathshala*.

Traditional *Pathshala* (Early Religious School)

I use "traditional *pathshala*" to refer to religious schools prior to the 1990s in the image-worshipping Digambar Jain tradition. According to my interviewees, almost every temple had provision for operating *swadhyay* (self-study of scriptures) for adults and *pathshala* for children. In the past, children accompanied their families to nearby Jain temples and attended daily *pathshalas* conducted by monastics or lay *pandits* (scholars). These *pathshalas* were the centre for the religious nurturing of a Jain child. Four main features characterise traditional *pathshalas*: (i) children's daily participation,[22] (ii) monks or intellectual laymen as instructors,[23] (iii) a focus on textual memorisation,[24] and (iv) a drive to motivate for renunciation.[25] These traditional *pathshalas* have undergone changes in the twenty-first century. [26]

This kind of traditional paradigm is no longer popular in urban Jain temples or *bhavans* and *sthanaks* (Jain community centres). However, there are a few specialised Digambar institutions like Todarmal Smarak and Sraman Sanskriti Sansthan in Jaipur, which follow traditional methods in preparing *Jain pandits* (scholars). The participants are youth who are focused on Jain studies.

Gyanshala (Religious School)

While the Digambar Jains and the diaspora Jains have adopted the term *pathshala* for their religious schools, the Shvetambar Terapanth tradition has named its part-time, non-formal children's religious school "Gyanshala." Etymologically, the term Gyanshala refers to two words: *gyana*, meaning knowledge and *shala*, meaning house. Together, they denote "house of knowledge'. Settling on a distinct name, Gyanshala, suggests that the founder and his core

[22] Muni Amoghkirti, Interview in Mumbai, trans. Author, December 13, 2016.
[23] Nitin, Interview in Old City, Jaipur, December 19, 2015.
[24] Nitin.
[25] Amoghkirti, Interview in Mumbai.
[26] Whitney Kelting observed the traditional system of Jain religious education in Pune amongst Shvetambar *murtipujak* Jains. She notes that students in Jain religious schools undertook extensive exams, in which they wrote texts from memory, described various rituals, daily worship, and the rite of confession. This holds true for even the Digambar tradition. M. Whitney Kelting, *Singing to the Jinas: Jain Laywomen, Mandal Singing, and the Negotiations of Jain Devotion*, 1 edition (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 168.

team desired a separate identity, one that would not blend into the generally accepted generic term *pathshala*.

Contemporary Jain Religious Schools

In this study, I use the term "religious school" to refer to a school owned and administered by a specific religious group. Additionally, I use the phrase 'contemporary Jain religious schools' to refer to schools that have either been established in the twenty-first century or have restructured their curriculum from the traditional to the modern in this period. These are part-time, optional schools for religious instruction in Jainism.[27] These schools employ child-friendly modern methods for transmitting religious knowledge and offer extra-curricular activities for children aged from five to sixteen years. Depending on convenience and local conditions, these schools operate daily, weekly, bi-weekly, or monthly. In most cases, teachers are trained Jain laywomen, while Jain laymen administer and organise the schools. The authority of taking decisions often resides with the founder (either a monk religious leader or a lay leader) of the school, but renunciants and scholarly laypeople cooperate to prepare the curricula of these schools. In essence, the traditional *pathshala* was teacher-centred, whereas the contemporary *pathshalas* are learner-centred.

In this thesis, I examine four types of contemporary Jain religious schools: the Chitrakoot Digambar Pathshala, the Shyamnagar Digambar Pathshala, the Shvetambar Terapanth Gyanshala, and the American Jain Pathshala.

Framing Concepts

In addition to the terms relating to children's religious education, I employ concepts relating to mobilisation – suburbanisation, regional migration, and international migration – as well as the concept of middle class. I briefly explain these concepts below, but I return to them in more detail in the literature review. These concepts provide me with the framework to analyse the shift in children's religious education. They also allow me to see some of the ongoing processes of change in the Jain tradition.

[27] The terminology used could vary among countries. For example, some prefer faith school or denominational school. There are Jain schools for mainstream education as well, and religious schools for youth. Both of these categories do not come under the purview of my research.

Suburbanisation

By "suburbanisation," I mean the spread of a population from a highly dense city to the surrounding areas of lower density. For the purposes of my thesis, I have used suburbanisation to indicate the outward movement of Digambar Jains from Jaipur's Old City, also called the walled city, to nearby suburbs in the Jaipur metropolitan area.

Regional Migration

By "regional migration," I refer to the voluntary movement of people from their region of origin to other parts of a country. This thesis employs regional migration to describe the movement of Shvetambar Terapanthi Jains from the rural towns of Rajasthan to cities across India. This type of migration within India can also be understood as inter-state movement.[28]

International Migration

"International migration" signifies the voluntary movement of people, groups, or communities from their place of origin to another country. In this thesis, I employ international migration to describe the movement of Jains from their place of origin in India, to locations outside the country, in particular the United States of America.

Middle Class

I use the social category "middle class" in this thesis. Its use in this study goes beyond the oversimplified understanding of "income/economic category."[29] Used as a social as well as an economic category, it has a broader understanding globally, as well as in India. My respondent Jains in Jaipur and outside identify themselves as a mercantile community; their social practices reflect Indian middle-class values of hard work, abstinence, frugality, and female modesty. In addition, all the families aspire to material success and emphasise higher education, especially for their children. Virtually all the girls and boys in my study were acquiring English-medium education, and some were going to schools emphasising international education. I will further expand on the concept of middle class below.

[28] For more information on the trends of internal migration in India, see J. R. Rele, "Trends and Significance of Internal Migration in India," *Sankhyā: The Indian Journal of Statistics, Series B (1960-2002)* 31, no. 3/4 (1969): 501–8, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25051701.

[29] Surinder Jodhka and Aseem Prakash, *The Indian Middle Class*, 1 edition (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2016).

Literature Review

In this section, I offer an analytical overview of four primary fields of research that this dissertation draws upon and aspires to contribute to: (i) children's religious education, (ii) Jain studies, (iii) religion, migration, and identity, and (iv) the Indian middle class.

1. Children's Religious Education

I will review scholarship on three key aspects of children's religious education across traditions: the religious curriculum, the role of the family, and the role of part-time religious schools. This review shows that debates concerning crucial aspects of children's religious education are not exclusive to the Jain tradition.

The first wave of research on children's religious education, in the 1950s, explored religious curricula. This research mainly focused on empirical works on Western religious traditions, which adopted psychological theories and models to explore "how religious thinking develops over the course of childhood and adolescence."[30] Subsequent studies laid emphasis on how religion should be taught. For instance, Harold Loukes and Ronald Goldman asserted that "religious education should be child centric."[31] John Greer and G.A. Brown's experiment on Christian children revealed that while new syllabi achieved greater pupil interest and participation than the traditional Bible approach, they also achieved less in transmitting factual knowledge of the Bible.[32] Conversely, Loukes carried out surveys among children and was convinced that traditional methods of teaching were untenable and would not work.[33] Greer and Brown's results failed to provide a clear direction for children's religious education. Overall, the preceding studies show that the tension between traditional and modern syllabi is not new: it has directly or indirectly influenced the nature and contemporary development of children's religious education over the past century.

Although the preceding studies pioneered a new area of research – children's religious curricula – their focus was limited to testing theories through quantitative methods.

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[30] Eli Gottlieb, "Development of Religious Thinking," *Religious Education* 101, no. 2 (Spring 2006): 244. The initial studies applied the Jean Piaget's (1952) "model of cognitive development," the subsequent studies applied Lawrence Kohlberg's (1958) "model of moral development" on children and the latter studies adopted James Fowler's (1981) "theory of faith development." For more details on these experiments, see Donald Ratcliff, *Handbook of Children's Religious Education* (Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2008). Leslie J. Francis, William K. Kay, and William S. Campbell, eds., *Research in Religious Education* (Gracewing Publishing, 1996).

[31] John Wilson, "Review," *Comparative Education* 2, no. 2 (March 1, 1966): 132, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3098016.

[32] J. E. Greer and G. A. Brown, "The Effects of New Approaches to Religious Education in the Primary School," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 5, no. 1 (May 1973): 73.

[33] Harold Loukes, *New Ground in Christian Education* (S.C.M. Press, 1965), 57.

Moreover, these studies were limited in their geographic distribution and primarily addressed Christian traditions. My thesis differs from these studies in using a qualitative approach to examine children's religious education in a non-Christian context. In addition, unlike the studies referred to above, my study does not attempt to address the question of what curricula and methods work better in achieving the stated goals of religious education. Instead, I explore how variations can occur in developing and implementing curricular materials even within one tradition. The variations relate to the differing migratory contexts of the Jain groups in my study and the challenges to religious continuity those contexts pose. I will show how migration in each context, along with the new environment's social and cultural diversity, influences the formation and reformation of religious education curricula.

In addition to the curriculum, much of the extant research, regardless of the specific religion, focuses on the role of the family as the "primary determiner of religious beliefs"[34] and of its transmission across generations.[35] Mary Fowlkes, in her study on the religious socialisation of a child, states, "Religion is caught not taught, and the family functions as the child's church."[36] Penny Edgell has built on this idea, identifying the congregation, the parish, and the synagogue as important contexts in which families spend time together, contexts that shape the religious education and moral development of children and youth.[37] Other studies have documented the influence of religion on parenting practices.[38] In particular, Lisa Pearce and William Axinn show the impact of religious life on the mother-child bond. In a recent study conducted among Hindu children, Colleen Marie Yim concludes that women have the central role in transmitting religious knowledge to their children, asserting that informal education transmits knowledge effectively.[39] Similarly, Josephine Reynell's research within Jainism reinforces the role of women (including mothers and

[34] Jerry Z. Park and Elaine Howard Ecklund, "Negotiating Continuity: Family and Religious Socialization for Second-Generation Asian Americans," *The Sociological Quarterly* 48, no. 1 (2007): 94, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40220091.
[35] Casey E. Copen and Merril Silverstein, "The Transmission of Religious Beliefs across Generations: Do Grandparents Matter?*," *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 39, no. 1 (Winter 2008): 59. Francesca Prescendi, "Children and the Transmission of Religious Knowledge," June 18, 2010, 73–93.
[36] Mary Anne Fowlkes, "Religion and Socialization," in *Handbook of Preschool Religious Education*, ed. Donald Ratcliff (Birmingham, Ala: Religious Education Press, 1989), 129.
[37] Penny Edgell, *Religion and Family in a Changing Society* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2005), 2.
[38] Paul Amato, "Father-Child Relations, Mother-Child Relations, and Offspring Psychological Well-Being in Early Adulthood," *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, no. 56 (1994): 1031–42. Mark D. Regnerus and Amy Burdette, "Religious Change and Adolescent Family Dynamics," *The Sociological Quarterly* 47, no. 1 (2006): 175–94.
[39] Colleen Marie Yim, "The Transmission of Religious Knowledge in Hinduism: A Mother's Involvement" (Doctoral thesis, School of Intercultural Studies, Biola University, 2004), 178.

grandmothers) in instilling in children a sense of religious awareness.[40] These studies indicate a positive association between family members, especially the mother, and religious transmission to the child.

While the review of literature illuminates the diverse roles that the family takes in the religious cultivation of a child, my study raises an important question that has received less attention in the literature on children's religious education. My dissertation explores how migration and upward mobility have disrupted the family's close involvement in religious and cultural transmission. By advancing Reynell's study, my research reveals that today's Jain children look for reasoning and evidence for the specific religious practices that their elders practice. As a result, Jains have renewed their focus on organised religious education. Many Jains have concluded that, in practice, an individual family cannot achieve all the requirements of religious education of children unassisted: part-time religious schools with trained teachers are required to supplement them.

Research on a third area of scholarly focus, children's religious schools in diaspora, indicates their growth and significance for the continuity of traditions. Strikingly, most studies document the transition of a religious tradition from a foreign-born generation to the next generation. For example, Deba Mitra Bhikkhu examines how Sri Lankan Buddhist migrants in Toronto transmit their tradition to their Canadian children.[41] Similarly, Prema Kurien analyses the transmission of religion to second-generation Hindu children in California. Even for Jewish people, whose migration occurred way back in the past, the focus is on improving the schools where most children learn about Judaism.[42] Jonathan Sacks reinforcing this plea concludes: "Claims of demographic threat currently facing Anglo-Jewry are largely the result of the community having neglected the Jewish education of its children."[43] Thus, migrants and their descendants rely on children's religious schools to sustain their traditions.

While the surveyed studies have examined children in a diaspora context only, I examine a similar issue of continuity within the homeland and the United States. I argue that threats to religious continuity are not limited to overseas-born children but are equally

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[40] Josephine Reynell, "Women and Reproduction of the Jain Community," in *The Assembly of Listeners: Jains in Society*, ed. Michael Carrithers and Caroline Humphrey (Great Britain: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 59.
[41] Bhikkhu, "Dhamma Education"
[42] Robert Weinberg, "Religious School: An Institution Jews Love to Hate," *My Jewish Learning* (blog), accessed June 21, 2015, http://www.myjewishlearning.com/life/Life_Stages/Jewish_Education/Trends/Religious_Schools.shtml.
[43] Geoffrey Short, "The Role of Education in Jewish Continuity: A Response to Jonathan Sacks," *British Journal of Religious Education* 27, no. 3 (September 2005): 253.

relevant to homeland-born children, especially in the case of a minority tradition, such as the Jain tradition. My qualitative research in India and the United States demonstrates that part-time religious schools adopt modern methods to sustain children's interest and thereby seek to maintain their tradition. Analysing the schools' adaptations, I argue that while children's religious schools are key channels of continuity, they also generate changes that continuously reshape the Jain tradition. No study has so far considered children's religious schools as a driver for the transformation of the broader tradition, in the land of origin and globally. My study aims to fill this gap.

The scholarly literature surveyed in this section examined three aspects of children's religious education: curricula, the role of family, and the role of informal religious schools in diaspora. Notably, research on children's religious education conducted in an Asian context focuses on a non-Asian religion: the development of Christian Sunday schools in relation to colonial missionary expansion in India.[44] Some studies have analysed religious education in Buddhism and Jainism, but they have largely explored education either among monastics[45] or in a diaspora context.[46] The discourse on children's religious education in South Asian traditions in general, and Jainism in particular, is yet to begin. Therefore, understanding the issues of religious transmission is an urgent task not only in Jain studies but also for the continuity of other Asian religious traditions. This need gathers urgency as the increasing migration of people, groups, and communities and their subsequent adjustment in identity threatens practices.

2. Jain Studies

I turn now to survey scholarly literature in Jain studies in two areas: explanations for the survival of the Jain tradition and women's roles in Jainism. Following the survey, I will identify the gaps in each area that this study seeks to fill.

Jain scholars have investigated the survival of the Jain tradition in contrast with the decline of Buddhist traditions within India. Scholars such as Vilas Sangave and Padmanabh S. Jaini explain this phenomenon. The former regards "inflexible conservatism" as the

[44] Anilkumar Belvadi, "American Missions and Sunday Schools in Victorian India" (Doctoral thesis, Washington University, 2005), 3.
[45] Thomas Adams Borchert, "Educating Monks: Buddhism, Politics and Freedom of Religion on China's Southwest Border" (Doctoral thesis, The University of Chicago, 2006). Debendra Chandra Dasgupta, *Jaina System of Education*, Reprinted (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1999). Anne Vallely, *Guardians of the Transcendent: An Ethnography of a Jain Ascetic Community* (University of Toronto Press, Scholarly Publishing Division, 2002).
[46] Bhikkhu, "Dhamma Education."

strength that has ensured the survival of Jain communities,[47] while the latter attributes survival to "royal patronage" and "cultivation of laity."[48] Scholars have examined hundreds and thousands of handwritten manuscripts preserved in Jain libraries.[49] The preserving of knowledge through manuscripts and scriptures shows continuity with the past. While some studies focus on manuscripts, there are yet other studies that pay scholarly attention to *jina* images and temples that house images. These studies have noted that the culture and tradition embedded in the temples further contribute to the survival of the Jain tradition.[50] New studies identify ascetics as the tradition's teachers, exemplars, and symbols of worship.[51] These studies claim that a focus on the role of the Jain community, as well as on physical objects of veneration, have proven to be the key for the continuity of the tradition.

However, addressing the explanations of how the Jain tradition has survived, none features the transmission of religious education to the next generation as a factor sustaining the tradition. Since children are carriers of religion, the diminishing role of families and traditional religious education in cultivating values provides impetus to contemporary Jain religious schools. Moreover, the exponential growth of these schools testifies to their roles in the continuity of the tradition. My study of Jain communities' highlights that children's religious education plays a critical role in the continuity of the Jain tradition and that innovations in religious education models are bringing about significant changes in contemporary Jains.

Scholarship on women's roles in Jainism has highlighted their subordination, either as female renouncers (ascetics) or as laywomen confined to a domestic context. Women's status matters in understanding the Jain tradition as a whole, because of its fourfold structure: monk, nun, layman, and laywoman. One of the key issues that separate Digambars from Shvetambars is their respective idea about women. While Digambars maintain that women cannot achieve *moksha* (liberation), Shvetambars resist this notion.[52] Taking its cue from the

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[47] Vilas Sangave, "Reform Movements among Jains in Modern India," in *The Assembly of Listeners:Jains in Society*, ed. Michael Carrithers and Caroline Humphrey (Great Britain: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 399.
[48] Jaini, *The Jaina Path of Purification*, 275, 286.
[49] See the following articles for details on manuscripts: John E. Cort, "The Jain Knowledge Warehouses: Traditional Libraries in India," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115, no. 1 (January 1, 1995): 77–78, https://doi.org/10.2307/605310. Tillo Detige, "Manuscript Collections of the Western and Central Indian Bhaṭṭārakas," *Jaina Studies: Newsletter of the Centre of Jaina Studies* 12 (2017): 36–39.
[50] John E. Cort, *Framing the Jina: Narratives of Icons and Idols in Jain History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).
[51] Babb, *Absent Lord*, 53.
[52] The idea that women cannot achieve liberation is linked to the Digambar practice of monastic nudity. The highest monastic position for a woman is *ariyaka,* which is not considered as fully initiated like the Shvetambar nuns. See Dundas, *The Jains*, 55–99. For more on women and gender issues, see Padmanabh S. Jaini, *Gender*

lower status of women in Jainism, scholarship has substantially focused on the religious lives of Jain nuns and laywomen. Turning to nuns first, the most recent study is by Komal Ashok Kumar, who explores the training of young nuns. She argues that the educational requirements, secluded social environment, disciplined rules, and monastic hierarchies train aspirants to understand the demands of nunhood.[53] While Kumar focuses specifically on the Terapanth tradition, Manisha Sethi, in her recent ethnography spanning Jain traditions, examines why Jain female renouncers outnumber Jain male renouncers.[54] This trend of ethnographic studies on Jain nuns began with N Shanta's seminal work, "La Voie Jaina."[55] Then, Anne Vallely in "Guardians of the Transcendent." examines Jain female ascetic practices with regard to their symbolic significance, focusing especially on the meaning they ascribe to devotion to the *acharya* as the key practice they engage in to achieve their soteriological goal.[56] While Kumar, Sethi, and Vallely have exclusively focused on female renouncers, a recent study by Nichollette Jones examines both female renouncers and laywomen. She notes that "Jainism, in its doctrine, includes women as vital to the makeup and survival of the Jain community, ascetic and lay."[57] On the one hand, Jones stresses the vital role of women; on the other, she presents a traditional picture of laywomen and "Jain female domesticity" with the statement that "kinship roles construct women ['s] identities."[58] Despite the insights provided by this contemporary scholarship, strikingly, all the studies follow the thread of women's subordinate roles.

The few studies that focus solely on Jain laywomen also highlight their subordination. Whitney Kelting examines female devotionalism amongst Shvetambar *murtipujak* Jains in Pune. Although she acknowledges the role of mother in nurturing religious values in children, she observes that the basis of female heroism lies in being a true wife, or *pativrata*.[59] Kelting's previous work, "Singing to the Jinas," similarly defines Jain womanhood as built on the traditional religious roles.[60] In a study conducted amongst Shvetambar Jains in the Old

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and Salvation: Jaina Debates on the Spiritual Liberation of Women (California: University of California Press, 1991).

[53] Komal Ashok Kumar, "The Transformations and Challenges of a Jain Religious Aspirant from Layperson to Ascetic: An Anthropological Study of Shvetambar Terapanthi Female Mumukshus" (Master's thesis, Florida International University, 2016).

[54] Manisha Sethi, *Escaping the World: Women Renouncers among Jains* (New Delhi: Routledge India, 2012).

[55] N. Shanta, *La Voie Jaina : Histoire, spiritualité, vie des ascètes pèlerines de l'Inde* (Paris: François-Xavier de Guibert, 1989).

[56] Vallely, *Guardians of the Transcendent*.

[57] Nichollette Jones, "Blossoming in the Dark: The Journey of Jain Female Renouncers" (Master's thesis, University of Wyoming, 2013), 1.

[58] Jones, 3.

[59] Kelting, *Heroic Wives Rituals, Stories and the Virtues of Jain Wifehood*.

[60] Kelting, *Singing to the Jinas*.

City (walled city) of Jaipur, Josephine Reynell notes that Jain laywomen's *purdah* (woman's veil) norms restrict women's movement outside the home.[61] She identifies the following markers of Jain lay female identity: (i) women are strictly confined to the domestic domain, (ii) women engage in fasts and vows, and (iii) preparation of food is a religious act and are governed by the religious injunction of *ahimsa*.[62] For Kelting and Reynell, a Jain laywoman expresses her devoutness through subordinate roles. They echo Vallely's observation that female Jain ascetics concentrate on showing devotion to the *acharya.* Research on women's roles in Jainism thus draws a parallel between female renouncers and laywomen in their subordination.

In addition to female renouncers and laywomen, Leslie C. Orr identifies a third category called "religious woman" found in Tamil inscriptions of the eighth to thirteenth centuries. She notes that in this period "Jain women were very active as religious teachers."[63] Based on the inscriptional evidence she further suggests that these religious women neither took ascetic vows nor renounced family life. This means they were not in the category of "nun" but constituted a subset of laywomen. Orr further notes that the term most frequently utilised for Jain religious women is *kuratti* (female teacher).[64] Scholarship in Jain studies has not substantially explored this category of women teachers in the medieval Tamil Nadu region. The part-time religious school teachers in my study can be considered "contemporary religious teachers," whom pupils usually call "Aunty or Ma'am."

The above survey on women's subordinate roles overlooks Jain laywomen's emerging leadership outside the domestic domain. Updating Reynell's study, my fieldwork in Jaipur shows dramatic changes in the traditional roles of urbanised Jain laywomen in the past two decades. Whether they are Digambar or Shvetambar, middle-class urbanised Jain women are emerging as leaders in the field of children's religious education. For instance, their growing roles in preparing children's religious educational curricula, in teaching, and in coordinating religious schools, depart dramatically from Reynell's findings. My study uses these twenty-first-century developments to re-evaluate women's roles in the Jain tradition. The departure from domestic chores to new roles of guiding the spiritual development of young Jains gives laywomen an unprecedented voice in shaping Jainism.

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[61] Reynell, "Women and Reproduction of the Jain Community," 54.
[62] Reynell, 54–55.
[63] Leslie C. Orr, "Jain and Hindu: 'Religious Women' in Early Medieval Tamil Nadu," in *Open Boundaries: Jain Communities and Cultures in Indian History*, ed. John E. Cort (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1998), 188.
[64] Orr, 189.

3. Religion, Migration, and Identity

In this section, I survey a range of recent literature to argue that scholarship has been biased both in geographic distribution and tradition. Particularly, I outline some key issues relating to migration and identity that other scholarship raises: Are immigrants more religious than they were before migrating? Does immigration have a role in seeking religious identity? How do the immigrants' religious identities mesh or conflict with other identities?[65]

There is a wealth of scholarly literature on migration.[66] Recently, researchers from religious studies and theology have also turned their attention to this area.[67] As a result, studies have clearly identified that "religion plays an important role in the lives of many migrants, both at the individual level and at the communal level."[68] The importance of religion results in increasing numbers of migrants orienting their lives to fit in with two or more societies.[69] Within the field of religious studies, scholarship has addressed a range of issues through inter-disciplinary approaches such as history, sociology, psychology, anthropology, and politics.[70]

Such studies indicate that migrants are more religious in their new contexts than in their former environments. Prema Kuiren's research amongst Indian Hindu migrants in the United States shows that migrants rediscover the importance of religion and intentionally embrace religion as an identity marker.[71] Likewise, in the case of Turks in Europe, Ayse Guveli claims that religion fuels the creation of ethno-religious space in the new social environment and intensifies subjective and communal manifestation of piety.[72] Other examples of the creation of ethno-religious spaces include the establishment of 131 Korean

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[65] Alex Stepick, "God Is Apparently Not Dead: The Obvious, the Emergent, and Still Unknown in Immigration and Religion," in *Immigrant Faiths: Transforming Religious Life in America* (New York, N.Y.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006), 16.
[66] Martha Frederiks, "Religion, Migration, and Identity," in *Religion, Migration, and Identity: Methodological and Theoretical Explorations*, ed. Dorottya Nagy and Martha Frederiks (Boston: Brill, 2016), 9.
[67] A recently published collection of essays explores the issues related to religion, migration, and identity at some length. The essays discuss individuals and communities when affected by the dynamics of migration. Martha Frederiks and Dorottya Nagy, eds., *Religion, Migration and Identity: Methodological and Theological Explorations* (Boston: Brill Academic Pub, 2016).
[68] Frederiks, "Religion, Migration, and Identity," 13. For more on the significance and impacts of religion on migration see Robert Schreiter, "Spaces for Religion and Migrants Religious Identity" 5 (2009): 155–71.
[69] Stephen Castles, "Migration and Community Formation under Conditions of Globalization," *International Migration Review* 36, no. 4 (2002): 1146.
[70] Karen Leonard et al., eds., *Immigrant Faiths: Transforming Religious Life in America* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006), 1.
[71] Prema Kurien, "Becoming American by Becoming Hindu: Indian Americans Taking Their Place at the Multicultural Table," in *Gatherings in the Diaspora: Religious Communities and the New Immigrants* (Philadelphia Templeton University Press, 1998), 37–70.
[72] Ayse Guveli, "Are Movers More Religious than Stayers? Religiosity of European Majority, Turks in Europe and Turkey," *Review of Religious Research* 57, no. 1 (2015): 43, http://www.jstor.org/stable/43920079.

Protestant churches in New York[73] and of the Cambodian Christian churches in Long Beach and Seattle.[74] While the demarcation of ethno-religious space by international migrants shows the importance of religion in proving comfort and uniting their communities, evidence from my research demonstrates a shift in the nature of religious practices even amongst communities that have migrated within their country of origin. The variations lie in the levels of adaptations, due to diverse social and cultural environments.

In addition to increased religiosity, studies have documented that migrants seek to strengthen specific religious identities and affiliations. It is a "major social phenomenon" with a huge impact on religious identity.[75] For instance, Steward Harrison demonstrates a positive correlation between religion and identity formation.[76] Similarly, Jenny McGill explores how religious identity is related to cultural adjustments and interacts with migrant's ethnic and national identities among foreign-born evangelical migrants, who entered the United States to pursue advanced academic studies.[77] She suggests the changes in religious orientation and other aspects of religiosity correlate with other changes that can be described more broadly as changes in identity.[78] My study resonates with McGill's observation on negotiating identities; however, my research with diaspora Jains also shows how a migrant religious community attempts to overcome their homeland differences in the aspiration to form a visible and unified identity in the host region. After reviewing a large body of literature touching upon migration, religion, and identity, Martha Frederiks and Dorottya Nagy note the theoretical biases of the literature originating from North American contexts.[79] They further note: "Migration needs to be researched at a similar level of intensity in other socio-geographical contexts."[80] Thus far, the preceding studies show that much has been accomplished in terms of ethnic diversity and age groups, although they are biased in geographic distribution and religious denominations.

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[73] Pyong Gap Min, "Religion and the Maintenance of Ethnicity among Immigrants: A Comparison of Indian Hindus and Korean Protestants," in *Immigrant Faiths: Transforming Religious Life in America*, ed. Karen I. Leonard, Alex Stepick, and Jennifer Holdaway (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006), 99.
[74] Thomas J. Douglas, "Changing Religious Practices among Cambodian Immigrants," in *Immigrant Faiths: Transforming Religious Life in America*, ed. Karen I. Leonard, Alex Stepick, and Jennifer Holdaway (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006), 123.
[75] Thomas Sowell, *Migrations And Cultures: A World View* (New York: Basic Books, 1996), 1.
[76] Steward Harrison Oppong, "Religion and Identity," *American International Journal of Contemporary Research* 3, no. 6 (June 2013): 10–16.
[77] Jenny McGill, *Religious Identity and Cultural Negotiation: Toward a Theology of Christian Identity in Migration* (Eugene: Pickwick Publications, 2016), 25.
[78] McGill, *Religious Identity and Cultural Negotiation*.
[79] Frederiks and Nagy, *Religion, Migration and Identity*, 2.
[80] Frederiks and Nagy, 2.

Migration and identity form recurrent themes in my interviews with Jains. A profound connection between the two is also apparent in the above-reviewed studies. Curiously, however, most of the emerging scholarship concentrates on international migration and its impact on the lives of migrants. Relatively little research spotlights suburbanisation and regional migration. The questions of negotiating identities, acculturation, and the "right to fully exist and flourish in new locations" are equally significant for intra-migration of Jains. In other words, the consequences of relocation, whether local or national, can be equally challenging for retaining language, culture, dietary norms, and religious practices. My thesis identifies these crucial gaps and addresses them by investigating the migration of Jain communities both within and outside India.

4. Contemporary Debates in Middle-Class Values

The study of India's middle class has generated substantial interest amongst historians, economists, and sociologists.[81] As a result, scholars have variously described this group from pre-colonial times to the present. It will be useful to consider some of its historical trajectories to understand this emerging social group.

B. B. Misra, one of the pioneers in presenting the first full account of India's middle class, traces the growth of the Indian middle class from about the middle of eighteenth century to modern times.[82] He points out a key difference between the rise of the Indian middle class and the emergence of the middle class in the West. In the West, the middle class arose out of the industrial revolution, whereas the Indian middle class emerged in post-independence India because of access to Western education and technology. Misra tells us that the Indian middle class consists of four categories: (i) the commercial middle class of middlemen and brokers; (ii) the moneylenders, *banias*, and brokers; (iii) the industrial middle class; and (iv) the educated middle class.[83] In contemporary Jain literature, scholars have applied all four categories in describing the Jains in India and outside.[84] These categories are all relevant to my Jain interviewees, especially businessmen and the educated middle class such as doctors, engineers, teachers, and other professionals. Jains began to fit Misra's

[81] For an excellent discussion on Indian middle class, see B. B. Misra, *The Indian Middle Classes: Their Growth in Modern Times.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961).
[82] Misra.
[83] Karuna Chanana, "The Middle Class in India," 1964, 683–84.
[84] For details see the edited volume, Assembly of Listeners. Michael Carrithers and Caroline Humphrey, eds., *The Assembly of Listeners: Jains in Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

description, as they became middle class in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[85] For instance, the late sociologist, Vilas A. Sangave, in his thorough account of the Jain communities, presents several initiatives that Jains undertook in this period: a large number of weekly and monthly newspapers to address the many-sided problems of the community, social reforms including widow remarriage, emphasis on girls' education, and anti-social practices such as child marriage and dowry.[86] Western education and technology have become key markers of the Indian middle class, including the Jains. While Misra provides a history of two hundred years of middle-classness in his lengthy work, Sanjay Joshi focuses on the rising middle class in colonial India, especially Lucknow. Furthermore, unlike Misra, Joshi suggests that "the power of the middle class did not rest on its economic positions but on its abilities to act as cultural entrepreneur." My study of middle-class Jain groups aligns with Joshi's suggestion, showing that they are significant culturally and socially.

Keeping Misra and Joshi's work as seminal, scholars have described the Indian middle class as "complex, diverse, and simply different."[87] C. J. Fuller and Haripriya Narasimhan distinctly define old and new middle class in their examination of Tamil Brahmins, the formerly traditional, rural, high-caste elite.[88] According to them, the old middle class is comprised of a property-owning petite bourgeoisie, and the new middle class consists of educated and qualified professional and technical service-sector employees.[89] Scholars criticising India's middle class argue that this group is retreating from idealism. Similarly, Dhurjati Prasad Mukerji (1894-1961), one of the founding fathers of Indian sociology, in his discussion of this social group notes that "the new middle-class in India imbibed western capitalistic values from its colonial masters and started considering everything Indian or traditional as backward, and hence to be wiped out to move ahead in the path of progress."[90] Despite the varied views, most scholars agree that the Indian middle class is one of "the primary beneficiaries of the 1991 liberalization policies."[91] Leela Fernandes

[85] For a full discussion of social and religious reforms and developments in Jain communities, see Sangave, *Jaina Community*, 289–359.
[86] Sangave, 289–329.
[87] Jodhka and Prakash, *The Indian Middle Class*, 28.
[88] C. J. Fuller and Haripriya Narasimhan, *Tamil Brahmans: The Making of a Middle-Class Caste* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014).
[89] The author notes this distinction in the footnotes. Christiane Brosius, *India's Middle Class: New Forms of Urban Leisure, Consumption and Prosperity* (London: Routledge India, 2014).
[90] Drawn from Dalia Chakrabati's analysis of Dhurjati Prasad Mukerji. See Dalia Chakrabarti, "D.P. Mukerji and the Middle Class in India," *Sociological Bulletin* 59, no. 2 (2010): 253.
[91] Sara Dickey, ed., "Performing the Middle," in *Living Class in Urban India* (Rutgers University Press, 2016), 125.

and many others have rightly argued that India's economic liberalisation in the 1990s has led to increased consumption.

Existing academic scholarship has addressed specific groups of middle class in India. For example, Leela Fernandes examines the middle class of Mumbai, Christiane Brosius examines the middle-class population in Delhi, and Henrike Dornes examines the middle class in Calcutta (now Kolkata). These contemporary works on the middle class tend to "glorify its economic dynamism," with some identifying the middle class as a key to understanding modern India.[92] Against the background of commoditisation and homogenisation of societies and cultures that such groups bring about, my study throws light on understanding the dynamics of how religious ethnic communities redefine identities through innovations in religious education.

Scholars have drawn our attention to the fact that Jains are scattered all over India and are largely a migrant community.[93] I explore the hybrid nature of three different movements, from suburbanisation to international migration, as well as many other influences shaping the Jain tradition. I then, based on empirical research, sketch the essential qualities of the emerging Jain middle class to analyse the transformations in children's religious education that characterise the association between the middle-class values of education, gender relations, and economic opportunities. Although there is some overlap between the two categories, I specifically show that attention to the middle-class aspirations of educated Jains deepens our understanding of the modernisation of Jainism. These influences transform children's religious education, which further culminates in the shaping of their tradition.

In sum, the review of literature demonstrates the complexities and variation in the development of children's religious education in the twenty-first century. The review also highlights that education and upward mobility have transformed the position of women in the Jain tradition. These changes are not substantially addressed in the evolving Jain scholarship, which I will highlight throughout my study. Further, the negotiation of identities as a result of migration is increasing amongst middle-class Jains. Current scholarship has not fully considered the impact of migration on children's religious education and the various changes this phenomenon has initiated towards maintaining identities. My research with migrant Jains within and outside India will contribute to the growing body of literature on immigrant faiths in different socio-geographic contexts. Finally, through middle-class Jains, I examine the relationship between the social category and its religious tradition and the influences that this

[92] Chakrabarti, "D.P. Mukerji and the Middle Class in India," 253.
[93] Sangave, *Jaina Community*, 331.

category exerts in modernising the traditions. This way I link my project to four key areas: children's religious education, Jain studies, migration and identity, and middle class; and aspire to fill scholarly gaps.

Research Methods

In this section, I outline the research methods that will enable me to adequately address my central research questions, which I restate. (1) What has changed in Jain religious education for children in recent decades? (2) What are the reasons for these changes? (3) What have been their consequences? I then explain the process of validating and analysing the data, and finally provide the rationale for selecting the religious schools in this study.

The preceding literature review revealed that studies on children's religious education in other traditions and parts of the world have traditionally adopted quantitative methods. My research examines the forces driving change in religious education and the wider consequences of the reforms. As these subjects do not lend themselves to quantitative analysis, I have adopted two qualitative research methods for my thesis: multiple case studies (in-depth interviews and participant observation) and curricula analyses (children's textbooks and pedagogies). The assumption underlying this methodological approach is that a few cases, closely studied, can contribute to our understanding of broader outcomes. In other words, the three cases provide sufficient evidence to establish the process of change, and the curriculum analysis supplies the critical input needed to define the shift. The combination of these two qualitative methods has allowed me to address the research questions better than either method alone would have.

First, I discuss the multiple case studies. This research method has enabled me to examine the shift in children's religious education by employing more than one case within a bounded system.[94] I have identified three cases with variation in backgrounds, objectives, and narratives to share, all nonetheless bounded by a single context, that of "children's religious education in migrant communities."[95] Regarding case studies, Robert Stake distinguishes between "intrinsic" and "instrumental" cases, depending on the purpose of the study. According to him, an intrinsic case study is undertaken to better understand the particular

[94] John.W Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among Five Approaches*, 2nd ed. (SAGE Publications, Inc, 2007), 73.

[95] Several authors including Stake (1995) and Yin (2003) have suggested that placing boundaries on a case can avoid the problem of too many objective and lead to a focused study. Suggestions on how to bind a case are: time and place (Creswell 2003); time and activity (Stake); and definition and context (Miles and Huberman 1994). Pamela Baxter and Susan Jack, "Qualitative Case Study, Methodology: Study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers," *The Qualitative Report* 13, no. 4 (January 2008): 546.

case itself.[96] In contrast, an instrumental case study goes beyond the case; it involves the study of a phenomenon or an issue[97] and supports the development of deeper insights into that issue.[98] For my study, I have chosen the instrumental approach, which has enabled me to generate broader ideas about the changes that the Jain tradition is undergoing, as evidenced through three cases: Digambar Pathshalas, Terapanth Gyanshalas, and American Jain Pathshalas. These religious schools have produced sufficient data to enable me to analyse the changes, their causes, and the consequences within each case and across cases.

Curriculum analysis joins the multiple case studies as an equally important research method in my project. A critical review of the curricula developed and implemented by each of the four selected contemporary religious schools yields valuable insights in six areas. First, the curricula variously address concerns arising from suburbanisation, regional migration, and international migration. Second, they indicate the diverse levels of adaptation required to sustain children's interest in the new contexts. Third, examining educational materials also reveals the identity they seek to foster, which is variously sectarian or non-sectarian. Fourth, I examine the influence of middle-class values on pedagogy and the curricular material. Fifth, I analyse both the threads of continuity and of innovation in order to demonstrate the ongoing process of shaping the Jain tradition. Finally, I evaluate the curricula to discern similarities and differences in teaching methods amongst the religious schools examined.

I employed multiple sources of evidence to conduct case studies and curriculum analysis. I reviewed the published secondary literature, which enabled me to trace some of the historical precedents of contemporary debates on children's religious education, and also analysed the related Jain scholarship. In addition, I examined the modern curricula developed by each of the four types of schools in my study – the Chitrakoot Digambar Pathshala, the Shyamnagar Digambar Pathshala, the Shvetambar Terapanth Gyanshala, and the American Jain Pathshala. Finally, I garnered evidence from fieldwork that I conducted between September 2015 and March 2016 at multiple field sites in India and the United States, particularly in Jaipur, Los Angeles and Phoenix. I followed up the data collection with my respondents through emails and telephone calls in 2016 and 2017.

Prior to commencing the fieldwork, I established contacts at multiple sites in India and the United States. I wrote to these contacts about my project and discussed it at length on

[96] Robert E. Stake, "Case Studies," in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, ed. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc, 1994), 237.
[97] Robert E. Stake, *Multiple Case Study Analysis*, 1 edition (New York: The Guilford Press, 2005), 8. Baxter and Jack, "Qualitative Case Study, Methodology: Study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers," 550.
[98] Robert E. Stake, *The Art of Case Study Research* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1995), 77, 171.

my arrival. These initial contacts introduced me to various stakeholders in the community, including school coordinators, teachers, and parents. Accordingly, my qualitative field research draws on two sets of primary data: interviews and participant observation.

I conducted fifty-seven semi-structured interviews and several short interviews distributed across the three case studies. In line with research ethics, I explained the purpose of the research to my informants. I obtained consent from them to record, using a micro-electronic recorder. To ensure informed knowledge, I took care that in each case study, I interviewed a range of informants drawn from the following groups: monks and nuns, community leaders, teachers, and parents.[99] In selecting monks and nuns, I sought to interview those who had directly or indirectly witnessed the past and present forms of educating children in Jain religious spheres. For community leaders, the interviewee's position in the community and association with a specific religious school guided the choice. These groups furnished information about educational goals, teaching materials and methodologies, and children's participation in religious learning. I also interviewed curriculum planners, school coordinators, active teachers, and parents. Interviewing teachers provided new insights regarding content, classroom challenges, and the role of memorisation in religious transmission. Parents shared their personal views regarding the challenges and effect of religious education upon their children. In the short interviews (ranging between twenty to thirty minutes), I followed a similar strategy of taking consent and recording the conversation. To make the most of the interview time, I devised four questionnaires, which varied according to the group (attached in Appendix 1). In line with the ethics of anonymity, I have used pseudonyms to conceal the identities and real names of most of my informants. However, I have made exceptions for some informants who are well known in the community and those who are connected closely with the religious schools that I have examined. I have revealed their identities with their consent.

I conducted the interviews in Hindi and English. My Indian Jain respondents preferred to respond in Hindi, which I later transcribed and translated into English. In contrast, my American Jain respondents were comfortable with English. In addition to these languages, I conducted short interviews with some older-generation monks, nuns, and laypeople in Marwari (a language in Rajasthan). I recorded both kinds of interviews. I engaged children in group discussion and encouraged them to share their experiences and

[99] Robert Stake notes that the interview is the main road to multiple views and multiple realities. See Stake, 64.

narratives, which I refer to in my analysis. Table 1 shows an overview of the semi-structured interviewees.

Table 1. An overview of semi-structured interviewees.

	Group 1 Monastics	Group 2 Lay Leaders	Group 3 Teachers	Group 4 Parents
Digambar Pathshalas	4	4	6	3
Shvetambar Terapanth Gyanshalas	7	4	6	3
American Jain Pathshalas	–	5	9	6

Having described my respondent groups, I now explain why I excluded interviewing two key groups: (i) the children who attend Jain Pathshalas and Gyanshalas and (ii) the parents of children who do not attend such schools. By excluding one on one conversations with participating children, I have not been able to present their attitudes and behaviour towards part-time religious education. Such interviews would have been useful when measuring the success of these schools, but the focus of my thesis was elsewhere, to examine the way contemporary Jain religious schools respond to the challenges of migration and modernisation. However, I have compensated for this limitation by engaging children in group discussions, which I refer to in my analysis.

I also chose not to interview parents who do not send their children to Jain religious schools. Such interviews would have offered an interesting and different perspective on the schools, since the number of parents who do not send their children outnumbers those who do. However, because one of the major foci of my thesis is to examine the shift in children's religious education from traditional to contemporary, I needed to interview those groups who are directly involved in this phenomenon of change. The omission of interviewing those not directly involved removes a dimension from my research, but does not in any way invalidate my findings. I have, within the thesis, made some broad claims regarding Jains. Such claims are not intended to express perspectives on all Jains as a whole. They are based on conversations with a small number of torchbearers of the traditions—mendicants and community lay leaders—and are made with an awareness of their limitations, since my respondents cannot speak for all Jains.

I discuss now my second data-collection method: participant observation. Interviews were interwoven with long periods of participant observation. This method is a systematic

description of events, behaviours, and artefacts in the social setting chosen for study.[100] This method enabled me to check for "non-verbal expression,"[101] provided "first hand involvement"[102] in rituals, and also enabled me to gauge children's levels of interest in classroom activities. I took notes while observing children in religious schools and then participated with my subjects in temple rituals and subsequently recorded my observations. I wrote detailed field notes summarising the dialogues that took place at a Jain temple or a Jain community centre. Each case study presented differences in the way children engaged with religious concepts and with the extra activities. I participated with the Digambar *pathshala* children in the temple rituals and ceremonies that they performed. Wherever my argument relies on this body of evidence, I mark it explicitly with such phrases as, "I observed..." or "In my observation...."

Each religious school in my case studies varies in its context, philosophy, and practices. The research varied accordingly. For my first case study, I examined Digambar Jain *pathshalas* in Jaipur. From my preliminary research in Jaipur, I knew some key Digambar Jains who opened the doors for a closer interaction with the community. I conducted seventeen semi-structured interviews and held some short interviews from October 2015 to February 2016. The two *pathshalas* I examined are located in different areas of the city, supporting my theme of suburbanisation. With regard to both religious schools, I conducted interviews in Digambar Jain temples, people's residences, and offices. I joined *pathshala* participants in the temple rituals to gain greater insight into the curricular material and also the significance of rituals in the community.

Turning to the second case study, I conducted twenty interviews with Shvetambar Terapanthi Jains from October 2015 to February 2016, to investigate how their regional migration contributed to the formation of Gyanshala education. In this exploration, Jaipur was my main field site, but I also travelled to New Delhi, Kolkata, Ahmedabad, and Gulabbagh – to conduct interviews with monks, who are not stationed in one region for a long time, and those key laypeople who have a long association with Gyanshala education. Through these interviews, I was able to elicit precise information on Gyanshala objectives, the preparation of curricular material, and the reforms in Gyanshalas. I conducted the interviews either at the Terapanth community centres or at homes.

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[100] Catherine Marshall and Gretchen B. Rossman, *Designing Qualitative Research* (Newbury Park, CA: SAGE Publications, 1989), 79.
[101] Richard A. Schmuck, *Practical Action Research for Change*, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks, Calif: Corwin, 2006), 52.
[102] Catherine Marshall and Gretchen B. Rossman, *Designing Qualitative Research*, 6th ed. (Los Angeles, California: SAGE Publications, Inc, 2015), 145.

For the third case study, I conducted twenty interviews in September 2015 amongst diaspora Jains in four North American cities. I chose the American Jain diaspora because they have pioneered the development of modern religious education curriculum outside India, referred to as the JAINA curriculum. Many diaspora Jain communities outside America have adopted this curriculum. Examining it has enabled me to analyse the ways in which migrant Jain communities are addressing the challenges of maintaining their culture and traditions outside their homeland and how these challenges differ from the Indian context. One evident difference, the absence of fully ordained monks and nuns in the diaspora Jain community has resulted in a community comprising laymen and laywomen. Hence, my interviewees were all laypeople at two main field sites – Los Angeles and Phoenix.

To process the data from the qualitative research, I followed three steps: organising, validating, and analysing.[103] These steps guided the specific ways I have approached the data for my case studies. I started with direct interpretation as a technique to organise my data, and then used triangulation to validate the findings. While analysing them, I employed descriptive and cross-case analysis.

First and foremost, I used direct interpretation to make sense of the data. I began this process by developing codes and grouping them into themes. Three main themes that emerged through this process were suburbanisation, regional migration, and international migration. These themes provided the necessary context throughout my thesis in which to describe cases, organise themes, and make comparisons.

Next, I applied a triangulation process in seeking assurances.[104] I used this process to minimise misinterpretation of the data. Since I had gathered data from multiple sources, this process clarified meaning and verified the repeatability of an observation or interpretation. I verified each significant finding with three or more assurances or confirmations.[105] For example, in the case of the Digambar Pathshala, my interviewees emphasised the importance of the *Deva-Shastra-Guru Puja*. I confirmed its importance by examining the curricular material, and its importance was further verified through my participant-observation in the temple. With triangulation, I ensured the validity of my case study research.[106]

[103] Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design*, 180.
[104] Stake, *Multiple Case Study Analysis*, 37.
[105] Stake, 33.
[106] Rolf Johansson, "Case Study Methodology," in *Methodologies in Housing Research* (International Conference in Methodologies in Housing Research, Stockholm, 2003), 8.

Using descriptive analysis, I described each case and its setting in "sufficient descriptive narrative" through the data gathered from the field.[107] The description of cases was useful because each case differs in its context and setting. This analytical method allowed me to set the context for each case study and the overarching object of the study.

Lastly, I employed cross-case analysis to interpret data and analyse relationships across cases. Stake states that researchers have an obligation to provide interpretations across cases.[108] I presented similarities and differences across three cases, to address the main issue, which, for my study, is: how changes in religious schools are transforming the Jain tradition. Figure 2 provides an overview of the qualitative research that I have described above.

[107] Stake, "Case Studies," 243.
[108] Stake, *Multiple Case Study Analysis*, 39.

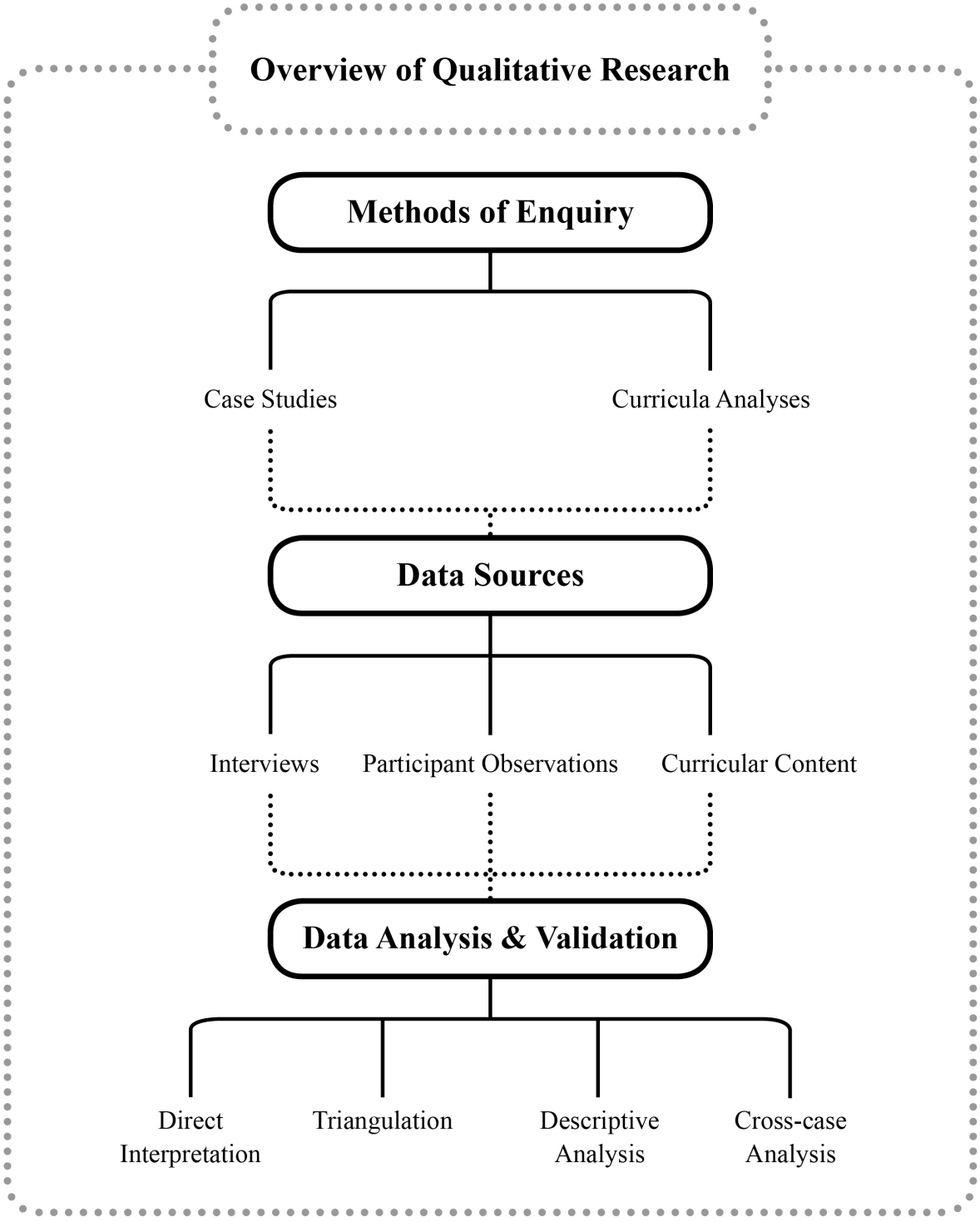

Figure 2. An overview of the qualitative research.

Rationale for Selection of Religious Schools

From the outset of the research, I paid close attention to the diversity of contemporary Jain religious schools in India and outside. From the large variety of such schools in rural and urban India, I selected four types of urban-based "contemporary Jain religious schools" for

the three case studies. My selection focused on four main criteria. (1) These schools represent the four main Jain sects branching from the Shvetambar and Digambar traditions. The Indian Jain schools belong to the Digambar and Shvetambar Terapanth traditions respectively, and in the American Jain religious schools, the majority of adherents are Shvetambar *murtipujak* and Sthanakvasi. (2) All these schools have responded to migration in unique ways. (3) All these schools were founded between the late twentieth century and the early twenty-first century. (4) The schools vary substantially in their educational goals, approaches, and curricula. Aside from the common features, aspects unique to each type also guided my choice.

Digambar Pathshalas

Within the image-worshipping Digambar tradition, there is a range of religious schools or *pathshalas,* of which I examined two in different suburbs in Jaipur. The schools vary in their location, structure, and emphasis, and together are a fair representation of this tradition. I selected the Chitrakoot Digambar Pathshala because it was one of the first schools to adopt the standardised curriculum developed by the Digambar Sraman Sanskriti Sansthan (DSSS) in 2004, under the leadership of a Digambar monk, Muni Sudha Sagar. Presently, 405 Digambar *pathshalas* in India have adopted this curriculum. I chose to investigate the Shyamnagar Digambar Pathshala (founded in 2015), because, unlike the Chitrakoot Pathshala, the Shyamnagar Pathshala has not adopted any institutionally approved curriculum. Instead, a few laywomen founders have developed their own curriculum and maintain the philosophy of "no textbooks" for children's religious education. Examining the Shyamnagar Pathshala will highlight the differences between a curriculum prepared by monastics and one devised by laywomen.

Shvetambar Terapanthi Gyanshalas

I chose Gyanshalas because they provide a unique opportunity to examine children's religious education in the non-image-worshipping tradition. Within this tradition, Shvetambar Terapanthis are a highly dispersed group in India, and were among the first to respond to migration by developing a part-time, children-centred religious education model. This educational model provides a uniform system of teaching and learning that seeks to develop coherence in a widely-dispersed Terapanth community. For instance, a Terapanthi child living in Mumbai will have a common identity with a Terapanthi child from Kolkata or Jaipur. Although Gyanshala education was conceptualised by Acharya Tulsi in 1992, lay

leadership has been involved in executing various functions. Examining Gyanshalas will provide insights into the shift in children's religious education and its impact on the shaping of the Jain tradition. Currently, there are 441 Gyanshalas, which transmit uniform religious education to Shvetambar Terapanthi children throughout India.[109]

American Jain Pathshalas

American Jain Pathshalas are the chief means for transmitting religious education in English to American-born Jains. This model provides further substance for my hypothesis. For instance, unlike the previous two types of schools, which are closely attached to their sects, the American Jain Pathshala is the only type of religious school that largely overlooks regional and sectarian differences and, therefore, adopts a single curriculum for diaspora Jains. Because of the non-sectarian elements, their curriculum has been adopted by Jain Pathshalas of many diasporan communities outside North America. Examining the JAINA curriculum will provide insights into how the immigrant Jains navigate their new environment to maintain their religious, cultural-values, and identity. The Jain Pathshala curriculum was formulated in 1995 through the efforts of a few Jain laymen, such as Dr Premchand Gada, Dr Dilip Bobra, and Pravin K. Shah. Their curriculum was restructured in 2005 to address issues arising due to international migration.

At the centre of this thesis is children's religious education in the Jain tradition. This thesis is not about the sectarian disputes and divisions between the two main Jain sects, nor does it in any way contribute to such debates. The effort has been to focus on the variations introduced in children's education to meet the challenges of modern times. The challenges have to be viewed against the context of the larger homogenisation of society which makes it vital for smaller communities to preserve their specific identities.

Organisation of the Thesis

To recapitulate, in this introductory chapter, I have set the context of my dissertation. I have outlined my main hypothesis: that in order to keep their tradition alive in the twenty-first century, Jains in India and outside India have transformed children's religious education. I show that contemporary Jain religious schools for children serve an important function by ensuring the continuity of the tradition, while at the same time generating changes within it. My thesis proceeds as follows:

[109] "Gyanshala Paripatra 2015" (Kolkata, January 7, 2015).

Together, Chapters two and three present my first case study. In Chapter two, I examine Digambar Jains in Jaipur in relation to the influences of suburbanisation and upward mobility. I argue that the outward movement of Digambar Jains from the core of the Old City to the suburbs of metropolitan Jaipur drove the reformation of traditional *pathshalas*. I show the community's concerns regarding the disconnection of youth from the temple culture and temple-led *pathshalas*. I examine the ways that Digambar Jains have transformed their *pathshalas* to bring children back to the temples.

In Chapter three, I examine two contemporary Digambar *pathshalas*: the Chitrakoot and the Shyamnagar Pathshalas in Jaipur. In particular, I examine their curricular material and pedagogies to discern the shift from traditional to contemporary *pathshalas*. I show that middle-class values surface in the reforms introduced to ensure children's religious participation. I demonstrate that religious schools aspire to teach children the way of performing the *Deva-Shastra-Guru Puja* and to connect children to the Digambar Jain temple as a pathway to stay connected with the community. I conclude that Digambar Jains perceive these connections as leading to a long-lasting Digambar Jain identity.

Together, Chapters four and five form my second case study. In Chapter four I move beyond suburban migration to regional migration. I explore the migration of the Jain Shvetambar Terapanth tradition from rural areas of Rajasthan to locations across India. I argue that the concerns arising from migration and upward mobility led to the institutionalisation of children's religious education with the formation of Gyanshala. To understand how Gyanshala education aims to address issues of relocation and social change, I examine the early Gyanshalas (1992–2004).

In Chapter five, I appraise contemporary Gyanshalas (2005–present), particularly the reforms and curricular components. My analysis of the curriculum reveals a shift in the focus of children's religious education from benefitting a future life to improving the present life. It also demonstrates that while early Gyanshalas set out to address issues of migration, contemporary Gyanshalas have turned towards addressing middle-class culture and the growing materialism amongst urbanised Shvetambar Terapanthis. I conclude that, through Gyanshalas, educators seek to provide a socially cohesive community amongst widely dispersed Terapanthis.

Together, Chapters six and seven compose my third and final case study. In Chapter six, I turn from exploring regional migration to examining the international migration of Jains from India to the United States. I argue that international migration has posed profound challenges that have influenced the institutionalisation of Jain Pathshalas in North America.

A detailed analysis of the Jain Pathshala curriculum reveals that American Jain leaders have strategically targeted children and youth in their bid to strengthen the ethnic minority Jain community through the construction of a pan-Jain identity.

In Chapter seven, I investigate two American Jain Pathshalas, one in Los Angeles and the other in Phoenix. These schools exemplify the way variation can occur in American Jain Pathshalas due to different contexts, the vision of the coordinator, and the implementation of the JAINA Pathshala textbooks. My analysis draws attention to the tremendous flexibility enjoyed by individual Jain Pathshala and the impact of this flexibility on the JAINA goal of Jain unity.

In Chapter eight, I conclude the study by reflecting on the aspects of continuity and innovations in children's religious education. More specifically, I assess them comparatively to show that variations in practices and methods do not supersede the fact that, doctrinally, Jains are not as divided as they appear when focusing on an individual sect's rituals. Found across all three case studies, the drive for the survival of the Jain tradition means maintaining the Jain way of living. A Jain way of living, which my interlocutors called "Jain *sanskar*," is characterised by vegetarian dietary practices, recitation of the *namokar mantra* (most auspicious Jain mantra), and faith in *tirthankars* (spiritual victors). Therefore, to keep the Jain tradition alive, Jains have reformulated children's religious education models and have launched various practices that foster faith and identity amongst children and youth, while transforming the tradition itself.

CHAPTER TWO

Contemporary Digambar *Pathshala*: Responding to Suburbanisation

> A *pathshala* [religious school] is today's most established institution for fostering Jain values amongst the next generation of Jains. Today, for a successful child, intellectual, spiritual, and religious education is necessary. Therefore, in *pathshalas*, we inculcate religious values without emphasising the memorising of verses or instilling fear amongst children. Our goal is to awaken them by engaging their hearts in religion.[110]

Introduction

In this chapter, I explore the causes for the modernisation of, and increasing emphasis on, contemporary Digambar *pathshalas* in Jaipur. In chapter three, I examine two such *pathshalas*, and, in particular, the curriculum adopted by these *pathshalas*. In both chapters, I argue that Digambar Jains in Jaipur have remodelled temple-run traditional *pathshalas* (children's religious schools that preceded the contemporary ones) to address their concerns about declining religious practices and the fracturing of Jain identity amongst children and youth. It is striking that even in a city like Jaipur, where Digambar Jains have lived for centuries, Jains perceive a threat to the continuity of their religious practices and maintenance of their identity. I argue that their anxiety stems in part from the suburbanisation of Jaipur city, resulting in the voluntary relocation of Digambars to the suburbs. This relocation has disrupted their community's spatial living arrangements and access to temples and renunciant communities. The shifting of the cultural and religious spaces has created further challenges for the community. The most prominent challenge, according to my interlocutors, is sustaining the interest of Jain youth in their traditional beliefs and ritual practices. In my analysis, I emphasise the interplay of suburbanisation and modern middle-class values in the restructuring of contemporary Digambar *pathshalas* in Jaipur.

"Suburbanisation" is the beginning of the migration narrative that I present in this study. This term describes the relocation of Digambar Jains from the densely populated walled city (Old Jaipur) to various suburbs within the Jaipur metropolitan area. According to my Digambar Jain respondents, in the past two to three decades, the Jain population in Old Jaipur has declined from 7000 to 1000 Jain families, while the number of Jains living in the surrounding suburbs has increased.[111] In the geographical sense, the term "suburb" offers a

[110] Muni Praman Sagar, Interview in Jaipur, trans. Author, February 14, 2016.
[111] While many respondents mentioned that the Jain population in the Old City has declined, Nitin, my interviewee, provided the estimated figures.

straightforward concept that fails to capture the spectrum of differences between the new locations and the old.[112] Because an estimated 200 Jain temples and shrines cluster in the Old City, suburbanisation has strained the community's attachment to the temples.[113] It has also contributed to changes in caste-class classification, income distribution, identity dynamics, and religious practices. Of these changes, I focus on suburbanisation's effects on children's religious practices and the restructuring of traditional *pathshalas*.

I show that suburbanisation, as an aspect of modern middle-class culture, has transformed the attitudes of Digambar Jains in Jaipur towards their religious practices. Suburbanisation is part of a broader shift to Jain middle-class culture, which entails English-medium modern education, tertiary education, material success, increasing consumption, the media culture, the recasting of women's roles, and change in dietary practices. I group these determinants in the category of "middle class" and adopt this category as a useful rubric to interpret my field data. At the same time, I acknowledge these features as the influence of modernisation, urbanisation, and homogenisation.

In this chapter, I argue that a broad shift among Digambar Jains to contemporary middle-class values has played a part in their movement to the suburbs. Suburbanisation, in turn, has disrupted their traditional, daily religious practices, leading to the disconnection of Jain youth from their traditional beliefs and ritual culture. Therefore, to continue their religious practices and reinforce Digambar Jain identity, Jain leaders have built new temples in the suburbs to reconnect children with the temple culture and they have also restructured traditional *pathshalas.*

I examine the above argument in three main sections. The first section examines the Digambar Jains in Jaipur. I argue that although Jaipur has been an important region for Digambar Jains, they fear losing their culture and heritage in the twenty-first century. The second section argues that suburbanisation is a prime driver for the shift in the treatment of children's religious education. More specifically, I demonstrate that, prior to suburbanisation, a symbiotic relationship had existed between the temple and the traditional *pathshala* as an important tool for the religious education of children and youth. In the final section, I argue that growing middle-class aspirations have disrupted this relationship, which Jains now are attempting to revive. Their twenty-first century attempts have led them to transform traditional *pathshalas* into contemporary *pathshalas*.

[112] Sam Griffiths and Muki Haklay, "The Suburb and the City," in *Suburban Urbanities*, Suburbs and the Life of the High Street (UCL Press, 2015), 14.
[113] Nitin, Interview in Old City, Jaipur.

This chapter probes the causes for the perceived decline in children's traditional religious practices in the Digambar Jain tradition of Jaipur, and the ways that Digambar Jains have developed new models of children's education in response to that decline. The next chapter examines two such models. Together, chapters two and three form my first case study in which the Jaipur metropolitan area is my main field site.

Section I: The Digambar Jains – Constructing a Pan-Digambar Identity

A detailed survey of the history of Digambar Jains in Jaipur is far beyond the scope of the present work, and no more can be done than to offer a brief sketch of some of the main developments and events to enable the reader to understand the references in the interviews.[114] I examine the Digambar Jains in Jaipur in light of the city being referred to as *Jainpuri* (region of Jains) and *Dharampuri* (region of religions). Despite their nominal prominence, I show that Digambar Jains in metropolitan Jaipur fear losing their culture and their distinct identity. One key factor feeding this fear is the movement of Jains from the *shahar* (Old City) to suburbs that now form a part of metropolitan Jaipur.

Digambars comprise one of the two main branches of the Jain tradition, of which the majority are image-worshipping Jains. Among Digambars, the main sub-sects are Bisa Panth (the path of twenty), Terah Panth (the path of thirteen), and Taran Svami Panth (founded by Taran Swami, 1448–1515).[115] Of the three, the Taran Svami Panth is the only non-image-worshipping Digambar group and without a presence in Jaipur. The Digambar Terah Panth was founded as a lay movement that emerged in Northern India and comprises a substantial population. Scholars associate this movement with either Pandit Todarmal (1719–1766) or with Banarasidas (1586–1643).[116] The former belonged to Jaipur and the latter to Agra. My interviewees claim that the majority of Digambars in Jaipur are Bisa Panth, although their

[114] In addition to Western scholarship and interviews, I consulted the following two books in developing the brief sketch of the Digambar Jains of Jaipur: Lallu Jain Godha, *Jaipur Jain Directory* (Jaipur: Lallu Jain Godha, Jaipur, 1974). Kasturchand Kaslival, *Jaipur Digambar Jain Mandir* (Shri Digambar Jain Mandir Mahasangh, 1990).

[115] The Digambar Terah Panth (the path of thirteen) is different from the Shvetambar Terapanth (your path). According to the *Terapanth ka Itihas* Vol. I (History of Terapanth), it is a strange coincidence that two traditions share the same name. The same volume further notes that there is a history behind the naming of the Shvetambar Terapanth, but amongst the scholars, it is not clear how and when the Digambar Terah Panth name was given. Muni Budhmal, *Terapanth Ka Itihas*, ed. Muni Sumermal and Muni Mohanlal, Seventh, vol. 1 (Kolkata: Jain Shvetambar Terapanthi Mahasabha, 1990), 12.
My second case study focuses on the Shvetambar Terapanth tradition, a relatively recent congregation founded in 1780.

[116] On the rise of Digambar Terapanth, see John E. Cort, "A Tale of Two Cities: On the Origins of Digambara Sectarianism in North India," in *Multiple Histories: Culture and Society in the Study of Rajasthan*, ed. Lawrence A. Babb, Varsha Joshi, and Michael W. Meister (Jaipur: Rawat, 2002), 39–83.

claim is not substantiated by any figures. The mendicant community is equally important for the Digambars. There are numerous *acharyas* in the Digambar tradition contributing to disperse power structures. In the lack of any central organisation, scholars have encountered difficulties in presenting an approximate figure of the number of *munis* (monks) in this tradition. Yet, Peter Flügel notes the presence of an estimated one hundred *munis* in 1984, as informed to him by *muni* Vidyanandji.[117] Although these figures are not relevant anymore, it is however, important to note that a variety of children's religious education curricula are prepared by *acharyas* and *munis*.

John Cort notes that scholarship has not yet illuminated the history and differences of ideology, ritual, and social organisation among Digambar sub-sects.[118] Following Cort, Flügel states that the "precise significance of the distinction is not known anymore."[119] Whitney Kelting presents a similar view of the Digambar Jains of Pune.[120] My interviews with Digambar Jains in Jaipur support these scholarly claims that they do not distinctly identify themselves with sub-sects. In fact, some of my interlocutors are not even aware of sectarian differences. They claim to be culturally and socially a single Digambar Jain community, sharing temple premises for religious, cultural, and social functions. Still, a few explained to me the ritualistic differences between them. Because this chapter is on children's religious education, I will refrain from detailing the differences dividing these sects.[121]

The Political and Economic Importance of Jains in Jaipur

In characterising the Digambar Jains of Jaipur, it is crucial to outline the development of Jaipur and to locate Jains within it. Jaipur, the capital city of Rajasthan, was founded in 1727 by the Hindu ruler Sawai Jai Singh II (1688–1743) as his new capital.[122] Jai Singh had ruled from Amber before shifting to Jaipur.[123] Initially, Jaipur's population consisted of people

[117] Flügel, "Demographic Trends in Jaina Monasticism," 354.
[118] John E. Cort, "A Fifteenth-Century Digambar Jain Mystic and His Followers: Taran Taran Svami and the Taran Svami Panth," in *Studies in Jaina History and Culture: Disputes and Dialogues* (London; New York: Routledge, 2006), 263.
[119] "Demographic Trends in Jaina Monasticism," 339.
[120] Kelting, *Singing to the Jinas*, 11.
[121] For details on the history, causes, and practices of the three sects, please see "Demographic Trends in Jaina Monasticism," 339–59. Paul Dundas, *The Jains*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 1992). For Taran Svami Panth, see Cort, "A Fifteenth-Century Digambar Jain Mystic and His Followers: Taran Taran Svami and the Taran Svami Panth."
[122] For a detailed study on Jaipur, see Jadunath Sarkar, *A History of Jaipur: C 1503-1938*, ed. Raghubir Singh (Orient Blackswan Private Limited, 2012).Vibhuti Tillotson and Giles Sachdev, *Building Jaipur: The Making of an Indian City* (London: Reaktion Books, 2004). Ashim Kumar Roy, *History of the Jaipur City* (Manohar, 1978).
[123] Catherine B. Asher, "Jaipur: City of Tolerance and Progress," *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 37, no. 3 (July 3, 2014): 411.

who had shifted from Amber to Jaipur.[124] Subsequently, invitations were issued to merchants, militia, and smaller towns in Rajasthan to help populate the city. The rulers also recognised the roles of merchants, artisans, and labourers in promoting the city's prosperity. As a result, Jaipur gained prosperity in the early years of its inception and has "remained a more or less prosperous place since then."[125] The city is situated between two towns, which are historically important for the Jains in Jaipur: Amber[126] (which is 13 kilometres north of Jaipur) and Sanganer[127] (which is 16 kilometres south of Jaipur), from which large numbers of Jains have moved to settle in Jaipur.[128] Today, as a result of suburbanisation, both Amber and Sanganer are a part of Jaipur metropolitan area. Of the two regions, Sanganer continues to be an important location for Digambar Jains. It is also one of my field site locations.

Scholars have noted the political and economic importance of Jains in Jaipur. Jains served as ministers, bankers, and merchants in pre-independence India.[129] In addition, Ashim Roy notes in the *History of the Jaipur City* that Jaipur has been an important city for the Digambar Jains, especially during the period 1750–1830. Roy quotes an invitation letter, dated February 1764, issued by the Jaipur Jains, to invite the rulers for an important Jain *puja*, called *Indradhvaja Puja*:

> All the courtiers are Jains; and all the merchants are Jains. Though others are also there but they are in a minority, not in the majority. Six, seven or eight ten thousand Jaina traders live here [sic]. Such a large gathering of Jains would not be found in other cities.[130]

The letter, though important, also conveys the overtone of a self-important community, as seen in the rhetoric of Jain population numbers. The letter confirms Roy's assertion that "many of the court officials were Jainas."[131] The letter provides evidence that Jains have been present in large numbers since the foundation of Jaipur. However, their prominence waned after the princely states merged with the Indian republic after independence.

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[124] Asher, 421.
[125] Roy, *History of the Jaipur City*, vii.
[126] Amber was the capital of the Kacchawa rulers before Jaipur was established. Amber town has seven Digambar Jain temples and a *nassiyan* (residential temple complex). Presently, these temples have lost their vitality, and the town itself is in ruins. But it is undergoing active restoration work and remains an attraction for tourists because of the royal palace and forts.
[127] Sanganer, to date, continues to be a significant location for the Digambar Jains. An eleventh century temple built in Sanganer, maintained by the community, continues to be an important pilgrimage centre that attracts hundreds of Jains and non-Jains. There are seven Digambar Jain temples and one *nassiyan* in Sanganer. For further details, see Nyateertha, Sogani, and Nyayteertha, 100–104.
[128] Jay Kumar Godha, "Jaipur Jain Virasat," in *Jaipur Ke Digambar Jain Mandir evam Chaotalyon ka Parichay evam Margdarshika*, trans. Author, Second (Jaipur: Shri Digambar Jain Mandir Mahasangh, 2013), 20.
[129] Asher, "Jaipur," 421.
[130] Roy, *History of the Jaipur City*, 183.
[131] Roy, 183.

An accurate presentation of the Jain population in India is an old problem, which resurfaces when counting the Jains in Jaipur. In 2017, Jaipur's population was estimated to be 3.6 million, distributed unevenly between the two distinct parts: Old and New Jaipur.[132] Of these, the majority of the population of Jaipur is Hindu (78%), but there is a substantial number of Muslims (19%) and Jains (2.4%), along with a small number of Sikhs (.58%), Christians (.36%), and Buddhists (0.03%).[133] Based on his ethnographic study of the Jains in Jaipur, James Laidlaw observes that the Jain population in the city is large and diverse with Digambars outnumbering the Shvetambars.[134] Likewise, my Digambar respondents emphasised the fact that Shvetambar Jains are prominent in Mewar, Marwar, and Bikaner (other regions of Rajasthan), while Digambar Jains are prominent in Jaipur. They further claim that, in Jaipur, there are approximately 50,000 Shvetambars and 250,000 Digambar Jains. Although the total of 300,000 Jains is more than the official records of 2.4% of the total population of Jaipur, government undercounting is an old problem, which Jains have grappled with and raised objections to.

It is useful to shed some light on the factors for the perceived undercounting. According to the 1991 census, the Jain population had varyingly declined in nine states and one Union Territory.[135] The well-known sociologist, Vilas A. Sangave, claims that: "in the past many Jains used to regard themselves as Hindus, and were also regarded by others as Hindus."[136] Following Sangave, Flügel notes in footnote 17 of an article on demographic trends: "A Digambara Jain layman told me that the results of the Census of India of 1981 and 1991 in North Indian states were manipulated by 'Hindutva' inspired enumerators who wrote 'Hindu (Jain)' into the forms, even if the answer given was 'Jain'. During the Census of 2001, Jain community leaders started awareness rising campaigns to prevent a recurrence of these practices."[137] This affected Jain demography. This decline led to a vigorous campaign in

[132] "Jaipur's Population in 2017- Current Population of Jaipur," accessed August 8, 2017, http://www.indiaonlinepages.com/population/jaipur-population.html.
[133] In fact, until recent times, an accurate presentation of Jain population in India or its distribution across different states has been contested. Similarly, it is difficult to claim the exact numbers of Jains in Jaipur to the community's satisfaction. Equally problematic is discerning accurately the numbers of Shvetambar and Digambar Jains in Jaipur. For more on the differences between the Shvetambar and Digambar communities of Jaipur, see Lawrence A. Babb, *Emerald City: The Birth and Evolution of an Indian Gemstone Industry* (SUNY Press, 2013).
[134] James Laidlaw, *Riches and Renunciation: Religion, Economy, and Society among the Jains* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 120.
[135] Prakash.C Jain, *Jains in India and Abroad: A Sociological Introduction* (New Delhi: International School for Jain Studies, 2011), 53.
[136] V. A. Sangave, *Facets of Jainology* (Mumbai: Popular Books, 2001), 32–33.
[137] Flügel, "Demographic Trends in Jaina Monasticism," 368.

the Jain ethnic media to identify themselves as Jains and not as Hindus.[138] Another aspect of this campaign, according to my Digambar informants, has been an appeal to Jains to write *Jain* in their surname instead of writing their *gotra* (sub-caste). Many Jains use their sub-caste, which is misleading, as it is indistinguishable from a Hindu sub-caste. This adds confusion to an already complex situation because those Jains who write their sub-caste are counted under the category of Hindu. However, post-independence, Jains have increasingly emphasised a unique identity. This situation of undercounting is not exclusive to the Jain population in Jaipur, it occurs throughout India. Nevertheless, most Jains believe that their numbers are dwindling.

Jaipur: An Abode of Digambar Jainism and Religiosity

Despite Jains representing only 2.4 % of the population of Jaipur, the city is still referred to by local Jain inhabitants as region of Jains and region of religions for five main reasons. First, it has a larger population of Jains compared with other cities. In no other Indian city does the Jain population exceed one percentage of the total population. Also, members of almost every Jain group, both Digambar and Shvetambar, each with its network of institutions, organisations, and independent religious spaces, are present in Jaipur in varying numbers.[139] Second, Jaipur leads every other city in the number of Jain religious buildings, with more than two hundred Digambar Jain *mandir* (temples), sixty-five *chaityalayas* (home shrines), and fourteen *nassiyan* (residential temple complexes).[140] Third, Digambar temples in Jaipur further elevate the city's importance with their archives containing around thirty thousand manuscripts.[141] These manuscripts have periodically attracted Western scholarship.[142] Fourth, the Jain community's presence is further prominent because many of the temples have unique traditions, holding festivals and ceremonies throughout the year. In his interview, Kamal Chand Sogani, a learned lay Digambar and a retired professor of Philosophy, reported that Digambars in Jaipur have invested enormous wealth in building temples and libraries in an

[138] Jain, *Jains in India and Abroad*, 53–54.
[139] In Jaipur, my respondents gave many brochures and booklets that provided profiles and mission statements of each Jain organisation and institution operating in Jaipur.
[140] Kasturchand Kaslival, "Jaipur Ke Digambar Jain Mandir Aur Shastra Bhandar," in *Digambar Jain Mandir, Jaipur* (Jaipur: Shri Digambar Jain Mandir Mahasangh, 1990), 21.
[141] Nitin, Interview in Old City, Jaipur.Detige, "Manuscript Collections of the Western and Central Indian Bhaṭṭārakas," 35.
[142] During the fieldwork, I met one research scholar from Oxford University and another from Yale University. Both were examining the rich collection of 20,000 *pandulipis* (manuscripts) preserved at the Jain Vidya Sansthan and Apabhramsha Academy, Jaipur. For more on Digambar manuscripts, see Piotr Balcerowicz, "Digambara Jaina Collections of Manuscripts," *Centre of Jaina Studies Newsletter*, no. 10 (March 2015): 48–50.

attempt to preserve their unique traditions.[143] Finally, many of the Digambar temples in Jaipur are important centres of pilgrimage for local Jains as well as those from the surrounding regions.[144] These temples have gained prestige for their religious, educational, and cultural significance beyond the Jains; as a result, they contribute to the religious and cultural atmosphere of Jaipur.

Regardless of the importance of Jainism in Jaipur, Jains live there in an environment dominated by Hindus, since 78% of the local population is Hindu. Hindu culture has challenged Digambar Jain identity in Jaipur through religious intermingling and by its portrayal as a national culture on television. For example, Laidlaw, based on his fieldwork in Jaipur between 1984 and 1990, claims: "Jains are among the regular visitors to the most popular local Vaishnava temples in and around Jaipur."[145] Due to this intermingling, Laidlaw draws attention to the difficulty in identifying the boundaries of the Jain community.[146] One of my Digambar respondents, Shrikant, also expressed his unease at this religious intermingling: "These days, it is commonly seen that Jain children often visit Hindu temples with their friends, instead of coming to Jain temples. This rapid change is a matter of concern for us."[147] Jain concern has increased further with the television serialisation of two important Hindu epics, *Ramayana* (1986–1987) and *Mahabharata* (1988–1990), which "struck a special chord in the nation" regardless of region or religion.[148] These late twentieth century serials portray Hindu culture as the national culture.[149] According to Shrikant, the popularity of these serials provokes Jain youth to become curious about Hindu gods.[150]

The following Figures 3 and 4 map Digambar Jain temples inside the walled city.[151] This graphic representation shows a quasi-grid pattern with street arrangement. These maps provide a general layout of Digambar Jain temples and *chaityalayas*. The triangles represent

[143] Kamal Chand Sogani is well known amongst and beyond Jains for his untiring work in reviving Apabhramsha and Ardhamagadhi Prakrit (Language of Jain scriptures).
[144] For example, during my second field visit to Jaipur in June 2017, the Sanganer Jain temple had attracted thousands of Jains and non-Jains. It was estimated that for ten days, 100,000 people visited from five in the morning until midnight, cramming the small town of Sanganer. The purpose was to do *darshan* of some auspicious *jina*s idols showcased for a limited period for the follower's religious merit. This monumental event took place for the second time in Jaipur under the direction of Muni Sudha Sagar.
[145] Laidlaw, *Riches and Renunciation*, 95.
[146] Laidlaw, 95.
[147] Shrikant, Interview in Jaipur, trans. Author, January 4, 2016.
[148] David Smith, "Hinduism," in *Religions in the Modern World: Traditions and Transformations*, ed. Linda Woodhead, Christopher Partridge, and Hiroko Kawanami, Third (New York: Routledge, 2016), 55.
[149] Purnima Mankekar, "Epics Contests: Television and Religious Identity in India," in *Media Worlds: Anthropology on New Terrain*, ed. Faye D. Ginsburg and Lila Abu-Lughod (University of California Press, 2002), 145.
[150] Shrikant, Interview in Jaipur.
[151] Kaslival, *Jaipur Digambar Jain Mandir*.

a Digambar home shrine and the circle represents a Digambar temple. A significant point to infer form these maps is the presence of clusters of temples in the close proximity of the houses. Moving to suburbs disrupted this kind of arrangement within the religious community.

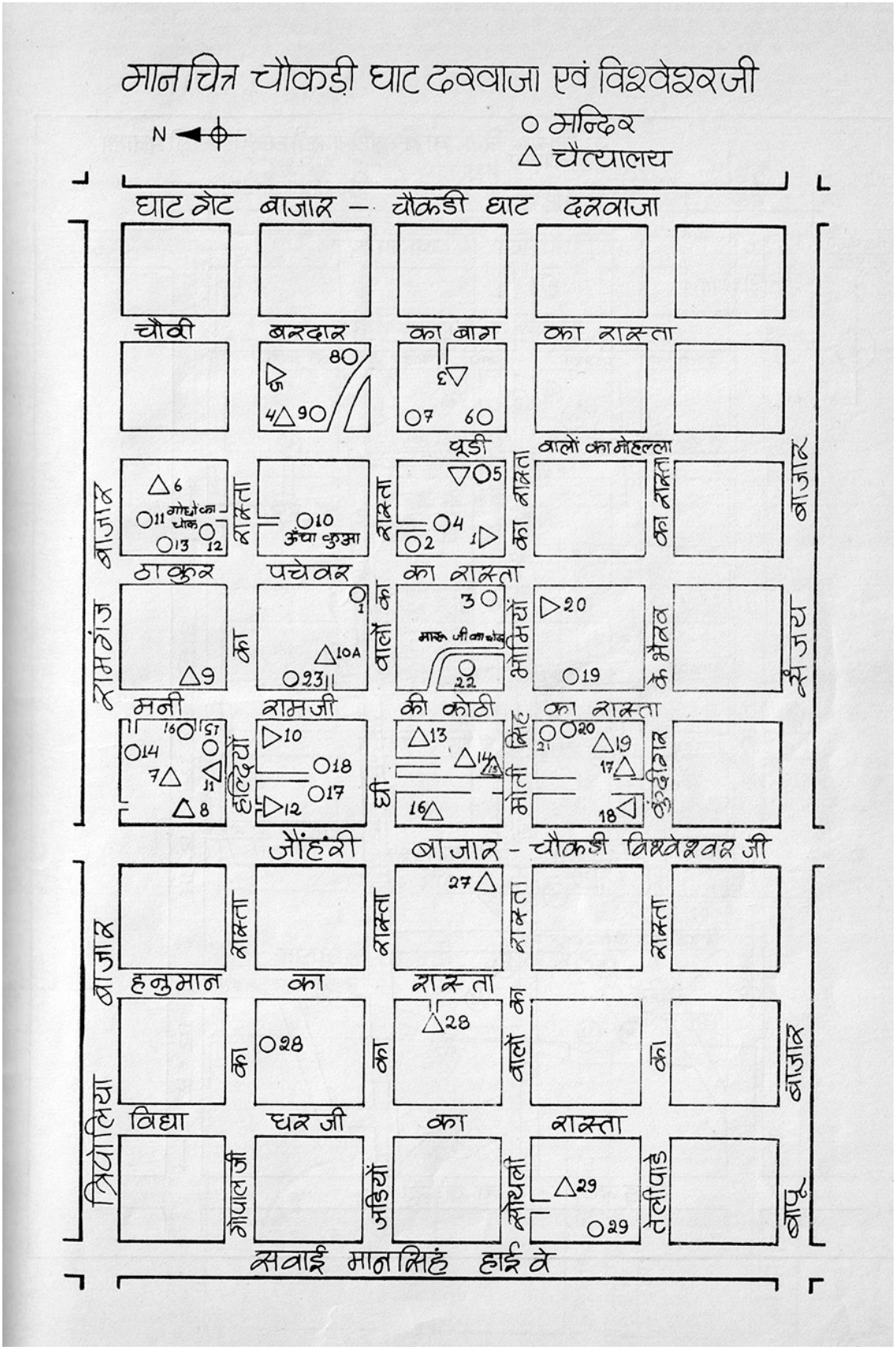

Figure 3. Two areas are presented in the map: Chokri Ghat Darwaza and Chokri Visheshwarji.

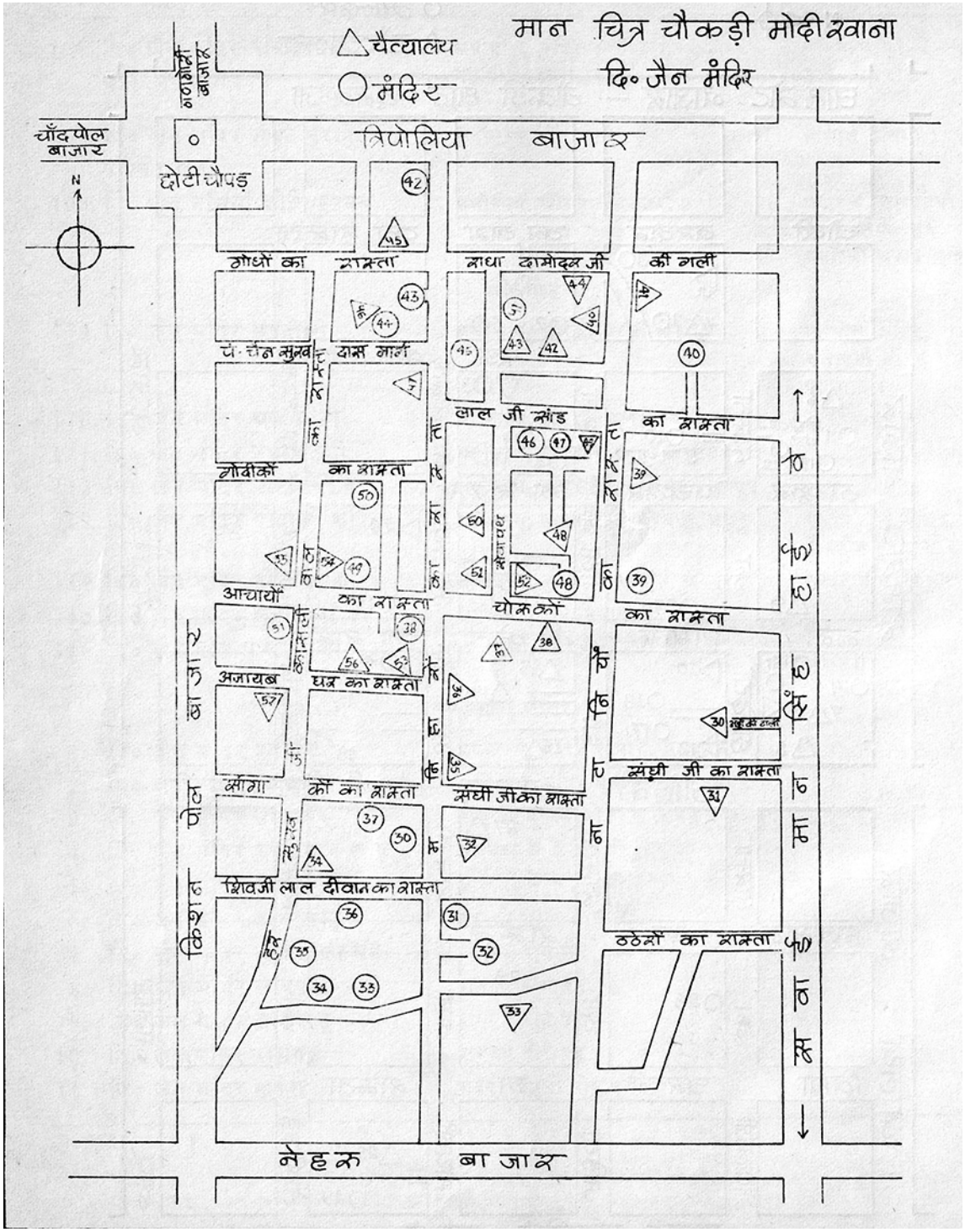

Figure 4. Map: Chokri Modi Khana.

This brief overview of Digambar Jains in Jaipur provides a context of place in which my ethnography among suburban Jains rests. Despite their past visibility and continuity in Jaipur, traditionally-minded Jains worry about retaining a distinct Jain identity. This anxiety stems partly from living in a Hindu-dominated society and partly from modern influences. The desire to sustain Jain practices and to re-create Digambar Jain identity prompted the first

reforms in traditional *pathshalas*. In the following section, I will trace how these concerns heightened due to suburbanisation of Jaipur.

Section II: Suburbanisation of Digambar Jains in Jaipur

This section elaborates the problems galvanising the reform in children's religious education in the Digambar tradition of Jaipur. First, I briefly explain what I mean by "suburbanisation of Jaipur" and then provide evidence for why I consider it a significant factor that has brought about reforms in children's religious education in the Digambar tradition. I show that temple-led traditional *pathshalas* were central to the religious practices of children prior to suburbanisation. The shift to suburbs in Jaipur interrupted access to traditional family temples and, thus, exacerbated fears that youth would abandon Jain religious practices. It is important to note that suburbanisation is not only about spatial change; it also includes broader cultural changes that I discuss later in this section.

To begin with, the population increase in Jaipur city has had a direct consequence on the urban sprawl.[152] According to one report, since the end of 1980, Jaipur's population has multiplied by six: 500,000 to 3,000,000 inhabitants.[153] Running consecutively to the increase of population, Jaipur has experienced an important spatial growth with the building of new districts to the south and the west, and along the roads. A relatively recent study maps this expansion of Jaipur city from the time it was founded in 1727 until now.[154] According to the study, when Jaipur was built its total land area was about 4.81 sq. km. By 1930–31, it had extended to the wall of the city covering an area of approximately 9.6 sq. km. In 1951, the city further expanded to 40 sq. km. In 1965, 125 revenue villages were added in the urban boundary, increasing the total area to 115 sq. km. In 1972, an additional 132 revenue villages were inducted and Jaipur city spread to 153 sq. km. The same article estimates that by 2011, the total urban geographical area of Jaipur city had spread to 1464 sq. km.[155]

So, apparently, until the turn of the twenty-first century, most of Jaipur's population, including the Jains, lived within the walled city, with a little spillover.[156] Since then, many

[152] Sébastien Gadal, "Remote Sensing Monitoring of Rural Urbanisation in Jaipur Region," *Rural Development* Vol. 4 (October 1, 2009): 222.
[153] Gadal, 223.
[154] Vittaya Ruangrit and B.S. Sokhi, "Remote Sensingand GIS for Urban Green Space Analysis - A Case Study of Jaipur City, Rajasthan," *ITPI* 1, no. 2: 55, accessed May 7, 2018, https://www.scribd.com/document/254880660/jaipur.
[155] Gadal, "Remote Sensing Monitoring of Rural Urbanisation in Jaipur Region," 233.
[156] Balkrishna V. Doshi, "Vidyadhar Nagar: Continuity and New Opportunities for the Future of Jaipur," *Ekistics* 61, no. 368/369 (1994): 283, http://www.jstor.org/stable/43622347.

enterprising and progressive Jains have moved away from the walled city to nearby suburbs, leaving behind a community whose sense of a strong Jain identity seems to have eroded. Nitin, my Digambar Jain respondent, a businessman who prefers to live in the Old City, further reconfirmed this fact. He reported: "There were approximately 7,000 Digambar Jain families in the walled city, which has in the past few decades reduced to an estimated 1,000 families."[157] Highlighting the key reasons for this outward migration, Nitin, continued: "The Old City is very crowded and houses are old-fashioned. The moving out allowed Jains to live in a better house in a better residential area. This has added to their social status." The new residential areas, in contrast to the Old City, followed British town planning "concepts rooted in garden city principles."[158] The prospect of upward mobility beckoned Jain migrants away from the walled city in Jaipur into new suburbs. In addition to the outmigration of Jains, there has been a continuous flow of Jains from nearby towns and rural regions into the suburbs of Jaipur. In the thesis, I call this mobility of Digambar Jains suburbanisation.

My interviewees referred to the detrimental effects that suburbanisation has had on children's religious participation. They connected suburbanisation with the disintegration of the extended family, dual-career homes, the increasing importance of mainstream education, and an emphasis on material success. None of this has been helped by out-dated traditional *pathshala* methods. I interpret these challenges through Alan Walk's expression of suburbanisation as a "way of life."

Effect on the Symbiotic Relationship between Temples and Traditional *Pathshalas*

Suburbanisation significantly undermined temple culture, the hallmark of Digambar Jain practice and centres of their local communities. Digambars regard temples as vital for the continuity of their tradition as well as for the religious experience of children and adults.[159] Scholars writing about Old Jaipur have further drawn attention to the fact that "temples received special attention in Jaipur."[160] John Cort observes: "No Digambar Jain lives more than a few minutes' walk from a temple."[161] Cort's observation suggests that the close proximity of Digambar Jain temples to one's residence notably characterises the walled city. Affirming the prior accessibility of temples, Nitin reports 161 Digambar Jain temples and

[157] Nirmala, Interview in Jaipur, February 7, 2016.
[158] Doshi, "Vidyadhar Nagar," 283.
[159] A book compiled on the Digambar Jain temples of Jaipur notes in several places the significance of temples in the preservation of the Jain culture.
[160] Doshi, "Vidyadhar Nagar," 280.
[161] John E. Cort, "The Architecture of Domestic Devotion: Digambar Home Shrines in Jaipur," *Newsletter of the Centre of Jaina Studies*, no. 10 (March 2015): 37.

sixty-five home shrines within the walled city.[162] This abundance enabled Jains to attend temple worship daily. Showing how temple-going was a part of the daily routine, Kamal Chand Sogani recalled from his childhood that observant Digambars were strict. They refused to serve breakfast until their children did *deva darshan* (seeing the divine).[163] Sogani's memory testifies that temple culture was ingrained right from childhood amongst Digambars. The preceding maps also prove easy accessibility to temples. It now appears that spatial distance due to suburbanisation has affected this accessibility.

In the walled city, Digambar temples act as centres of religious education, culture, and the arts. In these temples, the *jina* images, architecture, paintings, artefacts, embellishments, and the huge collection of books and manuscripts all transmit religious values and assure the continuity of Jain culture and heritage.[164] Stories about the nature of human existence have been the favourite theme of popular paintings and wall frescoes.[165] An *ariyaka* (Digambar nun) stated in her interview in Jaipur that these paintings depict stories with moral messages and are significant in the value education of children.[166] Summarising the roles of Jain temples, Nitin has stated that almost every temple allocates spaces for *shastra bhandar* (a library of scriptures), for *swadhyay* for adult education, and for *pathshala*.[167] Replicating this kind of infrastructure in the newly constructed temples in suburbs has been challenging for the Jains.[168]

Historically, religious education for children was the domain of Digambar Jain temples, which operated daily traditional *pathshalas*. In these *pathshalas*, usually a Jain *shastri* (male scholar) was responsible for transmitting religious values. With the guidance of male scholars, children engaged in memorising religious texts and the Jain *tattvas* (fundamentals or realities). A few of my informants recalled some of these texts, such as the *Ratnakaranda Shravakachara*[169] and *Chahdhala*,[170] which they had memorised at a young

[162] The 1990 compilation of *The Digambar Jain Temples in Jaipur* records 161 temples. According to the Nitin, the current estimated figure goes above 200 as Jains spread outside the old city. Nitin, Interview in Old City, Jaipur.
[163] Kamal Chand Sogani, Interview in Jaipur, September 1, 2015.
[164] Nyateertha, Sogani, and Nyayteertha, *Jaipur Jain Digambar Temples: An Introduction*, 5.
[165] R.K. Jain, "Ethics and Narrative Literature in the Daily Life of A Traditional Jaina Family of Agra during the Nineteen Thirties: A Study Based on My Personal Childhood Reminiscences," *Indologica Taurinesia* II (1983): 181.
[166] Pragyamati Mata, Interview in Jaipur, August 29, 2015.
[167] It is known that the Hindu collections of manuscripts are usually found in the private libraries of rich people, whereas the Jain collections are mostly found in the libraries attached to their temples. Roy, *History of the Jaipur City*, 186.
[168] Nitin, Interview in Old City, Jaipur.
[169] This text, by Acharya Samantabhadra, is a compilation of householders' duties. Kristi Wiley (*Historical Dictionary of Jainism)* dates Samantabhadra as fifth century.
[170] This text, by Pandit Daulatram (nineteenth century), is an explication of Jain metaphysics in couplets.

age.[171] In addition to this religious education, it was mandatory for children to go for *deva darshan* daily and also to participate in morning *puja* (ritual worship). Children accompanied their families to the temples and watched the rituals being performed. They saw their elders make daily offerings. Observing these offerings helped children develop the important virtue of *dana* (charity) and become familiar with the vow of *aparigraha* (non-possession). Furthermore, highlighting the importance of ritual worship, a lay scholar in his interview claimed: "In order to retain the existence of *Deva-Shastra-Guru,* an important elaborate Digambar *puja*, we need to train our children in rituals from an early age."[172] In the past, these activities were mandatory for children, therefore, temples were well attended and my respondents often recalled how temples used to be overflowing with people across ages.

This symbiotic relationship between Digambar Jain temples and the traditional *pathshalas* has conceptually continued to the present day, but with a notable difference. The traditional education was based on direct and indirect ways of learning and teaching. Children received direct guidance in traditional *pathshalas* from *shastris*. In this system, memorisation of texts in their original languages and storytelling were the key methods employed. Less directly, children absorbed religious values through participating in socio-religious ceremonies and through daily interactions with parents, relatives, and knowledgeable family members at home and in temples. All contributed to the internalisation of religion.

By the early twenty-first century, many of these old practices had practically ceased. With the suburbanisation of Digambar Jains, temples in the Old City faced two key problems. The physical distance from the suburbs to the temples in the Old City was beyond walking distance, so disrupting the Digambars' attendance and regular contact with renunciants. In addition, the declining Jain population in the Old City struggled to support the traditional temples. In some cases, these temples remained virtually closed, while in others, those families that did not migrate took charge of maintaining them. For instance, I frequently met Nitin in the mornings in one of the temples (which he patronised) situated at the heart of the Old City. I will return to how social and cultural practices differed for the Jains in the suburbs in Section III.

In sum, both suburbanisation and middle-class values have a number of interactions and interrelations that make it difficult to distinguish between them empirically. With the increasing emphasis on middle-class values, Jains in Jaipur began to move out of the

[171] Nitin, Interview in Old City, Jaipur.
[172] Anmol, Interview in Jaipur, January 12, 2016.

overcrowded accommodation in the walled city into adjacent areas and further afield, leaving behind a relatively smaller number of Jains and over 200 Digambar temples. With this movement, a part of their culture embedded in those temples receded. The value of traditional temple-led *pathshalas* began to fade, resulting in a loss of textual memorisation and ritual performances. I now examine how middle-class culture has propelled the minority Digambar Jain society to revisit their religious education paradigm and attempt to replicate their former relationship with temples at their new locations.

Section III: Middle Class – Aspirations, Mobility, and Religious Education

In this section, I identify the social and cultural changes that Digambars underwent as a consequence of suburbanisation and the resulting impact on religious practices. I argue that suburbanisation, driven by middle-class values, explains the shift from traditional to contemporary *pathshalas* within the community. I have organised this section around the respondents' concerns about middle-class culture penetrating deep into the Jain communities.

From the literature review, it is clear that what scholars have noted of the Hindu middle class generally holds true also for the emerging Jain middle class. In the case of middle-class Jains, Laidlaw conducted his fieldwork partly within and partly outside the walled city of Jaipur. He concludes that Jains in the walled city live in a "traditional" way: men work in the gem business, and women, who work in the family home, observe quite strict *purdah* (head cover) in many families. Outside the walled city, many Jain women work outside the family home and inhabit a physical context with "modern" features: a layout of cantonment suburbs, an abundance of smart cars, craft shops, fast food restaurants, and bungalows set in gardens with neat lawns and flower beds.[173] These features feed the aspirations of the growing middle-class Jain community and have led to the gradual expansion of suburbs in the Jaipur metropolitan area. I will show how modern features in the Old City have blended with the traditional ideas and features in the suburbs. I now examine the changes brought about in the Digambar Jain community because of spatial resettlement and link those changes with reforms in the traditional Digambar *pathshalas* that have culminated in contemporary *pathshalas*.

The move out from the walled city evinces a wider strategy of aspiration and the Digambars' growing confidence that they could cope with the following changes. As Digambars explored new residential areas, they found themselves widely spread amongst

[173] Laidlaw, *Riches and Renunciation*, 133–34.

diverse cultures in a modern society. As Laidlaw observes, this exposure has provided them with an unprecedented opportunity to embrace higher education, modern professional employment, skills training, women's education, new consumption practices, and new lifestyles that has allowed a gradual climb up the social hierarchy.[174] Despite the newly-found lifestyle, Jains built new temples wherever they settled to perform their daily religious rituals. However, these temples were deficient in two important ways: the temples were not necessarily built in close proximity to where Jains were living, and these temples failed to attract Jain youth.[175]

The young were not interested in attending *pathshalas* after a whole day of formal school. The first obstacle in creating disinterest was the increase in the spatial distance between home and temple. This distance made the traditional norm of *deva darshan* difficult. In addition to the distance, youth engaged themselves with secular activities that came with the suburban exposure. Expressing such concerns, Tejkaran Dandiya, in an article in Hindi, writes: "How can we develop youth's interest towards temples… The religious-minded and dedicated Jains have built temples for the religious education of the community… The disinterest among youth towards the temples is a matter of great concern for religious minds."[176] The question Dandiya poses was significant for the community. Realising the disengagement of their youth, the Digambar community reconsidered their approach to the religious education of children and youth in Jaipur.

My interviewees stated multiple reasons for restructuring *pathshalas.* Some of these reasons included the children's focus on technology, a competitive educational environment, new family structures, diminished family time, and an erosion of Jain values. Children's preoccupation with modern technology, combined with their competitive educational environment, has constricted the time they have available for participation in family worship. Pradeep, a young lay scholar living in Jaipur and the administrator of 405 contemporary Digambar *pathshalas* across India, said:

> Jaipur is urbanised. Here, children are pre-occupied with computers, televisions, the Internet, etc. Even their games, such as Play Stations, and their videos, are based on modern technology. In addition to this, children are pressured to fulfil the needs of the mainstream education system. The competitive environment encouraged in these schools plus their parents' expectations, have in turn affected their religious participation. Therefore, *pathshalas* are now solely responsible for

[174] Laidlaw, 133.
[175] Shrikant, Interview in Jaipur.
[176] Tejkaran Dandiya, "How to Develop Youth's Interest toward Temples?" in *The Digambar Jain Temples of Jaipur*, trans. Author (Jaipur: Shri Digambar Jain Mandir Mahasangh, 1990), 41.

> transmitting and maintaining the Jain tradition amongst today's youth. We [*pathshala* coordinators] train children how to be responsible laity.[177]

In the quote, Pradeep attributes children's declining interest in religious participation to the technology and education that compete for their attention in middle-class culture. In other words, he provides a glimpse of the current winds of change. The picture he paints is in harmony with Leela Fernandes's observations on the changing material environment. For instance, it is becoming increasingly difficult to keep the present generation away from digital distractions—cell phones, Facebook, and YouTube to name a few. It may be difficult to retain children without a liberal access to social media in the present times. In addition to technological acquisitions, studies have emphasised the importance of English-medium Western education as a key aspiration for this group. Pradeep has sought to override the impact of middle-class aspirations through contemporary *pathshalas*. Therefore, he emphasises the importance of *pathshalas* in reconnecting Jain youth to their tradition. This focus implies that religious education has adapted to accommodate twenty-first century youth.

My respondents also identified new family structures and diminished family time as necessitating a shift in children's religious education. Achla, a medical doctor in her early sixties and the coordinator of the Chitrakoot Pathshala, narrated this concern:

> In the past few decades, modernisation has changed the family atmosphere from within and outside. Family sizes have reduced; parents have become busy and sometimes are themselves less equipped for imparting religious values to children. As a result, the religious education of children has suffered. Therefore, a new paradigm is needed to nurture today's generation in religious values. This new paradigm can only be systematically administered through *pathshalas*.[178]

Achla draws attention to the changes in the family structure, resulting in the inadequacy of the family to impart religious values to their children. Jains previously lived in an extended family system, which has been disrupted by a shift to middle-class living and values. The move brought possibilities for women's education and skills development, leading to dual-career homes. As a result, my respondent believes that the family-led religious education of children has suffered. Pradeep's views align with Achla's as both observe that parents are being side tracked by modern distractions, which prevent them from mentoring their children in religion. To bridge the gap in intergenerational mentoring, Achla hopes that *pathshalas* can singlehandedly cultivate the religious practices that deepen children's faith. Although my

[177] Pradeep, Interview in Jaipur, December 23, 2015.
[178] Achla, Interview in Jaipur, trans. Author, January 15, 2016.

informants' views have not yet been systematically tested, other individuals connected with the Digambar *pathshalas* share Achla's and Pradeeps' opinions.

While these laypersons emphasise aspects of daily life as calling for a change in children's religious education, renunciant Digambars see a deeper shift in values as the real threat. I met Muni Praman Sagar (a renowned Digambar monk) at Patni Bhavan, located in Janta Colony, a suburb in Jaipur. In his interview, he asserts the vital role of *pathshalas* in anchoring Jain values: "Jainism will only survive if Jain values survive. For Jain values to survive, *pathshalas* play an important role."[179] Later on, in the evening, he mentioned my research on *pathshalas* and glorified my topic in a public discourse attended by Digambar Jains of Jaipur in general and Janta Colony in particular. Among my respondents in Jaipur, several other Digambar monks and nuns echoed Muni Praman Sagar in their belief that contemporary Digambar *pathshalas* were preventing the erosion of Jain values and laying the foundations of *Deva-Shastra-Guru puja* in children (a topic that I will deal with in greater detail in Chapter three). To make his point clear, Muni Praman Sagar narrated an incident in his interview. Although the incident is of a family from central India, he believes that it is equally applicable to Jains in Jaipur. The monk narrated:

> During my 1995 *chaturmas* (four months of retreat) in Bhopal, one family came for *darshan* (paying reverence). A father [also a layman], an engineer at a high position, came with his seventeen-year-old son. The son stood in front of me and stared at me as if he was seeing a most mysteriously strange thing. He did not understand that I was a Jain monk.[180] His father, embarrassed by the situation, repeated a few times to his son to perform *Namostu* [the Digambar way of venerating a monk]. Finally, the son took his hands from his pockets and slightly bowed. I then asked the father, what are you doing? The father replied, '*muni maharaj* it is not my son's fault; I am at fault for not exposing my son to the Jain tradition. I was busy with my profession and my son was educated in a boarding school. He has neither seen a Jain monk nor a Jain temple.'[181]

The above narrative sketches a picture of a typical urban middle-class family, where having a modern education and developing a career or choosing a profession to earn a good living are key markers for success. It also indicates that today's parents do not make *pathshala* education their priority. They do not encourage children to take an interest in religious education, but rather send them to participate in after-school extra-curricular activities. Therefore, the monk warns parents to engage their children in religious activities before it is too late.

[179] Sagar, Interview in Jaipur, February 14, 2016.
[180] Digambar monks are sky clad, which means they do not wear clothes.
[181] Muni Sudha Sagar, Interview in Jaipur, September 5, 2016.

The Digambar Jain community, like all the other Jain groups in my study, held mixed views regarding children's religious education. In contrast with the views shared by proponents of the contemporary *pathshala* education system, Indra, one critic in his late sixties declared: "*Pathshala* is more or less showy; religion begins from home, not from *pathshalas*."[182] Indra lives in a suburb called Bani Park, which he claims is the foremost suburb outside the walled city. He emphasised the role of parents, especially mothers, in the nurturing of religious values in children. Compared to the many who regards the reformed *pathshalas* as a current need, this example of criticism was rare. In addition to these informants, even those parents who were unable to send their children to *pathshalas* considered a *pathshala* education an important platform for transferring Jain values today. Despite this, many families are failing to comply with strict Digambar observances, and thus hesitate to associate themselves with children's religious education and send their children to local *pathshalas*.

The above informants' voices, which range across the fourfold Jain community, express anxiety about the continuity of their tradition. Suburbanisation, entailing a social, cultural, and technological shift towards a middle-class lifestyle, has sparked this anxiety among Jains. Likewise, B. B. Misra notes that in India the "progress of education and the advancement of technology, even though delayed, were tending towards the goal of a middle-class society."[183] Moreover, the wider exposure to other cultures and the diminishing contact with the traditional Jain culture were exacerbating issues of identity. Media-fed Hindu fundamentalism was further fuelling the identity crisis. Together these factors have led to a decline in temple attendance amongst Jain children but deepened the determination of Jains to rebuild a Digambar Jain identity.

My informants' views on technological distractions also evoke the growing trend towards smaller families and parents' willingness to spend more on their few children. Their comments further implied that the *pathshala* coordinators are required to keep themselves familiarised with trends so that they can accommodate the needs of today's youth, as well as meet parental expectations. The traditional *pathshalas*' stress on memorisation and their focus on daily *deva darshan* have also had a reduced effectiveness in the contemporary world. These traditional methods of religious instruction do not appeal to many twenty-first century Jain young people. Therefore, to make *pathshala* education attractive and effective,

[182] Indra, Interview in Jaipur, trans. Author, April 1, 2016.
[183] B. B. Misra, "The Middle Class of Colonial India: A Product of British Benevolence," in *The Middle Class in Colonial India*, ed. Sanjay Joshi, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010), 42.

Jain educators have been compelled to reform their traditional teaching methods in *pathshalas*. In the next chapter, I will examine the shifts in the structure and content of education imparted by Digambar *pathshala* to discern how middle-class values are influencing the reforms.

Conclusion

I began the migration narrative in this chapter by focusing on suburbanisation. I explored the Digambar Jain tradition of Jaipur as part of the first case study, giving evidence of the need for a shift in the religious education of Jain children and youth. My explorations were in three parts. First, I demonstrated that Digambar Jains in metropolitan Jaipur have grave concerns about maintaining their cultural heritage despite the city being characterised as *Jainpuri* and *Dharampuri*. The interviews show that suburbanisation has exacerbated this concern and has motivated a revival of traditional *pathshalas* and a larger role for them in children's religious education. Among the challenges confronting *pathshalas,* my interlocutors highlighted technological changes and growing middle-class aspirations, which have affected the traditional settings of Digambar communities. These challenges suggest that suburbanisation accompanied by modernisation pose problems that the Jain community is currently facing about their Jain identity.

It is significant to note that my informants – the monastic community and lay scholars – have expressed their concerns about maintaining their cultural and religious identities in an era of suburbanisation. There is evidence that issues such as an upward mobility, a focus on technology, a competitive educational environment, new family structures, diminished family time, and the erosion of Jain values, have bearing on religious practice. This dilution further strains religious and cultural bonds, leading to a decline in inter-generational mentoring and problems attracting children's interest in religious education. I provided an overview of traditional *pathshalas* to show the transition from traditional to contemporary *pathshalas*. Three features of traditional *pathshalas* have come out clearly in my analysis: inconsistency of teaching, an emphasis on memorisation of texts, and daily ritual performances. In the past, these features steeped children in the moral principles of Jainism along with daily ritual practices and customs. Nonetheless, I have shown that middle-class aspirations have taken a toll on religious practices. Therefore, Digambar Jains have targeted children's religious education, believing contemporary *pathshalas* to be the means of maintaining continuity of their tradition.

Finally, in spite of this apparent conflict between modern aspirations and traditional practices and values, Jains are working hard to align these better, to make Jainism more modern, while simultaneously retaining traditional values and practices. Against this backdrop, I examine two contemporary Digambar *pathshalas* of Jaipur in the next chapter. Specifically, I will analyse their curricula to better understand the dynamics of middle-class values and how urban-based Digambar Jains shape their religious practices to suit their personal needs and wants in negotiating the implementation of reforms and the implications of those changes. These *pathshalas* are examples that demonstrate continuities with the past while highlighting innovations.

CHAPTER THREE

Contemporary Digambar *Pathshalas*: Curricula Analyses

> We observed our grandmother doing Jain rituals and practising the Jain way of life and we accepted them. But, today, children will not just accept passively; they ask for the logic behind whatever ritual they are asked to perform. *Pathshalas* can only answer their questions and curiosities. For instance, questions like: Why should we Jains not eat after sunset? Why do we not eat root vegetables?[184]

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I examined the impact of suburbanisation, characterised by middle-class values and modernisation, on Jain social, cultural, and religious environments. The most worrying consequence, according to my respondents, has been the decline of religious practices amongst Digambar Jain children and youth. In response, Digambar Jains have focused on modernising children's religious education and have developed a range of contemporary curricula to sustain children's interest in religious education. In this chapter, I show that contemporary *pathshalas* adopt modern techniques to teach children Jain principles, moral values, and rituals to engage them in the temple culture. I show that, in spite of an apparent conflict between middle-class aspirations and traditional practices and values, Jains are working hard to better align these to modern lifestyle and make Jainism more modern, while retaining earlier values and practices. In other words, Jains are reshaping their practices to make them compatible with modern influences and are aiming to revitalise the Digambar Jain identity in Jaipur. My analysis suggests that the suburbanisation of Jaipur and the spread of middle-class aspirations of Digambar Jains in Jaipur have led to a compromise between their traditional values and the new middle-class values taking root in the community.

I argue that the changes made to both the structure and curricular content of religious schools for children, are in direct response to the challenges posed by middle-class aspirations and upward mobility. The structure of the schools, featuring female lay leadership, reflects the middle-class value of gender equality. The curricula variously embody middle-class values in the standardisation of content, the rejection of memorising texts, the introduction of scientific evidence, attractive textbooks, use of technology, and the inclusion of games and songs.

[184] This quote is from a lay father who is a proponent of Digambar Pathshala. Shrikant, Interview in Jaipur.

Two of these changes, female lay leadership and the diminished role of memorisation, reflect a radical shift from the traditional Digambar Jain tradition. First, the shift to female lay leadership is creating a striking change in the structure of authority in the Digambar tradition. In contrast to traditional strictures on the roles of Digambar laywomen, laywomen teachers have assumed the authority to interpret Jainism for children. Previously, monks, nuns, and learned laymen primarily undertook such roles. Now, laywomen, rather than simply practising Jainism, are also lending their voices to shaping the ongoing tradition. The second radical shift, to reduced memorisation, is changing the way an individual relates to the icon at the centre of a given ritual. Each icon represents one of the *jinas,* those who have attained liberation. Traditionally, an aspirant gazed at the *jina's* icon while reciting from memory. Today, the practitioner who has not memorised the ritual directs her gaze at a printed text rather than at the icon. This change in focus is remodelling the *darshan*, the relationship the practising child develops with the icon.

Turning from the broader implications of change to specific reforms, I will proceed with my argument by examining the structures and curricula of two contemporary Digambar *pathshalas* in two suburbs of Jaipur. The schools under study vary in their locations, institutional structures, and emphasis on values; yet, both curricula focus on the trilogy of *Deva-Shastra-Guru* (spiritual victor, scripture, and monk), the customary object of Digambar ritual *puja* (elaborate worship).

I advance my argument in two main sections. The first section examines the structure and curriculum of the Chitrakoot Pathshala, established in 2000 in Sanganer in Jaipur. I examine the standardised curriculum developed by Muni Sudha Sagar and adopted by the Chitrakoot Pathshala to discern how one group of Jains, with a long presence in Sanganer, has addressed the challenge of the perceived decline in religious practices amongst children and youth. I examine both the content and pedagogies in three steps: textbooks, classroom, and temple rituals. The curriculum responds to middle-class culture in the standardisation of its content, the reduced emphasis on memorising texts in classical languages, and the development of a new set of literature for children. The structure, with its expanded roles for laywomen, expresses the middle-class value of gender equality.

The second section examines the Shyamnagar Pathshala (started in 2015) operating in another suburb of Jaipur. Again, within the framework of middle-class values, I will analyse how newly arrived Jains address the challenge of declining religious practices in the younger generation. The following point of difference between the two *pathshalas* arises: while a monk designed the Chitrakoot Pathshala curriculum, laywomen teachers, employing different

pedagogical methods, have developed the Shyamnagar Pathshala curriculum. Finally, in conclusion, I will discuss some of the broader implications of contemporary *pathshalas* for the Digambar Jain tradition.

Together, Chapters two and three comprise my first case study in a broader endeavour to measure the shift in children's religious education and the changes this shift is imposing in shaping the Jain tradition. My analysis of two *pathshalas* suggests that the social and cultural environment of the hosting suburb largely influences the variation in the values the *pathshalas* seek to transmit. For this reason, the former religious school presents a neo-traditionalist approach, while the latter presents a modernist approach.

Section I: The Chitrakoot Digambar Pathshala, Sanganer

In this section, I examine how the Chitrakoot Digambar Pathshala reflects middle-class values in its structure and curriculum. Drawing from qualitative data and assessing the influence of modern middle-class values, I argue that religious education for children, reformed in an attempt to keep the tradition alive, has become a vital generator of changes within the tradition. The Chitrakoot Digambar Pathshala, founded by a laywoman, evinces the middle-class value of gender equality in the leadership role she has assumed. Its curriculum, developed by a monk-leader, also responds to middle-classness through the standardisation of content, a reduced emphasis on memorising, use of the Internet and technology, its appeal to logic rather than just faith, and its recognition of the surrounding hybrid cultural environment.

I divide my examination of the Chitrakoot Pathshala into four segments. Firstly, I outline the reasons for selecting it. Secondly, I explore how its structure embodies middle-classness. Thirdly, taking a broad view, I detail the way the Muni Sudha Sagar's curriculum broadly aligns with middle-class values. Lastly, I analyse specific examples from textbooks, classroom activities, and temple activities to show the influence of middle-class values on curricular content leading to a shift in children's religious education.

The Chitrakoot Pathshala operates in the temple of Shri Mahavir Digambar Jain Mandir, in the Chitrakoot area of Sanganer. This Pathshala earned its place in my study because it operates daily and it has adopted the standardised curriculum developed by Muni Sudha Sagar and his team of lay scholars. The Pathshala draws students from all over Sanganer, formerly a separate town now included in the metropolitan area of Jaipur. Most of these students attend English-medium mainstream education. Even before Jaipur was

founded, Sanganer had gained prominence as a town from which many prosperous Jains hailed.[185] As a suburb, it thus features a longer-standing Jain presence than one would expect to find in a newly created suburb.[186] Although the suburb accommodates approximately 300 Jain families and nine Digambar temples, only the Chitrakoot temple hosted an operating *pathshala* during the period of my fieldwork in 2015–16. In many ways, this religious school has undertaken the general functions of a contemporary Digambar *pathshala*: transmitting Jain values, religious socialisation, and fostering Jain identity. It contributes to my study because it has adopted a curriculum that lends itself to twenty-first-century learning styles. Another important reason for my choice is that the curriculum that the school uses represents one of the early attempts to standardise religious education for Digambar Jain children. Therefore, by examining one school, we gain an understanding of the broader developments in religious education within Digambar communities in Jaipur.

Before focusing on the school's curriculum, its structure merits attention, as it expresses middle-class values in the leadership role taken by Achla, its laywoman founder, coordinator, and sole volunteer teacher. This is reflected in her professional and educational profile, commitment, and flexibility regarding students' participation. I first met Achla in 2015, when I set out to investigate the Chitrakoot Digambar Pathshala. She is a professional medical doctor in her early sixties who maintains strict Digambar Jain practices: drinking filtered water, grinding her own flour, and abstaining from eating after sunset, to name a few. In 2000, she founded the Chitrakoot Pathshala, modifying her daily routine to allocate time for personal, professional, and devotional aspects of her life. Achla stated: "I decided to devote my time to the Pathshala for one hour each evening from Monday to Saturday and on Sunday mornings."[187] Although Achla founded the school as a part of her devotional practice, the initiative she displayed in establishing it expresses autonomy, an aspect of middle-class gender equality. In 2004, she was one of the first *pathshala* advocates to adopt a contemporary curriculum for children and youth. Achla thus demonstrated leadership both in her choice of curriculum as well as in establishing the Pathshala. As a doctor, Achla's

[185] Reeta Pratap, "The Digambar Jain Temples of Jaipur," in *Digambar Jain Mandir, Jaipur* (Jaipur: Shri Digambar Jain Mandir Mahasangh, 1990), 7.
[186] According to an old Digambar lay priest, Shri Bhagchand Sogani, there are approximately 3,500 Digambar Jains in Sanganer area. 75% of these Digambars are recent migrants from nearby towns; 20% have come from the Old City; and the remaining 5% are living since seven to eight generations. He also pointed out that 375 years ago, there were approximately 700 Digambar Jain families in Sanganer. For this large presence, Sanganer is considered by the Jains as an old Jain settlement.
[187] Achla, Interview in Jaipur.

profession and its associated educational achievement match the aspirations of middle-class parents for their children.

The structure of the Chitrakoot Pathshala also accommodates middle-class expectations through the teacher's commitment to her class. When founding the *pathshala,* Achla learned from Purnamati Mataji (a Digambar nun) the importance of the consistent presence of one teacher. Achla recounted:

> Purnamati Mataji told me during her *chaturmas* in 1999, that the probability of the Pathshala continuing would increase if I did not depend on any external sources for teaching. I had focused on self-study and procured the curriculum from Sanganer. Sometimes my older students assist me in dealing with technology and handling the number of students. Therefore, unlike many pathshalas that have closed, and some trying to revive, my Pathshala has continued since 2000.[188]

Inspired by the nun, Achla follows a model that has been working for her, without depending on visiting teachers, as a traditional *pathshala* would. By supplying a consistent teaching presence, Achla shows commitment to her students' learning and provides a stable environment that mirrors their classroom experience in mainstream education. Her commitment to the children's education aligns with the value their middle-class parents place on it.

In addition to her commitment as a teacher, Achla has also adapted the structure to accommodate middle-class culture by providing two levels of participation: daily and weekly. The daily Pathshala competes with mainstream after school activities and coaching classes for children's time. As middle-class parents prioritise mainstream education, Achla acknowledges that priority by allowing children the option of attending only the Sunday class each week. Starting with approximately sixty-five children in 2000, she now instructs fifteen children who attend the one-hour daily evening class and approximately forty-seven children who attend only Sunday morning classes, particularly for *puja* (ritual worship). Although the number of daily students has dropped, Achla is satisfied; unlike many traditional *pathshalas*, the Chitrakoot Pathshala has survived. One reason for this achievement is that the temple administration has arranged transportation that picks up children from their homes in the evening and drops them back. I observed about six to seven children, who live further away from the temple, came in the temple-arranged vehicle. This last feature illustrates one way to deal with the problem of spatial distance.

Achla's dual roles of teacher and coordinator empower her in the Digambar community, expressing middle-class gender equality and extending the authority a Jain

[188] Achla.

laywoman can exert. It is possible that Achla's prominence prevents other community members from being a part of the Pathshala activities. However, from my observation, Achla has generated tremendous respect and devotion from her students, some of whom are now "doctors and engineers."[189] Achla sees her students' career progress as evidence of their spiritual attainment. She inspires students, who consider Achla to be a role model, and they fondly refer to her as "Aunty." By taking on a religious role and merging her interests with those of the community, Achla seems to have made her position acceptable and respectable, transcending her traditional "secondary status" ranking as a laywoman.

Before proceeding with an examination of the curriculum, I will briefly introduce Pradeep Jain, another key respondent connected with the Chitrakoot Pathshala. While Achla is the coordinator of the Chitrakoot Digambar Pathshala, interviewee Pradeep is the coordinator of 405 Digambar Jain *pathshalas* in India that have adopted the curriculum under examination. Moreover, unlike Achla who interacts with children directly, Pradeep is indirectly involved. In 2004, Pradeep came from Damoh, a small town in Madhya Pradesh, to join the five-year residential course at Sraman Sanskriti Sansthan, located in Sanganer. First, he pursued the five-year degree course for *Shastri*, but later continued his studies until he became an *acharya* – Master's in Jain studies. Well-versed in Hindi, Prakrit and Sanskrit, in 2012 he re-joined the institution as a coordinator to oversee the administration and coordinate exams for the 405 *pathshalas.* Pradeep not only shared valuable information regarding the shift in children's religious education, he also introduced me to other members of the community, whom I subsequently interviewed.

There are many ways the Pathshala's structure evinces middle-class values – its founding by a laywoman, her professional and educational profile, the teacher's commitment to her students' success, the flexibility for students to participate at different levels, and schedules that allow children to go to school as well as accommodating parent's work schedules – and of these the most significant is its founding by a laywoman. As well as expressing the middle-class value of gender equality, leadership by a laywoman alters the framework of authority in Jainism. Having examined the reasons for selecting the Chitrakoot Pathshala for my analysis and the ways its structure expresses middle-classness, I proceed to explore how Muni Sudha Sagar's *pathshala* curriculum accommodates middle-class culture.

The Chitrakoot Pathshala Curriculum: An Introduction to the Form

[189] Achla.

A short background of the curriculum will set the context for my analysis. Of a wide range of curricula developed by monastics in the Digambar community, Achla adopted the curriculum developed by Muni Sudha Sagar, a monk influential in Sanganer. This curriculum resulted from a project initiated by the *muni* in 1996, under the institution of the Bharatvarshiya (Indian) Sraman (Jain) Sanskriti (culture) Examination Board in Sanganer.[190] The impetus for the project came from a shared need to revive Digambar *pathshalas* in Jaipur and elsewhere in India. The monk and his team of lay *pandits* (scholars) prepared the initial curricular material with the primary aim of transmitting Digambar values systematically. An additional goal was to reconnect Jain children with their Digambar Jain temples.[191] The curriculum attempts to rectify the anomalies inherent in traditional *pathshalas*, such as non-standardised teaching, memorising without understanding, and studying classical languages not currently spoken (Sanskrit and Prakrit). In piloting the project, community leaders with common interests and a shared social vision supported it through donations. Keeping sight of their objectives, community leaders formally launched the curriculum in approximately fifty Digambar *pathshalas* across India in 2004. By 2017, the number of schools using this curriculum had increased to 405. Examinations are held twice yearly, in June and December, to assess children's learning. Children between five and ten undertake oral exams, while written exams start from the age of eleven. The exams are conducted at the same time across all *pathshalas* in India that have adopted this contemporary Digambar curriculum. At the time of my fieldwork, seventeen Digambar *pathshalas* in Jaipur had adopted this curriculum; among them is the Chitrakoot Pathshala.

I turn now to discuss the main features of structure. At the structural level, Muni Sudha Sagar's curriculum incorporates four broad changes that align with middle class: standardisation, an emphasis on understanding, choosing a modern language as the medium, and stimulating children's interest through games and religious songs.

Standardisation is the first feature. With standardisation, the monk sought to overcome the "random teaching according to one's interest and knowledge" that characterised the traditional *pathshala*.[192] To achieve this goal, the team developed three levels of age-appropriate textbooks. The first level, *Dharam Sanskar* (religious values), seeks

[190] In 2015, there were 395 Digambar *pathshalas* that came under the umbrella of the Bharatvarshiya Sraman Sanskriti Examination Board. The main objective of this Board is to conduct religious examination for *pathshala* going children and youth. The Board supplies textbooks, bags, and other curricular material to participants. They also conduct periodic surveys to ensure the appropriate functioning of the *pathshalas*, and occasionally release reports about achievements and future plans.
[191] Pradeep, Interview in Jaipur.
[192] Pradeep.

to build a foundation in Jain values for children between five and eight years of age. By "Jain values," the curriculum team means the conduct that characterises a good Jain, including dietary Jain practices.[193] Two textbooks, *Sraman Sanskriti Bal Sanskar Parts I and II*, present teachings in a child-friendly manner with colourful illustrations.[194] The second level, *Siddhanta Praveshika* (Entry into Jain Principles), encompasses *Siddhanta Praveshika Parts I, II, and III* for children between nine and eleven years. These textbooks introduce more abstract doctrinal principles, while still maintaining a child-friendly approach. The third level, *Siddhanta Visharad* (Master of Principles), targets youth aged between twelve and fourteen. The two main textbooks at this level are *Chahdhala* (Six Shields), and *Dravya Sangraha* (Compilation of Realities), which are both traditional Digambar texts on metaphysics. Together, the three levels of textbooks present a lengthy and challenging programme of study. They seek to impart a large body of information, as the bi-annually held examinations indicate. The standardised series of textbooks replicate an aspect of the mainstream secular education that is valued by middle-class parents.

A second feature of the curriculum, the emphasis on understanding, also mirrors mainstream secular education. Muni Sudha Sagar initiated the educational project to teach children Jain principles step by step. Starting with basic Jain values, the monk's curriculum introduces religious principles and then moves on to doctrinal texts. The progression of textbooks outlined above introduces abstract concepts gradually, at a pace that matches a child's intellectual development. By creating textbooks specifically for young children, the curriculum developers sought to "prevent the outcome of memorising without understanding."[195] Classic texts on Digambar metaphysics feature only in the third-level textbooks, after students have built a foundation of understanding the underlying principles through six years of study.

These classic texts bring us to a third aspect of the curriculum that aligns with middle-classness: the choice of a modern language, Hindi, as the medium. Classical Jain scriptures in their original languages, Prakrit and Sanskrit, pose a language barrier to children learning about Jainism. The combination of classic languages and content comprising metaphysical speculations doubly obscures meaning for contemporary children. Textbooks in Hindi make the material more accessible, emulating the mainstream educational approach of adapting content to the student. Hindi-language textbooks also make the understanding of principles

[193] Pradeep described Jain values in this way in his interview.
[194] Ratan lal Benada and Sheetal Chandra Jain, eds., *Sraman Sanskriti Bal Sanskar Part II*, Fifth (Jaipur: Shri Digambar Jain Sraman Sanskriti Sansthan, 2014).
[195] Achla, Interview in Jaipur.

easier. The proponents of classical languages contest such departure from the classical languages. For example, Kamal Chand Sogani (a revivalist of Prakrit studies in Jaipur), regretfully said: "An important aspect of the tradition is lost by deemphasising the textual language, Prakrit." Sogani's lamenting about the loss is important to my analysis because it is evident of the conflict between middle-class aspirations and traditional culture and values.

The last element of change is stimulating children's interest in religious education. As the modern-language medium aids comprehension, games and attractive textbooks boost students' interest in the material, reproducing the materially rich and stimulating environment provided by middle-class parents. Muni Sudha Sagar aimed to make religious learning interesting to children by also creating a range of children-centred activity books.[196] The resulting series of activity books, *Khel Khel Mein* (Learning through Games), reflects the modern educational approach of providing multiple ways for students to engage with content. These books, like all the textbooks, also appeal to children's senses with glossy paper and multiple colours. The curriculum thus strives to further maintain student interest in its content.

In sum, three of the structural features displayed in the curriculum – standardisation, the emphasis on understanding, and the modern-language medium – appeal to the middle-class aspiration towards modern education. The fourth, the effort to arouse students' interest, both aligns with modern education and parallels middle-class children's stimulating home environments. Of these features, standardisation makes the most significant appeal to middle-classness. The commitment and effort needed to develop a textbook series response to the heavy investment middle-class parents make in education. Standardisation, as a professional approach, also adds legitimacy to the contemporary *pathshala* in the eyes of a middle class that aspires to professional status. This overarching view of the curriculum has set the stage for an investigation of how it adapts to middle-classness on the curricular level, in examples ranging across textbooks, classroom activities, and temple activities.

Three-Step Content: Analysis of the Digambar Pathshala Curriculum

In the Chitrakoot Pathshala, the use of textbooks combines with classroom activities and temple activities to form the child's educational experience. Examples from each demonstrate adaptation to middle-class culture. First, textbooks take a scientific approach to Digambar dietary practices, developing the thinking style middle-class children use in their mainstream

[196] Pradeep, Interview in Jaipur.

schools. Second, songs in the classroom acknowledge children's current cultural challenges. Third, the temple activities de-emphasise memorisation, a technique for preserving knowledge less important in middle-class, text-oriented culture. Together, the textbooks, classroom activities, and temple activities show that the curriculum has been adapted to middle-class culture in form as well as content.

In this curriculum analysis, I focus on educational material used to teach participants aged five to eleven. I follow this approach in all three case studies because my fieldwork experience shows that most participants fall into this age group irrespective of whether religious schools are located in India or in diaspora. My informants reported that beyond this age it is problematic to engage many students, because they are preoccupied with school homework and after school activities. Thus the interest in religious education diminishes as engagement in mainstream education increases. This pattern shows that Jain children, whether Digambar or Shvetambar, are fulfilling parental expectations. Based on evidence from the interviews, it can be argued that parents give more importance to mainstream education and its foundation for material success than to part-time religious education taught by voluntary teachers. These parental priorities, especially the drive for material success, spring from the growing middle-class culture among Jains.

Step One: Analysing Examples from Textbooks

The textbooks contain many teachings that are common across the Jain tradition. The first two subjects addressed in the textbooks are *sanskar* and *siddhanta* (principles). My review of this material reveals some elements recognised as important by Jain educators. These elements include *namokar mahamantra* (holiest Jain mantra), *mangalacharan* (auspicious prayers), the names of the twenty-four *tirthankars* with their symbols and biographies, *tattva gyana* (exposition of realities), Jain dietary norms, ethical values, and common festivals. The variation in content lies in the application of these teachings according to the cultural context and language, and in the level of simplicity in their presentation. These teachings provide strands of continuity, joining generation to generation. Fragments of these teachings appear in my analyses of all three case studies.

Furthermore, the list of common features implies that doctrinally Jains are less divided than they seem to be ritualistically and culturally. For the curriculum analysis, I focus first on three features that are primary markers of a Jain identity and most important for the Digambar's daily practice. These elements appear repeatedly as lessons in the Chitrakoot Pathshala textbooks and classroom activities, and an examination of them will further

contribute to a comparative analysis. In addition to the three features, I examine *deva darshan* (viewing the image) and its related ritual worship, which is distinctly unique to Digambar practice. These lessons adapt to middle-class culture by providing reasons, including scientific evidence, for following the practices, and by acknowledging the children's hybrid cultural environment.

Together, I focus on four teachings, which are pertinent to Digambar daily practices: (i) *deva darshan*, which simply means either daily visits to a Digambar Jain temple or paying respect to the *jina* image at the home shrine; (ii) *ratri-bhojan-tyaga*, which means abstaining from eating after sunset; (iii) drinking filtered water, which means filtering water using a double-layered thick linen cloth through which the sun's rays cannot penetrate; and (iv) *ahimsak aahaar* (non-violent food), the Digambar belief in consuming non-violent food, which also includes certain fruits and root-vegetables that are strictly prohibited for Jains. These practices, embedded in Jain ontology, have become an important part of Digambar culture. These four practices are present in textbooks, classroom instructions, and in temple rituals, and it will be useful to analyse them for my arguments.

The lessons on "not eating at night" and "not drinking unfiltered water" provide reasons to follow these practices. These eating and drinking practices are embedded in the Jain principle of non-violence or *ahimsa*. According to the Jain tradition, eating at night and drinking unfiltered water harms and kills micro living organisms. Consequently, one collects negative karmas. Many stories and slogans that abound in the textbooks highlight how unhealthy and sinful it is to consume food after sunset.[197] The idea that it is healthier to eat before sunset provides a rational basis that supplements the moral basis for the restriction.

In explicating both the practices of "not eating at night" and "drinking filtered water", the textbook uses scientific reasoning to describe and support the material with the view of convincing today's children. For instance, to encourage children to eat before sunset, the textbook notes that food consumed at night cannot be digested properly, causing a range of diseases and ill health.[198] With regard to drinking filtered water, the same chapter notes: "Scientists have proven that one drop of unfiltered water contains 36,450 microorganisms."[199] By supporting the dietary restrictions with evidence, the textbooks appeal to the logic promoted by mainstream education and consequently valued by both middle-class parents and children. Shrikant, a lay father, also commented on the

[197] S. L. Jain, *Jain Dharma Siksha*, vol. 1 (Jaipur: Bharatvarshiya Shraman Sanskriti Pariksha Board, n.d.), 20.
[198] Benada and Jain, *Sraman Sanskriti Bal Sanskar Part II*, 4.
[199] Benada and Jain, 4.

contemporary child's orientation to reasoning: "During our time, we believed the Jain *munis* (monks) and *acharyas* out of faith, but today's children are not so willing to accept what is expressed to them without scientific proof."[200] Shrikant is not alone in holding such a view: interviewees across all three case studies noted the modern child's demand for "logic and proof."

Scientific presentation of Jain norms has only recently appeared in children's religious curricular material.[201] The curriculum planners are aware of twenty-first century children, who not only have access to scientific information but also possess analytic minds. Faith is no longer enough to convince children to follow Jain practices. Therefore, teachers have adopted the modern practice of proving that Jain principles are consistent with scientific research. The introduction of scientific evidence into a religious textbook aims to sustain the continuity of Jain dietary practices, while at the same time admitting rational scepticism into the spiritual sphere. It is clear that though the practices have remained the same, the legitimating reason for the practices have changed.

As well as using logic, a lesson on *ahimsak ahaar* (non-violent food) uses dialogue and vocabulary to acknowledge the hybrid cultural environment surrounding the middle-class child. My informants pointed out that by moving outside the walled city, the culture of eating out has rapidly increased amongst Jains, bringing about further exposure to fast-food restaurants that serve vegetarian and non-vegetarian food. This exposure has affected the food Jains consume, introducing items that don't qualify as non-violent. That is why the lesson on dietary restrictions finds an important place in the children's religious textbook. Structured as a conversation, the author lists some of these problematic food items:

> Student: Sir, what is non-violent food?
> Teacher: Children! Food prepared without involving violence is called non-violent food.
> Student: Why should we eat non-violent food?
> Teacher: Non-violent food intake is a fundamental principle of the Jains. We should not eat any food that causes harm to another living organism. That is why eating 'non-veg', eggs, cake, etc., honey, or drinking alcohol and other intoxicating substances is considered a great sin in the Jain tradition.[202]

[200] Shrikant, Interview in Jaipur.
[201] On the introduction of scientific rationales for older Jain dietary and other ritual practices, see Knut Aukland, "The Scientization and Academization of Jainism," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 84 (2016): 192–233.
[202] Benada and Jain, *Sraman Sanskriti Bal Sanskar Part II*, 12.

The continuation of this dialogue emphasises that eating biscuits, bread, onions, garlic and other root vegetables, as well as certain fruits, is regarded as *ashudha* (impure).[203] According to orthodox Jains, food consumed should be fresh, as deteriorating food acquires microorganisms. Using this reasoning, biscuits and bread are stale, and therefore are considered impure. Orthodox Jains also refrain from root vegetables, because these vegetables fall under the category of *kandmool*, referring to *anantkaya*, which means one body containing infinite living organisms. The root vegetables have organisms living on them, and so it is considered violent to consume them.[204] In this context, I draw another example from the Pathshala textbook to show how such dietary practices are explained to children: "If onion and garlic are eaten, one will rot fast." This couplet is in Hindi, one among nineteen on restricted foods.[205] In my view, such a strong comment on eating onion and garlic stems from the increasing fast food culture, whereby children have easy access to food such as pizzas and burgers. These food items contain onion and garlic, which do not qualify as Jain food.

To assist the effectiveness of the lesson on impure food, the textbook introduces English words, such as "non-veg" and "cake" into the Hindi text. In another conversation, the teacher mentions bread and biscuits. All these are food items children commonly eat and recognise them due to living amongst more diverse cultures in suburbs. They attend the birthday parties of friends, who may not necessarily be Jains. Therefore, the probability of children consuming cakes containing eggs is high. To prevent this lapse, the lesson-planners have made sure that children are taught about *abhakshya* (not suitable for eating) or taboo foods through religious education. Shrikant promotes *pathshala* education and supports this approach: "Religion, in my view, is to know about what acceptable edible items are and what are unacceptable non-edible items."[206] Therefore, by incorporating vocabulary for non-Jain food, the lesson acknowledges the new hybrid cultural surroundings of the middle-class child.

Digressing briefly from curricular content to its effects, evidence indicates that the Chitrakoot Pathshala textbooks do wield some influence over children's dietary practices. The growing culture of dining out expresses middle-class material success. In context of

[203] Benada and Jain, 12.
[204] Anmol, a lay scholar associated in developing the textbooks, explained these reasons to me. For more on Jain diet, the following article is useful: Pushpendra Jain, "Dietary Code of Practice amongst Jains," World Vegetarian Congress, 2000, https://ivu.org/congress/2000/jainism.html.
[205] Ratan lal Benada and Sheetal Chandra Jain, eds., *Sraman Sanskriti Bal Sanskar Part I*, Seventh (Jaipur: Shri Digambar Jain Sraman Sanskriti Sansthan, 2014), 24.
[206] Shrikant, Interview in Jaipur.

other cities in India, research on middle-class Indians living in Mumbai and Madurai identifies a growth in their tendency to eating out and in their overall spending. Jains are not excluded from this growing trend.[207] Opposing the dominant middle-class values, the examples of dietary restrictions mentioned above derive purely from a religious perspective while responding to societal trends.

Of the Digambar children with whom I interacted during my fieldwork (both those associated with the Chitrakoot Pathshala and those not affiliated), I found only small numbers of children following the regime of Digambar dietary practices. The rest of the children showed tremendous flexibility. For example, they would consume root vegetables and take meals after sunset. Moreover, in spite of the textbook lesson that presents eggless cake in the category of stale food, even those children who attend Chitrakoot Pathshala consume eggless cakes.[208] The problem with eating eggless cake is that even this is considered to be impure, according to the strict Digambar observances. I also found that strikingly enough, the Chitrakoot Pathshala students observe dietary restrictions more consistently than others. They maintain the orthodox Digambar practices, with some flexibility. For instance, the children confirmed that they eat fruit or drink milk at night but avoid eating cereals and grains after sunset. This adherence highlights the influence of religious education on the handful of Jain children who attend the Chitrakoot Pathshala. Achla has trained these children to follow traditional practices to a level rarely encountered today.

In sum, the examples from textbooks furnish a preliminary understanding of the Digambar Jain values and practices that educators promote through religious education. The themes of both continuity and change are apparent in these examples. I have shown that lessons have been written to check the changing dietary practices accompanying suburbanisation and the consequent submersion in non-Jain culture. Whereas in the past, religious educators presented these dietary practices as matters of faith, now they use scientific evidence to persuade children to maintain them.

Step Two: Classroom Activities

Like the textbook lessons on non-violent food, classroom activities directly address children's current cultural challenges. Two songs provide examples. First, a song about not eating eggs changes the wording of television commercial promoting egg consumption. Second, a song promoting courage addresses students' daily challenges. The two songs

[207] Dickey, "Performing the Middle."
[208] Achla, Interview in Jaipur. Pradeep, Interview in Jaipur.

respond to middle-class culture by respectively countering television advertising and encouraging children to overcome obstacles, an important attitude for achieving material and educational success. In fact, the use of songs as an instructional genre has a long pedigree in the Jain tradition.[209]

The anti-egg song subverts an advertising message aimed at a non-Jain majority, transforming it into a rallying cry for Jains. On one Sunday morning, in my visit to the Chitrakoot Pathshala, I saw forty-seven children sing a song from memory about refraining from eggs. This song, like the textbook lessons about non-violent food, responds to the challenge of living thinly-spread in a multi-cultural Indian suburb. On seeing me, a stranger, entering their class, the children's singing became louder with a dramatic emphasis on the following words: "*Sunday ho ya Monday, kabhi na khao anday*" (whether it is Sunday or Monday, never eat eggs). This song counters a popular commercial in India, loosely set to the tune of the "Macarena," with the words: "*Sunday ho ya Monday, roz khao anday*" (whether it is Sunday or Monday, eat eggs every day).[210] I have translated the song in English and attached in Appendix 3. The advertisement formed part of a campaign initiated in the 1990s by the National Egg Coordination Committee.[211] The commercial's run coincided with the economic liberalisation of the 1990s, a period marked by increased consumption, especially the purchase of coloured televisions among middle-class Indians. Aspiring to a middle-class lifestyle brought mass media into Jain homes, along with its majority-oriented advertising. To counter the media pressure, Digambar Jains are fighting jingle with jingle to guard their children from eating foods containing egg.

Another song, evidently the children's favourite, encourages perseverance, an attitude that will help children fulfil their middle-class parents' aspirations. The song was entitled, "*Himmat se kaam lenge, ghabrana kaisa*," which means "use courage in work, what is there to be anxious about?" They enacted this song passionately not only to impress me, but also to impress Pradeep, the administrator. This song expresses how to be courageous in dealing with adverse situations and explains how every step leads to one's destination.[212] The song

[209] Within the Shvetambar context, see the genre of *sajjhay*, in the Digambar context, see the genre of *updeshi pads*, on which see John E. Cort, "God Outside and God Inside: North Indian Digambar Jain Performances of Bhakti," in *Bhakti Beyond the Forest: Current Research on Early Modern Literatures in North India, 2003-2009*, ed. Imre Bangha (New Delhi: Manohar, 2013), 255–86.
[210] Anil P, "Sunday Ho Ya Monday, Roz Khao Ande," 2010, http://windyskies.blogspot.com/2010/07/sunday-ho-ya-monday-roz-khao-ande.html.
[211] "National Egg Coordination Committee," accessed 5 September 2017, http://www.e2necc.com/.
[212] On a personal note, I myself was inspired by the words of this song. It kept me motivated during the ups and downs of my thesis writing.

has no connection with religion or Jain culture per se, but it imparts a message of acquiring success through hard work, affirming a middle-class value.

In fact, the song evokes the words of Muni Praman Sagar with whose quotation I began chapter two. According to the quote, one of the objectives of the Pathshalas is "to make children successful and responsible members of society."[213] The drive to develop *pathshala* students into successful members of society indicates the aspirations of contemporary middle-class Digambar Jains. Including such content in religious education suggests the influence of a competitive material society in which children are motivated to work hard and succeed. The "courage song," as part of the *pathshala*, transcends a narrow understanding of religious education that limits it to nurturing faith within the tradition. Including such songs shows that religious educators seek to perpetuate their values and practices by fusing them with middle-class values.

It is evident from the above discussion, that on Sundays, children participate in activities such as singing, supplementing their revision of the week's textbook lessons. Because of these activities, this day is considered a fun day for the children, and they do not engage in new lessons. The reason for the revision, however, is to provide children who come only on Sundays with the "most important messages of the week."[214] Sunday is thus particularly important for the Chitrakoot Pathshala, as it can then draw in a broader circle of children. Achla has structured the Sunday classroom experience so that both weekly and daily students can participate with joy and, at the same time, be exposed to Jain values.

Of the Chitrakoot Pathshala's forty-seven students, most attend only on Sunday, while only fifteen attend daily. To understand the motivation of those fifteen children who attend daily, I revisited the group after a few weeks. This time, my visit coincided with the children's mainstream-school final examinations. During examination times, Gyanshala and many other *pathshalas* close. However, to my surprise, the Chitrakoot Pathshala was open and I found twelve of the regular fifteen students present in the class. These students were motivated to attend *pathshala* to "feel relaxed and reduce school examination pressure." Achla added to the children's comments, "We do not teach any new material during this time."[215] I observed children playing a popular family game called "Antakshari," (a game of songs) singing songs beginning with different letters. The Pathshala students called it "Dharmik Antakshari," which means they were giving a religious focus to singing and

[213] Sagar, Interview in Jaipur, February 14, 2016.
[214] Achla, Interview in Jaipur.
[215] Achla.

reciting songs and verses. It was a friendly competitive game in which students were divided into two groups. While observing the children playing, I noticed how spontaneously they were singing or reciting something religious when it was their turn. This game implies that children are taught to memorise many songs with accompanied actions. Furthermore, this game indicates that students learn a significant number of self-explanatory slogans, couplets, verses, stanzas, and poems in Hindi spread throughout the lessons in their textbooks.

Achla regards this small group of regular students as her strength. She believes that those children who come daily will be stronger in their Jain beliefs and practices.[216] Although Achla compares both groups of participants (daily and weekly), she does not denigrate the importance of the children's weekly participation in rituals. Despite Achla's earnest efforts, she is still concerned about the future of the Chitrakoot Pathshala. She laments: "Today's parents want children to be more social than religious. If parents showed interest in children's religious education, then there would be no need for *pathshalas*." Here, Achla's tone matches with the critics of *pathshalas*. Nevertheless, my short interviews with parents reveal reasons beyond the social for their disinterest in daily *pathshalas*. One stems from wrestling for time with mainstream school and after school curricular activities. This reason, when examined, demonstrates congruence with middle-class values, which prioritise mainstream education.

Step Three: The Example of the Deva-Shastra-Guru Puja (Spiritual Victor-Scripture-Monk)

Having seen that textbooks appeal to middle-class culture by using scientific logic, and that both textbooks and songs address children's immersion in hybrid cultural environments, I move to analysing temple activities. One of the *pathshala* textbooks, titled *Deva Puja*, focuses on performing a variety of rituals with the recitation of prayers. This *puja* manual was devised solely for temple use, showing the importance of ritual for Digambars. Using a manual alters the relationship that a child develops with the image or icon known as *deva*.

In the temples, teaching is focused on the *Deva-Shastra-Guru Puja*, which is the core Digambar religious practice. This *puja* is a popular liturgy through which teachers instil values and foster faith amongst children. Composed by *pandit* Dyanatray (1676–1726) a Jain poet, this devotional song is recited and sung by thousands of Digambar Jains in North

[216] Achla.

India.[217] Digambars place profound significance on the *Deva-Shastra-Guru Puja,* a significance underlined by its prominence in the textbooks and by parents' interest in their children enacting it.[218]It is important to describe this customary part of Digambar ritual briefly. I met Raghav, another young student training (who came from Sraman Sanskrit Examination Board) to become a Jain scholar. He explained the *Deva-Shastra-Guru Puja* in the following way:

> This ritual constitutes three parts. First, is *deva*: since it is not possible to find *deva* [spiritual victor] in the present era, it is worshipped in a symbolic form, represented through image. There is no difference between the image of *deva* and *deva*. Devotees recite prayers and songs in praise of the qualities of spiritual victors while performing the ritual. Second, is *shastra*: Digambars regard the voice of *deva* as preaching which is encapsulated in the form of scriptures. They regard scripture to be the voice of *deva* and therefore highly revered. Third is guru. The path shown by spiritual victor is preserved in the scriptures, which is internalised by guru. The guru is revered because he preaches and enlightens the adherents with his austere living and knowledge.[219]

It is clear from Raghav's description that image-worshipping is central to the mainstream Digambar tradition. With regard to the *Deva-Shastra-Guru Puja*, John Cort notes that the composer Dyanatray's "*pujas* are addressed to images and so to physical representation of the virtues (*guna*) of dispassion, enlightenment, and liberation which the embodied *jinas* have realised in their state of pure soul."[220] It is striking to see that this liturgy transcends the internal diversity regarding image worship within the tradition. It is even more striking to see the continuity of this ritual in the midst of the many cultural changes that Digambar communities have undergone with suburbanisation. Despite this continuity, the way children performed this ritual indicates a recently developing trend in ritual practices.

I saw a large number of children inside the temple on Sundays, highlighting the importance of temple activities in the overall curriculum. On the Sunday I visited, most of the children at the temple were registered as Pathshala students and a few came with their parents to join the group in performing the ritual. This is only possible because Achla provides the flexibility to accommodate unregistered Digambar children. I made my way straight up the stairs to the terrace. The first and second floors were crowded with adult laity, who perform their individual worship, facing the *jina* images. It was striking for me to find two eight-foot

[217] For details on the Jain poet, Dyanatray, see John E. Cort, "Dyanatray: An Eighteenth Century Digambar Mystical Poet," in *Essays in Jaina Philosophy and Religion*, vol. XX (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2003), 279–96.
[218] For more on this fundamental Digambar liturgy, see Sudarsan Lal Jain, *Deva Shastra Aur Guru* (Varanasi: Akhil Bharatvarshiya Digambar Jain Vidvatparisad, 1994).
[219] Raghav, Interview in Jaipur, February 9, 2016.
[220] Cort, "Dyanatray: An Eighteenth Century Digambar Mystical Poet," 282.

tall *jina* images of the first and the twenty-third *tirthankars* installed on the terrace. In less than ten minutes, *pathshala* children filled the terrace, arriving singly, in pairs, and in groups. The children knew from the textbooks and family practices that it is mandatory to take a bath and wear fresh clothes before entering the temple. The younger children remained on the terrace, while the older ones prepared *puja thalis* (metal plates) from the small pantry on the first floor of the temple complex. The plates contained *ashta-dravya* (eight types of dry items as offerings).[221] The older children carried the plates to the terrace and placed them on ten small *chowkis* (low tables) laid out for the young participants. Children sat on mats in two rows facing one another. Four children shared one table and two children shared one plate. In performing *puja*, Sanjay, a much older student training to become a Jain *pandit*, guided the children.[222] Although children were familiar with the variety of Digambar *puja*s, still they had a discussion and decided to perform the standard *Deva-Shastra-Guru Puja.* Figure 5 shows a metal *puja* plate displaying eight types of dry items and the arrangement of tables for children to perform the rituals.

[221] This is specifically Terah Panth; the eight dry materials in the *puja thali* are white *akshat* (white rice), *pushpa* (yellow rice), sandalwood, water, *naiwadya* (white coconut), *naiwadya* dveep (yellow coconut), almond, cardamom, and cloves. Bisa Panth ritual includes fruits, flowers, and liquid *abhishek*.
[222] Both Sanjay and Raghav are two students undergoing training for becoming scholars of Jain studies. On Sundays, they visit different Digambar *pathshalas* associated with Sraman Sanskriti Sansthan in Sanganer.

Figure 5. Preparation for children to perform *Deva-Shastra-Guru Puja*: a metal *puja* plate and seating arrangement. Shri Mahavir Digambar Jain Mandir, Chitrakoot area of Sanganer, Jaipur

From textbooks children knew the importance of this *puja* for the Digambar tradition and for the ultimate liberation of the soul. Children performed this *puja* in three parts. In the first part, they established the *deva* or *arhat* (worthy of worship) through the reciting of verses from the *puja* manual. In the second part, they offered eight types of material while reciting verses and mantras. The final part was *jaymala* (the victory garland), in which the children continued the recitation of verses in the form of singing. Altogether, the *puja* is intended to engage children in rituals and develop faith. Here I do not intend to describe the entire one-hour ritual process at length, but rather to analyse how significant it is for the tradition to engage children in weekly worship. My respondents maintain that if children learn this ritual at a young age they will continue to perform it as adults.

This was the first time I had participated in a *puja*. The children almost immediately recognised that I was a novice, and I emulated their actions and murmured the mantras and prayers. Sanjay handed me a copy of the *puja* book*,* which the children were also using.[223] Since language was not an issue for me, it was easy to follow the script. However, the book was helpful only to a certain extent. It would take practice for me to master the specific way of holding the rice (and other items) between the fingers, placing it back onto the plate, albeit within a certain time. The children followed Sanjay and repeated the mantras and *stutis* (verses) methodically, while concentrating on each ritual. They meticulously enacted the entire *puja* within the timeframe. The ritual lasted exactly an hour and the children followed it with *aarti* (the waving of a flaming lamp in front of the icon), which was also performed with precision.

The weekly Sunday worship seeks to connect children with temples and develop religious fidelity. In the previous chapter, I demonstrated that Jains are concerned about losing this traditional practice due to suburbanisation and related modern influences. The different levels of children's participation in the daily and weekly Pathshalas demonstrates that participating in rituals is more important for Jains, as a way of maintaining their culture and identity, than systematically learning Jain principles through textbooks in the classroom. It is important to note, however, that while maintaining a traditional practice, the group performance of *Deva-Shastra-Guru Puja* represents an innovation to retain children's interest in rituals. Children, instead of performing this ritual with their mothers or grandmothers, are keen on performing it with their peer groups. Many mothers in the temple verified that they do not need to force their children to carry out the ritual. They see other children performing it in the temple, so they also want to do it.

Although daily worshippers ordinarily perform *puja*, contemporary *pathshalas* have taken the responsibility of training children in *puja* methodically to connect them with the community. This shift in responsibility from family to *pathshalas* is due to the increasing trend of nuclear families and double-career homes. My literature review has also verified such trends across religious traditions. The children's performance of this ritual has been adapted to middle-class culture by de-emphasising memorisation.

The children's performance of the *Deva-Shastra-Guru Puja* de-emphasises memorisation and thereby aligns with the middle-class focus on applying knowledge rather than reproducing it, and with the time-pressure that accompanies middle-class aspirations.

[223] The cover of the book notes: "This book is useful for developing the value of image-worshipping from an early age amongst children."

The reliance on a manual rather than memorising has the unintended consequence of changing the relationship with the spiritual victor's image, as further examination of the process shows. The adult laity, who have memorised the *puja,* recite the relevant verses while gazing at the *jina* image. To lead the children the community invites a student scholar, from the institution that has prepared the curriculum, to guide the children in performing the *puja* in unison. Instead of parents investing time teaching the ritual, they are satisfied that children are learning it in the proper way guided by a learned scholar. Children fix their gaze on the verses in the book, as they are required to chant along with the teacher and other children. Formerly, a child would fix her gaze on the image. This altered focus distances the practising child somewhat from the *jina's* image.

It is evident from this example that Digambars place uncompromising value on *deva darshan* (viewing of the image) and its worship. One mother summed up the benefits for children participating in Sunday worship: "Rather than beginning Sundays watching cartoon shows on TV, our children now have some worthwhile engagement in the temple."[224] This mother's testimony shows that she finds tremendous value in her child performing weekly ritual worship. It is, however, arguable whether many of these children understand the values embedded in the worship. They do, however, understand that *puja* generates *punya* (meritorious action). My informants unanimously maintain that if children develop ritual practice at a young age, then it is likely that they will continue it later. Some view that if parents show interest in their children taking part in religious activities then the Jain community associated with the Chitrakoot temple takes leadership in the religious education of their children and youth. For example, the Chitrakoot Jain community has arranged transportation for those children who attend daily *pathshala* to relieve parents of the burden of bringing their children. The community also arranges a gift at the end of every Sunday class, which is usually sponsored by Jain members. On the one Sunday that I visited Chitrakoot Pathshala, each participant received a water bottle and on the other Sunday, received a pencil box. These gifts are mainly to motivate children to participate.

Despite such efforts and the contemporary outlook, parental indifference towards religious education presents a constant struggle. Achla and parents who support *pathshala* themselves, note parents' disinterest in *pathshalas*. The reasons they cite are the importance of children's non-religious social development, their absorption in mainstream school activities, and resistance to the dietary restrictions promoted in *pathshalas*. The teaching of

[224] Kamla, Interview in Jaipur, November 27, 2016.

abstaining from root vegetables generates maximum disinterest amongst parents. This is because children who attend the Chitrakoot Pathshala question their mothers and rebel against consuming root vegetables at home.[225] In fact, such reaction from children is not exclusive to the Chitrakoot Pathshala. As we will see in all my case studies, children who attend religious education are questioning their parents on dietary practices. Parental attitudes towards Jain food taboos have changed with suburbanisation and modern influences.[226] In addition to these challenges, Achla lamented that parents find time to escort their children to birthday parties, but if transportation is not arranged, then many parents will not make an effort to bring their children to the *pathshala*.

In sum, considering together the Chitrakoot Pathshala's structure, which features female leadership, and the curriculum's form and structural alignment with middle-classness through standardisation and the de-emphasis on memorisation, the Pathshala might seem bound for success. Yet, Achlas' strict observance of dietary practices suggests that conflict with middle-classness in this area will continue to be an issue. It is pertinent for my analysis to draw attention to this issue because even though Chitrakoot in Sanganer has had a long-Jain presence, the forces of middle-class values have influenced the religious practices of both children adult laity.

From the Chitrakoot Pathshala I turn now to exploring the Shyamnagar Pathshala, which is located in a relatively new suburb. Comparing the analysis of both Digambar *pathshalas,* from old and new suburbs, will provide us with a fuller picture of children's religious education in the Digambar tradition.

Section II: The Shyamnagar Digambar Pathshala, Jaipur

The second contemporary religious school that I have chosen to analyse regarding the shift in the religious education of children and youth is the Digambar Pathshala in Shyamnagar. I analyse how the Digambar Jain community in Shyamnagar has modernised its religious education for children in response to the recent social, cultural, and technological changes. The structure and teaching philosophy of this Pathshala differs from the Chitrakoot Pathshala in one important way: the Shyamnagar Pathshala has not adopted a structured curriculum affiliated to any educational institution. Instead, the proponents have devised their own

[225] Anmol, Interview in Jaipur.
[226] On the tensions in Jain maintenance of diet, in which women tend to maintain the more orthodox pattern, while men make compromises due to their participation in economic and other public spheres, especially in the modern economy. See Marie-Claude Mahias, *Délivrance et Convivialité: Le Systéme Culinaire Des Jaina* (Paris, 1985).

teaching modalities. Such a model is unusual and therefore I was motivated to examine the Shyamnagar Pathshala.

Three laywomen founders, residing in the suburb of Shyamnagar, have taken the responsibility to cultivate religious values in Digambar children. Their self-developed curriculum generates deeper insights regarding what lay parents want to teach and how this content differs from the curriculum prepared through a joint effort by monks and lay scholars. For example, unlike the Chitrakoot Pathshala, the Shyamnagar Pathshala neither subscribe textbooks, nor conducts bi-annual exams. Accordingly, the content de-emphasises memorisation technique even further. Despite the differences, the connecting of children with the temple is the prime driver for both the Pathshalas, which I consider, is a clear response to suburbanisation.

The Shyamnagar Pathshala exemplifies the efforts that Digambar Jain community has undertaken to establish a stronger relationship between children and temples. The key elements in the Shyamnagar Pathshala curriculum that respond to the challenges of suburbanisation are: the *pathshala* operates weekly on Sundays; it emphasises *Deva-Shastra-Guru Puja* as the core of the curriculum, an element sustaining continuity with the past; and it does not emphasise the three markers of being a Jain: drinking water filtered through muslin cloth, not consuming root vegetables, and not eating after sunset. We will discuss their rationale later in the text. The Shyamnagar curriculum further differs from the curriculum designed by monks by omitting any discussion of philosophical doctrines. Before analysing the curriculum, I briefly describe the specific context of the school.

Shyamnagar: A Growing Suburb

Shyamnagar is a relatively new suburb in south-west Jaipur. It has a growing mixed Jain community with both Shvetambar and Digambar religious spaces. Both community groups meet once in a year, performing a rally on Mahavir Jayanti, the birthday of Jain's twenty-fourth preceptor.[227] There are an estimated three hundred and fifty Digambar Jain families in Shyamnagar and three Digambar Jain temples. The oldest temple is the Shri Digambar Mahavir Jain Mandir (founded in 1993) and the most recent is the Shri Adinatha Jain Mandir

[227] A large group of Jain laymen (dressed in white) and laywomen (dressed in orangish-yellow saris) from Digambar and Shvetambar traditions get together marching in a procession on Mahavir's birth anniversary. This yearly procession even symbolises a Jain unity as well as Jain identity in Hindu dominated suburbs.

(founded in 2011).[228] The construction of the new Shri Adinatha Jain Mandir shows that Jains are continuously building temples as their population expands into new regions. Suburbanisation has distanced Digambar Jains from their traditional temples in the Old City, which has, in turn, affected their daily religious practices. These adult Jains were rooted in their culture, but more important for them was to transfer the values and culture to the next generation. This need compelled Jains to build temples in suburbs according to modern aesthetics that could attract the new generation. Due to its contemporary architecture in richly carved stone, this new temple has attracted wide attention. Although the temple is contemporary in style, the Jain community has maintained architectural continuity by incorporating traditional elements, such as installing *jina* images and providing spaces both for a *shastra bhandar* (library) and for a *pathshala*. Since the temple is very recent, the *pathshala* has not yet operationalised to fill its designated space. According to my respondents, this most recent temple is the only Digambar Jain temple in Jaipur that allows women to annotate the *jina* images. This expanded role for women indicates the growing importance of gender equality in the community.

The suburb, Shyamnagar, is roughly spread across 6 sq. km. Jains in general, and Digambars in particular, are spread throughout this area. Figure 6 shows the temple entrance with ample space inside and outside for parking cars. This picture is in contrast to the Old City maps where temples are packed inside the walled area without much provision to park the cars in narrow lanes. The top picture indicates modern features including the ceiling and temple bell.

[228] In comparison to three Digambar Jain temples, there is one Shvetambar Jain temple, one community centre for the non-image-worshipping Shvetambar Terapanthi Jains, and there are about ten or eleven Hindu temples in Shyamnagar.

Figure 6. Shri Adinath Digambar Jain Mandir, Shyamnagar in Jaipur.

Of the three temples, I examined the *pathshala* that operates in Shri Digambar Mahavir Jain Mandir, the oldest temple of the area.[229] This temple serves the needs of an estimated eighty Digambar families in Shyamnagar. Nirmala, the Shyamnagar Pathshala coordinator and founder, comments on its history in the community: "Earlier many more Digambar families were associated with this temple; however, with the extension of Shyamnagar and the building of new temples, this number has now declined."[230] It is worth noting that children who attend the *pathshala* are those whose parents worship at this temple. Figure 7 is a view of the Shri Digambar Mahavir Jain Mandir from the street lane. The building of a new temple (picture above) and the diversion of adherents suggest that the newer temple is not only more convenient, but also progressive. Allowing women to annotate is a departure from traditional Digambar practices, and the temple also attracts young educated Digambars. It remains unclear whether the Shyamnagar Digambar community is trying to revive those elements which were left behind in the Old City, or whether it is trying to set new milestones considering modernisation and emergence of middle-class Jains.

Figure 7. Shri Digambar Mahavir Jain Mandir in Shyamnagar, Jaipur.

[229] The name of the temple is the same as the previous temple, but they are located in two different areas.
[230] Nirmala, Interview in Jaipur.

Shyamnagar Pathshala: Female Team Leadership

While a single woman manages the Chitrakoot Pathshala, five laywomen teachers operate the Shyamnagar Pathshala. Also, unlike the Chitrakoot Pathshala, in which Achla follows a standardised curriculum, the Shyamnagar Pathshala teachers have devised their own curriculum. There are three full-time and two part-time educated laywomen volunteer-teachers. The full-time teachers are Nirmala, in her late fifties, Bina, in her mid-fifties, and Ritu, in her early forties. Establishing the school with thirty children, these teachers, all homemakers, have devised a curriculum according to their own experience, religious knowledge, and the Digambar values that they personally identify as relevant for contemporary Jain children. They hold weekly classes on Sundays for children aged between three and twelve.

According to Nirmala, the chief objective for gathering children in temple on Sundays is "to teach them Digambar *pujas* systematically."[231] Nirmala's weekly classes aim to replicate the daily home instruction provided by mothers and grandmothers a few generations ago. She reasons that introducing children to temple-culture at an early age will help them stay connected to Jain temples in their later years. She thus believes that staying connected to Jain temples will foster a Digambar Jain identity. Her focus on teaching ritual worship identifies the *Deva-Shastra-Guru Puja* as the core of the Shyamnagar Pathshala curriculum, an element sustaining continuity with the past.

Disrupting that continuity, the close involvement of women in the formal, classroom-based religious education of children constitutes a recent phenomenon developing within contemporary Jainism. Clearly, curriculum development by women demonstrates a shift in the roles of women from those portrayed in the early ethnographies of Jain communities living in the Old City, as I have shown in the literature review. Although the influence of middle-class gender equality is crucial here, the teachers with whom I interacted were modestly dressed in *saris* (Indian dress). This indicates that, despite the rising importance of gender-equality, the middle-class value of female modesty persists.

Here, I do not intend to make a universal claim about all Jains in their diversities of caste and class in rural and urban settings. Instead, I seek to convey that there is a leap in education among urban Jain women, and consequently in gender equality amongst urban Jains, who are a representative group in my study. I turn now to examine the curriculum, which Nirmala and her co-teachers have developed and implement in their Pathshala.

[231] Nirmala.

Curriculum: "No-Textbook *Pathshala*"

I examine the content and pedagogy of children's religious education at the Shyamnagar Pathshala: What children do not learn, what they do learn, and how they learn. I discuss the educational activities that children engage in during their ninety minutes of weekly religious schooling. As with the Chitrakoot Pathshala, I analyse children's activities both in the classroom and those facing the altar of the *jina* image in the temple. This analysis will generate further insights into continuity and innovation in Digambar religious education. The prominent continuity is the focus on ritual performance, while the major changes lie in the neglect of daily *deva darshan* and steering away from metaphysical concepts or Jain fundamentals. I will show in my later case studies that this change is in contrast with other Jain religious schools, for whom an explanation of metaphysical concepts is crucial in their approach to children's religious education.

I begin by describing the key philosophy underlying the Shyamnagar Pathshala curriculum. While all the other children's religious schools in my study use textbooks, the Shyamnagar Pathshala takes pride in being a "no-textbook-Pathshala." Ritu, the youngest of the three teachers, elaborates the philosophy of no books: "In our religious school, we neither prescribe books nor give homework. We also do not ask children to memorise prayers and verses at home."[232] Instead, the teachers divide the weekly lesson between sixty minutes of prayer and rituals and twenty minutes of religious games, gifts, and snacks. Ritu adds: "Children have the burden of homework from mainstream school. We cannot ignore that pressure, and so if we also start giving homework of memorising prayers and verses then they will first hesitate to come and gradually withdraw from Pathshala."[233] The no homework and no books policy also represent a growing trend in contemporary Jain religious education. Instead, teachers give each student a colourful folder containing multiple A4-sized photocopied sheets of prayers and rituals that are used in the classroom. To appeal to children further, the paradigm does not include tests and assessment. Instead, the volunteer teachers measure children's religious knowledge through a range of games and informal activities. These volunteer teachers respond to the challenges of teaching part-time religion to today's children by refraining from giving homework.

From Ritu's interview, it appears that teachers keep children's interests central to their initial planning. The no-textbook Pathshala labours diligently to retain the Shyamnagar Pathshala children. These children, according to my informants, attend either modern English

[232] Ritu, Interview in Jaipur, March 27, 2016.
[233] Ritu.

schools or international schools for their mainstream education. Such children usually shy away from reading or writing in Hindi. Therefore, it is quite possible that the "no textbook" philosophy works well when the Pathshala has not invested in preparing material in Standard English.

To enhance the curriculum's effectiveness, Nirmala constricts its scope: no metaphysics, no books, no memorisation, no strict food edicts, and no vows. She asserts: "Firstly, we do not give deep knowledge."[234] By deep knowledge, she means knowledge about metaphysical realities. I inferred from what Nirmala said that this topic requires rote learning, and it is quite possible that students find it boring. Her policy is to sustain children's interest in religious education. Secondly, introducing metaphysical topics would require a large investment of time to make lessons appealing to students and to satisfy their analytic minds. Finally, the abstract nature of the subject might require dividing students into groups, according to teaching levels (as is the case of other three religious schools in my study). However, dividing children would also require more space and teachers who are qualified. Maybe, Nirmala is aware of these difficulties; therefore, a convenient solution is for the teachers to keep religious education at a basic level.

In addition to avoiding complex religious subjects, the curriculum omits strict Digambar Jain dietary practices. Nirmala observes: "We do not tell children to stop consuming root vegetables, nor do we admonish them to refrain from eating at night." My respondent was explicit in sharing her views, which differed from the curriculum implemented in the Chitrakoot Pathshala. Nirmala supports her point of view with the following reasons. Firstly, parents would stop sending their children to the *pathshala* if teachings required them to refrain from eating potatoes, onions, or garlic. Secondly, regarding not eating after sunset, she said that children like to take meals with their fathers, who usually come back from office after sunset. Therefore, she considers it "impractical" to include such norms in religious education that are not in keeping with present-day family settings. She shapes the curricular content according to the changes from extended family systems to nuclear families in the suburbs. In extended families, the orthodox older generation did not allow the new generation to consume root vegetables and also restricted the culture of eating out. However, with the interplay of suburbanisation and middle-class values these old family practices have undergone changes because family units were

[234] Nirmala, Interview in Jaipur.

increasingly of the nuclear family sort. Nirmala, thus, aligns the curriculum to affirm rather than criticise her students' home-life, refraining from challenging parental authority.

The curriculum also omits the other two practices emblematic for Digambar Jains, practices central to the curriculum of the Chitrakoot Pathshala: daily *deva-darshan* and drinking water filtered through muslin cloth. Regarding the former, Nirmala asserted that it was practised in the Old Jaipur, where temples were within walking distance. Such norms cannot be made mandatory with morning school and the increasing distance from temples. Regarding image worship, Nirmala considers it sufficient for children to attend the Sunday Pathshalas for the *Deva-Shastra-Guru Puja*. Preferring weekly *puja* to daily *deva darshan* suggests two things: the importance of this one *puja* for the community and flexibility of coming to temple once in a week instead of seven days a week. While the first point relates to continuity, the second shows a change in practice.[235] Concerning the direction to "drink filtered water", Nirmala observed: "Almost every Jain household in Shyamnagar has a sophisticated water purification system called Reverse Osmosis." Nirmala implies that the child does not need to act because their parents have already done so.

In contrast to Nirmala, Bina provides a reason for teaching the drinking restriction. The Pathshala, according to Bina, should make children aware of their faith and establish cultural practices.[236] Children should know that they are required to drink filtered water, because unfiltered water contains microorganism, and "as Jains we maintain that it is violent (*himsa*) to drink unfiltered water."[237] Regarding the other dietary strictures, all the three teachers believe that children should be aware of traditional eating norms. They might not practice it on a regular basis, but they will be conscious in consuming them.

A final deliberate omission in the Shyamnagar curriculum merits attention. Nirmala notes: "We do not force children to take vows." According to her, "children resist going to monks and nuns because they enforce *tyaga* [vows]." One who accepts a vow promises or commits oneself to either not eating or not performing a certain action for a limited or unlimited period. At the end of the interview, Nirmala said, "We teach Jain values to children in an *easy way*. Our number of children has not gone down." By Jain values, she means Jain *sanskar,* including being vegetarian, non-alcoholic, no gambling, along with developing faith for *tirthankars*' teachings. Further a point to note here is that, in the middle of Hindi statements, she frequently uses one common English expression – "easy way". Interestingly,

[235] The performance of *puja* just once a week, on Sunday, is increasing among adults as well. This is another feature of suburbanisation of Indian urban society.
[236] Bina, Interview in Jaipur, February 21, 2016.
[237] Bina.

her “easy way” is to teach Jain traditions through worship, rituals, and games, without emphasising deep doctrines and strict dietary rules.

This departure from traditional Jainism, I argue, is due to the influence of laywomen curriculum development team. The Shyamnagar Pathshala teachers highlighted what they do not include in their teaching, indicating a shift in children’s religious education. The omission of books, memorisation, and strict food edicts comprise the most noteworthy changes. The pedagogy and curriculum depart from traditional teaching methods in favour of adapting to a new location. The teachers, representing the present generation of parents, in contrast with previous generations, choose to be more liberal in upholding religious and cultural values. Nirmala does not disregard the traditional practices, as she follows them in her own life. However, her flexible teaching approach indicates that she has adjusted her methods according to the rapid changes in the Digambar community. By staying flexible in her approach, Nirmala maintains a consistent pragmatic objective – to retain Shyamnagar children’s interest in religious education.

Here, Nirmala’s attitude and response diverges from that of Achla, the coordinator of Chitrakoot Pathshala. While Achla lamented about parental indifference and their attitude towards *pathshala*, Nirmala seems to have compromised the orthodox Digambar practices considering the popular practices prevalent amongst middle-class Jains. These differences might have also emerged due to different locations. We will further see where the two *pathshalas* converge and where they diverge.

Having reflected on the omissions in the Shyamnagar Pathshala curriculum, it is time to explore its content. According to the third teacher, Mrinal, “We give general knowledge about the Jain religion.” By general knowledge, the teacher clarified that they provide basic knowledge. This knowledge includes the study of the names of the twenty-four *tirthankars* (preceptors), their respective symbols, and the five *kalyanaks* (auspicious moments in the life of a *tirthankar*: conception, birth, renunciation, enlightenment, and liberation). I observed that children sat in rows and columns on a thick large mat spread on the floor and recited the names along with Mrinal. Most likely, after a few weeks of regular practices, children would retain these names in their memory without extra effort. Although my first impression was of rote learning, children did not have any homework or follow up of this process. In addition to verbal recitation, children ritually enact these auspicious events during festivals through temple ceremonies. They especially take part in Mahavir Jayanti (Mahavir’s birthday), as this

day is declared as a national holiday.[238] Children internalise religious information through these activities. Moreover, they perform a variety of Digambar *pujas* with their teachers in the temple. In sum, the main methods of instruction employed by the teachers are ritual practices, elaborate *puja*, stories, and games. Their teaching centres on *tirthankars* and rituals, enhancing children's relationship with the temple.

In my observation of children performing *puja* in the Shyamnagar Pathshala, I found their methods to be similar to those I had observed in the Chitrakoot Pathshala. Children were seated on a mat spread on the white marble floor of the first-floor hall facing the image of the twenty-third *tirthankar*. Identical *chowkis* (low tables) were aligned in a row so that children could place their *puja* plates on them. These metal plates contained the same eight types of dry ingredients that we saw in the Chitrakoot Pathshala. Instead of a ritual manual, each child held a folder, reciting prayers that went along with corresponding rituals. Children, both boys and girls, made their presence felt strongly by reciting loudly. Three laywomen teachers guided students in the *puja* and led them in reciting it. The *puja* continued for fifty minutes followed by the *aarti* ceremony. While the Chitrakoot Pathshala appoints a young Jain scholar for guiding children in *puja*, the Shyamnagar Pathshala teachers personally guide children. This is because there are three teachers in Shyamnagar who manage the teaching, while Achla is alone; therefore, on Sundays, when there is a larger participation, she calls for assistance. In both the *pathshalas*, girls and women are not permitted to annotate the *jina* image.

Occasionally boys are given the opportunity to perform the special ritual of bathing the *jina* image, guided by male members. In doing so, boys are dressed from top to bottom in clean saffron-yellow cotton cloth, called *dhoti*. Girls and women watch their fellow participants performing this ritual. Figure 8 depicts two young Shyamnagar Pathshala boys performing the rituals. As mentioned, the latest Digambar Jain temple in Shyamnagar is the only temple in Jaipur that breaks away from such norms.

[238] "Mahavir Jayanti | Indian Public Holidays | Office Holidays: India," accessed September 16, 2017, http://www.officeholidays.com/countries/india/mahavir_jayanti.php.

Figure 8. Two boys of Shyamnagar Pathshala perform the ritual of bathing the *jina* image.

Following the *aarti*, children gathered in the adjoining hall for games. Ritu, the youngest teacher, planned the weekly games, ensuring that the children gained religious knowledge. She invented the game of identifying *tirthankars'* symbols, also called *lanchans*. In this game, Ritu sat in the centre of a large circle with twenty-seven children seated around her. She had twenty-four small-pieces of paper folded in a basket. Each piece had the name of one symbol, associated with one *tirthankar*, written on it. For example, if a child received the piece of paper saying *lion*, then she had to make the connection with Mahavir. Following this activity, children participated in another similar game. This time, they had to identify the number associated with the name of the *tirthankar*. For instance, if a child received a paper with number *eight* that corresponded to Tirthankar Chandraprabha. These games indicate that children in the Shyamnagar Pathshala are being familiarised with Jain traditions without the burden of books or homework. These games further reveal that the topic of *tirthankar* is important for image-worshipping Jain traditions. Following the games, children receive gifts – stationery items – and occasionally they get a snack.

The above descriptions of ritual practice and games highlight that this school's chief teaching module focuses on instilling Jain values through first-hand experience instead of teaching Jain doctrines. The emphasis on experience supports my claim that one of the main

objectives of Digambar *pathshalas* is to connect Digambar Jain children with their temples. Through temples, Jains seek to build the foundation of a distinct Jain identity.

However, the fostering of a Jain identity does not imply that children are familiar with the virtues that are embodied in what they recite. Nirmala conveyed to me that each verse the children recite has a symbolic meaning apart from reverence to a *tirthankar*, but the children with whom I interacted had no idea what these symbolic meanings were. Nirmala remarked that teaching the underlying meaning of the *pujas* was not their objective; instead, their aim was to bring children together to the temple. Accordingly, I observed that in this temple-run *pathshala*, children are playful and sociable; they express curiosity and emulate the actions of older children and of their teachers. Their weekly exposure to temple culture is cementing their bonding with community members and the temple, while ensuring they learn about Digambar Jain traditions. Parents appear to be content that their children are learning a variety of Digambar *pujas*. When these children occasionally visit monks and nuns, despite the high expectations held by renunciants, the monks are satisfied that the children are torchbearers of the Jain tradition.

With the example of the Shyamnagar Pathshala, the context of suburbanisation stands out. Suburbanisation helps explain the influences of middle-class values and upward mobility in shaping children's religious education within the Digambar tradition. Both the threads of continuity and innovation are inferred in the examples that I have discussed above. The strategy of training children in rituals rather than focusing on doctrines reveals the drive to continue the tradition of ritual practices. In the Shyamnagar Pathshala, the most notable change has been the weekly *Deva-Shastra-Guru Puja* instead of daily *deva darshan* for children. In addition to ritual worship, female leadership in devising the curriculum and its execution without any male intervention is distinctive. These women are cognisant of both fast food and the emerging middle-class culture of dining out. That is why they have shaped their curriculum accordingly by not emphasising traditional dietary practices. A further key change is that, children, instead of memorising lists of names or *tattvas* at home, learn them in class through games.

Despite such contemporary outlook, the Shyamnagar Pathshala, like the Chitrakoot Pathshala, is struggling to increase participants. Even though it is difficult to measure what dominates – continuity or innovation, both the *pathshalas* are content in their contribution towards the continuity of the Jain tradition.

Conclusion

Perhaps the most important conclusion to be drawn from the accounts of two contemporary Digambar *pathshalas* in Jaipur is their emphasis on ritual practices. I have shown that the *pathshalas* vary in their locations, founders, and emphasis on values, yet both emphasise the ritual of *Deva-Shastra-Guru Puja*. This ritual serves as a significant element of continuity and one that binds the Digambar Jain community. To a significant extent, both the religious schools interact with rituals and devotion with a deliberate stress on developing a connection with the temple.

Another similarity worth noting is that the contemporary *pathshalas* I have examined focus on applying religion to the child's daily life, in contrast to traditional *pathshalas* where the focus was on preserving scriptures unchanged, through memorisation in the original languages. Children were not taught religion in detail; emphasis was on memorisation and strengthening faith. In today's *pathshalas,* teachers stress understanding religion while considering development of faith as an equally significant need. In these *pathshalas*, children recite some words and stanzas in Sanskrit, a language that they do not understand, but most of the instruction is in Hindi.

Despite the two similarities, it is clear that in both schools, informants have different views regarding the meaning they ascribe to aspects of religious education for children. Firstly, their differences reflect the cultural diversity of their hosting suburbs. For instance, the Chitrakoot Pathshala, expressing the Digambars' long presence in Sanganer, reflects some neo-traditional features such as a daily-cum-weekly *pathshala* and a strict advocacy of dietary practices. Conversely, the Shyamnagar Pathshala (in a relatively new suburb with a substantial Jain population) has departed from these two traditional practices by holding only a weekly *pathshala* and presenting flexibility in dietary observances. These differences in the two *pathshalas* also stem from the contrast in the architects of the two curricula: in the Chitrakoot Pathshala, monks and lay leaders have developed the curriculum, while in the Shyamnagar Pathshala, laywomen have devised the course of study.

My analysis of two contemporary Digambar Jain *pathshalas* in Jaipur suggests that the structure and location of authority in Jainism is moving towards gender equality. Because laypeople, especially laywomen, are doing the actual teaching at *pathshalas,* it gives them an authority and an influence in shaping the tradition that they have not had before. Laywomen teachers, by taking on religious roles and merging their interests with the community, seem to have made their new position of authority acceptable and respectable, transcending their

traditional "secondary status." This departure from traditional women's roles implies that middle-class Jains are aspiring to more egalitarian gender relations within the lay community.

An aspect that was perhaps too obvious to mention explicitly, but is inferred from my interviews and participant observation, is that only a minority of community people are showing interest in *pathshala* education. Whether I was attending a discourse with monks and nuns, or was interviewing lay leaders, or was even watching the television serialisation of Digambar *pathshala* education, everywhere there was a clarion call for parents to take *pathshala* education seriously and make efforts to send their children.

In this chapter, I have examined two contemporary Digambar *pathshalas* in Jaipur and their curricula. These *pathshalas* have responded to the challenges arising from the suburbanisation of Jaipur and the related disruptions that have affected the Digambar Jain community. Together these *pathshalas* comprise my first case study, providing evidence of important shifts in children's religious education that are effecting a transformation of the Jain tradition. I will further explore the shift in children's religious education amongst the non-image-worshipping Shvetambar tradition – the Terapanth tradition, in the next two chapters.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Shvetambar Terapanth Gyanshala: Responding to Regional Migration

> If migration issues are not addressed, then I am afraid that our children will drift away from the faith. We have assumed that religion will continue through generations, like it has done in the past... It is necessary to focus our attention on children. Our religious discourses should reorient from a *better next life* to a *better present life*.[239]

Introduction

Chapters two and three began with the first part of this thesis's migration narrative. I demonstrated that the suburbanisation of Jaipur city was an influential factor in the reformation of children's religious education in the Digambar Jain tradition of Jaipur. Chapters four and five present the second part of the migration narrative in which I examine the regional migration of Terapanthis, followers of the Jain Shvetambar Terapanth tradition. More specifically, I argue in chapter four that the pan-Indian migration of Terapanthis from Rajasthan has driven the formation of Gyanshalas, children's religious schools in this tradition. I examine the Terapanthi migration patterns to explain their influences on the formation of Gyanshala education. In the next chapter, I will analyse the contemporary Gyanshala curriculum to show the interplay of migration and middle-class values, resulting in continuity and innovation in shaping children's religious education. Together, the two chapters present my second case study, providing further evidence of a shift in children's religious education in the Jain tradition.[240]

Examination of the Shvetambar Terapanthi Gyanshalas is pertinent to my study for several reasons. Most importantly, fundamental differences between image-worshipping and non-image-worshipping traditions offer opportunities to delve deeper into the shift in religious education. While the previous case study of Digambar Jains enabled an understanding of children's religious education in one of the oldest and largest Jain groups in Jaipur, a study of the Terapanth tradition will provide further insights into a relatively new and smaller group in the same city. By providing a standardised children's religious

[239] Acharya Tulsi's words from his 1988 iconic speech in Rajaldesar, a small town in Rajasthan, as my informant, Padam Patawari, reported. Patawari is one of the dedicated *sravak* (layman) to whom Acharya Tulsi gave the responsibility of developing the Gyanshala project.

[240] From its inception until after independence, the Shvetambar Terapanth was largely a mendicant community, with a lay community attached to it. The historical differences between Shvetambar Terapanthis and Digambars lead to very different ritual and intellectual cultures.

education to its adherents, both groups aim to impart Jain *sanskar*, but the Terapanthis also seek to use this education to unite their widely dispersed community.

My Terapanthi respondents made many specific references to migration from rural regions of Rajasthan to urban centres across India, in relation to Gyanshala education. Their accounts emphasised the centrality of migration and its role in devising a contemporary pedagogical method for teaching their children the tenets of Jainism, as well as cultivating the Terapanth culture. Similar to the Digambars, Terapanthi families that had previously resided in prominent Jain localities, but were now living in mixed religious communities, primarily in Hindu-dominated regions. As a result, Shvetambar Terapanthi adherents of the non-image-worshipping tradition started going to Hindu and Jain temples.[241] This intermingling blurred the already complex Hindu-Jain identity among the Terapanthis and threatened their religious expression. Of other concerns, my participants especially lamented that Terapanthi children were disconnected with mendicant orders, which led to abrogation of Jain *sanskar* particularly dietary practices. Today, the community perceives Gyanshala schools as serving an important function of addressing several issues of relocation such as the continuity of the tradition, the transmitting of religious values and culture, and the fostering of identity and dietary habits. This indicates that children have become the focus of Shvetambar Terapanthis' efforts to address the concerns emerging from relocation.

Another goal of Terapanthi leaders has been to identify children who have the potential to become future mendicants. I argue that Acharya Tulsi (1914–1997), the ninth Terapanth religious head and a proponent of child initiation, conceived a new form of religious education to grow his mendicant order. Acharya Tulsi believed that if children were introduced to Jain values at a young age, they would retain them for life. At the same time, there could be the possibility of sprouting a seed of renunciation in at least one of the many children. I show that Gyanshala schools play a part in attracting children for *bal diksha* (child-initiation).

I proceed with the above arguments in four main sections. In the first section, I sketch my field site, Bhikshu Sadhna Kendra in Jaipur, and then introduce the Jain Shvetambar Terapanth tradition. I show how Terapanth differs from its Sthanakvasi predecessors, and further highlight how Shvetambar Terapanth varies from the image-worshipping Digambar tradition. In the second section, I present a composite historical account of each Terapanthi regional migration pattern, as shared by my interviewees who provided detailed narratives of

[241] Prema, Interview in Jaipur, September 9, 2015.

the reorganisation undertaken to address the demands of the new social environments. In the third section, I consider the impact of migration on the monastic and the lay communities, both in their hometowns and their new locations, ultimately leading to the establishment of Gyanshalas. In the last section, I outline aspects of the early years of Gyanshala education, which attempted to respond to issues arising from regional migration. I assert that the investment of time and resources into modernising education was in direct response to a middle-class culture, taking root amongst urbanised Terapanthis.

These four sections set the context for the subject of my next chapter, in which I will analyse the continuities and innovations in contemporary Gyanshala curriculum in response to a new urban modern educational environment. To support my claims, I examine the Gyanshala in depth within the parameters of case study method. I draw from twenty structured interviews with Shvetambar Terapanthis in Jaipur, New Delhi, Ahmedabad, Kolkata, Gulabbagh, and Ladnun.

Section I: The Jain Shvetambar Terapanth Tradition[242]

This section briefly introduces the Shvetambar Terapanth tradition. Substantial scholarly literature exists about the tradition; therefore, I limit myself to an outline of the key features in providing a clear overview of the Terapanth order and its philosophy.[243] This overview helps to discern how the non-image-worshipping Shvetambar Terapanth tradition differs from the previous case study of the image-worshipping Digambar tradition. Using the scholarly literature and my own field research, I emphasise the central role of the *acharya* (spiritual teacher; head monk) in the tradition and the influence of his leadership on children's religious education. I begin by describing my field site in Jaipur.

Field Site: The Terapanth Community Centre, Bhikshu Sadhna Kendra, Jaipur

I first met two groups of the Shvetambar Terapanthi *sadhvis*, twelve in total, at Bhikshu Sadhna Kendra (BSK) in Shyamnagar. BKS is one of the three Terapanth community centres in Jaipur.[244] At this centre, the nuns were stationed for *chaturmas* (four months of monsoon

[242] On the history of the Shvetambar Terapanth, see the writings of Peter Flügel at https://www.soas.ac.uk/staff/staff30946.php.
[243] Andrea Jain, in her dissertation, provides a brief history of the Terapanth from its eighteenth-century founder Bhikshu to its tenth monastic leader Acharya Mahapragya (1917–2010). Andrea R Jain, "Health, Well-Being, and the Ascetic Ideal: Modern Yoga in the Jain Terapanth" (Doctoral thesis, Rice University, 2010).
[244] Milap Bhavan, built in 1930, is the oldest Terapanth community centre in the Old City of Jaipur, and the most recent, Anuvibha, is built in 2004 in a suburb called Malviya Nagar. All the three centres in Jaipur host *chaturmas*.

retreat) from 30 July to 25 November 2015. I wanted to get started with my fieldwork and sought to familiarise the *sadhvis* with my research. I knew from the preliminary research that BSK was a key centre of the Terapanth activities in Jaipur, and I would visit this centre frequently during my fieldwork. I began my acquaintance with the place and the nuns, who ranged in age from 25 to 83 years. I interacted most closely with two nuns, namely, 27-year-old Disha Prabha and 48-year-old Maitri Prabha. I interviewed only Maitri Prabha, who was especially interested in Gyanshala education. I often observed her interacting with children and sometimes teaching them from her knowledge and experience.

BSK was built in 2001 in response to the increasing needs of the growing Terapanthi population in Jaipur. It hosts *chaturmas* and facilitates Terapanth religious and cultural activities. It also provides accommodation for laypeople, who come from outside of Jaipur to visit monks and nuns. BSK lacks the elements of architectural beauty and cultural heritage, a hallmark of Jain temples. But just as there are *shastra bhandars* in Jain temples, similarly, in Terapanth community centres, there are cupboards filled with books on religion, philosophy, especially the Jain-cum-Terapanth literature. Sadhvi Disha Prabha showed me the small library comprising three built-in cupboards for storing Jain scriptures and publications by Terapanthi mendicants and several other authors. She informed me that monks, nuns, and laypeople, particularly Gyanshala teachers, utilise the library for reference.

BSK is a simply constructed building, of two floors, that includes large halls for sermons, meetings, and for accommodating huge gatherings during Jain festivals, and also a basement for yoga and meditation. BSK is also rented out to host mundane activities, especially during the post-*chaturmas* period. The income generated is used for maintaining the building. From outside, BSK appears to be a modest construction. However, it includes an elevator, multiple air-conditioners, and a modern office for administration. On the wall of the main hall are portraits of Mahavir, the twenty-fourth *tirthankar*, the lineage of the eleven Terapanthi *acharyas*, and a photo of the current head nun known as Sadhvi Pramukha, all neatly positioned in a single row. Clearly, there is no image of the protecting deities or any form of material that symbolises *dravya puja* (worship with material offerings), which distinguishes Terapanthis from other image-worshipping Jain traditions. The centre lacks any objects that could either attract children or keep them occupied for a long time. Even so, BSK serves as an important centre for imparting religious education to children through its Gyanshala and several socio-cultural activities.

Having gained an understanding of the field site and having familiarised myself with key Terapanthi respondents, I set about understanding the origins of the Terapanth tradition,

their views on non-image-worshipping, and situating Gyanshala in contemporary Jain religious education. Sadhvi Disha Prabha gave me a book entitled, *An Introduction to Terapanth*, written in English by one of the Terapanthi nuns.[245] This book provided useful information about the origins of the tradition, but for the purpose of empirical research, I had to move beyond the small group of nuns and the immediate community members to what George Marcus calls "multi-sited ethnography."[246] My examination of the Gyanshala engaged me closely with the Shvetambar Terapanthi community, which is dispersed throughout India.

The Jain Shvetambar Terapanth

The Jain Shvetambar Terapanth is a reformist movement founded by Acharya Bhikshu (1726–1803) in 1760 CE in the town of Kelwa, Rajasthan.[247] Terapanth emerged from the non-image-worshipping Shvetambar Sthanakvasi tradition. Acharya Bhikshu separated from his guru due to a controversy concerning laxity regarding the practice and precepts among the Sthanakvasi monks of the times.[248] He formed a new congregation with four other monks, which grew to 49 monks and 56 nuns in his lifetime. In 2016, this total of 105 mendicants increased to 173 monks, 550 nuns, one saman, and 74 samanis.[249] The current and eleventh monastic head is Acharya Mahashraman, and the current and eighth *sadhvi* head is Sadhvi Pramukha Kanak Prabha. Altogether, the Terapanth now comprises 798 ascetics and novices, with 350,000 to 400,000 lay followers' spread throughout India, plus a small percentage abroad. The demography reveals that the Shvetambar Terapanth represents less than 10% of

[245] Sadhvi Vishrutavibha, *An Introduction to Terapanth*, ed. Muni Mahendra Kumar (Ladnun: Jain Vishva Bharati Ladnun, 2007).
[246] George E. Marcus, "Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (October 1995): 95–117.
[247] For a study of the Terapanth history, in Hindi, written by a late Terapanthi muni, see Muni Budhmal, *Terapanth Ka Itihas*, ed. Muni Sumermal and Muni Mohanlal, Seventh, vol. 1 (Kolkata: Jain Shvetambar Terapanthi Mahasabha, 1990).
[248] Acharya is a teacher and the leader of the monastic community.
See Vishrutavibha, *An Introduction to Terapanth*. For more references, see Arun Kumar Jain, *Faith & Philosophy of Jainism*, (Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2009), 145–47. For more on Terapanth, see Smita Kothari, "Dāna and Dhyāna in Jaina Yoga: A Case Study of Prekṣādhyāna and the Terāpanth" (Doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 2013). Peter Flügel, "Terapanth Svetambara Jain Tradition," in *Religions of the World: A Comprehensive Encyclopedia of Beliefs and Practices*, ed. J. Gordon Melton and Martin Baumann, vol. VI (ABC-CLIO, 2002), 2834–36.
[249] 'Paawas Prawas' (Jain Shvetambar Terapanth Mahasabha, 2016).
In 1980 Acharya Tulsi established this new order together with his Yuvacharya Mahapragya. Samans and Samanis follow the lifestyle of Jain monks and nuns with two exceptions: they are granted permission to use means of transportation and can take food prepared for them. They give lectures and conduct meditation camps wherever they are. "Samani," HereNow4u: Portal on Jainism and next level consciousness, accessed September 25, 2016, http://www.herenow4u.net/index.php?id=73570.

the total Jain population (4.45 million) in India.[250] Although small in numbers, Peter Flügel notes that the Terapanth had the highest growth rate of all Shvetambar Jain orders between 1987 and 1999.[251]

One of the necessary reforms that Acharya Bhikshu undertook to prevent laxity in the monastic community was the establishment of a "total monastic authority of a single *acharya*."[252] Flügel notes that this authority manifests in the centralised system of administration, introduced by the founder and refined by the fourth Acharya Jitmal (1803–1881). This authority is further emphasised through one of their foremost slogans: *What Is the Terapanth Identity? Single Guru and Single Constitution.*[253] This slogan expresses how the Terapanth tradition has set itself apart from other Jain traditions, seeking to foster identity among a nascent and a largely dispersed Terapanthi community. This effort to foster identity has also formed the impetus of the Gyanshala project.

The Terapanth philosophy is centred on the prime Jain principle of *ahimsa* (non-violence). Disagreement about the true interpretation of *ahimsa* has led to sectarian divisions and disputes within Jainism.[254] The Terapanth sect is no exception regarding these disputes. Acharya Bhikshu, for instance, interpreted ahimsa as "not about compassionate concern for living beings, but… about the purification of [the] soul in its quest towards release from the body."[255] The tradition presents Bhikshu's position on *ahimsa* through the classic and most commonly cited example of "a cat chasing a rat." Bhikshu argued that it is not *ahimsa* to hurt one and protect another: "If the cat is starved and the rat is saved, this only shifts the misfortune."[256] Furthermore, he emphasised the importance of a "transformation of heart" instead of a temporary relief from violence.[257] Likewise, Smita Kothari asserts that the Terapanthis differ from other Jains, because they do not approve of *pinjrapoles* (animal

[250] According to 2011 census of India. 'Census of India: Population Register', accessed 30 August 2016, http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011Common/PopulationRegister.html?drpQuick=&drpQuickSelect=&q=Religion+distribution.
[251] Flügel, "Demographic Trends in Jaina Monasticism," 337.
[252] Jain, "Health, Well-Being, and the Ascetic Ideal," 45.
[253] Muni Sumermal and Muni Udit, eds., *Shishu Sanskar Bodh*, vol. 1 (Kolkata: Jain Shvetambar Terapanthi Mahasabha, 2013), 22.
[254] Vallely, "Jainism," 326.
[255] Jain, "Health, Well-Being, and the Ascetic Ideal," 41.
[256] Jain, 41.
[257] For example, the tradition maintains that someone asked Acharya Bhikshu: "There is a child killing ants with a stone. He cannot distinguish between violence and nonviolence. A person comes and tells him not to kill ants, but it has no effect on the child. Then he snatches the stone from the child's hand. What did it achieve?" Acharya Bhikshu said: "Nothing. At first the stone was in the child's hand and then it came to be in the possession of the man. It would have been a religious activity only if the child's heart had undergone transformation and as a result of it he had given up violence." Yuvacharya Mahapragya, *Acharya Bhikshu - A Revolutionary Visionary*, trans. A. L. Shah (Ladnun: Jain Vishwa Bharati, 1994).

shelters),[258] established by Jains.[259] Unlike other Jain traditions, Terapanthis hold a contrasting viewpoint regarding *jivadaya* (protection of life). This is because their founder, Acharya Bhikshu, considered that "ultimately both bad karma (*paap*) and good karma (*punya*) obstructs the liberation of soul."[260] This brings us back to Acharya Bhikshu's view that protection of life is not *ahimsa*.

Having explained the founder's views on protecting life, I now clarify Acharya Bhikshu's views on non-image-worshipping. My Terapanthi informants maintain that *murti* (image or idol) lacks consciousness. Therefore, they worship qualities manifested in consciousness: *gyana* (knowledge) *darshan* (philosophy), and *charitra* (conduct). Unlike the performance of external worship through *dravya puja* (physical offerings) to *jina*, Terapanthis, both mendicants and lay, perform internal meditative worship. While I was inquiring about the Terapanth view, one nun handed me a book of poems composed by the late Sadhvi Phulkumari (1933-2015). The nun expresses her emotions concerning the Terapanth's views on the futility of image-worshipping. Following is one translated stanza from the poem titled, *You are Enlightened*:

> How can I offer you flowers that will die tomorrow?
> Even the flowers are not pure, as honeybees have tasted them.
> Instead I decorate your feet by offering one hundred bows in the form of flowers.[261]

Such examples abound in Terapanth literature, whereby through metaphors the standpoint of non-image-worshipping is explained. The implication of this view is clearly seen in different practices. For instance, for the Terapanth tradition that rejects image-worshipping, *guru darshan* has become the most important practice; whereas, we saw that in the image-worshipping Digambar *pathshalas*, *deva darshan* is the core of religious and devotional expression. Moreover, because temples do not align with the Terapanthi views for internal worship and interaction with the monastic community, Terapanthis have established Terapanth community centres. While the Digambars have built Jain temples for the continuity of their heritage and ritual practices, Terapanthis have built community centres for their social, cultural, and religious purposes.

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[258] The charity bird hospital run by Jains in old Delhi treats 15,000 birds a year. There are also *Gaushala* (cow shelter) run by Jains. For Jain bird hospital see Steven R. Weisman, "In Old Delhi: A Hospital for Fighting Nightingales," *The New York Times*, April 4, 1986, sec. World, http://www.nytimes.com/1986/04/04/world/in-old-dehli-a-hospital-for-fighting-nightingales.html.
[259] Kothari, "Dāna and Dhyāna in Jaina Yoga: A Case Study of Prekṣādhyāna and the Terāpanth," 160.
[260] Flügel, "Terapanth Svetambara Jain Tradition," 1266.
[261] Sadhvi Phulkumari, *Phulon Ka Parag* (New Delhi: Adarsh Sahitya Sangh, 2014), 11.

The Shvetambar Terapanth further maintains its distinctiveness by grouping its key initiatives under two distinct categories: social and religious. These categories are derived from the intellectual foundations of Acharya Tulsi. The social ventures, aimed at maximum outreach, include the Anuvrat Movement (1949), Preksha Meditation (1975) and the establishment of the first Jain University, the Jain Vishva Bharati Institute (1990) in Ladnun (a small town in Rajasthan).[262] All three initiatives attempted to extend beyond the Terapanth, to influence Jains and non-Jains alike. These initiatives were controversial, although they demonstrated Acharya Tulsi's determination to transcend traditional Jainism.[263] The two main projects under the religious rubric were targeted at the Terapanth lay community. The *upasak* (lay devotee) project was instigated for the religious education of adult laity and the Gyanshala education was developed for children and youth. The Gyanshala curriculum draws material from both social and religious projects rebranded in the form of children's religious education. Flügel notes that a unique feature of the Terapanth sect is that "all social duties are not spiritual."[264]

Gyanshala education met a widespread need. One of my respondents, a *samani*, said: "Out of various projects initiated by the *acharya*, 'the Gyanshala' (1992) project stands out as the only project that did not receive criticism or generate controversy."[265] This remark proves that the Terapanth lay leaders strongly believed this new form of education would impart both religious and cultural values to children in their new environments. I will show that today's Gyanshalas serve as a vehicle for reconstructing a Terapanthi identity, in fact, a complicated combination of several identities that I discuss below.

The Terapanthi Jains have been negotiating different identities. Most Terapanthis belong to the Osval caste,[266] originating from four regions of Rajasthan – Mewar, Marwar, Bikaner, and Jaipur – who then migrated all over India. They can also belong to the ethnic

[262] Readers interested to know more about various Terapanth projects and initiatives, see Komal Bohra, 'The Transformations and Challenges of a Jain Religious Aspirant from Layperson to Ascetic: An Anthropological Study of Shvetambar Terapanthi Female Mumukshus' (Florida International University, 2016). Kothari, "Dāna and Dhyāna in Jaina Yoga: A Case Study of Prekṣādhyāna and the Terāpanth." Shivani Bothra, 'The Anuvrat Movement: Theory and Practice' (Florida International University, 2013). Jain, "Health, Well-Being, and the Ascetic Ideal." Flügel, 'Terapanth Svetambara Jain Tradition', 2835.

[263] Andrea Jain notes in her Ph.D. thesis that Tulsi acknowledged his innovations as "changed with the times," and his initiatives generated controversies within Terapanth. Jain, "Health, Well-Being, and the Ascetic Ideal," 74.

[264] Flügel, "Terapanth Svetambara Jain Tradition," 402.

[265] Samani, Interview in Ladnun, March 17, 2016.

[266] Modern Jain Scholars have discussed the origin of *osval* caste, its divisions and sub-divisions in detail. See Sangave, *Jaina Community*. Articles in Carrithers and Humphrey, *The Assembly of Listeners*. Lawrence A. Babb, *Understanding Jainism* (Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press Ltd., 2015). Also see Lawrence A. Babb, *Alchemies of Violence* (SAGE Publications India, 2004).

group "Marwari," although they only become Marwaris when they leave Rajasthan.[267] Traditionally Marwari is a trading community, maintaining family businesses passed down from generation to generation.[268] However, with the popularity of modern education, the progressives among the younger generation of Terapanthis today are seeking professional occupations instead of being in family businesses. Therefore, caste-wise most Terapanthis are Osval; region-wise they are Rajasthani; as a migrant community they belong to the ethnic group Marwari; and finally, religion-wise they are Jain and Terapanthi.[269] In this chapter, my focus is on the religious identity "Terapanthi," an identity applied to the followers of the Jain Shvetambar Terapanth tradition. Therefore, I use Terapanthi instead of the broader categories of "Rajasthani," "Osval," and "Marwari."[270]

The Shvetambar Terapanth tradition sets itself apart by maintaining the central authority of the *acharya's* seat. This position of the *acharya* is one of the many key differences between the previously discussed Digambar tradition and the Shvetambar Terapanth. An equally important difference is the Terapanthi identity, which has been shaped and dominated by several frames of identities that I have discussed above. Because these differences significantly reflect in the curricular material prepared for children, it is important for this thesis to consider both streams in analysing children's religious education in Jain traditions.

Section II: Shvetambar Terapanth Regional Migration *vis-á-vis* Identity

This section considers Terapanthi migration to contextualise my case study. Migration and identity featured prominently in my interviews with the Terapanthis. Although many conversations explicitly addressed the diminishing of Jain-cum-Terapanth values, they referred only implicitly to the resultant weakening of identity. I have integrated these themes in the following discussion. First I begin with a brief overview of some scholarly representations of general regional migration patterns observed in India.

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[267] Anne Hardgrove, *Community and Public Culture: The Marwaris in Calcutta, 1897-1997*, 2007, 7.
[268] Thomas Timberg has written extensively about Marwari entrepreneurs who migrated from Rajasthan and spread across North Eastern and Central India. Thomas A. Timberg, *The Marwaris: From Jagat Seth to the Birlas*, ed. Gurcharan Das (New Delhi: Penguin Books Limited, 2014), xiii.
[269] The Marwari tag comes with several negative connotations. See Anne Elizabeth Hardgrove, "Community as Public Culture in Modern India: The Marwaris in Calcutta c. 1897-1997" (University of Michigan, 1999).
[270] Flügel, in his article, adopts "Marwari Terapanthi" and "Calcutta Terapanthi" to refer to Terapanthis. He notes: Some Terapanthis object to such broad categories. In fact, a few also explained to me "those Terapanthis who originate specifically from Marwar are Marwari Terapanthi." Flügel's article was written two decades ago; maybe such strong identity criteria did not concern Terapanthis then. Peter Flügel, "The Ritual Circle of the Terāpanth Śvetāmbara Jains," *Bulletin D' Études Indiennes*, no. 13 (1996): 147–48.

In India, regional migration is more apparent than international migration in terms of the numbers of people involved and possibly even the volume of remittances.[271] Within regional migration, rural-urban migration exceeds urban-urban migration.[272] Much has been written about internal migration patterns and trends in India concerning migration of women,[273] labour migration,[274] temporary migration,[275] and seasonal migration.[276] All these trends indicate the significance of rural-urban migration. Most of the literature shows the impact of migration on economics, politics, population, employment, and poverty.[277] However, not much has been written about the cultural implications when a religious community migrates. This section partially fills the gap. The Shvetambar Terapanthi regional migration is an example of both rural to urban and urban to urban movements.

The Terapanthi migration occurred in three distinct waves. The first wave began in the early nineteenth century, with movement from the arid rural regions of what now constitutes Rajasthan to the fertile and humid regions of Assam, Bihar, and West-Bengal.[278] The predominant reason for this outflow was to seek a better livelihood. Men, for the most part, migrated voluntarily and temporarily, returning home to Rajasthan once every two years.[279] A typical reason for the choice of destination was given by one of my Terapanthi lay respondents in Jaipur, Vimal, whose grandfather migrated to Bihar as a cloth merchant, approximately hundred years ago. He said: "Assam and Bihar were considered backward or less progressive, this allowed higher profits."[280] In this first wave of migration, questions of cultural identity did not surface, since the aim was not to settle permanently in host regions.

The second significant wave of migration came in post-independence era of the1950s.

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[271] Priya Deshingkar, "Circular Internal Migration and Development in India," *Overseas Development Institute, London.*, 2008, 163.
[272] Recent migration data from 64th round NSSO (2007-08) and Census 2011 reveals that among migrants in the urban areas, 59 percent migrated from rural areas and 40 percent from urban areas. Sangita Kumari, "Rural-Urban Migration in India: Determinants and Factors," *International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* 3, no. 2 (March 2014): 161.
[273] N. Mukherjee, "Migrant Women from West Bengal – Livelihoods, Vulnerability, Ill-Being and Well-Being: Some Perspectives from the Field" (Development Tracks in Research, Training Consultancy New Delhi, 2004).
[274] A. Karan, "Changing Patterns of Migration from Rural Bihar," in *Migrant Labour and Human Rights in India*, ed. G. Iyer (New Delhi: Kanishka, 2003), 102–39.
[275] S. Khandelwal, "Study on Temporary Migration in Ghattu Mandal" (Hyderabad: SERP, 2002).
[276] D. Mosse et al., "Seasonal Labour Migration in Tribal (Bhil) Western India," Report to DFID-India, Working Paper (Center for Development Studies University of Wales, Swansea, 1997).
[277] For details see Ravi Srivastava and S.K. Sasikumar, "An Overview of Migration in India, Its Impacts and Key Issues" (Regional Conference on Migration, Development and Pro-Poor Policy Choices in Asia, Dhaka: Department for International Development, 2003).
[278] The 1891 census reported 4877 migrants from Rajputana to Assam. It is known that "the Marwaris played an important role in opening up Assam to trade." For details see Myron Weiner, *Sons of the Soil: Migration and Ethnic Conflict in India* (Princeton University Press, 2015), 103.
[279] According to the 1961 census, the gender ratio of migrants from Rajasthan was 360 females to 1000 males, suggesting that most migrants were not permanent settlers. Details see Weiner, 103.
[280] Vimal, Interview in Jaipur, November 30, 2015.

By this time, the business capital of India had shifted from Calcutta to Bombay (Mumbai). Subsequently, Terapanthi entrepreneurship explored new geographic regions, going as far as south India, while maintaining trading as its primary calling. A distinguishing aspect of this migration was that men moved with their wives and children.[281] One motivation for this migration pattern was the educational opportunities in cities, particularly for girls.[282] During this second wave of migration, Terapanthis maintained regular contact with their community by visiting their hometowns periodically. However, this migration started to affect children's religious education, which was practically achieved in the confines of the family through regular contact with mendicants.[283] Nonetheless, the pursuit of modern educational opportunities for girls indicates that the shift to middle-class values may have been happening as Terapanthis migrated to urban regions.

In contrast, the third wave of migration was largely urban to urban and came towards the end of the twentieth century. This movement was closely related to emerging middle-class culture and to urban growth.[284] However, at the end of the twentieth century several anti-Marwari movements and agitations in Assam, Bihar, and Orissa caused a turning point in this migration.[285] Of these three Indian states, Assam witnessed one of the most violent anti-Marwari movements, and a considerable number of traders left Assam during the 1990s.[286] In his migration narrative Vimal commented: "As a result of the 1990s unrest, Terapanthis also explored newly developing cities in India such as Jaipur, Hyderabad, Surat, Nagpur, and Indore, or migrated outside the country."[287] Jaipur became a popular destination for Terapanthis either for investment purposes or for settlement, and Vimal himself migrated to Jaipur in 1995 after living in Bihar for 52 years.[288] However, in spite of the unrest, the number of Terapanthi families in the old destinations of Bengal, Bihar, and Assam has still remained high.

The last migration pattern marked a turning point and a new beginning for Jaipur, the capital of Rajasthan, and the location of my fieldwork. In the past two decades, the

[281] Ranu Jain gives the example of an eighty-year-old man who brought his wife to Calcutta from Sardarshahar in the early1950s.
[282] In her study, Hardgrove notes that the Modern High School for Girls was established in Calcutta in 1952 where a balanced education, combining Indian and Western cultures could be imparted through the English medium. Hardgrove, *Community and Public Culture*, 181–246.
[283] Padam Patawari, Interview in Jaipur, February 9, 2016.
[284] Weiner, *Sons of the Soil*, 63.
[285] Hardgrove, *Community and Public Culture*, 173.
[286] Chandan Kumar Sharma, "The Immigration Issue in Assam and Conflicts Around It," *Asian Ethnicity* 13, no. 3 (April 18, 2012): 287–309, https://doi.org/10.1080/14631369.2012.676235.
[287] Vimal, Interview in Jaipur.
[288] Vimal.

Terapanthi population in Jaipur has increased sharply. The Terapanth Jaipur directory (2017) lists 1,600 families, and there are now approximately 8,000 Terapanthi Jains spread throughout Old and New Jaipur. Most of these people migrated from outside the state of Rajasthan and some from small towns in Rajasthan. Whether from Rajasthan or outside, the majority of Terapanthis preferred to settle outside the walled city in the Jaipur metropolitan area. While my Digambar Jain respondents were a mix of people from the Old City and those who moved to the suburbs, my Terapanthi respondents were mainly those who migrated to Jaipur from different parts of India.

The popularity of Jaipur as a destination calls for a fuller explanation. Ram, a businessman, who moved from Calcutta (Kolkata) to Jaipur in 1992, recalled:

> Due to the anti-Marwari movements it was not safe to live in Bihar, Assam, or Bengal. So I decided to move with my family to Jaipur. My original hometown is 200 km from Jaipur, Rajaldesar in Rajasthan, but there are no business opportunities there. No one will ask us to leave Rajasthan; it is safe for us and Jaipur now offers several business opportunities in gemstones, jewellery, cloth, and printing areas.[289]

Having spent decades as migrants, both, Vimal from Bihar, and Ram from West-Bengal, have returned to Rajasthan. However, instead of going back to their rural hometowns, they have settled in Jaipur. Ram feared that if he ventured into any other region, similar riots might force him to relocate.

Jaipur now comprises a large proportion of Terapanthi reverse migration. Apart from the security of being in Rajasthan, there were several other considerations for this renewed interest in Jaipur. For Terapanthis, Jaipur is close to their hometowns, and the official Terapanth headquarter[290] is in Ladnun, which succeeded Sardarshahar in 2013. Jaipur receives a continuous flow of monks and nuns.[291] The official language is Hindi; thus, there is no pressure to learn a local regional language. The Jaipur situation differs from other migratory destinations in the key respect that Terapanthis are not only surrounded by a non-Jain population, but also by non-Terapanthi Jains. This difference alters the dynamics of identity maintenance and the perceived threat to identity. Examining Terapanthis in Jaipur provides me with an opportunity to continue my fieldwork in Jaipur, while also understanding whether reverse migration influences children's religious education when compared with a long Digambar presence.

[289] Ram, Interview in Jaipur, January 11, 2016.
[290] Jain, "Health, Well-Being, and the Ascetic Ideal," 68.
[291] For example, during my seven months of fieldwork, I met six groups of Terapanthi nuns in Jaipur, thirty in total, three groups of monks, ten in total.

The Shvetambar Terapanth experience closely corresponds to the Jewish experience. Both groups have gone through a diaspora, widely dispersed from their respective points of origin. When exile disrupted the Jewish religious pattern, leading to a crisis in their community's identity, the migrants established religious and educational institutions such as synagogues to help maintain their religious and cultural identity.[292] While Jewish people established synagogues, the Terapanthis established Terapanth *bhavans,* called Terapanth community centres, in host regions. This aspect is similar to the previous case study in which Digambar Jains built new temples in suburbs. Like Digambar *pathshalas* that were operated in temples, Terapanth centres provided the ideal infrastructure for operating Gyanshala schools. As noted before, the Jaipur city has three Terapanth community centres, hosting social, religious, and cultural programmes.

This section has not explored all issues of Terapanthi migration history. However, the fact is clear that the majority of Jain Terapanthis originally belonged to rural regions of Rajasthan, from which they voluntarily migrated throughout India, largely to urban areas. Wherever they are living outside of Rajasthan or within Jaipur, Terapanthi Jains have been negotiating identities to differentiate themselves from the majority communities surrounding them, both Jain and non-Jain.

Section III: The Impact of Migration on the Terapanthi Jain Community and the Formation of Gyanshalas

This section discusses the effects of regional shifts, most importantly changes in home-towns and adjustments made in host-cities. I show that the challenges of migration for the Shvetambar Terapanthis differ from the challenges of suburbanisation faced by those of the Digambar Jain tradition. Yet, despite their differing migration experiences, both groups have had to face the challenge of children's diminished interest in traditional practices. Therefore, I show that, as with the Digambars, the Shvetambar Terapanthis have also focused on their children's religious education to respond to concerns emerging from migration. Through Gyanshalas, Terapanthis seek to transmit their religious values, culture, maintain identity, and seek to ensure the long-term survival of their mendicant tradition.

To understand the relation of migration with the formation of Gyanshalas, I conducted three interviews with Muni Udit in New Delhi. Muni Udit was born in Sardarshahar, a small

[292] Samson Prabhakar, "Religious Education in Indian Contexts," *Studies in World Christianity* 12, no. 1 (2006): 54, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/201833/summary.

town in Rajasthan, and has been a practising monk for forty-one years. In 2001, he was appointed as a deputy in charge of the Gyanshala project, and then, in 2011, was promoted to head of the project.[293] In his initial interview, he explained how migration had disrupted the society, religion, and culture of the Terapanthi hometowns in Rajasthan. He succinctly described Terapanthi migration and its effect as *"Desh hua pardesh aur pardesh hua desh,"* meaning that "homeland becomes foreign land and foreign land becomes homeland." This formulation reflects a significant turning point in the history of the Terapanth tradition. Terapanth, a distinct congregation only two centuries past its formation, has been adapting to new ideas and cultures, and assimilating into the mainstream of its host cultures. Muni Udit further explained the impact of the twentieth century migration upon the community:

> Migration affected both hometowns and migrant communities in host regions. In the hometowns of rural Rajasthan, the Terapanthi population was decreasing so we were unable to successfully fulfil our religious duty of delivering sermons. The *havelis* (mansion houses) that were once teeming with people were now abandoned. Our interaction was limited to those older members of the community who did not migrate with their sons. Children raised in new destinations were less keen on returning to *desh* (homeland) due to the lack of infrastructure and modern facilities.[294]

Muni Udit's description paints an image of a 'ghost town' in the Terapanthi homelands. In his view, migration has affected the important functions of the monastic community in delivering sermons and offering spiritual guidance to laity. However, this view raises a key question: Why was it not sufficient to just give sermons to the smaller number of older laity that stayed back? Presumably, the older generation was deeply rooted in their religion and culture, but there was a realisation that, to keep the continuity of the Jain tradition, leaders needed to influence and attract the next generation. He also suggests the processes of middle-class aspirations and modernisation influencing younger Terapanthis.

Many Terapanthi informants who discussed migration believed that as Terapanthis moved away from their homeland, Rajasthan, they lost touch with their religion. To revive the Terapanthi practices necessitated the movement of monks and nuns outside of Rajasthan. Explaining this need, an 82-year-old monk, Muni Kishanpal, in his interview in Jaipur, narrated an old incident:

> During the time of Acharya Kalugani (1876–1936), thousands of Terapanthis outside Rajasthan converted to Shvetambar Murtipujak, the image-worshipping tradition. This concerned the *acharya*; as a result, he sent Muni Ghasiram with his group to conduct *chaturmas* in Hyderabad. One day when the *munis* were going for *gochari* (collecting food), they heard a group of men singing religious-songs.

[293] Presently, Muni Udit heads the Gyanshala team with a few monks and dedicated Terapanthi laypeople.
[294] Muni Udit, Interview 2 in New Delhi, Hindi, February 10, 2016.

> Muni Ghasiram stopped by to ask them how they knew these songs. The men replied that their elders had taught them in their childhood. Muni Ghasiram then revealed that these were Terapanth songs. Eventually those men re-converted to the Terapanth tradition.[295]

Muni Kishanpal's account touches upon significant impacts on the Terapanthi population of their twentieth century migration. The first was the conversion of many Terapanthi followers into the Shvetambar *murtipujaks*. The necessity to reconvert them to the Terapanth tradition illustrates why Terapanth *acharyas* are anxious about maintaining the Terapanthi identity. The second was the fact that memorising religious songs in childhood ensures the continuity of religious tradition. But the monk indicated that implanting the seed of religion at a young age is not enough; children need a continuous nurturing of values, which could either come from family or the monastic community. Muni Kishanpal illustrated a few more examples where monks had travelled to areas outside of Rajasthan, referred to as *anarya kshetra* (non-Aryan lands) to guide laity and ensure the continuity of their religious practices, and to extend the frontiers of Jainism in general and that of the Terapanth.[296]

Both the preceding quotations indicate that Terapanthi migration led to concerns about weakening religious values and the loss of identity. Due to these concerns, by the mid-twentieth century, Acharya Tulsi had sent groups of monks and nuns across India. He made several reforms to make allowances for monastic life in urban regions.[297] Because Terapanthis were now living in multi-cultural modern societies, primarily within Hindu-dominated regions, the influence from this mixing was inevitable. Muni Dhruv provided a further account of the impact of migration:

> Hindu influence was so strongly percolating among the Jain communities that monks and nuns found it difficult to counter. Families shrank from large extended ones to nuclear ones. Laypeople were busy tackling the challenges of city life, thereby ignoring systematic religious practices. Above all, children were most affected. The majority of urban Terapanthi children went to English medium schools that had a distinct Hindu or a Christian cultural bias. Because Jain children were mixing with other religious groups, their eating habits were also changing.[298]

This testimony highlights a central element, which is representative of an urban middle-class culture, taking root in the migrant Terapanthis. Muni Dhruv draws attention to some middle-class values underpinning middle-class culture. Firstly, the disintegration of the traditional family structure where religious values were imbibed as a process of learning during one's

[295] Muni Kishanpal, Interview in Jaipur, April 2, 2016.
[296] Kishanpal.
[297] During this expedition, *acharya* Tulsi introduced a variety of reforms in the tradition, in light of new urban regions, notable among them are the use of microphone and flush toilets. Flügel, "The Ritual Circle of the Terāpanth Śvetāmbara Jains," 139.
[298] Muni Dhruv, Interview in Jaipur, September 12, 2015.

growing years. Secondly, the impact of modern schools – a child spending eight hours daily for five to six days a week at a school will be influenced by the prevalent cultural environment. Finally, and most importantly, concerning the changing dietary practices, Muni Udit commented, "One outcome of this cultural amalgamation, seen early on among the younger generation, was the increasing consumption of cakes and pastries that contained eggs. Earlier Jain disposition of antipathy towards eggs and other non-vegetarian food was now changing."[299] He further stated, "We thought if the non-Jain elements were not restricted at the right time, then Jains could possibly progress to consuming such food."[300] As we will see in later discussions that non-Jain elements penetrating into the Jain dietary system is also associated with lifestyle changes, especially the middle-class culture of eating out.

The shift in dietary practices that Muni Dhruv and Muni Udit draw attention to can also be explained through suburbanisation. The exposure to foods containing eggs and, consequently, the changes in dietary observances is a similar response to that of the Digambar Jains. I will discuss how Terapanthis attend to these challenges, in the next chapter on curriculum analysis.

In addition to the general social and cultural changes discussed above, the interplay of migration and middle-class aspirations brought about a profound change in the Terapanth religious community. Children in migrant regions were unable to regularly visit ascetics for *darshan* (veneration of ascetics), which is an old Terapanth religious practice, due to the problems of spatial distance and the children's busy city lives. Although Terapanthi monks first, and later nuns, travelled outside of Rajasthan, their low numbers could not match the spread of the lay community. Several of my Terapanthi respondents recalled that as children they were not being allowed to take breakfast unless they went for the morning *darshan*. This feature is common to the Digambar tradition as well. For Digambars, *deva darshan* is important; for Terapanthis, *muni darshan* is crucial. My Terapanthi informants stated that prior to migration, children interacted closely with monks and nuns. In these interactions, monks and nuns inspired children for *tapa* (austerities) and facilitated the memorising of religious texts and verses. In both cases, my informants perceived a decline in religious practices and believed that this decline has had a bearing on children's religious education.

The following example reveals that memorisation and the influence of monks and nuns were key tools in children's religious education prior to the formation of the Gyanshalas. During my fieldwork I met Mohini, an elderly devout Terapanthi laywoman

[299] Muni Udit, Interview 2 in New Delhi.
[300] Muni Udit.

living in Bidasar, a small town in Rajasthan, who was visiting her relatives in Jaipur. In a brief interview about her childhood religious education, she stated:

> I have memorised Sravak Sumbodh [a text for Terapanthi laity composed by Acharya Tulsi], Terapanth Prabodh, Pratikraman, Chaubisi… [a long list]. I have never eaten onion, garlic, potato or even carrot. I do not eat any live fruit and vegetables on the second, fifth, eighth, eleventh, and fourteenth day of the lunar calendar. I took these vows when I was seven or eight years old.[301]

Mohini provided an even longer list of devotional songs and prayers that she recites daily from memory and numerous vows that guide her religious practices. With probing, I gathered that a key motivation for Mohini's religious and devotional practices has been a "better next life," meaning a better rebirth, which she has come to believe after various discourses delivered by monks and nuns. Mohini's training in religious education resonates with traditional methods that stressed memorising texts and practising Jain dietary rules.

The version of religious education that Mohini underwent provides a glimpse of religious education prevalent in the Terapanth community, prior to migration. It also suggests the roles of monks and nuns in providing this education focused on rote learning and instructions on doctrines for a better next life. A part of this paradigm is similar to the traditional *pathshalas*, which we saw in the Digambar tradition. The main difference between the two traditional paradigms lies in the interaction between laity and mendicants. While Terapanthi children closely interacted with monks and nuns in the past, lay *pandits* guided Digambar children. In the next chapter, I will examine various measures that Terapanth leaders have undertaken to address new situations in the host regions.

On my fieldwork, I frequently encountered a monk or a nun who wistfully recounted the teaching arrangements prior to migration. According to one, "Before [in rural hometowns], children visited us regularly with their elders, they had both time and interest. Religion was transmitted through recitation and motivational stories; and these traditional methods were effective."[302] To this goal, monks and nuns made *kala ke panne,* meaning "artworks on paper," which served as a popular method of imparting religious education to children. These artworks, 11 x 5 inch drawings and paintings, either on parchment-like paper or on special paper, using natural colours, were used to introduce Jain principles to children. Some artworks depicted elaborate illustrations of hell and heaven.[303] According to Sadhvi Maitri Prabha, through these pictorial presentations, children internalised the message and

[301] I met Mohini in one of my respondents' home in Jaipur.
[302] Muni Dhruv was particularly very explicit in sharing his view.
[303] At the Terapanth community centre, Bhikshu Sadhna Kendra, I was able to see '*kala ke panne'* with a group of nuns. The late Terapanthi monk, Muni Dulhraj, made these artworks fifty years ago.

would consider themselves as *papa bhiru*, meaning "afraid of committing sin."[304] I assert that this traditional method of nurturing children in religious education was effective in rural hometowns, but its effectiveness has shifted markedly due to the large-scale migration of Terapanthis across India. My informants usually referred to the popularity of television and social media replacing such artworks on paper. Figure 9 presents one such artwork, depicting the story of the pan-Indian concept of Karma.

Figure 9. *Kala ke panne* (artwork on paper).

Monks and nuns constantly reported to Acharya Tulsi about the effects of migration and the consequences of living in multi-cultural societies.[305] These reports concerned him profoundly, so he went about reforming the religious education system, laying the seed for Gyanshala education. The two key considerations for Acharya Tulsi's reforms were the practicalities of urban living and generating interest among children in religious activities. He addressed each challenge through specifically focused elements in children's religious education. Eventually, children became the main target for his reforms; perhaps the *acharya* thought losing children's interest would be the greatest threat to the continuity of the mendicant order. Children are the future adult laity, and if they are trained in religious education at a young age, they are more likely to support the *sangha* (mendicant order).[306]

In his 1988 iconic speech, Acharya Tulsi introduced his strategy for a shift in the treatment of religious education. During the 1988 *chaturmas* in Rajaldesar Acharya Tulsi

[304] Sadhvi Maitri Prabha, Interview in Jaipur, September 14, 2016.
[305] Patawari, Interview in Jaipur.
[306] For example, Lawrence Babb observes in his fieldwork that Jain ascetics are dependent on the laity for every physical need; they cannot prepare their own food, which means that ascetics and laity must be in constant contact in Jain communities. The Terapanth tradition is no exception to this rule.

expressed his profound concern to a large lay gathering. My respondent, Padam Patawari, who was present at the gathering, reported Tulsi's remarks as follows:

> If migration issues are not addressed, then I am afraid our children will drift away from the faith. We have accepted that religion will continue through generations, like it has done in the past. In fact, the focus of religious teaching by monks and nuns to laity is *a better next birth.* Children are not considered a part of this religious discourse. But, due to the changing physical and social environment, it is necessary to focus our attention on children. If we do not monitor children's religious education at an early age, then with the increasing influence of modern education, it will be difficult to preserve Jain religious and cultural values. Our religious discourses should reorient from a *better next life* to *a better present life.*[307]

Through his strikingly clear and forceful speech, Acharya Tulsi initiated a dialogue regarding prioritising children in religious discourse. His speech encapsulated the concept of children's religious education. He was willing to shift from the traditional methods of imparting religious values, which dealt with concepts concerning the nature of existence, to simpler methods that enabled a better present life. Contrary to Mohini's training that stressed "better next life," Acharya Tulsi emphasised a "better present life" to deal with the concerns arising due to migration. Tulsi's speech provides evidence that several issues that emerged because of relocation prompted the formation of the Gyanshalas. Thus, Gyanshalas became key institutions for imparting Jain-cum-Terapanth values and fostering the Terapanthi identity through a specially prepared curriculum for future generations of Terapanthis.

Like other Terapanth projects, the Gyanshalas are under both religious and administrative management. The *acharya* and *munis* handle the religious side, while the laity handles the administration. Currently, Muni Udit directs the Gyanshala team, which comprises a few monks, two lay trainers, and some dedicated laypeople. The centralised and most important lay organisation, Jain Shvetambar Terapanthi Mahasabha (JSTM) administers and funds the education project.[308] With the development of Gyanshalas, leaders reemphasised the centrality of monastic leadership in shaping the Jain community. This centralisation of control, an old Terapanth strategy, is at the heart of the Gyanshala system of education, while at the same time, the lay educators are striving to follow a format similar to

[307] Patawari, Interview in Jaipur.
[308] The Jain Shvetambar Terapanthi Mahasabha is the central organization founded in 1913 in Calcutta by a few Terapanthi Marwari businessmen and lawyers to foster the interests of the local Terapanthi community. Peter Flügel notes, Terapanth Mahasabha provides a centralised organisational framework for the Terapanthi laity parallel to the religious organisation of ascetics.'Jain Shwetambar Terapanthi Mahasabha', http://www.Terapanthinfo.com/index.php?.

modern schooling.[309] Power, identity, and modern education are influences of a middle-class culture.

The Terapanthi community stands out as a relatively strong migrant Jain community in India. But the third migration pattern that occurred in the twentieth century led to the devolution of the Terapanthi dominated regions of Rajasthan into what effectively became "ghost towns." As I mentioned before, prior to the migration of the Terapanthis, monastics were directly involved with children's religious education. This system underwent changes, resulting in a redistribution of work whereby both monastics and laypersons collaborate in the functioning of Gyanshala education. Here the Gyanshala case differs from both the Digambar *pathshalas* and the American Jain Pathshalas, my third case study.

Section IV: Early Gyanshala Education (1992–2004)

In this section, I show how Terapanthis promote Gyanshala education as the main institution for addressing the concerns that have emerged from migration. I explain how Terapanthi leaders, by choosing the word Gyanshala, adopted a name, symbol, and a slogan to brand their children's religious education, distinguishing it from other Jain religious institutions. I argue that this branding is further intended to provide a Terapanthi identity to the widely dispersed Terapanthis. I then describe early Gyanshala education from the perspective of the founder, Acharya Tulsi, and consider the circumstances that led to its reforms.

Gyanshala: Branding of Children's Religious Education

I turn now to explain the origins of the term Gyanshala and how it came about that children's religious education in the Terapanth tradition has taken a different name from other Jain traditions. On 12 April 1992, Acharya Tulsi founded a part-time, non-formal children's religious education school, which he named Gyanshala.[310] The name consists of two words: *gyana*, meaning knowledge, and *shala*, meaning house. Together, they denote "house of knowledge." Numerous groups of both Jains and non-Jains have used the term *pathshala* for their part-time religious schools. Settling on a distinct name, Gyanshala, suggests that the founder and his core team desired a separate identity, one that would not blend into the generally accepted generic term *pathshala*.

[309] Scholars in the past have noted that Terapanth employs a mixed strategy of modernisation by striving to hierarchically encompass an increasingly modern social system within a traditional religious system. See Kumar, "The Transformations and Challenges of a Jain Religious Aspirant from Layperson to Ascetic."
[310] Samani Kusum Pragya, *Parampara Aur Parivartan* (Ladnun: Jain Vishva Bharati, 2016), 163.

Three elements differentiate Gyanshalas from *pathshalas* and generate a strong Gyanshala identity: the title for a student, the slogan, and the symbol. While a formal school-going child is called a *vidyarthi,* a Gyanshala-attending child is called a *gyanarthi*. Although both terms refer to a student seeking knowledge, a profound difference distinguishes them. While *vidya* refers to scholastic education, *gyana* refers to knowledge transforming into wisdom. Therefore, the deliberate choice of *gyana* over *vidya* indicates that Gyanshalas have sought to provide something beyond school education. Gyanshalas also have a slogan: "*ghar-ghar jage sad sanskar: gyanshala ka yaha upahara*," meaning, "Every house is awakened to the right values: this is the gift of a Gyanshala." This slogan expresses the central religious education theme. Reinforcing the purpose of their distinct name and slogan, Gyanshalas have also striven to strengthen their presence through a distinct symbol in the form of a boy *gyanarthi* with a half-opened book. The front cover of the book features the Prakrit phrase "*nanam payasayam*" meaning "knowledge is illuminating," and the back cover states the name of the school in Hindi, Gyanshala.[311] Figure 10 shows a girl Gyanarthi wearing Gyanshala uniform and the Gyanshala bag with its symbol/logo.

[311] "Gyanshala Paripatra 2015."

Figure 10. A Gyanshala attendee girl in Gyanshala uniform and bag.

Two key points emerge from the above characterisation of Gyanshala education. First, all three – the name, the slogan, and the symbol – underline the fact that Gyanshala education is illuminating and it compliments mainstream education that focuses on career development. Gyanshala education seeks to provide moral virtues shaped by religious and cultural Terapanth values. Second, the application of a distinct name, symbol, and slogan implies that a distinctive Terapanth identity is of paramount concern for the Gyanshala educators. This approach to re-establish religious-cultural identity is not exclusive to the Terapanthi migrant community.

Early Gyanshala Curriculum

In 1992, Gyanshala education started with two objectives: cultivating Jain *sanskar* through "Value Education" and faith building through "Faith Education." These components entailed cultivating: *upasana* (religious practice), *naitik aacara*, (moral conduct), and *adhyatma* (spiritual). Two features of *upasana* were performing *samayik* regularly (forty-eight minutes of meditation without any worldly activity) and memorising religious songs. Moral conduct was developed through stories and values-based education, while spiritual development was cultivated through yoga and meditation. A combination of values and faith building was intended to address concerns about transmitting religious values, cultivating Jain dietary rules, and bringing children closer to the faith. The formalising of their religious education and the integration of yoga and meditation into its teaching are evidence of the influence of middle-class values entering the Terapanth community.

Preparing children's textbooks is another clue indicating middle-class aspirations. Keeping Value Education and Faith Education as guidelines, in 1992, the Gyanshala team introduced the first set of textbooks for children in Hindi: *Dharam Bodh* (Religious Knowledge, Parts 1-3), *Naitik Pathmala* (Moral Teaching), and *Acche Bacche* (Good Children).[312] A combination of religious, moral, spiritual, and dietary values sought to develop an integrated personality, a quality in a child's life, which Tulsi thought would lead to a better present life. The fact that the textbooks were written specifically for children reveals that Terapanthi migration shifted Acharya Tulsi's attention from exclusively educating adult laity to also educating children. Unlike his earlier strategy of "a better next life," Tulsi changed it to "a better present life" for children's religious education.

Acharya Tulsi's new direction considered the desire to maintain continuity, as well as adapting to new value systems within the framework of Jain *sanskar*. Muni Udit explained:

> The early Gyanshalas [1992–2004] focused on addressing concerns that arose due to migration. Our goal had been: *sanskar nirman* (developing values), *sanskar surkasha* (preserving values), and *dharmik gyana* (transmitting religious knowledge), and cultivating Jain *sanskar* such as vegetarianism, refraining from smoking, chewing tobacco, or imbibing any kind of intoxicant, and developing attachment for monks and nuns. Wherever children trained in Gyanshala went, [they] would always uphold Jain values, respect Jain ascetics, succeed in their professions, and would become ideal laity.[313]

At the core of Muni Udit's explanation is the blend of continuity and innovation. At one level, he weaves various strands of continuity – religious, moral, ethical, and spiritual values

[312] Pragya, *Parampara Aur Parivartan*, 164.
[313] Muni Udit, Interview 1 in New Delhi, October 5, 2015.

– into Jain *sanskar*. In his view, Jain *sanskar* refer to value education and they also pertain to a quality of life, which he describes as being vegetarian and free from intoxicants. His view implies that transferring these *sanskar* into the Gyanshalas would address the two most pressing migration issues, that of preventing Terapanthis from exploring other religions, and that of countering the intake of non-vegetarian food in the community. For him, an ideal layperson would mean one who is deeply rooted into the Terapanth tradition and possesses a sense of Terapanthi identity. At another level, Muni Udit includes material success in Gyanshala education, which reflects a middle-class culture. The *muni* believes that religious education will create successful Jains who will network with young Jains in the working world so that they can help each other in keeping their communities strong.[314] Like Achla, the coordinator of Chitrakoot Pathshala, Muni Udit believes that religious education will eventually bring career success.

In addition to developing Jain *sanskar* and faith, another aim central to Gyanshala education in its early years was to attract children for the mendicant order. Preparing a new generation of monks and nuns was the other challenge arising from the weakening of monastic-laity interactions. As we saw in the above example of Mohini, prior to migration, Terapanthis were living in rural towns where children regularly interacted with monks and nuns and were influenced by their renunciant path. This connection was severely affected as a consequence of migration, which from the beginning, Gyanshala sought to restore.

Scholars have noted the significance of child initiation in the Terapanth order. For example, Komal Ashok Kumar argues that *bal-diksha* (child initiation) is "important to the vitality of the Terapanth."[315] She also notes that in 2015, there were forty-four *mumukshus* (aspirants), among whom fourteen were aged under sixteen.[316] Anne Vallely's study on the Terapanthis also provides an account of a *bal-diksha*,[317] and, drawing from Vallely's work, Andrea Luithle-Hardenberg notes that currently ascetic leaders of Terapanthis are proponents of *bal-diksha*.[318] Yet, despite the significance of *bal-diksha*, preparing children for *diksha* has not been an intention that can be explicitly inferred from the early Gyanshala teaching material. Priorities changed, as Terapanthis became immersed in middle-class culture and

[314] This is often how "Hebrew school" works for young Jewish professionals. The Terapanth tradition also started the Terapanth Professional Forum. For details see "Young Jain Professionals," Young Jain Professionals, accessed November 1, 2016, https://youngjainprofessionals.wordpress.com/.
[315] Kumar, "The Transformations and Challenges of a Jain Religious Aspirant from Layperson to Ascetic," 87.
[316] Kumar, 89.
[317] Vallely, *Guardians of the Transcendent*, 200–204.
[318] Andrea Luithle-Hardenberg, 'When Children Become Ascetics: Preliminary Considerations about Disputes on Jain Bal Munis in Western India', *The Oriental Anthropologist* 14, no. 2 (2014): 225.

become embedded in middle-class values. Therefore, instead of preparing children for initiation, Gyanshalas focus on drawing children closer to the Terapanth order. The aim is to transmit religious values and to develop their interest in religion with the hope that one in a thousand *gyanarthis* (participants) will be inclined towards monkhood.[319]

However, despite clear goals and a progressive outlook, the benefits of the early Gyanshalas did not appeal to parents. My informants revealed that early Gyanshala schools could not attract the desired numbers of children. Two main problems were associated with this lack of popularity. First, teaching was inconsistent. Explaining this point, Prema, a senior Gyanshala teacher in Jaipur said: "In the absence of a structure or a system, a wide range of subjects were taught by monks, nuns, and knowledgeable laypeople."[320] Explaining the second point, Prema continued: "These people used "out-dated methods," wherein the instruction was teacher-centric, lessons were in Hindi, and the circulation of textbooks was limited." In alignment with Prema's views, many Terapanthi informants believed that because Terapanthi children went to English medium modern schools in urban regions, reading and writing in Hindi was getting increasingly difficult for them. These challenges compelled Gyanshala educators to revise the early Gyanshala methods. They developed a new paradigm that was intended to attract children and adolescents by providing them with a more interesting learning experience in two languages, Hindi and English. Examining this new paradigm generates insight into the reformed strategies and developments. The strategies further clarify the reasons that the new paradigm appealed to parents and led to the expansion of the contemporary Gyanshalas.

Gyanshala education is an innovation in the Terapanth tradition. Its paradigm differs from the Digambar *pathshala* approach in two significant ways: Contemporary Digambar Jain *pathshalas* have developed a variety of curricula depending upon the region and affiliation with the *acharya* or monk, while contemporary Gyanshalas have developed one curriculum for Terapanthi children regardless of whether they have settled in rural or urban India. A second point of difference relates to child initiation: the Terapanth tradition has favoured child-initiation, which is not the case with the Digambar tradition. These differences may have further influenced the religious content of Gyanshalas from Digambar *pathshalas*.

[319] Acharya Mahashraman, Interview in Gulabbagh, trans. Author, January 26, 2016.
[320] Prema, Interview in Jaipur.

Conclusion

When the Shvetambar Terapanth tradition was formed in 1760, it adopted a firmly centralised administrative system under the authority of a single *acharya* who directs and influences his congregation. Rapid expansion, while maintaining its identity, was one of the significant goals of the newly formed tradition. This goal was threatened by the twentieth-century regional migration of Terapanthis from Rajasthan across India. The reverse migration of Shvetambar Terapanthis to Jaipur makes an interesting case to continue examining the shift in children's religious education. I show how Terapanthis in Jaipur are striving to establish an institution that will serve all Terapanthis spread throughout India.

This chapter has set the context of regional migration and has highlighted the contributing factors for a shift in the treatment of children's religious education in the Terapanth tradition. I have demonstrated that issues stemming from regional migration of Shvetambar Terapanthis in India drove the institutionalisation of Gyanshalas. The formation of Gyanshalas was in response to the concern that the younger generation of Jains would drift away from religion. In contemporary times, Gyanshalas have developed as the main institutions for children's religious education within the Terapanth community.

I have argued that an underlying issue for Gyanshalas is to tackle concerns of identity, which is conceived in terms of Terapanth particularities. First, the name Gyanshala itself departs from the generic name *pathshala.* Next, Gyanshalas add a Terapanth spin to a wide range of modern elements: the *gyanarthi* uniform; the *upasana* kit; the Gyanshala symbol; a logo; and a slogan. Together they build a conscious identity in a child from a young age.

I have shown that Terapanth leaders have targeted children to address several concerns emerging from Terapanthi migration. To this goal, Gyanshala education is perceived to serve at least three functions. Firstly, it seeks to continue Jain culture by transmitting Jain *sanskar* to children, especially focusing on Terapanth values. Secondly, it lays the foundation for both: mendicant initiation and responsible laity. Lastly, it provides a uniform system of teaching and learning to develop coherence in a widely dispersed Terapanth community. For instance, a Terapanthi child living in Mumbai will have something in common with a Terapanthi child from Kolkata or Jaipur. In sum, standardising the curriculum serves to unify Terapanthis across India, which is an important strategy.

Despite the three functions, there were limitations to early Gyanshalas. I have shown that the two goals, Value Education and Faith Education, could not appeal to parents. Other difficulties with the early approach were inconsistent teaching, outmoded teaching methods,

and the books being in Hindi. All these were problematic in view of the growing influence of English-medium modern education among middle-class urbanised Terapanthis. Solving these problems, reforming the Gyanshala in the twenty-first century, hastened their revival. An analysis of the reforms and the contemporary Gyanshala curriculum are the focus of my next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

Gyanshala Education: Curriculum Analysis

> In Gyanshalas, we minimise the use of negative language in transmitting religious values to children, because they will retaliate. For example, instead of saying do not do this or do not eat non-vegetarian food, we say do this to be good children. We use positive language to encourage children and develop the enthusiasm in them for a Jain way of life.[321]

Introduction

While the previous chapter demonstrated that early Gyanshalas (1992–2004) concerned themselves with the twentieth-century Shvetambar Terapanthi migration from rural regions of Rajasthan across India, Chapter five examines the pan-Indian contemporary Gyanshalas' (2005–present) curriculum. I show how Gyanshalas have responded to migration and issues associated with intensified middle-class aspirations with a series of reforms in structure and content. I examine the reforms implemented in the restructured Gyanshala to understand how Terapanthi Jains hope that this new form of education will offer a solution to the issues of relocation, maintenance of identity, and the impact of material culture on the next generation. My analyses reveal how Gyanshalas maintain the Terapanth tradition's continuity with its past, while at the same time, has become an important means for implementing changes within the tradition.

As I have shown in the previous chapter, Acharya Tulsi was not prepared to lose the next generation of laity, and, therefore, he directed his monastic community to focus on children. This focus has resulted in the development of a child-friendly religious education curriculum, which has undergone several reforms in the twenty-first century. The new curriculum is the continuation of efforts to cultivate Jain *sanskar*, ground Terapanthi children in their faith, offer something unique that is not taught in mainstream education, and to establish greater social and cultural relevance within the community. Despite the continuity, the new approach differs in form from the old because of its deliberate aim to retain urbanised children's interest in religious education.

I argue that the contemporary Gyanshala curriculum focuses on the formation of a Jain Shvetambar Terapanthi identity. Due to the large-scale migration to urban centres, Terapanthis stress a corporate pan-Terapanthi identity. From the branding of children's religious education, to exclusively focusing on Terapanth values and culture, the curriculum

[321] Ravina, Interview in Ahmadabad, February 5, 2015.

facilitates the development of this identity. In many ways, contemporary curriculum and modern communication make this sort of identity possible. To further my argument regarding fostering this identity, I show that the contemporary curriculum emphasises the importance of Terapanth *acharyas* and their central authority in the tradition.

I demonstrate that the innovations in the Gyanshala curriculum are a direct response to migration and upward mobility. The middle-class culture amongst Shvetambar Terapanthi Jains is not different from the discussion on the Digambar Jains of Jaipur. Yet, I discuss several examples in this chapter, unique to the Terapanth's religious education for children that have been clearly influenced by middle-class values. Firstly, Terapanthi educators have encouraged several twenty-first century learning techniques for memorisation. Secondly, the use of multi-media and, lately, social media is certainly a departure from the colourful artworks on paper that we saw as part of the traditional religious education system. Thirdly, I show a shift in authority, from monastics to laypeople in varying degrees. Laypeople have assumed more authority in decisions around curriculum and administrative matters as they share the responsibility of nurturing their future generations. Finally, I show that this shift has given additional responsibilities to lay housewives, and, simultaneously, has provided them with new opportunities for personal development as volunteer Gyanshala teachers.

My analysis of Gyanshala education proceeds in five sections. First, I examine the contemporary Gyanshala period (2005 to the present). This section provides an overview of the reforms in Gyanshala education and outlines the curricular material. It also provides a brief background of Jaipur Gyanshalas. In the second section, I analyse the first curricular component Value Education in detail, citing excerpts from Gyanshala religious education material. Using a similar strategy in the third and fourth sections, I analyse the other two curricular components, Faith Education and Personality Development. In the fifth section I discuss the changing roles of monks and nuns, on the one hand, and of the laywomen, on the other. I show that Terapanthi laywomen teachers are closely involved in children's religious education and now play a crucial role in Gyanshalas. My curricular analysis generates insights into the reforms in Gyanshalas, and foreground trends in this shift in religious education.

Section I: Contemporary Gyanshala Education (2005–Present)

As previously mentioned, Gyanshala education underwent several reforms within a decade of its establishment. An analysis of the contemporary Gyanshala curriculum needs to include an

examination of major reforms. In this section, I first present the views of Terapanthi monk leaders regarding the need for reforms and the use of three Gyanshala curricular components: *sanskar gyana* (Value Education), *dharmik gyana* (Faith Education), and *vyaktitva nirman* (Personality Development). The first two components continue from the early Gyanshala and the third one is new that seeks to accommodate middle-class aspirations and modern learning practice. Although a lot of material has been carried forward to the present, there has been a radical change in both presentation and pedagogy. I also outline the two key reforms that reflect a huge departure from the traditional system. My informants maintained that these reforms were a turning point for the growth of Gyanshalas, from 80 in 1992 to 441 in 2015.[322] I conclude this section by providing an overview of the Gyanshala curricular material, which forms the basis of subsequent analysis.

Monastic Perspectives on Contemporary Gyanshala Curricular Components

I introduce now the three components of the contemporary curriculum and its newly envisaged purpose. While keeping the "Value Education" and "Faith Education" components of the early Gyanshala curriculum, the current Terapanth religious head, Acharya Mahashraman, redefines their ultimate function: to offer a spiritual path to balance materialism rather than simply sustaining Jain religion and culture, which was Acharya Tulsi's aim for the early Gyanshalas. Supplementing the original curriculum with an entirely new component, "Personality Development," reflects the introduction of middle-class values for the curriculum to appeal to today's parents and youth.

To place the Personality Development aspect of the curriculum in context, I first explore how materialism led Acharya Mahashraman to redefine the overarching purpose of the curriculum. The *acharya* observes the rich material environment of the Jain migrant children. He said:

> Children live in an environment of material goods, including televisions, computers, and smart phones. So, if a religious and spiritual environment is combined with their existing material environment, then there are chances of a more balanced growth. In the absence of the spiritual, they will be immersed in the material culture, and thus drift away from religious tradition and culture.[323]

In the above quote, Acharya Mahashraman underlines the fact that children are growing up in a material culture characterised by the high consumption of material goods. The push towards

[322] Muni Udit, "Gyanshala Administration," in *Gyanshala Sandipan*, ed. Saroj Chhajer (Kolkata: Jain Shvetambar Terapanthi Mahasabha, 2017), 65.
[323] Mahashraman, Interview in Gulabbagh.

economic growth has inevitably contributed to the social and cultural changes that have created a significant metamorphosis in religious practice. The *acharya* then spells out the distinct characteristics of this upward mobility that I identify as middle-classness. His concern about his community's increasing inclination towards materialism has come to the forefront and has somewhat superseded Tulsi's earlier burning concerns about migration. The literature on migration of groups and communities, whether internal or international, identifies "better economic opportunities" as the prime reason for this movement.[324] Bearing out this scholarly claim, I noted in the previous chapter that Terapanthis migrated outside Rajasthan for better economic opportunities. This economic improvement has also facilitated their materialism. The contribution of economic liberalisation is apparent amongst Terapanthis, who are now a part of India's growing middle-class group.

Strikingly, Acharya Mahashraman also directs his attention to children. This shows that like his predecessor, Acharya Tulsi, he also emphasises the importance of childhood. Having explained the dominance of material culture on Terapanthis, Acharya Mahashraman presents Gyanshala education as a solution. He continued:

> By coming to Gyanshalas, children will learn about Jain principles and *sanskar*, Terapanth philosophy, about self-restraint, and how to live a good life. Through this exposure, they will be able to minimise the waves of materialistic culture and lead a virtuous life. This is how Jainism will survive through generations. It could also be possible that amongst thousands of children who attend Gyanshalas, a few would be inclined towards becoming a monk or nun, which will lead to the continuity of our mendicant order.[325]

Acharya Mahashraman provides an alternative way to balance the dominance of materialism. According to him, supplementing the mainstream education of youth with religious and spiritual exposure can reduce the effects of the digital world and bring about integrated development. He then directs his conversation to the religious education of youth and, the role of Gyanshalas in teaching Jain-cum-Terapanth beliefs and practices. He knows that Gyanshala curriculum addresses many such issues, and, therefore, he emphasises the need for children to learn about the traditional practices systematically. He believes that through the

[324] Much scholarly work exists on migration and material culture and some studies show a relationship between the two. For details see Paul Basu and Simon Coleman, "Introduction: Migrant Worlds, Material Cultures," *Mobilities* 3, no. 3 (November 2008): 313. One such study examines how "members of immigrant communities' cope with the conflicting values associated with materialism, and those associated with ethnic communal ties and religious fulfilment." Mark Cleveland and William Chang, "Migration and Materialism: The Roles of Ethnic Identity, Religiosity, and Generation," *Journal of Business Research* 62, no. 10 (October 2009): 963, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2008.05.022.
[325] Mahashraman, Interview in Gulabbagh.

exposure to Gyanshalas with their multiple objectives, children can maintain a balance between their material and spiritual environments.

Acharya Mahashraman believes that passing on the religious values will not only create virtuous Jains but also become the means for sustaining the tradition. At the end, he explicitly mentions that "a few amongst thousands" could have a transformation of heart and accept the path of renunciant, eventually leading to the continuity of the mendicant order as well. Apparently, preparing children for *diksha* is not the main purpose; instead, Gyanshalas focus on drawing children closer to the Terapanth order. The aim is to transmit religious values and to develop their interest in religion with the hope that one in a thousand *gyanarthis* will be inclined towards monkhood.[326]

My visit to Acharya Mahashraman showed the effectiveness of Gyanshala education. I spent two days interacting with several monks and nuns in his congregation. The interactions revealed that many had become monks or nuns because of their Gyanshala education, including two recently initiated monks under fourteen. A recent publication, highlighting key Gyanshala events and the Gyanshala journey of twenty-five years, accounts for monks and nuns who were inspired by their Gyanshala experience. The figures include: twenty-nine monks, twenty-three nuns, twenty *samanis* (partial nun), and thirty *mumukshus* (aspirants). Therefore, I reassert that children are, indeed, the likeliest source of new mendicants in the Terapanth order, and therefore providing the continuity of the tradition.

Viewed in today's context, it is clear that Acharya Tulsi was concerned about the impact of migration, while Acharya Mahashraman is concerned about the increasing materialism. Despite citing different reasons, both *acharyas* were concerned about children drifting away from religion, and both believed that children should be the focus for the continuity of religious tradition. A detailed analysis of the curricular material and the pedagogies of Gyanshalas in later sections will reveal the extent to which migration and changes in lifestyle have influenced the shaping of curriculum.

I argue that the leaders designed the new curriculum in ways that recognised contemporary culture and can sustain youth's interest in religious education. In 2005, the rationale behind Gyanshala education altered. It changed from exclusively faith building and establishing cultural values to including individual well-being and success in the form of Personality Development. This new feature distinctly separates the early Gyanshala from the contemporary. Specially, the new component is intended to develop a child's potential by

[326] Mahashraman.

providing a platform for children and adolescents to develop their talents through a wide range of extra-curricular activities. Explaining the need for including the component of Personality Development, Muni Udit stated:

> Most parents consider post school extra-curricular activities such as music, dance, martial arts, sports, etc., more beneficial than sending children to Gyanshala. Because of changes in English medium schools, children and their parents' expectations have also changed. We had to alter our Gyanshala system to cope with these changes to attract children. Therefore, in 2005, we introduced a five-year revised course, extra-curricular activities, and pedagogical methods.[327]

Muni Udit's quote reveals that the Gyanshala team implemented changes following trends in mainstream education such as the introduction of extra-curricular options like martial arts and sports. This indicates that while contemporary Gyanshala education resisted drawing from non-Terapanth religious traditions – Jain or non-Jain – it has had to adjust to modern needs to fulfil parental expectations. Similar to the Chitrakoot Digambar Pathshala, contemporary Gyanshala education also has had to explore the wider meaning of religious education within its cultural context.

Key Gyanshala Reforms

The year 2005 was a turning point in the history of Gyanshala education. Muni Udit informed me of the several features that distinguished the early Gyanshalas from the contemporary Gyanshalas. Of them, two key features are centralised administration and uniformity. Flügel notes that centralisation of religious authority allowed the Terapanth to grow numerically and geographically.[328] I believe that the tradition applied the same strategy to Gyanshala education, and thus I assert that this centralisation, together with uniformity, led to the dramatic increase in the number of Gyanshala schools from 80 in 1992 to 441 in 2015 in the twenty-first century. While centralisation was already a distinct feature of Terapanth philosophy, uniformity became the hallmark of Gyanshala education.

To ensure uniformity, the Gyanshala team developed the manual called "*Gyanshala Eka Prarupa*" (Uniformity of Gyanshala) and started the "Train the Trainer" programme.[329] The Jain Shvetambar Terapanthi Mahasabha (JSTM), the centralised Terapanthi organisation, administered both these reforms. I examine these reforms to discern what convinced middle-

[327] Muni Udit, Interview 2 in New Delhi.
[328] Flügel, "Demographic Trends in Jaina Monasticism," 334.
[329] Muni Udit and Muni Himanshu, *Gyanshala Eka Prarupa*, Eight (Kolkata: Jain Shwetambar Terapanthi Mahasabha, 2012).

class migrant parents that contemporary Gyanshala would offer something different and useful for their children.

"Uniformity of Gyanshalas," is described in detail in the manual called *Gyanshala Eka Prarupa*. This manual provides an overview of Gyanshala education. It contains a detailed outline of the Gyanshala objectives, scope, its curriculum, textbooks, pedagogy, classroom schedules, roles of teachers and administrators, extracurricular materials, oral examination schedules, and the dates of main Terapanth and Jain events. Other features include a description of the Gyanshala symbol, slogan, children's uniform, and kit. These latter features contribute to the branding of Gyanshala schools. This kind of a manual enables interested parents to assess religious education and its importance for their children.

"Train the Trainer programme" has been a defining accomplishment in the history of contemporary Gyanshala. This training is an annual three-day intensive course that is mandatory for Gyanshala teachers.[330] It is comprised of three levels spread over three years.[331] This programme is intended to improve the quality of teaching and bring about uniformity in teaching.[332] The training further seeks to transform teacher-centred activities into child-centred activities by integrating a variety of pedagogies. The teachers, all Terapanthi laywomen, are encouraged to follow the curriculum outlined in *Gyanshala Eka Prarupa* consistently, plan weekly lessons, utilise the latest teaching methods, motivate children to memorise content, maintain class attendance records, report the child's progress to parents (especially mothers), and to engage children in extra-curricular activities.

In fact, I attended one training workshop conducted at Anuvibha (Terapanth Community Centre) during my fieldwork in Jaipur. In the training, I found that the trainer focused on testing Gyanshala teachers' recitation skills so that the style, pronunciation, and rhythm of prayer-songs and religious verses can be transferred accurately to children in classroom teaching. My interaction with the foremost trainer, Dinesh, emphasised the central component of the training which is to develop a clear understanding of the fundamental concepts underlying Terapanth philosophy.[333]

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[330] The trainers are two Terapanthi laymen brothers, one of whom (Dinesh) I had interviewed in Ahmedabad. Both brothers possess thorough religious knowledge, comparable to a knowledge level routinely associated with monks and nuns. One lives in Ahmedabad and the other lives in Rajasthan. They travel throughout the country to provide a three-day intensive training. According to the Gyanshala teacher Priya, "train the trainers require huge investment of time, interest, and dedication. Most people are not ready to commit for a religious cause."
[331] There are three grades of a Gyanshala teacher: *Vigya* (1st year), *Visharad* (2nd year), and *Snatak* (3rd year).
[332] Muni Udit and Muni Himanshu, *Gyanshala Eka Prarupa*, 33.
[333] Dinesh, Interview in Ahmadabad, February 5, 2016.

Twentieth century Terapanthi migration did not simply lead to economic opportunities. There was also a wider exposure to gender relations, and cultural and educational values. An indication of this wider exposure is evident in two reforms in Gyanshala education. First, the *Gyanshala Eka Prarupa* is a reflection of the prevalent uniformity in mainstream education that urban Indian children receive, wherein a standardised curriculum is imposed on all students and teachers. Second, the Train the Trainer programme has responded to middle-class culture by training women to teach, who were previously confined to domestic roles.

Gyanshala Curricular Material

In this segment, I provide some background information about the process of developing the Gyanshala curricular material and the classroom schedules, drawn from the Gyanshala manual, and then outline the curricular material. This information will be useful in comparing the previously examined Digambar Pathshala curriculum. Despite several differences, one key similarity across the schools in my study is the age group of learners. The curriculum is aimed at learners aged five to fifteen, but usually the most active group, whether in schools in India or America, is children aged five to ten. The numbers of students consistently drop after the age of ten or eleven. It is startling to see that the reasons for this decline are also common across the three case studies. I will return to the reasons shortly.

The contemporary Gyanshala education design is the result of a joint effort by the Terapanthi monastic and lay community. Muni Udit formed a team of a few selected monks, laymen, and experienced Gyanshala teachers. He divided the team into academic and administrative. I limit my description here to the academic team because the administrative team is huge and complex due to the spread of Terapanthis throughout India. While Muni Udit and Muni Himanshu form the core of the academic team, Dileep Sarogi, a lay businessman, and his wife living in Mumbai have offered support by translating the content into English. In addition, Professor Ratna Kothari, living in New Delhi, has overseen the research and development of Gyanshala education. A final component of the academic team are those who train the teachers. Two brothers, Dalamchand Naulakha living in Ahmedabad and Nirmal Naulakha in Jaipur, travel throughout India to train laywomen, who are interested in teaching in Gyanshalas. It is appropriate to consider that this investment in religious education is an innovation that is characteristic of middle-class aspirations.

This team coordinated and collaborated to develop a clear framework based on the above-discussed curricular components: Value Education, Faith Education, and Personality

Development. The material was then approved by the Terapanth *acharya* before it went to the central Terapanthi organisation in Kolkata, JSTM for the publication of textbooks. Published in 2005, these books are now used across Gyanshala schools in India. My curricular analysis focuses on the Gyanshala schedule (Table 2) and the textbooks (Table 3).

Gyanshalas operate on three different schedules,[334] a response to the spread of Terapanthis across India: daily, weekly, and *chaturmasik*.[335] The various schedules offered are an attempt to accommodate the middle-class lifestyle of urbanised Terapanthis. Daily Gyanshalas are common in small towns, where at least eighty classes, each for one hour, have to be held in a year. Weekly Gyanshalas are prominent in urban regions where forty classes, each for two hours, are spread over a year. For the convenience of the local community, they can operate either on Sundays or on Saturdays. *Chaturmasik* Gyanshalas operate during the four months of retreat in which forty classes are spread over four months. This variation allows schools to reach a large number of Terapanthi children. Weekly Gyanshalas are the most common. Table 2 shows the content of weekly Gyanshala.[336]

[334] This description of the Gyanshala structure is paraphrased and translated from the Gyanshala manual: *gyanshala eka prarupa*. Muni Udit and Muni Himanshu, *Gyanshala Eka Prarupa*, 5.
[335] This term is derived from *chaturmas*, which means four months of rainy season retreat of monks and nuns.
[336] Muni Udit and Muni Himanshu, *Gyanshala Eka Prarupa*, 6.

Table 2. Schedule of the Weekly Gyanshala activities 2015

Group Activity	**Time**
Namokar Mahamantra (Holiest Jain Mantra)	3 Minutes
Guru Vandana (Veneration to Guru)	3 Minutes
Tripadi Vandana (Veneration to Dev, Guru, and Dharam)	3 Minutes
Arham Vandana (Gyanshala Song)	3 Minutes
Gyanshala Resolution	3 Minutes
Sanskar Gyana (Values Education) (A list of 81 items are included in this category)	10 Minutes
Preksha Meditation and Science of Living - Postures, Yoga, Sound Practice, Relaxation, and Contemplation	15 Minutes
Classroom Activity	**Time**
Personality Development - Singing, Quiz, Question-Answer, Poetry-Reading, Story-Telling, Writing, Public Speaking, Painting, Memorisation and Pronunciation Practice, and Cultural Programmes (A list of 14 items are included in this category)	25 Minutes
General Knowledge of Current Affairs	5 Minutes
Faith Education	45 Minutes
Gyanshala Slogans	5 Minutes
Total Time	**120 Minutes**

The weekly Gyanshala schedule prescribes the minute-to-minute guideline or template for teachers to bring uniformity to schools. The total of 120 minutes is split between group activities and classroom activities and whole class activities. By viewing the table, interested parents can easily assess how much importance is given to individual topics and goals. It is also clear that out of 120 minutes, twenty-five minutes are allocated to Personality Development, forty-five minutes to religious education, and forty minutes are assigned for group activities. These group activities include mantra chanting, reciting of prayers, songs, and the veneration to the guru. This detailed weekly schedule outlines Gyanshala objectives and gains indirect consent from parents for the prescribed curriculum. Parents will be familiar with the topics that their children would learn. Drawing further from the Gyanshala manual, Table 3 presents the curricular material.

Table 3. Gyanarthi curricular material age group 5-15 Years.[337]

Serial	Name of Book	Age
	Set One	
1	Shishu Sanskar Bodh Part 1 (Values for Child)	5 Years
2	Shishu Sanskar Bodh Part 2 (Values for Child)	6 Years
3	Shishu Sanskar Bodh Part 3 (Values for Child)	7 Years
4	Shishu Sanskar Bodh Part 4 (Values for Child)	8 Years
5	Shishu Sanskar Bodh Part 5 (Values for Child)	9 Years
	Set Two	
6	Jain Vidya Part 1 (Jain Education)	10 Years
7	Jain Vidya Part 2 (Jain Education)	11 Years
8	Jain Vidya Part 3 (Jain Education)	12 Years
9	Jain Vidya Part 4 (Jain Education)	13 Years
10	Jain Vidya Part 5 (Jain Education)	14 Years
11	Jain Vidya Part 6 (Jain Education)	15 Years
	Set Three	
12	Jeevan Vigyan Part 1 (Science of Living)	5-15 Years
13	Jeevan Vigyan Part 2 (Science of Living)	5-15 Years
14	Jeevan Vigyan Part 3 (Science of Living)	5-15 Years

Table 3 indicates an age-targeted distribution of textbooks. Of the three sets, Gyanarthis regardless of age commonly use the third set, Jeevan Vigyan Parts 1-3. This curricular distribution emphasises the importance of developing Jain values in the foundational period. It also indicates that religious education becomes more rigorous for the older children.

I confine the curricular analysis to *Shishu Sanskar Bodh* Parts 1-5 for six reasons. (1) The analysis of *Shishu Sanskar Bodh* allows me to examine the innovation in teaching. (2) These five textbooks are the most recent, being especially compiled for the Gyanshala in 2005. (3) The majority of Gyanshala children are aged five to ten years because many children leave, as they get older, due to the increasing pressure of mainstream education.[338] (4) The other two sets are drawn from the Terapanth's educational initiatives for youth and adult laity; therefore, they are not limited to Gyanshala children. (5) The content in *Shishu Sanskar Bodh* Parts 1-5 is partially drawn from *Jain Vidya* Parts 1-6, the material for the lay

[338] This information was provided by the All India Gyanshala coordinator. He also said that they have not conducted any survey to measure the percentage of Gyanshala children belonging to different age groups. In the Jaipur Gyanshala, 70% of children are between ages five and ten.

community. (6) *Shishu Sanskar Bodh* is in Hindi, Prakrit, and Sanskrit, using both Devanagari and Roman scripts, and some sections are translated into English. The analysis of the *Shishu Sanskar Bodh* Parts 1-5 will clarify how Terapanthis transmit religious education and foster a Terapanthi identity to ensure the long-term survival of their tradition, against the perceived threats created by the dynamics of various migration scenarios.

I presented a comprehensive overview of contemporary Gyanshala education. Specifically, I highlighted two major reforms: the uniformity in instruction through *Gyanshala Eka Prarupa* and the Train the Trainer programme. These reforms contrast with the early Gyanshala of the previous chapter. The fact is that these twenty-first century reforms demonstrate that Gyanshala education is characterised by a series of focused actions carried out with the clear goal of transmitting Jain-cum-Terapanth values to the next generation. In addition, the objectives shared by the leaders, Acharya Mahashraman and Muni Udit, reflect their thinking about how Gyanshalas can be a pathway to balance the material world of the urbanised middle-class Terapanthi Jains.

Jaipur Gyanshalas: Background

In this sub-section, I provide a short background to the Jaipur Gyanshalas to understand the demography and the physical space where the Gyanshala operates. Because the Gyanshala curriculum is followed uniformly across all Terapanth rural and urban regions, the analysis presented in this chapter also includes Gyanshalas in Ahmedabad (in Gujarat) and New Delhi. I go in-depth with the curriculum analysis in the later sections.

The first Jaipur Gyanshala was started in 1992 at Milap Bhavan, the oldest Terapanth community centre in Old Jaipur. The small population in the walled city could not sustain operating the Gyanshala at Milap Bhavan. After some undetermined years of inactivity, the Gyanshala restarted in 2001 at the new Terapanth community centre, Bhikshu Sadhna Kendra (BSK). Located outside the walled city, the revived Gyanshala was inspired by Sadhvi Rajimati's motivating speech. This Gyanshala continued for three years, then became inactive again. My Terapanthi informants described the reasons for this inactivity as: a lack of interest among parents and children, a lack of volunteer teachers, inability of visiting monks and nuns to motivate parents, and the Jaipur Gyanshala committee lacked rigour.[339] Later, in 2008, Sadhvi Animashri revived the BSK Gyanshala, through her forcefully

[339] Prema, Interview in Jaipur.

motivating speeches addressed to parents, during her *chaturmas*.[340] Subsequently enrolments increased and there was community commitment to continue Gyanshalas.

In early 2016, the Jaipur Gyanshala administration changed, and the committee selected a new regional coordinator Sarita Bardia, a volunteer laywoman teacher, who is determined to regenerate the Jaipur Gyanshalas. Within a few months of her accepting the role, a fourth school opened, in April 2016. Presently, in Jaipur there are four Gyanshalas, 175 children, and thirty teachers. Taking into account the small numbers of Terapanthis in Jaipur, these numbers are in line with the rest of the Gyanshalas in India. They reflect that the need to establish a Terapanth identity is not different whether inside or outside Rajasthan. In the case of Jaipur, having three Terapanth community centres further proves that the drive for a sectarian identity within a larger Jain milieu is paramount.

At BSK, the Gyanshala school operates in the morning from 9:30 to 11:30 on Sunday mornings. Just like the Chitrakoot Digambar Pathshala, the organisation committee of BSK has also arranged transportation. Three Maruti vans pick up and drop off children from their residence. Figure 11 shows a van picking participants from the neighbourhood of Shyamnagar. Inside the van are *gyanarthis* and one Gyanshala laywoman teacher.

Figure 11. Gyanshala attendees and one laywoman teacher in Gyanshala arranged transportation.

[340] Prema.

Once children arrived in uniforms and their Gyanshala bags, they gather in the main hall on the first floor of BSK. Here they perform forty minutes of group activities such as prayers, venerations, yoga, and meditation (I discuss these activities in curriculum analysis). Then, children disperse into their respective classrooms for religious studies, based on their level of religious knowledge. Each class comprises ten to fifteen children and two volunteer laywomen teachers, who can substitute for each other if necessary. Boys and girls sit together on their individual mats, while performing the ritual of *samayik* (sitting in a meditative posture without worldly activities). The seating arrangement is similar to that we saw in the two Digambar *pathshalas* of the previous case study.

The Gyanshala uniform contributes to the Terapanthi identity that leaders have sought to foster. This identity distinguishes a *gyanarthi* from a *vidyarthi*, a non-Gyanshala attendee. Children carry a blue coloured backpack called the Gyanshala *upasana* kit (a religious bag), with a Gyanshala symbol and slogan printed on the bag.[341] The elements of a uniform and a school bag indicate the deliberate attempt to modernise Gyanshala education and create a desired identity. Figure 12 represents *gyanarthis* receiving guidance from a visiting *sadhvi*.

Figure 12. Gyanshala participants performing *samayik*, Jaipur.

In both the Digambar *pathshalas* that I discussed in the previous case study, children were dressed modestly in casual clothes. In contrast, in Gyanshalas there is a preference for a

[341] Upasana kit contains a squarish mat (*asana*), a thin cotton cloth to cover boy's body, 27- beaded string (*mala*), a thin white colour rectangular strip of cloth to cover mouth (*mukhvastrika*). It also has books, notebook, and pencil or pen. Refer back to Figure 9.

uniform and a badge, indicating that identity is crucial for Terapanthis. Whether they are settled outside Rajasthan, where they are surrounded by non-Jains, or in Jaipur, where both non-Terapanthis Jains and non-Jains surround them, the Gyanshala uniform contributes to the overall identity.

In sum, my primary base was BSK. However, to gain a broader perspective, I visited all three Jaipur community centres several times, and found that they had similar arrangements. BSK was ideal for my study because its Gyanshala started functioning properly from 2008 onwards. The following curriculum analysis stems from Gyanshala curricular material and my observations of and interactions with mendicants, laywomen, and children involved in Jaipur Gyanshalas and other Gyanshalas in general.

Section II: Curricular Analysis of Value Education

This section analyses the first Gyanshala curricular component, Value Education, also called *sanskar gyana*. The significance of Value Education is evident, as forty of 120 minutes is spent on developing this component in a weekly Gyanshala. The examples that I cite are drawn from Gyanshala textbooks. To make sense of the pedagogical content and to understand the influence of religious instruction, I address four questions that provide the framework for the analysis of the three curricular components. (1) What does the content tell us about the goals of Jain leaders? (2) How does this content construct a specific Terapanth identity? (3) How do these teachings address the challenges of migration? (4) How is curriculum influenced by middle-class aspirations?

The term Value Education needs to be defined. My Terapanthi respondents referred to a few terms interchangeably that denote establishing Jain values: *sanskar gyana*, *sanskar nirman,* and *charitra nirman*. I prefer the term value education, which is a close equivalent of these Hindi terms. In the interviews, Jain informants, regardless of whether they were in India or America, maintained that establishing Jain values or Jain *sanskar* has been the central aim of children's religious education in the Jain tradition.

Muni Udit classified the component of Value Education into two: *paramparagat sanskar* (traditional values) and *charyagat* (daily values).[342] Traditional values include being vegetarian, and refraining from alcohol, drugs or any kind of intoxication. In addition to abstaining from their consumption, children are also made aware of the need to avoid any kind of business or professional dealings concerning these items. The daily practised values

[342] Muni Udit, Interview 3 in New Delhi, March 11, 2016.

include reciting the *namokar mantra*, veneration to the *acharya*, prayer-songs, *samayik*, yoga, and Preksha meditation.[343] These values are traditional in nature and are supposed to be practised daily.

I turn now to textbooks to examine how *gyanarthis* are instructed in Value Education – both traditional and daily. First and foremost, I discuss the values that reinforce day-to-day practices, grounded in traditional Jainism. One way the educators do this is by using the middle-class value of success to convince children to take part in daily practices. For example, a Gyanshala child is supposed to chant the *namokar mantra*, the most significant Jain mantra, twenty-seven times daily.[344] This Prakrit mantra is, in fact, one of the key features of a Jain identity and the foremost Jain prayer, which a child usually learns at home. However, the inter-generational transmission of values undergoes a change in an urban setting. Prema, a senior Gyanshala teacher in Jaipur regretfully claims, "It is the influence of time and impact of migration that we teach children this traditional mantra at Gyanshalas."[345] Another teacher in Ahmedabad, Priya elaborates, "We explain to children the significance of chanting the *namokar mantra* through stories, to ensure developing faith in them."[346] One-way in which teachers convince children: "We tell children if this mantra is chanted with full faith then it destroys sins and helps them in their success."[347] We see a significant difference in the two teachers' views about the importance of the *namokar mantra* in the curriculum. Prema regrets the fact that they have to teach children the most fundamental mantra. She argues that Gyanshala time could be used in teaching more complex topics. However, Priya indicates that instead of ritualistically chanting the mantra, a *gyanarthi* chants with understanding. While the example of the *namokar mantra* reveals a distinct continuity with the past, the method of addressing the topic reflects the influence of English-medium education, which emphasises explaining the meaning over rote learning.

Another aspect of Value Education that I analyse is a combination of traditional values and those practised daily. Children's textbook, *Shishu Sanskar Bodh* Part 1, lists thirteen characteristics of a Jain child. Of these thirteen, five characteristics are specific to Jain values. The remaining eight can be categorised as general rules for an ideal child. Rules specific to the Jain religion comprise the following directives: (2) to chant *namokar mantra*

[343] Muni Udit and Muni Himanshu, *Gyanshala Eka Prarupa*, 6.
[344] As noted in Shishu Sanskar Bodh Part 1, this is the oldest Jain mantra, wherein obeisance is paid to highly elevated souls instead of to any individual person. A child recites this mantra five times in the Gyanshala class, is supposed to recite 27 times at home, and adults are expected to recite it 108 times daily.
[345] Prema, Interview in Jaipur.
[346] Priya, Interview in Ahmadabad, Hindi, February 6, 2016.
[347] Priya.

twenty-seven times daily; (3) to visit monks and nuns daily; (8) not to smoke, drink alcohol, and chew tobacco; (9) not to consume eggs, meat, or food containing them; and (12) to avoid taking food after sunset. The inclusion of such rules in a list of characteristics is most likely a result of migration to cities, where the exposure to non-Jain values is inevitable. Some of these values are written in a negative language; however, according to my respondent Gyanshala teacher in New Delhi, these values are explained using positive language.

As a part of Value Education, *gyanarthis* commit to a modern pledge.[348] Although modern in nature, this concept has been traditionally followed by Jain laity. Muni Udit claimed that *sravak manoratha* (laypeople's resolution) influenced the inclusion of the pledge in Gyanshalas. He said that in the past, *sravak* always pondered how one could lead a good and self-restrained life.[349] However, instead of such deep thoughts, Gyanshala educators have formulated a milder resolution that has been influenced by modern education. To develop social and religious values, a child recites the following Gyanshala *pratigya* (pledge or resolution):

> I am a student of Gyanshala. I am proud to participate in the Gyanshala.
> I shall always be conscious about its progress and the importance of Gyanshala.
> I shall always try to be truthful and self-controlled.
> I shall live a life free from addiction.
> I shall be humble and respectful towards monks and nuns.
> I shall respect my parents and guardians.[350]

Like the recitation of the *namokar mantra*, the Gyanshala pledge is also a routine activity conducted in groups in the prayer hall. However, unlike the previous one, this pledge has been especially composed for *gyanarthis*, and, thus, remains largely unknown outside of Gyanshala schools. By reciting these words, a child commits to be alert towards the well-being of the Gyanshala, be *anushasit* (disciplined), *satyanishtha* (honest), and develop *sanyam* (self-control). The child also commits to refrain from intoxicants. Educators believe if children repeat such values every week, these values will be impressed on their tender minds and reflect in their behaviour in later years. Equally important is to revere monks, nuns, and elderly members in the house.

I assert that the pledge has been modified to align with the modern education system, with the intention of providing students with a familiar method of value transmission. While the Shyamnagar Digambar Pathshala departs from tradition by abandoning the vow in order

[348] A traditional vow is a promise that a child commits: either to abstain from consuming cake-containing egg, or for performing *samayik* once or twice in a month.
[349] Muni Udit, Interview 3 in New Delhi.
[350] Sumermal and Udit, *Shishu Sanskar Bodh*, 2013, 1:3. Translated by the author from Hindi to English.

to make religious education more appealing to children, Gyanshala education takes a middle-path in including the pledge for cultivating moral and ethical behaviour amongst learners. Overall, the tone of the Gyanshala pledge is distinctly idealistic, where children theoretically agree and mechanically recite the rules.

Along with the pledge, children sing a "Gyanshala song" in each class. Acharya Tulsi composed the song, especially for *gyanarthi*. This song takes the place of a school prayer. A *gyanarthi* stands with folded hands, eyes gently closed, and sings the song like a prayer. It comprises five short stanzas in Hindi and is loaded with metaphors and similes to convey religious, moral, and social values. For example, the first stanza notes:

> In the pure temple of knowledge,
> We receive true education.
> In the path of right conduct.
> We proceed step by step toward it.
> Whether it is night or day,
> There is an echo of *arham* [*tirthankar*] everywhere.[351]

Using metaphor, a Gyanshala school is compared to a pure temple of knowledge, where true education is provided. By using this phrase, the tradition places Gyanshala education above all other education. At several places in the Terapanth publications, I found that Gyanshalas seek to provide complete education by complementing the mainstream education with Value Education. The verse further emphasises that one should continuously take small steps along the path of truth. Whether it is day, which I interpret as happiness or night, which I interpret as sorrow, ultimately the aspirant retains faith in *arham*.[352] The use of figures of speech requires a certain level of cognition, the song is not self-explanatory and requires the teacher's intervention to make the deeper hidden meaning clear to young children. However, the words of the Gyanshala song, along with other verses, clearly show that Terapanthi leaders consider Gyanshala education to be the most effective means of developing Jain *sanskar* among migrant children. I have attached a translation of the song in Appendix 4.

Turning from the Gyanshala song to the eighty-one virtues that feature in Value Education, I discuss one virtue – vegetarianism. This is because it came up in my interviews as one of the major concerns resulting from migration.[353] Thus, training in vegetarianism has become imperative in religious instruction of Jain children. This discussion also provides a basis for comparing how other case studies address vegetarianism. Other virtues listed under the category of Value Education or *sanskar gyana* in the Gyanshala curriculum include the

[351] The song is drawn from *Shishu Sanskar Bodh Part 1* and translated by the author.
[352] Tirthankars are prophets of Jainism; they are the omniscient spiritual teachers.
[353] Muni Udit and Muni Himanshu, *Gyanshala Eka Prarupa*, 20–21.

virtues of *discipline, tolerance, forgiveness, and detachment*, which are all explained through the telling of events from the lives of important figures from the Jain tradition and Terapanthi monks and nuns.[354]

The philosophical principle underlying vegetarianism in Jainism is *ahimsa* (nonviolence) or non-injury to animals. For Jains, being vegetarian is also being religious, ethical, and moral. In recent times, Jains have been providing a lot of scientific reasoning to the non-Jain world in support of vegetarianism. This application of scientific principles is not limited to vegetarianism but is carried across several other Jain precepts.[355] Gyanshala teachers apply a similar strategy to explain several principles, including vegetarianism, to convince the new generation of Jains how scientific the Jain religion is. Such innovative treatment in religious education is similar to my analysis in the Digambar *pathshala* curriculum. Some Gyanshala teachers with whom I interacted show children pictures of human anatomy and physiology, either from science books or through Power Point presentations. A Gyanshala teacher in Ahmedabad explained:

> It is not enough to tell the present generation of children that we are born in a Jain family and should thus refrain from consuming eggs or meat. We explain to them that our digestive system and jaws are different from carnivorous animals. The enzymes produced to digest food also vary. Carnivores produce acidic enzymes and saliva, whereas we secrete alkaline. Also, carnivores have claws and sharp front teeth to kill prey, whereas we have flat molars for chewing and grinding. When we see carnivorous animals like lions or tigers we find them cruel and fierce. But when we see herbivorous animals like rabbits or deer we find them cute. Now you decide what you would like to be.[356]

In effect, the responsibility for explaining the value of vegetarianism rests largely on Gyanshala teachers, as the textbook, *Shishu Sanskar Bodh,* merely states: "Don't take eggs, meat, and foods containing these."[357] This rule is the ninth characteristic from a list of thirteen characteristics of a Jain child listed in the manual.

Imposing such a rule without any explanation is not effective in current times, and I did not find any reference to the consequences of consuming non-Jain food in the textbooks. It is the Gyanshala teachers who discuss with children the benefits of being vegetarian and the disadvantages of eating non-vegetarian food, and who encourage children to check the

[354] Teachers use many reference materials and the storybook named *Jain Katha Kosh*.
[355] In course of my fieldwork, I attended a conference in Mumbai titled "International Conference on Science and Jain Philosophy," organised by Jain Vishva Bharati, Ladnun and the Indian Institute of Technology, Mumbai. Most of the papers presented by national and international scholars stressed the scientific basis of Jain tenets. It will be helpful to see, "The Scientization and Academization of Jainism."
[356] Priya, Interview in Ahmadabad.
[357] Sumermal and Udit, *Shishu Sanskar Bodh*, 2013, 1:5.

green or red dot printed on packaged food, before purchasing it.[358] In India, the red dot indicates non-vegetarian food, whereas the green dot indicates vegetarian. In this way, *gyanarthis* are made aware of how to refrain from eating non-vegetarian cakes, chocolates, biscuits, noodles or other food items containing eggs. In this context, Muni Udit earlier warned that if non-vegetarianism was not checked in time, then immigrant children in migrant regions would possibly start consuming food that is not Jain.

The topic of vegetarianism receives less attention than the topics related to faith formation. Given the importance of vegetarianism, it is striking that *Shishu Sanskar Bodh* Parts 1 to 5 does not discuss this topic in detail. Instead, a lot of material is devoted to developing faith in the Terapanth tradition and praise for *acharyas*. By contrast, we saw that the Chitrakoot Pathshala curriculum emphasises Jain dietary practices and specifically Digambar dietary practices in detail. The Hindi song "*Sunday ho ya Monday, Koi Kabhi na khao Anday*," sung to the tune of "Macarena" is impressed upon young Pathshala students through regular recitation. In Chapter six, I will show that immigrant American Jain children recite an English song entitled, *I am a Vegetarian*, sung to the tune of "Old McDonald had a farm," to refrain migrant children from consuming food containing eggs.

Apart from vegetarianism, the traditional Jain dietary practices, which comprise abstaining from several root vegetables including potatoes, onions, garlic or even carrots, have no place in the Gyanshala textbooks. Similarly, some dietary practices that elders or traditional Jains observe are not emphasised in the curriculum, for example, refraining from consuming fresh fruits and vegetables on certain days according to the lunar calendar. Prema, a senior Gyanshala teacher, stated that such constraints are not practised actively in nuclear families today.[359] This change indicates that Terapanthi leaders have considered current eating practices in formulating the rules, because it seems traditional eating practices are challenging to follow strictly in Terapanth households. This departure from traditional practices in constructing dietary guidelines is most likely according to the urbanised middle-class Terapanthis. This decline in traditional dietary practices confirms that even those children who undergo religious education will be unfamiliar with old dietary practices.

One final feature of Value Education and a distinct aspect of Gyanshala curriculum is the incorporation of fifteen minutes of a combination of simple *asana* (yoga posture), *mahaprana dhvani* (sound meditation), *kayotsarga* (relaxation), and *anupreksha*

[358] The system of labelling packaged food with colour codes has been enforced since October 4, 2001 by The Food Safety and Standards Authority of India (FSSAI).
[359] Prema, Interview in Jaipur.

(contemplation) from two Terapanth projects called Preksha Meditation (PM) and the Science of Living (SOL). This feature distinguishes Gyanshala from the other two schools under examination in this thesis. These exercises are included in the curriculum to develop self-control and will power to maintain the resolutions taken.[360] Furthermore, these exercises are intended to help children focus better, develop memory, and maintain good health. One example from the curricular material for developing memory provides some idea of how this is done.[361]

> • Preparation: Sit in *sukhasana* (relaxed posture), palms in *gyana mudra* (hand posture)
> • Keep your neck and shoulder in a straight line.
> • Keep your eyes gently closed.
> • Recite *mahaprana dhvani* (sound meditation) three times.
> • Sit motionless, release the tension, and loosen the body muscles.
> Method:
> • Place your right hand on the centre of your head, which is the centre of knowledge.
> • Focus your mind on the centre of knowledge and visualise a bright yellow colour on the centre of knowledge.
> • Mentally suggest to yourself that the molecules of knowledge are getting active.
> • Contemplate on this thought for three times.
> • Then contemplate three times: "I can experience that molecules of knowledge are getting activated."
> • Now contemplate three times: "My memory is developing." "I can feel that my memory has developed."
> • Chant the following mantra 21 times: *namo nanassa* (knowledge is regarded)
> Benefits: Memory develops, and knowledge comes easily.

Memorisation is a crucial aspect that is seen throughout the Gyanshala curriculum. By providing the tool to develop memory, Gyanshala attempts to counter some of the problems associated with rote learning. The Gyanshala teacher said: "Yoga and meditation are desired by both children and parents. These activities also help in better performance in mainstream education."[362] The consensus amongst the Gyanshala teachers is that PM is included to bring a balance between the theoretical and practical aspects of Gyanshala education. Although PM is a fully developed system of meditation for adults rooted in Jain philosophy, the Gyanshala team has been very selective in picking components that they believe would be useful for young learners. Also, by introducing simple PM techniques at a young age, the team ensures that later these children will not explore such tools outside the tradition in the blooming market of yoga and meditation.

[360] Muni Udit and Muni Himanshu, *Gyanshala Eka Prarupa*, 11–15.
[361] Muni Udit and Muni Himanshu, 15. This is author's translation.
[362] Prema, Interview in Jaipur.

The examples constituting Value Education in Gyanshalas reflect the Terapanth leaders' sincere attention to maintaining the tradition. The relevance of Value Education for the tradition is evident as Acharya Tulsi first spelt it out in response to migration, which has continued until now. Reviving the values and practices that have been disrupted as a result of migration and middle-class aspirations with the use of songs, pledges, scientific evidence, has been one of the key aspects of contemporary Gyanshala education. This blend of continuity and innovation in the development of Gyanshala education is apparent in the glimpses of curricular material that I have provided. This investment in modernising children's religious education is a new trend, a response to the ways that upward mobility is influencing Terapanthi Jains.

Section III: Curricular Analysis of Faith Education

In addition to *sanskar gyana* (Value education), the second curricular component, *dharmik gyana* (Faith Education) is also central to Gyanshala education. In examining this component, I follow the similar strategy of presenting excerpts from the textbooks, *Shishu Sanskar Bodh* Parts 1-5. The significance of Faith Education in the curriculum is evident, as forty-five out of 120 minutes in the weekly Gyanshala education is spent on developing faith among learners. My analysis shows that in Gyanshala education, the trained volunteer laywomen teachers facilitate Faith Education to bridge intergenerational gaps and help learners to engage with the tradition and its identity.

Like Value Education, it is important to define Faith Education. The literal translation of *dharmik gyana* is religious education. However, because Gyanshalas do not provide a broader understanding of religion, I prefer to translate this term as Faith Education. In other words, religious education that attempts to acculturate the next generation in the traditional beliefs is faith-based education. I divide the analysis of Faith Education according to three key topics that emerge prominently from the contents of the textbooks: (i) Terapanth sectarian identity, (ii) *acharyas,* and (iii) Jain cardinal principles. Although some aspects in these topics overlap, it is useful to analyse them separately.

I begin with the topic of the "Terapanth" as a sect to support my claim that Gyanshalas teach religious songs to children with the intention of developing a faith identity. Three songs form a part of religious education: the Anuvrat song, the Terapanth song, and the Sangh song. Acharya Tulsi composed these songs, and these are included in the textbooks because strands of religious history, social values, and moral concepts are interwoven in the

stanzas. Of the three songs, I examine the "Terapanth Song" and the "Sangh Song" to trace the interweaving.

The Terapanth Song adopts bold phrases in praise of the tradition and its founder. This effort reinforces the tradition's values and fosters a Terapanthi identity. This Song appears as the first lesson of *Shishu Sanskar Bodh* Part 4 with the following instruction: "Terapanth *geet* (song) to be learnt in order and in tune."[363] The chorus and the fourth stanza follow:

> Oh Lord! This Terapanth tradition is great.
> We have received and will receive from this spiritual gift.
> Oh Lord! This Terapanth is great.
>
> (4) Immortal stories of sacrifices,
> Symbolism of hard work,
> Never gave up in sufferings and conflicts,
> [Terapanth] a field developed through Acharya Bhikshu's austerities,
> and Tulsi's research.

The above lines enthusiastically hail both the tradition and the *acharyas*. Most importantly, Terapanthis are fortunate to receive the spiritual gift of the Terapanth tradition. The phrase "immortal stories of sacrifices" is also an attempt made by the *acharya* to develop a vigorous devotion among children for the tradition. Further stanzas of the song introduce children to key Terapanth features beyond *hard work*, such as *service to humanity* and *discipline* to emphasise the significance of such values and cultivate them from a young age. The fourth stanza recalls Acharya Bhikshu's austerities and Tulsi's characteristics of experimenting, thus, reemphasise the importance of both in the Terapanth tradition.

The "Sangh *geet*" (Community's Song) presents Acharya Bhikshu's reforms and his emphasis on discipline. This song is also called the Terapanth anthem and is sung four to five times a year on special Terapanth occasions.[364] Appearing as lesson two in *Shishu Sanskar Bodh* Part 2, children memorise it by singing it, as with the previous song. The song starts in the following way:

> Hail hail! This religious tradition is always on the move Love for the tradition and its authority [*acharya*] is unmoving.
>
> (1) Our good fortune has arisen
> Lord, we have received the Terapanth
> One right guru one authority
> One discipline one ideology.

[363] Muni Sumermal and Muni Udit, eds., *Shishu Sanskar Bodh*, vol. 4 (Kolkata: Jain Shwetambar Terapanthi Mahasabha, 2013), 3.
[364] Muni Sumermal and Muni Udit, eds., *Shishu Sanskar Bodh*, vol. 2 (Kolkata: Jain Shwetambar Terapanthi Mahasabha, 2013), 5. This is author's translation.

The Sangh *geet* reinforces the fact that the central authority of the *acharyas* sets the Terapanth tradition apart and describes Tulsi's desire to see the tradition prosper following the path of love, respect, and devotion to *acharyas*.

Two distinct characteristics can be discerned in the preceding examples of prayer songs and several others in the curricular material. First, the name "Tulsi" appears in the last stanza of each song; this inclusion indicates that Acharya Tulsi composed them. Second, an instruction follows each song that it should be sung in the rhythm of another mentioned popular song. This feature shows that although the songs do not have their own tune, the Gyanshala team believe that through singing, children can memorise faster and retain longer. This pedagogy is similar to the Digambar *pathshalas* where singing features prominently.

Yet another example that prominently features Terapanth values is through catechism. In addition to the prayer songs, children learn about sectarian values, Terapanth philosophies, and key terminologies in the form of question-answers. A passage of catechism follows:

> Q. Why was Terapanth formed?
> A. The Terapanth was formed as a part of a revolution against the declining code of conduct in the religion.
> Q. What is the meaning of Terapanth?
> A. It means O lord! It is your path.
> Q. Why don't Terapanthis believe in idol worship?
> A. Terapanthis do not believe in idols because idols do not have *charitra*.[365]

The above example of catechism shows innovation in dealing with the topic of introducing Terapanth philosophies and values to children in simple language, using a question and answer method. Like the prayer songs, children memorise long lists of these fixed answers. This kind of rote learning is different from the traditional system – it does not have technical terms in classical languages that can add difficulty in memorising. There are many such examples in the textbooks whereby children are introduced to Acharya Tulsi's initiatives through questions. A key feature of this question-answer paradigm is that it lacks any detailed explanation. Therefore, the responsibility rests on teachers to deal with the subjects in a way a child can understand. Many Gyanshala children lack background in Terapanth values due to the disintegration of extended family and an increase in dual-career homes. Hence, through its carefully selected material, Gyanshala education seeks to overcome this gap. In this respect, teacher training has become necessary for Gyanshalas. The inclusion of prayer songs

[365] Sumermal and Udit, 2:14.

and catechism lessons seeks to counter the challenges posed by migration such as the changes in family religious instruction.

The second topic of *acharya* further emphasises Faith Education. To promote the ability of behaving according to the Terapanth rules of courtesy, a *gyanarthi* is required to memorise *guru vandana* (veneration for the spiritual teacher) with actions referred to as *panchanga* (five-body-parts).[366] Muni Udit maintains *guru vandana* to be a traditional Jain practice. Children perform *vandana* as a group activity during the time allocated for prayers. Irrespective of whether a child has met the *acharya* or not, the child memorises the Prakrit verses with correct pronunciation, using the systematic actions. In the classroom, the *gyanarthi* faces the wall in the direction of the current *acharya* – north, south, east, or west – with or without his presence, kneels with folded hands, and recites the verse while touching the forehead to the ground. A part of the translated verse runs:

> I adore, make obeisance, revere and respect you, the auspicious, the absolute good, the embodiment of religion, and the truly learned. I pray to you, honour you with head bowed down.[367]

The qualities expressed in the verse are not specific to one *acharya* but common across the lineage of all Terapanthi *acharyas*. Tradition believes that by reciting *guru vandana* for several years, the child will develop faith in the *acharya* and strengthen their Terapanthi identity.[368] A second value is explained through scientific evidence. The physical movements associated with this *vandana* influence the balanced secretion of hormones from the adrenal glands; this increases the blood supply to the brain, further boosting memory and a balanced growth.[369] Associating this traditional feature with such benefits and scientific evidence clearly demonstrates how educators convince contemporary generation.

Even then, the child may not learn to idealise the guru by mechanically repeating certain verses. Therefore, teachers tell inspiring stories from the events and lives of Terapanth *acharyas* to strengthen children's devotion and help them develop virtue. In an interview, a senior Gyanshala teacher in Ahmedabad shared one such narrative from the life of the fourth Terapanth *acharya*, Acharya Jitmal (1803–1881):

> One day, during his Jaipur *chaturmas*, Acharya Jitmal was composing some poetic verses, sitting outside the community centre. He was completely engrossed in his composition that he did not look up to view the entertaining play that was being performed on the road. One opponent of the Terapanth tradition spied on the *acharya*, and eagerly waited for the moment when Acharya Jitmal would lift his

[366] Touching the ground with knees, chest, chin, temple, and forehead.
[367] Sumermal and Udit, *Shishu Sanskar Bodh*, 2013, 1:10.
[368] Prema, Interview in Jaipur.
[369] Udit, "Gyanshala Administration," 72.

> face. Then, the opponent would get an opportunity to criticise the Terapanth *acharya* and the tradition, saying that they greatly enjoy entertainment. In contrary to the opponent's expectations, Acharya Jitmal was completely focussed in composing verses. He did not give the opponent a chance to criticise. After the play was over, the opponent revealed his intentions to the *acharya* and praised him and the robustness of the Terapanth tradition.[370]

The above story is drawn from the biographic sketch of the *acharya*. Acharya Jitmal is supposed to have composed 2,500,000 verses in his lifetime in four Indian languages: Prakrit, Sanskrit, Hindi, and Rajasthani. Such stories do not appear in the textbooks, but teachers are well-versed in them due to their mandatory teacher-training programme and a large body of reference material. The story reveals two striking messages that the Gyanshala team seeks to transfer to children: first, the value of *ekagrata* (concentration) is required to carry out any work, and second to overcome the temptations of television and the Internet. This is one story shared by the teacher. The specific stories told to *gyanarthis* differ from school to school and teacher to teacher, but the pedagogy remains the same. In essence, core values have been extrapolated from the lives of *acharyas* to build the moral foundation of children.

Yet another example from the curricular material demonstrates the importance of *acharyas*, a representative of a guru, in the Terapanth tradition. To venerate the guru, an *ashtakam* (eight-versed hymn) is composed in Sanskrit by the current *acharya* for the previous one, showing the devotion of the current *acharya* towards the previous one. For instance, Acharya Mahashraman composed an *ashtakam* for Acharya Mahapragya, who in turn composed one for Acharya Tulsi, and Acharya Tulsi composed *ashtakams* for both Acharya Bhikshu and Tirthankar Mahavir. In other words, *acharyas* set an example by showing their devotion to their guru, for their adherents to follow. Children memorise these Sanskrit *ashtakams* over a period of five years, which reinforces the significance of the *acharyas'* roles in the Terapanth tradition. Scholars claim that Terapanthis treat their *acharyas* as "an embodiment of the sacred."[371] The importance given to *ashtakams* in the curriculum underlines the centrality of *acharyas* or the living guru.[372] Therefore, I assert that the significance of the *acharya* in the Terapanth tradition is equivalent to the importance of the *deva* in the Digambar tradition.

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[370] Ravina, Interview in Ahmadabad.
[371] Jain, "Health, Well-Being, and the Ascetic Ideal," 48.
[372] The Shvetambar Terapanth emphasis on devotion to the living guru is also seen increasingly in the other sectarian Jain traditions. See the distinction between older impersonalised ritual modes of mendicant-lay interaction and newer personalised guru-disciple bhakti modes in John E. Cort, *Jains in the World: Religious Values and Ideology in India*, Reprint edition (Oxford University Press, 2011), 114–16.

The recitation of *ashtakam* varies from previously discussed veneration to guru. Although both are recited in praise of the guru or *acharya*, *ashtakams* are in Sanskrit and narrated on special occasions, whereas *guru vandana* is in Prakrit and is supposed to be performed daily.

Teachers have devised an innovative technique that helps children memorise a series of names and fundamental facts. Several conversations I had with teachers regarding memorisation revealed a striking method that is in contrast with the traditional form of memorisation. For example, the names of *acharyas* are different from the names children are used to hearing in the present century in their mainstream schools. Thus, teachers have composed short stories out of the *acharyas'* names. These stories vary from one Gyanshala school to another, as local Gyanshala teachers have composed them. I present one such story shared by the Ahmedabad Gyanshala teacher, with the names of ten *acharyas* in parentheses:

> Once upon a time there was a boy named (*Bhikshu*). He was walking through the forest and found a heavy (*Bhar*) rock. He wanted to move the rock; a passer-by gave an idea (*Rai*) how to move it. With his idea, the boy succeeded (*Jit*). As Bhikshu proceeded he met his friend (*Maghva*). Both together found a precious gemstone (*Manak*). They walked together, but one of them did not see the branch (*Dal*) of a tree and fell. The gemstone fell near a black (*Kalu*) well. Bhikshu found the stone near the (*Tulsi*) plant. Tulsi gives 100% oxygen, and if we live near the Tulsi plant then our brain will also receive good oxygen and we will acquire great knowledge (*Mahapragya*).[373]

The above is an abstract story. It does not necessarily contain any moral or ethical values like some of the prayer songs, but it still indicates the benefits of teamwork, and the significance of oxygen for the brain to acquire developing knowledge. However, the main purpose is for children to memorise the names in sequence. The names of ten *acharyas* that appear in the story are: Bhikshu, Rai, Bhar, Jit, Maghva, Manak, Dal, Kalu, Tulsi, Mahapragya. The Gyanshala children are familiar with the current *acharya*, Mahashraman, whose name does not appear in the story. Teachers usually shuffle the names and test children's memories by asking them randomly.

The preceding two topics, the Terapanth as a sect and *acharyas* tell young ones what they must believe in, but do not necessarily explain how these beliefs translate into the realities of life. The material communicates to children some information about the tradition and encourages loyalty to the tradition. By integrating prayers in the curriculum, the loss in values due to the disintegration of extended family is addressed. Likewise, the problem of image-worshipping, both in Hindu and Jain temples, is addressed by introducing Terapanth

[373] Ravina, Interview in Ahmadabad.

values in simple terms. Although the material is a blend of old and new, the use of Roman transliteration alongside the Hindi and classical languages reveals that children face difficulty in reading these two languages. Despite this difficulty, children are made to memorise Sanskrit and Hindi verses in the form of songs and *ashtakams*. This treatment of Faith Education shows that even in applying the memorisation technique Gyanshala methods integrate the old with the new.

A final lesson that I examine in the category of Faith Education is that of fundamental Jain principles. Of the many, I discuss *pachees bol*, a list of twenty-five fundamentals or metaphysical realities. Many Jain informants, regardless of Digambar or Shvetambar, maintain that the list of metaphysical realities is an important aspect of understanding Jainism. They also believe that faith for the tradition will be firm if it is developed with understanding. Therefore, it is taught in Gyanshalas, the Chitrakoot Digambar Pathshala, and in American Jain Pathshalas. As mentioned previously, because of the complexities associated with understanding and memorising the fundamental *tattvas*, the Shyamnagar Digambar Pathshala does not include this module in their curriculum. The three other religious schools have included this list in similar fashion. The differences lie in the illustrations and the use of languages. The example of the first *tattva* provides some idea of this metaphysical component. In the words of a Gyanshala teacher: "We don't instil fear in children that if a child eats non-veg food, the child will go to *narak* (hell). We explain to them the first *tattva* of *pachees bol* comprises four kinds of realms: heaven, hell, human, and the animal kingdom. Where would they like to go?"[374] Including the list of *tattvas* indicates how children are encouraged to engage in this dynamic process of religious education so that, with understanding, they can further develop faith for the tradition. This example indicates continuity with the past; yet, it indicates a new approach. The old values are packaged in contemporary ways to sustain children's interest in religious education.

My analysis of Faith Education demonstrates that it has a deliberate focus on information retention. Some examples that I have cited in the discussion of this component indicate that individual teachers have undertaken a creative approach to memorisation and the way they explain the religious education material to children. This creative approach becomes even more crucial because some of the material children are using has been drawn from religious texts developed for adult laity and reproduced in *Shishu Sanskar Bodh*. The new material is representative of contemporary learning styles. The several excerpts that I

[374] Leela, Interview in New Delhi, October 7, 2015.

have analysed show that part of the focus is to introduce and impress Terapanth values, faith for the Terapanth *acharyas*, and fundamental Jain principles. But the curricular material does not encourage critical thinking and engaging with the content. Most of the teaching-learning activity is dependent on rote learning, which does not encourage extemporaneous thinking amongst children. My own observations in Jaipur Gyanshalas confirm that children do not ask questions; they recite with the teacher and other children literally word by word. The highest level of thinking is generated through games and competitions that form an important part of the pedagogy (the topic of the next section). Furthermore, apart from a few songs and *ashtakams*, it is mainly the effort of clarifying principles that modernises Gyanshala education. This approach to understanding rather than merely learning the material is new and aligns equally well with my Digambar Pathshalas. I next discuss Personality Development, an entirely new component employed in contemporary Gyanshalas.

Section IV: Curricular Analysis of Personality Development

Having discussed *sanskar gyana* (Value Education), and *dharmik gyana* (Faith Education), the final component is *vyaktitva nirman* (Personality Development). While the first two were carried forward from the early Gyanshala to the contemporary, Personality Development is a new feature. Although new, it is rooted in the values of first two with distinct changes in their form and presentation. Of the total 120 minutes of class time, twenty-five minutes has been assigned for activities aimed towards Personality Development. As noted, forty minutes has been allocated for Value Education, and forty-five minutes for Faith Education. In spite of allocating less time to Personality Development, it is still a distinguishing feature of contemporary Gyanshala education. It seeks to address modern needs, keep parents satisfied, and bind children together. Recalling Muni Udit's words, this new feature is intended to develop a child's inner potentialities by providing a platform for children and adolescents to develop their talents through a wide range of extra-curricular activities. This third component also provides unprecedented opportunities to laywomen housewives to present their creativity, talents, and leadership in what was traditionally considered a man's world. The following discussion reveals that Personality Development is an innovation in contemporary Gyanshala education.

The manual *Gyanshala Eka Prarupa* lists fourteen items under Personality Development, including singing, painting, quizzes, reciting poetry, writing, public speaking, pronunciation practice, and cultural programmes. Depending on the numbers of children and

their interest, some Gyanshalas employ resource teachers to develop skills in drawing, singing, handwriting, and public speaking, to name a few. During my fieldwork, I met a female handwriting expert in Devanagari, and a drawing teacher in the Jaipur Gyanshala. The role of the handwriting expert was to encourage learners to practise writing in Hindi. Children usually shy away from writing in Hindi. These are paid teachers and not necessarily Jains. The fact that Gyanshala appoints such resource persons reveals the significance of this goal in the overall objectives of the Gyanshala education.

A distinct feature of the fourteen activities is that threads of Value Education and Faith Education run through most of these activities. In conducting these activities teachers frequently organise competitions and children participate in them enthusiastically. Gyanshala teachers organise singing competitions in which participating children sing one of the prayer songs from their textbooks, *Shishu Sanskar Bodh* or any other religious song. This is one example of Personality Development in which the features of religious education and competition are embedded in the single activity of singing.

Whether singing or any of the fourteen activities, Gyanshala education adopts competition, which is a key element of modern education system. Common examples of competition across Gyanshalas are poster and drawing competitions. For instance, the Jaipur Gyanshala organised a poster competition on the theme "Free from Addiction." My fieldwork revealed the following popular themes: "Mahavir and His Life," "The Environment," "Saving Water," and "Divali" (festival). Teachers describe and discuss the theme with children, and the children make posters at home. The posters are then displayed for the community's viewing at the Terapanth community centres. The assessment is usually internal, but sometimes an expert in the field judges the posters for awards. Children are then awarded with first, second, and third prizes, and a consolation prize is given to each remaining participant. Both prize distribution and competition are middle-class influences on Gyanshalas. Competition is a method rigorously adapted by the mainstream English-medium education, and this is another example of how Gyanshala education may be driven by the mainstream, although its purposes and goals are different from those schools.

In contemporary Gyanshalas, competitions are organised to motivate children to learn. In one of my class observations in a Jaipur Gyanshala, I saw Gyanshala children participating in a quiz competition, modelled on a popular television show, "Wheel of Fortune." Boys and girls sat together on a rug, almost covering the entire floor, and were divided into four groups. One volunteer teacher asked the questions, another teacher turned

the wheel made of thick cardboard, and I recorded the scores on the whiteboard.[375] Indicating the children's enthusiasm, their eyes were fixed on the scoreboard to check whether I was writing the correct figures or not. Questions were based on their Gyanshala textbooks. What I observed was the group that was losing was terribly disheartened, whereas the group that was winning buzzed with happiness. Apparently, a healthy spirit of competition was lacking. The divisiveness displayed, in my view, contrasted with the Gyanshala philosophy of brotherhood, which appears in the Gyanshala song. However, children enjoyed participating in the quiz. The explanation, according to Muni Udit, was that competitions are to motivate children to learn and an opportunity to reward them with gifts.[376]

A few more examples from my fieldwork further clarify the Personality Development module and how teachers explore several methods to make learning interesting. In the following example, Kiran, a Gyanshala teacher in Jaipur, shared her views on learning through extra-curricular activities:

> We organise various competitions including drawing, recitation, and games. For instance, last week, one of our young teachers developed a game called 'joining the dots.' Through this game we could test children's *vandana path*. Then we rewarded the first, second and third winner and gave consolation prizes to motivate other children.[377]

Priya, a Gyanshala teacher in Ahmedabad shared her views regarding quizzes:

> In 2014, Terapanth celebrated the100th birth centenary of Acharya Tulsi. On this occasion, I prepared 100 questions related to the *acharya's* life. Children learned them, and we organised a quiz, in which they participated with enthusiasm. Through this process, at least children become familiar with Acharya Tulsi's life.[378]

Most of the preceding activities involve memorising and reciting, but in an interesting way, as articulated in the reformed goals. To generate interest among children, teachers adopt creative methods to make memorising less strenuous through games, quizzes, and competitions. In the previous curricular analysis, we saw that textbooks inadequately explain the content; thus, the responsibility for explaining and generating interest falls on teachers. Furthermore, we see that the activities in both examples above stress either the *acharya* or veneration to *acharyas*. This shows that teachers are specifically trained to emphasise the

[375] On replicating games and quiz from popular media, in children's education, see M. Whitney Kelting, "Phone-a-Friend: Jains Decoding Authority, Knowledge and Trivia," in *Incompatible Visions: South Asian Religions in History and Culture: Essays in Honour of David M. Knipe*, ed. James Blumenthal (Madison: WI: University of Wisconsin, 2005), 117–40.
[376] Muni Udit, Interview 3 in New Delhi.
[377] Kiran, Interview in Jaipur, October 12, 2015.
[378] Priya, Interview in Ahmadabad.

central most distinguishing feature of the Terapanth tradition. This approach reinforces my claim that contemporary Gyanshalas focus closely on the Terapanthi identity.

Cultural programmes feature prominently in Personality Development. Gyanshalas facilitate learning and develop confidence in public speaking through hosting cultural programmes mainly on three specific occasions: Gyanshala *divas* (day), the third Sunday of August; Mahavir Jayanti, and Paryushan (the yearly Shvetambar Jain festival). These programmes develop a deep sense of personal honour, promote culture, and seek to bring the community together. According to a Gyanshala teacher in New Delhi, Leela: "Children learn through enacting stories and prayer-songs during the Gyanshala cultural programmes." Leela developed the following skit, which strikingly represents Jain middle-classness. Leela narrated the following play with great enthusiasm:

> During Paryushan, Gyanshala children had presented a skit that I had prepared. The plot is there are two Jain families, each with two children; one family lives in London and the other in India.
> • First scene: The two children in London regularly go to Gyanshala, while children in India do not go to Gyanshala. The girl who attended Gyanshala gets the 'best student award,' and the boy gets the highest marks in his conventional school. Both the children credit their success to their training in Gyanshala, especially components of Preksha Meditation and the Science of Living.
> • Second scene: The two children in the Indian Jain family are arrogant. The girl fails because she watches television all the time, and the boy hits the other child and is suspended from the school.
> • Third scene is that both grandmothers meet, who are sisters. One informs the other about the benefits of Gyanshala. Now, the two children in the Indian family also join their local Gyanshala. They learn about religion and practice Preksha Meditation. The boy asks for a pardon for his misbehaviour, the principal accepts the boy back into the school. The girl also performs well in her school.[379]

The above skit draws attention to several features of Gyanshala education. First, it is not only Jain leaders or the Gyanshala team who are concerned about increasing the numbers of children participating, but teachers are making an equal effort to motivate children and the community through such cultural programmes. Second, by comparing the Gyanshalas of India to those in London, the teacher is again pointing out to the community how Gyanshalas are valued outside India. A clear distinction is also made between a *gyanarthi* and a *vidyarthi*. This distinction re-emphasises the advantages of sending children to Gyanshalas. The concern about children watching excess television aligns with Acharya Mahashraman's comments. Third, the skit introduces the community to other Terapanth initiatives: Preksha Meditation and the Science of Living. Like Gyanshala education itself, the skit also attempts to establish a connection with the past tradition, in which grandmothers played a crucial role

[379] Leela, Interview in New Delhi.

in the religious nurturing of children. Finally, and most importantly, parents are proud to see their children perform on stage and are impressed with the learning opportunities that children receive in Gyanshala. Participating in such skits leads to the building of self-confidence in a child.

The last example of how the curriculum pursues Personality Development shows that religion fuses with nationalism in the cultural programmes. Sadhvi Maitri Prabha stated in her interview that they encourage national values and love for one's country in classroom lessons.[380] My visit to Acharya Mahashraman in Gulabbagh, in the state of Bihar, coincided with India's 68th Republic Day. On this occasion, fifty Gyanshala children performed cultural items on the theme of *India and Patriotism* on stage. Their performances included songs, dances, and a skit. It was striking to see how religion was fused with nationalism. Perhaps such infusions attempt to address certain needs that digress from exclusively religious education in order to attract both children and parents. My local respondent, Shikha, a Gyanshala teacher, elaborated: "We use such opportunities to spread the word of Gyanshala in the community. Our aim is to motivate parents and children to have increased participation."[381] By "opportunity" Shikha meant the presence of many laity; the Republic Day allowed them to extend the influence of Gyanshalas among Terapanthis.

In analysing Personality Development, I have shown how Gyanshala teachers find ways of accommodating their religious beliefs and practices by integrating modern values and norms. Some form of synthesis is evident in their efforts to maintain the continuity of Terapanth values. Gyanshala teachers, all volunteer Terapanthi laywomen, exhibit their faith and devotion by interweaving the two themes, the Terapanth and *acharyas,* into most of the extra-curricular activities. Personality Development starts new trends in developing faith by encouraging numerous competitions. Along with building faith and *sanskar*, the objective is also to raise awareness of ecology, eventually relating these concepts to Jain principles.

Section V: Changing Roles in the Four-Fold Terapanthi Community

As previously noted, the Terapanthi community – monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen – stands out as a relatively strong migrant community compared with other Jain communities in India. Until the mid-twentieth century, Terapanthi monks and nuns were concentrated in the interiors of Rajasthan. This allowed a close interaction with laity and children. I have argued

[380] Prabha, Interview in Jaipur.
[381] Shikha, Interview in Gulabbagh, trans. Author, January 26, 2016. Shikha's in-laws family migrated from Bikaner in Rajasthan to Gulabbagh in Bihar 72 years ago.

that migration necessitated an adjustment in the roles of monks and nuns who were previously crucial channels in the religious education of children. In this section, I first discuss the changing roles of mendicants and then turn to the changing roles of laypeople, especially laywomen.

Changing Roles: Monks and Nuns

The recasting of religious education has had implications for the community. Children in contemporary Gyanshalas are exposed to religious education through specially prepared textbooks. This uniform curriculum, along with classroom teachings, has shifted the mendicants' roles in religious education. Unlike volunteer laywomen teachers, monks and nuns are not trained to handle a group of children in a classroom context. Monks and nuns also do not use technology, which today's children are used to. These limitations seem to have widened the gap between children and mendicants.

Presently, monks and nuns are indirectly involved in Gyanshalas. Instead of teaching children directly, their main role consists of motivating parents and children to be involved with Gyanshalas. The example of Jaipur Gyanshalas has proved how forceful, motivating speeches by nuns have revived the Gyanshalas twice. Moreover, in the past, a typical question to a child would be whether the child did *samayik* or not. This question has now changed to whether the child attends Gyanshala or not.[382]

Even during the four months of *chaturmas*, when monks and nuns are stationed at a community centre, children's interaction with them is limited to brief periods. Children go to the main hall to venerate monks and nuns before the Gyanshala begins and then return to class. In *chaturmas*, sometimes monks and nuns organise day *shivir* (camp) with the support of local communities, to reinforce Jain *sanskar* among children, but this only happens once or twice a year. Some nuns, out of personal interest, especially Maitri Prabha whom I interviewed, get involved in teaching Gyanshala children during *chaturmas,* but this is not common. A senior teacher in Jaipur found Maitri Prabha's methods of dealing with young children appealing and effective.[383] Conversely, a younger teacher disliked the nun's interjection in the routine teaching. She said, "It disturbs our schedules and lesson planning."[384]

[382] From my fieldwork notes of observing monks and nuns interacting with children at BSK, Jaipur.
[383] Prema, Interview in Jaipur.
[384] Kiran, Interview in Jaipur.

Despite such clear indication of change, some mendicants I interacted with had not noticed the shift in mendicants' roles and, thus, did not agree with my assertion. These mendicants believed that children did not visit them frequently enough, whereas those who agreed with my assertion considered language as a key obstacle contributing to the shift in roles. For example, the senior mendicants preferred to talk in Marwari, which the younger generation had difficulty understanding. The present generation of mendicants are comfortable in Hindi, and many have developed fluency in English, to accommodate the preference of the new generation. Perhaps, the older monks and nuns have not been able to follow the progressive teaching methods being implemented by contemporary Gyanshalas. The modernisation of Gyanshalas may be impeding the traditional children-mendicant relationship.

Changing Roles: From Mother to Gyanshala Teacher Ma'am

The contemporary Gyanshalas have effectively broadened the responsibilities of laywomen housewives from their primary role of housekeeping to that of Gyanshala Ma'am. Dressed in the Gyanshala uniform, a colourful sari, a middle-class Terapanthi laywoman gains power, authority, and a platform to express her creativity, thereby developing personhood, acquiring a status and enhancing her self-image and confidence in the new role of a volunteer Gyanshala teacher.[385]

This sketch of a Gyanshala teacher challenges the stereotypical image of Jain laywomen found in modern scholarly literature as "strictly confined to the domestic domain."[386] Josephine Reynell, in her study of Jaipur laywomen, provides a detailed account of how the activities of Jain laywomen are closely tied to religious activities. She describes fasting as "one of the ways through which female personhood, and particularly a sense of self can be further developed."[387] Although religion is central to Jain Terapanthi laywomen's daily life, Gyanshala teachers transcend the stereotypical image, finding religious merit in teaching *dharma* (religion) to children.

Furthermore, a range of rewards from teaching in contemporary Gyanshala has resolved the earlier challenge of the unavailability of the trained teachers facing Jaipur Gyanshalas. The rewards include the community's approbation, family appreciation,

[385] From my observations, and formal and informal interactions with teachers.
[386] Reynell, "Women and Reproduction of the Jain Community," 54.
[387] Josephine Reynell, "Religious Practice and the Creation of Personhood among Svetamabr Murtipujak Jain Women in Jaipur," in *Studies in Jaina History and Culture: Disputes and Dialogues*, ed. Peter Flügel (London: Routledge Oxon, 2006), 221.

religious and spiritual development, expanded social experience, extended responsibilities, and, above all, recognition from monks and nuns. The teachers I interviewed found purpose in teaching because Gyanshala provided them with a platform that was well accepted by the community, for laywomen to express their creativity, talents, and leadership qualities, especially during cultural and annual functions. Through their effective teaching and skilful administration, some teachers have also attained the position from local Gyanshala coordinator to regional Gyanshala coordinator, which was previously a male-only domain. A fine example of this is Sarita, the laywoman regional coordinator of the Jaipur Gyanshalas.

Children of many teachers who attended Gyanshala were instrumental in bringing about a change in their lives. One such testimony by Priya is:

> I was often embarrassed when my eight-year-old daughter, a Gyanshala student, asked me questions about Jain philosophy that I was unable to answer. My inadequate religious knowledge was due to a lack of systematic organised schools for Jain religious education while I was growing up.[388]

This lack of religious knowledge was due to the impact of the second wave of migration in which the disintegration of the extended-family system and minimal exposure to mendicants were prominent. Priya further said that her daughter's questions motivated her to utilise her leisure time in learning about Jain philosophy. Eventually, she undertook the three-year teacher-training course, and she has now been a Gyanshala teacher for five years.

The above example is one of the many that I encountered among educated Terapanthi mothers, who have been drawn towards what they describe as "a meaningful spiritual career" as Gyanshala teachers. These laywomen teachers, who inspire young participants through their compassionate nurturing, have become the torchbearers of their religion. For instance, some adolescents share their personal testimonies of ways in which Gyanshala teachers have inspired them and discuss their emotional bonding with their teachers.[389]

This section has identified that Terapanthi migration has changed the roles of monks, nuns, and laywomen housewives. While middle-class aspirations have expanded contemporary Gyanshalas, the gap has increased between mendicants and children. The preceding discussion further suggests that, unlike the early Gyanshala, contemporary Gyanshalas have created interest among a larger section of the Terapanthi community. Blending the elements of traditional and modern in a rigid framework of dos and don'ts, the Gyanshala paradigm emphasises the importance of practising a Jain way of life, and also reinforces the sectarian identity by prescribing a standardised curriculum. Terapanthi middle-

[388] Priya, Interview in Ahmadabad.
[389] Girls especially get attached to their Gyanshala teachers.

class laywomen teachers play a crucial role in Gyanshala schools and have established their identity in what is generally accepted to be a man's world.

Conclusion

I started the preliminary research with an assumption that the Gyanshala curriculum for children would be a compilation of selective excerpts from *Tattvarthsutra*, the second-century foundational Sanskrit text on Jain doctrines by Acharya Umaswati, or the *Sravak Sambodh*, the twentieth-century Hindi text for householders by Acharya Tulsi. Instead, I discovered newly developed literature – *Shishu Sanskar Bodh* Parts 1-5, the twenty-first-century textbooks prepared by the Gyanshala team under the leadership of Acharya Mahashraman. This set of books, in Hindi and English, is a simplified version of householders' conduct designed to mould contemporary children into ideal *sravak* and *sravika* (laymen and laywomen). My analysis shows that Terapanthi leaders have attempted to provide an environment for children and youth where shared values, beliefs, and practices can be emphasised to form a Jain-cum-Terapanthi identity.

This chapter analysed only a few aspects of the Gyanshala curricular material, in particular, *Shishu Sanskar Bodh* Parts 1-5, in relation to the three objectives of religious education identified by the Terapanth leaders. The investigation of the first component, Value Education, shows that the Gyanshala curricular material addresses several issues of relocation, such as the weakening of religious practices, cultural values, identity, and dietary habits. The values transmitted to Gyanshala students seek to transform a *vidyarthi* (school education) into a *gyanarthi* (education with wisdom). My examination of Faith Education demonstrates that along with transmitting Jain religious values, the contemporary Gyanshala curricular material strengthens faith in *acharyas* by crystallising a self-conscious Terapanthi identity, and also prepares a thriving ground for the continuity of the Terapanth mendicant order. Finally, scrutiny of the third component, Personality Development, has disclosed that Gyanshala education intends to develop a child's inner potential by providing a platform for children and adolescents to develop their talents through a wide range of extra-curricular activities. This module seeks to address middle-classness, keeps parents satisfied, and creates an atmosphere of togetherness. The objective is to make children responsible and successful members of the community.

The three components can be distinguished from each other through the methods of teaching applied, rather than through content. Value Education is concerned with traditional

Jain values, such as being vegetarian, and those values practised daily such as *namokar mantra* and *samayik*, all part the of Jain way of living. Faith Education is concerned partially with developing faith for the tradition, devotion for Terapanth *acharyas*, and partially with religious education. Personality Development combines both components by engaging in games and competitions. It is evident that memorisation has been crucial in all three.

Similar to the Digambar *pathshalas*, the theme of memorisation is woven throughout the three components of the Gyanshala curriculum. We have seen its influence in the recitation of verses and songs and in stories composed to help children memorise the names of *acharyas.* The focus is largely on rote learning. However, by including transliteration in Roman script and providing several English translations, the Gyanshala team has made successful attempts to ease the pressure of learning, and by doing so, address the needs of a new, scattered Terapanth middle class. In the Digambar *pathshalas*, children are excused from memorising scriptures; here in the Gyanshalas, the focus is on memorising religious songs and verses composed in Hindi.

Other differences that came to light are as follows: In the Terapanth tradition, a single *acharya* (religious teacher-cum-head monk) is the head of the community and is closely connected with laity. By contrast, we saw that the Digambar community is not only huge but also comprises numerous *acharyas*. This difference further reflects in their praxis. If *guru darshan* (seeing the head monk) is important to the former, then *deva darshan* (seeing the spiritual victor's image) is crucial to the latter. Therefore, this case study furnishes information on aspects of children's religious education where *jina's* image is not involved and it explains how regional migration of Terapanthis has contributed to a shift in religious education for children.

I have shown that Gyanshala education alters the roles of monks, nuns, and laywomen housewives. This change has increased the gap between mendicants and children, which, to some extent, is filled by laywomen volunteers such as Gyanshala Ma'ams. By and large, because laywomen are doing the actual teaching at Gyanshalas, it gives them a de facto authority and an influence in shaping the tradition that they have not enjoyed earlier. This changed role of laywomen, which has led to their empowerment, shares a commonality with my Digambar respondents in the previous case study.

In Chapters two and three, my focus was on the migration of Digambar Jains from Jaipur urban areas to the suburbs. In Chapters four and five, I have examined Shvetambar Terapanthi Jains and the effect of their regional migration throughout India. In Chapters six and seven, I explore the international migration of Jains from India to the United States and

its effect on children's religious education, resulting in the formation of American Jain Pathshalas.

CHAPTER SIX

American Jain Pathshalas: Drive Towards a Pan-Jain Identity

> In India, I was some kind of *vasi* [follower of one specific sect] – Deravasi, Sthanakvasi, this *vasi* or that *vasi*. But I left all that baggage there. Here, in America, the only tradition I belong to is Jain. We must understand and accept that our children are not Indian; they are born here, and they are more American than we think. We should accept that they are also not Gujarati, Punjabi, Shvetambar, Digambar, but they are Jains.[390]

Introduction

American Jain Pathshalas form my third and final case study, providing further evidence of a shift in the religious education of Jain children and youth. Similar to the Digambar and Shvetambar Terapanth groups of the previous chapters, Jains in the United States are concerned about the transmission of their tradition to children, born and/or raised in America. Their concerns extend to transmitting their religious identity and inherited cultural values while adapting to their new environment. This case study of American Jain Pathshalas advances my argument that there has been a shift in religious education for Jain children, now explained in terms of international migration. The absence of monastic communities and a drive for a pan-Jain identity in the United States have contributed to this shift.

In this chapter, I argue that many American Jain leaders have strategically targeted children and youth in their bid for a pan-Jain identity, to strengthen the Jain community living amidst a larger Indian immigrant community. I show that the absence of monastics in North America has allowed migrant Jains to take on a non-sectarian identity, even though this practice appears detrimental to the minority Digambars. The pursuit of a non-sectarian identity distinguishes American Jain Pathshala from the two sectarian-based religious schools that I discussed in the previous chapters. Unlike the Indian Jain schools, migrant Jain children sit together, irrespective of their Indian sectarian affiliations, to pursue religious education in American Jain Pathshalas.

American Jain Pathshalas are a type of children's religious school, operating at Jain centres in the United States, which utilize a JAINA (Federations of Jain Associations in North America) Pathshala curriculum. These religious schools seek to address the disruptions of international migration experienced by the American Jain community. As a result, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, American Jain Pathshalas have become cornerstones

[390] Speech Sulekh Jain, "How to Sustain Jain Culture, Heritage, and Strengthen the Jain Community in North America" (September 20, 2015).

for the continuity of the Jain tradition, while also adapting to ambient cultures, values, and lifestyles in ways that have brought about changes to the Jain tradition.

I first explore the factors that have motivated the development of contemporary American Jain Pathshala education. Then, I examine in detail the resulting curriculum. The curricular analysis demonstrates how this curriculum is promoting new trends, in particularly by advocating a vegan life style – in dietary choice as well as in the performance of rituals – that are shaping Jain traditions. It also reveals that Jain Pathshalas aim to construct a pan-Jain identity that differs from the sectarian identities of the previous two case studies. In Chapter seven, I examine how Jain Pathshalas in Los Angeles and Phoenix implement JAINA curriculum. Together, these two chapters demonstrate that the global Jain community perceives children's religious education as a medium promoting the continuity of the Jain tradition and to development of a desired identity.

Section I: Problems Posed by International Migration of American Jains

In this section, I first provide a brief demographic sketch and an overview of the Jains in North America, on whom this case study rests. I then discuss the problems that have arisen because of their international migration from India to the United States. Lastly, I examine some initial attempts by migrant Jains to instil religious and cultural values in their children and youth, by tracing the evolution of Jain Pathshalas from the improvised "drawing-room *pathshalas"* to the centre-based "contemporary American Jain Pathshalas."

Understanding the Context: American Jain Community

Jains in the United States are a minority ethnic middle-class religious community. Most American Jains are highly educated and present a "cross-section of professionals."[391] A great influx of Indian Jains into North America occurred after changes to the USA immigration laws in 1965.[392] Consequently, North America has the largest Jain population outside of India.[393] The main incentives to leave the homeland were better employment and educational

[391] Vijay Prashad, *The Karma of Brown Folk* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001). In addition, a statistical profile of the Jain community given in the *1986 Directory of the Jains* shows that the majority were either engineers (33.1%) or in the medical field (19.8%). Prakash C. Jain, *Jains in India and Abroad: A Sociological Introduction* (New Delhi: International School for Jain Studies, 2011), 99.
Also, in 1992, The Jain Centre of Greater Boston published statistics of North American Jains in various professions, which included medicine, engineering, management, business, finance, and computing.
[392] Christopher Key Chapple, ed., *Jainism and Ecology: Nonviolence in the Web of Life* (Center for the Study of World Religions, 2002), 7.
[393] Kristi L. Wiley, *The A to Z of Jainism* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2009), 19.

opportunities.[394] Currently, the Jain population in the United States is estimated to be 75,000–100,000.[395] Of these, the majority are Gujarati-speaking Shvetambar *murtipujak* (image-worshipping). In the minority are Jains from many regions across India, representing different Jain sects. But in America, the primary identity of all Jains is either Indian American or Asian American.

Two challenges posed by international migration – their status as a minority within a minority and the absence of sectarian monastic authorities – have led American Jains to promote unity over sectarian differences. The sprinkling of 100,000 Jains among three million Asian Indians, dwarfed, in turn, by a U.S. population of 320 million (2016) has highlighted their common heritage and obscured sectarian division.[396] While the Jains' minority status has motivated them to promote unity, the lack of local Jain monastics has created a new arena in which they can pursue that goal. Less committed to an individual sect than the more rigorously trained monks, Jain laypeople have followed a pragmatic rather than a doctrinal path to establishing Jainism in the United States.

The quest for a non-sectarian unified religious and cultural identity plays a part in the formation of Jain organisations and associations in the United States. In 1981, the Federation of Jain Associations in North America (JAINA), an umbrella organisation of local Jain associations, was established in Los Angeles to cultivate religious unity, strengthen the community, and maintain Jain identity.[397] Today, JAINA, and its allied organisations, occupy a position of extreme importance for Jains in the absence of sectarian monastic authorities in America. This lay leadership claims to support children's religious education, youth activities, matrimonial information services, and unity across the spectrum of diverse Jain communities.

In the absence of sectarian monastic communities, the American Jain diaspora has sought a religious cultural identity that distinguishes them from the numerically larger non-Jain Indian immigrant community, and that, at the same time, subsumes the sectarian identities prevalent in India. The Los Angeles Pathshala coordinator, Ramesh, reflected on the resulting perspective:

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[394] Majority of my interviewees migrated in search of better employment or pursue higher education.
[395] There cannot be census data on the Jain population in the U.S. due to the first amendment of the U.S. Constitution. I therefore rely on secondary sources that provide the estimation. Allan W. Austin, *Asian American History and Culture: An Encyclopedia: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Huping Ling (Routledge, 2015), 353.
[396] "ACS Demographic and Housing Estimates - 2009-2013 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates" United States Census Bureau. accessed May 8, 2015.
[397] "About JAINA - JAINA-JainLink," accessed February 8, 2017, http://www.jaina.org/?page=AboutJAINA.

> If we have to maintain our Jain identity and flourish, then we have to get together as a group then forget sectarianism and become one big mass. The reason for this strategy is that we are very few in number. Let us say, we are fifty people. Of these, twenty-five are Shvetambar and twenty-five are Digambar. So instead of twenty-five, we are fifty now. Our differences do not bother each other, and we will still be called Jains.[398]

Ramesh's hope to overcome sectarianism echoes the quotation with which I began this chapter. In the quotation, Sulekh Jain, a prominent self-appointed Jain leader in the United States, urges the community to transcend both regional and sectarian identities which are usually associated with migrant Jains arriving from India. In fact, most of my migrant Jain respondents, including Jain Pathshala teachers and parents, stressed the importance of a non-sectarian identity. In their view, the small number of Jains in the United States was the main reason behind the decision to pursue a non-sectarian unified Jain identity. The Jain diaspora see themselves as different from Indian Jains, as Jains without borders: no national borders, no linguistic borders, and no sectarian borders. The cosmopolitan identity envisioned embodies middle-classness in its sophistication and increased flexibility for the individual.

The modest numbers have led American Jains to pool their resources, pursuing unity by building shared sacred spaces. Jains in the United States have built seventy Jain centres – also called organisations and societies – and twenty-five temples in which both Shvetambars and Digambars meet for social, cultural, and religious purposes.[399] These centres and temples provide ecumenical opportunities for Jains to integrate as a community, attempting to overcome regional and linguistic barriers. However, not all sectarian practices have been abandoned. Both image-worshipping Digambars and Shvetambars conduct their distinctive ceremonies by taking turns to perform their rituals separately in the same premises within the temple complex. Figure 13 shows the religious complex of the Jain Center of Southern California. Visible in the picture, to the extreme left, is the Digambar idol of the twenty-second Tirthankar Neminath. The other three idols represent Shvetambar idols. The centre-most idol is of the first *tirthankar*, Rishabhnath.

[398] Ramesh, Interview in Los Angeles, September 17, 2015.
[399] "List of All Jain Centers - JAINA-JainLink," accessed May 24, 2017, http://www.jaina.org/?page=AllJainCenters.

Figure 13. shows the presence of Digambar (left) and Shvetambar (the three in a group) images in the temple complex of the Jain Center of Southern California, Los Angeles.

John Cort explains the key elements that distinguish Shvetambar and Digambar images. According to him, a Shvetambar image is elaborately ornamented, and it should be crowned as a king;[400] whereas, the Digambar image is unornamented but the temple is richly carved and decorated.[401] Significantly, Shvetambars view tirthankars as kings, while Digambars view them as renouncers.[402] Even though the temples contain two types of images, the Jain centres serve as centres for the amalgamation of religious, social, and cultural activities.

While the larger Jain centres have included both types of images – Shvetambar and Digambar – in places where Jain numbers are small, as is the case in Raleigh, the Jain community shares its sacred space with the Hindu Society of North Carolina.[403] Both these situations are unique to the Jain diaspora around the world. Figure 14 shows the location of Mahavir, the twenty-fourth *tirthankar*, placed between the Hindu deities. There are an estimated twenty-five such combined Hindu-Jain temples in North America.

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[400] John E. Cort, "Situating Darśan: Seeing the Digambar Jina Icon in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century North India," *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 16 (2012): 10.
[401] Cort, 11.
[402] In 2012, I attended John E. Corte's lecture, titled: "*The Jina as King or the Jina as Renouncer: Seeing and Ornamenting Temple Images in Jainism.*"
[403] Pravin Shah, my respondent in Raleigh, who was satisfied with the arrangement, took me to the Hindu temple and showed the *jina* image located in a row among other Hindu images. Pravin told me that on Sundays, worshipers from both groups come according to their convenience to perform their rituals across the same period. This is also the venue for Jain monthly meetings.

Figure 14. Shows the image of Mahavir, the twenty-fourth tirthankar,
in the middle of Hindu gods and goddesses at the Raleigh Hindu Society, North Carolina.

There are some exceptions to such arrangements. One migrant Jain informant stated that some orthodox Jains were not willing to sit next to people with different Jain beliefs, while others were intimidated by the presence of another sect when they were performing their own prayers." Eventually, such discomforts led to the establishment of four Shvetambar temples and two Digambar temples; whereas the rest of the temples in America are simply 'Jain temples'. In addition to exclusive temples, the Shvetambar Terapanth tradition has built three Jain Vishva Bharati centres in the United States to promote Terapanth projects, especially Preksha Meditation. This diversity proves that there are some levels of sectarian distinctiveness. It is crucial to know about these variations, but because shared temples and Jain centres are in the majority, my focus has been on an examination of the shared ones.

The Jain community's interest in a non-sectarian identity parallels that of another Indian immigrant group in the United States, the Hindus. Raymond Brady Williams notes that Indians abroad have made themselves examples to those in India of the development of an ecumenical form of Hinduism.[404] Similarly, through the examination of an ecumenical temple in the United States, Prema Kurien shows the transformation of "popular Hinduism," a product of the American environment.[405] The situation of being a minority within a

[404] Raymond Brady Williams, *Religions of Immigrants from India and Pakistan: New Threads in the American Tapestry by Raymond Brady Williams* (Cambridge University Press, 1625), 239.
[405] Prema Kurien, *A Place at the Multicultural Table: The Development of an American Hinduism* (New Brunswick, N.J: Rutgers University Press, 2007).

minority has presented similar dangers, with Jains blending into the Hindu majority among Indian immigrants. The fact that "many second-generation Indian Americans use Indian and Hindu synonymously" spotlights the threat to Jains as a distinctive Indian migrant community.[406] Drawing inspiration from their Hindu counterparts, Jains have also sought to project themselves as an ethno-religious community – one that does not merge with the Hindu ethnicity, while simultaneously, surpassing sectarian identities prevalent in India.

The differences between the Jains in India and the Jains in the United States have been topics of exploration in recent academic works. For instance, Melanie Saucier states that Jain diaspora youth "have hybridized their identity in a way that correlates old and new forms."[407] While some scholars have observed new trends developing within American Jainism, others have identified it as "a diaspora-based religious subculture" outside India.[408] These scholarly views suggest that while American Jains support the traditional pan-Jain value of vegetarianism, they have now gone a step further by advocating veganism, (a topic that I will return to later). The topics of vegetarianism, to some extent, and veganism to a greater extent, set the American Pathshala curriculum apart from the Indian curricula examined in the previous case studies.

The demographic data and an overview of Jains in the United States present two main points relevant to my study. First, despite a large majority of Guajarati-speaking Shvetambar Jains, in America, the drive has been to transcend both regional and sectarian boundaries to construct a non-sectarian Jain identity. This drive is evident in the non-sectarian Jain centres across the United States. Second, Jains in America have reinterpreted some aspects of the doctrine of non-violence that has resulted in their emphasis on veganism. Both these points will be useful in revealing the context in which Jain Pathshalas have evolved.

American Jains: Challenges Posed by International Migration

International migration, driven by middle-class aspirations, has challenged the American Jain community. Assimilation in the diverse American cultures has produced many problems, of which I have discussed two in the preceding overview: being a minority within a minority and the absence of sectarian monastic authorities in America. I turn now to explore other

[406] Khyati Y. Joshi, "Religion in the Lives of Second-Generation Indian American Hindus," in *Sustaining Faith Traditions: Race, Ethnicity, and Religion among the Latino and Asian American Second Generation*, ed. Carolyn Chen and Russell Jeung (New York: NYU Press, 2012), 245.
[407] Melanie Saucier, "Worldly and Other-Worldly Ethics: The Nonhuman and Its Relationship to the Meaningful World of Jains" (MA, The University of Ottawa, 2012), 62.
[408] Lawrence A. Babb, "Jainism - Contemporary Jainism," accessed February 17, 2017, http://science.jrank.org/pages/9839/Jainism-Contemporary-Jainism.html.

issues: direct challenges to vegetarianism, children's non-Jain social networks, an increase in Jains marrying non-Jains, and children's inquisitiveness.

First, I explain the challenge of vegetarianism, the daily behavioural expression of the central Jain doctrine of non-violence. This challenge is also shared with my Indian Jain migrant groups. However, there are differences in the ways they have addressed vegetarianism. Unlike the local and regional migrations examined previously, international migration has plunged Jains into a context where vegetarianism is not widely practised. Therefore, in addition to abstaining from the profusion of non-Jain food in the United States, Jain children need to justify vegetarianism to their peers. Thus, Jain children's dietary restrictions have become markers of difference at a time when, in the larger socialisation process of mainstream schools, children do not want to be discriminated against and are seeking to merge their differences.

Second, the predominantly non-Jain social networks of children have contributed to an identity crisis, leading to mixed marriages. My senior interviewees in the United States often referred to 60–70 percent (even though JAINA findings suggest 50 percent) of American Jains marrying non-Jains.[409] They perceived that the preference to choose an inter-racial or inter-cultural marriage stemmed from non-Jain social networks and that this trend was one of the major factors leading to a decline in self-identified Jains within the United States. My interviewees believed that "by going to Jain Pathshalas, kids will socialise with Jain kids rather than non-Jain kids; this way, they will have an exposure to Jain children from early childhood."[410] These informants hoped that Jain Pathshalas would provide an environment that facilitates socialisation and connection among Jain children and youth, so that, ultimately, Jains will marry Jains.

Third, international migration, with its accompanying educational opportunities and access to a wide range of information, has generated a sceptical attitude in Jain children towards religious practices. The educational success highly valued by their middle-class parents depends on their testing assertions by gathering evidence and applying logic. In this context, Pratima, an educated lay mother living in Los Angeles, comments, "Today's children want to know reasons; they will not accept facts [practices] out of faith, which was

[409] According to 2016 findings, it is estimated that "one out of every two Jains will marry a non-Jain." It is also believed that only 20% of mixed marriages are living a Jain Way of Life (JWOL) and JAINA vision is to expand to 60% of the mixed marriages living a JWOL by 2020. "JAINA Vision 2020," accessed March 20, 2017, http://www.jaina.org/?page=vision.
[410] Five out of twenty interviewees expressed similar beliefs.

common in our times."[411] This attitude is not entirely unique to American Jains. Clearly, they share some of the same challenges posed by the middle-class culture of my previous groups. Nevertheless, my informants, often, mentioned that American Jain children have access to technology and multimedia, both in mainstream schools and at home, and the American education system trains children to inquire, a process which is gradually picking up in India. The sources of diverse information that they have access to, provoke queries that the children bring to their religious classrooms. Illustrating this point, Radha, another Jain Pathshala teacher in Los Angeles, described contemporary American Jains:

> The kids now have all kinds of information. They are more curious to find out what would Jainism say about this? What does Jainism think about abortion? What does Jainism think about stem cell research? When I was growing up in India, those things were not a big issue.[412]

Radha indicated that the development of educational material that would be compatible with technology and that would address children's queries logically has been challenging. The views of Pratima and Radha resonated with my other two case studies. This congruence suggests that convincing twenty-first century children about Jain beliefs is proving challenging, as mainstream education trains them to apply logic. All three migrant groups – local, national, and international – seek better education as part of their middle-class aspirations, an education that leads children to test the religious Jain tradition.

Augmenting the impact of children's sceptical attitudes, international migration has deprived American Jain children of their exposure to Jain communities enjoyed by those born in India. The migrant children have lost the chance to absorb Jain values and practices by occasionally visiting temples, interacting with monastics, and by seeing non-family members enacting Jain rituals. Therefore, migrant Jains believe that the solution is to provide religious knowledge systematically to children in their formative years. Through Jain Pathshalas, they aim to teach the central Jain tenets, develop beliefs, and train children in the most important religious practices of their tradition. The chairperson of the JAINA Education Committee, Pravin K Shah, claims: "Our goal is to pass our religion to our children so that the tradition continues."[413] This strategy is not new. Many studies have observed that migrants turn to religion to ensure continuity with the past.[414]

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[411] Pratima, Interview in Los Angeles, September 18, 2015.
[412] Radha, Interview in Los Angeles, September 16, 2015.
[413] Pravin K. Shah, Interview in Raleigh, 26 September 2015.
[414] Timothy L. Smith, "Religion and Ethnicity in America," *The American Historical Review* 83, no. 5 (December 1978): 1155–85, http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/1854689?origin=crossref. Also see Frederiks and Nagy, *Religion, Migration and Identity*.

Among the challenges international migration has generated for Jains, two stand out as most significant: finding themselves an ethnic minority within an Indian minority and the direct challenges to vegetarianism. Most of the changes in the Jain Pathshala curriculum that respond to these challenges accommodate middle-classness. Before analysing those changes individually, we can better appreciate the innovation the curriculum embodies by briefly surveying earlier Jain efforts in religious education. The Jain community's first attempts at children's religious education faltered, for the reasons revealed below, but by assimilating these failures into reforms, they developed the American Jain Pathshala curriculum.

Early Start: Attempts at Children's Religious Education

I now provide the background information of how contemporary American Jain Pathshalas came to be. The majority of my respondents were first-generation migrants who migrated from India between the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Drawing from interviews with these respondents – lay leaders, lay teachers, and lay parents – I consider the factors that have contributed to the evolution of contemporary Pathshalas.

The attempt to transmit religious education is an old practice. In the 1970s, migrant Jain communities set out to instil Jain values in their children, while they themselves faced the challenges of settling into their new homes. The objective of migrant Jains was to maintain their home traditions and culture, and to transmit these to their children.[415] "Home temples served as places of worship and gatherings" before Jain community centres were established.[416] Children attended religious classes in the teacher's drawing room or garage. These teachers were often parents (laypeople) who had migrated from India and who taught according to their traditional knowledge and sect. A few of my respondents who were early migrant Jains, explained home-based *pathshalas* in the following way: if a teacher was a Sthanakvasi or a Digambar, then he or she would teach according to their tradition. They relied on traditional teaching methods in the absence of standardised children's religious educational material. In spite of a lack of textbooks, parents were satisfied that at least children learned something.[417] In home-based *pathshalas*, the syllabus and religious instructions were mainly based on migrant's Indian experiences.

[415] In stating this, several respondents drew parallels with the way Jews transmit their culture and values to the next generation.
[416] Anne Vallely, "The Jain Plate: The Semiotics of the Diaspora Diet," in *South Asians in the Diaspora: Histories and Religious Traditions*, ed. Knut. A. Jacobsen and P. P. Pratap Kumar (Leiden: BRILL, 2004), 6.
[417] Sulekh Jain, Interview in Houston, September 20, 2015. Shah, Interview in Raleigh.

American Jains supplemented the home-based *pathshalas* by inviting scholars from India to work with the community. These visiting experts conducted discussions and workshops on Jain principles. Ramesh, my key respondent in Los Angeles, claimed, "These scholars came with a strong Indian accent, traditional style of lecturing, and advocated Jain principles that satisfied adult immigrant Jains."[418] Their spirit of glorifying Jainism and "their sectarian biases could not appeal to the younger generation."[419] Therefore, the role of visiting scholars in the religious education of the younger generation reduced gradually. Although Indian scholars continuously visit, they seem to serve the needs of the adult migrant Jains.[420]

In addition to lectures by visiting scholars, Jains established a quarterly English magazine, *Jain Study Circular,* as a vehicle for religious education of adults and youth.[421] A few of my elderly Jain respondents considered this publication as the beginning of Jain religious education in North America.[422] They said that the contributors included renowned lay scholars, monks and nuns, and laypeople from India and the United States, across all Jain traditions. Some articles by Indian authors were translated into English, and teachers often used articles from the magazine to teach children at home-based *pathshalas*. An examination of several issues of the *Jain Study Circular* reveals the importance accorded to doctrines and religious texts. Included in the magazine were verses from texts with explanations; the following verse from *Saman Suttam*, presented in the *Jain Study Circular*, conveys the approach of this magazine:

> Rational conduct - enjoyment of attributes of a pure soul
> *Jo savvasangamukko-Annanamano Appanam Sahaaven*
> *Jaanadi Passadi Niyadam, So Sagahariyam Charadi Jeevo* (271)
> Purport: One who is free from all possessions, internal as well as external,
> focuses on the intrinsic attributes of perception and knowledge,
> perceives and knows the self, unambiguously and with certainty,
> enjoins rational conduct and is master of one's own character.[423]

As the above example illustrates, the abstract explanations of the verses and their complex syntax suited the adults rather than children. In addition, the plain look of the magazine,

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[418] Ramesh, Interview in Los Angeles.
[419] Shah, Interview in Raleigh.
[420] During my fieldwork, Prof. Kusum Jain, a retired Professor of Philosophy and Jain scholar, was invited from India to the Jain Centre of Southern California, Los Angeles. She delivered ten lectures for *Das Laxana,* the yearly and most important Digambar festival. Most of the audience comprised adult migrant Jains.
[421] The magazine was started in 1981 by the late Dr Duli Chandra Jain, who was a Professor of Physics at the New York University, and a well-read Digambar scholar.
[422] Jain, Interview in Houston. Shah, Interview in Raleigh.
[423] *Saman Suttam* (1975) was compiled in India through the joint effort of Jain *acharyas* (monk leaders) from the Digambar, Shvetambar, Sthanakvasi, and Terapanthi sects, to present Jain teachings and ethics in a manner that would be acceptable to all Jains.

without colour or graphics, and the explanation of Jain doctrines through translated articles "did not appeal to children in home-based *pathshalas*."[424] This "lack of appeal and boredom of Jain children in home-based *pathshalas*" compelled the Jain leaders to revisit the *pathshala* model.[425] The reforms led to the development of a standardised curriculum that aimed to appeal to American Jain children by accommodating their middle-class education.

Setting American Jain religious education for children in the larger context of non-Jain Indian religious education in the United States reveals a striking difference. Unlike the *Bala vihar* (Hindu religious school) for migrant Hindu children, the *pathshalas* in America cannot be considered a "diasporic invention."[426] This difference is crucial. In India, "children breathe in the values of Hindu life."[427] Therefore, in India, there is no need for additional religious education for Hindu children. However, such characterisation falls short for Jain children in India because they have minority status and are also widely dispersed because of various forms of migration. Although the term "diasporic invention" does not apply to *pathshalas* as institutions, it does characterise one innovation in the Jain Pathshalas: the preparation of highly adaptive curricular material in American English, the focus of the next section. Through this adaptive curriculum, leaders have tailored the teachings for Jain children born in the United States, responding to their middle-classness.

In this section, I have explored the problems for American Jains generated by international migration. The previous schools examined in this thesis share some of these problems, especially maintaining vegetarianism and the influence of modern education. In one respect, the shared problems stem from the merging of Jains into a middle-class American culture, which led Jain leaders to revisit Pathshalas. At the beginning, the concerns of transmitting Jain values led to various attempts to develop religious education for American born Jain children, resulting in home-based *pathshalas* in the United States. I have shown that the initial attempts at children's religious education could not attract youth because the education relied on traditional teaching methods, emphasised sectarian perspectives, and conveyed abstract concepts more suited to adults. These drawbacks led to the standardisation of textbooks and development of the JAINA curriculum.

[424] Shah, Interview in Raleigh.
[425] Ramesh, Interview in Los Angeles.
[426] Kurien, *A Place at the Multicultural Table*, 9.
[427] Kurien, 9.

Section II: The Jain Pathshala Curriculum – Adaptation to Middle-Classness

Before presenting the Pathshala curriculum and the content of the textbooks to furnish a basis for subsequent analysis, it will be useful to outline significant aspects of Jain middle-class culture. With this outline, I seek to analyse how the Jain Pathshala curriculum accommodates middle-class values. Migrant Jains explicitly identify themselves as middle class, so investigating their culture will help clarify the self-image they are projecting. The first part of the curriculum analysis, in this section, reveals that the American context has influenced the shaping of the curriculum, especially the treatment of vegetarianism and veganism.

I refer to Louise Archer's characterisation of an ethnic minority middle class to situate the American middle-class Jains. She defines the "ethnic middle-class minority" by the following features: (1) Financial status and economic capital (being comfortable, not being poor or struggling to survive; material aspects of human life or upbringing; being or feeling "privileged" compared to others in a wider family community). (2) Occupational status (including being successful). (3) Values and practices (engaging in middle-class practices and lifestyles or patterns of consumption such as holidays, cars, and values). (4) Education (valuing and possessing education and educational credentials).[428] The following quote from a teacher in the Los Angeles Jain Pathshala (who is also a lay mother) identifies Jains with the above economic, social, and cultural features of the middle class. She stated:

> Children who attend our American Jain Pathshalas are privileged kids. They are high achieving kids, always doing academically well. Parents want their children to cope well in a high competitive environment. They want children to grow in Jain values but not in rituals.[429]

As I proceed with my analysis, there will be more references to middle-class values that can be identified with and applied to the American Jains. Several of my migrant Jain interviewees think that they have become more religious than they were in India. Prema Kurein makes a similar observation of the Hindu migrants in California.[430] A key reason for the increasing religiosity in the case of my interlocutors is the drive to impart Jain values and Indian culture to the next generation so that children do not feel lost.[431] The above quote expresses the parents' drive to reinforce Jain values.

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[428] Louise Archer, 'Constructing Minority Ethnic Middle-Class Identity: An Exploratory Study with Parents, Pupils and Young Professionals', *Sociology* 45, no. 1 (2011): 139, http://www.jstor.org/stable/42857523.
[429] Radha, Interview in Los Angeles.
[430] Kurien, *A Place at the Multicultural Table*, 9.
[431] Jain, Interview in Houston.

An Overview of the Curriculum Development Team

The curriculum was developed by the JAINA Education Committee, which was first convened in 1992, in response to middle-classness. It has a pedagogy that aligns with American educational practice, with content to satisfy the "inquisitive why-generation," and is geared towards the promotion of a pan-Jain identity.[432] The curriculum development team was driven by a desire to overcome the Indian sectarian attitude in the United States, and the composition of the team, representing both upper middle-class Digambar and Shvetambar groups reflects this. The three key members who were initially involved in the curriculum development were:

1. Dr Premchand Gada, who was the founding chairperson of the JAINA Education Committee, a Sthanakvasi, living in Lubbock, Texas. He was one of the key members who conceived the idea of Jain Pathshalas in the United States.[433] A medical doctor by profession, Gada strongly believed that migrant Jains had to retain children's interest and not give them any opportunity to turn away. He, therefore, invested time in understanding the Christian curricula for children and how they were taught. My interviewees considered him to be the brain behind designing Jain games such as Snakes and Ladders as well as a monopoly game of words and alphabets. My interaction with Gada was limited to several email exchanges over the course of my research. However, his name was mentioned many times by my interviewees. They considered Gada's work was the foundation on which the JAINA Pathshala curriculum was built; later Pravin K Shah carried his work forward.

2. Pravin K Shah, the current president of the JAINA Education Committee, a Shvetambar *murtipujak*, living in Raleigh, North Carolina. He is a retired electrical engineer and has been the eminent chairperson of the JAINA Education Committee since 2000. He is widely respected for his progressive outlook and his on-going contributions to directing and producing Jain educational material for American Pathshalas. He chose to be a vegan in the 1990s and can be considered a founding member of the vegan campaign among American Jains. I conducted a formal interview and had hours of informal conversation with him.

3. Dr Dilip Bobra, a Digambar living in Phoenix, Arizona, and a medical doctor by profession, was the third member in this team. He shared his main concern: "We wanted to make sure that the differences [between Digambars and Shvetambars] are very small and they can easily be put under the table, rather than on the table." I conducted a formal interview

[432] This term was frequently used by the first generation American Jains for their younger generation in interviews and conversation.
[433] Shah, Interview in Raleigh.

with him and found that he had withdrawn himself from involvement with the reforms in the Pathshala curriculum.

These three members, belonging to different Jain sects, had united under the umbrella of the JAINA Education Committee. In doing so, they had literally sought to postulate a pan-Jain identity. Being middle-class means being able to transcend limitations through education as well as having wider exposure to gender relations and pan-Jain unity means transcending the limits of belonging to one sect. Pan-Jain unity thus appeals to a middle-class desire to transcend limitations. At a more fundamental level, promoting a pan-Jain identity is a response to the predicament of being a minority within a minority. In this chapter, to be middle class means to embrace Western culture, rejecting South Asian languages, and adopting English.

American Pathshala Curriculum: Aligned with American Educational Practice

The contemporary Jain Pathshala curriculum has aligned its pedagogy with American educational practice by adopting American English as the medium and de-emphasising memorisation. This alignment has increased the Jain Pathshala's appeal to children by making it familiar and has attracted middle-class parents by echoing the mainstream education they value. This alignment came about when the Education Committee unanimously decided that the contemporary Jain Pathshala material would use American English as the primary language, and the presentation and teaching methods used would be those of the American schooling system. The founding chairperson, Gada, consulted various American teachers who produced books for children in the United States.[434]

The resulting four levels of textbooks supply content at an age-appropriate level of complexity. The textbooks employ a student-centred approach to content, featuring picture books, games, puzzles, and indoor and outdoor activities. All the material is in English except the *Jain Story Book*, which is both in English and Gujarati. In addition to English, some books contain a few sections in Hindi, Prakrit, and Sanskrit, set out in Roman script. A simple method of diacritic marks has been adopted to aid pronunciation of the *sutras* (verses), because teachers and children do not know the "scholarly transliteration convention."[435] There is no specific textbook to teach children Hindi or Gujarati. Unlike the *Jain Study Circular*, the Pathshala textbooks are attractive, featuring multi-coloured illustrations that appeal to children. None of the books is copyrighted. They are easily available in the form of

[434] Jain, Interview in Houston.
[435] JAINA Education Committee, *Jain Alphabet Book* (USA: JAINA Education Committee, 2003), 8.

CDs and DVDs, and can be downloaded from several JAINA educational websites, for example, the Jain electronic Library.[436] Table 4 shows the names of the books according to their level and age group and Table 5 presents the reference material that Pathshala teachers use in teaching.

Table 4. American Jain Pathshala curricular material age group 5-16 years

Serial	Name of Book	Level	Age
1	Jain Alphabet Book	Level 1	5 to 9
2	Jainism I-Basics of Jainism	Level 1	5 to 9
3	Jain Activity Book	Level 1	5 to 9
4	Jain Moral Skits	Level 1	5 to 9
5	Jain Story Book	Level 2	10 to 12
6	Jain Story Book (in Gujarati)	Level 2	10 to 12
7	First Step to Jainism	Level 2	10 to 12
8	Work Book - First Step to Jainism	Level 2	10 to 12
9	Jain Philosophy and Practice I	Level 3	13 to 15
10	Jain Philosophy and Practice II	Level 4	16 up

Table 5. Jain Pathshala reference material

Serial	Name of Book or Material
1	Jainism Religion of Compassion and Ecology
2	Compendium of Jainism
3	Essence of World Religion
4	The Book of Compassion (English)
5	The Book of Compassion (Gujarati)
6	The Book of Compassion (Hindi)
7	English Pratikraman
8	Jain Puja Book
9	Jain Sutra Book
10	Being Jain in College: An Experiential Guide

For detailed analysis, I have selected textbooks aimed at children under thirteen years, as with the Digambar Pathshala curriculum and the Terapanth Gyanshala curriculum. The reasons for focusing on the younger children are common to all three case studies, although four points justify this focus for the Jain Pathshala curriculum. First, the majority of the Jain

[436] "Jain Education International," JAIN eLibrary, accessed April 5, 2017, http://jainlibrary.org/index.php.

Pathshala students are aged five to twelve years, comprising levels 1 and 2. My American Jain interviewees reported that when children reach high school their workload increases which in turn affects their *pathshala* participation. Second, as the levels increase, the number of textbooks decrease. This decrease suggests that with increase in age, more learning takes place through discussion. Third, examining all four levels reveals that as the levels increase, the basic Jain concepts are explained in more detail. Lastly, the most important reason for focusing on the seven textbooks that are used for levels 1 and 2 is that they seek to build a foundation in the Jain tradition and, as such, present substantial material for analysis.

The first level of textbooks, aimed at children aged five to nine attending elementary school, uses illustrations, games, and dramatic skits as aids to understanding religious values. The four textbooks in this level are: 1) *The Jain Alphabet Book,* which indexes Jain religious terminologies related to precepts and how to apply them. The descriptions are combined with illustrations depicting Jain symbols and Indian culture. The symbols as well as images serve to expand, explain, interpret, and decorate the written text, which trains the child's mind to associate the letter with the underlying Jain beliefs and terminologies. 2) *The Basics of Jainism,* which seeks to teach fundamental Jain principles and familiarise children with its core values, prayers, and festivals, using a wide range of styles in a series of short lessons. 3) *The Jain Activity Book,* which introduces Jain symbols, rituals, and vocabularies using puzzles, mazes, games, and questions. 4) *The Jain Moral Skits Book,* which aims to foster religious, moral, and ethical values among children through simple skits. In what follows are a few examples from the first level Pathshala textbooks.

Explanations feature in the first lesson of the first textbook, *The Basics of Jainism,* which presents the *namokar mantra*, the most sacred Jain mantra. The foremost feature in transmitting non-sectarian Jain values, regardless of whether the Jain school is in India or the United States, is the group recitation of this mantra. The lesson requires Jain learners to recite the mantra in Prakrit (original form). To help them with this task, they read through both a Roman transliteration and a statement of its meaning in English. To reinforce the practice of mantra recitation amongst migrant Jain children, the text notes further:

> The *navakar* [namokar] *mantra* teaches us to show respect.
> By saying it, the sins of many lives are washed away.
> We should recite this *mantra* every morning and at night.
> We should recite this *mantra* before study.
> We should recite it before starting any good work.
> We should recite it as much as we can.[437]

[437] JAINA Education Committee, *Jainism I-Basics of Jainism* (USA: JAINA Education Committee, 2012), 21.

Alongside the reasons for reciting the mantra, this passage, with its repeated phrase, "we should recite," adopts an insistent tone. The tone reflects a strong desire to convince migrant children about the benefits, and the significance of the holiest of Jain mantra. The echoed phrase demonstrates repetition, providing a model the children should emulate with the mantra. This kind of the presentation departs from the traditional approach by supplementing memorisation with explanation. This written elucidation of the reasons for reciting the mantra, contrasts with the lesson in the Gyanshala's curriculum, where Gyanshala teachers themselves explain the benefits of reciting *namokar mantra*.

In addition, the first level textbook's lessons on non-violence reveal innovative pedagogical approaches that help children grasp this abstract concept. In the *Alphabet Book*, the letter 'A' stands for *"Ahimsa*: *Ahimsa Parmo Dharma,*" which translates as, "non-violence is the highest religion."[438] The description is combined with colourful illustrations of the universal Jain symbol and white doves against a blue sky. Demonstrating a modern approach, the symbol and the image of doves serve to "expand, explain, interpret, and decorate a written text," which trains the child's mind to associate the letter with the underlying Jain beliefs and terminologies. In addition, lesson 11 in *The Basics of Jainism* grounds *ahimsa* as reverence for all life forms by describing Jain fundamentals (*tattva gynana*) from one-sensed living beings to five-sensed living beings.[439] The American Jain Pathshala anchors the concept of *ahimsa* in living creatures known to young children.

One story, *Brave Prince Vardhaman*, from the textbook *The Basics of Jainism* conveys the virtues of forgiveness (*kshama*) and bravery. This story relates an incident in the childhood of the twenty-fourth *tirthankar,* Mahavir:

> One afternoon, Prince Vardhaman was playing a game of catch and ride with his friends. The person who won would get to ride on the back of the loser. A new kid joined their game. This kid was easy to catch, and he lost every time. Almost every child got to ride on his back. Prince Vardhaman also caught the new child, so he also rode on his back. While Vardhaman was on his back, the child started to grow bigger and bigger, and taller and taller… Later, when the child's face began to get weird, the children got scared and started to runaway… During all this, Vardhaman remained calm and brave. The monster kept growing taller. So Vardhaman hit the monster in the head with his fist. The monster tried to throw Vardhaman off his back to avoid the pain, but he could not. Finally, the monster asked for forgiveness. Vardhaman forgave the monster. In reality, the monster was a heavenly being who had come down in disguise to test Prince Vardhaman's

[438] JAINA Education Committee, *Jain Alphabet Book*, 17.
[439] For a detailed discussion on how Jain cosmology permeates with life in a graded order see Christopher Key Chapple, "The Living Cosmos of Jainism: A Traditional Science Grounded in Environmental Ethics," *Daedalus* 130, no. 4 (2001): 207–224, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20027724.

> bravery. The monster named the prince "Mahavir", which means the strong and brave one.[440]

The above story is important for two reasons. It introduces children to one of the key values, forgiveness, which is a derivative of the overarching principle of non-violence and makes an important point in relation to non-violence: non-violence does not mean cowardice; it is all right to fight in self-defence. The narrative approach conveys values without introducing them as abstract concepts.

The second level of textbooks, for middle school students aged ten to twelve, employ stories, crosswords, and comprehension exercises to facilitate learning. The theme of Jain religion at this level seeks to deepen children's faith in the tradition by expanding on concepts such as soul and karma and by introducing them to the lives of five out of a total of twenty-four Tirthankars. Three textbooks belong to this category: 1) *The Jain Story Book* seeks to teach children religious and moral values through forty-three selected stories from Digambar and Shvetambar traditions. 2) *The First Step to Jainism* aims to teach children the basic Jain principles, using references from scriptures and modern parables. 3) *The Workbook First Step to Jainism* complements textbook lessons with activities such as comprehension and cloze exercises, crosswords, word scrambles, and charts on which children can place merit stickers that they earn by memorising prayers and sutras.

I now present a few examples from the second level. Explanations of the practical implications also feature in the curriculum's presentation of the core Jain doctrine, non-violence. For example, *The First Step of Jainism* expounds *ahimsa* in the following way: "This [non-violence] teaches us universal love and compassion towards all living beings. Violence can be committed in three ways – thoughts, words and actions." The first sentence stresses the productive aspect of non-violence in that it generates love and compassion, rather than place a restraint on behaviour as emphasised in the traditional concept. The second sentence swings back to the classic idea by focusing on the behaviour to be restrained. The order of the two sentences stresses the application of non-violence over the abstract analysis of it.

To make learning interesting and suitable for children, exercises in a workbook have been designed to boost the lessons. An example of an activity from a workbook is a cloze exercise on the topic of eggs, which has the following sentence: "Egg production involves a

[440] The author has abridged the story.

significant amount of _____ and_____ treatment of birds"[441] leaving blanks for the words *cruelty* and *inhumane*.

Having given a glimpse of the content in levels 1 and 2, I now delve deeper to analyse the curricular material of both levels. This analysis shows how American Jain educators instil the pan-Jain value of non-violence through the topics of vegetarianism and veganism amongst young Jains.

To explain vegetarianism, the pre-eminent behavioural expression of non-violence, the textbooks employ several strategies: simple language, definition by contrast, and dialogues. The first excerpt, from *The Basics of Jainism,* explains vegetarianism in a simple way that young participants can easily follow:

> I'm Jain and, like all Jains, I am vegetarian because we respect all life forms. There are some people who are not Jain but are also vegetarian out of their love for animals and the environment. I do not want to eat anything that causes too much pain to other life forms.[442]

In easy-to-understand language, the material teaches children why they should be vegetarians, explaining that respect for all life forms means not wanting to cause them pain. By comparing Jain vegetarians with other vegetarians, the textbook responds to children's immediate social context and helps define the Jain-ness of their vegetarianism. The key distinction with non-Jain vegetarians here is that Jains maintain, "respect for all life forms."

To encourage vegetarianism, in addition to explanations using simple language, the textbooks present dialogues. The dialogues provide a model of how children can respond to the questions of non-Jains about vegetarianism. Thus, Lesson 21 of *The Basics of Jainism* presents a direct question and three possible answers:

> Your friends ask you: Why are you vegetarian?
> You can say: Animals have life too and I do not want to kill them. Animals are my friends and I do not eat my friends. Animals should not be slaughtered for our taste.[443]

By providing children with a way to respond to their peers' non-comprehension of vegetarianism, the textbook helps children gain the confidence to express their vegetarianism publicly, a confidence that will help them maintain it. The Jain explanation here is that animals have life and thus should not be killed. Moreover, to accommodate the new context,

[441] JAINA Education Committee, *Workbook First Step to Jainism* (USA: JAINA Education Committee, 2003), 64.
[442] JAINA Education Committee, *Jainism I-Basics of Jainism*, 74.
[443] JAINA Education Committee, 76.

the above piece notes 'animals are my friends and I do not eat my friends'. This excerpt is similar to the question-answer method adopted in Chitrakoot Digambar Pathshala teaching.

In addition to modelling responses to friends, the textbooks also provide dialogue that helps children maintain their ground with strange adults. In the lesson, "Raj Goes to a Restaurant," two friends (Raj and Anil) go to buy vegetarian burgers in a restaurant that sells hamburgers and encounter the server Roger:

> Anil: Is this a veggie burger or a hamburger?
> [server] Roger: That burger has meat in it, but we can make a veggie burger if you would like one.
> Roger: (With surprise) Why don't you want a burger with meat in it?
> Anil: We are Jains, and Jains do not eat meat.
> Anil: Just as we don't like to get hurt or killed; animals, birds, and fish don't like to get hurt or killed either.[444]

The conversation between Roger, who takes the order, and Anil, a young Jain boy who places the order, illustrates that lessons have been developed to help children imagine themselves applying their vegetarianism in a non-Jain public context. The teaching in this example is similar to that in the preceding example, but the change in scenario shows creativity and an effort to make lessons interesting. Likewise, a third scenario in the textbook is of a young girl who goes grocery shopping with her mother and buys an apple pie without reading the ingredients. Lay Jain-mother reminds her daughter of what she learned at the Pathshala. Having read the ingredients, the daughter replaces the apple pie with a vegan one. [445] Perhaps she finds another pie that uses oil instead of dairy butter. In this way, through real-life scenarios, the textbooks help migrant children manage the realities of living in an American society.

The examples mentioned above provide a glimpse of many such instances of vegetarianism that are present in the Pathshala textbooks. These examples indicate the distinctiveness of the American Jain Pathshala curriculum compared to the previously examined curricula. In the Digambar Pathshalas and Gyanshalas, vegetarianism is advocated without mentioning love for animals. These Indian schools stress that consuming animal food evokes negative passions and makes an individual person aggressive, or in other words animal-like.[446] Furthermore, these Indian schools maintain that eating animal food is a sinful act and accumulates bad karma. Such variation of ideas is a clear indication that American Jainism is changing in distinctive ways. I turn now to the Western concept of veganism,

[444] JAINA Education Committee, 77–78.
[445] JAINA Education Committee, 79–80.
[446] The four negative passions according to Jains are *krodha* (anger), *maana* (pride), *maya* (*deceit*), and *lobha* (greed).

which American-born Jains are also exposed to and which the Pathshala educators have integrated substantially into the curriculum material.

Veganism: Application beyond Dietary Practices

The effort the curriculum makes to uphold vegetarianism provides context for the introduction of a new dietary practice, veganism. The emphasis on veganism within the Jain Pathshala textbooks suggests that the curriculum-planning team supports a non-dairy life style and is seeking to influence Jain Pathshala children by introducing them to a compassionate thoughtful lifestyle that goes beyond Jain dietary practices. Analysing the examples of veganism reveals that those advocating it see it as an ethically superior extension of vegetarianism.

An idea that links vegetarianism to veganism is the love of animals, first mentioned in the lesson outlined above that explains vegetarianism. Love for animals' features in three stories presented in the textbook, *The Basics of Jainism*. Lesson 19, "The Compassion of the Elephant," is a story about an elephant who sacrifices his life to save the life of a rabbit. Lesson 20, "Metarya Muni," tells of a monk who sacrifices his life to protect the life of a bird. Lesson 25, explicitly titled, "Love for Animals," relates how the prince Nemikumar (the 22nd Jain Tirthankar) gives up his marriage to prevent the slaughter of numerous caged animals for his wedding feast.

The love for animals is also observed outside the Jain world. The Jain Pathshala textbooks use the love for animals as motivation for adopting veganism. Their reasoning illustrates Anne Vallely's observation that American Jains are redefining *ahimsa* (non-violence), transforming it from a tool for one's self-realisation to a call for action.[447] Exemplifying this transformation, the textbooks promote the cause of animal welfare. The following extract from *The Basics of Jainism* introduces Jain Pathshala children to the vegan concept. It explains vegan eating to express compassion towards animals:

> Some vegetarian Jains and non-Jains also do not eat dairy products such as milk, cheese, ice cream, and butter because dairy products come from cows and cause lots of pain to the cows. Also, cows' milk is not given to their calves. These very compassionate people are called vegans [strictly vegetarian – do not use any animal products at all].[448]

Unlike the extract explaining vegetarianism, which states, "I am vegetarian," this passage acknowledges that only some vegetarian Jains also abstain from all dairy products.

[447] Vallely, "Jainism," 329.
[448] JAINA Education Committee, *Jainism I-Basics of Jainism*, 75.

Those who do, however, are characterised as "very compassionate," elevating them above the mere vegetarians. The difference in presentation implies that veganism might be an ideal choice for those who desire to be completely compassionate towards animals. However, veganism cannot be normalised within the traditional Jain system in the same way that vegetarianism can be. In this context, a few monks and nuns in India preferred to be silent, while conversations with others revealed that it would be impossible for them to maintain a vegan lifestyle for practical reasons.[449] Most importantly, Jain monks and nuns are totally dependent on laity for food; therefore, unless the laity changes, the departure to veganism seems unrealistic. Also, alternatives to dairy products are more easily available in America than in India.

In the American Jain context, the curriculum's drive for a vegan lifestyle goes beyond dietary norms by including a vegan adaptation in rituals. This adaptation shows that the curriculum planners have reviewed and evaluated their old traditions in the light of the new environment, America. Their adaptation in rituals provides evidence for Anne Vallely's view that veganism expresses American Jainism's new roots and redefines the traditional ethics of non-violence, self-control, and renunciation.[450] Returning to the curriculum, the following extract recommends replacements for dairy items in rituals and other ways that Jains can lead a more nonviolent lifestyle:

> Use only clean water instead of milk in Jal (Abhisheka) Puja [a type of puja]. However, if one desires to symbolize Kshir Samudra water [white colour water], one may grind some almond to mix with water. Use vegetable oil instead of ghee [clarified butter] for Deevo [oil lamp]. Do not wear silk clothes in *puja* and other rituals. Silk is made by killing millions of silk worms. Do not wear ornaments consisting of pearls. Pearls are derived by killing oysters.[451]

This passage is significant for three reasons. First, it is difficult to determine why a children's textbook at level 1 should offer alternative suggestions on how to carry out traditional rituals. Young participants will not have a choice but instead will follow their elders in performing rituals. One possibility could be that the curricular developing team recognises that today's Jain children are tomorrow's laity. Therefore, to bring about change, it is necessary to influence and mould children to ensure a completely non-violent Jain

[449] I spoke with a Digambar monk in Jaipur who promotes strict Jain food practices but is fine with milk if cows and buffaloes are well kept. Similar views were found among Shvetambar Terapanthi mendicants.
[450] Anne Vallely, "From Liberation to Ecology: Ethical Discourses among Orthodox and Diaspora Jains," in *Jainism and Ecology: Nonviolence in the Web of Life*, ed. Christopher Key Chapple (Center for the Study of World Religions, 2002), 193–213.
[451] JAINA Education Committee, *Jain Activity Book Level 1* (USA: JAINA Education Committee, 2003), 97.

society. This strategy further emphasises one of my central thesis claims, that Jain leaders in India and outside have targeted children.

Second, the extract above provides an interesting insight into migrant Jain communities: the vegan perception of Jain rituals as tainted by violence, the Jain consumption of luxury goods, such as pearls and silk, and their ignorance of the violence involved in making these. Keeping in mind the importance of rituals for image-worshipping Jains, the above recommendations aim to minimise violence by accommodating a vegan lifestyle without compromising the rituals.

Third, unlike many other lessons, the above passage, with its commands, takes a prescriptive tone, perhaps indicating that it is also intended to address adult migrant Jains. The recommendations to replace the traditional ritual items with less violent alternatives have been suggested with scrupulous attention to the philosophy of non-violence and represent a bold step in American Jainism. The traditionalists maintain that there is no scriptural support for becoming vegans, whereas the modernists are of the view that traditions should be reviewed and evaluated in the light of contemporary practices. By including such adult-oriented information in the textbook, the Education Committee has shown that it expects parents to go through the textbooks, so that they are conversant with what their children are learning and with basic Jain principles.

The themes vegetarianism, veganism and love for animals are further expanded in the three textbooks at level 2. At level 1, vegetarianism and veganism were introduced to children for the first time and there were various suggestions on how to make an individual's lifestyle non-violent. At the second level, the theme is expanded through topics including Conscious consumer, Pearls, Silk and a Vegetarian food pyramid, which includes vegan food. These lessons give factual reasons for following Jain principles. The following example from the text notes: "If one asks a little child where meat comes from, the answer is very often 'the supermarket'. It is easy to explain that meat, fish, lobsters, etc., come directly from killing living beings."[452] This example is one of many, opening minds to the realities around them. Including such a variety of topics in children's religious education books indicates how the American context has influenced the shaping of the curriculum. Above all, a vegetarian-vegan song is also circulated amongst children to promote such a lifestyle. The song is attached in Appendix 5.

[452] JAINA Education Committee, *First Step to Jainism* (USA: JAINA Education Committee, 2003), 115.

The vegetarian topic works on the same premise that Jain children will be more accepting of the norms that their religion prescribes if they understand the realities around them. So, five lessons have been built around an explanation of how we obtain eggs, silk, pearls and *varakh* (silver foil), drawing awareness to the violence involved in their production. Every explanation is followed by a cloze exercise – where children are asked to fit the correct words into a sentence, a word find, a maze and a comprehension exercise. Although the topics within the themes, around the production of pearls, silk, and *varakh,* are related to non-violence, they are not found in the curricular material of the Digambar Pathshalas and Shvetambar Terapanthi Gyanshalas. Neither are activities such as word scrambles and cloze exercises.

While the topic of vegetarianism is concerned with Jain dietary practices, the topic of veganism embraces many aspects of a non-violent way of living. That is why all three topics -- of vegetarianism, veganism, and love for animals -- are intricately woven into the textbooks of levels 1 and 2. By emphasising these three main features, the textbooks base their advocacy of veganism within an element of mainstream American culture. Unlike the previously examined Jain schools for children, American Jain Pathshalas discuss the violence involved in acquiring pearls, silk, and silver foil. Adopting an even more rigorous dietary practice than their traditional vegetarianism may also be appealing to their middle-class aspirations to excel. Opponents favour sustaining current practices over adding new ones. If the conflict between traditionalists and innovators persists, it may threaten the pan-Jain identity that the leaders desire, an identity examined in the next section.

Section III: Construction of a Non-Sectarian Jain Identity

In this section, I examine the same textbooks at levels 1 and 2 to show how Jains are constructing a non-sectarian pan-Jain identity. My focus is to present how immigrant Jains have reconciled the controversial sectarian elements of Jainism to create one American version, from which can be constructed a pan-Jain identity. The topic of *tirthankar* provides plenty of evidence to show that the JAINA Education Committee has made efforts to keep the new generation away from the controversial Jain elements.

As noted, the curriculum development team was driven by a desire to overcome the Indian sectarian attitude in the United States. The initial curriculum development team was an example of a team working towards the desired Jain unity. Dilip Bobra re-emphasised the Committee's intentions: "We wanted our future generations to forget Shvetambar, Digambar,

and Sthanakvasi; forget Gujarati or Hindi. Our goal was that we should be a step ahead of where India is at."[453]

Before analysing how the Jain Pathshala curriculum promotes a pan-Jain identity, it will be worthwhile to sketch the major differences between the Shvetambar and Digambar traditions. Knowing this will assist our understanding of how American Jains address the differences and present themselves as united. Scholars in Jain studies have discussed widely the "sectarian debate" between the two main branches of the Jain tradition.[454] Drawing from their discussion: the two groups differ regarding the biographical accounts of the twenty-fourth *tirthankar*, Mahavir; there were differences in accepting the authenticity of canonical texts, and they held divergent views on the status of women.[455] Over time, the two branches divided into several sub-branches, adding further variation in rituals and practices.[456] I will provide details of the differences as I proceed with the argument.

The Jain Pathshala curriculum, in seeking to overcome sectarian differences in the diaspora community, uses three main strategies: generalising to subsume differences, minimising them, and balancing the traditions. Turning to the generalising strategy first, the curriculum employs it to address a shared void experienced by Jains of all sects: the absence of fully ordained Jain monks and nuns. To partially fill that void, the textbook, *Basics of Jainism Part I,* introduces children to the concept of a "spiritual guru" (a monk or a nun), an innovation in content. Developed in further detail, the text presents the monastic lifestyle and the asceticism that traditional Jainism advocates. Lesson five treats gurus as Jain monks and omits the words Shvetambar and Digambar:

> Our spiritual Gurus are different from our regular school teachers in many ways. Some people give up all worldly pleasures and become a sadhu or sadhvi because they want to follow a higher spiritual or religious life. This means they have given up wearing fashionable clothes, going to movies, watching TV, sleeping on soft beds, and going out to eat ice cream and pizza. … They do not even travel in cars or planes. They walk barefoot everywhere. They do not earn money because they live on alms... When we see sadhus or sadhvis, we should bow our heads down to show our respect and say 'Mathen Vandami or Vandami Namamswami'.[457]

In the above piece, the choice of the term, "guru" indicates its importance in imparting knowledge. As we saw, the highest form of reverence in the Digambar tradition is *Deva-*

[453] Dilip Bobra, Interview in Phoenix, September 28, 2015.
[454] Padmanabh S. Jaini adopts the phrase in the Introduction of his book titled, *Gender and Salvation.* For more information see *Gender and Salvation: Jaina Debates on the Spiritual Liberation of Women* (California: University of California Press, 1991).
[455] Chapple, *Jainism and Ecology*, xxxii.
[456] Paul Dundas provides a succinct overview of the two main Jain traditions and their branches. For more information, see Chapter 9 in Dundas, *The Jains*.
[457] JAINA Education Committee, *Jainism I-Basics of Jainism*, 34–35.

Shastra-Guru, where the guru disseminates the scriptural knowledge. For the Shvetambar Terapanthis, *guru darshan* is most important. In both cases, the guru is either a monk or a nun. The above brief description of a *sadhu* or a *sadhvi* is complemented with pictures of Shvetambar monks and nuns (although not labelled as such) dressed in white, along with their few material belongings. This pictorial representation illustrates the simplistic and minimalist life of a Jain monk and nun to American Jain children who are accustomed to the worldly pleasures outlined in the description. The list of pleasures focuses on the middle-class patterns of consumption enjoyed by American Jain children. In contrast, the description implies that a monastic life is characterised by sacrifice and thus regarded as spiritually and religiously higher. When these Pathshala students visit India and encounter Jain mendicants, they will know the right method of greeting them. This lesson asserts the conceptual significance of monks and nuns in American Jainism, despite their physical absence. Like the reference books, the elaboration of ascetic goals resists the shift of authority from monastics to laypeople.

As well as exploring generalised monastic goals and practices, the curriculum minimises the differences between Shvetambar and Digambar monastics when it explicitly mentions them. Thus, in the *Alphabet Book*, the following passage accompanies the letter "G" for "Guru (Sadhu and Sadhvi)"[458] and describes the Shvetambar and Digambar monks and nuns:

> Shvetambar Sadhus and Sadhvis wear white clothes. They keep a few clothes, a few bowls to collect food, a Rajoharan (soft broom to clean), and a Muhapatti (mouth cover to protect the small living organisms in the air). Digambar Sadhus do not wear any clothes, while the Sädhvis wear white clothes. Digambar Sädhus keep a Morpichhi (a broom made from naturally shed peacock feathers) and a Kamandal (water utensil to wash).[459]

Keeping to the superficial level of clothes and possessions, the passage casts the differences between the monastics of the two sects as matters of fact, without offering any opinion on them. Thus, American Jains include the basic differences between the monks and nuns of the two main branches of the Jain tradition, but omit the more significant differences between the sub-branches. The treatment of sectarian differences in the Jain Pathshalas differs from their treatment in the earlier case studies. I showed that in addition to pan-Jain values, the Digambar Jain children learn about Digambar beliefs, and Shvetambar Terapanthi children

[458] JAINA Education Committee, *Jain Alphabet Book*, 29.
[459] JAINA Education Committee, 29.

learn about the Terapanth beliefs. By contrast, the Jain children in the United States are introduced to the Jain tradition, papering over the doctrinal differences underlying the sects.

The curriculum minimises sectarian differences again with its treatment of the birth of Mahavir, the twenty-fourth *tirthankar.* According to Shvetambar Jains, Mahavir's mother (Trishala) witnessed fourteen dreams; whereas, Digambars accept sixteen dreams.[460] In addition, according to Shvetambars, there is a pre-birth episode, "a change of womb during the early embryonic period."[461] Digambar Jains do not maintain such a view. *The Jain Story Book* handles the difference regarding mother Trisala's dreams as follows: "Queen Trisala, just like the mother of any other Tirthankar, saw fourteen objects in her dreams… (Digambar tradition believes the mother sees sixteen, adding a pair of fish and a throne)."[462] As with the monks, a generalising perspective first emphasises elements shared across sects, that Mahavir's mother experienced fourteen visions, before adding, almost as an afterthought, the extra two visions of the Digambar tradition. The curriculum simply omits the Shvetambar claim of the "change in womb," which does not connect with the Digambar tradition. The omission of this episode from the children's textbook is an example of how children are being kept away from sectarian disputes.

A refinement of the minimising strategy occurs when the curriculum handles another dispute, that of the language of Mahavir's sermon. Shvetambars believe that Mahavir spoke in the Ardhamagdhi Prakrit language, while the Digambars maintain that a *divyadhvani* (divine sound) emanated from Mahavir, which only his *gandharas* (chief disciples) could decipher. The curriculum omits Mahavir's sermon from his biography. Only the lesson on *samavsaran* (assembly hall, a place where *tirthankars* preach religious sermons) implicitly alludes to it. *The First Step of Jainism* explains: "Tradition has it that once an *arihanta* [*jina*] (divine knowledge) he gives sermons several times a day in the local language of the people, which is Ardhamagadhi Prakrit."[463] The curriculum handles the disjunction between Shvetambar and Digambar views by omitting Mahavir's name. Since Mahavir did attain divine knowledge, the passage implies that he, like his fellow *tirthankars*, spoke in Ardhamagadhi Prakrit, the Shvetambar view. Here the Digambar view, which differs from

[460] Fourteen dreams according to Shvetambars are: 1) a white elephant, 2) a white bull, 3) a lion, 4) the goddess of beauty, 5) garlands of *mandara* flower, 6) the full moon, 7) the rising sun, 8) a large and beautiful flag, 9) a vase of costly metal, filled with water, 10) a lake adorned with lotuses, 11) an ocean of milk, 12) a celestial abode, 13) an enormous heap of jewels, 14) a blazing fire. Digambars add 15) a loft throne and 16) a pair of fish to this list. *The First Step of Jainism*, Third (JAINA Education Committee, 2005), 49. For Shvetambar accounts of Mahavir, see Hermann Jacobi, *Jaina Sutras, Part I*, vol. Part 2 (Oxford, 1884).
[461] Jaini, *The Jaina Path of Purification*, 7.
[462] JAINA Education Committee, *Jain Story Book* (USA: JAINA Education Committee, 2003), 16.
[463] *The First Step of Jainism*, 31.

the Shvetambars, is left out, but at the same time, no specific statement is made about Mahavir's language. The curriculum retreats from the dispute by changing the perspective to focus on the location associated with sermons, a generalising perspective that emphasizes how it functions for all *tirthankars*.

Regarding a third contested subject, Mahavir's marriage and renunciation, the curriculum maintains a balancing strategy, integrating one aspect from each sect. The Digambar Jain view is that Mahavir did not marry: he became a mendicant in the presence of his parents. In contrast, Shvetambars maintain that Mahavir married Yashoda and had a daughter called Priyadarshani. After the death of his parents, he renounced all to become a monk. *The First Step to Jainism* gives the following account of Mahavir's renunciation: "He [Mahavir] wanted to renounce the world in search of eternal happiness. However, when he was in his mother's womb, he decided not to leave the family while his parents were alive."[464] Mahavir's "womb decision" forecasts, without stating, the Shvetambar narrative in which Mahavir renounces householder life two years after his parent's death. On the other hand, the account makes a concession to the Digambar belief by omitting Mahavir's married life. In this instance, the curriculum retreats from a divisive time-period, the *tirthankar's* early adulthood, rewinding the narrative to before birth to eliminate sectarian triggers.

The way Mahavir's life is presented to American Jain children shows that there was a careful process of negotiation that went into the development of these textbooks. Using elements from the Digambar and Shvetambar traditions, Mahavir's biography has been reconstructed to minimise the confusion that might be caused by differing sectarian beliefs. This version of Mahavir's biography raises interesting questions such as: Is this reconstruction pan-Jain? Unlike the American Jain Pathshalas, Jain religious schools for children in India have not encountered the dilemmas of reconstructing biographies, because Digambar schools follow their version, as do the Shvetambars.

In its treatment of a fourth sectarian dispute, the curriculum abandons its typical strategy of generalising to minimise differences. Shvetambars and Digambars disagree about the gender of the nineteenth *tirthankar*, Mallinath. According to the Digambar account, Mallinath was a male like the remaining twenty-three *tirthankars*. In contrast, Shvetambars view Mallinath as a female *tirthankar*. Digambar Jains do not accept this story because of their views on women. They believe that the physical structure of a woman's body obstructs the attainment of moksha, or the liberation of the soul. Despite this controversy, *The Jain*

[464] *The First Step of Jainism*, 52.

Story Book includes Mallinath's story and presents her as a princess, clear evidence of the Shvetambar influence. The dominance of the Shvetambar version in this example raises a question: why didn't the curricular developing team follow the strategy that they adopted in sketching Mahavir's biography? In this context, my Digambar respondents thought that stories that raised controversies in the past should have been avoided. In this instance, the minority Digambar voice appears weak against the majority voice of active Shvetambar Jains in the United States. However, another possibility arises: The Committee may have subsumed their pan-Jain goal in favour of appealing to a middle-class value of gender equality. By incorporating a female *tirthankar,* the Jain Pathshala curriculum implies that females can achieve at a high level, aligning with the expectations of their middle-class parents.

The status of women aside, the curriculum promotes a pan-Jain identity employing a variety of strategies. The rhetorical approach shows sophistication, and the curriculum tackles significant sectarian differences regarding Tirthankar Mahavir's life. In favouring the female version of Tirthankar Mallinath, perhaps the textbooks subordinate a pan-Jain identity to a middle-class value, gender equality.

Section IV: A Pan-Shvetambar Identity vis-à-vis a Pan-Jain Identity

In this section, I show that a Shvetambar bias emerges in Pathshala activities, in the JAINA Pathshala curriculum's choice of stories, in the reference book - English Pratikraman - and in the omission of the core Digambar ritual, the *Deva-Shastra-Guru Puja*. Despite the Education Committee's intention of constructing a pan-Jain identity and the significant work its curriculum represents, further analysis reveals that this identity has been constructed at a cost to the minority Digambars in the United States.

The topic of *tirthankar* is once again helpful in showing how Shvetambar values dominate in Pathshala activities. As I noted before, the curriculum acknowledges the Digambar / Shvetambar divide over the number of objects Mahavir's mother dreamt – sixteen or fourteen. During Mahavir Jayanti (the birth ceremony of the twenty-fourth *tirthankar*), many children from the Pathshala enact this event as part of a cultural programme. My Digambar respondent resented the idea of confusing Jain children by giving them two versions. According to Dilip Bobra, it is not significant whether children are informed about fourteen or sixteen dreams; but they should be given one story.[465] However, because

[465] Bobra, Interview in Phoenix.

Shvetambars are numerically dominant, the number of dreams appearing in the enactment depends upon the individual Jain centre. For instance, at my field sites, the Los Angeles and Phoenix Jain Pathshalas, children enact fourteen dreams. In this context, Ramesh, the Los Angeles Pathshala coordinator, stated: "If the centre is inclined towards Shvetambars then children enact fourteen dreams."[466]

Another piece of evidence of Shvetambar influence emerges in *The Jain Story Book* for children. This storybook is a unique compilation of forty-three stories, primarily drawn from the Jain tradition. It is unique because a few stories have been drawn from non-Jain sources, and it includes biographical sketches of the lives of two nineteenth-century Shvetambar laymen.[467] The majority of the stories are common to all Jains, but there are twelve stories that have been specifically drawn from the Shvetambar tradition. These stories provide pan-Jain values, but their inclusion gives prominence to the Shvetambar culture. For instance, they feature monks dressed in white and historical figures drawn from Shvetambar texts. Thus, they provide evidence of the pervasiveness of the Shvetambar culture.

Shvetambar influence also appears in the JAINA *English Pratikraman,* which presents a pan-Shvetambar *pratikraman*.[468] This Pratikraman manual forms part of the JAINA Pathshala reference series (see Table 5). It comprises *sutras* (verses), with each presented in three forms: the verse's original language, either Ardhamagadhi Prakrit or Sanskrit; a Roman-alphabet transliteration; and an English translation. Jain Pathshala children use the third version, which means they are not mechanically reciting the verses but reading them with meaning. Before examining the *English Pratikraman's* shortcomings, it is necessary to recognise the ways in which it embodies the Education Committee's vision.

Developing an English version of the highly valued Jain ritual, *pratikraman*, furthers the Committee's vision of a curriculum adapted to American Jains. The *English Pratikraman* arguably functions to unite the Jains in the United States, since a growing number of migrant Jains would rather perform the ritual in English. Pravin Shah, who led the Pratikraman compiling team, explains the benefits of the English version:

> The tradition is just do it [Pratikraman], recite the *sutra*, don't worry whether you understand it or not and it has good benefits. This kind of approach has been sold to us in India… Same sutras are repeated several times during the Pratikraman. It becomes big [ger] and big [ger]. The whole intention is being lost. We have developed an English Pratikraman, where each *sutra* only comes once and with proper explanation. We have selected *sutras* from different sects and compiled

[466] Ramesh, Interview in Los Angeles.
[467] JAINA Education Committee, *Jain Story Book*, 139–48.
[468] Pratikraman is the Jain way for self-analysis. When split, *prati* means 'back', and *kraman* means 'to go'. Together it means to go back, review, confess, and repent for wrong thoughts or actions.

> them into one and got it reviewed from eight scholars. So, we try to modify things, we try to make it according to the time, place, environment, and technology.[469]

Pravin Shah clearly aspired to transcend the traditional approach prevalent back in India. He provided three reasons justifying the new approach: performance time, the addition of explanation, and combining verses from different sects, but limited to Shvetambar sects. First, if the Pratikraman was recited in the traditional manner, then performing it would take more time. Therefore, in the fast-paced American culture, the JAINA Committee adopted a practical approach so that at least people perform the ritual. Second, by developing an English Pratikraman with meanings explained, the Committee is following the modern education system instead of using the traditional approach - reciting *sutras* by memory and without understanding. The final departure was selecting verses from Shvetambar sects to create a pan-Shvetambar *pratikraman*.

By no means can the JAINA *English Pratikraman* be considered a pan-Jain *pratikraman*. The Digambar *sutras* have not been included in this abridged *pratikraman*. It is striking to see that the Committee has prepared the *English Pratikraman* specifically for Shvetambar Jains. This pan-Shvetambar *pratikraman* is popular with the Pathshala children. Here, the needs of the minority Digambars have been overlooked. In this context, one of my Digambar respondents informed me that an English version of the Digambar *pratikraman* has been prepared by a few Digambar Jains and has been circulated amongst the small number of Digambars in America.[470] It appears that because American Pathshalas promote the pan-Shvetambar *pratikraman*, the small number of Digambar child-participants are also required to follow it. Admittedly, performing the *pratikraman* ritual maintains continuity with the past, and the creation of a composite version of the Shvetambar *pratikraman* indicates that an attempt has been made to dissolve minor Shvetambar differences. My analysis of the JAINA *English Pratikraman* clearly indicates that a pan-Shvetambar *pratikraman* has been created which contributes to a pan-Shvetambar identity rather than a pan-Jain identity.

Like the *English Pratikraman,* the JAINA textbooks at levels 1 and 2 lean towards the Shvetambar tradition, omitting the three key Digambar norms while ceding ground to Shvetambar norms. The differing approach to the two cultures puts into question the Digambar content in the pan-Jain identity. In the first case study of the Digambar Pathshalas, my data and analysis has shown that the *Deva-Shastra-Guru Puja* is at the core of Digambar

[469] Shah, Interview in Raleigh.
[470] Bobra, Interview in Phoenix.

practices. Ravi, a migrant Digambar respondent, also confirmed this in his interview.[471] In contrast, the JAINA Pathshala curricular material at levels 1 and 2 does not even mention this important Digambar ritualistic *puja*, while a detailed description of a Shvetambar *puja* appears in the same material. In addition, the three key Digambar norms of "*deva-darshan*," "drinking filtered water", and "not-eating after sunset" do not find a place in the curricular material. According to my Digambar respondent in India, although it is difficult to maintain such norms in a busy city life, children should at least be aware of these traditional norms.[472] Finally, the graphics, pictures, and other symbolic representations exclusively favour the Shvetambar culture by portraying monks and nuns in white clothes.

In sum, the storybooks, the *pratikraman*, the rituals included, and the pictorial presentation of the materials all indicate a distinct Shvetambar bias in the JAINA curricular material. Consequently, children attending American Pathshalas will learn Shvetambar Jainism even if they nominally identify themselves simply as Jain. I will next examine how an individual Jain Pathshala is implementing the curriculum and how that implementation is shaping the identity of its students. I will address these and more questions through my exploration of the Los Angeles and Greater Phoenix Pathshalas in Chapter seven.

Conclusion

This chapter has continued to focus on the shift in children's religious education driven by the international migration of middle-class Jains. As with the Digambar Pathshalas and the Terapanthi Gyanshalas, the American Jain Pathshalas have developed a child-friendly religious education curriculum, and, as with the Indian sectarian religious schools, the importance of lay teachers is seen as the most significant change in the religious education of young Jains. However, unlike the Chitrakoot Digambar Pathshala and the Terapanth Gyanshala, which have been guided by sectarian monk leaders, the Jain Pathshalas in the United States are an entirely lay endeavour, and the founders have sought to create a non-sectarian Jain identity. I have shown that the presence of a smaller number of Jains in the United States has encouraged the Jain community to seek unity, and to transcend sectarian boundaries. This effort represents a significant departure from traditional Jainism.

This chapter has provided new insights into the dynamics of unity in migrant regions. A conflation of the majority Shvetambars and the minority Digambar Jains has influenced the

[471] Ravi, Interview in Los Angeles, September 19, 2015.
[472] Nirmala, Interview in Jaipur.

construction of a pan-Jain identity. Jain leaders are trying to impart the value of unity in children from a young age so that they grow up with the feeling of Jain-ness and call themselves Jains as adults. Yet, the attempt to overcome divisions – regional and religious – has been more challenging than it appears. The attempt is being distorted by the interplay of majority-minority dynamics. Nonetheless, I have shown how Pathshala textbooks have become an effective means of achieving unification.

Jain Pathshalas are a primary source of Jain knowledge, enabling migrant Jain children to understand the religion and culture of their parent's. Westernisation is playing a part in the dynamics between the old and the new, the orthodox and the liberal. The story of Tirthankar Mallinath, chosen by the curricular team from the different sectarian beliefs, is the one that best fits with Western middle-class values.

The curriculum analysis demonstrates that the JAINA curricular team has focused on the pan-Jain doctrine of non-violence. More specifically, these leaders have stressed vegetarianism and veganism as a practical application of non-violence. To this end, they have redefined and reconceptualised Jain vegetarianism by reframing it in terms much more similar to Western vegetarianism. This choice further departs from enforcing the traditional Jain dietary practices. In conclusion, the development of a curriculum by a team of laypeople and the slant given to the material by individual team members has led to innovation in the overall shaping of American Jainism.

In this chapter, my respondents were mainly middle-class first-generation Jain migrants, who expressed their concerns about transmitting Jain values to successive generations in a foreign land. In the next chapter, my respondents also include second-generation Jains and I examine their experience of Jain religious education as part of negotiating an identity in the United States. I analyse the curriculum used in the Jain Pathshalas in Los Angeles and Phoenix to reveal how this contemporary curriculum addresses the challenges of Jains being part of non-Jain social networks and their related identity crises.

CHAPTER SEVEN

American Jain Pathshalas: Divergence in Practice

> To my friends, I would say [that I am] Indian American most of the time as compared to just American, as I feel there is a difference between me and what I think is American. When I get to know them more, I would say I am Jain.[473]

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I examined how American Jains transmit their tradition to the next generation in a new cultural setting. In this chapter, I analyse two American Jain Pathshalas (religious schools) – operating at the Jain Center of Southern California, Los Angeles, and the Jain Center of Greater Phoenix, Phoenix respectively. This analysis enables an understanding of how these religious schools implement JAINA curriculum to impart Jain values in migrant children, ground them in their cultural tradition, and orient their religious identity. By delving deeper into the two Jain Pathshalas, I present the practical realities of running Pathshalas at the Jain centres, exposing the challenges of developing a non-sectarian Jain identity amongst American migrant Jains. I probe into what is happening to the religious tradition in the process of this transmission.

In the quotation at the beginning of the chapter, Manu, an American-born Jain, highlights the complexities of mixed identities that second-generation Jains face. I analyse how the American Jain Pathshalas' approach to implementing the JAINA curriculum has coloured the ethnic religious identity it is fashioning. In the previous chapter, I concluded that the emphasis on non-violence is a pathway to developing a non-sectarian pan-Jain identity in the United States. However, I also drew attention to several sectarian disputes that are undermining this aspiration. This chapter argues that despite the central focus on non-violence, there remain unresolved sectarian and linguistic issues. As a result, not all Jain Pathshalas achieve the target of fulfilling the JAINA vision of a pan-Jain identity.

While the Los Angeles Pathshala focuses on the JAINA curricular material, the Jain Pathshala in Phoenix combines this material with a specific Indian curriculum developed by the well-known Shrimad Rajchandra Mission (SRM), a Shvetambar-based Jain spiritual organisation in India that seeks to expand its outreach activities.[474] This combination is striking because, in an interview, the current JAINA Education Committee Chairperson,

[473] Manu expressed his views in a group discussion in Los Angeles.
[474] For an overview of Shrimad Rajchandra Mission, Dharampur, see "Mission Overview - Shrimad Rajchandra Mission Dharampur," accessed February 7, 2018, http://www.shrimadrajchandramission.org/mission.

Pravin Shah, asserted that the Committee does not allow any sectarian monk or nun to dictate or interfere in the process of developing the JAINA curricular material.[475] Contrary to JAINA's resistance to the influence of Indian monastics (and their necessarily sectarian viewpoints), the Phoenix Pathshala team members are influenced by Pujya Gurudev Rakeshbhai Zaveri, the religious leader of SRM.[476] His popularity and influence has led to newly emerging home-based *pathshalas* in North America, using the SRM's curriculum. So variety has begun to emerge in the American Jain world and I comment on how the Los Angeles Pathshala differs from the Phoenix Pathshala and how they both differ from their Indian counterparts of the previous case studies.

I have organised this chapter into the following three sections. First, I survey contemporary Jain Pathshalas in America to identify their shared features, notably their provision of opportunities for middle-class Jain children to socialise together. Second, I examine the Los Angeles Pathshala as a school that is determined to develop a pan-Jain identity. In the final section, I investigate my second field site, the Jain Pathshala in Phoenix. I show that this school combines the JAINA curriculum with an Indian sectarian curriculum to shape a more demarcated Shvetambar identity. In conclusion, I show how the two schools differ from each other in their drive for the pan-Jain identity, and how they both differ from their Indian counterparts.

Section I: Contemporary Jain Pathshalas – Shared Features

In this section, I first provide an overview of Jain Pathshalas in the United States to furnish context to the subsequent analysis of individual Pathshala in Los Angeles and Phoenix. I provide basic data and reveal five features that are shared by the American Jain Pathshalas: the provision of social opportunities for Jain children, male leadership, the role of teachers and students in revising the JAINA curriculum, the independence of individual Jain Pathshala regarding curriculum choice, and their location in Jain centres that promote pan-Jain unity and vegetarianism, while simultaneously reflecting the Shvetambar majority.

The Jains in the United States evolved from a small number of immigrant Jain families with no temple in the 1960s to a stable religious community with more than twenty-five Jain temples and seventy vibrant Jain centres in 2015. Almost every Jain centre conducts

[475] Shah, Interview in Raleigh.
[476] Rakeshbhai Zaveri is not a fully ordained monk; he heads the Shrimad Rajchandra Mission, spreading the teachings of Shrimad Rajchandraji.

Jain Pathshalas, attended by an estimated 3500 children and youth.[477] There are 250-300 teachers and volunteers who have developed activities, planned lessons, and take the role of facilitating learning rather than just dispensing religious knowledge.[478] These *pathshalas* are representative of the substantial effort being made to provide children's religious education. The majority of *pathshalas* are well-equipped with the latest teaching aids. Some *pathshalas* operate every Sunday, others on alternate Sundays. Because Jain Pathshalas operate on Sundays, many respondents referred to them as "Sunday Pathshala." In relation to *pathshalas*, Christopher Chapple, who is associated with the Jain communities in the United States and particularly with the Los Angeles Jain community, stated:

> The Jain Pathshala model is scheduled for Sundays, which is the traditional day for religious instruction in North America according to the Protestant heritage, and it is also a way for kids from different regional communities to get to know one another.[479]

Chapple compared the American Jain model with the Protestant heritage. However, the fact is that Sunday is the mainstream-school holiday, and therefore the only day when Jains have the opportunity for the religious socialisation of their children, and for families to meet one another. In my previous two case studies, I have shown that both Digambar Pathshalas and Shvetambar Terapanthi Gyanshalas mainly operate on Sundays. This is because middle-class urban Jains largely follow the western education model, whereby Sunday is a holiday.

Most American Jain Pathshalas primarily use the JAINA curriculum and four features are common to them. The first feature is that Jain Pathshalas share the goal of providing opportunities for Jain children to socialise with each other. Such opportunities address both migrant Jains' anxiety about non-Jain marriages and the second generation's struggle to negotiate identities. Migrant Jains perceive that Pathshalas serve as a platform for increasing children's socialisation with other Jains and for helping them to overcome their identity crisis. They believe that socialisation encompasses both mixing socially with other Jains, and also the religious socialisation defined by Ulrich Riegel and Katharina Kindermann as "the process by which the younger generation acquires the religious values and concepts of the older generation."[480] According to Sulekh Jain, Pravin Shah, and Ramesh, the social goal has been more important than the religious goal.[481] This social goal gains importance in light of

[477] Jain, *Jains in India and Abroad*, 102.
[478] Email Pravin K Shah, "Jaina Education Committee - Activity Summary Report Dec 2016," December 22, 2016.
[479] Dr. Christopher Chapple, Interview in Los Angeles, September 19, 2015.
[480] "Jain Center of Southern California," accessed May 7, 2017, http://jaincenter.org/pathshala-8-class.php.
[481] Jain, Interview in Houston. Shah, Interview in Raleigh. Ramesh, Interview in Los Angeles.

the increasing number of Jains marrying non-Jains. According to my interviewees, this new trend poses a threat to the Jain population and practices. Ramesh stated: "Jain population is declining because some who marry outside the faith come to the temple, while some do not come."[482] Therefore, Jains emphasise religious education to increase peer socialisation among Jain children to promote marriage within the Jain community. Almost every American Jain Pathshala organises camps and picnics to increase socialisation and make learning interesting.

Second-generation Jain children, in negotiating identity, face the challenge of reconciling their familial culture with that of the surrounding society. Ramesh, in his interview, drew my attention to this predicament: "Children here are lost between the American and Indian cultures. My friend's daughter asked, 'what is wrong with me? I am dark, my hair is dark, and no one here is like me.' At Jain Pathshalas, children are happy because they look alike and make friends."[483] The girl's experience of her "otherness" created feelings of isolation and shame. Jain Pathshalas provide a space in which a child can define herself as central rather than marginal. With her Jain peers, she can develop confidence in a core Jain identity that will uplift her as she navigates her way within the American culture. Ramesh, the LA Pathshala coordinator with twenty-seven years of experience, has observed that Pathshalas boost children's confidence. He stated that "while children born in the United States usually emphasise an American identity, those who undergo a Pathshala education are proud to identify themselves as Jains or as Indians."[484] Thus, Jain Pathshalas are helping second-generation children construct a positive Jain identity.

In addition to helping children take pride in being Jain, socialising with other Jain children can help them bridge the gap between middle-class identity and ethnic-minority identity. Louise Archer, studying how minority communities in the United Kingdom envisioned an ethnic-minority middle-class identity, argues "the participants constructed middle-classness in a range of ways but commonly regarded it as unattainable due to its association or conflation with whiteness."[485] While a child's family may consciously self-identify as middle class, being part of an ethnic minority can jeopardise the recognition of that identity beyond the family. Thus, the United States, with its ethnically European majority, poses a similar challenge for the ethnic minority middle-class child. By enabling

[482] Ramesh, Interview in Los Angeles.
[483] Ramesh.
[484] Ramesh.
[485] Archer, "Constructing Minority Ethnic Middle-Class Identity," 134.

middle-class Jain children to socialise with each other, Jain Pathshalas provide them with an opportunity to socialise with their own community and carve out a separate identity, distinguishing themselves from the ethnic majority.

The second common feature is that Jain Pathshala teachers and youth help revise the JAINA curriculum. The JAINA Education Committee has distributed authority broadly by engaging both these groups. It organises a teachers' conference every four years to provide a platform for the exchange of ideas, to review successes and failures, to revise goals, and – most importantly – to motivate teachers. Youth also help shape Jain Pathshalas, and their engagement represents another shift down the age hierarchy instead of down the knowledge hierarchy. As Pravin Shah explains: "It is a collective effort, because we really discuss significant areas of concern with our youth. They say what it will take to pique their interest in Jainism."[486] Including youth in the process of revision suggests a willingness to be flexible and integrate certain modern elements into Jain teachings. It distinguishes Jain Pathshalas – and arguably American Jainism – from the Indian religious schools discussed in the previous case studies and from traditional paradigms.

The third feature is the freedom provided to individual Jain Pathshala in implementing the JAINA curriculum. The JAINA Education Committee has provided a curriculum for use by individual centres but has not given any specific guidelines on memorisation or language study. Nor have they prescribed a detailed lesson plan, like that for the Terapanthi Gyanshalas. As a result, each centre enjoys flexibility in implementing the curriculum. The Committee president, Pravin Shah, explains the underlying strategy for Jain Pathshalas:

> Every centre is independent. They can choose not to use JAINA material. They can choose whatever material they like to use. However, because the material has been prepared in English, at the same time in 'American English' … the centre[s] generally don't have any better alternative for children born in America. And this is the only material available from that qualification point of view. That's why basically it becomes like a de facto standard.[487]

The independence provided to Jain Pathshalas indicates that some Pathshalas might not want to adopt a modern and non-sectarian approach. Shah is aware of the different viewpoints of migrant Jains and second-generation American Jains. Therefore, he has allowed each centre to be autonomous regarding their choice to adopt or not to adopt the JAINA material. Although the approach is flexible, Shah uses the term "qualification," perhaps to indicate that

[486] Shah, Interview in Raleigh.
[487] Shah.

the JAINA material is the only material in American English that qualifies as non-sectarian and favourable for Jain children born in the United States. Favourable here implies that the curriculum accommodates the American socio-cultural context. This feature distinguishes the JAINA curriculum from my previously examined curricula.

There are, indeed, other modern Jain religious schools for children that do not fit the JAINA model. My informants shared with me some recent developments in children's religious education in America that are unrelated to JAINA. For instance, many individual Jains run *pathshalas* in their homes, employing children's religious education material either from Pujaya Gurudevshriji's SRM, or Shri Namra *muni's* curriculum, or the curriculum developed by Acharya Shri Chandanaji's Veerayatan; all spreading outside India. Strikingly enough, their distinct Shvetambar biases pose challenges preventing them from being integrated into the JAINA curriculum, with one exception, the Phoenix Jain Pathshala, which I examine in Section III.

A final feature is that Jain Pathshalas operate in Jain centres that aspire to non-sectarianism and Jain vegetarianism, while a few centres are aiming to serve vegan food. With regard to non-sectarianism, the centres have to overcome two explicit challenges to realise their aspiration: the differing ritual practices of Digambars and Shvetambars and the opposing styles of their *jinas*' idols. Additionally, Jain centres face an implicit challenge in the culture of their members. The arrival of new migrants with their sectarian backgrounds renews the challenge. Once integrated, the new members intellectually support non-sectarianism, but, at the same time, they share what they know. As Shvetambars outnumber Digambars, Shvetambar culture permeates Jain centres. For instance, on my visits to the Jain Center of Southern California (JCSC) and the Jain Center of Greater Phoenix (JCGP), the air resonated with Gujarati terms and terminology. Another example appears in the enacting of fourteen (Shvetambar view) rather than sixteen dreams (Digambar view) of the twenty-fourth tirthankar, Mahavir. The suffusion of Jain centres with Shvetambar culture, while an accident of their membership rather than intentional, colours the context in which Jain Pathshalas operate.

While Jain centres that host Pathshalas have adopted the JAINA curriculum goal of non-sectarianism, they have usually ignored its vegan element in favour of vegetarianism. During my fieldwork in September 2015, the JCSC and the JCGP both served Jain vegetarian

meals before sunset.[488] Notably, these two centres uphold the traditional Jain dietary practice of serving food, a practice omitted in the JAINA curriculum. The approach of Jain centres to dietary practice reveals that they select from the curriculum the ideas they want to follow. Highlighting this aspect of food choices is important because the various announcements about future workshops that are circulated in emails promote healthy eating and a vegan life style. Figure 15 shows one such example, in which some American Jain leaders have taken an opportunity to consciously promote vegan and healthy eating, as well as develop awareness for the environment.

Workshop Duration and Location

Date and Time	December 8, 2017 Friday 5:00 PM to 9:00 PM (includes Dinner) December 9, 2017 Saturday 9:00 AM to 9:00 PM (includes Lunch, and Dinner) December 10, 2017 Sunday 9:00 AM to 4:00 PM (includes Lunch)
Workshop Venue/ Location	Sleep Inn – near Raleigh RDU Airport (4.0 miles from Airport) 5208 Page Road, Durham, NC 27703 Telephone 919 993 3393
Food	Simple Vegan food (absolutely no dairy product) will be served for breakfast, lunch, and dinner for all three days. No fried foods will be served as a way to promote healthy living.
Paper Product	All paper products such as plates, bowls, napkins, and glasses will be used of eco-friendly, bio-degradable, and from recycled materials.

Figure 15**.** An announcement for a workshop to be conducted in Raleigh in December 2017.[489]

Among the features Jain Pathshalas share, their independence and the socialisation they offer children, emerge as the most significant. Pathshalas provide a safe environment for the formation of a much-needed locus of identity for second-generation Jains. Also, the independence each Pathshala enjoys in implementing the JAINA curriculum enables each community to help shape American Jainism. In sum, the JAINA curriculum that I examined in the previous chapter attempts a non-sectarian approach that American Jain leaders seek to develop. However, there are noticeable differences in the ways Jain centres conduct their activities. The drive for a pan-Jain identity does not align with the on-the-ground realities of the centres. Nonetheless, because the hierarchical relationship between monks and laity is absent, an egalitarian model is emerging amongst American Jains.

[488] In a recent conversation, the Los Angeles Pathshala coordinator informed me that the Jain Center of Southern California would become vegan from January 2019.
[489] Email Pravin K Shah, "2nd Jain Workshop at Raleigh, NC USA," November 12, 2017.

Section II: The Los Angeles Jain Pathshala – Implementation of Curriculum

In this section, I examine my first diaspora field site, the Jain Pathshala in Los Angeles (LA), conducted at the Jain Center of Southern California (JCSC). My objective here is to analyse how the curriculum, that affects the ethnic religious identity it builds, is implemented, and how this implementation reflects middle-class values. This analysis is especially crucial because of the non-sectarian attitude the LA Jain Pathshala educators seek to impart. Before engaging in the analysis, I will place it in context by outlining the reasons for selecting this field site and briefly profiling the hosting centre and the Pathshala coordinator.

I chose the LA Pathshala as my first focus because it follows the JAINA curriculum closely to instil religious values amongst American-born Jain children. It also merited attention because it is one of the oldest and most vibrant centres, which takes pride in considering itself as non-sectarian.[490] By following a curriculum that promotes a pan-Jain identity in a centre that also emphasises non-sectarianism, the LA Pathshala provides an example in which the goals of the community and of its religious school align. The LA Pathshala has also, over the years, consistently taught large numbers of Jain children.

Conversations with Ramesh, the Pathshala Coordinator, outlined the JCSC's history and demography. The JCSC was founded in 1979, and its Jain Pathshala began in 1988, with sixty children and three teachers, divided into two temple-based classrooms. This was the early form of children's religious education prior to the development of the JAINA curriculum. In 1997, the LA Jain community bought the U.S. Post Office building next to the temple to accommodate the increasing number of Pathshala students. By 2016, student enrolment had increased to 370, with sixty-five teachers and thirty-five volunteers engaged in the alternate weekly classes for children. The age of the children ranged from three to eighteen. Rita, one of the Pathshala teachers, claimed, "Our Jain temple is literally a second home for children."[491] Rita's observation is for those 370 children who attend the Pathshala. It should be noted that there are many who do not.

Turning from the Pathshala itself to the centre that hosts it, the Jain Center of Southern California projects itself as a unified Jain centre. This "uniquely American"[492] centre is determined to achieve a unified non-sectarian identity, as is evident from two JCSC features: the centre does not entertain or invite any sectarian guru from India for religious

[490] For more information on the center, see: "Jain Center of Southern California."
[491] Rita, Interview in Los Angeles, September 18, 2015.
[492] Christopher Key Chapple, "The Jain Bhavan in Buena Park, California," *Jinamanjari* 34, no. 2 (October 2006): 22.

discourses and has created a large space called Aradhana (spiritual) hall, especially for the Sthanakvasi (non-image-worshipping Shvetambar) members.[493] Including the Aradhana Hall was crucial for the JCSC, because they wanted to set an example of how an ecumenical Jain community could be formed. The JCSC contains a temple building and a cultural complex. In the beginning, the Jain Centre's religious complex installed images for Shvetambar worship alone. Later, Digambar images were incorporated, and, finally, by building the spiritual hall, the centre also accommodated the needs of non-image-worshipping Shvetambars. By providing sacred spaces that accommodate three approaches to worship, LA Jains are "encouraging the estimated 1,300 migrant Jain families to unite under one roof for cultural, social, and religious practices."[494] It seems that this practice works well for diaspora groups at this Centre.

In addition to the unique hosting centre, the Pathshala coordinator himself merits attention, due to his leadership in shaping the school.[495] The LA Pathshala's coordinator, Ramesh, 71, has devoted twenty-seven years to the school. His dedication has earned him the respect of students, teachers, and community members. Before becoming the coordinator, Ramesh taught Gujarati to children for six years. Of his time at the centre, Ramesh states, "I am very happy that I got involved. I am trying to make a better life for our children in America, because they are our future."[496] Ramesh is just one of the coordinators whose perspective guides the religious educational experiences of Jain children and adolescents at JCSC. It is pertinent for this case study to acknowledge the influence wielded by the coordinator of a Jain Pathshala. I turn now to analysing the LA Pathshala's approach to implementing the JAINA curriculum.

Implementing the JAINA Curriculum: From Religious Principles to Technology

In this part of Section II, I first summarise the way the Los Angeles Pathshala organises its classes, and then examine its approach to implement the JAINA curriculum. The LA Pathshala reflects a relatively outward-looking Jain identity, as the following aspects demonstrate: (i) focus on understanding Jain principles, (ii) language, a key cultural component, that supplements the curriculum, (iii) extended social opportunities, and (iv) the use of technology. All four aspects are well-founded in the middle-class values adopted by

[493] Ramesh, Interview in Los Angeles.
[494] Ramesh.
[495] "Director" or "principal" were other terms used in Los Angeles and Phoenix for coordinators.
[496] Ramesh, Interview in Los Angeles.

the immigrant Jains. The same aspects also provide the framework for analysing the Phoenix Pathshala's approach to implementing the JAINA curriculum.

The LA Pathshala follows the American school calendar, holding classes from September until June, and remains closed in summer. It holds twenty alternate-week-classes in a year, with the duration of each class being two and half hours, divided into two equal periods. The first half of each class is devoted to Jain philosophy and rituals, while the second half offers a choice of learning either Hindi or Gujarati languages. With regard to languages, the JAINA curriculum neither prescribes any language book nor provides specific instructions for teaching language. As I demonstrate later in this chapter, learning an Indian language is not mandatory; instead of a language, the Phoenix Pathshala teaches music.

The Jain Pathshala in LA emulates its counterparts in India in varying degrees. Like in India, the LA Pathshala participants start with the recitation of *namokar mantra*, the holiest Jain mantra. Children continue reciting common Jain prayers as a group activity before they separate into their individual classrooms, according to their age-appropriate levels. The component of group recitation is similar to the previous case studies. However, the main difference lies in the reciting of sectarian prayers, for Digambar and Shvetambar Terapanthis, respectively. For instance, in India, there are specific prayers, praising monks and nuns and their minimalist lifestyle. The absence of a fully ordained monastic community in America does not require American Jain children to memorise many prayers and songs.

The LA Pathshala downplays memorisation in favour of teaching the application of Jain values. For imparting religious education, a key point of debate (between scholars and laypeople) has been the role of memorisation in the process of retention of knowledge. Ramesh explained the school's position: "In our Pathshala, we do not emphasise memorising *sutras* (verses). We stress on understanding the philosophy, on how to apply the Jain values in daily life, on what it means to be a Jain, and on how to interact with others who are non-Jains." Ramesh's perspective points to various aspects of developing a sense of being Jain. His view clearly expresses his vision of fostering a Jain identity that equips children to navigate a multi-cultural American society. Nonetheless, showing the Pathshala's responsiveness to the community and tolerance for a differing perspective, Ramesh, with the help of a few Jain Pathshala teachers, has developed a list of *sutras* for children to memorise before they turn nine. In fact, post-Pathshala, an additional *sutra*-class is offered to children who are interested in memorising more of the *sutras*. This evidence shows that memorisation is one area where it is difficult to arrive at a consensus among students, teachers and parents.

In this context, the LA Pathshala teacher, Pratima, with eighteen years of teaching experience, shared her view:

> I think in Pathshala *stutis* (prayers) and *sutras* have always been a little bit of a tricky subject. Mainly because when the kids get to a certain age, where they feel it is a little more of a burden to remember … they start resisting that. Then that means they don't want to come here because there is too much emphasis on memorising. We don't want this to become a reason for them to shy away from Pathshala.[497]

According to Pratima, children resist memorising, as they grow older. To avoid the adverse response that memorisation brings, they introduce the process when children are young, with the idea that at some point in time they will understand what they have learned. This view (as I will show later) is in contrast with the approach to memorisation in the Phoenix Pathshala. These differing views arise because the JAINA Education Committee has prepared the curriculum without specifying whether or not and in which age group children are required to memorise. This oversight implies that the Education Committee does not consider memorisation to be a crucial part of religious education.

A contrast here arises with Gyanshala education, in which the "Teacher Training Program" focuses on developing the trainer's skill of reciting *sutras* and prayers so that they can transmit it accurately to learners. The following detailed example will demonstrate the process of religious instruction developed by an enthusiastic teacher, to ensure a holistic learning experience of eight-year-old LA Pathshala students.

Pan-Jain Principle: A Jain Pathshala Teacher, Nita, Elucidates the Topic of Karma (Action)

Nita, who is passionate about teaching, is popular amongst Pathshala children, who fondly call her 'Nita Aunty'. She is the class-teacher of eight-year-old Jains and diligently prepares her own classroom routine. In each class, she selects one religious topic from the JAINA curriculum and divides the topic into nine learning modules, noting how much time she devotes to each module. Nita shared with me the topic of 'Karma', which she has woven into the following nine modules: i) journal writing (ten minutes), ii) sharing experiences (ten minutes), iii) quote, iv) topic discussion (thirty minutes), v) story (five minutes), vi) activity (ten minutes), vii) prayer (five minutes), viii) passport to leave (ten minutes), and ix) homework. Her objective is that "by the end of the class the children will have become well

[497] Pratima, Interview in Los Angeles.

familiarised with one Jain topic."[498] Nita views that learning does not begin when the teacher starts the class but rather, "it is a personal quest and one has to be in charge of its own journey."[499] Therefore, in journal writing, children spend the first ten minutes reflecting on what they have learned in the previous Pathshala class or about their queries.

The second module is interactive; it encourages children to share their personal experiences of how they have applied the Jain teachings from the previous class. Nita stated: "In Pathshala, our aim is not just to *inform* children but to *transform* them. I put a book on my head and say, just having the knowledge in the head is not enough; you must practise it. And so children have to tell me stories"[500] She gave an example of a child sharing a personal experience:

> One student said: 'I was standing in the line at lunchtime and somebody pushed me, and I didn't push back.' I tell them firmly that it is not good to push; I teach that too. Non-violence doesn't mean becoming a victim. It just means not using violence to solve problems.[501]

Reflecting on the child's story, Nita pointed out yet another aspect of the application of non-violence. Children often face such issues either in schools or in the society in which they are growing, and the modification of behaviour does not make them a better Jain, but it adds to the character of a good child. By asking children to share their stories, Nita is encouraging them to think beyond vegetarian or vegan food, to how they can apply non-violence in other ways. At the same time, she creates a friendly classroom atmosphere in which children can interact and learn from each other's experiences.

The third module is the *quote*, written on the classroom board: 'Today's topic is 'Karma', and the quote underneath states: "Destiny is not a matter of chance, it is a matter of choice." Nita selects the quotes which are not necessarily drawn from a Jain source, but she views that wisdom can be acquired from many sources. I give another example of a quote that Nita uses for the topic of *vegetarianism*: "Do unto others as you want others to do unto you by Jesus Christ." This implies that Nita explicitly connects Jain teachings to other expressions of wisdom, and she wants children to be open and be aware of multiple philosophies. In the fourth module, a thirty-minute discussion revolves around the topic of Karma in which both learners and teachers express their views, clarify the concept, and ask questions. The following Figure 16 depicts the topic as it was presented to the children in the class.

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[498] Nita, Interview in Los Angeles, September 18, 2015.
[499] Nita.
[500] Nita.
[501] Nita.

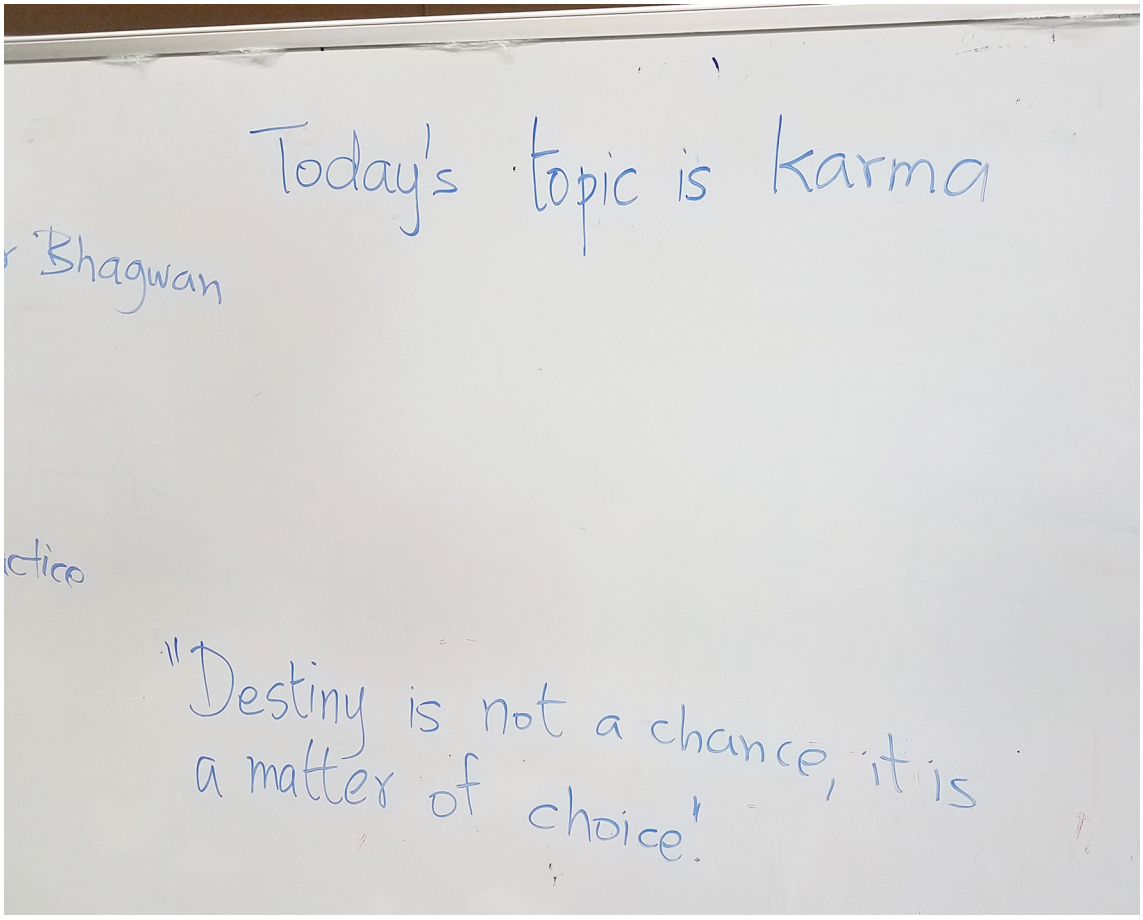

Figure 16. The topic of karma on the white board.

The children's textbooks of levels 1 and 2 describe the philosophy of karma, which Nita further elucidates in the classroom for thirty minutes. In addition, through the following two modules, she makes the topic lively for young learners. First, she narrates a five-minute *story* with the message on right and wrong action. Then she connects the story with the following sixth module, *class-activity*:

> This activity is on karmas – good or bad actions. I bring a backpack and say, I want to climb the Himalayas, so I put silly things in there. I say I will need this and I will need that. I put in a lot of unrelated items. Then children react 'no, no, no you don't need all that.' I ask them what do I need? They say, you need water, you need a blanket, and so on. Oh really? In the same way, in our journey to *moksha* (liberation), what do you need to unpack and what do you need to pack? So we make a little paper backpack. And on one side we write 'Unpack'. And I don't write anything. I just write their words. That's again my affirmation to what they are saying. And I tell them every soul is a genius. So, if you say, unpack violence, you cannot do violence. We then make the backpack, and I bring yarn, so we stick in all the yarn. Because wherever we go, our karmas (actions) come with us. Finally, they go home with the *backpack of karmas*. And it has a list of what to pack and what to unpack. What to unpack and then what to pack.[502]

[502] Nita.

Nita selects a topic that is significant to all Jains and makes it interesting, which is vitally important to retain the children's interest. She starts with a non-religious context for the activity, mountain climbing, and by her deliberately absurd choices encourages students to take charge of decision-making. Unpacking objects provides a new way to conceptualise leaving behind unhelpful behaviours. Explaining a deep concept like "*moksha*" through the analogy of a "backpack" allows children to relate Jain ideas with their daily activities. This learning module leads children to discuss amongst themselves and volunteer their views instead of passively listening to the teacher. This activity incorporates the American cultural context of which migrant Jain children are a part.

After this activity, the children spend another five minutes on *prayers* and finally ten minutes to summarise what they learned in the ninety-minute class. Last of all, the ninth module is the *homework*. At home, children are supposed to say "*jai jinendra*," the Jain way of greeting family members, recite prayers, and play the four-square game of *bhavana* (contemplation). Nita's pedagogy accommodates the learning needs of all her students, which she described as follows: There are three types of learners – visual, audio and kinaesthetic. The visual learner learns by looking; the audio learner learns through hearing; and the kinaesthetic learner needs to be actively involved in the learning process by manipulating materials.[503]

Nita's autonomy in choosing elements for her lessons shows that a Jain Pathshala teacher can choose how to use the JAINA textbooks in her class. The independence of the LA Pathshala teachers shows that, like children's religious schools in India, Jain Pathshalas in the United States also empower laywomen teachers and provide them with opportunities to express their creativity and talents. This also shows that not all teachers follow the same lesson plans. The approach that Nita has adopted pertains to the middle-class virtues of making the process of education interesting and child-centred. Figure 17 presents the classroom with children.

[503] Nita.

Figure 17. The Los Angeles Pathshala classroom.

Learning Indian Languages: A Key Cultural Component

In addition to one complete lesson, it is useful to shed some light on how the LA Pathshala's cultural activities supplement the JAINA curriculum. Like other diaspora communities, Jains in the United States also seek to expose their children to the culture of their parent's homeland. I show that language is a crucial cultural component in this exposure and features prominently in the immersive cultural environment created each Sunday at the Jain Center of Southern California. Moreover, the Indian language classes offered by LA Pathshala make this merging possible.

On Sunday, the cultural complex and the religious complex of the Jain Bhavan (building or centre) are filled with lay Jains, spanning all age groups. Everything about the Jain centre, from the traditional attire to the music, the aromas floating in the air, the food served, and the cultural activities undertaken, resonates with the richness of the Jain culture and Indian heritage. As Riegel and Kindermann have noted of religious buildings in general, the Jain religious complex itself conveys cultural as well as theological concepts through its

architecture and equipment.[504] The walls of the religious complex are adorned with artistically produced pictures portraying significant Jain pilgrimages within India. A separate area has been allocated for removing shoes at the entrance to the religious complex. Such elements align with Indian cultures. It is important to note that, unless the centre appeals to children, it would be difficult to maintain their participation in Pathshalas. Children experience the religious, the social, and the cultural once they participate.

Religious activities (mostly carried out by migrant Jains) begin early in the morning and continue until lunch. I observed children and youth –those attending the Sunday Pathshala and those not attending – throughout the grand complex. I observed adult Jains performing *pujas* (ritual worships) and also heard prayers, songs, and the reciting of verses by both adults and children in Gujarati, Hindi, as well as in English. While many adults recited without books, some children read from black and white booklets and pamphlets. After the *puja* finished, Adi, a young boy said: "We see our parents doing it; we also see the rest of the community doing [it], so definitely it inspires us to follow the same path."[505] This participation particularly emphasises the role of languages in engaging children with Jain religious practices and with the tradition of their ancestors. These children have learnt either Hindi or Gujarati or both in the second half of the two and half hour long Pathshala class.

As with memorisation, the role of language evokes debate in American Jain Pathshalas. For instance, Nita views language as more of a superficial than a fundamental issue. She asserted that "language is a vehicle for thought. I don't want to fight that battle, because I feel that we need to go to the source of the thought, and [the] language of the soul is just love and kindness."[506] While Nita adopts a modern approach, traditionalists view language as integral to religious continuity. The divergence of views has left each Pathshala to decide its own path. Some Jain Pathshalas, including the Phoenix Pathshala (the topic of my next section), have eliminated the language classes altogether. By contrast, the Houston Jain Pathshala emphasises the learning of Hindi or Gujarati languages, while the LA Pathshala has compromised by making these languages an optional part of the curriculum.

The LA Pathshala conducts Gujarati and Hindi language classes for interested students. Studies have shown that of Indian languages, Gujarati tends to be better maintained

[504] Ulrich Riegel and Katharina Kindermann, "Tracing Informal Religious Learning," *International Journal of Practical Theology* 19, no. 1 (January 15, 2015): 123, https://doi.org/10.1515/ijpt-2014-0033.
[505] Adi, who is fifteen years old, and has been attending Pathshala for nine years, shared his view in a group conversation.
[506] Nita, Interview in Los Angeles.

in diaspora communities.[507] Among the many reasons why diaspora children should learn Indian languages, my adult interviewees focus on four: (i) children should be able to read in the original script rather than through transliteration and translations, (ii) children should be able to communicate with monolingual grandparents, monks or nuns, either when they visit India or when their grandparents visit them in the United States, (iii) children should be able to watch Bollywood movies, and (iv) if today's children should later as adults think of reverse migration, knowing Hindi will minimise their challenges. Because children cannot learn an Indian language in their mainstream schools, some American Jain Pathshalas consider it important to teach Hindi or Gujarati at the Pathshala.

Given the lack of a religiously motivated need to learn Gujarati or Hindi, the rigour of the LA Pathshala's Hindi language programme, which is accredited by the University of California at Irvine, appears to be more remarkable. After completing seven years of Hindi, a student receives one language credit, which is equal to three units at university. Children start the language class at the age of seven and it takes them another seven years to complete the programme. In 2015, there were 120 students enrolled in Hindi and eighty in Gujarati, instructed by fourteen language teachers. Teachers have jointly developed the teaching material. Overall, the present efforts seem promising for the continuation of the languages. Earning university credits for Hindi appeals to middle-classness, while studying either of these Indian languages benefits students' ritual practices and supports the cultural identity of the LA Pathshala students.

However, the Hindi language coordinator and instructor, Shipra, shared some challenges in teaching language. The foremost challenge according to her is that they meet once in two weeks, which is not good enough for the language class.[508] She further explained, "Hindi is very difficult for our children. If they don't study during the two weeks, when they come back what was taught is lost."[509] Another challenge that language teachers have encountered in recent years arises from the emergence of a new generation. Shipra continued: "The second generation's kids have started coming through now. Earlier, parents who came from India were able to teach Hindi to their American kids at home. Now, the second generation does not know as much language and it is difficult for them to guide their

[507] See Sheena Shah, "The Role of Language and Culture in Ethnic Identity Maintenance:: The Case of the Gujarati Community in South Africa," in *Languages in Africa*, Multilingualism, Language Policy, and Education (Georgetown University Press, 2014), 111, http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt13x0dmp.13. Also see France Mugler and Jayshree Mamtora, "The Gujarati Language in Fiji," *Te Reo*, 2004, 29–61.
[508] Shipra, Interview in Los Angeles, September 19, 2015.
[509] Shipra.

children, the third generation of Jains."[510] Despite the challenges – to receive university accreditation is a major achievement – boosting the cultural component of the LA Jain Pathshala, a part-time bi-weekly children's religious school.

Formation of the Jain Center Youth Committee: Another Leap Forward for the LA Pathshala

Along with building cultural identity by offering languages, the LA Pathshala further cultivates cultural activities by organising social events. In doing so, the LA Pathshala has set up a student committee called the Jain Center Youth Committee (JCYC). This committee is formed on a yearly basis by interviewing interested and active Pathshala students who plan and execute a monthly activity. The activities are varied, including picnics, beach outings, celebrating Holi (the Hindu festival of colour), game days, ice-skating, bowling, theme park visits, inter-faith conferences, and the annual three-day winter camp in the nearby mountains.[511] On the one hand, these activities offer typical middle-class recreational opportunities. On the other hand, they also provide opportunities for Jain children to socialise with each other, and they seem to be responding. According to a lay mother, the friendships that children make at Pathshalas last longer than friendships made in mainstream schools.[512] While some of the activities may overlap with those of other Jain Pathshalas, the formation of a student committee and their management of these activities are unique to the LA Pathshala.

The aforementioned events and activities are not necessarily religion-oriented. Instead, the emphasis is placed on Indian and American culture to acculturate children in both. For instance, in the annual camp activities include quiz, extempore, and singing, which are all intended to increase children's knowledge on Jain religion and tradition. Integrating such activities into the curriculum through the camp is becoming an essential medium to attract American Jain children and retain their interest in the religious tradition of their homeland. As Rita asserted: "Our primary focus is to encourage children to attend the school, and teaching religion is secondary."[513] Ramesh concurs with the teacher's view stating, "If we don't have children, we cannot teach the walls."[514] Across my three case studies, teachers are unanimous in their thinking that, however modern and innovative the curriculum,

[510] Shipra.
[511] Ramesh, Interview in Los Angeles.
[512] This is one example of similar comments made by parents in informal conversations at the Jain Center of Southern California.
[513] Rita, Interview in Los Angeles.
[514] Ramesh, Interview in Los Angeles.

bringing children to part-time religious schools is challenging, regardless of whether they are American-born or Indian Jains.

Optimum Use of Technology: Performing *Pratikraman* (Confession)

In addition to organising social and cultural events, the LA Pathshala has accommodated technology to enhance its appeal. This accommodation also projects a Jain identity that embraces change. I show that the use of an iPad in performing the sacred Jain ritual of *pratikraman* is certainly a departure from the tradition in American Jainism. This departure is of particular relevance for the development of an American Jainism. I begin the discussion with the example of Power Point presentations. Instead of the traditional lecturing method, educators prepare lessons in Power Point, which not only interests today's middle-class children but also is a tool they are familiar with through their mainstream schools.

Teachers, in addition to employing multi-media and Power Point, relate Jain values to students through examples of the Internet and digital media. Pratima, who teaches the seventeen-year-olds, shared a scenario she presents to her students:

> Take for instance the vow of non-stealing. And then most children think of going out and steal[ing] somebody's wallet or go[ing] to a bank. I say you don't really have to go to the bank and rob a bank to consider stealing. How many of you have gone out of your way to find websites that will give you free download of songs. In a way, that's modern day [stealing], you know, violating copyright. That's just to make them more aware of what they are doing. And then also, I think, this is the high school senior. So it's kind of a milestone year for them, because now they are going to enter college.[515]

This illustration takes students beyond their standard idea of stealing. By drawing examples from the technological world to explain what stealing might entail, Pratima asserts that Jain values apply in new contexts. Figure 18 presents a Power Point presentation in which children are learning about Jain cosmology.

[515] Pratima, Interview in Los Angeles.

Figure 18. Power Point Presentation in Los Angeles classroom.

Another adaptation to technology, and the most radical, because it includes the use of electricity in ritual, is the use of electronic gadgets during the performance of the English Pratikraman (self-analysis and confessions).[516] I described this ritual in the previous chapter; here I give a glimpse of how it is conducted. Having first done my fieldwork in India and then in the United States, I was particularly struck by two hundred LA Pathshala students, dressed in a mix of Indian and Western clothes, performing the ritual of *pratikraman*. It was further illuminating for me to observe that the children were reciting the *pratikraman sutras* from iPads, other digital devices, and some from books and printouts. A digital file of the English *pratikraman* was e-mailed to children in advance so that they could sign up to read a specific section.[517] It took two hours to complete the recitation of the *pratikraman* along with specific *mudras* (postures), which were directed by Manish, a lay Jain who has been guiding the English *pratikraman* for sixteen years.

While children were familiar with the ritual itself, it wasn't until 2015 that Manish first adopted technology in *pratikraman* to make the children's participation easier.

[516] Pratikraman is comparable to *sandhya* in the Vedic tradition, *namaj* in Islam, *kharavela* Avesta in the Zoroastrian, and confessional prayer in the Jewish and Christian traditions. *Pratikraman Sutra Book* (USA: JAINA Education Committee, 2014), 8. Pratikraman is the Jain way for self-analysis.
[517] Preeti, "English Pratikraman," February 22, 2017 Email.

Defending this departure from the traditional method, Manish said: "Some members asked, 'Can we go online? Can we use iPads during *pratikraman*?' I was hesitant at first, but later, I said that we want to move on with the available technology and people's interest. So in 2015, I said, 'We can do that.' Children and young adults prefer using iPads."[518] The large number of children performing the ritual suggests that children have responded favourably to the technological option. After the *pratikraman* ritual, a lay father, commented, "We used to memorise more. Today kids are not dependent on memorisation."[519] The LA Pathshala, by accommodating the use of iPads, is projecting a Jain identity that is turning towards cultural change rather than away from it. Traditionally, *pratikraman* is conducted as part of *samayik* (forty-eight minutes of sitting in equanimity), a key Jain ritual of forty-eight minutes through which the aspirant isolates him/herself from the material world. By allowing iPads during *pratikraman*, the LA Pathshala has prioritised participation in the ritual over its underlying purpose.

Before concluding, it is crucial to share children's views, regarding their attending the Pathshala. How LA Pathshala students express their beliefs and identity came up in a group discussion with adolescents: three boys and one girl. One of them, Manu, a fourteen-year-old-boy, said: "Pathshala teaches more about lifestyle; and regular school teaches about what you need to learn to do well in a normal society." [520] Students articulated Jain values by emphasising vegetarianism. For example, Ria's school has a majority of white Americans and a very small proportion of Indian children. She said: "Well, it is difficult to explain, but I wouldn't feel ashamed of being vegetarian, because I know the reason why I am doing what I am doing. I understand that it's not like most other people and stuff. I am not doing anything wrong." In another example, Sahil said that his mainstream teacher got plastic eggs to celebrate Easter instead of real eggs, in consideration of his religious values of non-violence. Yet another boy said, "I have learned how to conduct myself. Pathshala has truly helped me to become a better person." These voices affirm that children are distinguishing between the goals of Pathshala education and of normal school and how they deal with peer pressure.

In the preceding analysis of the JAINA curriculum implemented by the LA Jain Pathshala, I have identified religious teaching, opportunities for social interaction, language as a cultural component, and technology that supplements the overall religious experience. To some extent, these components reflect a sincere effort by the JCSC to maintain a model of

[518] Manish, Interview in Los Angeles, September 18, 2015.
[519] Ravi, Interview in Los Angeles.
[520] Rahul, Interview in Los Angeles, English, September 17, 2015.

Jain unity, but to varying degrees. The emphasis on pan-Jain principles, language, and socio-cultural activities indicates the stress placed on non-sectarianism. However, one cannot gloss over the fact that most Jains in LA are Shvetambars, which is reflected in the Centre's acceptance of the pan-Shvetambar *pratikraman*. To meet the needs of migrant middle-class parents and retain the interest of their children, socialisation through secular activities has come to the foreground, at the cost of religious education.

I assert that the teachers and the coordinators, who are also migrant parents, are seeking to transmit the culture and tradition which they have inherited. In relation to this, two features prominently separate the LA Pathshala from the previously examined Indian children's religious schools: the optimum use of technology in teaching and the importance given to learning Hindi and Gujarati. Both these features can be explained within the context of migration. Living in technologically advanced America has encouraged the optimum use of technology in Jain Pathshala pedagogy and the need to learn Indian languages has also arisen due to migration. In the following section, I examine and compare how the Jain Center of Greater Phoenix has implemented the JAINA curriculum.

Section III: The Phoenix Jain Pathshala – Implementation of Curriculum

In this section, I examine the second diaspora field site, the Phoenix Jain Pathshala, conducted at the Jain Center of Greater Phoenix (JCGP). Unlike the large LA Pathshala, the Phoenix Pathshala is medium-sized, with a smaller number of participants, teachers, and volunteers. It differs significantly from the LA Pathshala in that it only partially follows the JAINA curriculum, the remainder being a Shvetambar curriculum borrowed from India. I show that the Pathshala coordinator's close involvement with the Shrimad Rajchandra Mission (SRM), Dharampur in Gujarat has influenced the integration of Divine Touch (a Shvetambar-based curriculum) to the JAINA curriculum.[521] At first sight, this divergence appears to be a rupture in the desired JAINA's goal of a pan-Jain identity. However, a detailed examination of the Phoenix Pathshala indicates that, although their implementation of the JAINA curriculum is with modifications, they share the JAINA drive or intention of non-sectarianism. They present other examples of seeking a pan-Jain identity, including the combining of Digambar and Shvetambar rituals in the yearly Divali *puja*. Despite this effort,

[521] For a theoretical framework on transnationalism see Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, and Cristina Blanc-Szanton, "Transnationalism: A New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration," *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 645, no. 1 (1992): 1–24, http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1749-6632.1992.tb33484.x/abstract.

my analysis of the Phoenix Pathshala is that it presents a pan-Shvetambar culture as if it were universal to American Jains. First, I begin by outlining the reasons for selecting this field site and then briefly profile the hosting centre and the Pathshala coordinator.

The Phoenix Pathshala presents a critical aspect to my case study because it allows me to examine the reasons for merging an Indian curriculum with the JAINA curriculum. I have shown in the previous chapter that the JAINA curriculum was specifically prepared for American Jain children in American English. In spite of this favourable context and English language, the Phoenix Pathshala has integrated the curricular material from an Indian Jain religious education programme for children called Divine Touch. This new material was developed by Rakesh Bhai Zaveri, a spiritual Jain *leader* in India. Unlike the American Jain Pathshala curriculum, the Divine Touch curriculum does not prescribe books instead they only include worksheets. The Phoenix Pathshala further enriches my analysis because, instead of the Hindi or Gujarati languages, the organisers prefer to offer learning to play instruments and music. It takes a different approach to fostering culture than several other Jain Pathshalas in North America, that consider language teaching crucial to the maintenance of religion and culture of one's home country.[522]

The Phoenix Pathshala also drew my attention because Dilip Bobra, one of the three members of the JAINA curriculum development team, belongs to the JCGP. The moment I introduced my research area to him, Bobra stated: "Whatever poison we will drop, will stay with children forever, because they will not have the wisdom to wash it out. And we do not want to give them that poison."[523] His expression reflected disappointment, and the implication was that the analogy with "poison" was targeted at the elements of sectarianism that were creeping into children's religious education. Bobra expressed his views explicitly, but the way he lamented over the current situation clearly indicated that the leadership has changed. He is neither actively involved in the development of the curriculum nor in the routine activities of the Sunday Pathshala. Nevertheless, it is important for this thesis to present different views regarding the implementation of the curriculum. Having given the context for examining the Phoenix Pathshala, I turn now to profiling the JCGP which hosts the Phoenix Pathshala.

The JCGP was established in 1992, and the Jain Temple was built in 2008. The temple complex is spread over a large area and serves more than 130 Jain families in Phoenix. Unlike the LA Jain Pathshala, the Phoenix Pathshala holds weekly classes, and

[522] For example, both the Houston and the Chicago Pathshalas offer language classes.
[523] Bobra, Interview in Phoenix.

invites scholars and spiritual leaders with specific sectarian followings to deliver talks on various topics on Jainism. Similar to the LA Pathshala, the Phoenix Pathshala also remains closed in summer: it closes in the third week of May and reopens in the second week of August. There are approximately seventy to eighty children enrolled in the weekly Jain Pathshala, with eleven teachers. The Pathshala class starts at 10:30 a.m. and continues until 1 p.m. The time is divided into one hour of religious education, and thirty minutes each of group prayers, a vegetarian lunch, and a band music practice. Figure 19 shows the grand entrance of the Jain Center of Greater Phoenix.

Figure 19**.** The Jain Center of Greater Phoenix

The Phoenix Pathshala is one of the few Pathshalas in the United States that has been significantly influenced by the Shrimad Rajchandra Mission's Divine Touch (SRD) curriculum. The Pathshala has chosen to add the Arhat Touch, Magic Touch, and Spiritual Touch segments of the SRD curriculum to the JAINA curriculum.[524] The inspiration to add

[524] "Arhat Touch - Children Activities - Shrimad Rajchandra Mission Dharampur," accessed July 6, 2015, http://www.shrimadrajchandramission.org/sr-divinetouch/arhat-touch-300.htm.

SRD came from Sameer, the Phoenix Pathshala coordinator, who is also a teacher. He maintains close contact with Gurudevshri Rakeshbhai Zaveri, the leader of Srimad Rajchandra Mission. The leader does not affiliate SRM to either Digambar or Shvetambar, but considers it his mission to spread Jainism. However, the image-worshipping and other ritual practices are drawn from Shvetambar practices. Sameer has been influenced by SRD, the children's religious education model developed by the organisation. He has integrated the SRD's curricular material with the JAINA educational material. Following is a brief outline of this educational model:

> Shrimad Rajchandra Divinetouch (SRD) is a journey of inner awakening for children... [It] is structured into 3 programmes; Magic touch [four to eight years], Arhat Touch [nine to twelve years] and Spiritual touch [thirteen to sixteen], designed specifically for the different stages of development in the life of a child; beginning with childhood, moving to the pre-teen years and culminating at adolescence.[525]

Like the JAINA curriculum, the SRD curriculum is also divided according to age groups and levels. The names that categorise each group are a combination of English and Hindi terms. Apparently, the material is designed for all Jain children, regardless of whether they are migrant or native. How does this curriculum address the needs of children born or raised in a multi-cultural American society? Besides his devotion for SRM, there are three other reasons for Sameer to blend the SRD with the JAINA curriculum. (1) The SRD's Arhat Touch minimises the memorising of *sutras* and verses without understanding. (2) Instead of textbooks, there are only worksheets that children need to fill. (3) The dropout rate of older children has reduced since the combining of both curricula. This acceptance of the Divine Touch curriculum, a Shvetambar influenced curriculum, shows that the individual coordinator's beliefs can influence the religious education of children in a Jain Pathshala. Sameer believes that by combining these two religious education curriculums, he can improve "the happiness index of children." I turn now to examining how the Phoenix Pathshala has incorporated the SRD's curriculum with the JAINA curriculum.

The Phoenix Pathshala: A Blended Curriculum

The Phoenix Pathshala views the Divine Touch curriculum as filling a gap left in the JAINA curriculum. Champa, a Pathshala teacher who has been teaching since 2012, provided the following rationale for combining the curricula: "The JAINA curriculum gives us the fundamentals, while the Arhat, Magic, and Spiritual Touch curricula provide the practical

[525] "Arhat Touch - Children Activities - Shrimad Rajchandra Mission Dharampur."

approach. So, when we combine the two, it is a beautiful experience for the kids."[526] Champa's explanation reveals that she views the JAINA curriculum as theoretical and the SRD curriculum as a necessary supplement, supplying the practical application of Jain philosophy. From Champa's statement and my analysis of what has been added to the JAINA curriculum, I infer that by "the practical approach" she means "rituals." Like Champa, another teacher, Rupa, believed that there was no clash in integrating the Indian curriculum with the JAINA curriculum, asserting that "Jain principles are the same whether in India or America."[527] It also appears from the teachers' comments that the focus on temple rituals is emphasised more than philosophy.

The Phoenix Pathshala's focus on rituals sets aside the JAINA curriculum development team's view that "philosophy unites and rituals divide." By integrating certain elements from a distinct sectarian curriculum from India, the Phoenix Pathshala is departing from the overall JAINA goals of developing a non-sectarian unified Jain identity. Even more crucial than recognising this focus on rituals is to understand why they dominate the Phoenix Pathshala. Geeta, another Pathshala teacher, explained her perspective from her childhood days in India:

> From my personal experience, when I was a child, I went to the temple. If I didn't have anything to do [there], I wouldn't be able to connect with God. So, I think at that age rituals were very good in terms of helping me to realise, to keep that connection with God. As you grow up, as you become like 30s, or when you become mature, you can understand that 'Okay rituals, but also let's learn the philosophy and let's go more into detail.'[528]

Geeta believed that rituals serve as a medium to keep children connected to god. Her view was similar to that of the Digambar Pathshalas which have a strong focus on temple rituals. By contrast, the JAINA Education Committee clearly expressed that they would like to keep themselves different and ahead of where Indian Jains are at. The JCGP Pathshala's departure from the initial JAINA educational goals may have contributed to Bobra's unhappiness about the current developments in children's religious education at JCGP.

The Phoenix Pathshala's focus on ritual is also evident in the vocabulary taught. The Magic Touch curriculum emphasises vocabulary relating directly to rituals. Rupa illustrated with an example of a Magic Touch lesson: "Today we learnt about the letter 'D,' so we spoke about *derasar* (a Shvetambar Jain temple), we spoke about *divo* (an oil lamp), and we spoke

[526] 'Arhat Touch - Children Activities - Shrimad Rajchandra Mission Dharampur', accessed 6 July 2015, http://www.shrimadrajchandramission.org/sr-divinetouch/arhat-touch-300.htm.
[527] Rupa, Interview in Phoenix, English, September 28, 2015.
[528] Geeta, Interview in Phoenix, September 28, 2015.

about *dhoop* (a ritual), so all the things that relate to going to a temple. We draw these words and their definitions from Magic Touch and all that one is supposed to do when one enters a Jain temple."[529] The association of such words with the letter "D" leads one to assert that the focus of the JCGP Pathshala here is largely on rituals. While the letter "D" could also be expanded to the words *dhyan* (meditation) or *daya* (compassion), notions such as these were not mentioned. The focus on objects rather than concepts shows the teachers' focus on practising rituals rather than philosophy. Furthermore, in *The JAINA Alphabet Book,* the letter "D" denotes "discipline." *Dhyan*, *daya,* and "discipline" apply across all sects and relate only loosely to ritual, unlike the terms from the Magic Touch curriculum.

Counteracting the focus on rituals and the sectarian vocabulary studied in lessons, children also learn pan-Jainism or non-sectarianism in the JCGP Pathshala. Teachers introduce Pathshala children to both the Shvetambar and Digambar idols that have been installed in the temple at the JCGP and explain the differences to them. Thus, children get the message of respecting both as part of the Jain tradition.

Despite the formal introduction to non-sectarianism, children at the Pathshala, whether they are Digambar or Shvetambar, primarily learn Shvetambar *pujas*. Champa, another Phoenix Pathshala teacher, explained, "See, because we are Shvetambars, we know more about the Shvetambar [rituals], and the curriculum helps us teach the kids more about the Shvetambar [tradition]. So, we are teaching more of that."[530] Champa's succinct reply supports my claim that religious education at the Phoenix Pathshala has a Shvetambar bias. With the majority of learners and teachers being Shvetambar, it is difficult to overlook this bias towards the sectarian majority representation.

In contrast to the strong sectarian influence, there are other aspects of the implementation of the curriculum that transcends sectarianism. For example, the Phoenix Pathshala emphasises moral education in their teachings. Sameer expanded on this module in the following way:

> We [the coordinator and the teachers] felt that a moral values-based system is easier for children to incorporate. I think we focused a little bit more on the moral based education. So we learn about Bhagwan Mahavir's life, maybe Rishabhdev's life (the first *tirthankar*). Or even saints. We even tried Jesus Christ once and also Shrimad Rajchandra. So the idea I think was to teach them moral values first, rather than starting with *sutras*. We teach them *sutras* a little later.

[529] Rupa, Interview in Phoenix.
[530] Champa, Interview in Phoenix.

As far as the religious education of children is concerned, Sameer predominantly thinks in terms of value-based teaching. He maintains that inspiring stories from the lives of the *tirthankars*, renowned Jain laypeople, and those from outside the tradition can all facilitate teaching moral values. In contrast to the LA Pathshala's policy of teaching selected *sutras* at an early age, Sameer maintains that children can learn these *sutras* later with understanding. The fact that the JAINA curriculum only provides textbooks, without any explicit guidelines about how to use the material, has given unprecedented scope to individual coordinators to teach according to their own vision. Whether it is a question of memorising *sutras* or teaching moral values through biographies, each represents a different development in the religious education of children in American Jainism. It should be noted that the list of memorising *sutras* varies as much as the list of biographers.

Turning from the Phoenix Pathshala's focus on educational material to its supplementary cultural programmes, this Pathshala takes an unusual approach by offering a Jain music programme instead of Hindi or Gujarati language classes. Sameer, the Phoenix Pathshala coordinator, whom teachers call Principal, explained the decision to discontinue language classes: Firstly, he opines that the essence of Jainism can be taught in the English language. But, later, he presented one challenge: "It is hard for us to find time for the language classes. We tried but the attendance dropped."[531] Looking for another way to foster cultural identity, the Phoenix Pathshala started a Jain music programme. After trying the programme for several years, they formalised it in 2015. Sameer explained that the music programme draws on a pool of knowledge in the JCGP community:

> We have talented volunteers, who would meet and teach children, write down the notes, and so on. There are singers from the kids' group. They are from across all four classes. And they all meet: someone who is good at playing the keyboard, someone who is good at playing the violin, and someone who is good at singing, and someone who is good at playing the *tabla*, and so on. We had this informally for a long time. Then parents asked whether it would be possible to make this as an official music class. So we agreed and did it.[532]

The preceding example of replacing the language class with music instruction due to the limited Pathshala time indicates that the Phoenix Pathshala is adjusting and implementing changes according to the interests of the children and parental expectations. The Phoenix Pathshala also meets twice as often as the LA Pathshala, occupying more of the volunteer teachers' time and limiting their availability for supplementary programmes. The Phoenix Pathshala's decision to drop languages also reveals that the coordinator and the supporting

[531] Sameer, Interview in Phoenix, English`, September 28, 2015.
[532] Sameer.

team have chosen not to “find time” for languages, which they could do by curtailing the time allocated for teaching Jain philosophy and performing rituals. Therefore, it would seem that for this Pathshala – philosophy, rituals, and music – are perceived as being more important than teaching Indian languages in the transmission of the Jain culture and religion to the next generation. The following figures 20 and 21 present children learning musical instruments in the Phoenix Jain Pathshala.

Figure 20. Child taking music lesson in the Phoenix Jain Pathshala.

Figure 21. Children playing the instruments in the Phoenix Jain Pathshala.

In my analysis, even though the middle-class profile of migrant Jains does not differ between the Jains in Phoenix or LA, their approaches to addressing the issues of relocation differ greatly. The Los Angeles Jains are committed to teaching their children Hindi and Gujarati as an important component of the religious and cultural immersion of the second-generation. According to my LA informants, this immersion further reduces the generational gap. They also believe that knowing the language reduces the difficulties of reciting prayers and the verses for their American-born or raised Jain children. By contrast, the Jain children in Phoenix resist their parents' pressure to learn mother tongues – Hindi or Gujarati. These children cannot find a practical application for their mother tongues in their mainstream school, the Internet, and entertainment in America. As an alternative, to engage children in Jain culture and tradition, the Phoenix Pathshala has incorporated music classes to draw them towards religious education and retain their interest in cultural activities. This alternative method of immersing children in Jain culture and tradition has proved favourable, as a way of teaching devotional songs in their mother tongue. This discussion has emphasised that both the American Jain Pathshalas studied have regarded cultivating culture as very important.

This cultural component increases socialisation amongst migrant children, while nurturing the much-needed Jain identity.

Moreover, in relation to religious education, it is important to note that regardless of whether they are first or second generation American Jains, English has become the preferred medium through which to teach Jainism. Even for religious sermons by scholars or religious leaders from India, the choice is English. Despite such importance given to languages, music also facilitates cross-cultural integration, and thus the Phoenix Pathshala has opted for music.

Along with nurturing cultural identity through music, the Phoenix Pathshala engages in donation drives that provide its students with further opportunities to socialise. The drives also aim to develop respect for all life forms by reusing, reducing, and recycling commodities. Every month, the Pathshala organises a donation activity. For example, they once ran a clothing drive before Divali (Indian festival of lights). In December 2014, they undertook a toy drive in which children brought less-used or new toys to the Center. Once they tried a denim drive, in which children and youth donated their jeans. For children such activities are fun, and simultaneously, they also learn to share their toys and clothes with other children. In this way, children begin to understand the Jain principle of *aparigraha* (non-possession or not accumulating). Children learn the practical implication of *aparigraha* through charity.

Furthermore, *dana* is one of the sixteen virtues for laypeople in the Jain tradition. To nurture this virtue from a young age, there are several references to charity in the Pathshala textbooks. For example, the first level textbook, *Basics of Jainism,* notes: "Being vegetarian and giving charity are some of many ways we can be compassionate."[533] The *Jain Moral Skits* presents another example, with the skit number sixteen, titled, *Sharing is Fun.*[534] The textbook lessons are further re-emphasised through the activities above. At the same time, such activities give opportunities for connecting with other Jain children and youth. From the Pathshala perspective, donation drives fulfil the aim of increasing socialisation among migrant children while giving them a chance to apply Jain principles.

The Phoenix Jain Pathshala discussed above is relatively more recent in origin and smaller in size than the Los Angeles Jain Pathshala. Both these Pathshalas present similarities and differences in their development and implementation of religious education for children. Of many, the most striking similarity is their aspiration for Jain unity. Despite this ideal target, my analysis shows that both Pathshalas are facing challenges in fulfilling this target.

[533] JAINA Education Committee, *Jainism I-Basics of Jainism*, 65.
[534] JAINA Education Committee, *Jain Moral Skits* (USA: JAINA Education Committee, 2003), 62–63.

One of the biggest challenges is the noticeable difference between the activities conducted at their Jain centres and the content taught in Pathshala classes. My analysis also reveals several differences in the way both religious schools have approached religious education for migrant Jain children. From camping to learning music, all are intended to keep middle-class Jain parents satisfied, so that they will encourage their children to participate. The other differences include their respective treatment of memorisation, language, and technology. While both Pathshalas operate differently, their educators are equally concerned about instilling Jain values in their children, increasing socialisation amongst them, and maintaining the Jain tradition in America.

Conclusion

I started this third case study of the Jain Pathshalas in the United States by examining how American Jains have addressed the issues resulting from international migration and how they are attempting to transmit their culture and tradition to the next generation. The challenges of international migration including their low numbers have made them value what they have in common, namely, being Jain. Thus, Jain Pathshalas have become the tools for developing a model of Jain unity outside India. JAINA perceives this model as representing Jains without borders: national, religious, or linguistic. With this view, the JAINA Education Committee has prepared a religious education curriculum for American-born or-raised Jain children. Elders do not want their children to take detours into problematic behaviours. For them, "maintaining Jain values," away from home, means being vegetarian and refraining from alcohol, intoxicants, and gambling (which exhibits greed and works against non-possession).

In spite of such common concerns, I have shown that a tremendous variety is to be found in Jain Pathshalas in the United States. My analyses of the Los Angeles and Phoenix Jain Pathshalas show that, although JAINA textbooks form the foundation for teaching, flexibility and adaption have become the two chief ways of attracting more children. The Los Angeles and Phoenix Pathshalas have both shown that Pathshala coordinators play an important role in shaping the individual Jain Pathshala, along with the hosting centres and their activities. This divergence of coordinators' goals is further evident in the implementation of the curriculum. While the Los Angeles Pathshala follows the JAINA curriculum closely, the Greater Phoenix Pathshala has integrated the Shrimad Rajchandra Divine touch, a Shvetambar-influenced curriculum. The latter curriculum emphasises rituals,

whereas the JAINA curriculum pays rituals less attention. The JAINA focuses on philosophy and its application in daily life. At the Phoenix Pathshala, teachers think that the second and third generation may not continue the rituals in a similar manner but feel that they should have the chance to observe them. Also, due to the Shvetambar majority, rituals have a Shvetambar bias. Unless Digambars take an active role in curriculum planning and education, the pan-Jain identity that Jain lay leaders have sought to develop will continue to take on a clearly pan-Shvetambar identity.

In my view, the Shvetambar element that has crept into the Phoenix Pathshala has not been a deliberate attempt to dominate the Digambars. Instead, the educators have been driven by the desire to increase "the happiness index" of their participants. According to them, the SRD curriculum's provision of activities and worksheets reduces the pressure on teachers from planning weekly activities and are supposedly more fun. The JCGP offers a step towards pan-Jain culture in the Divali *puja* by integrating Digambar as well as Shvetambar elements. From my observations, if American Jains continue to seek unity, they can further it by developing rituals that combine both Digambar and Shvetambar elements.

Between Chapters six and seven, I have shown that living in the multi-cultural American society poses more profound challenges for American Jains fighting to maintain their core Jain values than for the previously examined Indian Jains. For example, Jain children in America experience peer pressure when explaining their Jain dietary practices to their friends. In addition, the negotiation of identity is more complex for American Jain children than their Indian counterparts. To address this identity crisis, socialisation of children through various indoor and outdoor activities has been emphasised in the religious education curriculum. A final concern is that of languages. While Indian Jains are not required to teach the languages of their birth in part-time religious education, American Jains face the dilemma and challenge of teaching native languages to their American-born or -raised Jain children.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Continuity and Innovation

"I am a Jain but I want my children to be educated Jains."[535]

In this concluding chapter, I restate the intent of the thesis and outline its primary and secondary objectives. I then provide an overview of some of the central research findings on children's religious education and their significance for our understanding of the relationship between the continuity and innovation that is underway in Jain traditions. I also discuss the comparative elements of the three case studies to analyse parallel approaches undertaken at different geographic locations and address common concerns arising from migration and upward mobility. Finally, I comment on the contribution of this research to scholarship.

This thesis has traced important shifts from traditional to contemporary Jain religious education for children in India and the United States. I have explained that these shifts have occurred in response to the local, regional, and international migration of Jain communities, along with their corresponding middle-class aspirations. I have argued that Jains perceive their relocation as posing challenges to the maintenance of their traditions and cultural values. One way in which Jain adherents have attended to the challenges of relocation has been to reconfigure their traditional religious education to suit twenty-first-century Jain children. Hence, the central focus of this thesis has been to examine contemporary part-time Jain religious schools, in India and abroad.

My primary objective has been to explain the changes in children's religious education brought about by urbanised middle-class Jains, the reasons for these changes, and their consequences. I have sought to explain the reasons for the evolution and rise in the number of contemporary part-time Jain religious schools in post-independence India, while in America, following the post-1965 migration of Jains. More specifically, through a study of four types of children's religious schools, I have argued that, middle-class Jains ensure the continuity of the tradition, at the same time, transformation in children's religious education has contributed to changes in contemporary Jain traditions.

As a secondary aim, I have sought to capture the sectarian nature of Indian Jain schools, vis-à-vis, the non-sectarian nature of American Jain schools. I have argued that a religious identity is crucial for the minority Jains in India as well as for the ethnic-minority Jains in North America. To verify my claim, I have examined two Digambar Jain Pathshalas:

[535] A lay father, whose children attend Jain Pathshala, said this in a conversation in Phoenix, USA.

one that employs the curriculum developed by Muni Sudha Sagar, and another that follows the curriculum developed by Digambar Jain laywomen. Despite the differences in the designers and developers of the curricula, both religious schools emphasise the Digambar Jain identity. Likewise, my analysis of Shvetambar Terapanth Gyanshalas has indicated that they nurture a Terapanthi identity amongst children. In contrast, American Jain Pathshalas have attempted to nurture a non-sectarian, pan-Jain identity that differs distinctly from their Indian counterparts. I have, however, shown that even this pan-Jain identity has a Shvetambar bias due to the fact that Shvetambars are in the majority.

To appreciate the variety and significance of contemporary Jain religious schools in preserving traditional practices, I have adopted an inductive reasoning approach rooted in qualitative data analysis. Examining four types of schools and their respective curricula has provided specific instances with which to detect general patterns and themes for analyses.

Causes: Migration of Jain Communities

I turn now to discuss my core research findings. The main themes that run throughout my thesis, and subsequent analysis, are the migration of Jains and their middle-class aspirations. I have explained the rise of contemporary Jain religious schools through the migration narrative. The suburbanisation, regional migration, and international migration of Jains within India and to the United States are being driven by aspirations for upward mobility, characterised by economic opportunities, modern education, value education, dual-career homes, gender equality, and the homogenisation of social groups.

Jain communities have dealt with the three forms of migration in unique ways. First, I have shown that the migration of Digambar Jains in Jaipur from the Old City to the suburbs in metropolitan Jaipur disrupted traditional religious and cultural practices. As a consequence, the traditional *pathshalas* in the Old City were losing their vigour and needed a revival. The Digambar Jain identity, which was well grounded in the Old City, also needed a boost in the suburbs, dominated by a Hindu majority. Secondly, an examination of the regional migration of Shvetambar Terapanthis has shown that they have moved all over India from rural regions of Rajasthan. Their resettling has been more demanding than for Jains dealing with suburbanisation because of larger differences in social and cultural contexts, including languages and food habits. The transmission of religious values to Terapanthi children has culminated in the development of a Terapanthi religious identity. Finally, my examination of the international migration of Jains, specifically those who have moved to America, has shown that Jains outside India have been faced with challenges that differ

distinctly from their counterparts in India. Their most pronounced challenge has been to maintain Jain vegetarianism in a multi-cultural American society. Additionally, the absence of sectarian monks and nuns in North America has contributed to a unique drive for a pan-Jain identity. The departure from a sectarian identity to an all-inclusive pan-Jain identity is a leap from traditional Jainism.

Changes in Children's Religious Education

Children's religious education is the central subject of my thesis. I have indicated that Jain communities in India and abroad have addressed challenges arising from migration by developing contemporary Jain religious schools for children. In all four part-time religious schools that I have analysed, the main objective is to provide Jain *sanskar* (values) education to children. The broad aim is to keep children away from non-vegetarian eating, alcohol, drugs, intoxicants, or any form of addiction. The other aim of values education is to teach children to recite fundamental Jain prayers, have faith in *tirthankars*, develop an attachment for monks and nuns, and be devoted to their traditions.

Firstly, I have demonstrated the general shift from traditional to contemporary children's religious education. I have shown that prior to the twenty-first century, children primarily received guidance regarding religious and moral values at home and through their regular interaction with monks and nuns, or lay scholars. The old paradigm emphasised the daily visit to the temples, and monks and nuns; the medium of instruction was the mother tongue; and educators stressed the acceptance of vows, adherence to a strict Jain diet (vegetarian food without root vegetables), memorisation of prayers and verses, and performance of Jain rituals (either *puja* or *samayik* or both). The exposure to multicultural socialisation, modern education, and a variety of occupations has influenced these traditional practices. As the traditional system became less effective with exposure to the multiple features of an urbanised, consumerist and technology-impacted society, Jains changed their focus to modernising children's religious education.

At the outset of this project, I assumed that contemporary part-time Jain religious schools were modelled on Christian Sunday Schools. However, my assumptions did not match my findings because the religious content and context vary significantly between Christian and Jain forms of education. Jain schools in this study stress integrated learning through various methods of teaching. In this teaching-learning paradigm, some elements of traditional content and methods continue in the midst of many innovations. Across the schools, the syllabus outline is appropriate for the age and cognitive development of students.

The foundational knowledge of religion that students acquire at the basic levels enables them to grasp more abstract and metaphysical concepts at higher levels. Such examples parallel the patterns followed in mainstream schools.

My analysis suggests that upward mobility has moved in tandem with changes in children's religious education. I have identified notable examples of modern reconfigurations by examining the curricula content, form, and pedagogies of all four schools. The changes represent major innovations made in direct response to the difficulties faced when engaging the interest of contemporary children in their religion. Educators have focused on developing modern religious educational material, writing textbooks for children, and for the first time, using a widely spoken language as the medium. These textbooks are easy to read, in simple Hindi or American English. The books feature art, with multi-coloured illustrations on every page, which introduces young children to key doctrines, model religious practices, and enlivens Jain stories. The educators have also integrated a range of activities such as songs, games, art and crafts, drawing, picnics and summer camps into their religious education curricula. These reconfigurations align with changes in mainstream education, which is highly valued by middle-class urbanised Jains.

Secondly, I have indicated that the new physical and cultural environments have influenced the shaping of the curricula and the methods used to convey them in unique ways. In the first case study, the contrasting environments of the Sanganer and Shyamnagar suburbs – one with a long-standing Digambar presence, and the other, a new suburb settled by Jains with an international outlook – mould the curricula of Chitrakoot and Shyamnagar Pathshalas respectively. The Chitrakoot curriculum covers a large body of knowledge, and the founder teaches it daily, echoing a traditional *pathshala.* The Shyamnagar curriculum reflects its environment by accepting the children's disinterest in Hindi and their parents' divergence from traditional dietary practices. In the second case study, the standardisation of the Gyanshala curriculum is in response to the isolation in which Terapanthi families have found themselves and their consequent desire for better networking. In the final case study, the Los Angeles Pathshala views technology as an opportunity to increase children's participation, contrasting with the Phoenix Pathshala who have introduced music into their religious education curriculum. These modern developments in the curricula of religious schools indicate that the most significant changes occur when educators and the new environment are moving in the same direction.

Thirdly, my analysis shows that Jain food-ethics rooted in non-violence are much more complex than their presentation in the children's textbooks would suggest. Eating

vegetarian food features uniquely in the curricular material of each school. In light of different cultural contexts, the emphasis has shifted from traditional dietary practices to Jain vegetarianism. The Indian schools stress Jain vegetarianism, whereas American Jain Pathshalas also include veganism, a concept absent in the Indian Jain religious school curricula. My analysis suggests that middle-class Jains have taken a practical approach to Jain ethics. They have selected certain aspects of traditional elements while deliberately rejecting others. A conflict is evident between the parents' dietary practices and those advocated in the religious education textbooks. City life, with its growing culture of dining out, has brought about a reconfiguration of the traditional elements to make them conducive to today's Jain milieu.

Finally, I have shown that some parents play a dual role in these religious schools by becoming voluntary teachers in the schools. In my interviews, such parents expressed the importance of part-time religious education. They valued the fact that children can learn religion systematically at school, a feature that was not available in their youth. While these parents would like to see their children as "informed Jains," rather than "simply Jains," Other teachers talked about wanting to "transform" children rather than "inform" them. American parents' expectations, grounded in middle-class values, have driven educators to introduce modern elements into the content and form of their schools. But, modernisation of religious education is not exclusive to American Jain religious schools. It runs, in varying degrees, across all four Jain schools that I have analysed.

Despite modernisation and the optimum use of advanced technology, many Jain parents are lax about sending their children to religious schools. This laxity is a feature of all schools, regardless of whether the school is in India or America. While the physical distance to temples or community centres may be one reason preventing children's participation, it may equally be due to being caught up in a hectic modern lifestyle or because the family has assimilated into Western culture, to the extent that religious education is not considered important for their children. Many parents prefer to see their children active in the social arena rather than in areas of religion. That is why mendicants in India and lay leaders in the United States address parents in their speeches, encouraging them to send their children to religious schools. However, middle-class aspirations for high-profile professions and successful careers dominate lifestyle choices. Therefore, in alignment with their upward mobility, educators – mendicants and laypeople – are making sincere efforts to accommodate parental expectations and raise the standard of the curricular material and pedagogy.

These broad trends that I have identified are important, not only for Jain traditions, but to set the agendas for Jain communities into the foreseeable future. Their ongoing relationship with the processes of modernisation and globalisation, along with the forces of upward mobility, are driving important shifts in children's religious education, which are translating into broader shifts in the lifestyles of Jain communities.

Consequences of Jain Education for Children

I have identified five consequences of the changes that Jain traditions are undergoing. The first consequence, the institutionalisation of religious education, correlates with the upward mobility of the Jain community, a feature that accompanies migration. In the traditional structure, a mendicant or a Jain intellectual layman generally had the authority to interpret Jain doctrines and to transmit them to the lay community. However, the mobility of Jains across urban, regional, and national boundaries has challenged that structure. It has been difficult for Jain monks and nuns to cope with the fast pace of migration undertaken by their adherents. Additionally, for Digambar Jains, the custom of nudity has limited the range of movement of their monks. A third barrier for mendicants is language. Monks and nuns face challenges with interacting closely with urban children because children are not proficient in Rajasthani and Marwari, and not all monks and nuns are fluent in English.

Such practical issues have shifted the authority from monastics to laypeople, albeit in varying degrees, and have led to the institutionalisation of religious education. This institutionalisation in itself has widened the gap between mendicants and children. Since monks and nuns cannot effectively guide the present generation, most teachers in religious schools are laypeople, especially laywomen.

Second, I have indicated that laywomen teaching in part-time Jain religious schools challenge the stereotypical image of Jain laywomen found in modern scholarly literature, as strictly confined to the domestic domain. Through good teaching practice and skilful administration, some female-teachers in my study have attained the position of coordinators of Pathshalas and Gyanshalas, while others have become founders of Pathshalas, all previously "male-only" roles. I have argued that laywomen teachers have transcended the stereotypical image, finding religious merit in teaching *dharma* (religion) to children and adding their voices to men's in fashioning the evolving Jain tradition. I have further emphasised that laywomen teachers, by taking on religious roles and being more actively involved in their communities, have made their positions acceptable and respectable, in general, transcending their traditional secondary status.

Third, I have identified a shift in the Jain worldview, from prioritising the benefits of the next life to focusing on the present one. This reorientation aligns with the educational shift from just transmitting traditional religious principles, to elucidating the application of those. Today, Jain educators envisage a new approach to teaching Jainism: Acharya Tulsi emphasised that religious observance would lead to a "better present life," Muni Praman Sagar emphasises developing "love for religion," and American Jain leaders focus on "socialisation of their children" through religious education. Moreover, lay participation in religious education, ranging from curriculum planning to its implementation, emphasises ethical practices over doctrinal. Consequently, the earlier Jain value of renunciation has been reinterpreted into engaging with the world through striving for success, healthy living, exercising compassion for animals, and supporting the environment.

Fourth is a shift in the way that Jains configure identity. I have demonstrated the dynamics of sectarian Jain identities vis-à-vis a pan-Jain identity. Prior to migration and upward mobility, the emphasis on a Jain identity was not pursued directly. The concern about identity began to emerge as Jains dispersed widely. Scholarship has shown that as a reaction to homogenisation, urbanisation, and globalisation of ideas, people belonging to religious and ethnic communities have sought to redefine and maintain their unique identities. I have shown that while Jains in India are striving for a sectarian identity, Jains in the United States are seeking a non-sectarian, pan-Jain identity. I point out that nevertheless, the American Jain identity is weighted, possibly unintentionally, towards the Shvetambar traditions because they are in the majority in America. It should be noted that the curricular material of individual schools have been designed to evoke the specific identity that it seeks to develop amongst its adherents – future Jains.

A final consequence of significance entails a middle-class culture not only posing challenges but also offering opportunities that serve to unify the Jain culture. My analysis of children's religious education shows that, to a great extent, it has the potential to dissolve diversities and differences within middle-class Jain communities. I have argued that changes in Jain values and aspirations have correlated with the dynamics of the relocation of Jain communities. The similarities found in these new values project common concerns for all contemporary Jains. For instance, in all the analysed Jain schools, the criterion is to provide religious education in a language with which today's children are most comfortable. Accordingly, the medium of instruction is Hindi or English, both commonly spoken languages. Other examples have shown that to satisfy middle-class parents, educators and teachers have standardised Jain education by integrating several pedagogical features of

modern education to make religious education more appealing to their children. Among others, the most important are the de-emphasising of memorisation and the application of logic and scientific reasoning to religious education. In sum, new middle-class Jains represent an important force in their emphasis on maintaining unique Jain identities through children's religious education. This emphasis has emerged in response to Jains living predominantly in urban, consumerist Western and Hindu contexts.

Contribution of the thesis

This study has contributed to three principal areas of scholarship: (i) religion and migration, (ii) children's religious education, and (iii) Jain studies. Aspects of migration are reflected in my contributions to all three fields of study.

It is the area of religion and migration to which this thesis contributes the most. Research on migration is a growing field, in which studies have largely shown the challenges encountered by international migrants. Through the example of the Jain traditions, I have pointed out that the consequences of relocation, whether local, regional, or international, can be equally challenging for retaining language, culture, dietary norms, and religious practices of the migrant groups. In this way, the thesis advances the understanding that threats to religious continuity are not limited to transnational diaspora groups, especially in the case of minority religious traditions, such as the Jains.

Past scholarship has actively explored one or the other: migration or religious education. The two trends have not interacted much in this growing scholarship. By examining the religious education for children of Jain migrant communities, this study pays particular attention to how children have become the focus of migrant communities responding to the challenges of relocation. Using several examples, the study offers new insights into how religious education has become a tool for the continuation of heritage and culture of origin. This tool has been shaped by the type of migration undertaken, with a variety of changes occurring within the different contexts. This is a key contribution because it adds to many debates regarding the extent to which any religious tradition is prepared to adapt and assimilate into its surrounding cultures.

The second contribution of my thesis is to the study of children's religious education. Despite extensive research on children's religious education across traditions and geographic boundaries, scholarship on children's religious education has not paid enough attention to the implications of migration. Some scholarship has shown evidence of migration influencing the institutionalisation of children's religious education in the past, but this has occurred in very

different contexts. For example, Christian Sunday schools emerged in the context of urbanisation, connected with the Industrial Revolution, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. But overall the theme of migration and the institutionalisation of children's religious education has not attracted widespread attention. My thesis examines this phenomenon more comprehensively than previous studies, identifying migration as a critical driver with potentially broad ranging implications. Through an extensive examination of religious education for children in the Jain tradition, this thesis contributes to the understanding of how migration has impacted the goals of education, the medium of instruction, the methods of teaching, and the relationship with higher authorities.

My third contribution is in the area of Jain studies. This thesis advances the knowledge on the shifting authority of monks and nuns by revealing that Jain monks and nuns are no longer the only teachers of the traditions. The responsibility for teaching children religious knowledge is being increasingly taken over by laywomen. By taking the responsibility of nurturing the next generation specifically in classrooms, laywomen are emerging as educators in religious spheres. This finding is in contrast with the past scholarship that relegated laywomen to a secondary role of domesticity or devotionalism. The implications of contemporary religious education, driven by migration and modernisation, do imply a shift in the roles of monks and nuns as well as laywomen housewives. In sum, the changes in Jain religious education for children are contributing to broader changes in the Jain tradition itself.

As a further contribution to Jain studies, this is the first study highlighting the standardisation of children's religious education in the lay Jain milieu. Before the twentieth century, writers of Jain religious texts focused on mendicants and adult laity. The training of mendicants and the cultivating of adult laity were the dominant discourses in Jain scriptures and narratives. The family, on the other hand, took charge of passing down religious knowledge to their children. However, at the turn of the twenty-first century, the Jain community institutionalised religious education for children. The middle-class aspirations of migrant Jains have shaped the form of contemporary religious education. Now, the adults most dedicated to the tradition are focusing on children. I assert that to keep the tradition alive children have become the nucleus of Jain religious education in the twenty-first-century.

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APPENDIX 1

Interview Questions of the Four Respective Groups

Group1. Monks and nuns

1. What was the traditional system of transmitting religious education to children?
2. What are the role of monks and nuns in the contemporary Jain religious schools?
3. How do you view the transition, do you perceive any change in your roles?
4. How is the curriculum developed? Does any text influence the modern curriculum?
5. Does the information presented in religious schools' textbooks discusses the differences within Jain sects?

Group 2. Community Leaders and Administrators

1. What are the objectives of contemporary children's religious schools?
2. How does the community perceive new models of religious schools to maintain Jain culture identity?
3. How are the community leader's involved in the schools?
4. Is there any relationship with social and economic changes of the twenty-first century to the growth of the contemporary Jain religious schools?
5. Has there been any influence of the Christian Sunday schools in developing the part-time children's religious schools?

Group 3. Teachers

1. 1.What kind of training is provided to be able to teach in religious schools?
2. What are the methodologies used in teaching religion?
3. What is the role of memorisation and language in teaching religious education?
4. How do you develop faith amongst young children?
5. Please tell something about the classroom activities and how you engage children in those activities?

Group 4. Parents

1. Do you make effort to send your child/children to Jain religious schools?
2. What is your motivation for sending children?
3. What are your expectations from these schools?
4. How much time do you spend with your child/children towards their religious nurturing?
5. Would you like to see any change in Jain religious schools, what kind of changes?

APPENDIX 2

CONSENT FORM FOR RESPONDENT IN RESEARCH

Project Title: Keeping the Tradition Alive: An Analysis of Contemporary Jain Religious Education for Children in India and North America

- I have read the Information Sheet and I understand the contents of this PhD research project. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction.

- I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the study or any data I have provided up until the end of the data gathering process (January 31, 2016) without giving reasons for withdrawing.

- I understand that if I choose to take part in this interview, I will have an opportunity to view a transcript or summary of the interview, and comment on or withdraw from any of my contributions.

- I understand that in the published results, the opinions expressed will be attributed to pseudonym. I also understand that the tape recording of interviews will be destroyed or electronically wiped two years after the completion of the research project.

I agree:

To provide information and opinions by participating in this research study.

Full name of participant: .....

Signed: .....

APPENDIX 3

Sunday or Monday

Unknown

(Sung in tune: "Macarena")

Sunday or Monday, no one should eat eggs.
It [egg] is not vegetarian, chicken develops in it.
There is life in eggs, don't think them lifeless.
They can feel pleasure and pain, they grow like us.

Relieve living beings from pain.
When a child is conceived, it has no features.
Does it have no life? Does it have no identity?
Everyone loves their children more than their life.

One thorn can also cause pain in the heart.
One becomes restless and cannot do any work.
Then how can anyone eat eggs, it is a big surprise!
It is a million dollar point, that life is linked to the next life.
If we will eat them today, they will harass us tomorrow.
The feeling of revenge leads to the cycle of birth and rebirth.

Egg provides strength, this is a myth.
Do not live in ignorance, recognise the truth.
From which we get energy, they are fruits, vegetables, and cereals.
Look at elephant's strength, and the energy of horse.
Eats pulses, still it [horse] is known all over the world.

Full vegetarian still it exhibits power.
Being compassionate and religious is India's pride.
Today's resolution – let us walk on the path of self control.
The medicine of a million miseries is to be vegetarian.

APPENDIX 4

Gyanshala Song

By Acharya Tulsi

Let veneration to divine resonate,
One develops life with a blissful mind,
See each lamp [of knowledge] lights the other lamp.

In the pure temple of knowledge,
We receive true education.
In the path of right conduct.
We proceed step by step towards it.
Whether it is night or day,
There is an echo of *arham* [*tirthankar*] everywhere.

We are all brothers
Let brotherhood spread
One develops self-control through self
Learn to develop self-discipline
No one can ever cheat us

We are the creator of our own destiny
We build our own future
Through knowledge and modesty
Fill the current-era with vitality
Mould life in the container of hard work

Through the fragrance of vows and austerities
Blossom the garden of your heart
In the favour of religion, society, and country
We devote our complete self
Let everyday be brightly lit

APPENDIX 5

I am a Vegetarian

(Sung in tune: "Old MacDonald Had a Farm")

by Nimisha Asthagiri

I am a Vegetarian, E-I-E-I-O.
I like to eat vegetables, E-I-E-I-O.
Yummy *peas* for me, yummy *broccoli* for me, E-I-E-I-O.

I am a Vegetarian, E-I-E-I-O.
I do not want to eat meat, E-I-E-I-O.
No *chicken* for me, No *pepperoni*, E-I-E-I-O.

I am a Vegetarian, E-I-E-I-O.
I like to eat fruits, E-I-E-I-O.
Yummy *tangerines* for me, yummy *blueberries* for me, E-I-E-I-O.

I am a Vegetarian, E-I-E-I-O.
I do not want to eat fish, E-I-E-I-O.
No *salmon* for me, No *anchovies*, E-I-E-I-O.

I am a Vegetarian, E-I-E-I-O.
I like to eat Indian Food, E-I-E-I-O.
Yummy *dosai* for me, yummy *handvo* for me, E-I-E-I-O.

I am a Vegetarian, E-I-E-I-O.
I do not want to eat meat, E-I-E-I-O.
No *hot dogs* for me, No *bacon* for me, E-I-E-I-O.

I am a Vegetarian, E-I-E-I-O.
I do not want to eat eggs, E-I-E-I-O.
No *eggs* for me, No *omelettes* for me, E-I-E-I-O.

I am a Vegetarian, E-I-E-I-O.
I like to eat Thai Food, E-I-E-I-O.
Yummy (*eggless) noodles* for me, yummy *(fishless) curries* for me, E-I-E-I-O.

I am a Vegetarian, E-I-E-I-O.
I like to eat Italian Food, E-I-E-I-O.
Yummy *veggie pizza* for me, yummy *spaghetti*, E-I-E-I-O.

I am a Vegetarian, E-I-E-I-O.
I like to eat Chinese Food, E-I-E-I-O.
Yummy *spring rolls* for me, yummy *tofu* for me, E-I-E-I-O.

I am a Vegan, E-I-E-I-O.
I do not want to eat dairy, E-I-E-I-O.
No *milk* for me, No *cheese* for me, E-I-E-I-O.

I am a Jain, E-I-E-I-O.
I do not want to eat roots, E-I-E-I-O.
No *potatoes* for me, No *carrots* for me, E-I-E-I-O.