STATE AND SOCIAL CHANGE : EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND MINORITIES

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C E R T I F I C A T E

This is to certify that this dissertation entitled **"STATE AND SOCIAL CHANGE: EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND MINORITIES"**, submitted by **S.M. ABDUL KHADER FAKHRI**, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the **DEGREE OF MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**, has not been previously submitted for any degree in this or any other University. This is his own work.

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I dedicate this dissertation to my parents.

S.M. Abdul Khader Fakhri

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CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

INTRODUCTION

The Indian state has played a major role in the promotion of social change. It is not only perceived as the agent of development but has carved out an important role in initiating social change through its various programmes and legislations.[1]

In the contemporary age, when functions are no longer based on birth or ascriptive status, it is education which is the vital link to the building of a modern nation. These functions being performed in a highly diversified and differentiated world require specialized education, apart from literacy which is essential for basic citizenship itself. Thus, it is the progress of education in this double sense - literacy and specialization - that would determine the extent of any society's transition to modernity. It is in this manner that education plays a useful role in liberal democracy and becomes imperative for social change.

Thus, one of the challenges before the state was to evolve an educational policy and to expand the growth of modern education brought into the country by colonialism. Education is a central factor in the 'rising expectations' of

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1. An understanding of the state and its responsibility of social change can be gained from the Preamble, the Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles of State Policy in the Indian Constitution. The Preamble declares it a "sovereign, socialist, secular, democratic republic" to secure to all its citizens "justice, liberty, equality and fraternity". Articles 25 to 30 of Fundamental Rights guarantee to the minorities the freedom of religion and cultural and educational rights. And finally, the Directive Principles of State Policy contain provisions which enjoin the state to promote education for its people. [The Constitution of India (Lucknow: Eastern, 1989)]

the competing groups in that their aspirations constitute not only a race for modernity in general but are also a quest for specific needs such as economic mobility, social prestige and political leadership.

The Muslims have been one such group and their problems of educational backwardness have been part of the political articulation from the community and its leadership. This problem has persisted in the post-1947 period. The important question is whether the benefits of the expansion in the educational sector and relatedly the benefits of public employment and the economic system have reached the Muslims.

The social change of a particular community through education occurs in a concrete reality determined by several factors - the state being a major one. The appropriation of educational opportunities by the Muslims is also determined by the way the community is located - its history, religious beliefs, cultural ethos, poverty, occupational structure, class formation and the attitude of its religio-political elite.

These factors interact among themselves and with state policy in encouraging or inhibiting education. State policy, as is often highlighted has a crucial role to play in the education of Muslims who are a highly politicized minority community. This role of the Indian state stems from its oreintation towards secularism, socialism and democracy because of which the state intervenes to safeguard the rights

and interests of scheduled castes, tribes, backward classes, minorities, women and other weaker sections in Indian society.

Therefore, the Indian state not only has to reckon with its own dilemmas in the political structure and of having a particular class-nature but also has to balance contending aspirations of different regions, classes, communities, etc. Additionally, it has to deal with the problem of various pulls and counterpulls such as reckoning with tradition and modernisation in the same breadth in a culturally pluralistic society. Further, the entire exercise of education has to be carried on within the context of an underdeveloped economy in the face of a general resource crunch and in particular in decreasing allocations for education.

Within the Muslim community, contemporary analysis on the historical-problem of backwardness reveals a wide range of opinion: At one extreme is the view that the basic problem is that the Muslims have deviated from faith or are not-Muslim enough, hence they are backward; at another extreme is the view that the attitude of the dominant majority towards them is hostile and state discrimination is the main cause of their backwardness. In between are the positions that point at Muslim culture - their belief system, their attitudes and lethargy; while yet others put forward poverty and general economic conditions as the explanation. Thus, the continuum of opinion and growing introspection ranges from holding

themselves responsible to putting the blame on the external factors.[2]

The problem of Muslim educational backwardness surfaced as a significant debate in the social sciences in the last two decades. In fact, the first estimates of the level of education of Indian Muslims made in the 1960s assessed the literacy level of Muslims at about 23 per cent.[3] Another estimate claimed that the incidence of literacy among Muslim males in India in 1971 was about 10 per cent and that among Muslim females only about 0.5 per cent.[4] On an average these assessments claimed that the Muslims were four to six times behind the rest of the people in education.

The problem continued to invite the attention of social scientists and interested individuals from within the community.[5] Various other studies situated the education of

2. The evidence of such introspection is provided by a media viewpoint. "The bottomline was modernisation and even social self-flagellation in which the speakers, instead of holding the Government or the Hindus responsible for their backwardness, blamed themselves squarely ("Young Muslims - Forging a new identity", India Today, Oct. 31, 1992, p.38).

3. Theodore P. Wright as cited in Yogendra Singh, Social Stratification and Change in India (New Delhi: Manohar, 1930), p.64.

4. Basheer Ahmed Sayeed as cited in A.B. Shah, "Minority Segments in Indian Polity A Comment", Economic and Political Weekly, vol.13, no.46, November 18, 1978, p.1911.

5. For instance Rasheeduddin Khan, "Minority Segments in Indian Polity: Muslim Situation and the Plight of Urdu", Economic and Political Weekly, vol.13, no.35, September 2, 1978, A.R. Sherwani, "Educational

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Muslims in their immediate socio-political and economic context in different parts of the country - K.D. Sharma in Delhi (1978), M.K.A. Siddiqui in Calcutta (1984), Mumtaz Ali Khan in Karnataka (1984) and P. Abdul Kareem in Kerala (1988). Still the educational problems of a great deal of the Muslim populace have not been covered adequately and require the attention of the social sciences. This study is therefore a small contribution to the social science understanding of Muslim educational backwardness.

The aim of this study is to analyze the role of state policy in the expansion and promotion of educational opportunities for various sections. This study focusses on the principles of state policy and the problems encountered by the community in taking advantage of the new opportunities spawned by the expansion of modern education as indeed the constraints faced by the state in extending these benefits to the minority community which operates in a specific cultural milieu. In this sense the study is simultaneously concerned about state policy and the difficulties faced by the Muslims in availing the benefits of modern education.

This study attempts:

1) to identify the educational status of Muslims;

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Backwardness", Seminar, no.240, August 1979 and Imtiaz Ahmad, "Muslim Educational Backwardness: An Inferential Analysis", Economic and Political Weekly, vol.46, no.36, September 5, 1981.

2) To trace the growth of Muslim education from the medieval period and thereon their interaction with colonial education policy;

3) to examine their present position vis-a-vis state policy.

The methodology of the study is empirical supported by historical analysis. It is largely a study based on secondary data. In addition field work was undertaken to probe the conditions on the ground and to understand the specific educational reality of Tamil Nadu. In the context of field work, it also has primary data collected through in-depth discussions, interviews and observations of the actual running of educational institutions and the social milieu in which the Muslims resided.

Madras and North Arcot were chosen for the field experience because of familiarity with these districts and because of the occupational character of Muslims there like their engagement in leather and beedi industries. Incidentally, this region has a reasonable number of Muslim educational institutions. The survey apart from interviewing various individuals involved in education deals with the educational experience of over 100 families of different income groups and occupational categories.

The focus in this study is by and large modern education - participation or otherwise in the formal institutional system. The field experience, however

incorporates data collected with regard to traditional education.

The study is divided into four chapters beginning with Chapter I - EDUCATION OF MUSLIMS IN PRE-INDEPENDENT INDIA. Introducing the Islamic concept of education, this chapter goes on to present its arrival in India and evolution over the medieval period with the development of curricula from religious studies to the rational sciences. It further considers the emergence of colonial educational policy and its division into various phases: Orientalism, Anglicism and Vernacular education. The Muslim response is seen in its various facets including the Hunter Commission's recommendations, Sir Syed and the Aligarh movement, the response from the traditional stream like Deoband and a note on the relevant dynamics of the national movement in its later stages.

Chapter II - MUSLIM SOCIETY AND EDUCATION begins with a demographic profile of Muslims at the time of partition and in contemporary India. It presents various sets of data for identifying Muslim educational status and goes on to make a sociological analysis of Muslim society in relation to education. It puts forward conventional explanations and questions their assumptions. It further focuses on aspects of the socio-economic structure relevant to the educational process like poverty and occupational structure. Next, this chapter examines the attitudinal problems of Muslims to education like apathy, orthodoxy, etc. and also takes up the important issue of education of Muslim women. The chapter

ends with a note on the role of the leadership of the community.

Chapter III - STATE POLICY AND EDUCATION presents various policies that are relevant to Muslims and their education and makes a critical examination of them. To begin with the non-availability of dependable data relating to minorities the question of language (Urdu), the cultural bias in the curricula, the issue of A.M.U. and in general that of minority institutions. Then the chapter takes on specific Indian educational policy including the 1968 national policy, the 1983 fifteen point programme, the 1986 New policy, its review in 1991 and finally the revised versions in 1992. This chapter also includes one section on the welfare policies pursued by individual states within India and finally presents a critical assessment of State policy in general and then with respect to minorities/Muslims.

Chapter IV - MUSLIM EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE IN MADRAS AND NORTH ARCOT is an attempt at a field study in Northern Tamil Nadu. It is a modest primary survey examining the educational difficulties of urban Muslim families over different income groups including an overview of traditional institutions. This chapter puts forward the experience with the community over one month - it begins with earlier views on the education of Muslims there, followed by a sociological profile of the community in the state and lastly includes the survey and the response from the community there.

CHAPTER - I

EDUCATION OF MUSLIMS IN PRE-INDEPENDENT INDIA

The history of education in India is inextricably linked to religion. Hinduism and Buddhism had their systems and centres of learning. The arrival of Islam on Indian soil further continued the Indian tradition of imparting education in the sense of religious learning. As with most religions in their initial phases, so was it with Islam that one who could read, memorize and impart to others the religious texts was considered an educated person. The two pillars of the Islamic faith are the Quran and the sunnah and the life of the Muslims revolves around them. This was the reason that the earliest teachers of Islam were the readers of the Quran (Qurra).[1]

Through the history of Islam, the system of education evolved from the Ummayads formalising the non-formal systems and establishing elementary education to the peak of learning during the Abbasid reign where higher education was pursued ardently. The establishment of the world-famous Al-Azhar University of Cairo (A.D.925-975) represents a landmark in the history of Islamic education.[2] Al Ghazali, the great Muslim mystic established the link between Islam and education when he said that closeness to God can be attained only through knowledge.[3]

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1. Mohammed Akhlaq Ahmed, Traditional education among Muslims - A Study of some aspects in modern India (New Delhi: B.R. Publishers, 1985), p.2.

2. Ibid, p.4.

3. Kuldip Kaur, Madrasa education in India - A study of its past and present (Chandigarh: Centre for Research in rural and industrial development, 1990), p.5.

In Muslim societies, the Maktabs and the Madrasahs were the traditional centres of Muslim education.[4] The Maktabs/Madrasahs (henceforth, 'Madaris' (i.e.) the plural of Madrasah) were located in the mosques itself as the latter are the centre of Muslim religious and social life. The word 'maktab' derived from the Arabic kitabat, was a place meant for elementary religious teaching. It was also used for a 'Katib' who used to copy the Quran and other books generally meant for teaching. A 'Madrasa' literally a place for learning, was a centre of higher education the alumni of which came to be known as Ulema.

The Islamic system of education was introduced into India at the end of the 12th century (1192 AD) when the Muslim rule was established in some parts of the North. Following the pattern of the first Maktab established in the mosque of the Prophet at Madina, Maktabs initially started in almost every Mosque in India primarily for instructions in reciting the Quran and reading Arabic.[5]

The various rulers such as the Ghaznavids, Delhi Sultanate, the Khalji's, the Tughluq's and the Sayyids were known for their patronage of learning. The name of Firuz Shah, for instance, in 'the spread of Muslim education stands pre-eminent. His love for education was so much that he had the distinction of opening no less than thirty colleges...

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4. Ibid., p.11.

5. M.S. Khan, Muslim education quarterly, vol.6, no.3, spring 1989, p.7.

His greatest achievement was the establishment of a Madrasah which bore his name and was a great seat of learning'.[6]

Again the rule of Sikandar Lodi (1498-1517) is a landmark in the history of medieval Indian education because he insisted on a certain educational level for all his officers and he substituted Persian for Hindi as a language of lower administration. Scholars flocked into Delhi from different parts of the world and the kind and level of learning increased considerably.[7]

The Mughals continued this educational policy. Babar's Department of Public Affairs (or 'Shukrat-i-amm) was entrusted with the construction of schools and colleges. Under Akbar, the school came into its own - it was so far attached to the Mosque and there was an increase in the number of educational institutions. Not only was education provided for both Hindus and Muslims, from Akbar's time onwards state grants were givens to Hindu schools and Muslim schools unattached to Mosques without any discrimination.[8] Thus, the whole system of education received a liberal and

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6. Mohammed Akhlaq Ahmed, n.1, p.8.

7. The Hindu and Buddhist traditional centres of learning in northern India were located in Taxila, Benares, Nadia, Mithila, Nalanda, Tirhut, Ujjain, Multan, Valashi, Vikramsala and others. Whereas for the Muslims it was - Delhi, Agra, Lahore, Gujarat, Sialkot, Ambala, Jaunpur, Budayun, Thaneshwar, Bidar and others, M.S. Khan, n.5, pp.7-8).

8. Aziz Ahmad, An intellectual history of Islam in India (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 1969), p.54.

secular character from Akbar's official attitude which was determined largely by the administrative requirements of his empire.[9]

Traditional Muslim education was not just religious studies. Broadly, the subjects were divided into:

a. 'Manqulat' or traditional or religious subjects; and the

b. 'Ma'qulat' or rational subjects

The development of the medieval educational curricula can be divided into three periods: The first period that of the Sultanate and its successor states in the provinces until 1500 - the subjects taught were theology, jurisprudence and its principles, exegesis, hadith, sufism, grammar, rhetoric and logic. The second period ranges from the reign of Sikandar Lodi to the early period of the reign of Akbar, from 1500 to 1575. This is the phase of growing emphasis on the medieval rational sciences, i.e., logic, maths, medicine, and astronomy. The third phase begins with the age of Akbar, with even greater emphasis on rationalism with ethics as the chief area of concentration.[10]

Therefore, with the passage of time the rational sciences found an equal place with the religious sciences.

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9. M.S. Khan, n.5, p.10.

10. Aziz Ahmad, n.8, p.56.

In fact, as M.S. Khan outlines Mathematics and Astronomy enjoyed a special position and they developed because they served the religious, social, administrative and individual needs of both the communities.[11] Muslim education thus evolved into a full-fledged system encompassing both the religious, and rational or civic concerns of life.

After completing their studies, the scholars were classified as fadil, alim and qabil (i.e.) those who specialized in rationalist, theological and literary fields respectively. Classes were even held at home, especially in the fine arts. Women of the upper stratum received mainly religious and some general education at home. Educational activity in this period was considered part of a relgious mission. The special features of this educational set-up are the sincerity and self-denial of the teachers, engrossment, devotion, attachment of students to teachers, patronage by kings and noblemen and the solicitude for spiritual advancement.[12]

However, this kind of educational system which was a product of Mughal culture, chiefly benefitted 'the elite, although through mosque schools, it was within the reach of the children of the common people, if circumstances permitted'.[13] The State was responsible for higher education

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11. M.S. Khan, n.5, p.12.

12. S. Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi, Muslims in India (Lucknow: Academy of Islamic Research, 1980), pp.77-87.

13. Aziz Ahmad, n.8, p.52.

which was mostly restricted to the children of the aristocracy and nobility. The fate of elementary education was left to private enterprise.[14] Thus, the Muslim-Mughal Court culture could devolve educational benefits only upon the elites in its society.

Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb continued earlier efforts, but with the decline of the Mughal empire - the Battle of Plassey 1757 - the services of Muslims were dispensed with and the wrath of the new rulers fell on them. From there begins the story of the general socio-political decline of the Muslims including their education. The emergence of the East India Company and later British colonialism was to lead to tumultous changes on the subcontinent and the impact of their educational policy was to have far reaching effects on the exercise and control of power in the later years. As Martin Carnoy says, the colonial policy did manage to bring these areas into conditions of economic and cultural dependency which few of them have overcome with political autonomy.[15] The British Mission in India being to control and benefit from its resources, British policy specially education was designed to serve that purpose.

The British educational policy can be divided in phases: orientalism, anglicism and vernacular education. To

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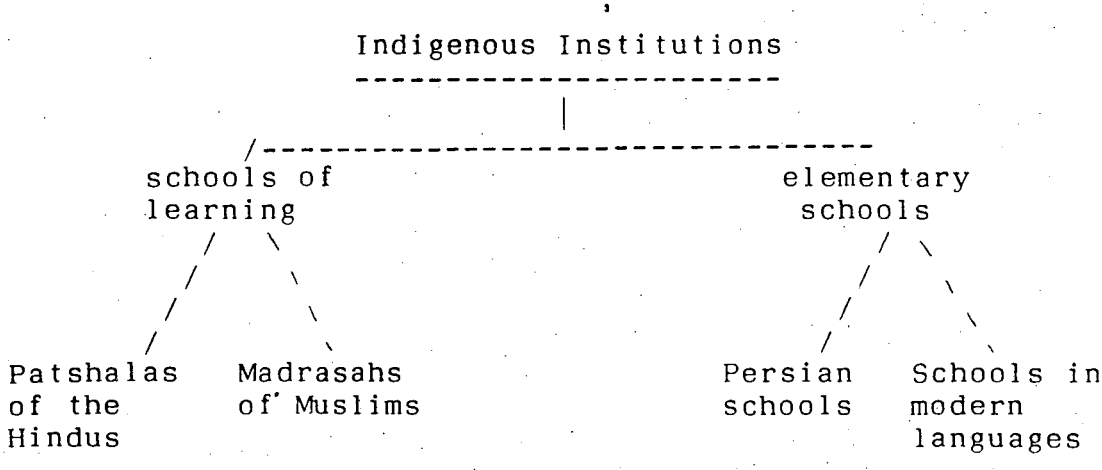
14. Mohammed Akhlaq Ahmad, n.1, p.9.

15. Martin Carnoy, Education as Cultural imperialism (New York: David McKay, year n.a.), p.82.

start with, the East India Company took little interest in the education of Indians with some minor exceptions. In 1772 Warren Hastings enlisted the help of both Brahmin and Muslim scholars. In 1781, he set up the Calcutta Madrasah which was the first state supported school in India; in 1791 Jonathan Duncan started the sanskrit college at Varanasi. The Poona Hindu College and Delhi College were the other examples. The purpose of this orientalist policy was to perpetuate British power when it was still weak.[16]

Around this time viz. at the beginning of the 19th century, there were two kinds of indigenous schools:[17]



The schools of learning aimed at producing Maulvis and Pundits, they were highly qualified teachers, the venue being the local Mosque or Temple - state financial support was there but the state had nothing to do with the day-to-day work of these schools.

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16. Ibid., p.93.

17. Syed Nurullah and J.P. Naik, A Students History of education in India 1800-1965 (Calcutta: Macmillan, 1964), pp.19-23.

The elementary schools, who were the main agency for spread of mass education, giving practical lessons mostly limited to the 3 R's, were without any state endowments. While the former were highly venerated they were a less useful part of the educational system as contrasted with the latter who were in fact more egalitarian - they even admitted non-Brahmins, Harijans and a small number of women. As A.R. Desai puts it, ... 'In pre-British India, the education imparted was to make the pupils staunch Hindus or Muslims, uncritical subscribers to their respective religions and social structures sanctioned by those religions'. The introduction of modern education to him was 'an event of great historical significance for India. It was definitely a progressive act of British Rule'.[18]

This indigenous system had its own strengths as schools abounded in every part, where for years the British found it difficult to maintain even a primary school.[19] However, this system was fast decaying due to the general impoverishment of the people under British Rule and also because of a conscious shift in British educational policy. The various surveys of this indigenous system were made by the British and though the system was found good, the direction was towards state take over of education and a shift towards Anglicism. The initial Anglicist policy was the orientalist one in a modified form - the missionaries and Englishmen back in

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18. A.R. Desai, Social background of Indian nationalism (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1948), pp.138-9.

19. Syed Nurullah and J.P. Naik, n.17, p.124.

Britain were impatient to see India educated and morally cleansed from its own religious decadence.[20] The cultural function of colonialism, which evolved from the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards, was posited in the view that indigenous knowledge and culture were 'deficient'.[21] And so came the Charter Act of 1813 wherein the British Parliament directed the East India Company to accept the responsibility for the education of the Indian people and to spend a sum of not less than Rs.1 lakh a year for that purpose. Even this small sum was not forthcoming until 1823.[22]

Even upto this stage, what must be noted is the state was responsible for oriental learning and not English education. However, all this changed in 1835 with Lord Macaulays Minute. He was of the opinion that Indian languages were not sufficiently developed to serve the purpose and that oriental learning was completely inferior to European learning. Three points are noteworthy about this policy:

(a) A sense of superiority of Western learning - 'His attitude was a contemptous dismissal of everything Indian;[23]

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20. Martin Carnoy, n.15, p.96.

21. Krishna Kumar, Political Agenda of education - A Study of colonialist and nationalist ideas (New Delhi: Sage, 1991), p.14.

22. K.T. Mohammed Ali, The development of education among the Mappilas of Malabar, 1800-1965 (New Delhi: Nunes, 1990), p.64.

23. A.R. Desai, n.18, p.135.

(b) A highly instrumentalist and administrative aim. Again in Macaulays words, 'to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons Indians in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect';[24]

(c) An elitist thrust and character - called the Downward filtration theory. Macaulay propounded the idea that the empire must take care of the education of the higher social classes in India who would automatically pass on the education to their lower classes - that culture filters from top to bottom. Though this 'theory' lingered on the scene until 1882, it was simply an elaborate rationalization for spending less on education and giving education to a tiny elite who are the future civil servants. Obviously the elite who benefitted from such education could never think of returning to their illiterate masses.[25]

At the implementation level, the government decided to spare limited resources to the teaching of Western sciences and literature through the medium of English language only. What this implied was the doing away of the traditional Persian and substituting with English in administration. Acting quickly, the Government, particularly in Bengal, opened a few English schools and colleges instead of a

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24. Martin Carnoy, n.15, p.100.

25. Ibid., p.102.

large number of elementary schools. Later developments such as the Woods Despatch of 1854, Hunter Commission of 1882, 'remedied' the neglect of the masses, while Lord Curzon in 1904 declared that the government was responsible for the education of the masses.

So far the East India Company and later the Crown were not energised into doing something good for the education of the natives, even if it were the spread of learning itself. The real efforts were made by progressive Indians, Christian missionaries, humanitarian officials and other Englishmen. The motives of British policy, therefore, were:

i) to provide a cheap supply of clerks and civil servants;
ii) to help expand British manufacturers, and, finally,
iii) to reconcile Indians to British Rule

British commercial benefits with India were expanding. By 1850, the Indian market took up one-fourth of Britain's entire foreign cotton trade, the cotton industry employed one-eighth of Englands population and contributed half of the nation's revenue.[26] Thus, the main goal of the British was the pursuit of order i.e. to avoid violence which would hamper free trade interests. Hence, coercion had to be replaced by socialization... where education had a role to play.[27]

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26. Ibid., p.88.

27. Krishna Kumar, n.21, p.24.

It must be noted here that the orientalist and Anglicist positions were not forces in conflict but two sides of the same coin. Both contributed to the construction of a colonized society in India. The central issue in the development of colonial education was the rejection of indigenous knowledge - this 'can be used as a basis to ask whether indigenous knowledge could have provided an adequate basis for India's material advancement'.[28]

Finally is the vernacular phase which begins with the Woods education Despatch of 1854. Another important landmark, this asked the Government of India (the Company then) to take responsibility for the education of the masses. It thus repudiated the Downward Filtration Theory on paper - Departments of education were instituted in all provinces, affiliating Universities were set up at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. This also initiated the system of grants-in-aid and teacher-training colleges. Thus, a two-tired approach evolved - English for the elite and vernacular for the masses.[29]

Commenting on the character of colonial education, Krishna Kumar in his 'Political Agenda of education - A study of colonialist and nationalist ideas' makes the following observations:[30]

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28. Ibid., p.68.

29. Martin Carnoy, n.15, p.104.

30. Krishna Kumar, n.21,pp.14-15 & 40.

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1. Historical Character:

That the basic structures of knowledge and the styles of transmission that were determined to be appropriate for educational use under colonial rule continued to shape education both through the independence struggle and after it, and that... there was a colonialist-nationalist coincidence in that the relationship within which Indian intellectuals and social reformers of later nineteenth century performed their pedagoical role vis-a-vis the masses... was not different from that of the English in the early 19th century i.e. in the form of a paternalistic relationship;

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2. Sense of Moral Superiority:

That colonial ideology was a vision of civil society, based on 18th century English political ideas... to look upon the labouring masses as a category.... Education enabled one to place oneself above the masses, intellectually and morally, and see onself as a legitimate candidate for a share in the colonial states power and the privileges that went with it;

3. Lack of rootedness:

That the school curriculum became totally disassociated from the Indian childs social milieu - English as the medium of instruction removed what little possibility would have remained of achieving such association.

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MUSLIM RESPONSE:

The Muslim response to all these efforts was one of rejection:

1. The syllabi did not include the teaching of religion;
2. Worse still after 1835, they were asked to put up with and undergo the education of an alien western christianized culture;
3. Persian, the traditional language of administration had been substituted with English.

Hence, they resisted Western English education and continued hostility to the rulers. The Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 and the Muslim unrest in the North-West made the British seriously consider its Muslim policy. In 1871, Sir W.W. Hunter's work, 'The Indian Musalmans' caused some serious rethinking in British attitude towards Muslims. This work though generally hostile to Muslims threw up some insights for the British. Hunter placed the unsympathetic system of public instruction at the root of the Muslim problem.[31]

Speaking of the lowered status of Muslims under the British, he says '...it is a people with great traditions and without a career... in fact there is now scarcely a Government Office in Calcutta in which a Muhammadan can hope for any post above the rank of porter, messenger, fillers of ink-pots and mender of pens'.[32]

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31. W.W. Hunter, The Indian Musalmans (Delhi: Indological Book House, 1871), p.145.

32. Ibid., p.162.

Comparing the Hindu and Muslim response to Western education Hunter believed that 'the truth is that our system of public instruction which has awakened the Hindus from the sleep of centuries and quickened their inert masses with some of the noble impulses of a nation, is opposed to the traditions, unsuited to the requirements and hateful to the religion of the Musalmans'.[33]

After 1871, there was a shift in British attitude to the education of Muslims. Regretting that such a large part of the population were being kept out of the educational network, the Government in its 1871 resolution and later in a review of the same in 1873 decided to encourage and took special steps for the education of Muslims like vernacular languages and grants-in-aid. The 1871 resolution is the first major policy step giving state blessings to the education of Muslims.

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33. Ibid., p.168. Around this time, (i.e) in 1881, it is interesting to note the distribution of Muslims in British India (as a percentage of total population). Punjab had the maximum proportion of Muslims followed by Assam and Bengal.

Province	Muslims	Hindus
Bengal	31.2	65.4
Bombay	18.4	74.8
Madras	6.2	91.4
North West Provinces & Oudh	13.4	86.3
Punjab	51.4	40.7
Central Provinces	2.5	75.4
Assam	27.0	62.7

Source: as cited in Anil Seal, The emergence of Indian Nationalism (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p.299.

The next major policy document is the 1882[34] Indian Education Commission chaired by none other than Sir W.W. Hunter who found the Muslims educationally backward and listed 17 steps to improve their educational status, which are:

1. Special encouragement of Mohammedan education to be regarded as legitimate charge on local, municipal and provincial funds;

2. Indigenous Mohammadans should be liberally encouraged to add purely secular subjects to their courses of instruction;

3. Special standards for Mohammedan primary schools to be prescribed;

4. Hindustani be the principal medium for imparting instruction to Mohammedan primary and middle schools, except in localities where Mohammedan community desire that some other language be adopted;

5. The official vernacular in places where it is not Hindustani be added as a voluntary subject to the curriculum of primary and middle schools for Mohammedans;

6. In localities where Mohammedans form a fair proportion of the population, provisions be made in middle and

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34. Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882 (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1883), pp.483-507.

high schools maintained from public funds, for imparting instruction in the Hindustani and Persian languages;

7. High English education (for Mohammedans) being the kind of education in which the community needs special help, it should be liberally incorporated;

8. A graduated system of special scholarships for Mohammedans to be established;

9. In all classes of schools maintained from public funds, a certain proportion of free studentships be expressly reserved for Mohammedan students;

10. In places where educational endowments for the benefit of Mohammedans exist and are under the management of Government the funds arising from such endowments be devoted to the advancement of education among Mohammedans exclusively;

11. Where Mohammedan endowments exist and are under the management of private individuals or bodies, inducements by liberal grants-in-aid be offered to them to establish English teaching schools or colleges on the grant-in-aid system;

12. Where necessary, normal schools or classes for the training of Mohammedan teachers be established;

13. Whether instruction is given in Mohammedan schools through the medium of Hindustani, endeavours be made to secure, as far as possible, Mohammedan teachers to give such instruction;

14. Associations for the promotion of Mohammedan education be recognized and encouraged;

15. Mohammedan officers be employed more largely than hitherto for the inspection of primary schools for Mohammedans;

16. In annual reports of public instruction, a special section be devoted to Mohammedan education;

17. The attention of local governments be invited to the question of proportion in which patronage is distributed among educated Mohammedans and others.

The Commission noted what it perceived as the causes for Muslim educational backwardness:

(a) The teaching of the Mosque must precede the lessons of the school - the Mohammedan boy enters the school later than the Hindu;

(b) The Mohammedan parent is poor and hence his children cannot complete their education; and

(c) The Mohammedan parent often chooses for his son an education which will secure for him an honoured place among the learned of his own community rather than the one which will command success in the modern professions or in official life.[35]

This is the first official explanation for the educational standards of Muslims - and in it can be seen the origin of much of todays understanding of the problem, which

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35. K.T. Mohammed Ali, n.22, p.71.

is to be discussed later. The Governor General responded positively to the commissions recommendations and decided to grant the Muslims favourable assistance.

The Earl of Dufferin, Ripon's successor, in 1885, recorded a resolution with respect to Muslim education and this resolution is considered the "Magna Carta of Muslim education" in India. It provided that every year there should be a section on Mohammedans in the Annual Report of public instruction, liberal provision of scholarships and special Mohammedan inspecting officers.

It was around this time that Sir Syed Ahmed Khan stepped in, to change the attitude of the Muslims towards Western education and consequently, the Aligarh movement, the fruit of his efforts, reconciled upper and middle class Muslims to British and Western education.

Deposing before the Hunter Commission of 1882, Sir Syed traced Mohammedan aloofness from English education to four sources - to their political traditions, social customs, religious beliefs and poverty.[36]

By political traditions he referred to the transitions under British rule which dealt a blow to the conditions of the Muslims, and hence produced an aversion to everything associated with the British. By social customs, he alluded to the vanity and self conceit of the Mohammedan in attaching

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36. Shaan Muhammed (ed.), Writings and speeches of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (Bombay: Nachiketa, 1972), p.95.

an undue importance to their own literature, philosophy and sciences.

As for religious beliefs, not only is it the simple fact that English education is identified with Christianity, but the Mohammedan rightly holds that modern European learning was at variance with the tenets of Islam. While Muslims absorbed Arabic translations of the Greek sciences and considered it as sacred as their religious literature they were resistant to European learning which was founded on the results of modern investigations which differed widely in principle with the Asiaticized Greek Dogmas. The poverty among Muslims, he felt was accentuated by their being aloof from English education and hence are debarred from the lucrative professions.

THE ALIGARH MOVEMENT:

Sir Syed initiated what is known as the Aligarh movement in 1864 with the founding of the Scientific Society for the introduction of western sciences primarily among the Muslims in India, a modern school at Ghazipur, and in 1868 promoted the formation of educational committees in several districts of northern India. He prepared his blueprint for the higher education of Muslims during his visit to Engand in 1869-70.[37]

The most important achievements of Sir Syed were the establishment of 'the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College' in

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37. Aziz Ahmad, Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan 1857-1964 (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p.37.

Aligarh in 1874 (what is now A.M.U.) and 'Anglo-Mohammedan educational conference' in 1886 - Among other things, both these institutions intended at the general promotion of western education among the Muslims and strove for a steady increase of educated Muslims in the government services.[38]

Here, at the Mohammedan Anglo Oriental College, Western learning was combined with the learning of the religion, its scriptures, tradition and languages. The establishment of this college is 'one of the important landmarks in the educational history of modern India... the first significant response of Indian Muslims to the challenge of the West'.[39]

With the continuous socio-political decline of Muslims society hastened by the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, 'education was the heart of Syed's policy of reconciliation and his panacea for the community'.[40] His rationale in reconciling Muslims to western education was that if the Muslims do not take to it 'they will not only remain a backward community but will sink lower and lower until there will be no hope of recovery left to them... The adoption of a new system of education does not mean the renunciation of Islam. It means its protection... How can we remain true Muslims, or serve Islam, if we sink into ignorance?'[41]

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38. Ibid..

39. Aparna Basu, The growth of education and political development in India 1898-1920 (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1974), p.161.

40. Anil Seal, n.33, p.317.

41. Sir Syed as quoted in ibid.

After Sir Syed, his successors Mohsin-ul Mulk and Viqar-ul Mulk widened its activities and brought it out of its upper and middle class confines to a mass movement.[42] The Mohammedan Anglo Oriental College took on an All-India character with increasing number of students from different parts of the country, as Table - 1.1 shows over a decade:

Table - 1.1

Provincial Distribution of Students at the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, 1893-1903

Year	Agra	Oudh	Punjab	Bengal and Bihar	Madras	Bombay	Central Provinces	Other States
1893	218	-	87	8	-	2	5	23
1903	220	81	86	44	15	12	14	59

Source: as quoted in Mushirul Hasan (1979), p.58.[43]

As for the educational conference, Shaan Muhammad says, 'The Aligarh Movement pinned all its success on one of its

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42. Shaan Muhammad, Successors of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (Delhi: Idarah-i-Adabiyat, 1981), p.118.

43. Mushirul Hasan, Nationalism and Communal Politics in India 1911-1928 (Delhi: Manohar, 1979), pp.57-58. Further during 1903 and 1911, the college had on its roles 3,320 students. In 1910, out of a total of 789 students, 366 (46 per cent) were from the U.P.; 130 (16 per cent) from the Punjab, 9.2 (11 per cent) from Bengal and Bihar; 33 from East Bengal and Assam, and 58 from Hyderabad. In 1911, the College had an annual income of Rs.2,08,000 - an increase of 165 per cent since 1897.

very powerful wings - the all India Mohammadan Educational Conference.... Lack of funds and cooperation had confined its sessions only to U.P. and Punjab. Mohsin-ul Mulk widened the area of its operations to far off places like Madras, Bombay, Bangalore and Rangoon.[44] Thus, the Aligarh Movement was a 'positive venture aimed at the intellectual renaissance of Muslim India'.[45] Maulana Azad in assessing the movement says that 'the nineteenth century marked a period of renaissance for the Indian spirit and Aligarh was one of the centres of such renaissance'.[46]

Among the reasons cited by the Hunter Commission and others for the educational backwardness is the time-lag theory - that Muslims started late in the race for English education. This generalization needs to be reconsidered and redefined on a regional basis. Muslims were not backward everywhere in modern English education. For instance, in Madras, in 1885-86, out of every 100 Muslim boys of school going-age, 22 were in schools, while the figure for Brahmins was 73, for non-Brahmin caste Hindus 18 and other Hindus 4.[47]

So was the case with Bombay Presidency, in every district of Gujarat and even in the United Provinces (what is now U.P.) (i.e.) where Muslims were oriented towards the

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44. Shaan Muhammad, n.42, p.120.

45. Ibid., p.127.

46. Ibid.

47. Aparna Basu, n.39, p.148.

civil services, trade and commerce they eagerly took to English education and where they were a predominantly agricultural community, as in East Bengal, West Bengal and Sind, they did not take to such education because it was 'neither useful nor necessary'. Hence illiteracy in these areas was more out of social-occupational reasons than, as Hunter would have us believe because of pride of race, religions, fears or memories of bygone superiority.

The Muslims of Bengal were behind in higher and professional education. As Aparna Basu says, 'The Bengal model was applied to the rest of India and the myth created that Muslims were backward everywhere. This misconception suited the Muslims as well as the Government after the eighteen-seventies'.[48]

While the political elite led by Sir Syed favoured a combination of English education, with religious knowledge, the religious elite or the Ulema were suspicious of these ventures and started their own institutions at various places like Darul Ulum at Deoband (1867), and the Nadwat-ul Ulema at Lucknow (1894). They feared that as a result of English learning 'their future generations will be lost for all practical purposes to Islam'.

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48. Ibid., p.155. Again as Anil Seal would have it, "To state that Muslims were backward throughout India is meaningless; indeed, over the whole country it would be as hard to find a generally accepted ranking of religious communities as it would be to find a generally accepted ranking of Hindu Castes'. (Anil Seal, n.33, p.300).

Deoband went on to become an international institution in attracting scholars from all over the world. As Barbara Metcalf says,

> Increasingly, the name of Deoband came to represent a distinctly, a maslak of Indian Islam. By 1880 roughly there were over a dozen schools that identified themselves as Deobandi, by the end of the century at least three times that many, some in places as distant as Chittagong, Madras and Peshawar.(49)

The Ulema also had to reorient their educational attitudes. It was no longer restricted to the elite and they incorporated the organizational style of modern education. In doing so they 'adhered to a single goal: the rigorous training in religious classics of Ulema who would spread instruction in Islamic norms and beliefs. By shaping standards of piety, and belief for substantial numbers of Muslims, these Ulema wielded an influence significant and persistent'.[50]

So was the case with the other prominent school the Nadwat-ul Ulema. The real accomplishment of the Nadwah has its involvement in the quiet, undramatic but influential work characteristic of the Ulema of the late nineteenth century. The self-conscious dissemination of Muslim beliefs and

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49. Barbara Metcalf, Islamic revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1982) pp.136-7. As the then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi had remarked at the centenary celebrations of Deoband, "This institution had contributed to our national rebirth and its scholars have made a name for themselves all over the Islamic world" ("PM lauds contribution of Islam to India" The Times of India, March 22, 1980).

50. Ibid.

practices, the fostering of Urdu as the language of the Ulema and the training of more Ulema.[51]

While Deoband and Aligarh represented what could roughly be called the traditional and modernist elements in Muslim thought respectively, Nadwah was an attempt to syncretize both. The main object of Nadwah was to bring about a 'harmony among different groups representing various schools of thought within the Islamic fold. It introduced changes in the syllabus of traditional education according to the needs of the modern age'.[52]

Again, it must be noted that educational backwardness was only in the Western anglicized aspect of the educational process whereas in the traditional Madrasah system the nineteenth century represented the flowering forth of many of these institutions and contending schools.

However, since state patronage and to some extent even community patronage to such institutions had declined - by the state going in-for English education and its linguistic and recruitment policy - the graduates of such institutions would not be able to draw even their meagre sustenance. Hence, considerations of political power, economic well being and social security forced leaders like Sir Syed to envision what lay in store for the Muslims and advocate English education with a close of their own religion.

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51. Ibid.

52. Mohammed Akhlaq Ahmad, n.1, p.31.

Since the 1880s, the British Government made continuous efforts to educate the Muslims. Thus, due to efforts of Sir Syed and others, Muslims made a real headway in education in the next 60 years as tables 1.2 and 1.3 show:

Table - 1.2

No. of Muslim Scholars in Educational Institutions

(1911-1947)

Year	No. of Muslim scholars	Percentage of	
		Muslim population to total population	Muslim scholars to total scholars
1911-12	1,551,151	22.7	22.9
1916-17	1,824,364	23.5	23.2
1921-22	1,966,422	24.1	23.5
1926-27	2,821,109	24.1	25.3
1931-32	3,408,758	24.7	26.7
1936-37	3,688,839	24.7	27.6
1946-47	4,898,919	27.6	26.6

Source: as quoted in K.D. Sharma, p.57,60.[53]

53. K.D.Sharma, Education of a National Minority - Case of Indian Muslims (New Delhi: Kalamkar Prakashan, 1978), p.57, 60.

Table - 1.3

Male English Literacy by Religion in the United Provinces[a] 1891-1931 in percentages

	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891
Total population	(1.10) 0.94	(0.75) 0.66			
All Hindus[b]	(0.84)	(0.53) 0.47	0.29	0.22	0.08
All Muslims[c]	(1.48)	(0.92) 0.81	0.65	0.38	0.13
Total Urban	(9.59)[c]	N.A.	N.A.	3.69	N.A.
Urban Hindu	(9.66)[d]	N.A.	N.A.	3.74	N.A.
Urban Muslim	(5.94)[d]	N.A.	N.A.	1.97	N.A.
Rural Hindu	(0.48)	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Rural Muslim	(0.78)	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.

(a) Figures in parenthesis are for males aged five and over; other figures are for all males;

(b) 'Brahmanic' Hindus only;

(c) Figures are for 23 cities for the entire provinces including the princely states;

(d) Figures are for 22 cities in British territory;

Source: Census of India Reports as cited in Paul Brass[54] (1974), p.148.

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54. Paul Brass, Language, religion and politics in North India (Delhi: Vikas, 1974), p.148.

The inferences that can be made from this set of data is that:

(a) More Muslims were availing of the opportunities in English education commensurate with their proportion (Table - 1.2) and with other sections of the population.[55]

(b) Politically an important fact is that male English literacy among the Muslims was consistently higher than among the Hindus throughout the period 1891 to 1931 and that the gap in their favour increased during this period (Table-1.3). These must be seen in the light of other data - though that was the case with primary education, disparity existed at the higher levels - in secondary and higher education.[56]

EMPLOYMENT:

In addition to educational opportunities, even in state-sector employment, contrary to Hunters perceptions of the situation in Bengal, in the North-Western Provinces, Oudh and U.P., 'the available figures for later years as Table - 1.4 points out that the original advantage of Muslims in government employment in these provinces was not only maintained, but was increased significantly'.[57]

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55. See Appendix 1 for data which illustrate the point.

56. Paul Brass, n.54, p.147.

57. Ibid., p.150.

Table - 1.4

Occupation by religion (for selected occupations)

United Provinces, 1911 and 1921

Occupation	Hindus		Muslims	
	1911	1921	1911	1921
Public force	63.80	50.41	27.49	46.0
a) Army	40.47	52.51	23.65	38.36
b) Police	44.71	48.98	50.33	49.79
c) Village Watchmen	79.95	50.08	18.42	49.04
Public admn.	67.27	57.99	28.97	37.49
a) Service of State	53.02	47.37	41.94	47.67
b) Municipal and other local (not village) service	54.50	52.12	40.71	43.22
Professions and Liberal arts	72.52	76.63	23.15	18.42
a) Languages	59.97	63.49	32.59	28.07
b) Medical practitioners	50.74	51.17	41.63	39.83
c) Instruction	55.76	67.64	33.89	22.47
d) Letters and arts and sciences	44.27	48.46	53.67	49.23

Source: as quoted in Paul Brass (1974)[58], Excerpts from Tables on pp.152-54. (All 1911 urban statistics must be treated with caution because of the peculiar condition under which census was taken)

58. Paul Brass, n.54, pp.152-54.

The credit for this increase in Muslim participation in modern education and employment goes to the British government whose special attention inspired by recommendations such as those of the Hunter Commission granted scholarships, freeships, hostel facilities, separate institutions and reservation in education and employment. Also an equal share of the credit goes to Muslim liberal leadership, represented by Sir Syed, which could have a vision and motivate people to grasp these benefits and opportunities. Thus, Sir Syed used education as a means of bringing about the political regeneration of the Indian Muslims.[59]

The major policy direction as far as the Muslims are concerned was evolved in the nineteenth century itself. Later development in the Indian educational policy were more to do with the Universities - such as the Universities Act (1904), Inter-University Board etc. In 1917, the Osmania University, Hyderabad started with Urdu as the medium of instruction.[60] It changed to English in 1948.

The Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College became the Aligarh Muslim University (A.M.U.) in 1920. A.M.U. has expanded and developed in many ways admitting and contributing to the education of non-Muslims too.[61]

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59. Aparna Basu, n.39, p.172.

60. Aziz Ahmad, n.8, p.57.

61. Discussed further in Chapter III.

Again in 1920, some of the leading alumni of A.M.U. like Maulana Mohammed Ali losing faith in it, during the days of the Khilafat agitation founded an independent national university in Aligarh - the Jamia Millia which later shifted to Delhi and came under the leadership of Dr. Zakir Hussain.

The cases of Aligarh, Jamia and such other efforts have to be seen in the context of the Indian national movement and the politics that characterized the struggle and its times. The founding of Jamia Millia, for instance, was a product of the non-cooperation movement and the attempt to derive a new model of Indian national identity. It was an amalgam of religious, nationalist and modernist elements. However there was a challenge because Jamia represented the 'tragic effort made by some extraordinarily dynamic intellectuals to overcome the backlog of literacy and political participation which they recognized in the Muslim community'.[62]

Krishna Kumar perceives the freedom struggle as the pursuit of different values which can be placed in three major categories: equality, self-identity and progress. The pursuit of equality found expression in the demand for educational opportunities by the lower castes. The quest for self-identity confronted the colonial educational system as an agency of cultural domination through the swadeshi and revivalist movements. Finally, the pursuit of progress was reflected in the drive for industrialization and its friction with a Gandhian vision of society.[63]

62. Krishna Kumar, n.21, p.124.

63. Ibid., pp.16-19.

While the three ideals pursued have to be considered in their totality, for the immediate purposes of this discussion, a brief mention needs to be made of the quest for self-identity. This is a key issue for the analysis of religious revivalism, its link with the Hindi-Urdu issue and the dynamics of the national movement in the gangetic belt. The pedagogical agenda of the Hindi movement was to socialize the youth in the sanskritic tradition free of Urdu.[64]

An overview of the Swadeshi movement (1905) and the Non-Cooperation movement (1920), for instance, shows that 'the specific forms that the search for self-identity took on these two occasions consisted of two main sources of collective self-identity: religion and language -- intertwined with concepts of race, ancestry, caste and motherland'. The concept of 'national education' was thereon linked to religious revivalism.[65]

The drive for Hindi as official language succeeded very early in the twentieth century. The insistence on the Devanagiri script and the erasing of Urdu from the literary history of Hindi furthered the insecurity of the Muslims. Again with British policy of exploiting this divide, the

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64. Ibid., p.17.

65. Ibid., p.117.

atmosphere was vitiated and the ground was being set for what would later turn out to be the partition of the country.

As has been succinctly pointed out 'the struggle for Hindi, in a form from which its Urdu heritage was deodorized, became a means for the upper caste groups some of whom had substantial landed interest to establish political identity. Once established, this identity was used from the late thirties onwards to fulfill a hegemonic political agenda'.[66] In short, the above happenings of the 1930s with the freedom struggle did not auger well for the secular character and bent of the State that was to come in free India.

A final note on the Government of India resolution in 1934 which reserved 25 per cent of the posts under Central Government to Muslims. It was provided in the resolution to secure this percentage for Muslims by nomination if it was not found otherwise.[67]

To sum up this survey of the education of Muslims from medieval to colonial times reveals that colonial education represented a rupture in the world-view and way of life for the Muslims in their transition from medieval to modern times and Sir Syed's success mainly lies in reconciling the community to modern education.

Due to the socio-political dynamics of colonialism the major stream of Muslim response to colonial education

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66. Ibid., p.142.

67. K.D. Sharma, n.53, p.61.

represented by Aligarh movement, was of initial hostility, hesitation and finally acceptance. And the other response represented by the Deobandis, rejected colonial education and this led to a growth in the traditional set-up of Muslim education.

Finally, British policy did go to improving the educational level of the community, but such betterment was uneven in respect of both educational levels and region-wise.

CHAPTER - II

MUSLIM SOCIETY AND EDUCATION

A DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

The partition of India is a historic landmark, in general for the entire country and in particular for the Muslims who stayed behind. In 1941, Muslims were 23.81 per cent of India's population while in the census following partition (ie) 1951 they were 9.91 per cent, which meant a reduction by more than half their original strength.[1]

Migrations occurred in large numbers. As Table 2.1 shows, migration of urban Muslims from India to Pakistan was 23.4 lakhs and rural Muslims was 36.6 lakhs.

Table - 2.1

Muslim migration to Pakistan

at partition - 1947

(in lakhs)	Migrant population	Out of a Muslim population of
Urban	23.4	76
Rural	36.6	292

Source: High Power Panel Report on Minorities, vol.I, p.13.[2]

Thus, the main impact was due to the migration of urban Muslims, whose number was reduced by one-third; the rural migration was not significant because of its small number

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1. G.A. Oddie (ed.), Religion in South Asia, (New Delhi: Manohar, 1991), pp. 258-9.

2. High Power Panel Report on Minorities (New Delhi: Government of India, 1983) (2 vols.).

compared to its population and also the fact that most of them were from East Punjab and adjoining areas in the West.

This urban migration mainly from the intelligentsia and the traditional Muslim centres had an adverse economic impact. As the Dr. Gopal Singh Committee says it 'gave a blow to their development...the residual Muslim population in the urban areas comprised the lower income groups such as artisans, craftsmen, petty shopkeepers and factory workers'[3] that goes to explain the class character of contemporary Muslim Society. This migration of the middle class and the intelligentsia had far reaching implications on general Muslim well-being and particularly education, as will be discussed later.[4]

According to the 1981 Census of India, religious minorities constitute 17.4 per cent - the break up (excluding Assam) is: Hindus 82.6 per cent, Muslims 11.3 per cent, Christians 2.4 per cent, Sikhs 1.97 per cent, Buddhists 0.71 per cent and Parsis 0.01 per cent. The 1991 census puts the total population at about 844 million and using 1981 proportions, Muslims can now said to be 94 million of India's population.

This Muslim population is spread all over the country, but more than half (52.01 per cent) of this population lives

3. Ibid., vol.I, p.14.

4. Zafar Imam, "Some Aspects of the Social Structure of the Muslim Community in India", in Zafar Imam (ed.), Muslims in India (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1975), pp.70-113 presents a detailed picture of Muslim migration and its impact.

in the Gangetic Belt of U.P., Bihar, and West Bengal, with U.P. alone accounting for nearly one-fourth (23.38 per cent) of the Muslim population in India. If to the above three states are added Maharashtra, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, these seven states in themselves house more than three-fourths (78.3 per cent) of India's Muslim population.[5]

And 29 per cent of this ninety-odd millions Muslims, is an urban heterogenous population. This urbanisation among the Muslims, which is not a new phenomenon as shown in Table 2.2 is much higher than the national percentage of 20 per cent.

Table - 2.2

Urbanisation of Muslims, 1931-1971

Particulars	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971
Urban Muslim total (in lakhs)	30.2	59.4	13.3	127.7	176.86
Urban percentage of total Muslim population	13.5	14.6	26.2	27.0	28.79
National urban population as percentage of total population	11.12	12.8	17.29	17.97	19.91

Source: High Power Panel Report on Minorities, vol.I, p.13.

While the urban component gets more focus, the bigger rural section, of 71 per cent living in the villages is often

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5. State-wise distribution of Muslim population in India, in Appendix 2.

sidelined. Many of those living in the villages tend to be worse off than their urban counterparts. In the words of the Dr. Gopal Singh Committee...their condition is not as good as that of the Muslim masses....they comprise landless labourers, small and marginal farmers, artisans, craftsmen and small businessmen. Their social stratification and class interests are more or less in common with other people living in the villages.[6]

With that brief profile this part of the discussion aims at identifying the educational status of Muslims and at attempting an explanation for the same. It presents conventional explanations, questions the assumptions on which they are based and discusses the role of the socio-economic structure of Muslims and state policy in their educational standards.

MUSLIM EDUCATIONAL STATUS:

The limitations of hard statistics, which we shall discuss again, had so far prevented the identification of the educational status of Muslims. Concerned individuals and organizations made various guesstimates' about the state of education of Muslims. Academic research based on surveys of Muslim areas made its own estimates. These lay and academic efforts despite their obvious limitations had a common conclusion:

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6. High Power Panel Report on Minorities, n.2, vol.I, p. 14.

> That as far as Muslims are concerned, in the arena of modern education - as defined by literacy rates and by participation in the schooling and modern institutional educational system - the Muslims are educationally backward.

This conclusion finds its endorsement in various official documents of the recent past:

a. The High Power Panel on minorities, scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other weaker sections appointed by Mrs. Indirā Gandhi under the chairmanship of Dr. Gopal Singh which submitted its report in 1983;

b. The findings of the 43rd round of the National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO) which represents a major breakthrough because for the first time since independence, an official body has given details about economic status and education classified on the basis of religion.

Report on Minorities:

An analysis of the data collected by the High Power Panel or the Dr. Gopal Singh Committee shows that the participation of Muslims in general educational opportunities is lesser than their proportion in the population.

Further as Table 2.3 shows, for 1980-81, in elementary education their involvement is 12.39 per cent as against their proportion of the population which is 17.32 per cent, while for secondary education the respective figures are, enrolment 10.66 per cent as against a proportion of 18.56 per cent. In elementary education generally, their participation

rate is below population percentage except in Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Madhya Pradesh.

Table - 2.3

Enrolment of Muslim Students 1980-1981

(in lakhs)	Total enrolment	Muslim enrolment	Muslim per cent of population
Elementary stage (Std. I to VIII)a	98.48	12.2 (12.39 per cent)	17.32 per cent
Secondary School stage (Std. IV to XII)b	19.64	2.09 (10.66 per cent)	18.56 per cent

a. sample of 45 districts in 12 states.
b. sample of 38 districts in 11 states.

Source: High Power Panel Report on Minorities, vol.II, Annexures, p.12, 18

Table 2.4

Participation and performance of Muslims in Board Exams, 1980-81

Level	Total students		Muslims		Percentage share of Muslim to population
	Appeared	Passed	Appeared	Passed	
Std.X (a)	1344112	724564 (53.91)	53803 (4.00)	31588 (58.8)	11.28 per cent
Std. XII(b)	226431	137660 (60.80)	5645 (2.49)	3372 (59.74)	10.32 per cent

a. Spread over 8 Boards of Secondary education.
b. Spread over 5 Boards of Secondary education.

Source: High Power Panel Report on Minorities, vol.II, Annexures.

Secondly, the drop-out rate of Muslim students between Class I and Class V was 65 per cent - though high this is at

par with the general drop out rate for all communities which was 78 per cent. In four districts of Uttar Pradesh, it was high with a Muslim drop out rate of 90 per cent.[7]

Table 2.5

Participation and performance of Muslim students at the examinations (1981).

Exams	Total students		Muslims		Pop. per cent of Muslims to Total
	Appeared	Passed	Appeared	Passed	
U.G. Level B.A., B.Sc B.Com[1]	218,515	113.783 (52.07)	13,571 (6.21)	7,012 (51.67)	10.73
Graduate M.A., M.Sc M.Com[2]	23,723	18,406 (77.59)	2,162 (9.11)	1,640 (75.85)	10.75
B.Sc.(Eng) B.E.[3]	2,698	1,768 (65.53)	92 (3.41)	42 (45.65)	12.44
M.B.B.S[4]	2,845	1,784 (62.71)	98 (3.44)	51 (52.04)	9.55

1. Based on information from 19 universities in 11 states;
2. Based on information from 13 universities in 10 states;
3. Based on information from 9 universities in 6 states;
4. Based on information from 12 universities in 8 states;

Source: High Power Panel Report on Minorities, Annexures, vol.II, pp. 28-35.

Thirdly, Table 2.4, explains the participation and performance of Muslim students in Board exams of 1980-81. While the pass percentage of Muslim students compares favourably with general pass percentages, the number of Muslim students appearing for the exams in comparison with

7. Ibid., p. 20.

their population ratio leaves much to be desired. In Class X out of the total students who appeared, 4 per cent were Muslims, which is below their population percentage of 11.2 per cent and Class XII its a meagre 2.4 per cent Muslim students who appeared which is far below their population percentage of 10.3 per cent.

Finally, these trends are also true of undergraduate and professional courses, except for post-graduate courses where their participation is commensurate with the percentage of their population (Table 2.5). In brief, what all this goes to show is that Muslim participation or rather lack of it requires attention.

NSSO Data:

The NSSO data tell us that one, illiteracy was considerably more prevalent among the Muslim men than among Hindu men in both urban and rural areas; two, over different age groups and genders Muslims are lagging behind others in the attendance at educational institutions in both rural and urban areas.[8]

In fact in 1983, the secretary of the minorities commission N.C. Saxena had reported that Muslims are 10 times more educationally backward than other communities in this country. He even asserts that educational backwardness is

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8. Relevant data in Appendices 3 and 4, 43rd round of NSSO, 1987-88, Sarvekshana, Special Number, September 1990. It must be noted that this data pertains to one year 1987-88 (a drought year) and cannot be used to make trend analysis over time.

the root cause of their economic backwardness. Also, the Hamdard Education Society, New Delhi has found in its study of 430 Muslim managed schools and 44 degree colleges in 15 states and one union territory that the dropouts among the Muslims increase in number in the higher classes.[9]

The educational status of the Muslims having been identified as backward, it must be said that this backwardness did not creep in overnight and the decline of the community took place over a period of time. Two sets of questions need to be asked here:

1. Given that the general welfare and educational leadership is the forte of the state, was the Indian state aware of this decline among the Muslims? If it was, given the professed secular orientation, in what way was it reflected in specific state policy?
2. How does one explain, in sociological terms this Muslim educational backwardness? What is the weightage that needs to be given to conventional explanations and are there any factors that have been overlooked?

While the next chapter deals with the issue of State policy, this chapter concerns itself with a sociological analysis of the problem of Muslim educational backwardness. To begin with the second question, we look at the individual Muslim and the community for hindrances or facilitators to education.

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9. Kuldip Kaur, Madrasa Education in India - A Study of its Past and Present (Chandigarh: Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development, 1990), p. 212. For exact data refer Appendix 5.

VALUE SYSTEM: APATHY AND ORTHODOXY

To start with, the problem appears to be in the lack of drive and commitment to education among the Muslims. A sense of pre-destination and fatalism overrides their existence and inhibits their educational and economic drive. A.A. Engineer points out that their "system of beliefs is also a factor to be reckoned with while understanding their resistance to modern change, although.....not the most important factor as some advocates of modernisation maintain".[10]

One of the ways in which this apathy is sought to be explained in the concrete Indian situation is the 'backwardness - minority syndrome'.[11] Both these aspects, backwardness as well as a minority complex are related to the experience of partition and since then the community being a religious minority in free India there are 'psychological pressures that operate against change'. While the question of discrimination and minority perceptions is taken up in the next chapter, the problem with the minority complex is that it often becomes a pretext for non-participation and lack of preparation by the Muslims for the modern civic life. Such a complex for M.R.A. Baig serves "as an alibi to explain failures for which the Muslims may themselves be to blame....Few prepare themselves for the employment

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10. A.A. Engineer, Islam and Muslims: A Critical Reassessment (Jaipur: Printwell, 1985), p. 183.

11. A.A. Engineer, Indian Muslims: A Study of the Minority Problem in India (New Delhi: Ajanta, 1985), p.259.

possibilities that exist, yet they feel it is for anti-Muslim reasons that they are unemployed".[12]

Another explanation offerred for the indifference to modern education is that "religious orthodoxy and cultural ethos of Muslims leads them to believe that modern education is a threat to Islamic values and therefore they send their children to Madrasas with low academic standards".[13] This is seen from the spurt in the number of traditional Islamic schools since independence - Kuldip Kaur puts the figure at more than four thousand Madaris all over the country.[14]

The religious orthodoxy or the 'ulama refuse to perceive the far-reaching changes in the modern environment and their implications. Living they seem to think is more important than ekeing out a livelihood. Some of their conservative attitudes act as a barrier in the Muslim drive towards modern education.[15]

The conventional view that Muslims are educationally backward because of their apathy in appropriating educational opportunities requires to be placed in the context of the socio-economic structure of the community.

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12. M.R.A. Baig, The Muslim Dilemma in India (New Delhi: Vikas, 1974), pp. 103-105.

13. Anis Ansari, "Educational Backwardness of Muslims", Economic and Political Weekly, vol.27, no.42, October 17, 1992, p. 2290.

14. Kuldip Kaur, n.9, pp. 200-1.

15. Mushir U. Haq, Islam in Secular India (Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1972), p 88. Also, V.M. Badola, "Backward Muslims: Moored to Madrasa", The Pioneer, October 22, 1992.

ECONOMY: 'MIDDLE CLASS THESIS'

The conventional explanations make two assumptions, one, about the universal appeal of education, and two, about Muslims as a homogenous category.[16] Firstly, is the assumption that education has a universal appeal and hence everyone should opt for it. Imtiaz Ahmad advances the thesis that the educational backwardness of Indian Muslims should not be attributed to any 'religious fanaticism' or 'minority complex' but to the small size of the social strata whose members can be expected to seek educational opportunities.

The argument is that educational opportunities are likely to be exploited in any community by those sections that are oriented to employment in the professions and services. Amongst Muslims this social strata has not only been historically small but was further reduced in the wake of creation of Pakistan.[17]

The explanation that religion is a barrier in the case of Muslims is the 'least - satisfactory' says A.R. Kamat, 'because in every traditional society the religious and the secular formed a composite whole to a greater or lesser degree; moreover it contradicts the fact of Muslim progress in education from 1881 to 1931,...(as mentioned earlier) in

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16. Imtiaz Ahmad, "Muslim Educational Backwardness: An Inferential Analysis", Economic and Political Weekly, vol.16, no.36, September 5, 1981, p. 1458.

17. Ibid., p. 1461.

the U.P. - the very citadel of Muslim orthodoxy and tradition'.[18]

The process of modernisation regards education as a crucial variable in its game-plan. Three points of debate arise here:[19]

1. The extent to which education can really play a role in the modernization process or the creation of a modern personality;

2. That everyone should see the modernising potential of education and go in for it; and finally

3. If one does not go in for education this lack of enthusiasm has to be explained by some other independent variable, by some complex or the other.

Modern education has come in for criticism especially in third world societies where such education is for all practical purposes a luxury. Therefore, education as an activity requires a definite investment of time, energy and resources....whether people are willing to do just that is likely to depend on whether they see this investment as commensurate with what education can give or gives them in return.[20]

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18. A.R. Kamat, Education and Social Change in India (Poona: Somaiya, 1985), p. 299.

19. Imtiaz Ahmad, n.16, p. 1459.

20. Ibid.

This is more so the case with Muslims in India who in the face of economic and other adversity have to be very calculative about their education project. Therefore, to extend that line of thinking that Muslims are educationally backward, because a small strata is attracted to education in the first place, one would then have to ask why is such a strata small. This question is taken up for discussion subsequently in this chapter.

The other major assumption is that the Muslims in India form a homogenous category. That is not so because they are divided on regional, caste and class groupings. As is well-known there are regional differences among them, the local context determining their responses and that the historical experience of the Muslims of the South is different from those in the North.

Again, of the caste-like and class groupings, it can be said that they are divided into two broad categories Ashraf' and Ajlaf'. While the former have usually belonged to the upper and middle classes, the latter have constituted the lower middle and lower classes. There is a good deal of historical evidence to indicate that while even religious education was much more restricted than has been thought to have been the case, secular education was limited to the upper social strata of the Muslim society.[21]

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21. Ibid., pp. 1459-60.

Therefore, the nature of class formation among the Muslims presents certain difficulties - the middle class does not appear to have grown among the Muslims as it has among after communities. It is this class that would see the benefit of modern education and hence would like to capitalise on it. This class being small, the attraction to education is also quite less. However, in recent times, Muslims are fast changing in attitudes, political style and ambition. Due to growth of the handicrafts industry, the Gulf boom and rising aspirations, there seems to be the emergence of a well-to-do middle class.[22]

The problem of Muslim backwardness centres around the economic well-being or lack of it among the Muslims. In contemporary India, such of those class differences that exist historically have been further accentuated due to the uneven and slow process of capitalist development. A.A. Engineer draws a parallel in the cases of Muslims and Harijans, "The Muslims and the Harijans were doubly victimised by the slow capitalist growth in India. They were already backward and their backwardness was further reinforced. Further, both Harijans as well as Muslims, were also victims of socio-religious prejudices affecting their upward mobility to a considerable extent.[23]

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22. "Young Muslims - Forging a New Identity", India Today, October 31, 1992, pp. 36-38.

23. A.A. Engineer, n.10, p. 230.

Thus, the question of change in their value system or apathy will not occur "without change in economic system and this is not happening fast enough in India.[24] Living in slums, in unhygienic conditions, with inadequate or improper food, clothing and shelter, the educational and attitudinal processes suffer setbacks - As Marx and Engels would have it, 'It is not consciousness that determines life, but life that determines consciousness'.[25] Thus, material reality is a major determinant in the Muslims overcoming their sluggishness to modern life and shedding their inhibitions and old ideas in approaching modern education. Relatedly, the outlook to life is also decided by their lack of modern exposure in the sense of an exposure to the numerous opportunities and fields available in contemporary national life, for which old attitudes of dislike and lethargy to move into new avenues will have to be relinquished.

Such a discussion of the value-system obtaining within the Muslim community and the broader socio-economic context within which it is situated enables us to isolate the relatively more important determinants of Muslim educational status:

(1) Poverty; (2) Occupational structure; (3) Muslim womens question and (4) Role of the leadership of the community.

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24. Ibid., p. 183.

25. Marx and Engels, The German Ideology (Moscow: Progress, 1965), pp. 42-44. Again..."in general, people cannot be liberated as long as they are unable to obtain food and drink, housing and clothing in adequate quality and quantity. "Liberation" is a historical and not a mental act...".

1. Poverty:

The latest survey data point out that poverty is an acute problem among Muslims also. The survey points out:[26]

i) As many as 62.2 per cent of Muslim households in rural areas owned landholdings of one acre or less, against 49 per cent of Hindu households;

ii) A marginally higher proportion of Muslim men and a significantly higher proportion of Muslim women are neither working nor available for work'. (More Muslims than Hindus tended to report child care as the reason).

iii) Muslims tend to be concentrated more in urban than in rural areas. Thus, only 69 per cent of Muslims were resident in rural India as against 79 per cent of Hindus;

iv) It would seem that poverty was less of a problem for Muslims in rural India than for Hindus there. In contrast, a higher proportion of Muslims than Hindus were poor in urban areas; Again poor Muslims seem to be on the average poorer than poor Hindus in urban India.

Finally, as Sudhanshu Ranade says, 'survey data on literacy and household size both seem to suggest that Muslim households were more poverty-prone more than Hindu households, in both rural and urban areas. On the other

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26. Sudhanshu Ranade, "The Muslim Question II - and now for the facts", The Hindu, January 4, 1992.

hand, the relatively greater concentration of Muslims in urban areas....points the other way'.[27]

Other surveys also attest the incidence of poverty and Muslim presence in low occupational positions. The table 2.6 presents the income levels of Muslim and Hindu respondents covered in a National Sample Survey of socio-economic conditions of Muslims in 35 districts distributed over 14 states and the Union Territory of Delhi:

Table 2.6

Community-wise Break-up of Income (percentages)

Community	Income		
	Below Rs. 250	Rs.251-700	Above Rs. 701
Muslims	57.1	29.7	13.2
Non-Muslims	44.5	25.9	29.6

Source : Gopal Krishna, Report on National Survey of Muslims in India, 1982.[28]

The table 2.7 summarizes the occupational status of the same respondents.

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27. Ibid.

28. As cited in Imtiaz Ahmad, "Educational development of minorities in India - Future perspective", Journal of Educational Planning and Administration, vol.1, no.2, April 1987, p.202.

Table 2.7

Occupational Distribution of Respondents

(Percentages)

Community	Occupational Status				
	Low	Lower Middle	Middle	Upper Middle	High
Muslims	32.2	30.8	21.6	14.6	0.7
Non-Muslims	23.0	33.2	11.9	27.4	4.4

Source: Gopal Krishna, Report on National Survey of Muslims in India, 1982.[29]

Thus, both these tables show the greater presence of Muslims on the lower sides of income-levels and occupational status.[30]

Increasingly, the attention of the community is towards employment generation. The nature of investments that the Muslims have gone in for in the past have not been helpful because they are non-productive' - they can generate wealth but not employment. Again, while the employment of Muslims in the public sector will be discussed under state

29. Ibid.

30. Another survey of communities living in Bangalore city shows that the mean income level of Muslims was Rs.540 per mensum which was lower than the mean income of the total sample studied. The main reason for relatively low income level of Muslim households was their heavy concentration in less remunerative occupations. (as reported in ibid., p.202). For relevant data, refer Appendix 6.

policy, the state of affairs of the Muslims vis-a-vis the private sector is noteworthy not just in employment but also in initiative, there being not a single Muslim industrial house in the top 100 in the country.[31]

It is not as if the entire community is poor or is unable to push ahead. Some sections have gained while other have lost. While the landed gentry slipped down, the artisan class surged forward-says the Dr. Gopal Singh Committee 'In the larger arts and crafts in U.P., Maharashtra, Gujarat and even in the South, Muslims have bettered their economic conditions mainly through their craftsmanship. They are engaged in a large scale in lock-manufacturing industry in Aligarh, brasswork in Moradabad, woodwork in western parts of U.P. (eg. Saharanpur), silk and carpet weaving in the district of Varanasi and handlooms in the district of Aligarh'.[32] It is pointed out that in fact this has created a class of entrepreneurs which did not exist before.

As the NSSO survey findings indicate a certain parallel between the developmental situation of the Muslims and the nation, at the same time the data hints at a lag which is estimated to be around 20 years between Muslims and other

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31. "Have Muslims been marginalised?", Probe India, September 1992, pp.20-21.

32. High Power Panel Report on Minorities, n.2, vol.I, p.25.

communities in the process of development[33]. The reasons for this lag have nothing to do with religion, as has been the contention of Imtiaz Ahmad, whose earlier thesis about the migration of the middle class and intelligentsia has explained that the kind of assets Muslims inherited at the time of partition did not enable them to go in a big way for white-collar employment. He adds further insights into the problem saying that the second prerequisite, apart from assets, is the absence of impediments to the community's growth in that direction[34]. The question of impediments apart from those in the socio-economic structure would also be taken up in the discussions on state policy.

The other factors that contributed to the lag are that the bulk of the Muslim population is in the rural areas and is concentrated mainly in rice-growing areas where the Green Revolution and its benefits took longer to crystallize. Again the expansion of trade and crafts not only in the domestic sphere but also lucrative foreign markets has been a recent development, the benefits from which would take time to accrue to the community-all[35] this has delayed the economic mobility and well-being of the Muslim Community.

This poverty saps the enthusiasm of those who aspire for education. As has been aptly described by the Dr. Gopal

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33. Imtiaz Ahmed, as cited in Probe India, n.31, p.25.

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid., pp.25-27.

Singh Committee, Poverty breeds its own culture of acceptance and resignation which only education can break down'.[36]

Suma Chitnis believes that poverty is the root cause of the educational backwardness of Muslims. In a single moving narrative of a school-girl Bilquis, she brings out the entire range of issues affecting the education of both men and women in the Muslim Community - Chitnis helps out this school girl over a period of 14 years.

The initial aspects are noteworthy. Bilquis refuses to go to school because she is poor and because she needs clothes, shoes, slates, pencils, books and bus fare'. Again she has to be able to get away from all the work that she must do to help her mother'.[37]

Chitnis meets her mother to coax her into sending her daughter to school, expecting hostility and conservatism.Says she, 'That was an experience I will never forget. Burqa - clad, worn and debilitated with poverty, this illiterate women was nevertheless surprisingly open in her outlook and reassuringly firm in communicating her interest in Bilquis' schooling'.[38]

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36. High Power Panel Report on Minorities, no.2, vol.I, p.19.

37. Suma Chitnis, , "Tenacity and luck: The story of Biliquis" in Imtiaz Ahmad (ed.), Modernization and Social Change (New Delhi: Manohar, 1983), pp.237-252

38. Ibid., p.240.

Again Chitnis, 'Both mother and daughter exploded the stereotypes with respect to Muslim women and poor. They demonstrated that Muslim women could be outgoing and could take initiative. They prove that the poor are not always as apathetic or unenthusiastic about education as they are made out to be'.[39]

A walk through the Muslim concentrated areas of any metropolis presents a better view of poverty in the community than an academic description. Various studies on the Muslims spread over the country - in Delhi, Calcutta, in Kerala, Karnataka and Maharashtra,[40] testify to the fact of poverty among Muslims hampering educational effort. These studies explain the various ways in which this hindrance manifests itself.

a. Cost of schooling: Popular Schools' are out of bounds for such of those Muslims who just cannot afford the basic fees itself. This kind of schooling is an expensive proposition for all low income groups;

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39. Ibid.

40. K.D. Sharma, Education of a National Minority - Case of Indian Muslims (New Delhi: Kalamkar Prakashan, 1978); M.K.A. Siddiqui, Educating a Backward Minority (Calcutta: Abadi, 1984); P. Abdul Kareem, Education and Socio-Economic Development (New Delhi: Ashish, 1988); Mumtaz Ali Khan, Muslims in the Process of Rural Development in India - A Study of Karnataka (New Delhi: Uppal, 1984); A.R. Momim, "Muslim Castes in an Industrial Township in Maharashtra", in Imtiaz Ahmad (ed.), Caste and Social Stratification among Muslims in India (New Delhi: Manohar, 1978) respectively.

b. Incidental expenses: Extending (a), assuming that fees is waived in government schools, the paraphrenelia that schooling entails becomes an unmanageable enterprise;

c. Opportunity cost: If the child is required either as domestic labour or to augment family income, by sending in the child education, the family stands to lose;

d. Size of households: Muslim households both rural and larger urban areas tended to have a larger number of persons than Hindu households.[41] This puts a strain on resources and housing space.

e. Demography: With big households, living in single rooms without even pucca housing and in thatched 'jhuggi/jhopdis', living space and physical environs cast a gloomy picture on educational effort;

2. Occupational structure:

These studies atleast in one way attest the earlier thesis that there is educational backwardness because less number of people demand education. Traditional occupational patterns like cottage industries and artisanry leave less scope for higher status and educational aspirations especially if its a herditary trade.

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41. Sudhanshu Ranade, n.26. It must be added that the extent of difference in family size between these communities requires further investigation. However the fact remains that family size presents a problem in itself in managing resources.

The Dr. Gopal Singh Committee concurs, 'A child when he is four or five years of age starts getting trained in the traditional crafts and the parents finds modern education hardly of any use for him.....(Also), the parents fear that a boy educated under the present system of education loses interest in the ancestral trade and therefore the general trend... (being)... to engage the child in the respective trades from the very beginning'.[42]

Studies in different parts of the country show that a high percentage of Muslims are self-employed in relatively low income generating occupations. Table 2.8 presents the occupational status of 294 workers studied in the Ahmedabad slums.[43] It shows 42 per cent Muslims self-employed and 33 per cent employed in small establishments.

Even in families where poverty is not a problem, there is a desire for a certain kind of education which would be more suited to their traditional occupations or the family business. This would be a combination of some moral - religious education plus basic literacy and skills required for that enterprise. If this education is not forthcoming, then the child would not opt for the usual education.

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42. High Power Panel Report on Minorities, n.2, vol.I, p.25.

43. Also, the Bangalore Survey referred to earlier finds "only 13 per cent of Muslim households surveyed were engaged in professional, administrative and clerical jobs as against 30.7 per cent Hindus, 29.5 Christians and 45.4 per cent Jains. Again, 32.8 per cent Muslims were engaged in household-based cottage industries as opposed to only 8.4 per cent Hindus". [Imtiaz Ahmad n.28, p.203].

Table - 2.8

Percentage Distribution of Workers by Caste or Religion and Type of employment

(Ahmedabad Survey)

Caste/ Religion	Self-employed	Causal	Domestic	Informal establishment +	Formal casual *	Formal permanent **	All
Brahmins, Patels & Banias	4.8	1.6	1.1	2.2	13.2	77.0	100.0
Rajputs, Rabaris etc.	6.5	18.1	7.6	20.7	6.5	40.6	100.0
Artisans	14.3	12.9	1.5	8.8	9.5	51.8	100.0
SCs	40.2	18.4	3.3	7.5	5.6	25.0	100.0
Muslims	42.2	5.7	2.3	33.8	3.9	12.1	100.0
Others	11.7	2.9	-	11.1	-	74.3	100.0

\+ Wage employees in establishments employing 10 workers.

* Casual wage employees in establishments employing 10 workers.

** Permanent wage employees in establishments employing 10 workers.

Source: R. Radhakrishnan, Employment Profiles of Urban Deprived Classes: A Case-Study of Ahmedabad Slums', 1983.[44]

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44. As cited in Imtiaz Ahmad, n.28, p.203.

3. Muslim Women's Question

The next aspect within the discussion on the socio-economic structure is the question of education of Muslim women. Women hold the key to the Muslim educational project. As Sir Syed says, A good mother is better than a thousand teachers'.[45] As the above story illustrates, given the right conditions and resources, women could be encouraged to go in for education.

The education of one Muslim woman has long-term implications for the progress of the entire family. Recent studies have shown that there is an increase in education among Muslim girls which is a positive trend as against the earlier deterrent of prevailing notions of modesty and a narrow and closed perception of the female role'.[46]

Social factors become a hindrance the higher a woman travels the educational ladder. For instance, cases of highly qualified women finding it difficult to arrange marital alliances, precisely on account of their higher education has been proved time and again. Though a simple point, it is a concrete reality in tradition bound societies.[47]

Another conventional explanation in this sphere is that their purdah' or Burqa' system is a barrier. As Gail

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45. Shaan Muhammad (ed.), Writings and Speeches of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (Bombay: Nachiketa, 1972), p.1.

46. Probe India, n.31, p.26.

47. Ibid.

Minault shows in Aligarh in the late-thirties, with the right kind of state and community patronage, educational activity even within the purdah system could become successful. It had become a critical educational movement due to the initiative and response of certain individuals.[48] The case of Tamil Nadu with the pioneering efforts of Basheer Ahmed Sayeed also points out that given the right atmosphere, access and infrastructure Muslim women do enthusisatically respond to education.[49]

As the NSSO survey points out more women are illiterates than men in both Hindu and Muslim Communities - but Muslim women in rural areas tended to be less disadvantaged vis-a-vis their men than were Hindu women vis-a-vis Hindu men. So much so that despite considerable differences in rates of illiteracy between Hindu and Muslim men in rural areas, there was hardly any difference between Hindu and Muslim women.[50] This gives room for thought that any disabilities faced by Muslim women lie in their being women than their being Muslim.

The contemporary times are witnessing a positive trend as regards the education of Muslim women. They are opposing the early marriage tendency, choosing new avenues and putting

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48. Gail Minault, "Shaik Abdullah, Begum Abdullah and Sharif Education for Girls at Aligarh" in Imtiaz Ahmad (ed.), Modernization and Social Change among Muslims in India (New Delhi: Manohar, 1983), pp.207-231.

49. Basheer Ahmad Sayeed, My Life - A Struggle (Madras: Academy of Islamic Research, 1983).

50. Sudhanshu Ranade, n.26.

up a better performance. The changes among girls are most remarkable both in terms of social attitudes and the choices they are making. Girls are taking up engineering, medicine, teaching and even agriculture'.[51] Comparative figures also show that Muslim girls once way behind their non-Muslim counterparts in education and performance are becoming increasingly competitive.[52]

4. Role of the Leadership of the Muslim Community

The failure of Muslim leadership or the lack of it is often cited as a major reason for the ills ailing the Muslim community in India. Historically, the problem of Muslim leadership is related to partition and the drain of the intelligentsia. Again, the kind of leadership that existed like the Muslim League, represented feudal and upper class interests, and hardly bothered about the more mundane problems of day-to-day existence facing the Muslims.[53] On similar lines has been the character of the leadership in post-independent India, whose concern as A.A. Engineer puts it with religious issues is... "quite understandable, but their obsession with it to the total exclusion of all other problems is inexplicable'.[54]

Apart from various genuine anxieties in the socio-political arena like Urdu, Personal Law, representation in

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51. India Today, n.22, p.39.

52. Ibid., p.40.

53. A.A. Engineer, n.10, p.168.

54. Ibid., p. 171.

civil services, etc., the other real concerns of the Muslim masses have been by far neglected.[55] There is a major proportion below the poverty line consisting of 'artisans, petty traders, hawkers, mechanics, coolies, rickshaw-pullers, taxi-drivers, tongawallas, fishermen, beedi workers, butchers, masons, weavers, dyers, iron-smiths, carders etc.'.[56] The problems of such people have more to do with daily sustenance than representation in the civil services. As the Dr. Gopal Singh Committee says, The Muslims are unfortunately left alone and very few among their leaders have tried to help them rise economically'.[57]

The economic position of the community as has been stressed time and again is the issue that requires priority attention and is the most daunting challenge that is faced by the community. The potential for intervention, which is where the leadership is faulted for neglect, is tremendous in instances where Muslim artisans can be organized into cooperatives to prevent exploitation by middlemen, the horizontal spread of education (literacy), employment-

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55. ...That these issues have become essentially symbolic in character. They represent the community's search for self-respect, a hankering for recognition and for unmistakable evidence that the equation of power in the new polity of India does not exclude them' [Bashiruddin Ahmad, "The Muslim Problem" in Moin Shakir (ed.), Religion, State and Politics in India (Delhi: Ajanta, 1989), p.476].

56. A.A. Engineer, n.10, p.175.

57. High Power Panel Report on Minorities, n.2, vol.I, p.14.

generation etc.[58]

These lacunae in the performance of the Muslim leadership result from such basic elements that characterize its thinking pattern: First, an acute concern and preoccupation with parity in state-sector employment (i.e. representation proportionate to other communities), oblivious of presence and absence of skills in those areas. Second, the critical importance they tend to assign to the state in amelioration of the community's contemporary situation implying the responsibility rests entirely with the state. Again, this involves a certain perspective of the secular character of the state which demands state intervention in respect of correcting imbalances in employment and education, whatever the origin and source of such imbalances.[59]

It is pertinent to note here Sir Syed's view of state role in education'. The duty of the government in relation to public instruction', he believed is not to provide education to the people, but to aid the people in procuring it for themselves'. Further it was not possible for the state to evolve a system of education which would answer all

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58. There has been little effort to find out what might be done to strengthen the Muslims in areas where they command special skills and advantages and create such skills and advantages where they are lacking them'. - Imtiaz Ahmad, "How the Muslim Elite Thinks", The Times of India, October 17, 1983).

59. Ibid.

the needs and satisfy the special requirements of various sections of the population.[60]

For instance, the question of Muslim strength in civil services is only a question of those Muslims who are able to reach collegiate education and acquire a degree. An assessment of the percentage of Muslim graduates in the community every year would show - the extent to which it is a problem of the entire community. This can be extended to Muslim employment in other public sector, where leaving alone the grievances of discrimination, it is also necessary to examine the number of Muslim candidates applying for such positions in the first instance. As A.R. Sherwani asks 'Anyone can discriminate against the Muslims only when they qualify and compete. How many Muslims are competing?'[61]

There is a relationship between the Muslim elite politics and inhibitions in the spread of modern education. The character of Muslim leadership politics is insensitive to class-structures within the community and regresses into traditionalism as a pretext for community cohesion against perceived majority onslaught. That in turn encourages traditional values and inhibits the spread of modernity.

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60. Shaan Muhammad, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan - A Political Biography (Meerut: Meenakshi Prakashan, 1969), p.211.

61. A.R. Sherwani as quoted in N.C. Saxena, "Public Employment and Educational Backwardness among the Muslims in India", in Moin Shakir (ed.), Religion, State and Politics in India (Delhi: Ajanta, 1989), p.162.

Thus, the role of leadership acquires a special significance in the arena of education. As Feroz Bakht Ahmed puts it, The overestimated self-annointed and myopic Muslim leaders are not allowing the community to prosper in the field of education. And if the community does not progress in this department it is bound to be left at the fringes of national progress'[62]. However, there is also an alternate view that there is a positive trend as far as leadership goes as a sea change of the Muslim leadership has taken place which is politically very effective and assertive'.[63]

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62. - Probe India, n.31, p.25.

63. Ibid.

CHAPTER - III

STATE POLICY AND EDUCATION

The self-definition of the Indian state as seen from its Constitution is that of a democratic, socialist and secular one. But to what extent these ideals have been transformed into practice remains a question. Numerous articles in the Constitution safeguarding minority rights do not alter ground realities, given the fact that the aftermath of partition is not easy to forget. However, it does credit to its framers like Dr. B.R. Ambedkar to have had the foresight and thoughtfulness about minorities in those days following partition.

With the emigration of the Muslim political elite with partition, the Muslims who stayed back looked to the Congress and Nehru for leadership. As Mushirul Hasan says, 'In the first three general elections Muslims hitched their fortunes with the Congress bandwagon which had the image of a secular party and lent their full support to Jawaharlal Nehru whose secular credentials were never in doubt'.[1]

But after the Nehru era in Indian politics, it is difficult to sustain the same secular image of successive governments especially with the spurt in the number of communal organizations and the polarisation of Indian society on communal lines. In the late eighties and in the nineties issues such as Personal Law, Ayodhya, Kashmir and now even

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1. Mushirul Hasan, "In search of Integration and Identity - Indian Muslims since independence", Economic and Political Weekly, vol.23, nos.45-47, November, 1988. p.2467.

foreign policy have vitiated the political atmosphere. What follows is a discussion of some of the specific policy-related grievances of Muslims in India.

Lack of data:

After 1947, the Government of India discontinued the British practice of publishing statistics on religious classification, especially educational and employment levels, though these are collected through the census, lest such revelations lead to unrest and divisive tendencies. For Sudhanshu Ranade, 'This data gap was the result of deliberate official policy, not a product of oversight or indifference. In general, the question of minorities was sought to be shrouded in silence'.[2]

While this may be valid for the dominant power structure, from the position of the Muslims, there were two consequences. Firstly, the Muslims could never accurately pinpoint their economic and educational position and hence had to rely on miniscule private and community efforts to collect data. Secondly, this enabled the Indian state to escape from professed responsibilities - it could neither be held accountable nor faulted in the first place for not living up to professed goals.

Apart from that this lack of hard data has caused certain limitations in discussing the problems of Muslims in

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2. Sudhanshu Ranade, "The Muslim Question I - Whistling in the dark", The Hindu, January 3, 1992.

contemporary India.[3]

1) It has allowed a number of popular cliches, stereotypes and all kinds of wild and polemical assertions about Muslims to persist without being subjected to serious scrutiny;

2) It has allowed for a situation where everyone can claim expertise to discuss the community, its ethics and orientations and its problems though more often than not one might be found to have no academic credentials to speak about the subject.

EMPLOYMENT:

A major Muslim grievance is their share in state-sector employment. Data at hand show that Muslims are under-represented.

Table - 3.1

Indian Administrative Service intake - Community wise 1971-1980 (Per cent to total in brackets)

Year	Total intake	Muslim	Sikhs	Christians
1971	87	1(1.14)	4(4.59)	5(5.74)
1972	142	1(0.70)	6(4.85)	4(2.81)
1973	124	3(2.41)	5(4.03)	7(5.64)
1974	141	1(0.70)	9(6.38)	4(2.83)
1975	129	2(1.55)	5(3.87)	7(5.42)
1976	138	5(3.62)	9(6.52)	10(7.24)
1977	158	10(6.52)	4(2.53)	13(8.22)
1978	134	10(7.46)	6(4.47)	13(9.70)
1979	117	3(2.56)	8(6.83)	7(5.98)
1980	124	1(0.80)	5(4.03)	3(2.41)
Total	1294	37(2.86)	61(4.71)	73(5.64)

* Data for Buddhists and Parsees not available.

Source: High Power Panel Report on Minorities, vol.I, p.31.

3. Imtiaz Ahmad, 'Muslim educational backwardness: An inferential analysis', Economic and Political Weekly, vol.16, no.36, September 5, 1981, p.1457.

As regards the IAS, as Table - 3.1 shows, out of a total intake of 1294 candidates, Muslims were 2.86 per cent, Sikhs 4.71 per cent and Christians were 5.64 per cent.

Table - 3.2

Recruitment to the Indian Police Service, 1971-1979

(per cent to total in brackets)

Year	Total intake	Muslims	Sikhs	Christians
1971	35	-	-	-
1972	59	-	3(5.08)	-
1973	116	1(0.86)	-	1(0.86)
1974	75	5(6.66)	12(16.00)	3(4.00)
1975	65	-	12(18.46)	3(4.61)
1976	92	-	3(3.26)	2(2.17)
1977	212	6(2.83)	3(1.41)	4(1.88)
1978	45	2(2.22)	2(4.44)	3(6.66)
1979	50	2(4.00)	5(10.00)	1(2.00)
TOTAL	749	15(2.00)	40(5.34)	17(2.27)

* Data for Buddhists and Parsees not available

Source: High Power Panel Report on Minorities, vol.I, p.31.

The comparative data for IPS between 1971-79 is a total intake of 749 with Muslims 2.0 per cent, Christians 2.27 per cent and Sikhs 5.34 per cent (Table - 3.2); In fact, the position of minorities in All-India Services as of 1981 out of a total number of 7567 officers, Muslims were 3.04 per

cent, Christians 2.39 per cent and Sikhs 4.3 per cent as the table - 3.3 shows:

Table - 3.3

All India Services as on 1-1-81

(per cent to total in brackets)

	Total no. of Officers	No. of Muslims	No. of Christians	No. of Sikhs
IAS	3975	128(3.22)	109(2.74)	165(4.15)
IPS	2159	57(2.64)	49(2.26)	117(5.41)
IFS*	1433	45(3.14)	23(1.60)	44(3.07)
Total	7567	230(3.04)	181(2.39)	326(4.3)

* Position with respect to Indian Forest Service as on 1.1.80

Source: High Power Panel Report on Minorities, vol.I, p.33.

Even state-wise distribution as of 1984 reflects the same pattern.[4] Thus, Muslim representation which is on an average in the range of 2 per cent to 3 per cent is very low when compared to their population proportion of 11.3 per cent.

The Dr. Gopal Singh Committee report makes it further clear that this under-representation is not just in the top services but also in the subordinate services commission exams, in banks, in other central government offices like income-tax, customs, excise, judiciary and state government

4. Given in Appendix - 7.

offices. So is the case with membership in recruiting agencies like the Union Public Service Commission, State Public Service Commissions, Railway Service Commissions, Banking Service Recruitment Boards, ranging from their chairmen, managing directors, executive directors to their board of directors.[5]

Apart from employment, the Committee report points out that departmental schemes of agriculture, its allied sectors, of financial institutions like commercial bank loans, cooperatives, credit etc. have not given by and large commensurate benefits to minorities. Special institutions like State Finance Corporations and Backward Classes Corporations, leave alone ameliorating the conditions of minorities have not even touched the fringe of the problem.[6]

Among historical and social factors, Muslims attribute this under-representation and their economic decline to persistent state discrimination and systematic neglect. Two points are in order here: Firstly that Muslim under-representation in civil services and state employment started with the British and the departure of Muslim elite to Pakistan did lessen their presence, secondly, there is

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5. High Power Panel Report on Minorities, (New Delhi: Government of India, 1983), vol.I, pp.33-45.
Also, K.L. Gauba, Passive voices - A Penetrating study of Muslims in India (New Delhi, Sterling, 1973), in Chapters 10-33 gives a description of Muslim under-representation and charges of discrimination at all levels.

6. Ibid., Chapters VI to IX.

credence in the complaint of under-representation as attested by facts. But that alone is insufficient to explain economic decline: the effects of perceived discriminatory attitudes need to be seen in conjunction, as explained earlier, with the operation of feudalism and class structures within the Muslim community. So it is also in part an explanation lying in the political economy of relationships inside the community.

There have been efforts by Muslims to set their own path. As the latest survey data reveal while more Muslims were self employed in urban areas than were Hindus; the reverse was true of rural areas.[7] The problem of communal riots especially in some parts of North India is a significant one for the Muslims. As Mushirul Hasan says, 'The plight of the Muslims is compounded by the fact that nearly all the 'major' communal riots during the last two decades have occurred in towns where they have attained a measure of economic stability through their traditional artisanal and entrepreneurial skills'.[8]

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7. Sudhanshu Ranade, "The Muslim Question - II - And now for the Facts", The Hindu, January 4, 1992.

8. Mushirul Hasan, no.1, p.2471. As of 1988 about 4000 people have been killed in communal riots in the eighties. Every spate of riots is considered the 'worst since partition', Some also link communal riots to education - The frequent recurrence of communal riots generates a sense of insecurity among the Muslims; and insecurity is not conducive to any serious academic pursuits or constructive efforts (Anis Ansari, "Educational Backwardness of Muslims", Economic and Political Weekly, vol.27, no.42, October 17, 1992, p. 2290)..

URDU:

When one refers to Muslims and the politics of language, one refers to Urdu. According to the official figures of the 1981 census, Urdu occupies the 6th position in the most spoken of languages in India - 35 million or 5.34 per cent of the Indian population. The Hindi-Urdu controversy has become an ideal symbol for respective political elites to mobilize their communities, apart from other symbols such as personal law and cow protection. Urdu, says Paul Brass, is a symbol for Muslims in North India second only to Islam itself.[9]

In that sense Muslims of the North are 'double-minorities' - religiously and linguistically - and are placed in a major dilemma with this language. If they claim it as basic to Muslim cultural identity then they would be playing right into the hands of their antagonists who would agree precisely with that and then go on to discriminate and sideline the language.[10] The Urdu cause, has thus become useful for both its protagonists and antagonists in the North in their communal and vote-bank politics.

The policy of the state furthered this goal of ousting Urdu and ensuring the domination of Hindi. Says Krishna

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9. Paul Brass, Ethnicity and Nationalism (New Delhi: Sage, 1991), p.83.

10. Rasheeduddin Khan, "Minority Segments in Indian Polity: Muslim situation and the plight of Urdu", Economic and Political Weekly, vol.13, no.35, September 2, 1978, p.1515.

Kumar, 'sanskritization of Hindi' received very substantial impetus from state policies followed after independence. The Constitution gave to Hindi, written in the Devanagiri script -- the status of the official language of the Central Government. And it was not that just one section of the Indian political groups that participated in this Hindisation. The culturally separatist character of the champions of Hindi cut across party lines --- labelled the cause of Hindi as a cultural cause, but the label was too thin to hide the anti-Muslim character of the argument underneath it'.[11]

That school education was consciously used to further the causes of a particular community under the disguise of secularism is amply clear. Again, 'school literature... served as a secret door... for the dream of assembling a hegemonous community out of the upper caste, landed as well as urban citizenry of the Hindi region... (It)... became a "secular" tool which would be used to deepen the religious and cultural consciousness of this community and to propagate it under the auspices of apparently secular state - supported education'.[12]

Neither the historical connection between the community and the language nor its adoption by a breakaway nation on the subcontinent as its main language can be denied. It is

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11. Krishna Kumar, Political Agenda of education - A Study of Colonialist and nationalist ideas (New Delhi: Sage, 1991), p.144.

12. Ibid.

exactly these things that invoke the hostility of the antagonists. However, well-wishers from within and without claim Urdu to be the common national heritage of the Indian people and not the prerogative of just the Muslims. So, the position from which one is speaking determines the use of Urdu as an integrative or differentiating symbol.[13]

The challenge faced by the language is perceived acutely by the Muslims because Urdu once the popular language of the North, for all practical purposes has been eliminated from the administrative and educational system. While the centre has been generally supportive of the rights of Urdu speakers, state governments have been ambivalent and unenthusiastic about implementing measures to boost it. What this implies on the ground is firstly that all those opportunities that Muslims would get via the use of Urdu would just not be available and secondly, a large number of Urdu-speakers would be denied their constitutional right to receive their education in their mother-tongue.[14]

Hence, caught both ways, Muslims are uncertain about the future of this language and with the use of Urdu in education, they fear discrimination and deprivation and without it they fear cultural domination through increased Hindisation.

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13. I.K. Gujral, "Urdu awaits Justice", The Telegraph, April 28, 1987 and F.A.A. Rehmaney, "The Cry of Urdu-Justice", Patriot, July 4, 1990.

14. Paul Brass, Language, religion and Politics in North India (Delhi: Vikas, 1974), p.233 and Anis Ansari, n.8, pp.2290-1.

Cultural bias in Curricula:

A similar anxiety haunts the Muslims with regard to the textbooks presented in schools in U.P. The Deeni Talimi Council of U.P. has provided documentary evidence to show that these textbooks have been designed 'to suit the religious beliefs, rituals and mythology of the majority community... and offend against the basic principles of Islam.[15] This has been partially upheld by a NCERT Committee in 1970.[16]

The special concern of Muslims as far as textbooks go are the history books which present history in a distorted form and 'disparage the role played by Muslim conquerors and rulers in India'. This creates prejudices in young minds especially the non-Muslim ones who are socialized into seeing their Muslim neighbours as foes and hence start a lifelong hostility.

Thus, the problem in history-writing has been to ignore the Muslim achievements and even if attention is paid the history is distorted.[17] The political use or abuse of educational institutions has reached new heights with the ongoing Ayodhya dispute. There are instances of distortions like the inclusion in the Class VI history syllabus, a chapter on the 'Religious Policy of Babar' with a particular

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15. Paul Brass, n.14, p.233.

16. A.R. Kamat, Education and Social Change in India (Poona: Somaiya, 1985), p.300.

17. S. Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi, Muslims in India (Lucknow: Academy of Islamic Research, 1980), p.129.

slant,[18] which has implications of prejudice in the given political environment.

But even those books, which were balanced and sober were 'scolded for lack of anti-Muslim and pro-Hindu enthusiasm'.[19] This is evident from the textbook controversy which occurred at the Janata Regime 1977-79 when 4 textbooks written by eminent historians such as Romila Thapar, Bipin Chandra, R.S. Sharma and others were asked to be withdrawn. As Bipin Chandra et al say, 'Communalism among the historians spreads mainly because of its ability to serve as 'vicarious' or 'backdoor nationalism'.[20]

The text book controversy would indicate the existence of doubt about the impartiality of the Indian State. But what is clear is that there is no strong or consistent cultural policy. As Rudolph and Ruldolph say, "Cultural policy formation in India has an amorphous... quality... it is more a loose aggregate of spontaneous decisions than a body of coherent doctrine expressing intent and subject to policy choice and guidance... it was and remains ad hoc".[21]

A.M.U.:

The Aligarh Muslim University (A.M.U.) is of great

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18. "Syllabus Changes Worry Minority", The Times of India, September 22, 1992.

19. Rudolph, L.I. and Rudolph, S.M., "Rethinking Secularism: Genesis and implication of the textbook controversy, 1977-79" in L.I. Rudolph (ed.), Cultural Policy in India (Delhi: Chanakya, 1984), p.25.

20. Ibid., p.16.

21. Ibid., p.15.

historic and symbolic significance for the Muslims of South Asia from where was born their entire modern educational process. The controversy surrounding the University related to its dual status as a central institution and as a body established by the Muslims. Various Central amendments such as the ones of 1951, 1965, 1972 and judgements such as that of 1967 which sought to define A.M.U.'s status were not well-received and met with resistance from the community. Says Paul Brass, 'The efforts of the Government of India to secularize the University are seen as efforts to de-Muslimize it'.[22]

The University has always been confronted with a lot of politics involving various groups such as professional politicians, academicians, students and the Muslim community. For Violette Graff "The main issue was the minority 'character' of the University .... along the years, it was to become an obsession, a highly symbolic struggle, which no political party could afford to ignore. Whether the Muslim masses felt really concerned is a different proposition.[23]

Finally the 1981 amendment made its attempt to resolve the issue. It said, 'AMU means the educational institution of their choice established by the Muslims of India; which

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22. Paul Brass, n.14, p.223.

23. Violette Graff, "Aligarh's long quest for 'minority' status - AMU (Amendment/Act, 1981), Economic and Political Weekly, vol.25, no.32, August 11, 1990, p.1773.

originated as the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh and which was subsequently incorporated as the Aligarh Muslim University.[24] The other significant provisions of this Act were the recognition of firstly, the Court as the Supreme governing body of the University and secondly the mission of the University to promote especially the educational and cultural advancement of the Muslims of India.[25] The case of A.M.U. forms part of a wider politico-legal debate about state interference and regulation in constitutionally guaranteed-cultural and educational rights of minorities.

Minority Institutions:

In the matter of establishing educational institutions, the minority communities face the problem of recognition, affiliation and grants from the state. This is a policy issue which has two components - one, on the question of just criteria to be applied to declare an institution as a minority institution and two, binding and acceptable guidelines on all state governments in the matter of giving them recognition or affiliation.[26]

The Draft Programme of Action 1992 claims that the Union Department of education has 'prepared policy norms and principles for recognition of educational institutions as

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24. Ibid., p.1774.

25. Ibid., p.1775.

26. S.M.H. Burney, "Rights and Duties of Minority Institutions", Omeiat Journal, vol.13, no.1, January 1989, pp.9-10B.

minority managed institutions and these have been circulated to state governments for enabling them to prepare detailed guidelines in the matter'. However, the same POA confesses that the response from the State governments has not been encouraging and that these guidelines need to be vigorously pursued and effectively monitored.[27]

When there is delay or denial of recognition or affiliation, the minority institutions take frequent recourse to the Court of law. In particular cases, where bureaucratic processes delay recognition or issues concerning their institutions where the minorities perceive threat to their rights from the State, the various High Courts and the Supreme Court have come to their rescue. In the judgements passed in the various cases, the Supreme Court has upheld and fortified minority rights as part of the fundamental rights enshrined in the Constitution.[28] The verdict of Justice Khanna in the St. Xavier's case is often cited which said that minority rights is a charter of rights guaranteed under the Constitution for the minorities for giving up the demand for separate electorates in this country during the time of partition and that it would be a breach of faith if those rights were tampered or taken away in any manner.[29]

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27. Draft of Revised Programme of Action of 1992 (New Delhi: Government of India, 1992), p.18.

28. V. Khalid, "Rights and Duties of Minority Educational Institutions", Omeiat Journal, vol.13, no.1, January 1989, pp.11-21.

29. Habibulla Badsha, "Introductory Speech", Omeiat Journal, vol.13, no.1, January 1989, p.7.

In the President's Reference Case, the Supreme Court classified minority educational institutions as (1) those which did not seek either aid or recognition from the State; (2) those which wanted aid; and (3) those which wanted recognition but not aid. The category that is of concern to this discussion are the second type (i.e.) those which wanted aid, implying recognition also. These institutions are further divided into:

(a) those eligible for such grant under the Constitution

(b) those not so entitled but nevertheless seeking to get aid.

The only class of schools which as of right can claim and get aid from the state are the Anglo-Indian institutions [which are defined in Article 366(2)]. The others seeking aid are not so entitled as it is "true that a minority school does not possess any fundamental right for recognition or aid". However, the Supreme Court held that without recognition the minority institutions would not be able to fulfil their objectives and the right to recognition though not a fundamental right, should not be subject to onerous conditions which defeat purposes of Articles 30 of the Constitution which confers on minorities the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.[30]

On the question of aid, there was a contention before the Court that the minorities were free to exercise their right

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30. V. Khalid, n.28, p.14.

to establish and administer institutions as much as they like and as long as they care to do so 'by their own resources' and that if they desire to obtain aid from the State, they must conform to the terms on which the State offers such aid.[31]

The Court held that the right to administer did not include the right to 'mal-administer' and that the State may prescribe reasonable regulations to ensure excellence of the institutions to be aided. And that the grant of aid to the other minority institutions should be without such conditions as would take away their constitutional rights.[32] This is in keeping with the sprit of Article 30(2) which says that 'The State shall not, in granting aid to educational institutions, discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on religion or language.[33]

In short, on vital matters concerning minority institutions, such as recognition, affiliation and aid, the various verdicts reinforce minority rights - they allow the State to set administrative and academic standards for minority institutions but assert that such regulations should not be in the nature of nullifying the fundamental rights of the minorities in the Constitution.

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31. Ibid., p.15.

32. Ibid.

33. The Constitution of India (Lucknow: Eastern, 1989).

St. Stephens College case:

In these series of cases involving minority institutions, the latest and significant one pertaining to admission policy is that between the St. Stephens College and the University of Delhi. The facts of the case are noteworthy. The issue started when the Advisory Committee of the Vice Chancellor of the Delhi University recommended that admission should be made to certain courses 'only' on the basis of marks. The college challenged the recommendation in the Supreme Court saying that they were a minority institution and that such a recommendation was violative of the constitutional minority rights.[34]

The Delhi University Students Union also joined the case as intervener, its grievance being that the college was showing preference to Christian students in the matter of admission to the college, which was tantamount to discrimination on the grounds of religion in an institution receiving maintenance grants from the State. Thus, it was contrary to the principles of Article 29 of the Constitution.

The Supreme Court in its verdict again upheld the right of minorities to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice [Art. 30(1)] and also the right of the State to fix standards of education. In the crucial

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34. "Impact of the Supreme Court Judgement in St. Stephen's College vs. University of Delhi reported in 1992/SCC pg.558 on the Rights of Minorities", Omeiat Bulletin, nos.4-5, April-May 1992, pp.15-26. Also, all details pertaining to the case.

matter relating to admission policy, it stated that "the right to select students for admission is a part of administration... this power could also be regulated but the regulation... should be conducive to the welfare of the minority institutions".[35]

But in other parts of the same judgement, the Supreme Court says that '...preference to minority candidates based on religion was apparently an institutional discrimination on the forbidden ground of religion'. To this the minorities believe that 'admission to students of minority communities in the institutions run by them does not amount to a refusal of students of other communities on the grounds of religion'.[36]

However, the Court while allowing that such institutions may prefer their community candidates to maintain the minority character of the institutions, also says that the 'state may regulate the intake in this category with due regard to the need of the community... but in no case such intake shall exceed 50 per cent of the annual admission...[37]

In short, what this verdict means is that the minority institutions can have not more than half their strength consisting of their community candidates. Says one opinion,

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35. Ibid., p.17.

36. Ibid., pp. 19 & 21.

37. Ibid., p.25.

'It is not known how the Supreme Court got the idea that the minority character of the institution can be maintained only if the intake is restricted to 50 per cent of the annual admission'.[38] This judgement has come in for criticism on the grounds of being confusing, unjust and of misconstruing the scope of minority rights in the Constitution.[39]

Indian Educational Policy:

The State is required to play a role in ensuring equity in education to socially discriminated communities. Such of those who have "suffered from an inequitous social structure cannot merely be given 'equal opportunity' in schooling but require affirmative action in education to remedy past injustice".[40]

The Indian State was indeed aware of the general and educational backwardness of the Muslims. As far back as 1955, the Kaka Kalelkar Commission very explicitly listed Muslims under OBC's as educationally backward stating that not all Muslims can be listed so, nevertheless it felt that '...a number of communities among them... are suffering from social inferiority in their own society..."[41]

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38. Ibid.

39. Ibid., p.24.

40. B. Geeta Nambissan, "Equity in Education: The Experience of Scheduled Castes in India", Presented at the Seminar on Understanding Independent India at the School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, March 6-8, 1992.P.1.

41. Report of the Backward Classes Commission 1955 (Delhi: Government of India, 1955).P.27

But this knowledge so clearly enunciated by the Kaka Kalelkar Commission made no difference to the highly regarded landmark educational policy document of our times - the Kothari Education Commission of 1964-66, whose recommendations became policy in 1968. While the document engages a major chapter on equalization of educational opportunity, it nowhere discusses the state of minority or Muslim education, except for a passing line or two on the backward classes and tribals in general. It however advises the State to define its attitude to religion, religious education and secularism.[42]

However, the policy itself (i.e.) the National Policy on Education (1968), did include a section on education of minorities which says, 'Every effort should be made not only to protect the rights of minorities but to promote their educational interests as suggested in the statement issued by the Conference of the Chief Ministers held in August 1961'.[43] The next policy document was the famous 15-point programme of the minorities 1983, enunciated by the then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. While the 15-point programme has a larger scope including sections on communal riots, recruitment to state and central services and other measures, the programme

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42. Education and National Development, Report of the Education Commission 1964-66 (New Delhi: Government of India, 1966). vol. I, p.20.

43. J.C. Aggarwal, A sourcebook of Indian education (Delhi: Arya, 1975). p.37.

makes two specific points regarding education:[44]

Point -11 says,

'In many areas, recruitment is done through competitive examinations. Often minority groups have been handicapped in taking advantage of the educational system to compete on equal terms in such examinations. To help them overcome these handicaps, steps should be taken to encourage the starting of coaching classes in minority educational institutions to train persons to compete successfully in these examinations'.

Point-12 of the programme asserts -

'The acquisition of technical skills by those minorities who are today lagging behind would also help in national development. Arrangements should be made to set up ITI's and polytechnics by Government or private agencies in predominantly minority areas to encourage admission in such institutions of adequate number of persons belonging to these communities'.

Thus, the 15-point programme is the first statement which admits that the plight of minorities needs attention. The next major policy document, coming as it were twenty years after the Kothari report - the New Policy on Education (NPE) 1986 - reflects this attention and specifically contains measures for minority groups. Says NPE '86,[45]

'Greater attention will be paid to the education of these (backward minority) groups in the interests of equality and social justice. This will naturally include the constitutional guarantees given to them to establish and administer their own educational institutions, and protection to their languages and culture'. Simultaneously, objectivity will be reflected in the preparation of textbooks and in all school activities, and all possible measures will be taken to promote an integration based on appreciation of common national goals and ideals in conformity with the core curriculum.

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44. 15-point programme for Minorities - 1983 as reproduced in Radiance Viewsweekly, vol.27, no.45, September 13-19, 1992. Full text in Appendix 9.

45. National Policy on education 1986 (New Delhi: Government of India, 1986), p.8. For a brief summary of the policy refer Appendix 10.

The Programme of Action (POA '86) of the same policy called for concrete steps such as the establishment of community polytechnics in 41 minority concentration districts, evaluation of textbooks, orientation and training programmes for principals/teachers of minority institutions by the NCERT and the U.G.C.'s special scheme of giving assistance to Universities/Colleges for starting coaching classes for students belonging to educationally backward minorities. The same programme includes various long term measures encompassing early childhood, traditional, primary, middle and higher secondary, vocational and technical and women's education.[46] The implementation report of the NPE '86 as of 1988 reported having done so in establishing 10 community polytechnics. About 9500 persons had been trained and 1000 more were undergoing training.[47]

The next major effort on education was the Acharya Ramamurthi Committee which set out to review NPE '86. Addressing the Committee, Dr. M.A. Abdulla of the Kerala state association of Muslim institutions complained that various suggestions for the educational upliftment of minorities had not been implemented. He desired that the Committee look into this aspect and suggest remedial measures

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46. Programme of Action - 1986 (New Delhi: Government of India, 1986).

47. Implementation Report of National Policy on Education 1986, period ending June 1988 (New Delhi: Government of India, 1988), p.69.

like making mandatory provisions for implementation of the programmes by the state governments.[48]

Recommending that the orientation programmes for the principals and teachers of minority-managed institutions by decentralised, the Committee found not much progress in the UGC's special coaching courses for minority aspirants to the public services. So it called for achieving the same via reputed and progressive voluntary organizations. The Committee also desired special coaching to be imparted through 'distance education by involving open universities like IGNOU'.[49]

By far, the Acharya Ramamurthi Committee is most clear on the question of Urdu. Asserting the rights of Urdu speakers and invoking Article 350, the report says "Urdu is an indigenous language and is widely spoken by all sections of Indian people belonging to all faiths, castes and creeds. It belongs to the whole country and has an inter-state character. It is not the concern of any one state or community. The responsibility for its development already stands shared by the Central Government".[50]

The Centre had set up the Gujral Committee on Urdu in 1972. After 15 years of shelf-warming, in 1990 the V.P.

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48. Towards an enlightened and humane society-committee for the review of National Policy on education 1986 (new Delhi: Government of India, 1990), Part III, vol.V, p.2.

49. Ibid., p.81.

50. Ibid., p.268.

Singh Government ordered another Committee headed by Ali Sardar Jafri, which has endorsed its predecessors recommendations.

It goes to the credit of the Acharya Ramamurthi Committee that it has given concrete suggestions and measures to help the students at the primary and secondary levels, if they happen to belong to linguistic minorities. Implemented sincerely, this recommendation would give Article 350 a practical shape.[51]

The latest policy pronouncements are the revised draft of NPE '86, with modifications undertaken in 1992 and the Draft Programme of Action 1992 for the revised policy. Both the documents basically continue the thrust of earlier efforts, being as they are revised versions of the earlier policy.

The revised policy on education of 1992 stresses its commitment to a national system of education whose access would be irrespective of caste, creed, location or sex and relates the policy to the situation in the country - 'India's political and social life is passing through a phase which poses the danger of erosion to long accepted values. the goals of secularism, socialism, democracy are coming under increasing strain'.[52]

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50. Ibid., p.268.

51. Ibid., p.269.

52. National Policy on Education 1986 with modifications undertaken in 1992 (New Delhi: Government of India, 1992), pp. 3-5.

Though on the same lines and reaffirming earlier measures of its 1986 version, it has an enlarged scope including steps like an Area approach, non-formal education, crash programmes, remedial coaching schemes, girls hostels in locales where there is concentration of educationally backward minorities.

It further proposes a centrally sponsored scheme regarding Urdu (i.e.) improvement programmes for teachers, textbooks and such facilities in that language. It also calls for a Urdu open university with a view to cater to the needs of the Urdu speaking people. Again, it proposes a central scheme for the modernisation of Madrasa education by the introduction of science, mathematics and maktabs on a voluntary basis.

The revised NPE expresses concern at the alarming rate of drop outs among minority groups which are to be checked by specially designed measures. It makes provisions for scholarships and incentive schemes. It proposes the setting of a central scheme to cater to the educational health and nutritional needs of minorities concentrated in urban slums. It suggests measures for the timely release of grants, continuous monitoring and review of all its proposals.[53]

The scheme of coaching classes for competitive exams has been implemented by the U.G.C. in a total of 20

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53. Ibid., pp.15-30.

universities and 33 colleges. So far, during the period 1984-90, 24000 candidates have availed of the facility with the U.G.C. incurring a total expenditure of 140 lakhs rupees. The number of successful candidates is approximately 1900.[54] Similarly, 36 pre-examination coaching/training centres have been sanctioned for preparing minority community students for various competitive exams.

State-wise Welfare Policies:

The welfare policies of the individual states in India, do take note of the difficulties faced by minorities, as shown in Table 3.4. In the southern states, especially in Kerala and Karnataka all Muslims and Scheduled Caste converts to Christianity have been included in the list of OBC's and made eligible for educational and other concessions. So, is it with Tamil Nadu also which has included as OBC's, over 60 per cent of the Muslims and Scheduled Caste converts to Christianity. The Dr. Gopal Singh Committee finds that in these states certain percentages of benefits have accrued to the minorities.[55]

In the rest of the states like Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Gujarat, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Maharashtra, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, some occupational groups have been included but the total Muslim and Christian population covered under

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54. Ibid., p.17.

55. High Power Panel Report on Minorities, n.5, vol.1, p.25. A summary of state-wise welfare policies is included in Appendix - 11.

these concessions is insignificant as compared to their full population in these states. That these concessions are not offered everywhere is clear and even where they are offered there is no evidence of them being taken seriously.

Calling the picture 'dismal', the Dr. Gopal Singh Committee feels that implementation leaves so much to be desired, this is more so the case with some regions. Says the report, "This is rather alarming as a larger percentage of minorities particularly the poorer sections among the Muslims, live in the northern states of U.P. and Bihar. In these States, no special facilities are given to the minorities for the advancement of education and no assistance is provided to remove the educational backwardness among them. It affects adversely the national scene and hence it is necessary to have a comprehensive national programme with substantial resources to back it to make a real dent in this field.[56]

Though the various states do include some Muslims as OBC's as recommended by the Kaka Kalelkar Commission in 1955, there is no provision at the central level. It is on this reservation question for Muslims that sections of the community differ - the case for reservations for Muslims is not the same as for scheduled castes. Though social prejudice may exist within and out of the community the social stigma of the same kind is missing. In addition, the

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56. Ibid.

case is weaker because the benefits of development have reached differentially and so cannot be applied uniformly. The solution however does not lie in reservations says A.A. Engineer, "Reservation of jobs would lead to polarization along communal lines and would amount to seeking a religious solution to essentially a socio-economic problem".[57] Again, there is '...nothing to warrant the assumption that the benefits of reservation will percolate down and necessarily contribute to the expansion of the educated class among the educationally deprived minorities. This is particularly relevant in view of the educational behaviour of Muslim lower-middle classes being still not ready to make the necessary investment in education.[58]

STATE POLICY: A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT

An assessment of the operation of state policy towards the education of Muslims is properly situated when it is preceded by a discussion of state policy in general and the manner in which it operates towards other socially disadvantaged communities.

The post-independence education system and policy suffered foremost from the problem of a hangover of colonial education, whose limitations are pointed out in the first chapter. The Indian state did 'little to adopt its inherited

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57. A.A. Engineer, Indian Muslims - A Study of the Minority Problem in India (New Delhi: Ajanta, 1985), p.330.

58. Imtiaz Ahmad, "Educational Development of minorities in India - Future Perspective", Journal of Educational Planning and Administration, vol.1, no.2, April 1987, p.207.

educational system to a country emerging from colonialism. An elitist structure was merely expanded to meet new mass demands'.[59]

The next weakness is the presence of disparities within the school sector. While higher education often gets prominence, primary education gets relegated to the margins. The constitutional provisions of universal education remains an ideal as 'the enrolment growth rate in primary education during the period 1951-1981 has been 6.2, 5.0 and 2.5 per cent per annum respectively in the three decades'[60] Prem Kirpal, commenting on the poor performance to eradicate illiteracy attributes it largely to lack of political will for achieving this experience.[61]

The problem of dropouts becomes more acute the higher the student goes up the educational ladder. The limitation with policy has been that it appears 'more effective in opening institutions than in keeping children in school and wastage continues to be the obverse of educational expansion.[62]

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59. Malavika Karlekar, "Education and Inequality" in Andre Beteille (ed.), Equality and Inequality (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983), p.195.

60. Shyama Bharadwaj, "The Education Policy: An Analysis", Journal of Educational Planning and Administration, vol.4, no.2, April 1990, p.39.

61. As quoted in ibid., p.40.

62. Malavika Karlekar, n.59, p.197.

Earlier criticisms of an in-built elitist thrust in policy have been reinforced with the New education policy of 1986. For Shyama Bharadwaj, 'Elitism is its biggest drawback, the models drawn being from western democracies that hardly fit in Indian social, cultural and economic mileu. Policy contents such as universalisation, secularization and value-orientation are old cliches'.[63]

Irrespective of the nature of a policy statement, the 'kind of school a child goes to is a function of his or her socio-economic background. Broadly speaking those from the upper and middle socio-economic groups have little problem in getting into school or in staying on'.[64]

While policy acknowledges the existence of diversity of classes, regions, languages and gender it often fails to be sensitive to their peculiar problems. For instance, speaking of equity in education in the experience of scheduled castes Geeta Nambissan says, 'The policy seems by and large oblivious of the special context of the education of the scheduled castes which arises not only because of poverty but because of their position in the social hierarchy....the question of social accessibility of schooling, the poor learning environment that is provided as well as the

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63. Shyama Bharadwaj, n.60, pp.35-48.

64. Malavika Karlekar, n.59, p.196.
For a similar view Karuna Chanana, "Competing disadvantages and preferential treatment: Higher education of women, minorities and SC/ST in India" presented at the seminar on Higher education, at S.N.D.T. Women's University, Bombay, January 2-4, 1991, p.12.

discriminatory attitudes and lack of supports within the institution is not referred to even in passing.[65]

The same difficulty of insenstivity of policy occurs with regard to regional and cultural variations. For instance some Chief Ministers questioned the need for elite institutions and opposed the principle of uniform core-curriculum on grounds that India could afford to do without the unhealthy elitism which is an off-shoot of public school education.[66]

Further, 'Juxtaposition of computer-technology and thatched - hut or tree-shaded single teacher rural schools seems to be a strange argument and direction. Impatience at creating centres of excellence are fraught with the dangers of creating pockets of affluence and oasis of influence within the vast desert of poverty and squalor'.[67]

The Indian educational policy in general also suffers from the same constraints that policy would undergo, in its very nature as state policy that has to traverse a long distance from policy-makers at one level through the bureaucratic - education complex to the people and grassroots at another level. In the context of third world and African

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65. Geeta Nambissan, n.40, pp.12-13. Again, in a reference to Non-Formal education, "what is disturbing on the other hand is the impression that the state seeks to absolve itself of the ills of the formal system and create new structures for educationally backward groups".

66. Reactions of Chief Ministers at the 39th meeting of the National Development Council as cited in Shyama Bharadwaj, n.60, p. 38.

67. Ibid., p.46.

experience Jandhyala Tilak says policy in general suffers from two major limitations. The first is the gap between policy formulation and policy implementation., (i.e.) the gap between intentions and achievements which is sought to be explained by a variety of social, political, economic, administrative and attitudnal factors.[68]

The second limitation is the prevailing school of thought that educational reform is not possible unless social transformation takes place. This makes those involved in educational policy-making and implementation cynical that nothing can be done.[69]

Finally, is the attitude towards education in the developmental process. It was only in the sixth five-year plan onwards that education was seen as an instrument for the development of human resources. As Rama Rao says, 'In all the previous Five Year plans education was considered as a social service, rather than an input in the development process.[70] Further, for P.N. Haksar, "unless we get rid of the idea that education is some kind of social service performed by the welfare state and substitute it with the idea that education is the most critical input into the

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68. Jandhyala Tilak, "Why Educational Policies can fail?", Journal of Educational Planning and Administration, vol.5, no.3, July 1991, p.319.

69. Ibid., p.321. That systemic and policy limitations do exist is acknowledged by policy makers in India in the Approach Paper - 1985, Challenges of Education (New Delhi: Government of India, 1985), pp.5-6, pp.48-55.

70. M.V. Rama Rao et al., "Welfare State and education in India", Journal of Educational Planning and Administration, vol.5, no.1, January 1991, p.23.

entire process of social, economic, political and cultural transformation of India, the so-called educational reforms would predictably produce explosive social tensions in our country".[71]

Thus, the Indian educational policy apart from its limitations as welfare-state policy and a historical problem of a colonial hangover, seems to suffer from an elitist urban thrust making education more difficult and less accessible for the weaker sections - the rural, the poor, the backward and scheduled groups especially their women.

Further, whatever system exists has the problem of socializing the individual into the hierarchies in society and perpetuating the status-quo. In the face of 'modernized poverty', as Ivan Illich would put it, the Indian system makes the disadvantaged doubly so by making him feel a sense of helplessness in the urban-styled modern environment.

It is within the above-broad framework of the dynamics of education and policy in India that the problem of State policy towards Minorities/Muslims needs to be analyzed. The major issues at hand, apart from specific education policy are: employment, Urdu, textbooks and minority institutions.

First, in the case of employment in the bureaucracy and public sector, Muslim perceptions tends to attribute the problem to discrimination by the power-elite. These kind of minority perceptions are generated not so much by hard facts but by 'historical beliefs... personal experiences and use of

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71. As quoted in ibid.

symbols in public media that often reinforce the feeling that they are running an unequal race'.[72]

The point that needs to be noted here is the lack of definitive studies that allow assessment whether the Muslims as a minority are subject to discrimination. The problem may again be as noted previously by M.R.A. Beg that perceptions of discrimination may lead to non-participation, which in turn leads to feelings of rejection.

However, as Imtiaz Ahmad argues, "Even if we assume for the sake of argument that there exists discrimination, this does not solve the real issues. Firstly, there is no society in the world where minority communities, religious as well as others, are not subject to some discrimination. Secondly, apprehensions of discriminatory treatment would be tenable if Muslim educational profile provided scope for such discrimination to be practiced at all".[73]

Thus, while there is evidence of under-representation in terms of proportion of the Muslim population, the explanation for the same in terms of discrimination is inadequate and based on perceptions. What needs to be considered first of all, is the number of Muslim candidates for state-sector opportunities. In this respect, the policy provision to assist educational institutions who volunteer to organize and run pre-examination coaching centres is a helpful step.

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72. As quoted in ibid. n.58, p.206.

73. Ibid., p.207.

Next, on the Urdu question, the main difficulty with state policy has been its inability to prevent Urdu from becoming a victim of communal prejudice. The inclination of Muslim parents to send their children to school is also dependent on the medium of instruction, and the lesser presence of the Urdu medium in schools could mean greater withdrawal from the educational process. This has implications also for their attempting competitive exams for government positions, in general for their material advancement.

On the issue of historiography and textbooks, offensive material when found in textbooks inhibits Muslim parents from sending their children to such schools for fear that they may imbibe wrong values or prejudices. State policy is of late conscious of these problems and contains explicit provisions to avoid their repetition.

Both the Urdu and textbook issues are acutely perceived by the Muslims in the states of North India,[74] who call for greater Central intervention to overcome them. These are ongoing issues, which continue to form part of a wider debate on the question of national identity and secularism.

Despite policy exhortations, education in India did not go far in promoting the secular ethic - 'The secular national identity that the state made an attempt to project received

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74. Moin Shakir, Muslim attitudes - A Trend Report and Bibliography (Aurangabad, Parimal Prakashan, 1974), p.32.

little substantive support from education. This was one of the reasons why the endeavour did not get far, and why within less than half a century of acquiring independence, cultural revivalism has again surfaced as a major force in political life'.[75]

As far as minority institutions are concerned, state-interventions, complicated procedures and long delays and consequently the need to take frequent recourse to the courts of law, in clearing up matters like recognition or aid - all this reinforces minority perceptions of negative or discriminatory treatment towards them.

Lastly, as far as specific educational policy is concerned, in the first three decades since independence, it is noticed that the state is conscious of the exact educational status of the Muslims but is not reactive at all. In the late seventies, a Minorities Commission is appointed to generally oversee their rights and the Commission regularly submits its report to the Government of India.

All this does not make a difference until 1983, firstly with the 15-point programme and later with the NPE '86 which accepts awareness of the educational backwardness of Muslim/Minorities and suggests some measures. These were in no way major shifts but a step ahead. Even till 1990, when the Acharya Ramamurthi Committee was completing its work, much of the marginal goals of 1986 were incomplete.

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75. Krishna Kumar, n.11, p.196.

The Ramamurthi Committee has been the most responsive and needs to be credited for its forthrightness on Urdu. The Draft POA '92 has indeed taken a step ahead and is much more comprehensive and elaborate than its 1986 version. It has incorporated the Ramamurthi Committee recommendations, particularly in the case of Urdu. Indeed the Draft Programme of Action of 1992 is a breakthrough in its concern for minorities as compared to the indifference that characterized earlier policies. If these schemes as envisaged by the Draft POA of 1992 are earnestly implemented they would go a long way in overcoming the educational difficulties faced by the Muslim community.

To sum up, it can be said that the Constitution of India does provide a framework of which policy is the product. But in the political-public realm finding solutions to conflicting positions is a matter of social consensus.[76]

The absence of such a consensus opines Bashiruddin Ahmed has 'precisely been the problem in relation to the integration of Muslims in India'. The consensus between the dominant majority and Muslims, has thus been lacking due to continued suspicion, fear and negative beliefs which are 'basically memories of an adversary relationship characterized throughout by conflict and confrontation and by

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76. Bashiruddin Ahmad, "The Muslim Problem" in Moin Shakir (ed.), Religion, State and Politics in India (Delhi: Ajanta, 1989), p.473.

sense of humiliation and injured pride in one group or the other at different points in time'.[77]

Thus, it must be remembered that state policy operates in a specific historical cultural milieu, which as discussed in the first two chapters, is a legacy of socio-economic backwardness and such problems as shared by other socially disadvantaged sections of Indian society.

The monolithicity of Indian State and education policy appears to be insensitive to regional, religious and class variations. What this would mean is that policy and its implementation present difficulties not only for Muslims as a general category, but particularly for the masses of Muslims, which implies that the elite and aristocracy are able to a certain extent avail of the privileges and general development around them.

To make this point clear, it is necessary to look at the scenario from the perspective of a lower class Muslim in some region of the country. That particular individual would have to transcend his own community elite, then the elite of other communities or the power-structures and finally encounter and share in his/her region's difficulties with insensitivities of larger policy to regional variations - in short, a three-tier overcoming of difficulities to ultimately be able to derive the benefits from Indian educational policy.

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77. Ibid., p.474.

Though encouraging provisions and assurances have been adopted in recent policies, it is essential to note that lack of social consensus and achievement on the Urdu, textbooks and minority institutions front would continue to sustain minority perceptions of neglect and discrimination, which the State ought to take efforts to eliminate, particularly in the arena of state-sector employment. Thus, ability of the state to assert itself in all these areas and in ensuring the minimum spread of literacy and elementary education among such weaker sections in the interests of equity, fairness and all-round development would determine the extent to which policy becomes an effective tool for social change.

CHAPTER IV

MUSLIM EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE: MADRAS - NORTH ARCOT

Introductory Note

This chapter brings out the field experience in Madras and North Arcot Ambedkar districts in Northern Tamil Nadu. It is a modest primary survey examining the educational difficulties of over 100 urban Muslim families over different income groups including an overview of traditional institutions.

In three parts this chapter presents the experience with the community over one month. The first part discusses earlier views on the education of Muslims there and the methodology of the study. The second part contains a sociological profile of the community in the state and finally, the last part includes the actual survey and response from the community.

I.1 Earlier Views on the Education of Muslims in Tamil Nadu

In a broad study of "Education and Social Change in Tamil Nadu: 1900-1967", R. Natesan concluded that the growth of education accelerated the process of social change in Tamil society. It shook up the caste system and led to the emergence of the Non-Brahmin movement. The weaker sections in society like the Muslims, Harijans and Hill tribes and women took advantage of education.[1]

A field study conducted by the Dr. Gopal Singh Committee (1980-83), in Husain Nagar of Madras city and Summarmukalvai area of Coimbatore city where more than 75 per cent of the residents were Muslims, brought out the following facts:

a. Most of them earned their livelihood as taxi drivers, mechanics, beedi-workers and daily labourers. Some of them were petty traders and owned small shops;

b. Most of the residents in both the cities had not received any financial assistance from banks though some of them were aware of the schemes under which they could be provided such assistance;

c. Average family in both the cities consisted of about six members. Over 45 per cent of them were illiterate, 20 per cent educated upto primary level and 24 per cent

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1. R. Natesan, Education and Social Change in Tamil Nadu: 1900-1967 (Madras: Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Madras University, 1986), pp. 270-73.

upto the middle level and about 12 per cent upto Matric level and above;

d. There were no adult education centres, womens training centres or any vocational training centres in these areas. Due to lack of technical training facilities the younger generation did not possess any technical skills and were mostly unemployed.[2]

A series of studies done in Madras city relating to female Muslim students, explain the difficulties faced by Muslim women in their educational drive. Firstly, a study of the wastage and stagnation of Muslim girls enrolled in Standard I in Muslim elementary schools in 1956-57 lists the following as causes for stagnation:

1. Absenteeism and lack of punctuality by students;
2. Their being poor, underfed and undernourished;
3. Their having to supplement home income; and
4. The disinterest and discouragement of parents in the childs education.

From the perspective of the school organization, the limitations were inadequate teaching aids, absence of school library and school museum. The study finds 42.8 per cent of the students social status were daily wage earners and relatedly stagnation being higher among this category.[3]

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2. High Power Panel Report on Minorities, vol.I, p. 165.

3. Authors name N.A., An enquiry into the wastage and stagnation of Muslim girls enrolled in Std. I in Muslim elementary schools in 1956-57 in Madras city (Madras: unpublished M.Ed. Thesis, Madras University, 1963).

Secondly, a study by Bilquis Begum on the attitudes of parents of Muslim girls towards their daughters higher education claims that educated parents and those with high economical status have better attitudes towards their daughters higher education than uneducated parents and those with lower level of income; that majority of the people agreed that finance is the problem for not giving higher education for girls. The other causes cited are failure in school final exams and early marriages. A 15 per cent of the 200 respondents had said that Purdah obstructs their higher studies.[4]

A third study by Rameeza Begum on the attitude of Muslims towards their women professionals observed that it cannot be claimed that there is a general favourable attitude towards Muslim women professionals.[5]

Fourthly, a study on Muslim women beedi workers of 90 households in a predominantly Muslim inhabited slum of Madras city brings out the following facts:

a. That 64 per cent began making beedis at the age of 10-12, and 24 per cent entered the occupation before the age of 10;

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4. Bilquis Begum, Attitudes of parents of Muslim girls towards their daughters higher education (Madras: unpublished M. Ed. Thesis, Madras University, 1979).

5. Rameeza Begum, Communal attitudes of Muslims towards their women professionals (Madras: unpublished M.Ed. Thesis, Madras University, 1984).

b. That 72 per cent of the women were illiterate, while 8 per cent of the sample had attended secondary school and only 2 per cent had finished high school;

c. That Beedi making was a heriditary occupation and a vicious cycle due to poor income of the head of the households.

The study also finds that religious awareness of respondents was abysmally low as was the awareness of Government Welfare Schemes. Though the study pertains to Madras city, its findings and its description of the oppressive working and living conditions of Muslim women in Beedi rolling, is equally, if not more relevant to the North Arcot District.[6]

As regards North Arcot District, a survey was conducted by the Department of Biostatistics, Christian Medical College, Vellore of 8244 urban households of nearly 40,000 persons - 71 per cent of these were Hindu, 26 per cent were Muslims and 2.5 per cent were Christian. It was found that while 76 per cent of Christians and 63 per cent of Hindus benefitted by higher education (from high school to college level), only 30 per cent of the Muslims availed of this opportunity. The illiteracy rate among Muslims appears to be stark compared to that of Hindus and Christians: Hindus - 7.2 per cent, Christians - 4.3 per cent and Muslims -

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6. Raihana and Asiya, "Muslim women in Beedi Industry - Madras Survey Findings", Omeiat Journal, vol.13, no.10, October 1989, pp. 6-7.

27.2 per cent.[7]

Finally, A Survey of Muslim education in Tamil Nadu commenting on the infrastructure for Muslim education in the state opines that "the superstructure is fairly strong, the middle portion is weak and the foundation is weakest" referring to collegiate, high school and primary school education respectively. Among other reasons the survey cites poverty of parents, ignorance of the need for education as the reasons for educational backwardness etc.[8]

I.2 Methodology

The questions that the study set before itself are: What are the factors that motivate or hinder educational activity?; What is the nature and level of aspirations of different sections of the community? and What is the perception of Muslims about the educational set up, the efforts of the community and the state towards the same?.

Muslims being spread all over the State of Tamil Nadu to make a modest and reasonable field-study within a month's time frame, the study chose on grounds of familiarity and convenience the urban Muslims of Madras and North Arcot Ambedkar Districts. These two districts constituting a

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7. Characteristics of Household Census 1989 among Rural and Urban Communities of North Arcot Ambedkar District - Longitudinal (Mono. No.15) (Vellore: Department of Biostatistics, CMC, 1991), Table 2.4, p.20. Complete data in Appendix 12.

8. "A Survey of Muslim Education in Tamil Nadu" Tamil Nadu Muslim Educational Conference Souvenir (Madras: Tamil Nadu Muslim Education Standing Committee, 1973).

Muslim belt in themselves, are of historic significance for the Muslims there, whose association with the area dates to medieval times. The pockets studied in Madras are mainly Ice House, Triplicane, Mylapore, Thiruvanmiyur, Royapettah and other areas whereas in North Arcot they were Vellore-Katpadi, Ambur, Pernampet, Vaniyambadi, Tirupattur and Virudampet.

The survey tool for collecting primary data was an interview schedule[9] which was supplemented by discussions with teachers, principals and officials associated with the Muslim educational establishments in the districts including the traditional institutions, the District Collectorate and other libraries.

The basic unit of the study was each family. In all 120 families made-up the sample divided into 60 familes in urban North Arcot and 60 families in Madras city. The method of sampling was purposive sampling. Having identified the general class and occupational stratification of the urban Muslim population in these two districts - income and occupations were the major criteria.

Given the profiles of these two districts, the sample of 60 Muslim families in Madras city was divided into three groups of 20 families each of relatively low income, middle income and high income groups in the income range of less than Rs. 500 to above Rs. 4000. Whereas for urban North

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9. Copy of interview guidelines in Appendix 13.

Arcot, occupation was the criterion, the 60 Muslim families being divided into 20 families each of Beedi-rollers, leather workers and merchants-cum-professionals categories.

The field study was geared at being an exploratory qualitative one - the motive being to probe into conditions on the ground. The goal was neither statistical analysis nor an attempt to draw causal relationships between various factors. The constraints of the field study are the hesitancy of the heads of households and institutions to speak out their real positions, the urban tilt, data composed of mostly male perceptions and the insufficiency of time.

II. MUSLIMS IN TAMIL NADU: A SOCIOLOGICAL PROFILE

The Muslims of Tamil Nadu are 5.2 per cent of the total population of the state and 3.3 per cent of the total Muslim population in India.[10] The Tamil Muslims are a socially distinct population which sets them apart from the Muslims of North India, from the Mappillas of Kerala, the Dakhnis of the south as well as from the non-Muslim Tamils with whom they share much of their culture.[11]

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10. Census of India 1981 Atlas - National Volume (New Delhi: Government of India, 1988), p. 152.

11. Mattison Mines, "Social stratification among Muslim Tamils in Tamil Nadu, S. India" in Imtiaz Ahmad (ed.), Caste and Social Stratification among Muslims in India (Delhi: Manohar, 1978), p.59.

The social roots of the Tamil Muslims is that they are the offspring of Arab traders and local converts. They bear the stamp of Tamil culture and political heritage, not of conquest and rule, but of mercantilism and integration.[12] Speaking of integration, the Tamil Muslims are highly assimilated and well-knit with the activities and interests of the larger Tamil society.

Apart from claims of origin, language, dress etc., this is evident from Muslims contributions to Tamil literature, the sine qua non of the locals view of Tamil culture.[13] Tamil Muslims participated in the Tamil renaissance of the 19th century. It has been pointed out how in a partial list of books in Tamil published in the 19th century, we find 163 books written by Muslims, relating to religion, medicine, literature on Arabic language etc. There is even a tradition called Arabi-Tamil wherein it was common for Arabic books to be printed in the Tamil script.[14]

The reasons for this integration with the local populace are varied. One reason is the peculiar kind of religious response of Tamil Muslims combining orthodoxy and mysticism. For Susan Bayly, "the South Indian Muslims have

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12. Mattison Mines, "Islamization and Muslim ethnicity in S. India" in Imtiaz Ahmad (ed.), Ritual and Religion among Muslims in India (New Delhi: Manohar, 1981), p. 67.

13. Ibid.

14. R. Srinivasan, "Minorities and Communal Politics in Tamil Nadu" in Moin Shakir (ed.), Religion, State and Politics in India (Delhi: Ajanta, 1989), p.105.

developed their own distinctive manifestations of Islam and this involved fusion of Hindu and Muslim 'Folk worship' with the practices and teaching of orthodoxy and Islamic traditions".[15]

Again, the role of sufism, "the development of sufi devotional worship with its associated shrines, cult saints and teaching orders was a phenomenon which helped to make South Indian Islam responsive to changes in Hindu society and polity".[16] The days of certain saints (urs) are observed at various times during the year and form a part of Muslim Tamil and non-Muslim Tamil social intercourse. Throughout Tamil Nadu, Abdul Qadir Jilani is the most important saint and his dargahs are everywhere.[17]

Another explanation is sought to be given is the lack of memories of having been a ruling class. As mentioned earlier, the early history of Muslims is of trade and not conquest. Relatedly, during the later centuries also, the Muslims did not rule the state or even if they did it was for a negligible period and also did not leave behind remnants such as distinct monuments, towns, or classes or Islamic centres.

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15. Susan Bayly as quoted in V.C. Rajasekaran, "Religious change and dynamism", The Hindu, June 1992 (date n.a.) (Book Review).

16. Ibid.

17. Mattison Mines, n.12, p. 69.

As R. Srinivasan points out, 'The Muslim kingdoms of Tamil Nadu have had too tenuous a hold on the land, have been far too brief a period,[18] and were unstable all the time. There are no large and abiding Islamic monuments as in Bijapur or Golconda... no artisan class of Muslims serving as servitors of the past glories of a once thriving Muslim court. There are no towns redolent of the Muslim past as in Lucknow or in Hyderabad... There were and are no great centres of Islamic revivals as in Bengal and in U.P.'[19]

A third factor in recent times is the impact of the Dravidian movement in the twentieth century which had a deep and wide impact on all segements of Tamil polity and society. The ideology of the Dravidian movement according to Peter B. Mayer, 'has penetrated all classes and has also succeeded in raising political consciousness to extremely high levels. One result of this regional bourgeoise mobilization has been the very complete integration of Tamil Muslims into Tamil society despite their educational backwardness, poverty and working class background'.[20]

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18. Also Susan Bayly, "However Tamil Nadu which was able to generate such a dynamic tradition of Muslim faith and worship did not become a more fully Islamised society like Bengal or Punjab. The impact of colonial rule, the development of so called "little kingdom" of the Tamil country and resurgence of the great Hindu Temple worship tradition caused a permanent halt to the expansion of Islam in South India" (as cited in V.C. Rajasekaran), n.15.

19. R. Srinivasan. n.14, p. 117.

20. Peter B. Mayer, "Tombs and Dark Houses: Ideology, Intellectuals and Proletarians in the Study of Contemporary Indian Islam" in Imtiaz Ahmad (ed.), Modernization and Social Change Among Muslims in India (New Delhi: Manohar, 1983), p. 47.

The Tamil Muslims show a marked preference for mercantile occupations. In the words of R. Srinivasan, Instead of looking upto public employment, they have concentrated on small business and in retailing. They began with an advantage in that they have concentrated on small business and in retailing. They took to leather-tanning and commerce in animal skins which in the last century was shunned by the Hindus. There being no religious prohibition they could take this over and this initial advantage has helped them throughout. They are also in retail trade here, in successful competition with the Hindus and are credited with a shrewd business sense.[21]

Relatedly, the Tamil Muslims are basically an urban community and here there is no urban area of over a lakh of population which has less than 4 per cent of the Muslim population. Thus, on an average, the country has only 26 per cent of its Muslim population in the urban areas, in this state it is 55 per cent. Some of the urban settlements are very old as the one in Madras, which is very near the heart of a Hindu pilgrim centre.[22]

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21. R. Srinivasan, n.14, p.117. Anthropologists draw a relation between their highly egalitarian ideology and such an occupational preference (Mattison Mines,n.11, p. 163). Again, their presence in business does not mean that they are engaged in industry proper in the sense of diverse manufacturing sector where their presence is minimal.

22. R. Srinivasan, n.14, p. 116

The stratification within the community is that the Tamil Muslims are divided into four subdivisions: Rawthers, Labbai, Marakayar and Kayalar. This is not a social ranking as one expects of a hierarchic caste system. Here 'ranking exists on the level of the individual and is based, primarily on the individuals conduct, his age, wealth, personal character and religiousness.[23]

The Tamil Muslim identity, as Mattison Mines brings out, is associated with their kin centres which are the towns/villages which they commonly name as their native places. Thus, in the midst of an urban society they have maintained their village identity.[24]

Explaining the reason why Tamil Muslims have not formed their own federation, whereas non-Muslim Tamils of both low and high castes have not formed their own association, M. Mines says, "the Tamil Muslims have developed a broad ethnic identity which had little political or economic value. They have retained their parochial identities and maintained kin centres. And class interests have involved them in such a way as to work against the formation of a Tamil Muslim association.[25]

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23. Mattison Mines, n.11, p. 162.

24. Mattison Mines :Kin Centres and Ethnicity among Muslim Tamilians" in Imtiaz Ahmad (ed.), Modernization and Social Change among Muslims in India (New Delhi: Manohar, 1983), pp. 99-100.

25. Ibid., p. 117

The Tamil Muslims and non-Muslim Tamils interact freely in politics and business. In politics they join others of similar persuasion and are regardless of religion in their support of various parties. Even in economy and business, they demonstrate inter-community cooperation which cuts across ethnic and religious lines.[26]

Madras city having a significant industrial base, Muslims are spread over all economic strata and walks of life. The city's Muslims can be stratified into the aristocratic elite, the middle classes, the merchant groups (on a range of wholesale, retail and petty trade) and lastly the casual and daily labourers. Similar is the class stratification of the Muslims of North Arcot which roughly corresponds to that of Madras, however, there would be a greater proportion of Muslims as merchants and as daily-wage earners.

This pattern of stratification is on parity with that of other groups in Tamil society and not unique to Muslims alone. Basically, the Muslim middle and lower classes in these areas lived in clusters or 'pocket populations'. One of the social effects of this has been the binding together of the lower classes of Muslims with the larger lower classes in Tamil society.

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26. Mattison Mines n.12, pp. 73-74. Even the Muslim League functions in the state in some areas and plays a role in mobilization of Muslim members to politics. It had aligned itself with the D.M.K. (R. Srinivasan, n.14, p. 120). Currently, it has two factions which are aligned with different political parties.

Though the Muslims in Tamil Nadu are predominantly those who speak Tamil, there is another section who are Urdu-speakers, basically in the northern parts of the state and present in large numbers in Madras and North Arcot. These Urdu speakers are variously called Dekkanis, Nawaith's, Syeds etc. originally hailing from other parts of South India. Their class positions correspond to the general class structure of the Tamil Muslim population, though more of the aristocratic elite can be found from this group. The mutual relations between the Tamil and Urdu speakers are of a high order, with a lot of sharing and partaking in business and community activities. In sociological terms, however, a reference may be made to a kind of linguistic caste operating with the self-perception of some Urdu speakers as superior to the Tamil-speaking groups.

The above discussion points to the specificity of the 'Muslim communities' in different parts of India and bears witness to the assertion of Chapter II about the community not being one homogenous group. Each Muslim community needs to be examined in its specific regional linguistic class context and there are sharp differences among each of these communities.[27]

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27. "By assuming away the crucial question of the nature of social organization among the Muslim community, it is possible for those who utilize this methodology to reintroduce through the backdoor as it were, the distinctive and unified nature of Islamic political actors.

One of the corollary errors which emerges from this 'unity' is the projection of the specific conditions of

contd...

The Muslims in the North and South are, for instance, characterized by different historical and ethnic experiences.[28] These different historical experiences refer to the negligible fallout of partition, the variety in response to colonialism and in first place, different nature of their early settlements. However, the number of comparative studies and data available on the Muslims of the North and South are meagre.

One such study is by Peter B. Mayer, who in a comparative empirical survey of the Muslims in Tiruchirapalli (Tamil Nadu - henceforth Trichy) and Jabalpur (Madhya Pradesh) finds no significant difference in the educational level of both Hindu and Muslim communities at Trichy whereas there was significant difference at Jabalpur.[29] Queried on whether the Muslims feel a sense of official discrimination,

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contd...f/n.27.

North-Indian Urdu speaking Muslims into the whole sub-continent.

Until this elitist methodology has been toppled from its present position of intellectual dominance, however, it will continue to inhibit the study of social change in contemporary India. We need to know much more about the concrete-condition of the Muslim community in the 19th and early 20th centuries over all of India, before we will be able to speak with confidence about the extent of social change which has occurred since independence", Peter B. Mayer, n.20, pp.8-9.

28. Communal riots are by and large rare in Tamil Nadu. In fact during the entire colonial period they are reported to have occurred twice once in Salem (1833) and another in Trichy (1930). 'However, in contemporary India, the spillover of such politics from elsewhere onto this region, is to be noted', V. Sudersen and K. Nagaraj, "A dangerous divide - the violence in Madras", Frontline, October 9, 1992, p. 119.

29. Peter B. Mayer, n.20, p.24.

he finds that in neither city are they distinguishable from other communities. In Trichy they are more confident than Hindus; and in Jabalpur though less confident than Hindus they are more confident than individuals professing other faiths.[30]

On a question related to feelings of powerlessness and non-participation, the population of Trichy is remarkably homogeneous in its response... Once again, the most prominent differences are not within the cities but rather between them. South Indians appear far more confident of their abilities to influence the government than North Indians! Similarly, on levels of political awareness he finds Trichy an interesting contrast - the responses of Muslims and non-Muslims were remarkably parallel with Muslims, if anything more interested in public affairs...'.[31]

Particularly, there is a difference on the educational front. As recent reports point out, 'Traditionally, Muslims in the southern states have been educationally and economically better off compared to their counterparts in the North. In Tamil Nadu for example there is at least one Muslim educational institution upto the degree level in every

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30. Ibid.

31. Ibid., p.32. Another question was if they thought their own futures would be better, worse or about the same as their present condition, "we see that the most striking differences are once again regional, with what might be called 'Tamil optimism' clearly in evidence" (Ibid., p.38).

district. Kerala has 50 Muslim educational societies'.[32]

Again, 'the emphasis in the South is not just to move away from Madrasa type education to more general studies, but to increase enrolment and job related technical courses. Various educational institutions with the assistance of the Union Welfare Ministry have started coaching classes for competitive and civil service exams'.[33]

The data available to judge the spread and level of education is scanty. The Tamil Nadu Muslim educational conference survey which was carried out nearly two decades ago (i.e.) in 1973 paints a bleak picture. In primary education, out of a total number of Muslim children in the age group suited for studying from I to V std., the number of children actually attending either recognized schools or unrecognized Madaris are reported to be ranging between 20 per cent and 60 per cent as far as towns are concerned. In villages, this does not appear to exceed 20 per cent in the case of boys and 10 per cent in the case of girls.

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32. "Young Muslims - Forging a new identity", India Today, October 31, 1992, p.43. That every district has an institution of degree level seems to be a figure on the higher side. Refer Section III of this chapter for exact data.

33. Ibid.For historical evidence, R. Srinivasan, n.14, p.116. 'There appears to have been a widespread education as well among them, though of general rather than of professional variety. While in 1870-71, there was not a single Muslim graduate of the Madras University, by 1918, 1.2 per cent of the population were graduates. In 1931, the percentage of Muslim students to their population was highest in the country, nearly 10 per cent.

For secondary education the percentage of Muslim boys and girls going to High schools is well within 20 per cent and 5 per cent respectively as far as towns are concerned, and claims that in villages, practically secondary education is non-existent among Muslims[34]. Those involved in educational activity opine that the data of the 1973 survey does not depict the contemporary situation accurately and that educational levels have improved since those days.

However, the other studies referred to earlier, particularly the survey by the Dr. Gopal Singh Committee in Madras and that by the Department of Biostatistics, CMC (Vellore) in North Arcot both undertaken in the 1980's point to the large illiteracy and inadequate participation in the educational process. So much so that the common notion is that as against a small minority of the well-to-do educated-rich-urban group, 75 per cent of the Muslims in the State are literate or just literate, poor and live in the slums of cities or in the villages.[35]

The state also has some traditional Madaris. Some of them like the Madrasa-e-Jamaliyah in Madras; Baqiath us-salihat and Hazrat Makan in Vellore and Jamia Darus salam in Oomerabad have their long and colourful histories.[36] Apart

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34. Tamil Nadu Muslim Education Conference Souvenir, n.8.

35. Editorial, Omeiat Journal, vol.13, no.4, April 1989, p.1.

36. For a historical profile of each of these Madaris, see Appendix 14.

from these big and well-established institutions, there are also the many small or what are called unrecognized Madaris or maktabs spread throughout the state.

The nature of the Madaris is regional. The students are from various parts of the South and the students from the district itself are less in number. Though exact data is not available, by and large the background of the students are mainly middle class students from upper income and low income groups exist but they are few.

The patronage for the Madaris is largely from the community and its elite - while some accept a little degree of state assistance, yet others manage the whole expenditure from their own sources. Alongside, the Madaris also establish and manage primary schools and technical institutes which run on the same lines as others of their category. The products of these institutions spread out in their hometowns and other places, apart from training in scriptures, they simultaneously contribute to literacy.

The education of women even if it is in the traditional and theological sphere is being realised. The Madrasa-Niswan for ladies is a pointer in that direction and the role it has played in spreading this value has to be underlined. Speaking of Madrasa-Niswan in 1954, Basheer Ahmed Sayeed stressed that 'the time has come when the instruction in the school has to be integrated with the larger and more useful purpose which the changed time in which we are living

demands. Unless we realise that our women have to play a far greater part in the life of the community than hitherto fore, there is little chance for our community to survive the struggle for existence that is going on around us'.[37]

Thus, the Madaris are also performing a modern role, not only in the introduction of technical, computer courses, etc. but in also taking care of the educational rehabilitation of those who could not stay on in the modern stream (i.e.) drop outs from regular schooling. Also in the arena of womens education, given the traditional bindings, they ensure a degree of linguistic and scholastic abilities, which the women would have missed out in the absence of such Madaris. Tradition in that sense is also going the modern way.

III. IN THE FIELD IN MADRAS AND NORTH ARCOT

At first sight, what one notices is that the state is well-endowed with Muslim educational institutions[38]. There are as many as eleven Degree Colleges run by the community throughout the State. In fact Madras and North Arcot in themselves combine five Arts colleges for men and one for

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37. Basheer Ahmed Sayeed, Visitors Register (Vaniyambadi: Madrasa Niswan, Entry dated 28.2.1954). Each of these Madaris have a rich collection of books and manuscripts in Arabic, Persian and Urdu - most concerning their curriculum and other works written by the alumni or savant of these institutions themselves.

38. For general profile of educational infrastructure of both districts, refer Appendix 15.

women. In addition, the community also manages a few engineering colleges and technical institutes. Thus, collegiate or higher education is considered to be the silver lining in the educational picture of the Muslims in the state.[39]

According to the 1973 estimates, there are thirty high schools under Muslim management and recent times have shown more number of schools including those for the women of the community. The only limitation with the infrastructure available is the inadequacy of the vital primary schools. This is a consequence of the greater emphasis on higher education and lack of it on primary or school education.

In Madras, Muslims number over 3 lakhs out of a total population of 38 lakhs. The general literacy rate of the city is 72.5 per cent higher than the state average of 54.6 per cent.[40] Again, in North Arcot District, Muslims constitute roughly over 2 lakhs of the districts population,[41] out of a total district population of 30 lakhs. The general literacy rate in the district at 52.4 per cent is lower than the state average. Muslims in the district are

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39. Tamil Nadu Muslim educational conference souvenir, 1973, n.8.

40. Muslims are 8.11 per cent of the city's population, Census of India 1981 Atlas, n.10, p. 153. Literacy figures 1991 Census of India 1991 Provisional Totals (New Delhi: Government of India, 1992).

41. Being in the 4.01 to 8.00 per cent range (i.e.) near the state average of 5.1 per cent. Census of India 1981 Atlas, n.10, p. 153.

predominant in the leather industry and trade as well as Beedi-manufacturing.[42]

The survey examined in general the entire spectrum of Muslim population, from the different income groups, Urdu-speakers as well as those who spoke Tamil. The medium of instruction was by and large Tamil and English in North Arcot and Madras respectively and all reported satisfaction with it. Muslim children in these parts attended schools of all hues - from the Christian-run convent schools, aided private school, the Government Muslim schools to the community-run ones, the latter being more evident in North Arcot. Not all children attended religious instruction. For those who did, it formed a part-time activity in the neighbourhood mosques.

In Madras, those interviewed consisted of the salaried classes in the upper two levels - the upper classes including businessmen, professionals like Doctors, engineers, lawyers, accountants, professors, while the second category was the lower middle classes in the lower rungs of Government service and business. The third group, in addition to peons, drivers and hawkers consisted mainly of petty traders who had their shops on the platform and were selling glassware, fancy articles and cosmetics. In North Arcot, the upper classes were into trade, real estate, government service and college teachers. The secondary category consisted of workers in the

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42. For comparative data of the State and two districts refer Appendix 16.

leather tanneries and finally the daily wage earners through Beedi rolling.[43]

The entire field study was carried out in a period of 30 days divided between Madras and North Arcot. Sometimes, the heads of the households were interviewed at the residence, largely without the presence of the rest of the families, while in some cases the women also participated in the discussion. In many other cases, the respondents had felt hesitant, in few places even hostile, in revealing their true positions on these educational topics but were more forthcoming when locals known to them did the task of introduction.

The localities chosen were in such a way as known for their Muslim concentration as also for the low income group 'Mohallas' where beedi manufacture and such other activities were carried on as household activities. In places where the researcher himself could not reach the spot, investigators-familarised with the research theme - helped out.

During the course of these interviews, the thrust was to glean from families the difficulties they faced in educating their children, their ambitions, their motivation and their perceptions about the state-community efforts.

Towards the end of the field trip, the local Muslim Youth Association at Vellore, had organized a function to

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43. A profile of the sample is attached in Appendix 17.

felicitate the Muslim students who had topped the various class X and class XII exams or what are in common parlance known as the 'public exams', as well as the Muslim students who had topped the various subjects.[44] The majority of the prize-winners, it must be noted, were girls. In addition, schools which had sustained a high pass percentage in these exams, teachers and committed educationists of the district were honoured. This function provided an opportunity to interact with various Tamil Muslim personalities, school principals, educationists, former Parliament members from the region, etc. Efforts to locate and discuss the educational issues with Muslim women professionals like doctors who could be expected to have some insights into the community's problems yielded little results - ultimately the women met were a former member of the State Social Welfare Board, a medical technician and a college lecturer who did contribute to the discussion.

The data collected in this study is thus being organized according to the tasks the study initially set for itself and the pattern of interviews and discussions - (i.e.) in terms of identifying hindrances or motivations for the educational drive, their aspirations and perceptions and problems in various efforts by the State and the community.

Difficulties in Pursuing Education

From the set of data, the major factors that hinder educational activity are as follows:

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44. Vellore, August 16th, 1992.

(i) Finance (Poverty)

If the high income group complained of increasing expenditure on education and called it 'High fees structure', the low income group called it 'Acute financial strain'. All experienced financial constraints. For the high income group the increasing expenditure relates to the high cost of education in elite schools as well as the cost of professional education for their children.

The nature of the constraint for the middle and low income groups is different. While the middle income groups are able to meet current schooling expenditure they are apprehensive about meeting the future costs of higher education, whereas for the beedi-rollers and other low income groups it is daily sustenance itself that is a challenge earning Rs. 50 or so per day per family.

In their cases it is not so much the cost of education as they attend nearly community run or government aided schools where fees is nominal. The cost is a problem in so far as they have to meet the cost of the paraphrenelia that comes with attending schools which is difficult for daily wage earners. However, the major problem as demonstrated in the case of the Beedi industry[45] is that the child is seen as an economic asset and hence useful for occupation-related labour and domestic labour in the case of boys and girls respectively. The opportunity cost in the absence of the

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45. Refer Appendix - 18 which contains a note on Beedi rolling and its regressive impact on family welfare in general and childrens' education in particular.

child would be high as it would lead to a missing link in the daily labour. The case of Tirupattur in North Arcot is noteworthy. The area has four schools and two Madaris - the facilities for Muslims exist upto higher secondary classes with different mediums. The schools are all government - aided with no fees. By and large the medium was Tamil with Urdu as the second language. A local educationist estimates that more than 50 per cent dropped out by class V and 25 per cent by class X with only few remaining for higher education. The cost of education, it is pointed out is not so much the problem but the economic conditions of the families that pose difficulties.

Some middle income families in Madras, which took recourse to loans to meet the educational expenditure of their children, considered education as an investment in the future. The reasons given for dropouts testify largely to the above description; boys and girls have dropped out to lend a hand at home or the business, or could not pursue studies due to financial strains at home and took up wage labour.

(ii) Economic Pursuit (Occupational structure)

Again, the same factor manifests differently in different groups. As explained above, if insufficiency of income leads children to take up jobs immediately or help family vocation such as Beedi rolling, the same problem exists in a different fashion, in the higher income and well-to-do groups also.

Especially in the North Arcot District, the observation was of an increasing number of students discontinuing after school to take up family trade or enter leather factories to gain early expertise and experience as compared to those who go in for higher education and suffer a time lag in the field of business. The points that often emerge in these discussions are:

a. Long lines of unemployed graduates and highly educated at the employment exchange being cited about the futility of going in for higher education;[46]

b. Consequently, the quest for security and attraction to continue the earlier trade (which in these parts many in the community also happen to pursue) attracts youth to the family business, in addition to the earlier reason of lack of hands to help the father;

c. In the same context, examples of rich and successful businessmen or the rags-to-riches type in the vicinity and community are cited to show the insignificance of the formal education system;

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46. The statistics for 1988 for North Arcot about the situation at the employment exchange (as on 31.12.1988) are:

	No. of applications registered during the year	No. of vacancies notified during the year	No. of placements
Male	33922	1872	1000
Female	819	102	33

Source: Table 18-2, District Statistical handbook, 1987-1988, Vellore, District Collectorate.

d. Even these who wish to go in for higher education are selective about their course - for instance, trade related courses like commerce or corporate secretaryship are popular in Muslim colleges in these areas;

e. However, some others believe that this trend of youth leaving educational institutions prematurely to take up trade is being reversed... that while the desire for trade continues, they wish to atleast complete college graduation.

(iii) Social Customs and Womens Education

While the problem of security for women to travel to their institutions was universal, in the above cases the common problems were discontinuation on reaching the age of puberty, on getting married early, and on failing in class X or XII public exams. The problem in North Arcot in the case of Muslim women specifically related to the availability of Muslim colleges whose presence it is felt would act as an incentive for Muslim girls to go in for higher studies and in the absence of which girls have to stay put at home and curtail their academic career.

Apart from infrastructural difficulties in some cases relating to education for Muslim women, early marriages, use of girls for domestic labour and traditional definition of womens roles act as barriers - low income group question the need for educating women. Cutting across all groups is the traditional definition of role of women as housewives and the

prevalent attitude treats women as a responsibility who have to be, as is said, "married off" - the parents explain the practical difficulty of educating the girl beyond school or college leading to problems in finding 'suitably qualified' grooms, as arranged marriages are the tradition.

The few women who were interviewed in North Arcot opined that the Burqa or veil in itself was not found to be a barrier. Those who had the enthusiasm for getting their women educated and wished to adhere to the Burqa tradition did send the women out Burqa - clad, as it may be, for education or employment. Some families are particular that their women be educated in an 'Islamic atmosphere'. However, in the last analysis social customs and traditional attitudes work towards inhibiting the education of women.

(iv) Failure at Exams and School Organisation

A frequent reason for drop outs was the failure at school exams, particularly the ones conducted at classes X and XII. Once the student has failed, few retrieve the educational threads again, especially in the case of girls who withdraw to their homes.

A major grievance that arose here is the absence of educated people at home who could guide and motivate educational activity because of which there is dependence on outside help, which few can afford or end up being plain indifferent to the educational future of the child. This is related to the difficulties at school and its organisation.

While the attitude of school teachers and authorities at many places required greater orientation towards student welfare, the lack of proper coaching in some places acted as a serious damper on the childs educational effort. In that case, they took recourse to private tuitions, which few could afford, with no guarantee of success. This in some private schools was related to school managements paying measly salaries to teachers like Rs. 300 per month.

While in the early classes the academic foundation was weak or the child received inadequate support from family and school, this had a chain reaction which affected all future performance. The high income groups from Madras who were articulate on this question reported that the child had to carry heavy books daily, there was no encouragement for extra curricular activities, lack of information on latest education avenues - parents and wards both require career counselling. Where both parents were working, they complained of inadequate time to keep continuous track of childs performance in exams and overall activities at school.

The other groups from North Arcot felt that community run schools also faced the above problems and that their educational standards leave much to be desired. Again, there was the grievance of a changing social environment with distractions like growth in entertainment facilities - TV, Cable TV, Cinemas, Video parlours pulled the student away from classroom activity. The other dropout cases related to what was variedly called lack of interest, aptitude and ambition in the child.

Aspirations

All groups desired that their children should pursue higher studies, while among them many were unsure of what and would leave it to the child. In many a case the child was too young and hence too early to speak of a career. The favourite career seemed to be engineering and technical jobs followed by medicine and business administration. This was true of high and middle income groups, the latter also specifying administration, police, general government service, flying (pilot jobs) and teaching.

The low income groups aspire for their children a promising career, being unable to specify, say that its related to their finances. Some in the leather industry would like their children to go in for shoe and leather technology. Those in Beedi-rolling wish to see their children become 'important people in society'. The standard phrase of expression was that the child must get a 'good job' though they were unsure and unable to elaborate.

Motivations

The factors that motivate were firstly, immediate elders in the family, neighbourhood and community who were either professionals or had secured sound jobs who were models for the children in terms of a career. Next, was from the Muslim educational societies in each area where dedicated educationists took upon themselves the task of drawing more and services and who took initiative in opening up schools, colleges and technical institutes wherever the need was felt.

This is particular the case with Muslims in many places in the North Arcot Ambedkar District where educational leadership was found to be of a high order.

The other factors, though restricted to some pockets, that did act as motivation was economic pursuit or trade itself for which students desired a particular kind of managerial/technical education, those institutions providing basic literacy alongside religious instruction; in government Schools the Tamil Nadu State Mid-day meal scheme and finally the precedent of those going to the Gulf for jobs acts as a pressure to go in for minimum schooling and acquisition of technical skills.

Perception of State - Community Efforts

By and large there was satisfaction about the infrastructural facilities available for educating Muslim children. However, there were specific areas where the respondents felt more efforts were required. That the government ought to increase the number of engineering and medical colleges and library facilities; that education had to be made more relevant and cheaper and that awareness was required among the well-wishers of the Muslim community.

In North Arcot especially the need for a Muslim women college and Muslim professional colleges for engineering and medicine has been felt. Among educationists however, the position was that feeding or primary school education needs to be strengthened first by the community.

But the area where it was felt that both the state and community could take more efforts was in providing scholarships and financial assistance do those who wish to go in formal education. While some such facilities existed, the grievance was in their accessibility and even those in quantity were felt hopelessly inadequate to overcome the major hurdle of financing education.

The relationship between those from the community involved in education with the bureaucracy and state government was perceived as free of discrimination but the fault was placed at administration and procedural processes which were long and complicated, dampening educational effort. Relatedly, the diversion of students taking place from Urdu to English medium was held responsible for the closure of Urdu sections in government and aided schools and the community at large, it was opined, was to take responsibility for the same.[47]

Controversy over Minority Institutions:

The law in the state of Tamil Nadu that govern minority institutions are chiefly the Tamil Nadu recognized private schools (regulation) act of 1973 and the Tamil nadu private colleges (regulation) act of 1976. The state government, in April 1992, introduced two amendment acts the main features

47. This trend is noticed elsewhere. In the case of Hyderabad, "there is a mad craze among the Muslims to put their wards in English medium schools which in a way has affected Urdu medium institutions. An official of the State Education Department says that there has been almost a 30 per cent cut in the number of urdu medium schools and students studying in these institutions in Hyderabad over the past 5 years, India Today, n.32, p.43.

of which relate to the grants-in-aid code, the formation and registration of a managing committee, appointments of and disciplinary action against teachers, directions or rules regarding all student affairs and opening the institution to inspection by officers of the education, health and civil authorities. The amendment act makes it clear that 'in case of violation of any (of those) provisions the payment of grant may be withheld.[48]

The minority institutions have reacted negatively to these amendments and in order to protest and handle the issue have organised themselves into a 'United Minorities Forum'.[49] Each of the new provisions or amendments they argue interfere with the constitutional guarantee of minority rights. Saying that the new provisions are unnecessary as the issues involved are already covered by existing norms set by the Education Department and University, they believe that what the amendment would amount to is a duplication of work and ultimately hamper the normal and effective functiong of these institutions. Particularly the withdrawal of grants to new schools, colleges and courses, they opine would 'defeat the cause of education itself'. Hence, they have asked that presidential assent be withheld and the amendments be

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48. The original Amendment Acts as recorded in S. Xavier Alphonse (ed.), Minority Rights and Education in Tamil Nadu (Madras:Loyola and AIACHE, 1992), pp.10-16 and the Omeiat Bulletin, nos. 6-7, June/July 1992, pp.3-10.

49. "Minorities Forum threatens stir", Indian Express, June 7, 1992 (All Newspaper references in this section pertain to their Madras editions).

reconsidered so as to ultimately modify or drop these amendments.[50]

Followed by the above issue was the fallout of the St. Stephen's case.[51] The state government issued a directive to aided minority educational institutions to admit not more than 50 per cent of students from their own communities in each branch/faculty of the institution.[52] The Madras High Court stayed the government order observing that the order sought to stretch the Supreme Court judgement beyond its scope and to lay down fresh rules which interfered with the right guaranteed under Article 30(1) of the Constitution.

The Madras High Court held that the Supreme Court judgement should be interpreted only to mean 50 per cent of total number of seats each year... and not in each branch or faculty. Further the Court believed that if the institution was prevented from admitting its own students the very purpose of establishing it would be defeated.[53] The minority colleges, on the other hand, have sought clarification from the Supreme Court on whether the St. Stephens College case is

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50. S. Xavier Alphonse, n.48, pp.18-52; "Minorities Forum for withdrawal of private schools, colleges bills", The Hindu, June 8 1992; and "The T.N. government and our institutions" The New Leader, vol.105, no. 14, August 1-15, 1992;

51. Discussed in chapter III.

52. "Directive to aided minority educational institutions", The Hindu, June 16, 1992.

53. "G.O.on admissions to minority educationl institutions stayed", Indian Express, July 15, 1992.

applicable to all the minority colleges in the country.[54]

This issue, thus has the potential of vitiating the general educational atmosphere within the state and also the relationship between the government and minority institutions. As the issue is contemporary and the debate ongoing[55] at the time of writing the dissertation, the final outcome of the controversy is still awaited.

IV. CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

Poverty is the single biggest barrier in educational activity - It is not only the cost of education that is a problem but also the pre-existing vicious cycle of illiteracy and low income levels. Such of those families who are already engaged in some economic activity find it less attractive to choose higher studies vis-a-vis the traditional vocation - thus, the occupational structure and prevailing unemployment in society are a distincentive for the pursuit of further education.

While women participate in educational activity up to schooling levels, prevalent gender-bias and traditonal

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54. "Minority colleges to wait for Supreme Court clarification", Indian Express, July 18, 1992.

55. Again it is not possible to characterize a uniform response to this issue even from within the minority community in the state. The response differs from group to group - for instance, some lay professionals from within these communities have welcomed these moves from the government on the grounds that the current structures (i.e.) the managements of these institutions have not succeeded in enabling the benefits to percolate to the masses among the minorities. Also, the Association of University Teachers (AUT) had welcomed these amendments - "Amendments to private colleges act welcomed", (The Hindu, June 10, 1992).

definition of womens roles inhibit the carrying of their educational aims to its culmination. The failure at school exams and consequent lack of interest and success is another major hindrance in fulfiling educational goals.

All groups have professional aspirations, particularly in the technical direction, but the low income groups are anxious about succeeding in their aspirations. The perceptions and concerns of each income group is different - their articulation reveals a parallel between the class perception of upper classes among Muslims and non-Muslims -an example being the anxiety of Madras Muslim upper classes in increasing the number of engineering colleges.

The parents, elders, teachers and successful people have a major role to play in motivating educational activity and aspirations - that in low income groups and among women, mentors are responsible for their educational success. The educational infrastructure in both the districts is largely sufficient except in the cases of feeding schools, womens colleges and professional institutions. The respondents believe that both the state and community have a larger role to play - the state in removing bureaucratic hurdles and sustaining Urdu-medium schools; the community and its elite to identify necessary spots and take initiative like employment generation. Both the State and Community are required to help out in a big way in the grant of scholarships and financial assistance.

The Madrasa education and regular schooling are parallel streams - the traditional education has a theological thrust and does not coincide or interfere with the regular stream. The Madaris, over time, are gradually making attempts to adapt to the pressures of the changing modern environment by performing modern roles in educational rehabilitation, womens education, affiliation to modern universities, the inclusion of technical courses, sports and games, support schooling - services by establishing primary and high schools etc.

CONCLUSION

The study began with the historical experience of Muslims in education. The education of Muslims in medieval India though elitist in character was a holistic system, encompassing both religious and civic concerns in line with their religious world-view. The entry of colonial western education was a break in this world-view and caused alienation among the Muslims coupled with a loss of political power. Again because of its association with Christianity, colonial education was received with hostility from the community.

Overall British policy was designed to serve the interests of colonialism. Only towards the latter part of the nineteenth century were Muslims treated as a separate category (Mohammedans') that required the educational attention of the colonial state. Sir Syed took up the educational leadership of the community and enabled it to perform better by reconciling it to western education through the Aligarh movement. Alongside, was a flowering forth of the traditional Madaris who in their own way covered the education of those who could not benefit from the Aligarh stream.

Subsequently, British policy did go to encourage Muslims who availed of the educational opportunities and made quite some progress in their participation in education. However, towards the last phase of the freedom struggle, the fallout of the Hindi-Urdu problem and its linkages created a setback in educational efforts and had implications for the

development of communalism.

It is true that the educational status of Muslims is backward but the reasons offered have been examined in this study. The educational backwardness of Muslims is not necessarily culture or state policy but is in part a consequence of the dramatic change in the social composition of Muslims who choose to stay back in India. These groups belonged to the lower and lower middle strata and did not possess the skills and resources that would enable them to avail of new educational opportunities.

The bulk of the middle and professional classes of Muslims had migrated to Pakistan. Besides, it is difficult to provide a comprehensive picture of the Muslim response owing to the heterogenity of the population which like all other communities is divided along caste, class, linguistic and regional lines marked by different historical experiences.

Poverty is the biggest problem affecting the educational advancement of Muslims. It simply saps the enthusiasm of those wanting to go in for education. The various facets of poverty that affect the Muslim educational process are the cost of education, incidental expenses, opportunity cost, size of households and demography. However, not all are poor as can be seen from the recent upward mobility of the artisan class.

Relatedly, the occupational structure is an important determinant in the nature and length of education for such sections as would be in accordance with their economic pursuit. Traditional occupations or manual labour jobs which do not require modern education leave less scope for educational prospects. However, a change in this situation is possible if expansion of business leads to the need for modern entreprenurial skills for which modern secular education is a must.

Education, thus, is not attractive to all, as it has to offer those who go in for it returns commensurate with what they would otherwise be doing - What this implies is that there is a fairly long gestation period for those desiring education which those on the lower rungs of the economic ladder just cannot afford.

The education of Muslim women vital to the progress of the community, is hampered by prevalent social customs and attitudes. The question of Muslim women and their education, does constitutte a problem in so far as appropriation of educational opportunities has been generally by the men and more specifically by the men of the upper classes.

The problems of apathy and orthodoxy worsen the situation in a milieu alreeady plagued by the backwardness - minority syndrome. This is a significant obstacle that needs the attention of any intervention in the educational efforts in the community. Concomitantly, the leadership of the

Muslim community appears to have a lopsided focus at the cost of ignoring vital areas which require priority attention like education and employment.

While that is the picture of details within the community, the response of state policy in education proper and issues surrounding education of the Muslims is initially ambivalent but with the passage of time includes specific measures for the educational betterment of minorities/Muslims.

The particular areas in which state policy is found wanting (i.e.) its response or lack of it are in the provision of data relating to minorities, state-sector employment, Urdu, textbooks, A.M.U and minority institutions. The judiciary (ie) the Supreme court and the various high courts in the country have played a noteworthy role as the guardian of fundamental rights relating to the minorities in our Constitution particularly in cases relating to minority institutions.

So is specific educational policy in the first three decades but the late eighties and early nineties show a positive trend wherein the policy contains elaborate measures relating to the provision of polytechnics in minority concentration districts, coaching classes for competitive exams and various schemes relating to Urdu. Some State Governments have also included policies for minority welfare like fee concessions, scholarships, job reservations, hostels etc.

A modest primary survey undertaken in a Muslim stretch in the northern parts of Tamil Nadu reinforces the earlier contention in Chapter II that :

a) poverty is the single biggest challenge to the educational activity of the Muslims and comes in the way of their aspirations;

b) the occupational structure of the community has demands of its own which necessitate a response different from the usual enrolment and participation in educational institutions; and that

c) gender bias and traditional definition of women's role constitute a problem;

The field study finds the traditional education and regular schooling as parallel streams and contests earlier notions of the traditional stream acting as a barrier or a factor in the time-lag of the educational stream which despite its theological thrust contributes to the educational project by increasingly performing modern roles and in adapting to the changing modern environment.

The issue relating to minority institution in Tamil Nadu has disturbed the current educational atmosphere in the state and the State Governments relationship with these institutions. However, the field study testifies to the need for both the state and community to play a larger role in resolving socio-educational difficulties especially the provision of scholarships.

Again, to return to the initial questions: Does the problem lie in state policy or the Muslim(s)? The answer cannot be placed in a single factor as the root cause of the ills ailing the community. That kind of an approach would be at a distance from social reality. As the preceding pages have shown the problems of Muslim educational backwardness is a multifaceted one - there do exist difficulties with state policy but the primary responsibility for educational mobilization and initiative lie with the community and its leadership.

In matters like education and even employment the thinking pattern of the Muslim elite places heavy reliance on the state in overcoming the community's problems. While the state does have a role in social change as it frequently demonstrates its good intentions for the same through social welfare legislation its role may be limited to making a genuine effort at implementing its legislation and most importantly in building up equal opportunities for all its citizens. It is essential to realize that the state is not necessarily the best agent for social change and such change is best achieved not top-down but from the bottom-up in the sense of grass roots movements in civil society and as a result of intense interaction between the peoples of various communities. Where conflict or insecurity hinder such interaction due to the forces of communalism, the state can step in to ensure that power structures do not allow such forces to play their negative role.

Other observations that can be made relating to the Muslim community in India are firstly that there are a multiplicity of tendencies within the community which determine Muslim responses to the different aspects of modern life, and that the Muslims like others also face the problems of transition from tradition to modernity and hence undergo the difficulties that accompany such transition; secondly, sections of the community would have to overcome an inertia that characterizes them in order to push ahead in the realm of development; and finally, it is a unique Indian experience of such a large Muslim population, (reportedly the second largest in the world) living as a minority. Relatedly, the demands of living in a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society are radically different from that of living in an Islamic polity and society.

To conclude, the inadequate participation of the Muslims in modern education is mainly due to, in order of significance, the following:

1. The existing socio-economic structure that is caught between strong forces of tradition and the imperatives of modernization;

2. The inadequate efforts of the religio-political elite of the community to promote education;

3. State policy, which by its very nature, falls short of the specific requirements of different communities in disparate levels of educational and economic development.

The educational backwardness of Muslims is a special case within a larger general case. The impetus for a Muslim educational drive has to come from within, for which a massive organizational and people's effort is required. So, a benovelent leadership and a sympathetic state are requisites for the next step, (i.e.) a thrust from below and support from the state.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX - 1

Male literate and illiterate population of the United Provinces by Religion, 1872-1931[a]

	Literate			Literate in English			Urban Literate			Urban literate in English			Illiterate		
	Total	Hindu	Muslim	Total	Hindu	Muslim	Total	Hindu	Muslim	Total	Hindu	Muslim	Total	Hindu	Muslim
1931															
No.	2,043,410	1,631,640	311,569	240,140	153,031	47,740	364,801	230,542,	103,589	118,377	68,838	26,375	23,401,596	18,680,691	3,468,884
%		79.85	15.25		63.73	19.88		63.20	28.40		58.15	22.28		84.10	14.82
1921															
No.	1,556,626	1,248,545	221,503	156,900	95,039	27,384	258,949	160,502	68,180	87,498	49,370	16,121	22,231,119	18,882,269	3,166,648
%		80.21	14.23		60.57	17.45		61.98	26.33		56.42	18.42		84.94	14.24
1911															
No.	1,505,945	1,213,997	205,212	121,529	63,782	20,966	221,018	131,974	52,239	65,304	31,210	11,701	23,135,886	19,735,664	3,261,075
%		80.61	13.63		52.48	17.25		59.71	23.64		47.79	17.92		85.30	14.10
1901															
No.	1,422,924	1,178,622	181,125	87,641	47,739	12,919	171,285	127,426	35,882	36,504	24,104	6,421	23,194,018	19,847,621	3,258,172
%		82.83	12.73		54.47	14.74		73.11	20.59		66.03	17.59		85.57	14.05
1891															
No.	1,257,149	1,060,471	146,777	43,364	17,465	4,189	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	22,808,011	19,715,647	3,047,084
%		84.36	11.68		40.27	9.66								86.44	13.36
1881															
No.	1,033,458	879,182	116,763	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
%		85.07	11.30												
1872[b]															
No.	531,608	469,248	59,578	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
%		88.27	11.21												

a. Figures for Hindus exclude Aryas and other small Hindu sects where they were listed separately in the census volumes, which was frequently, but not consistently, the case. Their exclusion does not significantly affect the percentages in the table. Where the combined percentages for Hindus and Muslims in any category fall significantly short of 100, the bulk of the difference is invariably made up by Christians.

b. North-Western Provinces only.

Source: As cited in Paul Brass, Language, Religion and Politics in North India (Delhi: Vikas, 1974), p.149.

Appendix - 2

All - India Break-up of Muslim population

State/UT	% of Muslims to total Muslim population of country	% of Muslims population to total pop. of State/U.T.
India	100.00	11.35
Andhra Pradesh	6.00	8.47
Bihar	13.08	14.12
Gujarat	3.85	8.53
Haryana	0.69	4.05
Jammu Kashmir	5.09	64.19
Karnataka	5.44	11.05
Kerala	2.16	21.25
Madhya Pradesh	3.31	4.79
Maharashtra	7.69	9.25
Manipur	0.13	6.99
Meghalaya	0.66	3.10
Nagaland	0.02	1.52
Orissa	0.56	1.60
Punjab	0.22	1.00
Rajasthan	3.30	7.27
Sikkim	0.01	1.02
Tamil Nadu	3.34	5.21
Tripura	0.18	6.75
U.P.	23.38	15.93
West Bengal	15.55	21.52
Andaman and Nicobar islands	0.02	8.58
Arunachal Pradesh	0.01	0.80

Contd...

Appendix -2 contd...

State/UT	% of Muslims to total Muslim population of country	% of Muslims population to total pop. of State/U.T.
Dadra, Nagar & Haveli	0.00	1.86
Chandigarh	0.01	2.02
Delhi	0.64	7.75
Goa, Daman & Diu	0.07	4.46
Lakshadweep	0.05	94.84
Mizoram	0.00	0.45
Pondicherry	0.05	6.07

Source: 1981 Census Atlas, National volume, (New Delhi: Government of India, 1988), p.152.

Appendix - 3

NSSO Data - Percentage of Illiterates

	(in %) Rural areas	(in %) Urban areas
Muslim Women	76.1	59.5
Hindu Women	75.0	42.2
Muslim men	58.2	42.4
Hindu men	51.3	25.3

Source: Table 31.4, of the 43rd round of NSSO, as cited in Sudhanshu Ranade, And now for facts', The Hindu', Jan.4th, 1992.

Appendix - 4

No. of persons currently attending educational institutions per 1000 persons by age group and household religion for each six in rural India, 1990

RURAL

Sex	Household religion	Age group						
		0-4	5-9	5-14	10-14	15-19	20-24	25+ above
Male	Hindu	26	535	98	669	377	84	4
	Muslim	14	421	486	566	269	70	4
Female	Hindu	22	406	409	269	123	15	3
	Muslim	13	328	347	370	88	12	2
Total	Hindu	24	474	510	552	261	48	3
	Muslim	14	377	421	421	182	39	3

No. of persons currently attending educational institutions per 1000 persons by ge group and hosuehold religion for each sex Urban India

URBAN / Sex	Household religion	Age group						
		0-4	5-9	10-14	5-14	15-19	20-24	25+ above
Male	Hindu	88	763	832	797	561	210	8
	Muslim	48	560	636	597	348	113	8
Female	Hindu	77	707	746	726	424	96	6
	Muslim	35	521	536	528	193	43	4
Total	Hindu	82	736	791	763	497	155	7
	Muslim	42	541	590	564	276	79	6

Source: Table 37, P.S. 106-108 and P.S. 109-111, for above tables, 43rd Round of NSSO, 1987-88, Sarvekshana (New Delhi: Government of India, 1990).

APPENDIX - 5

HAMDARD SURVEY

DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENT BY SEX, RELIGION AND LEVELS OF EDUCATION IN 430 MUSLIM MANAGED SCHOOLS

Religion	Level of education				
	Primary	Middle	High	Hr. Sec.	Total (%)
Muslim boys	35,699 56.3%	60,941 58.4%	38,921 53.3%	10,505 44.0%	1,46,095 55.2%
Muslim girls	25,404 40.0%	27,536 26.4%	18,116 25.8%	4,622 19.3%	75,678 28.6%
Other religion	2,330 3.7%	15,802 15.1%	15,965 21.9%	8,804 36.7%	42,901 16.2%
Total	63,433 24.0%	1,04,279 39.4%	73,002 27.5%	28,960 9.1%	2,64,874 (100.0%)

DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS BY SEX AND RELIGION IN 44 MUSLIM MANAGED DEGREE COLLEGES

Students	Total (%)
Muslim boys	11,708 (32.1%)
Muslim girls	1,045 (8.3%)
	14,735 (40.4%)
Others	21,755 (59.6%)
Total	36,508 (100.0%)

Source: Hamdard Education Survey, both tables, as cited in N.C. Saxena, "Public employment and educational backwardness among the Muslims in India", in Moin Shakir (ed.), Religion, State and Politics in India, (Delhi: Ajanta, 1989), p.165.

APPENDIX - 6

BANGALORE SURVEY
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY RELIGION OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD AND MONTHLY HOUSEHOLD INCOME

HH Income (Rs.)	Religion					
	Hindus	Muslims	Christinas	Jains	Others	Total
50	0.4	-	-	-	-	0.4
50-109	2.4	2.2	0.8	4.6	-	2.2
150-299	22.6	20.9	16.4	9.1	-	21.7
300-499	26.4	32.1	27.3	9.1	20.0	27.0
500-749	22.2	22.5	23.5	22.7	-	22.3
750-999	9.3	8.2	7.8	9.1	40.0	4.3
1000-1999	12.3	11.5	19.5	22.7	-	12.9
2000+	4.4	0.6	4.7	22.7	40.0	4.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean Income (Rs.)	552.1	540.4	702.3	1477.5	1626.6	657.3

Source: Prakash Rao and N. Tewari, The Social Structure of an Indian Metropolis: A study of Bangalore, (Delhi, Allied Publishers, 1979), as quoted in Imtiaz Ahmad, "Educational development of minorities in India - future perspective", Journal of Educational Planning and Administration, vol.1, no.2, April 1987, p.203.

APPENDIX - 7

STATEWISE DISTRIBUTION OF MUSLIMS IN IAS AND IPS

State	IAS (Jan. '84)			IPS (Jan. '83)		
	Total	Muslims	%	Total	Muslims	%
Andhra Pradesh	294	13	4.42	143	3	2.00
Assam-Meghalaya	168	1	0.59	87	-	-
Bihar	335	9	2.69	158	6	3.80
Gujarat	180	5	2.77	105	2	1.90
Haryana	161	2	0.12	72	1	1.40
Himachal Pradesh	97	-	-	46	-	-
Jammu & Kashmir	74	19	25.67	38	11	28.90
Karnataka	214	3	1.4	102	4	3.90
Kerala	143	4	2.79	77	3	3.90
Madhya Pradesh	336	7	2.08	190	7	3.70
Mahrashtra	308	5	1.63	163	5	3.00
Manipur-Tripura	99	2	2.02	47	2	4.30
Nagaland	42	-	-	98	2	2.00
Orissa	190	1	0.53	90	2	2.00
Punjab	160	-	-	109	1	0.90
Rajasthan	214	1	0.47	8	-	-
Sikkim	23	-	-	111	3	-
Tamil Nadu	272	-	1.10	88	2	2.70
Union Territories	166	-	-	307	7	2.00
Uttar Pradesh	472	10	2.12	183	6	2.00
West Bengal	248	5	2.00	-	-	3.00
Total	4195	90	2.14	2222	67	3.00

Source : Muslim India, May '85, p.2041 as cited in Mushirul Hasan, In search of integration and identity-Indian Muslims since Independence, Economic & Political Weekly, vol.xxiii, nos.45, 46 & 47, November 1988.

APPENDIX - 8

MINISTRY OF HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT: POLICY NORMS AND PRINCIPLES FOR RECOGNITION OF MINORITY EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS
(Other than those meant Exclusively for Religious Instruction)

1. Minorities can be based either on religion or on language.

2. Minorities may be in terms of a religious or linguistic community which is numerically less than 50% of the population of the State concerned.

3. The agency managing the educational institution will have to possess some legal status-an Association of persons registered under the Societies Registration Act or a body with corporate soul etc.

4. Admission into minority managed educational institutions need not be confined to members of the minority.

5. Right to administer educational institutions shall be subject to reasonable regulations, which may include:

- stipulations regarding conditions of recognition run by a minority shall do nothing which may come in the way of communal and social harmony;

- qualifications and conditions of service of teachers;

- a requirement that the educational institutions run by a minority shall do nothing which may come in the way of communal and social harmony;

- a requirement that the institution will not use its privilege as minority administered institution for pecuniary benefit of an individual or group;

- disciplinary rules of the institutions in respect of their teaching and non-teaching staff being consistent with the principles of natural justice;

- observance of principles of sound administration;

- enforcement of general laws of the land pertaining to the educational institutions concerned.

6. The minority managed educational institutions shall have the freedom to appoint any qualified candidate, but it would be advisable for them to select teachers and other employees through Employment Exchange or open advertisement.

7. Teachers in minority managed educational institutions should possess requisite qualifications.

8. The regulations shall not be such as to render the constitutional rights of the minorities, nugatory, for example:-

contd...

(Appendix - 8 contd...)

- Conditions that the Government shall have the right to take over the management of the institutions;

- that the Government shall have powers to constitute managing Committees;

- that the Governing Body of the institution shall include persons other than members of the minority community;

- that the Government can require the institution to reserve seats;

- that scholars of the institution would not be eligible to opportunities in higher education;

- that the Government shall have the right to insist on use of any language as the medium of instruction:

- that the institution shall not charge fees from students, etc.

The stipulation should be regulatory and/or of an educational character and conducive to making the institutions effective vehicles of education for minority communities.

9. There shall be no discrimination between minority and non-minority educational institutions in the matter of sanctioning grants-in-aid. Such grants-in-aid can be made conditional upon appropriate regulatory measures to ensure that the funds are used for purposes for which they are sanctioned.

10. Minority managed educational institutions receiving State aid-

- shall not deny admission to persons outside the minority on grounds of religion, caste, etc.

- shall not, without the consent of the pupil or his guardian, impart religious instruction or compel students to attend religious worship.

11. Procedures should be clearly laid down in respect of:

- eligibility of a society/trust to be treated as minority;

- competent authority to grant recognition;

- procedure for grant/withdrawal of recognition;

- time limits for making decision.

12. Where recognition is not considered favourably, grounds of rejection shall be communicated to the educational institution to help it overcome obstacles in the way of recognition.

Source: All Indian Muslim educational society newsletter, vol.4, no.6, June 1992, p.11.

APPENDIX - 9

Text Of the 15-Point Programme

Communal Riots

1) The State Governments are being advised that in the areas which have been identified as communally sensitive, District and Police officials of the highest known efficiency, impartialitye and secular record must be posted. In such areas and even elsewhere, the prevention of communal tension should be one of the primary duties of DM and SP. Their performances in this regard should be an important factor in determining their promotion prospects.

2) Good work done in this regard by District and Police Officials should be rewarded.

3) Severe action should be taken against all those who incite communal tensions or take part in violence.

4) Special courts or courts specifically earmatked to try communal offences should be set up so that offenders are brought to book speedily.

5) Victims of communal riots should be given immedieate relief and provided prompt and adequate financial assistance for their rehabiliation.

6) Radio and TV must also help in restoring confidence, communal harmony and peace in such affected areas.

7) It is unfortunate that certain sections of the press sometimes indulge in tendentious reporting and publication of objectionable and inflammatory material which may incite communal tension. The editors, printers, publishers and others concerned will co-operate in finding a way to avoid publication of such material.

Recruitment to State and Central Services

8) In the recruitment of police personnel, State Governments should be advised to give special consideration to minorities. For this purpose, the composition of Selection Committees should be representative.

9) The Central Government should take similar action in the recruitment of personnel to the Central Police Forces.

10) Large scale employment opportunities are provided by the Railways, Nationalised Banks and Public Sector Enterprises. In these cases also, the concerned departments should ensure that special consideration is given to recruitment from minority communities.

11) In many areas, recruitment is done through competitive examinations. Often minority groups have been handicapped in taking advantage of the educational system to compete on equal terms in such examinations.

contd...

(Appendix 9 contd...)

To help them to overcome there handicaps, steps should be taken to encourage the starting of coaching classes in minority educational institutions to train persons to compete successfully in these examinations.

12) The acquisition of technical skills by those minorities who are today lagging behind would also help in national development. Arrangements should be made to set up ITIs and Polytechnics by Government or private agencies in predominantly minority areas to encourage admission in such institutions of adequate number of persons belonging to these communities.

Other Measures

13) In various development programmes, including the 20-Point Programme, care should be taken to see that minorities secure in a fair and adequate measure the benefits flowing thereform. In the various committees which are set up to oversee the implementation of such programmes, members of those communities should be actively involved.

14) Apart from the general issues, there are various local problems which develop into needless irritants to minorities. For instance, encroachment on Wakf properties and on graveyards have led to protest and grievances in some places. Suitable steps should be taken to deal with such problems on an expeditious and satisfactory basis.

15) Problems relating to minorities need to on a continuing basis so that apprehensions are allayed and genuine grievances redressed. To facilitate this a special cell will be created in the Ministry of Home Affairs to deal with matters relating to minorities.

Source: Radiance Views Weekly, vol. 26, no.45, 13-19 September1992, p.9.

APPENDIX - 10

SUMMARY OF ELEMENTS OF NEW EDUCATIONAL POLICY 1986

Universalisation of elementary education by 1990; vocationalisation at all stages, socially and economically productive education for self-employment; delinking degrees from jobs; a vast network of non-formal open learning system for all stages; establishment of Navodaya Vidyalayas as Centres of excellence at all stages for talented and poor students;

A policy of no-detention up to class VI and thereafter three examinations for purposes of promotion at class VI, VIII and X, to dispense with the traditional polytechnics and establish institutes to be run by the industrialists in the industrial areas and the rural rich in the villages; accountability as a condition for University autonomy; and colleges to be disaffiliated from the Universities; medical and engineering colleges to be segregated from the Universities.

De-politicisation of the students and teachers, value-oriented education; production of sophisticated manpower in adequate numbers to deal creatively with new technologies and creation of an overall environment for change and development through adult and continuing education to improve the quality and output of all educational sections.

Source: As summarised by Shyama Bharadwaj, "The Education Policy - an analysis", Journal of Educational Planning and Administration, vol.4, no.2, April 1990, p.38.

Appendix - 11

Summary of statement of concessions in education and employment sectors extended to Muslims who were listed as "Other Backward Classes" (OBC's) by some of the state governments

State	Name/Number of Section among Muslims	Educational Facilities	Reservation	
			Education	Services
1. A.P.	Certain sub-castes -Mehtar, Dodekula, Laddaf, Pinjari, etc.	Fee exemptions, Hostels, Merit scholarships	25% in professional colleges	25%
2. Assam	Mahi, Malmala	Scholarships	N.A.	N.A.
3. Bihar	20 castes	Scholarships	24% in professional colleges	Overall 26%
4. Gujarat	23 castes	Scholarships	10% in professional colleges	Overall 10% in Class III & IV
5. Haryana	8 castes	Fee exemption, scholarships	2%	Overall 10%
6. H.P.	7 castes	Stipends	N.A.	Overall 5% & 2% in promotion to Class III & IV posts
7. J&K	Generally 22 OBC's incl. Muslim	Scholarships	42% in technical & professional institutions	Overall 42%
8. Karnataka	All Muslims as BC's	Fee exemptions & scholarships	20% as Backward communities	Overall 38%
9. Kerala	Muslims		25% in technical & professional courses	Overall 40% -Muslim Class IV= 10% and other than class IV=12%
10. Maharashtra	7 castes		10%	10%

contd...

(appendix 11 contd...)

State	Name/Number of Section among Muslims	Educational Facilities	Reservation	
			Education	Services
11.Punjab	9 castes	Stipends & fee concessions	5%	5% & 2% in promotion & 5 year age relaxation
12.Tamil Nadu	4 castes covering 14.71 lakhs out of 21 lakh Muslim population	Scholarships, Hostels, etc.	50% for all BC's	50% for BC's
13.Uttar Pradesh	21 castes	Same as given to SC/ST's	15% in Industrial training centres & all Govt. institutes	-15% in A,B,C, Grades & 10% in D Class IV Services
			12% in Pre-medical test	- 15% in promotions -5 year maximum age relaxation for recruitmnt
14.Chandigarh	7 Castes	Stipens etc. as applicable to SC/ST's		

Source: High Power Panel Report on Minorities, (New Delhi: Government of India, 1983), vol.II, Annexures, pp.2-6.

APPENDIX - 12

Distribution according to the highest education of households by Religion (Urban North Arcot District)

Highest Education	Hindi		Muslim		Christian		Others	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Illiterate	424	7.2	586	27.2	9	4.3	3	25.0
Primary	505	10	405	18.8	10	4.8	-	-
Middle	1157	19.7	594	27.5	30	14.3	-	-
High School	2022	34.5	382	17.7	73	34.8	3	25.0
Hr. Sec. School	748	12.8	114	5.3	40	19.0	3	25.0
College level	919	15.7	76	3.5	48	23.8	3	25.0
Total	5865	100.0	2157	100.0	210	100.0	12	100.0

Source : Characteristics of Household Census, 1989 (Vellore: Department of Biostatistics, CMC, 1991), Table 2.4, p,20.

APPENDIX - 13

INTERVIEW GUIDELINES

1. Town/Village

2. Number of members in the family

3. Occupation: Main activity/Subsidiary activity

4. Whether both parents employed/working? Yes/No

5. Income of the family per month — Less than Rs.500; Between Rs.501-1500; Rs.1501-2500; Rs.2501-4000; Above Rs.4000.

6. Education in the family: Father; Mother; Child

7. Mother Tongue

8. Medium of instruction at School

9. Are parents satisfied with current medium of instruction? If not, ideally which medium is preferable with reasons:

10. What is the kind of school the children attend? Is it a Government School, community-run or Govt. aided or other private school?

11. Do the children undergo religious education? Is it full time/part time? Apart from training in the Quran, is any language taught at the religious school?

12. What is the educational expenditure of the family per annum? Break-up?

Fees	Books & Stationery	Transport	Hostel	Others	Total

13. How do the parents manage to meet such expenditure? On their own? Out of state scholarships or community grants?

14. What is the distance to the nearest school? How do the children travel to school?
(Estimate according to primary/secondary etc.)

15. If family trade/business, do the children help out? Is it full-time/part time? Males and/or females?

contd...

(Appendix 13 contd...)

16. Have any children discontinued studies?

Male/Female	Age at discontinuing	Class	Reasons

17. What are the difficulties you face in educating your children?

18. If you face any difficulties regarding your child's education do school authorities/teachers listen to you? Do they help you out (Check on discrmination)

19. What do you wish for your child? Do you have a career in mind for him/her?

20. Has the child expressed any desire or career plans? If yes, what are they?

21. Are you satisfied with the kind of facilities available in your area for educating women? If not, what is recuired?

22. Are the educational facilities in general, sufficient in your area to meet the aspirations of your children and yourself? If not what needs to be done? And by whom?

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APPENDIX - 14

TRADITIONAL INSTITUTIONS

North Arcot District has four renowned Madaris with Madras City accounting for only one. A brief description of their establishment and activity is in order:

DARUL ULOOM LATHEEFIYA, HAZRATH MAKAN, VELLORE:

It was in the 17th century A.D., 272 years ago that a direct lineal descendent of the Prophet of Islam, Syed Shah Abdul Latheef Qadri Naqvi Bijapuri is said to have been blessed with a sacred vision of the Prophet to further spread his message. The place where he halted Vellore, initially a Khanqah' went on to become a full-fledged Madrasah, named after the founder himself. Thus, it is one of the earliest fountainhead of oriental learning in South India catering to the whole of the then province of Madras.

The Qutubs or Saints of this Madrasah belong to the Quadri' order of the Saint of Baghdad, Shaikh Abdul Khadir Jalani. One great aim of this Khanqah was to introduce and pioneer the teaching of Sufism. This Madrasa refuses patronage from the affluent and the State, instead the management meets all the expenses on its own including the free education, boarding and lodging of students. The Darul Uloom Latheefia was affiliated to the University of Madras in 1965 in respect of degree courses such as Adib-e-Fazil, Munshi-e-Fazil and Afzal ul Ulema (in Urdu, Persian and Arabic respectively). Various sports including athletics have become part of the Madrasa life with annual events also organized. From 1960, the college has been publishing its annual magazine Al-Latheef'.

BAQIATHUS - SALIHATH, VELLORE:

This Madrasa was founded by Shamsul Ulema Alhaj Abdul Wahab Sahib, a Muslim Divine of Vellore who was acclaimed as the reformer. The motivation for establishing the Madrasah came after the 1857 Sepoy Mutiny when the founder felt the need for specialists in Islamic theology and attempt to fill the gap through this institution. Since 1875, with growing interest inthe Madrasa philantrophic, wealthy and religious minded Muslims came forward to support it.

It has produced many eminent Moulvis of that period. Urdu was taught in the first stages and Persian and Arabic in the higher stages. The students are not charged fees and are educated with free boarding and lodging. Alongwith religious education, an industrial institution by the name of Anjuman-e-Ishatul Hasnath was established.

The College attracts students from different parts of South-East Asia, Turkistan, Maldivis etc. and also from other parts of South India. Students who completed the courses here went on to found 80 Arabic Schools in their regions. The college is now 123 years old.

JAMIA DARUSALAM COMERABAD, AMBUR:

A leather merchant of Ambur, Kaka Haji Mohammed Umar, inspired by the great scholars he had met in his travels in the North and with his fascination for education, founded this Madrasah on December 7, 1924. The syllabus, apart from theology includes Geography, Mathematics and English. The training here is of 9 years duration. The students of this Madras are eligible to obtain the degree of Bachelor of oriental learning for which purposes the Madrasa is affiliated to the University of Madras.

The Madrasa houses the Umar Library' which contains books in Arabic, Urdu, Persian, English and Tamil. It earlier published a Tamil journal Moshar' and now does go in Urdu called Rahe-th dal'. Alongside, a state government recognized industrial training centre school with various technical courses including computers have been established.

MADRASA NISWAN FOR LADIES, VANIYAMBADI:

With the decline of Muslim rule in the Country, desirousof maintaining the Islamic tradition, some notables joined together to found the "An jumane Khair Khake - Aam" an organization in 1904 at Vaniyambadi. The Madrasa Niswan, a school meant exclusively for the ladies was an offshoot of this organization. The Madrasa runs without any kind of state patronage, again without any fees and with free boarding and lodging for the students.

This Madrasa caters to girl students from all over South India and even from Malaysia. The alma mater of this Madrasa have further established Madrasa in their native places. The curriculum of the Madrasa is Quranic Studies, Hadis, Translations, Arabic and Urdu, while Persian and English are taught on a small scale. From 1970 the Madrasa is said to be an exam centre of the Jamia Urdu, Aligarh.

While the Madrasa has an average of 300 - odd pupils on its rolls, the school attached caters to more than 1300 students with oriental education from Std. I to Std. X and crafts like tailoring. The Madrasa has the tradition of carrying on the entire education, within the traditional purdah system.

MADHRASA-E-JAMALIYAH, MADRAS:

Started in 1898 by Haji M. Jamal Moideen Sahib, the Madrasa teaches Thafsir, Hadis, Fiqh, Adab, Manthiq and such other branches of Arabic literature. Admission is free for all Muslim students with free boarding and lodging. History, Geography, General Science and Maths are also thought here.

The unique character of this Madrasa is that its medium of instruction is Arabic. Students also come from Malaysia, Maldives, Tunis, etc. and visiting professors from Egypt. It is affiliated to the Madras University for oriental exams and titles such as Afzal-al Ulema and Adib-e-Fazil etc.

Sources: S.A.R. Quadri, Khanqah-e-Makan-e-Hazrath Qutb-e-Vellore (Vellore: Darul Uloom Latheefia, 1987).
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Golden Jubilee Souvenir, Muslim Educational Association of South India, Madras, 1954, p.152.

Appendix - 15

Profile of educational infrastructure

Madras City (1981)

1.	Schools	Number
a.	Primary	347
b.	Middle	247
c.	Secondary/ S.S.L.C.	110
d.	Higher Secondary	104
		--- (808)
e.	Adult literacy centres	306
		---

2. Higher education institutions:

a. University of Madras with 13 Arts, Science and Commerce affiliated Colleges; 3 Medical Colleges, 1 Law College with others such as Veternary Colleges and teachers training colleges.

b. Anna University (for Science and engineering) with 4 institutes attached to it and other self-financing private engineering Colleges;

c. Indian Institute of Technology and the Central Leather Research Institute, Madras.

d. Various other private and semi-governmental training bodies and research institution.

Note: For every 10000 population in the city, the ratio of Higher Secondary schools is 0.34, Middle schools 0.75 and primary schools 1.06.

Source: Census of India 1981, Madras District Hand Book (Madras: Government of Tamil Nadu, 1981).

contd...

(Appendix 15 contd.)

North Arcot District (1987-88)

1.	Schools	Number
a.	Primary Schools	229
b.	High Schools	12
c.	Hr.Sec. Schools.	32
		--- (273)

2. Higher education institutions:

a. 13 Arts, Science and Commerce Colleges;

b. 1 Vellore Engineering College and 1 Christian Medical College and Hospital (CMCH), Vellore;

c. 3 Teachers training colleges;

d. 1 Technical Hr. Sec. School and other private polytechnics;

Note: Above data pertains to undivided North Arcot district. Also, for every 10,000 urban population, the ratio of Higher Secondary schools is 0.50, secondary schools is 0.75, Middle Schools is 1.10 and primary schools 2.94 (District Census Handbooks 1981).

Source: District Statistical Handbook, 1987-88, District Collectorate, Vellore.

Appendix - 16

Population Profile

	Tamil Nadu State	Madras City	North Arcot Ambedkar District
Population			
Total	55,638,318	3,795,028	3,000,208
Males	28,217,947	1,966,408	1,510,157
Females	27,420,371	1,828,620	1,490,051
Decennial growth rate (1981-91)	14.94%	15.32%	14.14%
Density of population (per sq.km.)	428	21811	494
Population rank in the State	-	6th	9th
Sex Ratio (Females per 1000 males)	972	930	987
Literacy percentage Total	54.60	72.5	52.4
Males	64.02	77.5	62.4
Females	43.06	67.1	42.2

Source: Census of India, 1991, provisional population totals. (New Delhi: Government of India, 1982).

Note: Literates exclude children in the age-group 0-6 who are treated as illiterates in the 1991 census.

Appendix - 17

Sample Profile

	Madras			North Arcot		
	I	II	III	I	II	III
Average Family Size	5 and less than 5	5 and less than 5	More than 5 average of 7 to 8	5 maximum	7 to 8	Greater than 5, a highest of 9
Occupation	Doctors Enggs lawyers profe-ssors	Lower ranks of Govt. service and business	Petty traders, peons, drivers, hawkers	Trade, real estate govt. ser-vice and college teachers	Leather workers	Beedi rolling
Income per month	Above Rs.4000 p.m.	Between Rs.1500 to 4000	Rs.750 to Rs.1500	Above Rs.4000 p.m.	Rs.1501 to Rs.4000	Rs.1500
Both parents employed/ most single or family enterprise	Both	Single	Single	Single	Both	Entire family
Highest level of education among parents (spread)	Post-gradua-tion and profes-sional educa-tion	Few post graduates largely high school and above	High School dropouts	Post-graduation	Diploma holders and high school dropouts	High school dropouts
Highest level of education among children (spread)	Post-gradua-tion and spread all over primary to se-condary	Class I to VIII with some over college/ diploma courses	Different levels (Class I to X)	College	Class	Class X/ Diploma

Appendix - 18

Nature of the Beedi-Rolling Occupation

A note is in order on the special nature of Beedi-Rolling which is a family enterprise. Three to four members sit around in a circle, with each member taking up one part of the task cutting the leaves, filling them with tobacco, closing the ends, tying and bundling them up. Generally, in other occupations, it is the head of the household or at best both parents who go out to work. In this industry, the children are also required to participate in the actual making of the Beedi and/or act as support labour and perform domestic and odd errands while others are on the job.

The Beedi-merchants supply the 'imprest raw material' in certain quantities and the families return the finished product which are Beedis ready for sale. While the rates vary, generally it is estimated that an entire family of 5 at work the whole day would fetch an average wage of Rs. 50 per day.

It is noteworthy that except for Beedi factories where manufacturers directly hire labour, this industry is run mainly through contractors. It is the contractors, who in turn deal with individual families - supplying the raw material and paying the wages. Working through contractors enables the entrepreneurs to avoid implementing provisions like fixed wages, provident fund etc. And largely Muslims are occupied in this industry working most of the time for manufacturers who are also Muslims. Apart from health hazards of those working at the Beedis, the overall impact on family welfare is regressive. Its effects are particularly severe on women and children. A study in Madras reveals that women received Rs. 10 for 11 hours of work - 10 per cent of women studied in the survey, contributed 60 per cent to 80 per cent of household expenses, while 39 per cent of the women studied contributed 40 per cent to 60 per cent of the expenses. The study found that 70 per cent of the women were undernourished and food taken by them contributed less than 2500 calories which is the minimum for an average Indian. Most of the women were aneamic, had hunched backs and poor eyesight... the living and working conditions in slums were miserable without sanitation inadequate ventilation and drinking water. In addition, their participation in economic activity did not take of the burden of household chores from the women's life.*

The industry is another form of child labour - the children are trained in this task from an early age itself by performing odd jobs until they are fully trained and involved in the process and they take up the same profession and the line continues. The vicious cycle thus operates on pre-existing illiteracy and poverty.

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* Raihana and Asiya, "Muslim Women in Beedi Industry: Madras Survey Findings", Omeiat Journal, vol.13, no.10, October 1989, pp. 6-7.

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1923