EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE AMONG THE RELIGIOUS MINORITIES IN INDIA: THEORY AND PRACTICE

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Submitted by

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the dissertation entitled **Education and Social Change among the Religious Minorities in India: Theory and Practice** submitted by me, **Pabitra Mohan Nayak, Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi,** for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** is my original work and has not submitted so far in part or in full for any other degree or diploma in any other university.

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This may be placed before the examiners for the evaluation for the award of degree of **Master of Philosophy.**

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CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

India has a unique reputation in the world from time immemorial for its multi - cultural characteristics. One of the most important characteristics has been its ability to absorb different races, religions, cultures, etc. and to project a composite culture of its own. Thus, unity in diversity or diversity in unity has been the speciality of India. Though the country had to face division due to religious fanaticism in 1947, India remained a secular nation and continues to exhibit its valuable cultural heritage in keeping the people as one nation. Therefore, it is imperative on the part of the Indian nation to protect and preserve this cultural heritage of the so-called "majority" or "minority" cultures. However, despite the best efforts of the law of the land, one comes across the arguments that majority cultures are dominating and minority cultures are being discriminated and suppressed in the name of assimilation into the mainstream culture or majority cultures.

In this context, education of the minorities assumes relevance in the process of social change. The present study attempts to address this issue particularly with regard to the religious minorities. But, before we discuss various dimensions of this relationship it would be necessary to answer some of the questions such as who are these minorities? What are their characteristics that can be easily distinguished with those of the majority? What is their situation in the broader social and economic life of a nation such as ours?

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MINORITIES: CONCEPTUAL UNDERSTANDING

Minorities are an integral part of many of the modern day democratic societies in the world. However, laying down a definition of "minority" capable of universal acceptance has been a difficult task. Encyclopaedia Britannica, for instance, defines minorities as "groups held together by ties of common descent, language or religious faith and feeling themselves different in these respects from the majority in the inhabitants of a given political unity." The "United Nations Sub Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities" defined the "minorities" as following:

(1) The term "Minority" includes only those non-dominant groups in a population, which possess and wish to preserve stable, ethnic, religious or linguistic traditions or characteristics markedly different from those of the rest of the population.

(2) Such minorities should properly include a number of persons sufficient by themselves to preserve such tradition or characteristics.

(3) Such minorities must be loyal to the state of which they are nationals. (1950:490)

This definition contains the point that those groups who have been declared as "minority" are the ones who want to preserve their separate identities. The criticism against this definition is that there are two types of minority groups - one, which is anxious to maintain its separate identity and hostile to assimilation with the dominant group. The second type of minority group can be that which intended to dissolve its identity in the dominant group but due to social or economic forces they

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are prevented from doing so by the majority group. The best illustration of the first type is the religious groups such as the Hindus and the Muslims and the example of the second type is the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in India.

The Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences defines minorities as a "group of people differentiated from others in the same society by race, nationality, religion or language who think themselves as different group with negative connotations". The important aspect of this definition is that there is a set of attitudes of group identification from within the group and those of prejudice about as set of behaviours.

Stracy Churchill (1996) tried to explore the relationship between the changing nature of the nation-state and the education of minorities within nation- states. He defined the "minorities" as following.

(1) In all cases, a minority as a resident in a country or jurisdiction which had a numerically, culturally and economically dominant group who shared a common mainstream culture and language.

(2) The minority diverged from the mainstream group in terms of at least one of the three features; ethnicity or race, language, cultural heritage.

(3) The minority was socially non – dominant, usually because it lived in a so- called "peripheral" zone.

(4) Children and youth of the minorities tended to have educational problems identified primarily with their difficulty in integrating into an educational system based upon a mainstream model in terms of language, culture, race and sometimes socio-economic class assumptions. Further, he pointed out that some countries had taken measures to create virtually parallel educational systems to mitigate the

negative effects of mainstream schooling for certain, not all, minorities (Canada and Finland) and/or were organised into some form of territorial sub-divisions that accorded autonomy to various matters including education.

From the above-mentioned definitions, it is quite clear that there is not a single definition of "minority" which is universally acceptable. Rather the term "minority" is a broad, exclusive and complex which includes a group of people whether they are religious minorities or ethnic minorities or linguistic minorities, etc. Although the term "minority" a clear definition, it is generally used to designate a category of people distinguished on the basis of ethnic, racial, linguistic, political and religious identity.

MINORITIES IN THE CONTEMPORARY SOCIETIES

In contemporary times, the struggle of minorities for identification and self-determination is a widespread phenomenon. The growing discrepancy between the democratisation of nation-states, on the one hand, and the politicisation of racial, ethnic nationalities provide a serious thought to the integration of political system, stability of social systems and the peace of humanity in general. Further, the problem has come to assume international importance as a result of the racial and ethnic nationalism transcending the political boundaries of states. The perennial sociological debate over equality of men and Hobbessenian dilemma of stability of society has direct bearing on the minority issues, making it a central field of interest for sociological enquiry.

"The issue of minority rights and multi-culturalism is high on the political

agenda of most states today, since most states incorporated a variety of ethnic, religious and other diversities. The problem had become exacerbated in recent decades because of the increased influx of immigrants into the advanced capitalist states of west and the movements of the refugees" (Joseph, 1999: 30). Therefore, most states face the problem of negotiating with diverse groups and this is reflected in contemporary sociological theory. Thus, in the context of an emerging democratic polity and the ideal of an egalitarian social order, the education of the minorities has got a pre-eminent place in the sociology of education.

Further, in contemporary times, the debate about the conceptual framework for the analysis of ethnicity and education is still on. Before analysing the relationship it is pertinent to provide conceptual framework about "ethnicity." The concept of "plural society" was introduced long ago by Furnivall (1944: 446) to refer to a society which was comprised of two or more elements of social orders which live side by side, yet without mingling, in one political unit." Over the decades, this concept has undergone several changes and today it describes a nation which is characterised by a " plurality of cultures and institutions, which are held together by a dominant community by political arrangements which are coercive in their implications" (Naidu, 1980: 1-2). The concept of "plural society" thus axiomatically implies the existence of two or more ethnic groups i.e., groups of people having common traits and customs. According to Weber (1965: 306) ethnic groups are those which "entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs are both, or because of memories of colonisation and migration – in such a way that this belief is important for the continuation of non-

kinship communal relationship . . . . regardless of whether an objective blood relationship exists or not".

However, in the context of ethnic relations in a plural society, the term "minority" is often used as a substitute for the phrase "ethnic group" (schermerhorn, 1978:13). The ethnic relations between the majority community and various minority communities are not symmetrical or uniform, and they may also change in the light of experiences and perceptions of both the majority and other communities. What is important to bear in mind, as Naidu (1980: 3-4) has understood, is that " ethnicity is not always an apriori category, but is often created by conflict".

In its ethnic connotation "minority" is certainly more than a statistical entity. It is this fact, which makes the determination of minorities a sociologically vexing problem. As Weiner etal. (1984: 14) pointed out that " the question of what constitutes an ethnic group, remains as unclear in India as it does in so many multi-ethnic societies where ethnicity itself has been in a state of flux."

So far as ethnicity and education is concerned, Maurice Craft (1986) saw social class as a source of pluralism in every society. He pointed out both horizontal and vertical social divisions within ethnicity itself, " the pluralism of ethnicity; a sense of people hood, of cohesive traditions, usually with distinctive religious and linguistic characteristics, sometimes with a regional basis, but almost always cutting across the horizontal stratification of age and social class" (1986; 16). However, ethnic variations are no different in kind, for they include religion, language, community participation and family background. Further, Jeffcoate (1982) analysed the ethnic minorities in the educational system and focussed on the liberal concept of equality of

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opportunity. He tried to distinguish between the inter-related concepts such as "equality of access", "equality of treatment" and "equality of outcome" within the ethnic minorities education and pointed out that " it is conceivable that ethnic minority pupils might achieve equality of opportunity and still as a group perform less well than the rest of the population"(1982: 11)

Moreover, as culture includes a variety of things such as customs, traditions, morals, beliefs, values, language, etc. the contemporary sociologists are preoccupied with the task of analysing the language of the culture in the educational system. For instance, Corson (1978) analysed how discrimination is exercised through educational system and how language injustices affect the members of minority cultures.

The contemporary language theorists have also argued for a generation that many of the difficulties in mainstream schools that confront children from minority cultures can be attributed to linguistic interference (Hymes, 1971). For instance, Corson viewed that when cultural identities are less clear, or when a minority has been forced into bi-culturalism through conquest or through economic or political pressure, the differences between the two cultures can become a source of mutual understanding and a continual source of oppression for the less powerful but cultural identity becomes very important to people when their culture is under constant threat (1978: 49-50).

Further, discussing variations among minorities in their rates of school success, John Ogbu draws a very relevant distinction between "involuntary" and "voluntary" minorities. He argues that " the main factor differentiating the more successful from the less successful minorities appears to be the nature of the history,

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subordination and exploitation of the minorities, and the nature of minorities' own instrumental and expressive responses to their treatment, which enter into the process of their schooling" (1987:317). According to Ogbu's classification of minorities, involuntary minorities are characterised by " secondary cultural differences that develop as a response to a contact situation, especially a contact situation involving the domination of one group by another". On the other hand, voluntary minorities, what he termed as " new minorities", are characterised by their own will (1987:322)

From the above discussion, it is quite clear that the different roles of minorities in the society affect the process of social change. In general, the existence of minorities in a society offers a constant stimulus and a constant irritant that provoke social change. Minorities are often carriers of a culture different from that of the dominant group, and the contact and clash of cultures have been hypothesised as sources of social change. Even when minorities carry no traditional alien culture, their partial exclusion from the general society serves as a basis for the development of some deviant culture. In addition, apart from their cultural differences, minorities are sources of social dissatisfaction and social unrest, which are conditions for social change. Therefore, the role of the minorities in the process of social change can never be undermined.

MINORITIES IN THE INDIAN CONTEXT

In a democratic, pluralist secular polity like India, people are not only divided in terms of religion, language, caste, race, culture, region and socio-economic factors but also in terms of their perceptions of different social identities. The continuous interaction between the communities often involve conditioning of

difference identities. For instance, the religious identity and language identity are conditioned by layers of historical experience. In this complex and multifaceted situation, education provides the arena for both the expression and the understanding of ethnic relations. Therefore, one of the tasks of the framers of the Constitution of India was to devise safeguards for the country's minorities. So in the 1950 Census, the demographic scene presented a peculiar composition. There were politically recognised minorities, often with religious identities such as the Sikhs, Muslims, Christians, Parsees, and Anglo-Indians. The sociological significance of Muslims as a minority group rests not solely on their numerical strength. The social construction of Muslims as minority in the socio-political history of India is a crucial factor, therefore fathers were one the rulers of this land and as a community they were at the centre of the drama of the partition of the country in 1947. Contrary to common belief neither the Muslims not the Christians constitute a socially homogenous community, Both are characterised by regional and linguistic variations and highly unequal systems of social stratification along with caste Like formations. Between both these communities religion has functioned as an effective ideological apparatus insulating the contradictions within the community.

In addition, a very large number of other cultural and linguistic groups could be distinguished within the population and often demanded to be recognised as Scheduled Castes and Schedule Tribes. For instance, according to 1980 Census, the population of the Scheduled Castes was 104, 754, 623, and the figure for Scheduled Tribes was 51,628,638. About 23.5 Percent of the country's population consisted of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (India, 1985; 18: Shah, 1982). The Census

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listed 613 different tribal communities (Government of India, 1978) using 304 tribal mother tongues, which were reduced to 101 distinct identifiable languages. What makes the linguistic scene so complex is the fact that most of the tribal communities are linguistically heterogeneous in their mother tongue, and some are ethnically heterogeneous. This is obvious from the difference between the number of tribal communities and the number of tribal mother tongues as mentioned earlier. For instance, 22 tribes of Assam which has 7 Percent of total is balance population in nearly have 60 mother tongues grouped into 40 languages and 58 tribes of Madhya Pradesh which comprises of 22 Percent of tribal population have 93 mother tongues grouped in to 38 languages (Itagietal, 1986).

In some cases, the dominant languages with which a tribal community is in contact are also diverse. It may be due to either (a) the geographical boundary of a tribal community living contiguously, which may have more than one dominant language around it, or (b) a tribal community may live non-contiguously in the midst of more than one dominant languages. For example, out of three million santhals, about 30 % are in contact with Bengali in West Bengal, some 13 % with Oriya in Orissa, and some 49% with Hindi in Bihar (Annamalai, 1990:26).

Moreover, in the Indian context, language is one of the most debated topics. Being a democratic and, multi-lingual country, India and its educators are constantly discussing with the issue of what language should be the medium of instruction particularly with reference to speakers of minority languages, some of which lack standardised written forms. Sridhar (1996:328) analysed multi-lingualism in India and attributed India's linguistic diversity to the following four factors:

(i) Different waves of invasion and colonisation (i.e. the Aryans, the Moghul, the Portuguese, the British)

(ii) Free migration within and between different states and union territories;

(iii) political influences leading to the linguistic reorganisation of states following Indian Independence in 1947.

(iv) Presence of different ethnic and religious minorities distributed through out India i.e. Buddhists, Jains, Sikhs, Muslims, Christians, Zoroastrians and others).

Although, politically India is divided into 28 linguistically organised states and seven union territories, the linguistic scene in India is very complex (Khuchandani, 1988; Sridhar, 1989). In every region or state, in addition to the majority regional language the linguistic situation is complicated by the presence of several minority languages, as well as caste and class dialects and even some lacking recognised scripts. Given that there is little agreement among linguists as to what are the languages and what are the dialects, it is difficult to say with certainty the exact number of languages spoken in India. The earliest attempt at codifying the linguistic diversity of India was that of Sir G. A. Grierson, who identified 179 languages and 544 dialects in his linguistic survey of India carried out between 1886 and 1927. The next attempt was made in the 1951 Census, following India's independence. The Census listed a total of 845 languages, including dialects, of which 60 were spoken by not less than 100,000 persons each for the redefined territory known as the Union Republic of India. According to Pattanayak (1990:1), a much more dependable account of the language multiplicity in India was presented in the 1961 Census, based upon the language classification scheme of Linguistic Survey of India, The list

presented 193 classified languages corresponding to 1, 652 mother tongues that were actually reported (Pattanayak, 1990:1)). The languages belong to four different language families: Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic, and Tibeto-Burman. However, the majority of the population speak one or more of the 17 languages specified in Schedule VIII of the Indian Constitution.

In India, no single language emerges as the dominant numerical majority language of the country. Even Hindi-Urdu, the single largest linguistic grouping, is spoken by only 45% of the population (Sridhar, 1996:329). Although, the Constitution recognises Hindi as the official language of India and English as the associate language along with a number of other languages included in Schedule VIII but still there are a number of linguistic minorities in all the states and union territories. For instance, Sridhar (1996: 331) identified six types of linguistic minorities in India (i) speakers of minor languages (languages not included in Schedule VIII of the constitution) (ii) speakers of major languages who become minorities as a result of migration (e.g. Telugu migrants in the Kannada – speaking state of Karnataka): (iii) speakers belonging to Schedules Castes and Tribes (e.g., Gondi, Santhali, etc.) (iv) Religious minorities (e.g. Urdu speaking Muslims all over India) (v) linguistic minorities who speak major languages but are a minority because they lack numerical strength in their jurisdiction of residence (e.g. speakers of Sindhi, Kashmiri, etc.) (vi) Finally, ethnic minorities (e.g. Anglo-Indians many of whom claim English as their native language.

From the above discussion, it is quite clear that the existence of minorities in a society whether it is ethnic minorities or religious minorities or linguistic minorities

with a culture different from that of the dominant group, and the contact and clash of cultures at times the source of social change. This is accomplished through a set of attitudes patterns of behaviour, systems of values, stereotypes and ideological pressures. Thus, majority-minority relations invariables contain some conflict in varied forms and operate at different levels. In this context, the primary concern of the proposed study is to throw light on linkages with specific reference to education of minorities. How does education brings about social change among the minorities? The proposed study tries to examine the existing theories and actual practices in terms of the linkages between education and social change with reference to the minorities in India in general, and religious minorities in particular.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The study of minority education is relatively new in the sociology of education. The plea for uniform education policy for all deprived groups in society, may it be ethnic minorities or religious minorities or linguistic minorities, rests in the belief of transforming the present repressive potentiality to liberative sociology of education. Any attempt to discuss minority education in contemporary India is be-set with serious difficulty. The scope of the study is confined only to religious minorities and within this category it is limited to only Muslim and Christians as the literature on other minorities is neither adequate nor existing. Even on the Muslim and Christian education, the date required to assess the nature of the problem or estimate its magnitude are not available comprehensively at an All-India Level. So, the study considered various surveys and studies conducted in different regions and States by individual or institute researchers in order to understand the issues and problems of

education of minority groups in India.

Attempts at collecting data on the educational situation of Muslims in India were made by various researchers. For instance, Ahmad (1981), Kamat (1985), Peer (1988) and Saxena (1989) have invariably shown that at the high school level and higher levels, the Muslims are at least three to four times behind other communities. The enrolment of Muslim children in primary schools are generally poor even in those areas where the Muslims constitute a majority. By and large, a significant majority of even those who are enrolled attend Muslim schools or Urdu medium schools where such schools exist. The enrolment of Muslim girls are extremely low. However, the drop out rate is significantly higher for Muslim students as compared to their non-Muslim counterparts.

Ahmad tried to critically analyse the educational backwardness of the Muslims. He pointed out that the educational backwardness of Muslims in contemporary India rest upon certain assumptions (1981:1457). Firstly, Muslims are an aggregate community. Secondly, the appeal of education is universal to all strata, following from this, if needed Muslims are educationally backward, it is because of some innate religious conservation which discourages pursuit of secular education or because of an acute minority complex.

Oommen tried to focus on the educational backwardness of the Muslims through Urdu language. He identified three main "disabilities" of the Urdu speakers in India what he termed as –" constitutional, "cultural" and "spatial". He pointed out that the constitutional disability of Urdu as language because of deep cultural prejudice. Urdu, given its link with Persian is perceived as a product of Muslim conquest and

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linked with an alien religion .The vast majority of Indian Muslims who converted from local tribes and castes did not help in exercising the deeply internalised cultural prejudice from the minds of many Indians. Although, Urdu is considered as a mother tongue by the Indian Constitution which is spoken especially in the Muslim majority states (i.e., Jammu and Kashmir), but it is the mother tongue of less than 0.5 percent of the population in the state. These tendencies result in Urdu being not only subjected to a "cultural revenge " in many parts of India but also the educational backwardness of the Muslims (200: 32-35).

Pal tried to analyse the educational backwardness of the Muslims by linking education and Islam. He pointed out that " knowledge in the Islamic perspective has always been imbued with the perfume of sacred even when dealing with apparently worldly subjects, and throughout Islamic history, education has possessed a religious character even when dealing with subjects such as medicines and mathematics. Both the western concept of "knowledge for the knowledge sake" and knowledge for the sake of righteousness - the concept that makes man a true servant of god". However, the challenge for Muslim scholars is to think of best ways and means of devising educational system curricula and be free from the negation of psychological complexes (200:12:32). An All India Survey of 430 schools and colleges managed by the Muslim (cited by Saxena, 1989: 165-66) found that "the percentage of non-Muslim students in such institutions increases with the level of education". This suggests that the Muslim educational institutions are not able to attract sufficient number of Muslim students at successive levels of education. Furthermore, as compared to the performance of students in general, the performance

of the Muslim students is poor and unsatisfactory. Significantly, "the Muslims studying in Hindi medium schools did much better than Muslims who studied in Urdu medium institutions" (Saxena, 1989: 164). This seems to imply that either the standard of teaching in the Urdu medium schools is not up to the mark of the students attending them lack the spirit of competition. Whatever that the Muslims have been able to make in the realm of modern education is confined to the urban areas.

On the other hand, the phenomenal success of Christian minority in the realm of education as compared to the Muslim minority. As Naidu (1980:33) puts it, " the opportunities open to a minority seem also to be related to its size". She quotes the economist A. M. Khusro who found that " the majority gets opportunities roughly proportional to its population, a small minority more than proportional and a large minority less than proportional to its members."

Rudolf Heredia tried to critically analyse the status of Christian education in Independent India. He pointed out that " the origin of the present system of English Education in India to be sought in the activities by Christian missionaries. However, the course of Christian education since independence dose not impress the critical observer as bold and spontaneous effort on the part of a mature section of Indian educators to lead the way in the crisis brought on by the changing times, it does not seem as if Christian educators have truly taken up the challenge of educational reconstruction for and independent India"(1995:2337)

RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY

At the outset it must be stated that there is very little aggregate micro-level

data on the education of any religious minority in India. In the absence of systematic and large-scale data, statements based on fleeting observations have passed for analytical generalisations. There is sufficient literature to point out the educational backwardness of the Muslims in terms of literacy rates, which is not the same in case of Christian in India. The most conservative " guesstimates" as mentioned by Kamat put it around 10 Percent and the most liberal ones around 23 Percent. In either case, the extent of literacy among the Muslims is far below the national average. Within the community, the male-female literacy ratio is said to be staggering 20:1. However, there is no consensus about the data. In brief, as Kamat (1985:197) hazards the guess, " for the majority of Muslims, their educational advance is of an order comparable to that of other backward castes among the Hindus". On the contrary, studies on the social background of students have also demonstrated that the Christians are comparable to the Hindus, or even a shade better than them, in the matter of education.

The following questions are raised in relation to the minorities in general. Does the minority culture affects, the process of education by creating a situation of minority complex among the students? Do the minority pupils have equal access to the best that the educational system can offer? Are they treated equally at the school or discriminated overtly or covertly? Do they perform on part with other pupils in such measure as standardised tests and examination results? So far, not many studies have tried to answer these questions within the framework of social change, it is all the more important to note that the studies on minorities concerning these aspects is virtually non- existent, There fore, this study attempts to bridge the gap reviewing the

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existing studies and placing them within a theoretical framework. Further a series of demographic studies revealed that working class children were underrepresented in selective schooling and higher education, over represented in bottom streams and early leavers who did significantly less well than their middle class counterparts in the examinations. Although the situation of the minorities in terms of their educational backwardness is different from that of the working class children, can the same principle be applied to the minority education in India? Hence the proposed study tries to examine these questions.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The field of sociology of minorities has a large canvass. The vastness is due to the complexity and universality of the phenomena in the contemporary world. Minorities differ from each other in their historical origin. They display or believed to display differences with the majority groups in terms of colour, religion, language, culture, nationality, etc. cover all types of minorities in the proposed study is a mammoth task and therefore, it was decided to undertake the case of religious minorities in general and Muslims and Christians in particular in the Indian context. Information on the education of two large groups of religious minorities is very less and scattered across many regional micro studies. So the proposed study attempts to include these two groups of religious minorities i.e., Muslims and Christians.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

Broad objectives

(1) To understand the theoretical notions or perspectives of education and its linkage

with social change.

(2) To examine the specific case of minorities in their quest for education and social change.

(3) To analyse the role of education in bringing about social change among the religious minorities in India.

Specific objectives

(1) To study the policy provisions strategies and programmes to improve the education of the religious minorities in India. It also tries to understand the Socio-historical context of the education of religious minorities in India.

(2) To understand the trends and patterns in the actual educational status of religious minorities.

(3) To analyse the issues and problem in educating the socially disadvantaged religions minority groups in India.

(4) To focus on whether the theory pertaining to education and social change can be interpreted to understand the position of the education of minorities in a multicultural society like India.

METHODOLOGY

The information and data required for the study will be collected through secondary sources like books, articles, journals, periodicals, etc. The study will also

look into various surveys conducted by organisations like Hamdard Society in order to understand the dynamics of minority education. The study will also undertake an examination of reports, statistical databases and policy pronouncements on the subject under study.

CHAPTERISATION

Chapter I deal with the conceptual orientations of minorities and tries to outline the relationship between ethnicity and education as well as language and minorities. Review of literature on minority education, especially Muslim and Christian education, is also presented the first chapter. This chapter also presents both the broad and specific objectives and the methodology of the study.

Chapter II deals with the theoretical orientations of social change. It deals with the linkages between education and social change. It also outlines the relationship between education and social change in the Indian context in terms of colonial period and the period after Independence.

Chapter III deals with the minority education in India. It analyses the socio-historical context and policy provisions and the status of minority education India with reference to Muslims and Christians.

Chapter IV deals with the problems and issues of minority education.

Chapter V presents a summary of the findings and the conclusions of the study.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL CHANGE AND EDUCATION: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

This chapter attempts to analyse the theoretical viewpoints on social change and education that emerged in sociological literature. But before analysing the theoretical notions it is pertinent to provide the conceptual understanding of social change. It also tries to analyse the relationship between education and social change and specifically strives to interpret the role of education in social change in the Indian context.

SOCIAL CHANGE: DEFINITIONS

Social change, being the most important social process, has been defined by various sociologists in a number of ways. Maciver and page points out the " social change is a process responsive to many types of changes; changes in the man made conditions of life;to changes in the attitude and beliefs of man, and to the changes that go beyond the human control to the biological and physical nature of things". (1981:511-512) M.E.Jones defined social change as a term used to describe "variations in, or modifications of, any aspect of social processes, social patterns, social interaction or social organisation".(1982:96) H.T.Muzumdar defined social change as new fashion or mode, either modifying or replacing the old, in the life of a people, or in the operation of a society". (1966; 473) Gillin and Gillin opined social changes are variations from the accepted modes of life, whether due to alteration in geographical conditions, in cultural equipment, composition of the population or ideologies and whether brought about by diffusion or inventions within the group "

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[1950; 561) <u>Anderson and Parker</u> point out that "social change involves alteration in the structure and functioning of social farms or processes themselves"(1985:385) <u>Kingsley Davis</u> defined social change as by "social change is meant only such alteration as occur in social organisation, that is structure and functions of society"(1949:622)Again he distinguished between the term " social change: and "cultural change" He opined that the term "cultural change" embraces all changes occurring in any branch of culture including art, science, technology, philosophy etc. As well as changes in the forms and rules of social organisation. Again he says cultural change is more comprehensive and broader than social change. On the basis of these definitions, it is quite clear that the term "social change" is used to indicate the changes that take place in human interaction and interrelations. Thus, the term social change is used to describe variations in social interaction, social processes and social organisations, which include both the structure as well as the functions of society. Social change is the significant alteration of social structure (i.e., patterns of social action and social interaction) including consequences of manifestations of such cultural products and symbols. Although there are other interrelated concepts like "Evolution," "Growth", Development, " "progress" but they are quite distinct where as "social change" is a value neutral term. Then the question arises the different theoretical viewpoints of social change that emerged in the sociological literature

SOCIAL CHANGE: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

The formulation of a single theory of social change has been one of the most important theoretical concerns in sociological literature. However, all the attempts in this direction on have been futile since the formulation of a single universal theory of

social change is a myth. The attempts made to analyse changes in various societies within one theoretical boundary is based on some misapprehension about the nature of social system and the process of change occurring within them. Various theoretical schemes like evolutionary theory, functional theory, conflict theory, cyclical theory etc, have dominated the literature of social change at different phases of history.

The nineteenth century predecessors of modern sociology were very preoccupied with the dynamics of social change. Although some scholars such as Fredric Le play, attempted to establish canons for systematic description of contemporary social types, the attempts to trace the paths of history was a far more prevalent concern. Often the history attended to be not universal, but limited to the fairly clear antecedents of European civilisation. Generally these authors attempted to find order in the succession of civilisations. The most ambitious of them was probably Auguste Comte, who invented the term "sociology" and propounded the "law of three stages"-the theological, metaphysical and positivist to which all civilizations are supposed to conform.

The evolutionary theories provided the directionality of change, and in particular the increasing complexity and structural differentiation of society, came to be a major tenant of evolutionary theories. Following the impact of Darwin's theories of biological evolution, Herbert Spencer, Lewis Henry, Morgan, and others of lesser stature used such Darwinian notions as selective adaptation to account for both the cross-sectional diversity of societies and cultures and the supposedly sequential stages of social organisation. By the end of the nineteenth century, evolutionary theory was a dominant factor in social thought, even in the work of writers who were not

predominantly evolutionist in outlook. This applies to theorists as diverse as William Graham Sumner, despite his predominant concern with the relativism of all social values, and Emile Durkheim, whose explanation of social phenomena in terms of the balance of an interdependent system has caused him to be identified with what later became the "functionalist" approach to society.

Even Marxism was a variant of evolutionism, particularly in its adherence to the notion of sequential stages of social organisation. The Marxists tried to show how Social change came about by laying great stress on the interaction of technology with social Organisation. Indeed, Marxist thought in its crudest form shared with most Evolutionary theory a belief that one stage of social Organisation succeeded another through the operation of forces that were as impersonal as they were inevitable. Marx himself, however, took fairly full account of the purposive character of social action.

Moreover, his theory was a dynamic one, although it under Played the interdependent role of ideas and values: thus his intellectual heirs were never caught up in the extremes of static "functionalism" that later became a dominant theme in anthropological and sociological theory.

Functionalism is the attempt to explain social phenomena by other social phenomena that are contemporary or quasi-simultaneous. The history of functional analysis may be traced to Comte's "consensus universalise", Spencer's "orgasmic analogy," Pareto's conception of "society as a system, in equilibrium," Durkheim's "causal-functional analysis", Parsons's "functional prerequisites," Merton's "paradigm for functional analysis." Some of its proponents (e.g., Durkheim, Reddeffe Brown, Malinowski) in eschewing explanation in genetic terms, also tended to

suppress all queries about the social dynamics of change. For them, the demonstration of interdependence between different elements of social structure came to mean the search for self-equilibrating mechanisms in society.

The recent revival of interest in dynamics owes something to all these precedents. From Functionalism, contemporary theory derives not only notions of systematic linkages which may be sequential but also, through the concept of "dysfunction", some notions of tension and incipient change. However, the renewal of concern with analysis of social change probably owes more to the undeniable facts of contemporary life and particularly to the social scientist's resultant involvement in studies of modernisation.

Although functional systems models have served rather well as predictors of eventual expected changes in elements of social structure held to be related to economic development, the unconfirmed assumption that all fully modern societies have essentially the same kind of social structure can only had to an unwarranted sociological determinism. In any event, this mode of analysis has produced a kind of "comparative statics" offering a before – and- after view curiously discordant with older evolutionary theories: for the functionalist's standard treatment of modernisation dwells on pre-existing heterogeneity that becomes in due course of homogeneity. Nevertheless, functionalist studies of modernisation have at least the merit of demonstrating a serious but fortunately remediable weakness in the analytical models employed, namely that before- and after comparison diverts attention from the mechanisms of change and entirely suppresses inquiries about actual sequences and timetables.

Alternative models of societies view society as a "functional equilibrium system" has the advantage of telling that certain variable need to be correlated with certain other variables. In any case, some such model of society, whether implicit or explicit underlies most of the better arrested propositions about social action and social structure in contemporary American sociology. Indeed, functionalism in the hands of a sophisticated theorist does not provide attention to deviance, nor does it prejudge the issues of stability and continuity in social change theory.

The functional prerequisites is to adopt an implicitly evolutionary position, for the notion of functional prerequisites not only give rise to high-level generalisations about the features common to all societies but also, by applying the test of survival explains the failure of past society by their want of one or more" operating characteristics". The sophisticated functionalist, therefore, views society as a "tension-management system, "thus making order itself problematic and empirical study of the uncertainties and conflicts that arise in society from disparities between the ideal and the actual.

One of the few viable alternatives to functionalism that have been offered is the "conflict model" of society (Dahrendorf, 1957). However, this does not appear to be a comprehensive construction, but only a change of emphasis to discordant elements and interests as a counterpoise to models that stress social integration. Moreover, the tension management model, as described above, already identifies structural tension points as probable sites of change.

However, social change is ubiquitous. Although earlier sociologists often treated stability as normal and significant social change as an exceptional process

deserving special explanation, scholars now expect to see some continuos level of change in all social organisations. Discontinuous changes are of course rarer but still a normal part of social life. As Bourdieu (1990) and Giddens(1980) suggest, we need to see human life as always structural but incompletely so, "structuration" is as much a process of change as a reflection of stability. Indeed, the existence of stable social patterns over long periods of time requires at least as much explanation as does social change.

Cumulative social change must be distinguished from the universal, processual aspect of all social life. Social life sociologists do study the latter, for example by focussing attention on those dynamic processes through which particular characteristic is of social life may change, even though over all patterns remain relatively constant. Sometimes, specific processes of social life undergo long term transformations. These transformations in the nature, organisation or outcomes of the processes themselves are what is usually studies under the level "social change".

Sociologists have generally taken three approaches to study cumulative social changes. The first is to look for generalisable patterns in how all sorts of changes occur. Sociologists may thus look for characteristic phases through which any social innovation must pass- for example, scepticism, experimentation, early diffusion among leaders, and later general acceptance. Ogburn(1950) was pioneer in this sort of research, examining topics like the characteristic "lag" between cultural innovations and widespread adjustments to them or exploitation of their potentials. Contemporary sociologists tend to place much more emphasis on differences among various kinds of social changes and their settings. However, the key distinguishing feature of all these

sorts of studies is that they regard changes as individual units of roughly similar sorts and aim at generalisations about them.

The second major sociological approach to cumulative change has been to seek an explanation for the whole pattern of cumulative. The most important such efforts are based on evolutionary theories. The most prominent contemporary social evolutionist, Gerhard Lenski who argued that increases in technological capacity (including information processing as well as material production, distribution etc.) account for most of the major changes in human social organisation. In his synthesis, Lenski arranges the major forms of human societies in a hierarchy based on their technological capacity and shows how other features such as their typical patterns of religion, law, government, class in equality or relations between the sexes are rooted in these technological differences.

There are a number of other important versions of the evolutionary approach to cumulative social change. Some stress different material factors such as human adaptation to ecological constraints (Harris 1979; White 1949), others stress culture and other patterns of thought more than material conditions (Parsons 1968; Habermas 1978). Some versions of Marxism social change in terms of a few key factors notably improvement in the means of production and class struggle (e.g., Engels 1972) other readings of Marx suggest that his mature theory is better understood as specific to capitalism.

Adherents to the third major approach to cumulative social change argue that there can be no single evolutionary explanation for all the important transitions in human history. They also stress differences among the particular instances of specific

sorts of changes. These historical sociologists place their emphasis on the importance of dealing adequately with particular changes by locating them in their historical and cultural context (Abrams 1982, Calhaun 1991) Weber was an especially important pioneer of this approach. Historical sociologists have argued that particular sort of transformation-like the development of capacity for industrial production-may result from different causes and hold different implications on different occasions. The industrial revolution in eighteenth and nineteenth century Britain thus developed with no advance with no advance model and without competition from any established industrial powers, countries industrialising today are influenced by both models and competition from existing industrial countries. The development of the modern world system has thus fundamentally altered the conditions of future social changes, making it misleading to lump together cases of early and late industrialisation for generalisation (Wallerstein 1974-88)

Further, many of the most prominent social theorists have treated all of modernity as a continuos era and stressed its distinction from previous forms of social organisation. Durkheim (1893) argued that a new, more complex division of labour was central to dichotomous distinction of modern (organic solidarity) from pre-modern (mechanical solidarity) society. Weber (1922) saw Western rationalisation of action and relationships as basic and as continuing without repertoire through the whole era. Marx (1867) saw the transition from feudalism to capitalism to capitalism as basic but held that no change in modernity would be fundamental unless it overthrew the Processes of private capital accumulation and the commodification of labour. Recent Marxists thus argues that the social changes of the last 300 to 500

years are Phases Within capitalism, not breaks with it (Mandel 1974; Wallerstein 1974-88; Harvey 1989) many sociologists Would add a claim about the centrality of increasing state power as basic continuous process of modernity (e, g Tilly 1990 emphasises the distinctive form of nation state) more generally, Habermas (1984-88) has stressed the split between a life world in which everyday interactions are organised on the basis of mutual agreement, and an increasingly prominent systematic interaction through the impersonal relationships of many and power outside the reach of linguistically mediated co-operative understanding common to all these Positions is the notion That there is a general process (not Just a static set of attributes) common to all modernity. Some would also claim to discern a causal explanation: others only point to the trends, suggesting these explain an overall pattern of evolution. All would agree that no basic social change can be said to have occurred until the fundamental process they identify have been ended or reversed. Obviously, a great deal depends on what processes are taken to be fundamental.

Rather than stressing the common process organising all modernity, some scholars have pointed to the disjunctures between relatively stable periods. Foucault (1973), for example emphasised basic transformations in the way knowledge was constituted and an order ascribed to the world of things, people and ideas. The "classical modernity" of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries marked a radical break by treating the sign as fundamentally distinct from the thing it signified. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, still another repurture came with the development of the modern ideas of classification according to hidden, underlying causes and a n examination of human beings as the basic source of systems of

representation, only this last period where most theories of social change emphasize processes. For instance Foucault (1969) emphasizes the internal, coherence of relatively stable cultural configurations and the repurtures between them.

Foucault's work has recently been taken as support for the claim that modern era has ended. Theories of "post modernity" Harvey (1989) and lash (1990)argue that at some point the modern era gave way to success. Generally, they hold that " where modernity was rigid, linear and focussed on universality, post modernity is flexible, fluidly multi directional, and focussed on difference" (Lash: 1990:35-36) Some postmodernist theories emphasize the impact of new production technologies (especially computer assisted flexible automation), while others are more exclusively cultural. The label post modernity has often been applied rather casually to point to

Interesting features of the present period without clearly indicating why they should be taken as revealing a basic discontinuous shift between eras.

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE: LINKAGES

Education is one of the intervening variables in the phenomenon of social change. Durkheim conceives of education as the socialisation of the younger generation. James Watson opines that education as attempt on the part of the adult members of human society to shape the development of the coming generation with its own ideals of life. Samuel koenig pointed out that education is a process where by the social heritage of a group is passed from one generation to the other. Lapiere (1945) points out that there are various factors responsible for social change like cultural factor ie, the dynamism of culture, technological factor through the advancement of science and technology, ideological factor which includes morals,

values, beliefs, new ideas etc. and demographic factor which include the principal components of natural reproduction, migration and social mobility.

Thus, education can also be understood as factor of social change and development, The role of education as an agent or instrument of social change and development is widely e recognised today, However, the principal difficult in this connection has arisen from the fact that education is simultaneously the cause and the effect of social change which is a product as well as the process.

Further parsons (1951) pointed out that the educational system of any society is related to the social system. The goals and the needs of the social system get reflected in the functions it lays down for its educational system and the form in which it structures it to fulfil those function In this context Moore(1965)talks about the function of education in pre modern and modern societies what he calls "Static society" and "changing society"

"In a Static society the main function of education is to transmit the cultural heritage to the new generation The cultural heritage of any society can be said to be the aims and goals it cherishes as a group the values and attitudes it considers as desirable and the skills and knowledge it needs for the achievement of the goals In a static society the educational system transmits this cultural heritage as it is in the new generation But in a changing society these keep on changing from generation to generation and therefore the educational system in such a society must not only transmit the cultural heritage but also aid in preparing the young for adjustment to change in them that may have occurred or are likely to occur in future. An educational system geared to mere maintenance of status quo is bound to become dysfunctional in

a changing society (Moore, 1965:35-40)

So far as the relationship between education and social change is concerned, Shah and Shah (1978) pointed out that there are three ways through which it can be studied.

(1) Firstly," education may ignore social change and serve as a conserver of tradition"(1978:298). The view about education as a conserver of traditions, the main function of educational institution to train the intellect, transmit worthwhile in the cultural heritage and adjust the young to the society for instace, Durkheim's conceptualisation of education as " arousing and developing in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual and moral states which are demanded of him by both the political society as whole and the special millieu for which he is specially destined "(1956:112). Thus, the role of education as a conserver can be sociologically acceptable with reference to more ore less static societies where change takes very long time to occur.

(2) Secondly," education may act as co-operative force in social change "Shah and Shah 1978:298. The second view about education as a co-operative force in social change is that changes occur in the contemporary societies. "In such societies therefore an educational system that performs the function of conservation only soon becomes either dysfunctional or undergoes a change in its function as well as structure to suit the needs"(Shah and Shah 1978:299). However, education is conceived as an effect of social change. Social changes come first and consequently the needs of the society are realised through educational institutions. This may cause numerous adjustments within as well as out side the educational systems. For

instance, In India after independence," we have introduced big changes in polity, economy and in religious, social and technological fields, we have adopted new values, goals such as democracy, secularism, equality, social justice pattern of society and so on. In order that educational system may become helpful in internalising all these new values in the new generation"(Shah and Shah 1978:300)

(3)Thirdly, The third view about "education as an agent or instrument of social change" Which believes that education has the ability to initiate the social change itself. This view point is against those shoe believe that social change is universal to all societies. As Brameld (1955: 183-89) says" they over look the supra-individual nature or many forces and institutions, such as socio-political classes, mass media pressure groups and other centres of power in society tat can bring heavy pressure on individual's behaviour beliefs and social relations, they underestimate the persistance and recurrence of cultural patterns and therefore emphasise the novelity of history opportunities for unplanned change and the inevitability of progress."

A number of sociologists, educationists and anthropologists also are of the view that education should not attempt to be prime mover and an agent of social change, but should work as a co-operative force in social change. For instance, according to ottaway (1955) changes in education, society and culture come under orders from those people who are in power; education itself does not initiate social change, but is a force which supports and develops changes in social aims already decided by those is power

Thus, in modern complex societies, education can neither be regarded as a controlling for conserving the cultural heritage, nor could it be viewed as an agent to

social change. It can only be regarded as a co-operative force in bringing about social changes decided by the forces possessing more pervasive power in society. Though education cannot be prime mover in social change the changes in the educational system may bring about subsequent changes in other sub systems and institutions and also in turn affected by them. For example, shah and shah pointed point out that" the modern educational system introduced by British in India did affect the traditional caste-based rigid stratification system prevalent in Indian society, provided social mobility to some people and liberated them from the caste system to certain extent; or because of the introduction liberal and secular curriculum in schools in India, liberal ideas like democracy, equality, justice etc. percolated in the new generation, influenced the authoritarian more of the joint family and developed the freedom of the individual. This brought about a change in the traditional relationship between parents and children, between husband and wife etc."(1978:302) However, this influence can also be termed as result of education playing its role as a co-operative force in social change.

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN INDIAN CONTEXT:-

Although, Indian sociologists have been mainly interested in the modernization and development aspects of social change but very few among them have written directly on the precise relationship between education and social change. The first view is represented by those social scientists who used the Marxist framework asserted that change in or through educational system is not possible without prior changes in the social structure. For instance, Kamat (1985) provided Marxist approach to education and social change in India. He opined that "the

educational system is largely conditioned by the prevalent socio-economic and political power structure, its expansion, growth and development are tuned to the requirements of this structure, and the changes in it are directed by the changes in this structure, particularly by the changes in the distribution of power-economic, social and political – in society. The educational system which is a social product and a sub-system of the entire social system, acquires a collateral relationship with it" (Kamat, 1985:12). The second view is represented by those who used the functional framework and do not therefore establish the primacy of any one factor over the other. Finally, the third and a more recent view is that transformation in the social and educational system should be simultaneous.

In order to analyse the role of education in social change in India, i would like to focus on the two phases of history i.e., the colonial period as well as the period after independence. During the colonial period, British rule in India ushered many far reaching social changes, among them the introduction of a rational and secular educational system was important. In this context Ahmed (1979) distinguishes between the colonial educational system and the traditional educational system. Firstly, for the first time in the history of the country, education became at least in theory open to all irrespective of birth which enabled the lower castes and women to take education. Secondly, the literary and sacred education of the Brahmins or priestly castes and the very functional education of the traditional castes were replaced by the secular and British system of education. Thirdly, the social consequences of the new education system created a new educated elite in the country which acquired a decisive instrument for achieving status in society. Fourthly, education became linked with occupations in the administrative and the judicial set up. Therefore, it also

became a vehicle for job acquisition. Fifthly, while increasing the gap between the educated elite and the masses, it brought together those Indians who had been exposed to the western secular and liberal ideas. These were the people who, later on led the national movement for independence in the country and they also took part in movements for social, religious and political reform in various parts of the country.

At the time of independence, the national objective in education was to develop a system of national education. It meant among other things, universal free elementary education, removal of adult literacy, adoption of Indian languages as medium of instruction at all stages, vocationalisation of education and special attention to the backward sections of society such as women, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, Two of these tenants were also enshrined in the constitution as directive principles of state policy; the provision of universal elementary education and the promotion of the interests of the unprivileged sections of our society. "The most notable feature of the post. Independence educational system is its phenomenal expansion. The impact of this expansion was felt at all levels of the system. The growth and expansion of education has been enormous in size" (kaul, 1974: 1-15). This expansion has undoubtedly benefited almost all sections of our society although the share of the benefits differs according to the location (rural or urban),sex and socio-economic status. The chief beneficiaries of this expansion have been the middle sections of our society in the urban areas, in the rural areas, the land greater advantage of the new opportunities (Kamat, 1976: 313). However, despite quantitative changes educational system suffers from serious drawbacks. For instance, most surveys by sociologists have pointed out that educational system has not only increased the social inequalities, it has also created them where none existed before. Thus, the

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constitutional objective of an egalitarian society is far from being realised.

Summary :

From the above discussion it is clear that education can be understood as a factor of social change and it helps the process of social change as a necessary collateral factor. It can also help stimulating the process by disseminating and cultivating knowledge, information, skill and values appropriate to the changing socio-economic and political structure. Although there are divergent opinions regarding the direction of social change that are brought about by education but still there is consensus over the issue that education does make a real difference. In India, in the context of an emerging democratic polity and the ideal of an egalitarian social order, the constitution makers were acutely conscious of the hierarchical nature of Indian society, the cumulative disadvantages suffered by certain sections of society and the collective nature of social affiliations. In order to eliminate these disadvantages, education was viewed as an instrument of social change individual mobility, social equality for all social groups through social justice and of integration and mainstreaming but in fact the reality is not so.

CHAPTER- III

MINORITY EDUCATION IN INDIA

This chapter deals with the minority education in India in general and the religious minorities such as Muslims and Christians in particular. The task here is to analyse the status of minority education. The chapter also provides a socio-historical background and then focuses on the Constitutional Policies and Provisions that are guaranteed for the protection of minorities and how certain educational institutions emerged to safeguard the interests of the minorities. It outlines the educational status of both the Muslims and Christians in terms of literacy rates, the number of minority educational institutions, enrolments at various stages, drop out rates etc. the chapter seeks to provide evidence mainly through the empirical studies conducted by various social scientists.

Socio-historical Background

The socio-historical background of minority education can be contextualised within the broad framework of Indian education system starting from the ancient period to colonial period. In this context, Kochhar (1982) analysed the historical perspective of Indian education system and classified into three periods such as education in ancient India, education in medieval India and education in colonial India. In our ancient tradition, education was regarded as the most important tool for self-realisation there were two significant impacts on education during that period. The first of these was the impact of the Aryan civilization and the second was the

Buddhist influence. During the beginning of the Aryan period, the education imparted was generally confined to the priestly class, and later it spread to the other Varnas such as kshatriyas and the vaishyas" (Kochhar, 1982:).

Then, with the advent of the Medieval period, another system of education found its way into the country. Like the Hindus, the Muslims also had two types of institutions – the Maktabs and Madrassas. The Maktabs, which corresponded to the Hindu elementary school, was generally attached to the mosque and functioned with the primary objective of teaching boys and girls to read and write, and particularly to read the Holy Quran. The Madrassas, which corresponded to the Hindu Pathashala, was an institution of higher learning, which prepared a highly selective group of men for the professions- priests, judges, doctors, etc. (Kochhar, 1982:).

During the colonial period, deliberate attempts were made by the Britishers to introduce and propagate the British educational system in India. However, the socio-historical background of minority education in India can be traced to the colonial character of education. Naidu (1980: 25) has convincingly argued that the communal problem in its present form has emerged in India out of the social forces generated by British colonialism and the resultant exogenous process of growth. This process of growth associated with colonialism had uneven impact on the different regions of the Raj, and the various religious communities and classes in them. The communities, classes, sectors or regions which were strategically placed vis-à-vis the colonial economy, modernized first. In terms of the religious communities, extensive evidence dating back to the second half of the 19th century (Hunter, 1876: 39) point to

the fact that "it was the Hindus[1] who took advantage of the process of modernization initiated by the British first, and the Muslims generally lagged far behind the Hindus throughout the British period. This fact explains the continued dominance of the realm of education by the upper castes in general and Brahmins in particular (Jayaram, 1990).

Thus, to understand the changing educational fortunes of both Muslims and Christians, it is necessary to refer to the serious socio-economic, imbalances introduced by the on set of colonized economy in India as in any other colony. The operational logic of colonization necessitated the initiation of an exogenous process of development,[2] which unlike its endogenous counterpart,[3] drew into its ambit different regions, communities and classes at extremely disparate rates. As compared to both the Hindus and the Christians, the Muslims entered the developmental process rather late and even so not effectively. Therefore, the communal problem in India in general and the problem of minority education in particular is held to be to a great extent the result of such time lags in the entry of different communities into the modernization process" (Naidu, 1980: 26).

Rawat (1987) pointed out that the introduction of modern English education was propagated by three agencies, mainly foreign Christian missionaries, British government and the progressive Indians who are in favour of English education.

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[1] Even among the Hindus it was the Brahmins and other upper castes which had a heritage of literacy and the tradition of learning who took to English education.

[2] The functional approach of social change explains changes through exogenous sources ie, outside the social structure.

[3] On the other hand the dialectical theory puts greater emphasis upon intra-systematic or endogenous sources of social change and considers them to be immanent in the social structure itself. See, Y. Singh, 2001: 22-27.

Among them, the Christian missionaries played a dominant role through writing textbooks, dictionaries and grammar in indigenous languages. The attitude of the East India Company was one of ambivalence in the beginning, and oscillated, from time to time, form active support to the opposition of proselytisers. It is significant that a community such as the Indian Muslims which had a tradition of literacy and education was not only apathetic but also often explicitly hostile to western education which alone was the open sesame for taking advantage of the employment and other economic opportunities that were thrown open (Rawat, 1987). Further, the Muslims found the educational system distasteful, while Hindu reactions to it, finding expression in the reform movement named as Brahmo Samaj of Raja Ram Mohan Ray, strenuously endeavoured to eradicate the prevalent evils of Hindu society, which was possible only through an appeal to the Hindus to receive English education. The substitution of the old Islamic system of education by a new one, which was avowedly pro-Christian, forced the Muslims to keep away from the new educational system (Mohiuddin, 1982: 28). English education was in fact mis-constructed by them as an attempt on the part of the government to convert the province to Christianity.

However, Naidu (1980:32) has summarised the cultural logic underlying the differential responses of Muslims and Hindus as follows:

"There remained a tradition among Indian Muslims of sense of superiority of learning imparted within the limits of their own cultural norms. The result was that when the British brought some of the fruits of the renaissance to the Indian subcontinent, the Muslims were too proud in a

vulgar hurry to savour it. The Hindus, on the other hand, not having scaled great cultural heights in the immediately preceding period and long suppressed by the Muslim invasions had a more open mind. They quickly learned the English language, and then the sciences and technology, and equipped themselves with the skills that gave them relative advantage over the Muslims in adjusting to the impeding systematic changes in the subcontinent".

Thus, the system of education during the Britishers was European thoughts based on "Reason". A new era began in India after the battle of Buxar in 1764, which led to a new social, economic and educational order. Persian was replaced by English in the court and the Christian missionaries took up Christianity. After Macaulay's minute, all institutions of higher education used English as the medium of instruction and aimed at spreading western sciences and knowledge.

The orthodox section of Muslims shunned western education, without considering its merits and demerits. Christian missionaries wielded much influence in education but their institutions were suspected to be the centres of conversion. For instance, St. Joseph's college in Trichy was founded over 150 years ago by Jesuit Missionaries and Isabella Thoburn College in Lucknow was founded in 1870 by a Mission Methodist Church. The abolishment of Persian as court language and its replacement by English, consequently led to replacement of Muslims by Hindus. Muslims didn't take to western education. But some enlightened Muslims such as Abdul Latif, Syed Amir Ali and Syed Ahmad Khan recognised the importance of

western education for the development of their community under changing conditions. They not only advocated the introduction of western education but also even took steps to foster it among their brothers. Therefore, various educational institutions were established to spread education among the Muslims. For instance, Syed Ahmad Khan established Mohammadan Anglo-oriental College and Aligarh Muslim University in 1875 for Muslims to impart education along western lines, but concomitantly with Muslim religious education. Other important educational institutions started prior to independence was the establishment of Osmania University in 1917 and Jamia Millia Islamia in 1920 which was established during the period of non-co operation movement against the British Government. The attempts made by the so- called enlightened Muslims were strongly opposed by the conservative elements within the community.

However, with the theological orthodoxy reigning supreme and the community clinging tenaciously to cultural traditions bound with religion, the main type of education which the Muslims received was the traditional curriculum that was imparted in Madrassas and Maktabs. No wonder, the Muslims lagged behind in modern scientific, technical and professional education, even as they continued with their traditional education" (Naidu, 1980:37). The educational backwardness of Muslims was gradually reflected in their declining representation both in the professions and in government service in the colonial era.

On the other hand, the date at which the Christian faith first appeared in India has been the subject of endless debate, and still presents itself as a fascinating

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historical problem. In this context, Neill (1987) analysed the historical development of Christianity in the Indian subcontinent. "Christianity, like Islam has long history in India tracing back to the 1st century A.D., but the spread of this religion, the introduction of doctrinal specificities and the peculiarities of rites and rituals of western Christians took place mostly during the colonial era. Unlike the spread of Islam which was, by and large, directly associated with and directed by the Muslim rulers, the spread of Christianity was never avowed political mission of British colonialists" (Neill, 1987: 422-23). They only provided an umbrella for the missionaries who concentrated on the task of spreading the religion while at the same time subtly trying to demarcate the spheres of religious and state power.

Unlike the Muslims, the Christians didn't have any cultural or religious inhibition in accepting the western education. A large number of boys and girls received education in the missionary institutions. Neill (1987: 424) identified three features of Christian education in colonial India. "Firstly, the immense educational effort of the missionaries, aided by financial support from the government, produced a large Christian middle class, educated and professional, which prepared the way for the development of independent Indian churches. Secondly, the underprivileged castes seeing no hope of a better future under the Hindu system began to press into the Christian churches. Thirdly, many among the aboriginal peoples, having no wish to be incorporated into the Hindu caste system, saw in the Christianity which would provide greater freedom."

Mishra and Singh (2002) attempted to analyse the historical phases of the

growth of Christianity in India and classified into four phases. According to them, "the early phases of the growth of Christianity characterized by the colonial rule and missionary Christian activity in the country. The introduction of western educational system and the propagation of English in various parts of the country by the missionaries expanded the relation with the Christians through educational institutions" (Mishra and Singh, 2002: 129-30). The second phase, what they viewed is that "a major contradiction inherent in the growth of Christianity in the late 19th century was the fights within it own ranks. The indigenisation of the church speeded up the process of conversion into Christianity. The churches began to set up schools, colleges and colleges on capitalist lines, but ostensively serving the interests of the Christian community as a whole. The political strategies of the Christian churches have been region specific. In Christian-majority states like Kerala and Goa, the church intervention in the politics has been very active" (Mishra and Singh, 2002: 131).

The third phase of the post-1960 period witnessed the involvement of many church-related institutions in socio-economic projects. Usually these projects and programmes are administered in areas where the poor people are concentrated and are politicised in a better way. Studies have shown that since many of the projects are centred around church run institutions, the beneficiaries are gradually attracted on compelled into the church" (Mishra & Singh, 2002: p. 131-132).

The fourth phase was termed as "social phase" i.e., the post 1970 phase "Characterized by feeling that a purely technological, economic or charitable which will not help the interests of church establishment and that more attention on human and organizational aspects of development to be made" (Mishra & Singh, 2002: p.

132).

Thus, from the above discussion, it is quite clear that the Christian Missionaries played a significant role for the emergence of present educational system through English as the medium of instruction. Therefore, the Brahmins and other upper caste Hindus, the Christians were able to get a head-start in the matter of education and there by in the emerging economic opportunities of modern India. This explains the favourable educational situation of the Christians in comparison to Muslims even that of the Hindus.

Constitutional Policies and Provisions in Post-Independence Scenario

After independence, the founding fathers of the Constitution of India were sensitive to the complex character of the problem of minorities. They had a firm faith that healthy national consciousness would grow if the minorities are guaranteed liberty, equality, fraternity and justice. The cultural and educational rights of the minorities incorporated in the Constitution of India, basically are the balancing approach to harness a healthy and prosperous life and status for all including the minorities. For instance, the Sub-Committee on Minorities prepared a report, which dealt with the question of fundamental rights from the point of view of minorities and was submitted in April 1947. The report recommended the following:

1. All citizens are entitled to use their mother tongue and the script there of, and to adopt, study or use any other language and script of their choice.

2. Minorities in every unit shall be adequately protected in respect of their language and culture, and no government may enact any law or regulations

that may act oppressively or prejudicially in this respect.

3. No minorities, whether of religion, community or language, shall be deprived of rights or discriminated against in regard to the admission into state educational institutions, nor shall any religious institutions be compulsorily imposed on them.

4. All minority whether of religion, community or language shall be free in any unit to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice and they shall be entitled to state aid in the same manner and measure as is given to state-aided institutions.

5. Not withstanding any custom, law, presumption in terms of dedication, no Hindu on grounds of caste, birth or denomination shall be precluded from entering an educational institution dedicated or intended for the use of the Hindu community or any section there of.

6. No disqualification shall arise on grounds of sex in respect of public services or professions or admission to education institutions save and expect that this shall not prevent the establishment of separate institutions for boys and girls.

Then the Draft Committee, under the Chairmanship of Dr. B.R.Ambedkar in 1948 provided a series of articles to protect the interests of all minority groups whether they are religious, linguistic or cultural minorities, which are following:

1. Any section of the citizens of India having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the fundamental right to conserve them. [Art. 29(1)]

2. No citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the state or receiving state aid or grounds only or religion, race, caste, language or any of them. [Art. 29(2)]

3. All minorities whether based on religion or language, shall have the fundamental right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice. [Art-30 (1)]

4. The state shall not in granting aid to educational institutions discriminate against any educational institution, that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on religion or language. [Art: 30(2)]

5. The constitution directs every state to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to the linguistic minority groups. [Art: 350(A)].

Although the Constitution of India recognises equal educational rights for all religious groups and various welfare programmes were planned over time for religious minorities in particular; deeply rooted prejudice deprive most of the children to participate in educational activities.

Various Committees and Commissions have also stressed to need to promote education among minorities. For instance, the Committee on Religious and Moral Instruction set up in 1959 concerned with the teaching of moral and spiritual values and not religious instruction. Further, the Education Commission (1964-66) pointed out that "a serious defect in the school curriculum is the absence of provision for education in social moral and spiritual values". However, it agreed with the

recommendations of the Committee on Religious and Moral Instruction. The Commission recommended that conscious and organised attempts should be made for imparting education in social, moral and spiritual values of great religions.

Para 4.8 of National Policy on Education (N.P.E.) 1986 states that "some minority groups are educationally deprived or backward, greater attention will be paid to the education of these groups in interest of equality and social justice. This will naturally include the constitutional guarantees given to them to establish and administer their own educational institutional, and protection to their languages and culture, simultaneously, objectivity will be reflected in the preparation of text books 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".

The National Policy on Education, 1986, included Programme of Action for Minorities' education and envisaged many long term programmes concerning primary, middle, higher secondary, vocational and technical education, women's education and resource centres to provide training and guidance to minority members. The Programme of Action, 1992 also recommended for the schemes of Area Intensive Programme for educationally backward minorities and also for the financial assistance for modernisation of Madrassa education. Besides central initiatives, state governments have initiated many programmes/policies to ameliorate the situation.

Various on-going programmes for minorities' education were attempted in various policy provisions. For instance, the University Grants Commission (U.G.C.)

introduced a coaching scheme in 1984 to prepare students belonging to educationally backward minorities to enable them to complete in various competitive examinations for recruitment in services and for admission to professional courses.

Another attempt is made by the National Council for Educational Research and Training (N.C.E.R.T.) which has been organising seminars and training programmes for principals/teachers of minority managed schools. The programmes include seminar cum workshops for principals, managers and training programme for teachers from minority managed institutions in subjects such as English, Science, Mathematics, Vocationalisation of education and educational evaluation. Such training programmes are also being organized by the regional resource centres. The Union Department of Education has prepared policy norms and principles for recognition of educational institutions as minority managed institutions and these have been circulated to state governments for enabling them to prepare detailed guidelines in this matter. Apart from this, Parliament has enacted the National Commission for Minorities Act in 1992 for monitoring the working of the safeguards provided in the Constitution and in union and state laws.

Demographic Profile of minorities in India

According to 1991census, the religious minorities constitute about 17.93 percent total of the population of which Muslims are 11.8%, Christians 2.63%, Sikhs 2%, Buddhists 0.7%, Jains 0.4%, zorastrians 0.3% and Jews 0.1%. Undoubtedly, Muslims are numerically the most predominant minorities and are spread all over the country with varying degree of concentration in different regions both in urban and

rural areas.

Christians are mostly urban in the northern states and rural in the southern states. However, a majority of them (nearly 75 percent) live in the rural areas. They are mostly converts from the lower Hindu castes (i.e. the scheduled castes) or tribals who have been converted to Christianity. This is a result of the missionary activity prior to the advent of the British in the north-eastern hill states and other parts of India, having a concentration of tribals, untouchables and other weaker sections. The history of Christian missionaries in India could be synonymous with the history of modern English education in India since they have been in the forefront of education. According to the High Power Panel on Minorities, Christians provide 20 percent of our health and educational facilities. Therefore, it is not justified to put them alongwith other minorities, especially the Muslims and Neo-Buddhists who have been educationally backward for social and historical reasons.

Sikhs also share the same position as the Christians-socially, educationally and economically. Though not as pre-eminent as the Christians or Parsees, Sikhs are also heterogeneous as the Muslims and Christians. They are mainly farmers in the rural areas. They also have been the backbone of the armed forces. In the urban areas, they have been engaged in trade, commerce and artisans. They share the same advantaged position with Christians in higher education.

Ninety-six percent of parsees live mainly in Bombay city in Maharastra and Surat in Gujarat- the two western states. They were the first industrialists in India. They are a highly urbanised community. They also have been the best-known

philanthropists in setting up important educational institutions and fellowships. They were leaders in providing educations to their members. Thus, Parsees, Christians and Sikhs, in that order cannot be called educationally backward eventhough some groups among them may suffer handicaps.

So far as Buddhists are concerned, there are two distinct categories, namely, the old traditional groups of Buddhists who have existed in India for centuries in the northern and western provinces and hilly regions such as Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram in the North-East and in Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir. They have been granted the status of scheduled tribes. The other category consists of Neo-Buddhists who adopted the religion after 1950's in response to Dr. B.R.Ambedkar's call to convert in order to free themselves from the clutches of untouchability. This resulted in mass conversions, of the untouchables to Buddhism, especially in Maharastra. It is note-worthy that there are wide differences –social, cultural, economic, linguistic, educational – between the two categories of Buddhists.

The sociological significance of Muslims as a minority group rests not solely on their numerical strength, the social construction of Muslims, as a minority in the socio-political history of India is a crucial factor. Contrary to common belief neither the Muslims nor the Christians constitute a socially homogenous community, both are characterised by regional and linguistic variations and highly unequal systems of social stratification along with caste-like formations. Between both these communities religion has functioned as an effective ideological apparatus insulating the contradictions within the community.

Thus, although there is considerable heterogeneity among the religious minorities-in terms of class, region, culture, language, caste affiliation, the High Power Panel on Minorities, S.C./S.T. and other weaker sections, appointed by the Ministry of Home Affairs headed by Dr. Gopal Singh has identified Muslims and Neo-Buddhists as educationally backward at the national level.

Present Status of Minority Education in India

Since the scope of the study includes only the Muslims and the Christians, this section attempts to analyse their educational situation in terms of their representation, which is reflected in the literacy rates, enrolments, dropouts etc.

Literacy rate

Despite the non-availability of data on actual figures stating Muslims in educational sphere at the macro level, the data collected by various micro level studies was taken for analysis in this section. The micro level studies point out that the existing figures of Muslims in the educational institutions and their low employment ratio in various sectors, which indicate a highly deplorable condition of Muslims. Muslims are one of the most educationally backward sections of Indian society. Despite being second largest population and the largest minority group in India, they are mostly illiterate, unemployed, poor and deprived. For instance, Rao (1995) cited National Sample Survey (N.S.S.) data to show the educational backwardness of Muslims in comparison with Hindus in the country. The 43rd round of the N.S.S. data revealed that in rural India 51 percent of Hindu males were illiterate where as the figure for Muslim males was 58 percent. The percentage of illiteracy in urban India

was 25.3 percent for Hindu males and 42 percent for Muslim males, and the ratio of illiteracy in urban India was 42 percent for Hindu females and 60 percent for Muslim females.

According to another study by Ahmad (1994), the literacy rate was 32.20 % and 53.65% among Muslims and Hindus respectively in Didwana town of Rajasthan, and 31.46 % and 55.17% among Muslims and Hindus respectively in Kishanganj town of Bihar. The literacy rate was 49 % for Muslims where as nearly 60% for Hindus and 65 % for other minorities. Similarly, the enrolment rate for Muslim children between the age group of 6-14 years was 62% whereas it is 77 % for Hindus and 84 % for other minorities. The figures of discontinuation rates for same age group were found to be 5.5, 6.9 and 5.2 % for Muslims, Hindus and other minorities respectively (Haq, 1998: 11-12)

Literacy rate among Muslim women is alarmingly lowest as compared to their counterparts in other communities. An All India Education Survey conducted by Hamdard Education Society in 1992, it was found that only 19 % of Muslim women are literate in Delhi whereas the national literacy rate of women being 39%. National Family Health Survey (1993) also shows that only 1.2 % Muslims are educated as against 3.4 % Hindus above High School.

Thus, form the above discussion it is quite clear that the literacy rate among the Muslims is quite low. Further, the literacy rate among the Muslims males is low in comparison to other minority counterparts and the situation of Muslim women is further deplorable.

Educational Institutions

This section tries to focus on the number of educational institutions run by minorities, in general, and Muslims and Christians, in particular. Till the mid of 1995, out of 220 Universities and 8210 Colleges all over the country, there are a few Madrassas which are imparting modern education, but they haven't been enough to remove educational disparities between the Muslims and other communities. There were only three universities namely the Aligarh Muslim University, Jamia Millia Islamia and Jamia Hamdard University having significant Muslim representation and 71 degree colleges all over India.

Mohiuddin (1982) pointed out that thirty five universities offer Arabic courses upto diploma or degree or certificate level in Arabic. Likewise, Urdu is taught in 43 universities and the Aligarh, Bombay, Calcutta, Gujarat, Osmania, South Gujarat Universities have courses in Islamic culture or allied subjects. The Lucknow University has an alternative course named "Modern Arab Culture and Civilization". It has also recently started classes for teaching of modern Arabic. Of the 3650 affiliated and constituent colleges, about 460 are government owned institutions, and the rest have been established by voluntary bodies. The number of Muslim managed universities and degree colleges is about 70, which forms a mere 2.2 % of the non-government degree colleges. The inadequacy of the Muslim effort, or rather their backwardness in this field is brought into light by a comparison of the Muslim institutions with those established by the Christians. "Although, the Christians form only 2.6% of the total population of India, and the percentage of Muslims is 12, the

former have 113, or almost double the number of Muslim institutions. An area wise distribution of Muslim institutions show that in 9 out of 21 states, and 7 out of union territories, Muslims have no higher institutions of learning ". (Mohiddin, 1982: 36).

Thus, from the above discussion it is quite clear that the number of Muslim managed educational institutions are not sufficient to mitigate the educational backwardness of the Muslims in India. On the other hand, the situation is not the same with the Christians.

Enrolments

This section tries to focus on Muslim enrolment in educational institutions. There are various studies to show that Muslims are educationally deprived and are not responding adequately to contemporary educational development and expansion. For instance, Saxena (1983) tried to present Muslim enrolment in educational institutions at various levels and found that apart from elementary and secondary levels, where the situation is slightly better, the percentage of Muslim representation at High School and intermediate levels is roughly one-third to the total population, which is shown in the following table.

Table-3.1

Muslim Enrolment in the educational institutions.

Type of Institution	No. of dists. Surveyed	% are of Muslim in survey area	Total no of students	No. of Muslim students	%age
Elementary schools	45 dists. 12 states	17.32	98.48(lakhs)	12.20(lakhs)	12.39
Secondary schools	38 dists. 11 states.	18.56	19.64(lakhs)	2.9(lakhs)	10.70
High Schools	8Boards	12.00	13.44(lakhs)	0.54(lakhs)	4.00
Class XII	5 Boards	10.30	2.26(lakhs)	56.45	2.49
Engg. Collages	9 Univ.	12.44	2698	92	3.41
Medical Collage	12	9.55	2845	98	3.44

(Source: Saxena, N.C. (1983), "Public Employment and Educational Backwardness Among Muslims in India; Man and Development, vol. 4, no. 4, p. 116.)

Further, this can be substantiated by the findings sponsored by the Government and voluntary organizations. The High Power Panel on Minorities led by Gopal Singh found through a survey 46 districts in 12 major States that the percentage of enrolment of Muslim children at the elementary level (class I-VIII) in 1980-81 was much lower than that of the Muslim population in those districts, except in Madhya Pradesh which had a better record. In a survey of 12 districts in Uttar Pradesh with 20.38 % of Muslim population, the enrolment of Muslim Children was only 8.46 %. According to the Gopal Singh's Report, the Muslim students at the elementary level (I-VIII) were around 12.39 percent as compared to Muslim population in the same districts, which was 17.32%. In the opinion of Rasheududdin Khan notes that while Muslim boys appear to be five times more backward than the rest of the population in U.P., at the High School level, the Muslim girls are eleven times more backward than

the rest of the population in the state. The following data would show the level of

education between the Hindus and Muslims.

Table – 3.2

Distribution of Persons by general education, sex and religion, urban India, 1987-88
(in percentage)

Education level	Hindus male	Muslims male	Hindus female	Muslims female
Not literate	25.3	42.4	42.2	59.5
Primary	18.8	20.9	17.2	18.5
Pre middle	30.5	26.3	25.3	16.8
Secondary	17.2	8.0	10.7	4.3
Graduate	7.9	2.3	4.2	0.8

(Source: (Arshi khan, 2000 "Educational Backwardness of Muslims: the Human
Rights Perspective" in A.P.Vijapuri and Kumar Suresh (ed.) Perspectives on Human
Rights (P. 215), New Delhi).

In this context, it would be interesting to cite here the findings of an All India

Survey of Muslim managed schools and colleges undertaken by Hamdard Education

society in 1982-83 which brings out the inadequacy of the educational efforts made

by the Muslims. The survey covered 430 schools, providing education from the sixth

to twelfth standard in 15 states and one union territory, the data of which given below:

Table-3.3

Distribution of students by sex, religion and levels of education in 430 Muslim – managed schools.

Religion And sex	Primary	Middle	High school	Higher secondary	Total	% of the total
Muslim Boys	35,699	60,941	38,921	10,534	146,095	55.2
Muslim Girls	25,404	27,536	18,116	4,622	76,678	28.6
Others	2,330	15,802	15,965	8,804	42,901	16.2
Total	63,433	104,279	73,002	23,960	260,674	-
Percentage	(24.0)	(39.4)	(27.5)	(9.1)	(100.0)	-

(Source: Educational Survey Report on Muslim Managed Schools and Colleges in India, Hamdard Education Society, 1982-83: (p. 36) New Delhi).

Thus, from the above discussion it is quite clear that the situation of enrolment of Muslim students in various educational institutions is quite deplorable. Further, the situation is slightly better in primary or elementary level in comparison to High school or Higher Secondary level.

Drop-outs

One of the major causes of the educational backwardness of the Muslim education in India is the high number of dropouts at various stages of educational ladder. The fact that, the number of drop-outs keep increasing as the Muslim students go upto higher classes even in their self-managed educational institutions. For example, National Commission on Minorities has lamented on various problems of

minorities including educational backwardness of Muslims. In its sixth report of 1983-84, the Commission pointed out that out of 172 districts of the country identified as backward by the Planning Commission, 39 districts have a sizeable Muslim population, that most of the Muslim men and women in rural areas are illiterate, its Eighth Report (1985-86) states low enrolment of Muslim children at the Primary level relative to the proportion of Muslim students appearing at the High school examinations. The Commission's report also mentions that the enrolment of the non-Muslim students exceeds that of the Muslim students even in Muslim-managed educational institutions, as the level of education rises. This is particularly evident in crucial areas of modern education such as Computer-Science, Mathematics, Management, Mass Communication, Medical and Engineering and so on.

Another study conducted at an All India level survey was conducted by Hamdard Education Society of Muslim-managed schools and colleges in 1992-93. It's findings show the pace of educational progress of younger Muslim generation. The number of dropouts keep increasing as Muslim students move up to higher classes. In the case of girls, the drop out figures are on the higher side. Low retention and high dropout rates continue to erode the gains from educational expansion. The survey reveals that while at school level, Muslim girls are in a majority; at college level they turn into a minority. However, a correct estimate of girls' education at the primary level becomes difficult as many of them also receive it in Dini Madris. According to Hamdanrd Dinni Survey, Muslim males in Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, U.P. and Rajasthan lag behind other communities, its report confirms that of non-Muslim students even in Muslim managed colleges.

In this context, it would be pertinent to analyse the findings of an All-India Survey of Muslim managed schools and colleges undertaken by Hamdard Education

Society. The survey covered 430 schools providing education from the sixth to the twelfth standard in 15 states and one Union Territory in 1982. The reason for the drop out of Muslim students revealed by this survey is both interesting as well as instructive. The results shown in the following table are based on the responses of heads of institutions. Supplied on a four point scale based on 76-100%, 51-75% 26.50% and 0.25% validity.

Table 3.4

Reasons for Dropout of Students in Muslim Managed Schools

S.L.No	Reasons for Drop-out	Mean value on 4 point scale
1	Parents not serious about education	2.7
2	Financial difficulty of parents	2.6
3	Child needed as earning member.	2.1
4	Too heavy curriculum	2.1
5	Frequent absent of child	2.1
6	Bad company of child.	1.9
7	Teacher's lack of enthusiasm.	1.8
8	Unsympathetic Parents.	1.8
9	Early Marriage.	1.6
10	Too much homework.	1.6
11	Mentally retarded child	1.4
12	No teaching in school.	1.3
13	Teachers frequent absent	1.3
14	Too severe punishment at home/school	1.3

Source: Educational Survey Report on Muslim Managed Schools and Colleges in India, Hamdard Education Society, New Delhi, 1982-83: (p.41-42).

Thus, from the above discussion it is clear that the dropout rates among the Muslims is very high especially in higher classes. Out of the above-mentioned reasons for dropping out, the economic factors were found to be responsible for the massive rate of dropouts of those students at the school level.

Technical and Professional Education

Although, Muslim students do not suffer from any particular disadvantage in getting admission to the courses pertaining to arts, science and commerce, but their number in the technical and professional colleges is extremely low. As mentioned earlier, Muslims have a very insignificant share in higher professional and technical education.

Education of Muslim Women:

Similarly, enrolment of Muslims at various levels of education is discouraging. As mentioned earlier, although the situation is slightly better in primary level but deplorable with an increase in the levels of education. For instance Pathusha finds that Muslim women's enrolment of degree and Post-graduate courses in the regular streams is very low. For example, out of 1932 women enrolled in B.A., Economics, in the year of 1995 in university of Madras, only 5 were Muslim women. There were no Muslim women in the M.C.A course of Bharathiyar University in 1995. There were 7 Muslim women against 137 women enrolled in M.B.A.

Programme of IGNOU (Regional office, Madras) in 1996. Thus, from the above discussion it is quite clear that Muslims are educationally backward in India.

Educational Situation of Christians:

This section tries to focus on the educational situation of Christians in the Indian context. Though, the Christians constitute only 2.63 per cent of India's population, they are the second most important minority group and it offers a contrast especially with regard to education. In this context, it would be pertinent to present the generalisations made by Dickinson (1967: 45-72) after studying Christian colleges and national development. Firstly, Christian colleges were pioneers in the field of higher education in modern India, which were also pioneers in bringing western ideas of education to India. Secondly, since independence the rate of growth in institutional numbers has accelerated for the Roman Catholic to 76 colleges, while that of the Protestants has remained almost constant to 45. Thirdly, enrolment in the Christian colleges in India is about 115,000 or approximately one-tenth o/s the total number of college students in the country. Fourthly, some of the oldest Christian colleges are in the north, while most of the colleges have been established in the south, especially in Kerala, Mysore, Madras and Andhra Pradesh. Fifthly, the number of Christian students in Christian colleges is about 39% overall, with a much higher percentage of Christian students in the colleges of south and in the catholic colleges. Sixthly, Roman Catholic colleges under the sponsorship of women's orders have the most remarkable increase, many of which are in Kerala. Seventhly, the overall percentage of scheduled Caste and backward students is about 16% with a higher percentage of

these in protestant institutions. However, some colleges have upwards of 80 to 90% of their total enrolment as scheduled and backward castes. Eighthly, one hundred and one Christian colleges are liberal arts institutions, 21 are teacher – training colleges, and eight are professional colleges. Of 54 new colleges founded since independence, 35% are either teacher training or professional institutions. This marks a significant acceleration of the growth of Christian professional colleges."

Thus, from the above discussion it is quite clear that the Christian missionaries established, generally as an extension of the church, schools and colleges all over the country. Moreover, some of the Christian educational institutions were among the best organised and rank among the best in the country even today. For instance, if we analyse the current status of Christian education, it is clearly reflected in the literacy rates of different States in 1991 census. (See Annexures I (a) and I (b).

It is quite evident that the Christians are dominant in Kerala, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Meghalaya, Nagaland and Goa. Kerala has the highest number of Christian population in India followed by Tamil Nadu. The data in the Annexure I(a) and I(b) also provide the percentage increase in Christian population in different states of India, for both decades of 1971-81 and 1981-91. Among the union Territories, Andaman and Nicobar Islands have the highest number of Christian population followed by Pondicherry. In terms of the literacy rates in various states and union Territories of India. Kerala occupies the first place in term of literacy rates followed by Mizoram, Lakshadweep, Chandigarh and Goa. Thus, it is safe to conclude that the literacy rates of those states are much higher where the Christian population is large.

It this context, Mathew (1999: 2811-20) analysed the growth of literacy in Kerala and pointed out that Kerala is far ahead of the rest of India in respect of the key indicators of social development such as literacy, infant mortality and life expectancy. In fact, its achievements in this field compare favorably with those of several developed countries. The educational development in the state is triggered by the Christian missionaries during the major part of the 19th century and of the social reform movements during the first half of the present century which took part in the educational transformation of Kerala".

However, the phenomenal success of a small Christian minority in the realm of education as compared to the halting advancement of the large Muslim minority can also be explained by elucidating an economic postulate of the principle of "minority effect", as Naidu (1980: 33) puts it, "the opportunities open to a minority seem also to be related to its size". She quotes the famous economist A.M.Khusro, who found that "the majority gets opportunities roughly proportion to its population, a small minority more than proportional and a large minority less than proportional to its members".

Summary

From the above discussion it may be stated that the educational situation of Muslims and Christians are quite distinct in nature. There are statistical data as well as surveys to maintain the view that Muslims are educationally backward which is clearly reflected in the low literacy rates but the same phenomenon is not quite true for the Christians. It is not the fact that all the Muslims have been educationally

backward and Christians have always been educationally upward everywhere in India but still there are regional variations and contradictions in it. On the other hand, the phenomenal success of the Christian education which is reflected in the literacy rates is attributed to the contributions of missionary activities. The next chapter deals with what are the issues, factors responsible for the educational backwardness of Muslims and what are the issues of Christian education in India.

CHAPTER- IV

PROBLEMS AND ISSUES

It is evident from the earlier discussion that Muslims are educationally backward as compared to Christians. Then the question arises why this is so? Therefore, the task in this chapter is to focus on the problems and issues in the education of minorities in India and to analyse the causes responsible for the educational backwardness among them.

Problems and Issues of Muslim-education in India

Despite a great deal of efforts by the Government to provide equal opportunities for all sections of the society for national development, Muslims are found to be faced with many problems with varied magnitudes. The backwardness of Muslims in different spheres has been vigorously projected by scholars of the Muslim community. In contemporary India, the issue of educational backwardness among Muslims has been a matter of great concern for the educationists and policy planners. The issue is little complex as it raises the question of preserving and respecting the identity and dignity of Muslims to overcome their minority status, on the one hand, and to overcome the educational backwardness, on the other.

Muslims in India constitute one of the most backward sections of the society, along with the neo-Buddhists, and scheduled castes and tribes, etc. in terms of both the educational spread and the quality of performance. This fact has been recognized

by the Programme of Action of the New Education policy (1986), which has defined Muslims and Neo-Buddhists as educationally backward minorities.

In this context, Ansari (1992: 22) tried to analyse the educational backwardness of Muslims in India and identified the following aspects: (1) At the high school and intermediate level, the percentage of Muslim students is roughly one-third to one-fourth of their population. (2) The dropout rate among Muslim students is significantly higher than the non-Muslims. The percentage of dropout rate keeps on increasing as the level of education goes up. (3) Muslim students do not score as well as others in the examinations. (4) Muslims studying in Hindi-medium schools did much better than those in the minority Urdu-medium institutions. (5) In the Muslim-managed schools and degree colleges, percentage of non-Muslim students keeps on increasing as the level of education increases. (6) The performance of Muslim students in Muslim–managed schools is not as good as in other schools.

The reasons for the educational backwardness of Indian Muslims is broadly grouped by Kamat (1981) under three main heads. One explanation is that they have been slow to take advantage of the educational development due to their cultural ethos. In other words, religious traditionality and backwardness of those professing Islam which is supposed to identify the religious and the secular" (Kamat, 1981:1032). For instance, Seal (1968) and Brass (1975) argued that the problem arises from the close linkage between the religion and secular spheres of life in Islam and the emphasis placed upon religious education among Muslims. According to the proponents of this viewpoint, the Muslims have failed to respond to secular education and have preferred religious education. In this case, the argument is that, "if the

Muslims are educationally backward or they are underrepresented, it is their inability to cope up with the situation and they are themselves to be blamed for this sad state of affairs. Unless they come out of their narrow cultural shell and begin to participate in national life as citizens of an emerging democratic secular society, they are unlikely to be able to make any progress in the educational sphere" (Ahmed, 1981:1458).

The second explanation emerges from the status of the Muslim community as a religious minority. For instance, Kamat (1981:1032) identified it as due to the partition of India and the acute psychological complex created for Indian Muslims. Ahmed (1981:1032) pointed out that Muslim community as a religious minority is reluctant to take to secular education because of acute minority complex". This psychological complex acts as a serious barrier to their integration into the mainstream of national life and has prevented them taking advantage of the educational opportunities in contemporary India.

The third explanation lays emphasis upon the society at large and its discriminatory attitudes. Kamat identified the reason as the "deliberate neglect of and discrimination against Muslims by the larger (Hindu) society which profess to be secular but is in fact discriminatory whether in education or employment" (1981:1032). For instance, Rasheedudin Khan (1978) argued that the Muslims are neither reluctant to take secular education nor do they suffer because of their minority complex. Their educational backwardness can be explained in terms of an invidious discrimination practiced against them which is reducing them to the status of hewers of wood and drawers of water" (Khan, 1978:1510). This explanation has led a section among the Muslims in educational institutions in order to enable them to take

advantage of educational facilities. However, the discrimination practiced against Muslims is the main grievance of a large number of Muslim intellectuals and the religious traditionality is emphasised by the Hindu scholars and the situation of crisis that resulted from the partition of India is evenly shared by both.

However, Ansari, (1992) summed up various factors responsible for the educational backwardness among Muslims as due to (I) Religious orthodoxy and cultural ethos of Muslims leading them to believe that modern education is a threat to Islamic values and therefore they send their children to Madrassas (2) Muslim perception of the Hindu and anti-Muslim ethos of contemporary social set up makes them believe that they will be discriminated in job opportunities which results in their withdrawal and lack of investment and interest in education. (3) Since most Muslims are self-employed artisans, workers or petty-shopkeepers, it makes them indifferent to modern education, as it does not bring them immediate economic benefits. (4) The frequent recurrence of communal riots generates a sense of insecurity among the Muslims, which is not conducive to any serious academic pursuits. The recent example of minority students not being able to attend to schools and colleges and take examinations during two-three months long communal riots in the recent past is a case in point. (5) In most of the states, Urdu has been driven out of schools as a medium of instruction even at the primary level, which had two consequences. Firstly, parents refused to send their children especially girls to Hindu medium schools. Secondly, large number of children whose mother tongue was Urdu were sent increasingly to Madrassas, Urdu, medium school. These schools have an

exclusive Muslim dominated environment with low competitive spirit. (6) The Muslim leaders as well as intellectuals have been laying more stress on cultural and religious issues and generally cut them from the educational and economic problems of the community. (7) During the Partition of the country, a large number of middle-class Muslims migrated to Pakistan. The people left behind were mostly uneducated artisans, small and marginal farmers who could not respond to the demands of modern education.

Factors of Educational Backwardness Among Muslims in India

There are various factors affecting the educational backwardness among the Muslims in India such as socio-economic problem, religious education, medium of instruction, curriculum of education, availability of educational institutions, women education. Therefore, for the better conceptualisation of the educational backwardness of the Muslims, the following issues need to be analysed systematically.

Socio-economic problem:

One of the major factors responsible for the educational backwardness of the Muslims in India is the socio-economic factor. The fact that whether the socio-economic problems of the Indian Muslims are a product of their backwardness in the educational field or vice-versa is a controversial issue. The argument is that all the Muslims are not equally socio-economically backward as there are regional as well as cultural variations in it. For instance, Kamat (1981) pointed out that Muslims are not a homogenous community. It is, therefore, necessary to go into greater detail of their caste like formations, income, occupational and property base

structure so as to arrive at a more fruitful comparison in educational advancement with similar sections of the rest of the population.

Muslims in India as identified by Ahmad (1981) are stratified along two distinct categories. The first is the category of caste or caste-like grouping which are based on descent and racial origin and are grouped under two broad categories called "Ashraf" and "Ajlaf". The other is on the basis of occupation or political power according to which at least four broad social strata can be easily identified. They are the upper class, middle class, lower-middle class and lower class. Although there are quite distinct and separate categories which can be said to have existed side by side, there has always been a considerable degree of congruence and overlap between them. However, Kamat (1981) attributed the roots of the problem of Muslim education to the socio-economic structure of Muslim community, on the one hand, and the religious orthodoxy, on the other.

Religious education

As mentioned earlier, one of the major factors attributed to the educational backwardness of Muslims in India is the religious orthodoxy in education. For instance, Newman (1976) pointed out that education among Muslims in India, as indeed almost everywhere in the Islamic world, has been of two different kinds. (1) Religious education carried through Islamic schools usually called as Maktabs or Madrassas. (II) Secular education designed to prepare a Muslim for an occupation in the society. Until the introduction of Western education in the latter half of nineteenth century both these kinds of education were carried out through the

same type of educational institutions. A child who entered the Maktab or Madrassa during the Muslim period dropped off after a few years instruction in Koranic reading and Muslim theological principles if he was only interested in religious education. On the other hand, if he was interested in secular learning he continued in the same instruction going through instruction in the languages and practical subjects. Sometimes these subjects were also sought to be cultivated by the student through personally attaching himself to a teacher especially learned in the subject" [Ahmed, 1981:1459]. Moreover, when Western education was introduced in India, two kinds of education came to be pursued in two different types of institutions. A child first went to a Maktab or Madrassa and thereafter went to a school for secular education or both. However, there is a good deal of historical evidence to indicate the preference of religious education over the secular education among the Muslims. But, as identified by Kamat (1981), the secular education was limited to the upper social strata of the Muslim society.

Medium of Instruction

Another factor responsible for the educational backwardness of the Muslims in India can be attributed to the medium of instruction. Hindi, as the national language, is mostly adopted as the medium of instruction in higher stages, while students who have studied with Urdu as the medium of instruction in certain Muslim-managed schools especially Madrassas and Maktabs find it difficult to switch over not only to Hindi but also to English.

In this context, it would be pertinent to provide the view point of Ather

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Farooqui in a paper entitled "Minorities, Education and language in 21st century Indian democracy : The case of Urdu with special reference to Dr. Zakir Husain" focused on the socio-cultural context of Urdu as a language in the Indian situation. According to him, the problems of Urdu language and education are closely linked with the problems of Muslims because Urdu has virtually been associated with Muslims, since the Hindu revivalist movement of the late 19th century. This period saw the demarcation of two separate cultures on religious basis. The divide further deepened with the partition of the Indian subcontinent along religious lines. Since independence, Farooqui identified that the community has been in double jeopardy in linguistic terms. (1) Firstly, its language which is vital for sustaining the vitality of a community has been facing an eclipse. The opportunities of learning Urdu are available only in Madrassa since most governments do not provide Urdu education. As a consequence, Muslims have been patronising Madrassa education as a means of preserving their language. (II) Secondly, Urdu language is the repository of religious literature, Muslims fear that with the decline of Urdu their religious heritage might itself disappear.

David J. Matthews, in a paper entitled "Urdu in India" tried to focus on the problems of Urdu as a language in India. According to him, the greatest disadvantage Urdu speakers face is that they have no linguistic state of their own. In the northern states, especially Uttar Pradesh and Delhi, which may be fairly regarded as the 'homeland' of Urdu, Hindi is bound to dominate and those who have Urdu as their mother tongue will always be in a minority. Assigning Urdu

to the state of Jammu and Kshmir, where the majority of the population have other languages as their mother tongue seems anomalous.

What Mathews pointed is that in the absence of the provision for Urdu teaching in schools, many people seek help form the Madrassas, religious institutions, which naturally have their own agenda and teaching methods. Further, the teachers have little interest in the secular aspects of Urdu Literature. The institution provided in such schools is too narrow to equip students for a further career. This also adds strength to the commonly held view that Muslims, who according to some statistics, account for 99 per-cent of the Urdu-speaking population of India, require instruction in the language solely for religious purposes. Indeed, the Madrassas are for many people the only means of acquiring access to their Islamic heritage.

However, the Muslim grievances, in respect of government apathy to their education in the Post-Independence period as identified by Kamat (1981:1033) are two fold. (i) Firstly, the neglect of Urdu. Urdu is not recognised as second official language in any state except in Andhra Pradesh and in certain districts of Bihar not even in Uttar Pradesh where there are large Urdu speaking Muslim population. Other than this, there is also the complaint about the lack of availability of Urdu ext books in a number of subjects at the secondary level. (ii) Secondly, the major grievances is against the cultural bias in the curriculum, their exposition in the prescribed text books and in actual teaching by the non-Muslim teachers.

Curriculum of Education

Another factor responsible for the educational backwardness of Muslims can be attributed to the curriculum of education in Muslim managed educational institutions, in general, and the Madrassas and Maktabs, in particular. The curriculum of Arabic Madrassas whether maintained through voluntary contributions or receiving grants-in-aid from the Government is based on the famous Dars-is-Nizami curriculum formulated by Mullah Nizamudin. The curriculum was essentially a synthesis of the religious and the then prevalent secular sciences.

The curriculum has undergone changes from time to time or not is a controversial issue. However, the scope for it being limited and the course of study in each branch of religious sciences being quite extensive in itself and there is also the problem of synthesising the modern disciplines with the religious disciplines. For instance, except for a few Arabic institutions whose diplomas were recognised by the Aligarh Muslim University or the Jamia Millia for the pruposes of admission into the B.A. course, their certificates are not recognised either by the state governments or the universities.

In this context, Mohiuddi (1982-39) identified two sets of problems that the Muslims who are taught from the Madreassas due to defective curriculum. Firstly, the graduates of Arabic Madrassas can go up for higher studies in only a few subjects on the Arts side and not in any professional and technical courses, as they can find any gainful employment. Secondly, the jobs earlier open to the graduates

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of Arabic Madrassas were those of Arabic and Persian teachers in modern schools or qualifying as physicians under the Unani system of medicine. The scope of the first is narrowing down as teaching in Arabic and Persian is now only imparted in a few Muslim-managed schools.

Availability of educational intuitions:

Another factor responsible for the educational backwardness of the Muslims in India can be attributed to the availability of educational intuitions. As mentioned earlier, the number of Muslim-managed schools, colleges, universities are not sufficient to mitigate the educational backwardness among the Muslims in India.

In this context, it would be pertinent to focus on the educational effort of Muslims has been summed up by S. Shamim Shah of the Hamdard Education Society in a paper entitled "Major problems of Muslim managed schools in India" presented at a seminar held at the Aligarh Muslim University on August 5 and 6, 1983. According to his estimate, the Muslim population in India is around 85 million, on the basis of progressive growth rate vis-à-vis Muslim population reported in 1971 census. A little above 1/3 population of the country was literate in 1981, and if the same was the proportion for Muslims and others, roughly about one thousand Muslim-managed schools with 20 percent non-Muslim students to cater for the educational needs of about 30 million of Muslim literates and 50 to 60 million Muslim illiterates in the country.

Other than this, there are also a number of higher seats of religious learning like Darul Ulum, Deoband, Nadwatual Ulama, Lucknow, Mazahar-al-Ulum, Saharanpur, Shahi Madrassa, Moradabad, etc. These institutions have played an important role in the promotion of Islamic learning and fostering a general religious consciousness among the Muslims. Almost all the religious institutions of higher learning are maintained by voluntary contributions, but with the abolition of landlordism and princely states after Independence, the sources of their income are drying up, and they are finding it increasingly difficult to maintain themselves. Moreover, within the internal sphere, the autonomy of management allowed to minority educational institutions often results in lack of security of service to the staff of these institutions, internal disputes between the members of their governing bodies or a struggle between the head of the institution and management. In recent times, the controversy emerged about the right of the minority-managed institutions to admit the students according to their own on will or according to the merit. However, the supreme court passed an order that according to the article 29 of the Indian Constitution, the minorities can establish their own educational institutions but the basis of admission is to be on the merit.

Women's education:

Another issue responsible for the educational backwardness of Muslims is the low literacy rates of Muslim women. As mentioned in the earlier chapter, the participation of Muslim-women in the educational activities is very low. In this context, it would be pertinent to focus on the view point of Ghadially (1994) who

analysed Daudi Bohra Muslim women and Modern education. What she pointed out is that although Muslim women constitute half of the Muslim population, their participation in educational activities is extremely low. Despite the strenuous efforts of reformists, the number of girls enrolling in high schools remained very low "(1994:206). Further, the representation of Muslims in higher education, technical and professional education is quite deplorable.

In this context, Ghadially (1994) offers explanation in terms of three factors. First of all, the religious orthodoxy, apathy and neglect of parents towards the girl child in the family . Secondly, the conservative evil social practices and traditions such as the Purdha system which is responsible for the educational backwardness among them. Thirdly, the above two points can be contextualised within the low status of women among the Muslims in India. However, it is not a fact that all the Muslim-women can be classified in one category as there are regional, cultural and socio-economic factors which are infused together for the complex situation.

From the above discussion, it may be understood that there is not a single factor responsible for the educational backwardness of Muslims in India. However, the poor socio-economic conditions of Muslims, emphasise on the religious education, medium of instruction either through Hindi or English, defective curriculum of education, lack of sufficient educational institutions, low status of women explains the deplorable conditions.

Problems and Issues of Christian Education in India

Unlike the Muslims, the Christians are educationally better off. As we know

the system of modern education was first introduced by the Christian Missionaries, therefore, the Christians were the first to take advantage of it. However, the nature of the problems and issues of Christian education are different from the nature of the problems and issues of Muslim education in the Indian context.

Issue of Proselytisation

The sensitive issue of proselytisation is the most conspicuous dimension of the problem of Christian education. The spread of Christian religion which the church deprecates by highlighting its humanitarian role in the field of education and health care. For instance, Rudolf Heredia (1995) tried to analsyse the role of Christian missionaries in the Indian context. According to him, from the earliest missionaries, the goals of Christian education were three fold. Firstly, education of Christians themselves in a Christian atmosphere, so that they could be good members of their church and occupy important positions in secular society. Secondly, to render service to Indian youth at large. Thirdly, to build evangelical bridges towards the country's intelligentsia and thus pave the way for an acceptance of the faith. In other words, these were communitarian, service and evangelical objectives respectively. While the Catholics may have stressed the first and the protestants the letter, all three goals were present in varying degrees at different times in mission education.

Furthermore, Moore (1992: 66-83) pointed out three dynamics of Christian

education in India. Firstly, in comparison to the Catholics, protestant mission education was more clearly and decidedly evangelical in purpose which is evident by the number of far-flung schools and college in their mission territory. Secondly, with regard to language, the closer connection between the protestant churches and the British government made it transition from the vernacular schools. Thirdly, with the change of emphasis from quantity and spread to ability and excellence, the allocation of resources for higher education and religious institutions followed quite notably, and even today many protestant colleges have still held their ground base".

In this context, it would be pertinent to provide the viewpoints of Meenakshi Jain in an article entitled "Missionaries and Their Hidden Agenda" published in 'The Hindustan Times' on 3rd May, 2000. According to her, missionary forays in the sphere of education and health care have never been a value–neutral act of Philanthropy. Several studies demonstrate that from the beginning, missionaries viewed the sponsorship of educational institutions as an important means of propagating their religion and most recipients of their education recognised this fact. For instance, The Church Missionary Society that is active in the state of Travancore, proclaimed that higher education is one of the best means of making Christianity reach the higher castes. However, she analysed the dynamics of Christian education in India within the socio-historical context. What she pointed out is that throughout the colonial period, the arena of education remained a prickly issue between the rulers and the ruled, and that Indians

consciously struggled to establish their own alternatives to Missionary institutions. It is true that despite grave reservations, Indians continued to enroll in Missionary institutions in large numbers, but this was principally because they granted their wards a proficiency in the English language and that was a prerequisite for government employment.

Further, Jain pointed out that in the early decades after Independence, fluency in the English language remained the main attraction of missionary schools. However, it is widely acknowledged that they demonstrated their pupils to critical aspects of their civilizational heritage, and it is perhaps not entirely coincidental that the public domain was culturally most sterile during these decades. It is therefore not surprising that as the Indian middle class began to turn from the liberal arts towards technological scientific and entrepreneurial knowledge, it increasingly croved towards the public schooling system. Moreover, the virtual modus of the affluent middle class forced missionary schools to alter their strategy and focus upon lower income groups who aspired for government employment and hence were attracted to English language education. Thus, far from being an act of altruism for the church, the issue of proselytisation was part of the continuing strategy to win India for Christianity.

Summary:

This chapter focused on the problems and issues of minority education, especially the Muslims and Christians in the Indian context. From the above discussion, it is quite clear that there are various reasons, problems, issues

responsible for the educational backwardness of Muslims in India. Various scholars have attributed different reasons for the educational backwardness among the Muslims in India who have identified the religious traditionality, psychological crisis due to the partition of India and the deliberate neglect of Muslims by the larger Hindu society as prominent reasons.

On the other hand, the phenomenal success of Christian education in India is attributed to the contributions of their Christian Missionaries which played a significant role in the emergence of modern education system. However, the most sensitive issue of proselytisation remained the core of Christian education even today. The next chapter presents a summary of the findings and conclusions of the study.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The Indian cultural tradition is a pluralist tradition. There are variations of religions, castes, sects and communities that make up the larger society which have been allowed or encouraged to practice their diverse ways of life since time immemorial. Apart from this, there are a multitude of languages and dialects that continue to exist even today. Thus, diversity of religion, sect, caste, language and dialect have gone hand-in-hand with diversity in food, dress, habitation, marriage rules, family patterns and styles of life in general. In this context, minorities occupy a prominent place in the Indian social milieu. There are various types of minorities such as religious minorities, ethnic minorities, linguistic minorities, etc. In a democratic regime, there are well defined avenues for the minorities to protect their culture, religion and language.

In this context, the study attempted to focus on the linkages between the education and social change among the religious minorities in India in general, the Muslims and the Christians, in particular. The study tried to understand the educational situation of both the Muslims and Christains in terms of literacy rates, number of minority educational institutions, enrolments at various stages, dropout rates, participation of religious minorities in professional education, etc. Despite the non-āvailability of macro level data on the educational situation of the religious minorities, data from the micro level studies is presented to understand the dynamics

of educational achievement and attempts to seek changes among those communities.

SUMMARY OF FINDIGNS:

The study brought into light the fact that the literacy rate among the Muslims is low in comparison to other minority counterparts and the situation of Muslim women is much more deplorable. On the other hand, the literacy rate among the Christians is high in comparison not only to the Muslims but also other counterparts as well. Further, the number of Muslim-managed educational institutions are not sufficient to mitigate the educational backwardness of the Muslims in India, whereas the situation is not the same with the Christians. The enrolment of Muslim students to various educational institutions, in general, and professional and technical education, in particular, is quite deplorable. Further, the enrolment of Muslim girls to primary or elementary level is slightly better in comparison to High School or Higher Secondary Level.

The drop-out rates among the Muslims is very high especially in higher classes. However, the reason for drop-out of Muslim students is the poor socio-economic conditions, on the one hand, and the religious orthodoxy, on the other, whereas Christians do not face as the same problem as they do not have any cultural inhibition to education as is clearly reflected in the literacy rates of different states with pedominent Christian population in 1991. Exploration of data reveals that Kerala occupies the first place in terms of literacy rates where the number of Christians is high.

Their low participation rates in higher and professional education are reflected in the pattern of employment as well. In this context, Ahmad (1993) analysed the

Muslim participation in employment and pointed out that employment of Muslims both in the Government as well as in the private sector is at a low level which does not commensurate with their share in population. For instance, Indian Muslims constitute only 4.41 percent of central government services. The state governments employ 6.0 percent. Moreover, Muslims constitute 5.12 percent of Class IV employees, in Class III, which is non-technical supervisory cadre, this proportion is reduced to 4.4 percent. In Class II. technical supervisory cadre, the proportion of Muslim employees is further reduced to 3.00 percent and in Class I executive cadre, Muslims constitute only 1.61 percent of total employees (Ahmad, 1993:92).

However, there is a great deal of differences among scholars over the causes of Muslim educational backwardness and hence backwardness in the employment scenario in India. Some attribute it to their poor socio-economic backwardness, some say it is on account of their religious orthodoxy and some feel it is because of prejudice and discrimination against them. For Indian Muslims, the main source of education are the Madrassas and Maktabs which have been fulfilling the educational needs of the community for the last 300 years. During the colonial legacy, the Britishers discouraged both the Hindus and Muslims to desist from their religious system of education and opened their own missionary schools. It was disliked by the Muslims and they totally discarded it to adhere to their own traditional Madrassa pattern. The Christians did not resist modern the educational institutions as they were run by Missionary enterprises. However, the Muslims did not even remain restricted to their own centers of learning. It may be said that the educational institutions not only build a people, they also may reflect on how a community treats its education

and significant inferences can be drawn about its attitudes. Apart from it, if a community perishes, the first ones to be affected are its educational institutions. The Britishers clearly discouraged the Madrassas, Gurukuls and the Buddhist monasteries and made them thoroughly incompetent so that they could prepare civil servants to assist them. But that was the trend of transitional time and a compromise had to be made in order to keep pace with the scientific progress for which the Missionary schools assumed paramount importance.

The theory and practice of Islamic education, though a hall-mark of the community a few hundred years ago, was blatantly ignored and forgotten during the last four hundred years. Muslims, today's most backward community in India, once were the leaders in science and other related fields. A history of the decaying cultures indicates that the decay has first set in the educational institutions and the disease spread to the whole body in no time. They also think that education cannot redress their wrongs owing to the communal discrimination on the part of administration. Moreover, there are various other factors affecting the educational backwardness among the Muslims in India such as religious education, non-medium of instruction, curriculum of education, availability of educational institutions, women's education.

On the other hand, the educational advancement of Christians also presents in terms of socio-historical background. Under the colonial rule, the Christians tried to legitimise the adoption of modern education through English as the medium of instruction, on the one hand, the spread of Christianity, on the other. Therefore, for the first time in the history of education in India, the recruitment to educational institutions for all the communities came to prevail at least in theory. So the

Christians are the first ones to avail such type of opportunities. From the socio-historical point of view, the Christians came foreward at least in the educational front. The educational institutions run by the Christians are best organized and managed even today. So the representation of Christians starting from the Primary level to the higher level is not a problem. However, the core issue of proselytisation remains sensitive in the Christian education.

THEORETICAL INTERPRETATION:

Various sociological theories attempted to determine the role of education in social change. In this context, the present study tried to apply the actual theoretical perspectives to understand the educational situation and social change among the religious minorities in India, in general, and the Muslims and Christians, in particular.

Education helps in the process of social change as a collateral factor. It can also help stimulating the process by disseminating and cultivating knowledge, information, skill and values appropriate to the changing socio-economic and political structure. For instanced the functionalist assumption presents the situation as the minorities constitute a necessarily inevitable part and parcel of the multi-cultural social structure such as ours. Therefore, the role of minorities in the overall process of social change can never be undermined. Functionalists would also maintain the view that the role of education in bringing about social change is basically to bring about peaceful coexistance for the social order. On the other hand, Marxist interpretation would perceive the same situation as guided by power relations. Marxists would tend to see minorities as exploited, dominated by the majority cultures which result in cultural isolationism and lead them towards marginalisation in the educational sphere.

However, they would tend to understand more critically the position of minorities especially in the educational sphere through their participation in the workforce as well as their outcomes. The other sociological tradition i.e., phenomenological interpretation would deny the grand theorization of the same situation. Phenomenologists would tend to focus on the situational analysis of minorities in a particular everyday social context. For instance, the interaction in day-to-day activities may lead to certain conflicts and generate hatred for each other. Such hatred would certainly define the minorities of the good education and educational privileges in the society. However, each explanation has its own limitations. In this context, the lack of empirical data for theorization make it difficult to straight jacket the light of minorities into fixed categories.

However, education acts as an upliftment task for all citizens in social changes whether it be Muslims, Christians or any other minorities. Though Mulsim culture is quite open and progressive like its religion, Muslims have made it quite limited so far as the field of education is concerned with the notion that modern education might make a man irreligious. So, the problem is not only that modern education involves alienation from Muslim culture and religion to some extent but also that the theology involves alienation from the problems of the existential world. Therefore, the tragedy of a Muslim student is that he has to face the alienation of one or the other kind. Madrassa education generally remains incomplete, dissatisfactory, inadequate and unpragmatic to meet the needs of both the Muslim culture, tradition and modernity. Thus, the scope for a student who has passed out from a Madrassa is quite limited in the world as he is completely oblivious of what is going on around in the world.

From the above discussion, it is quite clear that neither the Muslims nor the Christians are a homogenous category as there are regional, cultural variations within the community itself. The role of education in bringing about social change among the religious minorities vary in degree.

CONCLUDING REMARKS:

In the light of the discussion presented earlier, it may be concluded that today's Madrassa system of education needs complete overhauling since it is inadequate to meet the requirements of modern times. Pupils taught in the Madrassas and Maktabs are generally known for teaching religious exclusivism. This gives impetus to fundamenetalist tendencies among madrassa going students. In the Madrassas, they are alienated from modern secular education, lack of knowledge about things other than religion makes them introvert and isolated in a diverse society. This trend can very well be observed in the present situation and unrest in South Asia caused by religious fundamentalist activities of wrongly directed people trained in the Madrassa system of education. In the context of India, Hindu Communalists justify their hate-campaign against Muslims taking clues from such reactionary tendencies which created two warring fashions. This often disturbs the social order and harmony.

Further, the educational situation of Muslim women is quite deplorable. The number of drop-outs among the Muslim girls seem to have been increasing with the level of education. The participation of Muslim women in the realm of higher education, particularly technical education is very low which results in low representation in public employment and governmental services. This is due to the

religious orthodoxy and low status of women among the Muslims. In this context, the religious leaders who have been instrumental in keeping the community educationally backward must come out of their narrow cultural shells and help take up the cause of modern secular education.

Notwithstanding those very important observations, this study has some limitations. First of all, field study on the problem under study could not be undertaken due to lack of time and resources. Secondly, only two minorities, namely, Muslims and Christians are taken into consideration as the literature was available only with regard to these two groups. Thirdly, due to the lack of macro level data the findings may not be applicable to an All India level context in order to understand the dynamics of education in bringing about social change. However, these issues may pave way for a more meaningful and comprehensive research in future.

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Annexure I (a)

Distribution of Christian population in various states and union Territories

Status/union territories	Population in 1991 census	Percentage of total population	% increase 1971-1981	% increase 1981-1991
Andhra Pradesh	1,216,348	2.68	-21.39	-15.4
Arunanchal pradesh	89,013	4.32	641.21	225.98
Assam	744,367	-	-	-
Bihar	843,717	1.06	12.37	13.99
Goa	349.225	-	-	10.55
Gujarat	181,753	0.39	21.37	36.96
Haryana	15,699	0.09	24.62	28.52
Himachal Pradesh	4,435	0.09	11.19	12.16
Jammu & Kashmir	-	0.14	18.09	-
Karnataka	859,478	2.08	26.18	11.12
Kerala	5,621,510	20.56	16.46	7.41
Madhya Pradesh	426,598	0.68	23.04	21.20
Maharashtra	885,030	1.27	10.92	11.26
Manipal	626,669	29.68	51.02	48.60
Meghalaya	1,146,092	52.62	47.89	63.06

Mizoram	591,342	83.81	44.63	42.89
Nagaland	1,057,940	80.21	80.28	70.20
orissa	666,220	1.82	26.80	38.67
Punjab	225,163	1.10	14.01	21.75
Rajasthan	47,989	0.12	31.01	21.28
Sikkim	13,413	2.22	321.83	91.20
Tamil Nadu	3,179,410	5.78	18.17	13.63
Tripura	46,472	1.21	58.29	86.84
Uttar Pradesh	199,575	0.55	23.06	23.04
West Bengal	383,477	0.59	26.98	19.96
A X N island	67,211	25.58	59.10	39.23
Chandigarh	5,030	0.99	78.51	12.53
D X N Haveli	2,092	1.95	5.58	3.31
Daman &Diu	2,904	29.98	16.78	23.73
Delhi	83,152	0.99	40.92	34.97
Lakshadweep	598	0.66	11.30	124.81
Pandicherry	58,362	8.26	20.87	16.93
Total	19,640,284	2.43	16.83	16.89

(Source :- census of India, 1991)

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Annexure I (b)

Literacy rates in various states and union territories of India : comparison with 1971, 1981,1991 census in descending order.

States/union Territories	Literacy rate in 1991	Literacy rate in 1981	Literacy rate in 1971
Kerala	89.81	70.42	60.42
Mizoram	82.27	59.88	53.79
Lakshadweep	81.78	55.07	43.66
Chandigarh	77.81	64.79	61.56
Goa	75.51	56.66	44.75
Delhi	75.29	61.54	56.61
Pondicherry	74.74	55.85	46.02
A & N islands	73.02	51.56	43.59
Daman & Diu	71.20	56.66	44.75
Maharashtra	64.87	47.18	39.18
Himanchal Pradesh	63.86	42.48	31.96
Tamil Nadu	62.66	46.76	39.46
Nagaland	61.65	42.57	27.40
Gujarat	61.29	43.70	53.79
Tripura	60.44	42.12	30.98
Manipur	59.89	41.35	32.91
Punjab	58.51	40.86	33.67
West Bengal	57.70	40.94	33.20
Sikkim	56.94	34.05	17.74

Karnataka	56.04	38.42	31.52
Haryana	55.85	36.14	26.89
Assam	52.89	-	-
Meghalaya	49.10	34.08	29.49
Orissa	49.09	34.23	26.18
Madhya Pradesh	44.20	27.87	22.14
Andhra Pradesh	44.04	29.94	24.57
Uttar Pradesh	41.60	27.16	21.70
Arunachal Pradesh	41.59	20.79	11.29
Dadra & N.H	40.71	26.66	14.97
Rajasthan	38.55	24.38	19.07
Bihar	38.48	26.20	19.94
Total	52.21	43.67	34.48

Source: Census of India, 1991, Final Population Totals, Paper 2 of 1992