

A Study on
**Education of Muslim Children in Delhi: The Dynamics of
Decision-making and Possible Modes of Interventions to
Promote their Educability**

Undertaken by

Equal Opportunity Trust
B-361 Vasant Kunj Enclave
New Delhi 110070

**Delhi Minorities Commission
Vikas Bhawan
New Delhi 110002**

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Preface

Among the issues that have been the source of extended public debate and discussion in recent years, the educational backwardness of Muslims has occupied centre stage. Over the past several decades, there has been extended expression of concern over Muslim educational backwardness on the part of both the state and the community leadership.

This public concern with the poor response of Muslims to education or of Muslim under-representation in the educational sphere has not been matched by serious research and understanding. There has been considerable research over the past several decades on Muslim educational backwardness, but much of this research has been confined to a simple head-count of Muslim representation in education vis-à-vis the other communities. As a result, the absolute disparity found among communities with respect to educational participation has allowed a polemic to develop around the issue without substantially advancing our understanding of the deeper dynamics of Muslim educational backwardness. The issue of Muslims educational backwardness is far more complex. It calls for probing the issue at different levels and in terms of factors operating at the State, community, family or individual levels.

This study seeks to explore schooling participation patterns among Muslim children and tries to understand the factors that cause these patterns. Education among Muslims in India, as indeed almost everywhere in the Islamic world, has been of two different kinds: religious education carried through Islamic schools, usually called maktabas or madrassas, and secular education designed to prepare a Muslim for an occupation and adult role in society. Until the introduction of western education in the later half of the nineteenth century both these kinds of education was carried out through the same type of educational institutions. A child who entered the maktab or madrassa dropped off after a few years instruction in Quranic 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 institution 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. Once western education was introduced in India, the two kinds of education came to be pursued in two different types of education institutions. A child either went to a maktab or madrassa and thereafter went to a school for secular education or pursued the former to the exclusion of the latter.

Leaving aside those who do not go in for any kind of education (i.e. non-enrolment), Muslim children have four different kinds of educational channels available to them. These include madrassa or maktab, Urdu-medium schools, state schools and private (euphemistically described as public) schools. This study seeks to explore the dynamics that guides children, their parents or families and the community in the choice as to which of these channels the child will be put through. What considerations, conditions and cognitive calculus shape the choice of parents when they decide to send their children to school? It also seeks to explore the degree of interest that Muslim parents take in the education of their children. We hope that this study will help designing better initiatives for increasing the educational participation of Muslims.

This study would not have been possible to execute without the enthusiastic participation of the Research Assistants who collected data with a strong sense of commitment. We are also deeply indebted to the Board of the Equal Opportunity for according support for this study. Last, but not the least, we are grateful to the Delhi Minorities Commission for the generous grant which made the study possible. The submission of the final report has been inordinately delayed for which we are largely to blame.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The present Indian educational scenario is characterised by massive quantitative expansion at all levels. However the goal of Universalisation of Primary Education still remains a distant dream. In this regard article 45 of the Constitution of India emphasises that 'the state shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years'. Thus, access to primary education has become a Fundamental Right of every child in the country. The National Policy on Education (1986) also lays much stress on child care and education, universal enrolment and retention of children in schools and improvement in the quality of education up to the primary level. Enrolment at the primary stage has steadily increased over the last four decades, but roughly 67 million children who have not been enrolled in schools.

Universalisation of primary education of good quality is necessary for accelerating the country's economic development and social progress. Children from poor families after acquiring basic skills can participate in economic progress the country is witnessing in a more effective manner and can reap the benefits of health and family welfare measures. Research on primary education has shown that the countries which focussed on primary education have also achieved higher economic growth with equity and also succeeded in sharply reducing poverty. It is, therefore, regrettable that after six decades after Independence we have not been able to achieve universalisation of primary education. It would not be far wrong to say that India's record of educating its young citizens has not been remarkably impressive even if the constitutional commitment for universalisation of education was strong right from the beginning. Leaving aside the economically advanced sections of society, for whom education comes naturally and is a

necessary instrument of sustaining their social **and** economic position. other sections of society, particularly the vast majority of the poor **and** socially disadvantaged groups have not been drawn into the educational stream. Judged by the common denominators of literacy levels, enrolment and mean years of schooling, the poor and the deprived sections have continued to be disadvantaged.

Among the communities that have remained sidelined educationally, the Muslims are particularly salient. This salience does not arise from the fact that their situation is particularly bad. Actually, the Muslim educational situation is better than some of the other socio-religious communities and the poorer sections of the society. Their salience arises from their numerical and political weight. Unlike the other minority communities, they are numerically an extremely sizeable community accounting for roughly 16 million people. This gives them considerable political leverage, especially because they possess a large elite section which has been historically as well as contemporaneously eloquent about highlighting the social and educational grievances of the community.

One expression of the political leverage the Muslims enjoy in the country's social set up is that the Prime Minister recently appointed a high level community to look into and assess the social, economic and educational standing of the community. According to the report of this committee,¹ the educational standing of Muslims is worrisome to the extent that it still ranks low on educational parameters and in some spheres have been taken over by the Scheduled Castes communities who had been historically deprived and were always believed to be lower in educational rank to Muslims. Using the usual indices of literacy rates, enrolment rates and figures on mean years of schooling, the Committee's report has indicated that Muslims are educationally backward and special measures are warranted to promote their educability and to bring them on par with the other socio-religious communities.

Obviously, for a community that is so large and dispersed across the different parts of the county and highly differentiated in terms of social status and class affiliations the picture of Muslim education that has emerged out of the Committee's findings is extremely mixed. On the one hand, considered in absolute terms Muslims remain

¹ Prime Minister High Level Committee Report, *Social, Economic and Educational Status of the Muslim Community of India*, New Delhi, Cabinet Secretariat, Government of India, 2006, pp. 84-85.

disadvantaged on the different educational parameters. On the other hand, their situation has also not remained static. As a consequence of the educational expansion the country has witnessed over the years that there are signs that a change in the educational standing of the community has been in process. Admittedly, the major areas of concern are the low literacy figures for women and girls, non-enrolment of large numbers of Muslim children and a higher drop out rate with substantial numbers of Muslim children, particularly girls, dropping out of the school after the primary stage. Overall, the educational scenario for Muslims has been characterised by the Committee in the following terms:

The status of the students who are currently not attending schools has also been analysed from NSSO data. These students can be divided into two groups - those who have never attended any school at any time ('never enrolled'), and those who had enrolled but dropped out later ('drop-outs'). As many as 25 per cent of Muslim children in the 6-14 year age group have either never attended school or have dropped out. This is higher than that of any other SRCs considered in this analysis. The incidence of drop-outs is also high among Muslims and only SCs/STs have a marginally higher drop-out rate than Muslims. Overall, while the share of dropouts and children who have never attended school is still higher among Muslims than most other SRCs, enrolment rates have risen significantly in recent years. In a recent study it was found that apart from the economic circumstances of the households, school enrolment for different communities is significantly affected by the local level of development (e.g., availability of schools and other infrastructure) and the educational status of the parents. The study using 1993-94 data showed that higher levels of village development and parental education resulted in higher enrolment rates for all communities. Interestingly, once the children are placed in 'more favourable' circumstances (e.g., when parents, especially mothers are literate and infrastructural facilities are better), inter-community (Hindu/SC-ST/Muslims) differences in enrolment rates become insignificant. Moreover, differences in parental education were more important in explaining inter-community (especially Hindu-Muslim) differences in enrolment than regional development variables.¹² In the light of these findings, the increase in enrolment rates in recent years is quite remarkable as one cannot expect a significant increase in parental education between 1999-2000 and 2004-05. Muslims seem to be overcoming barriers to enrolment arising out of parental illiteracy and other socio-economic constraints.

In general, differentials in school education attainment across the SRCs are significant in both rural and urban areas. Typically, the attainment levels of Muslims are close to or slightly higher than those of SCs/STs and much lower than those of other SRCs. However, in the aggregate, the attainment levels of Muslims in rural areas are often lower than those of SCs/STs. This is essentially because the educational attainments of Muslim women in rural areas are lower than those of SC/ST women. At the all India level the educational attainment of Muslims worsens in relative terms as one moves from lower to higher levels of school education. The differentials can be seen according to both gender and place of residence. This can be seen at both middle and primary levels of education.

The Committee goes on further to state:

Analysis of time trends indicate that, despite overall improvement in educational status, the rate of progress has been the slowest for Muslims. In other words, while

educational attainments of Muslims have improved over the years, it has done so at a more gradual pace than other SRCs, so that the expected convergence has not occurred. Instead, the gap between Muslims and advantaged sections has actually widened since Independence, and particularly since the 1980s. In fact, a steady divergence in the level of achievements has seen traditionally underprivileged SCs and STs catching up and overtaking Muslims in several contexts. The last point is of special importance as at the time of Independence the socio-economic position of SCs/ STs was recognised to be inferior to that of Muslims. Apparently, Muslims have not been able to reap the benefits of planning and, while progressing through the operation of trickle down or percolation effect, have gradually slipped further and further behind other SRCs.

A large number of studies have been carried out to understand the various issues connected with universalisation of primary education and to locate the factors responsible for the achievement of this uphill task. The World Bank has conducted a study on 'Primary Education in India'.² It points to three main challenges which India is facing on the way to achieving the goal of access to education, increasing the learning achievement, and reducing the gaps in educational outcomes across status and among groups. The study further emphasises that India can face these challenges with four assets: easy access to primary schools, strong central and state government policies, innovative and well-financed reform programmes with focus on quality and renewed emphasis on educational research and development of communities.

The UNESCO has in order to understand the phenomenon of 'Primary Education for All' tried to explore the relationship between the education process and culture.³ It elaborates on issues relating to female education with an emphasis on the need to encourage and facilitate the participation of families, communities and other stakeholders in the provision of primary education. This study advocates a change in the human development priorities toward greater focus on basic education and a change within basic education priorities to an increased emphasis on catering to the basic needs of individuals so that they become complete individuals in life.

Slums in particular have been observed to have a very low financial status vis-à-vis literacy levels and access to primary education facilities. Traditional approaches to impart primary education have been found grossly inadequate in view of the prevailing

² World Bank, 'Primary Education in India', Delhi, 1997.

³ Unesco, *Monographs on Education for All—Purpose and Context, Education for All—An Expanded Vision, Education for All—the Requirements*, Delhi, 1990.

This study seeks to explore the dynamics of Muslim educational patterns, including their pattern of schooling, and to examine the authenticity and validity of the different hypotheses floating around and used in explaining the low educational performance of Muslims. The basic research questions which this study seeks to address are: What is the proportion of Muslim children going to various types of schools, i.e., Government schools, Government aided schools, c) Private schools, d) Private aided schools, *Madrassas* and *maktabs*? What educational options are available and what they access (opt for) most and why? What are the aspirations and expectations of parents (and communities) who are sending their children to different types of schools and what are their reasons for particular educational channels? What are the learning outcomes of children from different kinds of schools? How do parents and community perceive (rate) these outcomes? Are they satisfied? What is the pattern of teaching in schools and how far do teachers try to make teaching processes inclusive enough so that Muslim children can place themselves in and identify with the teaching processes and schools? Whether textbooks used in schools carry stereotypes and prejudices which are likely to alienate Muslim children and thereby discourage them from accessing education through them? Whether parents and the community see the systems of *madarsa* and general formal education as competing or as complimentary and how the two systems can complement one another so that the children get the best from the two systems?

Put precisely, the objectives of the study are defined as follows:

1. To identify the channels of education available to Muslim children in the localities, determine or ascertain the extent of utilisation of the different channels or types of schools by Muslim children and to evaluate the rationale, motivations and cognitive map that determines the preference of parents and families in the choice of the different channels.
2. To study the organisation structure of those channels, how that organisational structure is viewed by parents and families and what advantages or disadvantages parents and families see as accruing or likely to accrue to their children from utilisation of the different channels.
3. To assess differential orientations with respect to education of girls and boys.

4. To evaluate the role or influence of social status, economic standing, occupational *pattern and perception of the future goals in the choice of channels.*
5. To assess the role of the ethos of the community members and religious leaders in influencing parents' educational decision-making with respect to their children's education.
6. To assess the extent of non-enrolment, drop out and performance levels of children at different levels of education up to the secondary level.

The study is mainly based on fieldwork carried out in six states which account for which account for roughly 60 per cent of the country's Muslim population. The states covered are Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. In each state two districts were selected on the basis of the proportion of Muslim population: one village with a population above 10 per cent and the second village with a population below 10 per cent. This was done mainly to ensure that any variations in attitudes and orientations arising out of the relative strength in the population could be captured. Besides population, the level of development of the district, its economic pattern and the occupational specificities of the Muslim population in the district was also taken into account. Accessibility, communication and transportation as well as cultural history were some of the other factors taken into account. On the whole, effort was made to select districts that would reflect the cultural and social specificities of Muslims in the state.

Within each state, six villages and one township or city were taken up for detailed study. Since Muslims are not necessarily distributed in all villages of any district, enquiries were first undertaken to ascertain the size of the Muslim population and thereafter 6 villages having between 50- 200 Muslim households were taken up for detailed study. It was thought expedient to avoid villages with a larger number of Muslim households as the modality of selection of households through a complete census of Muslim households would have made the research task more onerous and time consuming. The selection of the cities and townships was based on similar parameters, except that care was taken to cover both cities and townships. This was done through distributing the city and township between two selected villages. If in one district the city was selected, care was taken to select the township in the second district. This decision

was determined by the consideration that cities and townships vary widely in terms of *infrastructure, educational facilities and levels of development as well as life-styles and their effects and consequences* were worth exploring.

The selection of households for detailed study was made through a census of all *Muslim households in the village, city or town, except that in the case of cities and towns* two wards were taken up for enumeration rather than the entire city or town. Using a structured format, data on family members, their education and occupation, the number of children, *the number of children attending school or dropped out, and the kind of school children were attending* was gathered. Out of the total enumerated households, a sample of 20 households was drawn on a random basis. One of the reasons the decision to limit the number of households to be studied to 20 was taken was that enumeration data would compensate for the small number of households studied in detail. Attempt was made to see the 20 selected households in the context of the social profile of Muslim households emerging out of the enumeration data.

Educational of children entails the interplay of several distinct and separate agencies: the child, parents, school, teachers and members of the local community who are often instrumental in shaping the community ethos in favour of educational choices. Accordingly, it seemed necessary that the study should tap all the different agencies and collect information from them. Five schedules were drawn up. Household schedule was administered to heads of the 20 selected households and a supplementary household schedules was administered to the heads of the same 20 selected household heads to obtain data about each child in the family, whether enrolled or out of school. The school schedule was administered to the headmaster of at least 2 schools in the localities. Care was taken to ensure that the selected schools did not represent one particular category of schools in view of the great variety of educational regimes that exists in the country. The teacher schedule was administered to at least two teachers from the selected schools. Again, care was taken that if the school at least a female teacher was administered the schedule in case the school had female teachers. Finally, the key informant schedule was administered to at least two locally influential people, whether they were occupying an office in the statutory institutions such as panchayats and municipal bodies or enjoying social prestige and political clout in the local community.

Qualitative techniques were also employed to supplement the data obtained from the administration of the different types of schedules. These included preparation of a profile of the localities and focussed discussion groups with fathers, mothers and a cross-section of the community. On the whole, the effort in the execution of the study throughout was to arrive at as comprehensive an understanding of the situation with regard to education and schooling as well as the interplay of administrative, individual and community factors in shaping the learning process of the child. The information gathered during the course of the study is enormous and highlights most of the key questions that prompted it.

Chapter 2

Explaining Muslim Educational Backwardness

Muslim educational backwardness, or more appropriately the poor response of Muslims to education, has been a subject of much populist and lay theorising since the early phase of the establishment of British rule.⁹ Therefore, there is a need to try to critically analyze the explanations usually advanced to account for Muslim educational backwardness,¹⁰ suggest the line along which a correct assessment of this problem may be feasible and indicate the direction in which a solution to tackle the problem might be available.

There are two commonly prevalent explanations regarding educational backwardness among Muslims in contemporary India. One explanation is that Muslims are educationally backward or that they have been slow to take advantage of the vast educational development witnessed by the country since independence due to their particular attitudes or cultural ethos. There is considerable variety with regard to the particular form in which this explanation has been presented and just where emphasis is placed for purposes of explaining the problem. Some argue that the problem arises from the close linkage between the religious and secular spheres of life in Islam and the emphasis placed upon religious education among Muslims.¹¹ According to the

⁹ See W.W. Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans*, London, 1886.

¹⁰ The literature on Muslim education or educational problems in contemporary India is extremely limited and lacks in both analytical rigour and depth of understanding. K.D. Sharma's book *Education of a National Minority*, Delhi, 1978 is more an attempt at validating popular Muslim stereotypes and perceptions of the problem rather than present an insightful analysis of the subject. However, the subject of Muslim education, and particularly, the concern over Muslim educational backwardness and under-representation, has formed the theme of a large body of lay and journalistic writings. Casual reference to any of the following works will easily illustrate the point that whatever the writers have tried to say on the subject has been based on very fragmentary data: K.L. Gauba, *Passive Voices*, Delhi, 1973; S. Harman, *Plight of Muslims in India*, Delhi, 1976; S.E. Hussain, *The Indian Muslims*, Bombay, 1968; Irfan Habib, 'Problems of the Muslim minority in India', *Social Scientist*, 74, 1976; Rasheeduddin Khan, 'Minority Segments in Indian Politics: Muslim Situation and the Plight of Urdu', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 13, 1978, pp. 1509-15; and A.R. Sherwani, 'Educational Backwardness', *Seminar*, 240, 1990, pp. 32-34.

¹¹ This argument has had a long history, having been put forward first during the early phase of the establishment of British rule (see W.W. Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans*, London, 1886). It was adopted later on by the historians of British India and was reiterated again and again in historical writings until the works of Anil Seal, *Emergence of Indian Nationalism*, Cambridge, 1968, and Paul Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in North India*, Delhi, 1975, showed that the argument was not quite tenable when one looked at the educational data in a somewhat desegregated fashion. Among those who have pressed this argument for the educational backwardness among Muslims in contemporary India are A.B. Shah,

proponents of this viewpoint, the Muslims have failed to respond to secular education or take advantage of educational developments on account of their resistance to secular education, the emphasis placed among them upon sending the child to a traditional Islamic educational institution rather than to a modern, secular institution and their strong tendency to reject secular learning for religious education.

Others subscribing to this mode of explanation present another version of this same general proposition, except that they do not so much emphasize the role of religion as the perception of Muslims in the contemporary social situation. According to them, the Muslims are reluctant to take to secular education because of an acute psychological complex.¹² As a religious minority, the argument runs, the Muslims have coiled themselves up into their cultural shell and are suffering from an acute minority complex. This psychological complex acts as a serious barrier to their integration into the mainstream of national life and has prevented them from taking advantage of the expanding educational opportunities in contemporary India. Therefore, if the Muslims are educationally backward or they are under-represented in the educational sphere, they are themselves to blame 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.

The second explanation often advanced to explain the educational backwardness and under-representation of Muslims in contemporary India also lays emphasis upon the status of the community as a religious minority. However, this explanation does not so much hold the Muslims responsible for their educational backwardness. It, instead, lays the blame for the educational backwardness of Muslims upon the society at large and its discriminatory attitudes. According to this explanation, the Muslims are neither reluctant to take to secular education because of their preoccupation with religion and religious education, nor because of their minority complex. Their educational backwardness is explicable in terms of an invidious discrimination practised against them which is reducing them to the status of hewers of wood and

Challenges to Secularism, Bombay, 1969, Hamid Dalwai, *Muslim Politics in India*, Bombay, 1969, S.E. Hussain, *The Indian Muslims*, Bombay, 1968, H.A. Karandikar, *Islam in India's Transition to Modernity*, Delhi, 1968, H.R.A. Baig, *The Muslim Dilemma in India*, Delhi, 1974 and Shibani Roy, *Changing Status of Muslim Woman in North India*, Delhi, 1979.

¹² This explanation has been implicit in a great deal of sociological as well as journalistic writings dealing with the question of Muslim preoccupation with the preservation of their cultural identity in what is described as secular India.

drawers of water.¹³ This reasoning has led a section among the Muslim elite in recent years to demand reservation for Muslims in educational institutions in order to enable them to take advantage of educational facilities.

Even casual reflection will bring out two salient points about these explanations of Muslim educational backwardness in contemporary India. The first point is that these explanations are not entirely new but can be traced back to an earlier period. Even in the period following the establishment of British rule, and particularly after the introduction of western education, the same explanations were advanced to account for what was regarded at the time as the slow response of the Muslims to western education.¹⁴ Two possible arguments that emerge out of this discussion may at least be noted. First, it shows that the basic character of Muslim rhetoric and polemics since the loss of political power by the Muslims has remained more or less the same. Second, this shows that the problem which the Muslims feel they are facing in contemporary India is largely the same that they felt they faced following the establishment of British rule. This can provide a useful clue to the critical significance of political power in conditioning their view of themselves during the hundred years or so as well as the perceptions which can be said to have shaped the explanations outlined.

A second point that emerges from a consideration of the explanations is that they are based on certain assumptions about both the appeal of education as an end in itself and about Muslims. The first assumption which underlines the explanations is that education is desirable and everyone should go in for it. What makes education desirable is often left unspecified, but the belief underlying such an assertion is that education creates a modern outlook, allows scope for social mobility and is a source of social prestige. This should attract people to education. Wherever an individual or group of individuals is found that is not going in for education, this lack of enthusiasm or attraction for education requires explanation in terms of some independent or autonomous religious or psychological causes.

One can perhaps argue as a general principle that everyone should be drawn towards education whenever and wherever an opportunity for it is available. As a matter of fact, there is

¹³ This argument is a recurrent theme in much of Urdu periodical writings. As examples of writings in English espousing this explanation of Muslim education backwardness in contemporary India, see Gauba, op. cit. Harman, op. cit. Habib, op. cit. S. Raziuddin Ahmed 'Backwardness of Muslims', *Secular Democracy* 9, 1976, pp. 24-25, and Rasheeduddin Khan, 'Minority Segments in Indian Politics: Muslim Situation and the Plight of Urdu', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 13, 1978, pp. 1509-15.

¹⁴ An excellent, critical treatment of the various theories used to explain the educational backwardness of Indian Muslims in British India is found in Anil Seal, *Emergence of Indian Nationalism*, and David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's first Generation*, Delhi, 1979.

also a powerful and elaborate social science theory which lends great credence to this particular view on education.¹⁵ At the cost of slight simplification, it can be said that the principle thrust of the modernization theories is essentially in this direction. All of them assert that the characteristics of a modern personality are certain attitudinal attributes such as empathy, cosmopolitanism and exposure to mass media, etc., and the extent to which these attitudinal attributes develop in a person is greatly influenced by, if they are not really contingent upon, education and learning. This is the principle reason why programmes of modernization in some of the developing countries lay a great deal of emphasis upon education as an instrument of modernization and social change.¹⁶

This is not an appropriate place to enter into a detailed discussion of the role that education can or does play in the modernization of a group, community or society. Perhaps, as a general proposition one could certainly argue that education does have a clear impact on dissemination or spread of modern attitudes, values and outlook because it enables an individual or a group to become exposed to external stimuli and thereby to develop those personality traits that are regarded as the hall-mark of a modern personality. Even so, it would be facile to expect that every individual or group must see this tremendous modernizing potential of education and must, therefore, go in for it. To expect this or to assert that one should do so would be to succumb to a highly elitist perception of the utility and value of education. For, it is everywhere the elite which actually has taken advantage of its beneficial effects that alone can be expected to see what education can do to produce modern attitudes or create facilitative conditions for social change. The large majority of the general masses in every society who have had no taste of the beneficial effects of education or do not care for what tangible benefits it can really bring into their lives by ushering in a revolution of ideas are unlikely to be persuaded to go in for education for its own sake. Their response to education as well as whether they go in for it or not are likely to be dictated by more concrete considerations.¹⁷

¹⁵ ⁶ All modernization experts regard education as a crucial variable of the modernization process. However, no one seems to have questioned why education should be regarded as so crucial to modernization.

¹⁶ cf. the following observation of the Education commission: 'If this change on a grand scale is to be achieved without violent revolution . . . there is one instrument and one instrument only, that can be used: . . . This direct link between education, national development and prosperity which we have emphasized and in which we deeply believe exists only when the national system of education is properly organized . . . In fact, what is needed is a revolution in education which in turn will set in motion the much desired social, economic and cultural revolution' (*Government of India, Report of the the Education Commission, 1964-66, New Delhi, 1966 pp: 4-5*).

¹⁷ cf. Bourdieu : 'It is probably cultural inertia which still makes us see education in terms of the ideology of the school as a liberating force and as a means of increasing social mobility, even when the indications

Education as an activity requires a definite investment of time, energy and resources. Even if education was made wholly free, people may still be unwilling to take to it because the expenditure of energy and time that its pursuit may require may still mean a loss of resources which one would create if one were to go in for some other activity during the same time.¹⁸ Therefore, the question whether they are ultimately ready or willing to make the necessary investment of time, energy and resources in education is likely to be dependent upon whether they see this investment as commensurate with what education can give or gives them in return.¹⁹ If they feel that the returns from education are not going to be commensurate with whatever their perception of their future life-styles are, they are unlikely to go in or send children for education no matter how attractive a proposition it might be from the viewpoint of spread of modern outlook and modernization.²⁰ On the contrary, if they find that the returns from it are likely to be commensurate with what their future hopes and aspirations are, they will not only be willing but will indeed go out of their way to make sacrifices for the sake of education.

tend to be that it is in fact one of the most effective means of perpetuating the social pattern, as it both provides an apparent justification for social inequalities and gives recognition to the cultural heritage, that is, to a social gift treated as a natural one'. Pierre Bourdieu, 'The School as a Conservative force: Scholastic and Cultural Inequalities', in John Eggleton (ed.), *Contemporary Research in the Sociology of Education*, London, 1974, p. 32.

¹⁸ cf. Bourdieu, op. cit. pp. 33 : 'The attitude of the members of the various social classes, both parents and children, and in particular their attitudes towards school, the culture of the school and the type of future the various types of school lead to, are largely an expression of the system of explicit or implied values which they have as a result of belonging to a given social class'.

¹⁹ cf. Bourdieu op. cit. pp. 33-34 : '... the reasonable wish to get on through education will not materialize as long as the real chances of success are slim, and although working class people may well be unaware of their children's 2 to 100 chance of getting to university, their behaviour is based on an empirical evaluation of the real hopes common to all people in their social group. Thus it is understandable that the lower middle class - a transitional class - lays more emphasis on educational values as the school offers them reasonable chances of achieving all they want by mixing the values of social success and cultural prestige. In comparison with working class children, who are doubly disadvantaged as regards facilities for assimilating culture and the propensity to acquire it, middle class children receive from their parents not only encouragement and exhortation with regard to their school work but also an ethos of "getting on" in society and an ambition to do the same at and by means of school, which enables their keen desire for the possession of culture to compensate for cultural poverty. It also seems that the same self denying ethos of social mobility which gives rise to the prevalence of small families in certain sections of the lower middle classes also under lies their attitude towards the school.

²⁰ cf. Bourdieu op. cit., p. 34, : 'In general, children and their families make their own choices by reference to the constraints which determine them. Even when the choices seem to them to follow simply from taste or vocational sense, they nevertheless indicate the round about effects of objective conditions. In other words, the structure of the objective chances of social mobility and, more precisely, of the social mobility by means of education conditions attitudes to school (and it is precisely these attitudes which are most important in defining the chances of access to education, of accepting the values or norms of the school and of succeeding within the framework and thus rising in society) through subjective hopes (shared by all individuals defined by the same objective future, and reinforced by the groups' pressure for conformity), which are no more than objective chances intuitively perceived and gradually internalized'.

There is growing evidence in the literature on education that the large majority of people perceive education in clearly mercenary terms. They see it largely as a means of entry into a job, prestige and social mobility. Whenever their aspirations are oriented to white-collar occupations for which some education is an essential prerequisite, they always make the requisite investment of time, energy and resources to secure the required level of education. Whenever they have no definite aspirations, but can afford to pay for it, they take to education in the vague hope that it may enable them to become something or enable them to earn some social prestige. But whenever their aspirations are oriented to occupations where education is not an essential prerequisite, they are unwilling to make the investment of time, energy and resources in education. This explains the clear preference of the middle classes, which provide the principle source of recruitment of white-collar occupations everywhere, for education as opposed to the rather indifferent attitude of the lower classes for it. No doubt, the broadening of outlook does enlarge their perception of their options, but the degree and extent to which they eventually go ahead with making the requisite investment of time, energy and resources for education is ultimately likely to depend upon how far their perception of their existential situation allows them to see the possibility of their realizing their aspirations.

The second assumption that can be said to underline the explanations of Muslim educational backwardness in contemporary India is that Muslims constitute a homogeneous aggregate. Perhaps we can gauge how strongly this assumption underlies the explanations by examining the way the assertion that Muslims in contemporary India are educationally backward or under-represented is itself made. As a rule, the assertion is usually based on a comparison of the community-wise break-up of the educated or educational institutions. However, this kind of figures can be quite misleading. Arising out of what we have said earlier about education, it would follow that the number of the educated persons in any group or community is likely to be dependent upon the size of classes or segments which see a direct relevance or need for education in terms of their future aspirations about occupational options. Therefore, the question that is crucial to ascertaining the degree and extent of Muslims educational backwardness is whether their low aggregate percentage among the educated of all communities is not due to the rather small size of the section or social strata from which recruitment to the educational sphere is actually made. For, if it were to turn out that the low percentage of educated Muslims is actually a function of the small size of the social strata that usually goes in for education, then our whole approach to the question of Muslim educational backwardness and the strategy which has been recommended for its removal would have to be drastically modified.

There is little statistical data to allow us to deal with these aspects with any great degree of certainty and precision. However, there is one possible course we can adopt to reach conclusions which may be fairly close approximations of the situation as it can be said to obtain among Muslims in India. We may begin by identifying the social strata that have traditionally been attracted towards education on the basis of historical as well as recent statistical data, assess the present size of those social strata and evaluate whether what is described as the problem arising out of large social strata among Muslims not going in for education as a purely rational act rather than out of some kind of psychological or religious complexes. This kind of inferential analysis is the only viable approach that can allow us to undertake the study of Muslim problems in contemporary India in the face of an almost total absence of factual or statistical data about them.

Muslims in India are stratified along two distinct axes. The first is the axis of caste or caste-like groupings which are based on descent and racial origin and are grouped under two broad categories called ashraf and ajlaf. The other is the axis of occupation or political power according to which at least four broad social strata can be easily identified. They are the upper class, lower middle class and lower class. Even though these axes are quite distinct and separate and can be said to have existed side by side, there has always been a considerable degree of congruence and overlap between them. Without going into a detailed discussion of the question, we can safely assume that the so-called ashrafs have usually belonged to the upper and middle classes while the ajlaf have constituted the lower middle and lower classes. Exceptions within each broad category perhaps always existed and have probably grown, but this would be a fair approximation of Muslim social stratification in India. Therefore, without going into any further discussion of the question we can turn our attention to the identification of those social strata among whom attraction for education could be said to be particularly strong both over time and contemporaneously.

Education among Muslims in India, as indeed almost everywhere in the Islamic world, has been of two different kinds: religious education carried through Islamic schools, usually called maktabas or madrasahs, and secular education designed to prepare a Muslim for an occupation and adult role in society.²¹ Until the introduction of western education in the later half of the nineteenth century both these kinds of education was carried out through the same type of

²¹ A brief account of the characteristics of religious and secular education among Hindus and Muslims in traditional India is found in Robert S. Newman, 'Din Aur Duniya Dono: The problems of a Muslim Primary School in India' Paper presented at the Comparative Education Conference, Melbourne, 1976. A competent account of Muslim education in India is found in Aziz Ahmad, *Intellectual History of Islam in India*, Edinburgh, 1969.

educational institutions. A child who entered the maktab or madrasah during the Muslim period dropped off after a few years instruction in Quranic 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 institution 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.⁹ Once western education was introduced in India, the two kinds of education came to be pursued in two different types of education. A child first went to a maktab or madrasah and thereafter went to a school for secular education or pursued the former to a point along with the later.

There is a good deal of historical evidence to indicate that, while even religious education was much more restricted than has been thought to have been the case, secular education was limited to the upper social strata of the Muslim society.¹⁰ For example, secular education with emphasis upon Persian language and literature, and the various arts such as calligraphy, which were essential prerequisites to entry into the court and the higher echelons of Mughal administration, was a restricted preserve of the higher social strata comprising the Muslim nobility and members of the aristocratic families. The same was true during British rule, except that the content of secular education then came to be quite different from what had traditionally been the case and the social strata that went in for secular education during this period also became somewhat enlarged. This enlarged social stratum came to constitute what may be called the Muslim middle class.

There are no statistics to show which social strata actually goes in for secular education in contemporary India, but the data contained in several recent surveys on Muslims allow us the inference that the predominance of the Muslim middle class in secular education is quite clear. As a broad generalization, we would therefore not be too wrong if we assert that the section of the Muslims who have traditionally gone in for education and who may be expected to have some attraction for it as an avenue to white-collar jobs are those Muslims who belong to the category of middle class Muslims. Others may or may not go in for education, but whether they do so or not will ultimately be determined by what concrete and tangible advantage they can see as accruing from it in terms of increasing their job prospects or contributing to their upward social mobility.

If this formulation is correct, it would follow that any attempt to talk about Muslim educational backwardness on the basis of a comparison of the absolute figures of education among Muslims and other religious communities would be quite misleading. One would have to ask whether their low representation in the educational sphere is actually not a consequence of the rather small size of the social stratum which has the greater attraction for education and within

which the largest proportion or percentage of the educated is actually to be found. For, if it were indeed to be found that the low percentage or proportion of educated among the Muslims is actually due to the small size of the social stratum that is likely to contain the largest number of the educated, not only our explanation of the educational backwardness among the Muslims would turn out to be different but even the strategy for enlarging the Muslim share in the educational sphere would have to be reoriented. The contention of this paper is that the principal reason underlying educational backwardness among Muslims is the rather small size of the Muslim middle class which is likely to be seriously inclined towards education. Therefore, I turn below to a consideration of the Muslim middle class in contemporary India.

As has generally been recognized in the limited literature on the subject, the emergence of a middle class in India is dated from the introduction of western education. Seal has demonstrated that the emergence of the middle class in India occurred first in the Presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, which were the first to be exposed to western education and where the opportunities for employment in government service or the professions were chiefly concentrated. It was only later on as the British administrative frontier expanded further inland that the process of the emergence of the educated middle class really took place in what were then called the North-Western Frontier Provinces and Oudh and the Punjab. This produced a distinct and significant consequence for the emergence and size of the Muslim middle class.

The Presidency towns were characterized by a pattern of social demography where the Hindus, except for what was then called Bengal, were not only numerically preponderant but they also occupied an advantageous position in the socio-economic system vis-à-vis the Muslims both in terms of their social situation and their orientation for the new employment opportunities. On the contrary, the Muslims belonged mainly to the social stratum which were both low and intermediate in terms of social position and oriented to occupations which did not require exposure to education to any substantial extent. For example, the Hindus in all the three Presidencies were not only the leading landowners but also constituted a class of absentee landlords who could be expected to perceive the advantages of the new secular education in terms of the employment opportunities that it offered under the changing social situation and the expansion of the administrative apparatus of the state. On the other hand, the Muslims were by and large either poor or were concentrated in occupations such as agriculture and trade which did not depend upon attainment of a high level of educational competence.¹¹ Therefore, the Muslims in the Presidencies did not respond to educational opportunities as and when they became available as enthusiastically as did the Hindus.

The situation was quite the opposite in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. Even though this region was educationally backward as compared to the Presidency areas, the Muslims belonged to the higher classes and they also enjoyed a lead in the educational sphere. Brass's remarkable work on the subject adduces conclusive evidence that Muslims there enjoyed a distinctly discernible lead over their Hindu counterparts.²¹ Brass writes: 'The figures on the proportions of Muslims at school in 1871-72 provide by the major British Provinces at the time showed that, in fact, Muslims were proportionately over-represented in comparison to Hindus in schools and colleges in both the North-Western Provinces and Oudh and that Muslims in those provinces were better represented in this respect than in any other province in British India. Later, Brass goes on to add, 'The Muslim educational drive persisted up through 1931, the latest date for which comparative figures for Hindus and Muslims are available.... Although Muslims were behind the Hindus in general male literacy in 1881, they gradually closed the gap until they were ahead of the Hindus by 1911 and significantly ahead by 1931. More important politically is the fact that male English literacy among Muslims was consistently higher than among Hindus throughout the period 1891 and 1931 and that the gap in their favour increased during this period.

Encouraging though the Muslim representation in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh was from the Muslim viewpoint, the unevenness in the educational response of the Muslims in the different provinces was such that it placed severe limits on the size of the Muslim middle class. The size of the Muslim middle class tended to be small as compared to the size of the Hindu middle class. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, who tended increasingly as time passed to represent a Muslim constituency in Indian political polemics, was keenly alive to this fact and its possible consequences. Opposing the principle of recruitment by merit which the Congress espoused, he particularly elaborated upon the theme eloquently: 'Think for a moment', he said, 'what would be the result if all appointments were given by competitive examination. Over all races, not only Rajas of high position and the brave Rajputs who have not forgotten the swords of their ancestors, would be placed as ruler a Bengali who at the first sight of a table knife would crawl under his chair'. Even though Sayyid Ahmad chose to refer also to the Rajas and the Rajputs, his principal concern was the Muslim educated class and his campaign was designed basically to safeguard the advantageous position which it had enjoyed earlier in the administrative.

The Muslim middle class during British rule was extremely restricted in geographical spread and its size was naturally limited because of this geographical restriction. Following partition, the size of the Muslim middle class was further depleted by the large-scale migration which took place in the wake of the partition of the country. There are no statistics which can be used to estimate the extent of migration to Pakistan from each of the social strata among the

Muslims. Nonetheless, we would not be wrong if we were to assume that substantial migration took place from amongst the Muslim middle class. After all, the tremendous employment potential offered by the emergence of Pakistan, particularly after the post-partition turmoil had subsided and relatively stable conditions had been restored, could not but have acted as a spur to the Muslim middle class to cash in on the favourable employment situation obtaining in Pakistan. On the whole, therefore, the creation of Pakistan and the accompanying stream of migration eventually resulted in a heavy reduction of the size of the Muslim middle class in India.

The central argument of this discussion is that the explanations quite often advanced to account for the educational backwardness among Muslims in contemporary India are wrong as they rest on certain common assumptions whose validity is open to question. The two principal assumptions underlying them relate to the conception of the Muslims as an aggregate and the belief that as an activity education is desirable and should be equally appealing to all social strata who should be keen to take advantage of educational opportunities. This paper has tried to show that education is likely to be exploited by those social strata that are oriented to employment in the professions and government service and that this social strata amongst the Muslims has not only been historically quite small but was further reduced in size following partition when a good number of its members went over to Pakistan in order to cash in on the employment opportunities that opened up there in the wake of that country's establishment. Therefore, the educational backwardness among the Muslims is due not so much to their religious fanaticism or their acute minority complex, but rather because of the small size of the social strata whose members can be expected to go in for education as a normal activity.

Under normal circumstances the Muslim middle class should have expanded in the forty year period since independence as this period has seen a tremendous expansion of the middle class. This has not happened. The protagonists of the view that Muslim educational backwardness owes itself to a process of silent and invidious discrimination practised against the Muslims since independence are likely to attribute this to the social blockage experienced by the Muslim middle class in education and employment. There are no definitive studies which allow us to assess whether Muslims are subject to discrimination and to estimate the precise extent and degree or level at which such discrimination takes place. Even so, we can easily assume that there exists discrimination against Muslims. There is no society anywhere in the world where minority communities, religious as well as others, are not subject to some discrimination. As a matter of fact, the Muslims will have to reconcile themselves to the fact that there would exist some degree of discrimination against them despite the constitutional professions of equality of opportunity.

Experience of other societies, however, shows that the members of the minority communities can achieve what Turner calls contest mobility even when they are subject to discrimination. The case of the Jews in the United States at the beginning of this century is particularly instructive in this connection. Even though subject to deep-rooted social prejudice, they succeeded through raising their competence in entering the professions and white-collar employment channels and thereby established themselves as an important component of the American middle class. There is no reason to assume line through raising the general level of competence of its members to a level which is well above the average for the country as a whole. Therefore, the argument that the growth of the Muslim middle class since independence has been inhibited because of discrimination in the sphere of education and employment can be regarded as only partially persuasive and relevant.

The expansion of a middle class whether in the country as a whole or within a particular community is ultimately contingent not so much on growth from within as on recruitment from the lower middle class. Therefore, the question that requires to be asked is why the Muslim lower middle class has not tried to enter the middle class or why the process of its induction into the middle class has been slow. For, the general tendency that has been found to be characteristic of this class is that the more enterprising sections within it who have achieved a degree of economic stability and are dissatisfied with the status enjoyed by them usually take to education and enter the rank of the salaried middle class in order to earn prestige. Or, occasionally, they take to education also to carry on their traditional occupation with a greater degree of efficiency and at a somewhat expanded scale. One needs to ask whether such a development is not taking place among the Muslims or what is its magnitude.

One would be required to undertake a detailed analysis of the general response of the Muslim lower middle class or classes to socio-economic development since independence in order to deal with these questions at all adequately. Such a detailed analysis cannot be undertaken here. However, we can make a few general observations which need to be validated by more detailed research. The first is that the social strata that can be said to constitute the Muslim lower middle class actually experienced a decline in its general economic condition immediately after independence. It is only during the last two decades or so that the expansion in the market for the goods and services monopolized by them has rendered their prospects bright and contributed to their over-all economic stability and prosperity. However, since the economic prosperity of the members of this class has come from their traditional occupation this has naturally involved a situation where they do not find education particularly relevant and are unwilling to send their children for education, except perhaps for reasons of social prestige.

As the economic prosperity of the more enterprising Muslim lower middle class members increases, there is a strong possibility that they may tend to send at least one child to school who may bring the necessary social prestige by working in the employment sector while the other children may continue to be encouraged to engage in the traditional occupation characteristic of them. Or, it is also likely that for reason of prestige all the children in the family may be exposed to a minimal degree of education but may eventually engage in the traditional occupation. Where this happens, religious education would compete keenly with secular education. There is a strong possibility that due to the separation between religious and secular education the children in the lower-middle class Muslim families may be exposed in the first flush of economic prosperity to religious education and only later they may take to secular education on an increased scale. The process may be greatly facilitated, as I suspect it is already being facilitated at least in certain trades and occupations by the rise in the scale of operation of the economic enterprise where a minimum of educational competence may be an absolute necessity.

A good many observers of the educational scene among the Muslims have been struck by the rapid rise in the number of traditional Islamic schools Madrasahs and maktabas in India since independence as well as the strong attraction of those who have experienced economic prosperity recently for religious education for their children. This is a perfectly understandable phenomenon in terms of what has been said earlier. What this really implies is that the lower middle classes which have experienced economic prosperity among the Muslims in recent years are beginning to send their children for education, but since the time they can allow the child to spend at school prior to his reversion to the traditional occupation is limited, they send them to Islamic schools rather than to secular schools. Perhaps, further rise in their economic prosperity and aspirations for social prestige and social mobility may encourage them not only to keep their children at school longer but also to send them to secular schools. Over the short run, however, secular education remains a casualty.

The Muslim education scenario outlined this far brings into sharp focus the question the action needed to ameliorate the educational backwardness among the Muslims and to increase their representation in the education sphere. As a rule, those who have addressed themselves to this question have usually been inclined to take the position that adoption of the principle of reservation along the lines of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes would be an appropriate step for the purpose.³¹ This suggestion is a feeble echo of similar reverberations voiced at the turn of the century and is yet another indication of the earlier observation that Muslim political rhetoric and polemics has remained remarkably similar during the last hundred years or more.

Polemical matters apart, the strategy is unlikely either to be acceptable or to be particularly creative in respect of enlarging the Muslims share in the educational sphere.

The Muslim demand for reservation in educational institutions and employment could be accepted by British rules at the beginning of the century because of the argument that the under-representation of Muslims in the employment and educational spheres was largely the outcome of British policies. As is well known, the Muslims argued that the British attitude to the Muslim aristocracy after the fateful first war of Independence or the mutiny was quite negative. Seeing the Muslims a quite hostile to their rule, the British had taken policy postures whose long-term effect was to produce a general depression in the Muslim situation, although the choice of this policy posture on the part of the government was also considerably influenced by the emergence of Hindu associational pressure for a policy shift which would be more favourable to Hindus. Therefore, the Muslim leadership of those days could argue that the burden of rectifying the adverse effects of British policies on Muslim recruitment in the educational and employment fields rested largely with the rulers. This peculiar situation no longer exists. As our analysis has shown, the Muslim under-representation in the educational field is a result of certain internal developments within the Muslim community though Muslim polemics makes it out to be otherwise the case. Therefore, the government would easily be inclined to take the position that, unlike as in past, it cannot be blamed for the situation in which Muslims find themselves in the educational and employment fields. Furthermore, even if one were to assume that the government recognizes the Muslim situation and is sympathetic to their demand, any attempt on its part to apply the reservation principle to Muslims is likely to produce a backlash whose over-all social and political consequences could be far more damaging and negative than is often anticipated.

Moreover, a second argument against reservation as a basis of ameliorating Muslim educational backwardness is that it is unlikely to be particularly productive of results. Experience of the operation of reservation principle both within India and cross-culturally shows that wherever effects have been limited almost exclusively to those social strata which are already advantaged and do not need the additional support that reservation is supposed to provide. There is, therefore, nothing to warrant the assumption that the benefits of reservation will percolate down and necessarily contribute to the expansion of the educated class among the Muslims. This is particularly relevant in view of what we have said earlier about the educational behaviour of the Muslim lower-middle class being still not quite ready to make the necessary investment of time, energy and resources in education. Therefore, if reservation was introduced, its principal beneficiaries will be only those Muslims of the better classes who are not educationally depressed.

Perhaps, a second and a decidedly better strategy would be for the community to increasingly try to use the existing network of state schools or rely upon its own internal resources and private initiative for developing secular educational facilities. Our earlier analysis showed that certain enterprising and well to do sub-strata among the Muslim lower middle class have come to enjoy a degree of economic stability and are poised for what may for want of a better word be called 'educational take off' for reasons of prestige and status enhancement. At present, our analysis showed, the Muslims of this class are content to send their children to Islamic or traditional education institutions principally because the period for which they are willing to spare their children the luxury of education is taken by religious education. Possibly, religious education is also able to satisfy their need for education as the social context within which they are seeking prestige and status enhancement is dominated by a predominance of religious values. If the community organized its own secular institutions where secular education is carried out side by side with religious education, possibly such institutions could fulfil the twin tasks of ensuring religious instruction and building up an elementary modicum of secular education which may simultaneously reduce the chasm that exists currently between religious and secular education and provide the initial stimulus for a more vigorous orientation for secular education later on.

The Muslims could learn a great deal in evolving and operationalizing this strategy from the experience of Jews in the United States and the Sikhs in India. Perhaps it would be conceded that both these communities are as deeply concerned about religious instruction to the young as indeed are the Muslims. However, both were able to overcome the chasm between secular education and religious instruction through a strategy which sought to emphasize the significance of secular education for the community and built an institutional framework where religious instructions could be persued along with, rather than at the cost of secular education.

The peculiar educational system of the United States did not allow the running of community schools. Consequently, the Jews had to make use of the secular educational institutions created by the state. However, they created a network of Sunday schools which would allow religious instruction to be given to Jewish children while they enrolled for secular education. On the other hand, the possibility of creation of community schools in India has been used by the Sikhs to create their own community schools. These schools are not restricted to Sikhs, but Sikh children are given preference in matters of admission. The over all consequence of the creation of these Sikh community schools has been threefold: first, it has allowed Sikhs to combine the twin goals of religious instruction and secular education. Second, it has enabled Sikh children to escape the trauma of having to switch after completion of religious instruction to

secular education where they might find themselves put back by a few years because of poor ability in secular subjects including the administrative language. Lastly, this allowed the Sikhs to pursue the specific Sikh myth implied by religious instruction along with the myth upon which modern secular education is founded.

This particular strategy is not quite unknown in the case of Muslims. As a matter of fact, available evidence indicates that Muslims in certain parts of the country, especially Kerala and Tamilnadu, have already taken to this strategy and are trying to promote education among Muslims through creation of a network of community schools organized and run on the line of state-established secular schools. Perhaps, an analysis of the careers of the alumni or graduates of such community-based religious institutions would show more definitively how far and to what extent they have succeeded in spreading literacy and secular education and in enabling Muslim youngmen to take to employment, one of the few routes to middle class standing in society. However, the general impression one gets is that the general effects of the community schools in states such as Kerala and Tamil Nadu have been on the whole quite encouraging both from the viewpoint of increasing the educational preparedness of an average Muslim of middle and lower-middle class and enlarging the size of the educated among the Muslims. Over much of north India, unfortunately, where Muslims have been educationally more advanced traditionally, the situation has been stagnant and discouraging on both counts. Therefore, what is really needed is that experience of community-based schools among the Sikhs as well as among Muslims in its more remote South Indian outposts should be extended to other part of India.

Of course, any effort to translate the strategy outlined would have little chance of success unless it is backed by a vigorous and active campaign that seeks at the same time to stress the relevance of secular education for those who may be willing to make the necessary investment of time, energy and resources for it as well as integrate the myths underlying the Islamic or religious and secular education. Islamic education is based on a myth of unity and strength derivable from the notion of the brotherhood of Islam as well as a belief in cultural superiority, and Islamic schools are a symbol of this myth. On the other hand, secular education is based on the myth of modernity, nationalism, change, progress and 'success' for the meritorious individual. Islamic schools seek as cultural symbols to buttress the Muslims' sense of unity and superiority but put them at a distinctive economic disadvantage by foreclosing the children's options for social mobility. Secular schools equip them for greater participation in a competitive society but erode the myths upon which Islamic education is founded. This naturally poses the serious dilemma of choice in favour of one or the other kind of school, the choice being made in favour of secular education in case of the employment-oriented Muslim middle class and for religious instruction

in the case of the Muslim lower-middle class which sees education in less favourable terms because of the option of reverting to the traditional occupation **being** always open to its members.

This dilemma is not wholly unknown to Muslims in contemporary India. As a matter of fact it had begun to haunt the Muslims right after the decline of their political power and authority. Sayyid Ahmad who, as a member of a class of Muslims which had traditionally depended upon administrative service, was quick to see the dilemma and the consequence which its settlement in favour of religious or madrasa-type education could lead to. Therefore, he had backed his entire educational strategy of building up an institution that would enable the Muslim educated classes to earn qualifications that would entitle them to government employment while at the same time remaining steadfast in their cultural and religious heritage was backed by a campaign that sought to combine the emphasis upon faith and the world. Unfortunately, the entire social movement (*tahrik*) represented by Sayyid Ahmad gradually died down. Perhaps, those who waste eloquence crying over Muslim educational backwardness in contemporary India would do well to realize that the ultimate effectiveness of their eloquent protestations will depend on how well and how soon they can promote a campaign that seeks to emphasize the goals of secular and modern education, leaving the community to take care of its need for religious and cultural education.

Chapter 3

Localities and Families

Muslims are dispersed in many parts of Delhi. In some localities they constitute a preponderant majority while in others their numbers are relatively small. Selection of localities for this study was made keeping in mind this differential pattern of distribution. Of the ten localities finally selected, Turkman Gate, Zakir Nagar, Abul Fazal Enclave, Nizamuddin are predominantly Muslim localities. Bara Hindu Rao, Lal Kuan and Seelampur and Jahangirpuri also have a sizeable Muslim population but other communities also live in these localities in sizeable numbers. Hauz Rani and Rangpuri are localities where Muslims constitute a minority of the population. Turkman Gate, Bara Hindu Rao and Nizamuddin are old Muslim localities dating back to the Mughal times, though the composition of these localities changed considerably after Independence. Abul Fazal Enclave and Zaikr Nagar developed in to colonies as new waves of Muslim migration from adjoining areas of Delhi occurred during the sixties and thereafter. Jahangirpuri and Seelampur developed into slums as the wave of migration from Bihar and Bengal as well as parts of Utttar Pradesh took place. Rangpuri is a recent slum cluster, having developed in the late seventies. Hauz Rani existed as a village from early historical times, but it expanded during the seventies to accommodate new groups of Muslims who migrated to Delhi in search of employment opportunities. These observations are eloquently confirmed by the data on the number of years that the families have been living in the locality. Table 1 presents this data.

Table 1: No. of Years the family has been living in the locality

Locality	Since Birth	Less than 10 Years	More than 10 Years
Rangpuri	1	15	4
Hauzrani	7	3	14
Zakir Nagar	0	6	16
Abul fazal	1	6	14
Nizamuddin	16	0	4
Barahindu Rao	13	0	8
Lal Kuan	9	5	10
Jahangirpuri	1	3	19
Turkmanpuri	14	0	7
Silampur	4	10	38
Total	66	48	134

Following the selection of the localities for detailed investigation, a household survey was undertaken for focussed interviews later on. Table 1 shows the demographic composition of the families. Since the number of families to be covered as part of this survey was considerable, the study confined itself to asking a few basic questions such as the number of males and females as well the number of boys and girls in the family. This was in addition to the income level and caste affiliation of the families. Overall, the purpose was to construct a profile of the families in terms of their size, composition, caste and income criteria. As part of this survey, we also collected the number of children going to schools as well as madrasas in order to gauge the pattern of utilization of educational facilities by the families.

Table 2: Demographic Composition of families

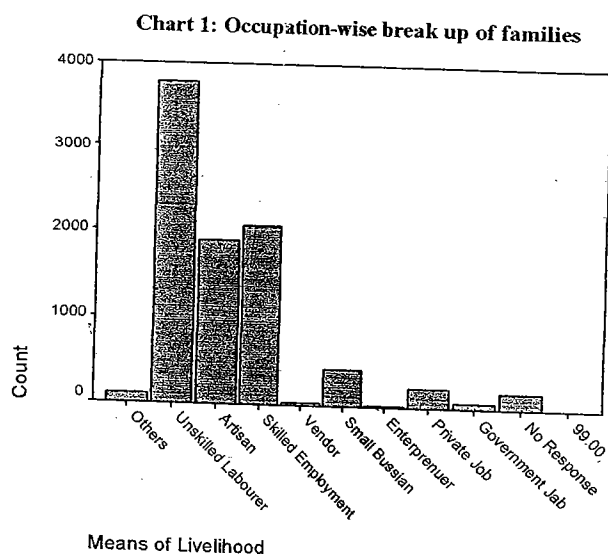
Locality	N	Male in Family (Average)	Female in Family (Average)	Boys in Family (Average)	Girls in Family (Average)	Total Children in Family (Average)	Total Member in Family
Rangpuri	114	1.64	1.26	1.46	1.30	2.77	5.67
Hauzrani	150	1.64	1.53	1.30	1.37	2.68	5.86
Zakir Nagar	148	3.56	3.07	1.27	1.14	2.41	9.06
Abul Fazal	149	3.17	2.79	1.12	.89	2.01	7.98
Nizamuddin	146	1.99	1.78	.99	1.04	2.04	5.82

Bara Hindu Rao	159	3.66	3.18	.83	.80	1.63	8.48
Lal Kuan	150	3.36	3.38	.87	.82	1.70	8.44
Jahangirpuri	153	3.59	3.13	1.22	.94	2.16	8.90
Turkman Gate	149	3.40	3.24	.81	.82	1.64	8.29
Seelampur	348	2.95	2.62	1.18	1.01	2.19	7.77
Total	1666	2.94	2.63	1.10	1.01	2.11	7.69

Table 2 and the Chart 1 give the occupation-wise breakup of the head of household of families in the selected localities. It is clear that the largest number of households in the selected localities are employed as vendors and small businessmen with a considerable section engaged in unskilled work. This is easily understandable, except that it has implications for the educability of children. It has been observed that where a family is poor there is a strong tendency for parents to put children to work so that they start contributing to the family resources. For this reason, one should not be surprised if enrolment of children in schools should be low. At any rate, poor economic condition impinges on the affordability and purchasing capacity of the households to provide education to the children.

Table 3: Occupation-wise Break up of Household Head of Families in Selected Localities

Locality	Means of Livelihood													
	Others		Unskilled Labourer		Artisan		Skilled Employment		Vendor		Small Business		Entrepreneur	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Rangpuri	0	0	29	13.9	3	3.4	62	13.1	4	5.8	3	.7	7	13.7
Hauzrani	1	1.8	12	5.8	5	5.7	79	16.7	2	2.9	32	7.1	5	9.8
Zakir Nagar	19	34.5	10	4.8	7	8.0	27	5.7	5	7.2	29	6.4	12	23.5
Abul Fazal	7	12.7	9	4.3	0	0	23	4.9	5	7.2	22	4.9	7	13.7
Nizamuddin	3	5.5	19	9.1	1	1.1	41	8.7	3	4.3	31	6.8	5	9.8
Bara Hindu Rao	3	5.5	16	7.7	9	10.3	29	6.1	9	13.0	72	15.9	4	7.8
Lal Kuan	6	10.9	16	7.7	16	18.4	40	8.5	2	2.9	41	9.1	2	3.9
Jahangirpuri	5	9.1	40	19.2	5	5.7	20	4.2	15	21.7	59	13.0	1	2.0
Turkman Gate	2	3.6	10	4.8	14	16.1	33	7.0	5	7.2	74	16.3	1	2.0
seelampur	9	16.4	47	22.6	27	31.0	118	25.0	19	27.5	90	19.9	7	13.7
Total	55	100.0	208	100.0	87	100.0	472	100.0	69	100.0	453	100.0	51	100.0



Since the survey was conducted in Muslim localities, the enumeration of caste as an aspect of the demographic profile of the families has to be explained. Muslims deny that they have caste among them. The government also does not recognise the existence of caste among Muslims. However, the existence of some kind of social stratification based on ascribed criteria of birth does exist among Muslims.²² Following the pattern common to the Hindus, Muslim social groups are divided into four categories: those calling themselves Ashraf claim foreign descent, Upper Caste Hindu Converts to Islam place themselves below the Ashraf and the Ajlaf, divided between Upper and Lower Ajlaf, engage in menial work and are mostly artisans. Table 3 sets out the caste-wise break up the surveyed families.

Household income largely depends on the nature of employment. As majority of the people are employed in the unorganised sector, their consistency of income is jeopardized. Income levels of the surveyed families are set out in Table 4. Table 5 shows the linkage between household income and occupational pattern of the selected families. Table 6 shows the association between income level of the families with their caste and place in the social hierarchy. Taken together, these tables bring out the following facts

²² The Presence of caste among Muslims has been hotly debated, but from 1901 onwards enumeration of Muslim castes was followed. Much of this debate is summarised in Imtiaz Ahmad (ed.), *Caste and Social Stratification among Muslims*, Delhi, Manohar Book Service, 1973.

quite clearly. First, the large majority of the families selected are concentrated in unskilled category followed by skilled work. A small number of families are also engaged as businessmen. Very few are in government jobs.

Table 5: Caste-wise break up of families

Locality	Caste											
	Ashraf		Upper Caste Converts		Ajlaf Upper		Ajlaf Lower		Others		No Response	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Rangpuri	85	11.2	0	0	20	3.3	8	4.7	0	0	1	3.2
Hauzrani	41	5.4	48	68.6	42	6.8	17	10.1	1	4.0	0	0
Zakir Nagar	85	11.2	7	10.0	43	7.0	12	7.1	1	4.0	0	0
Abul Fazal	72	9.5	7	10.0	40	6.5	10	5.9	0	0	20	64.5
Nizamuddin	67	8.9	2	2.9	56	9.1	8	4.7	11	44.0	2	6.5
Bara Hindu Rao	47	6.2	2	2.9	99	16.1	4	2.4	5	20.0	2	6.5
Lal Kuan	72	9.5	0	0	63	10.3	13	7.7	2	8.0	0	0
Jahangirpuri	122	16.1	0	0	23	3.7	6	3.6	1	4.0	1	3.2
Turkman Gate	44	5.8	2	2.9	56	9.1	47	27.8	0	0	0	0
Seelampur	121	16.0	2	2.9	172	28.0	44	26.0	4	16.0	5	16.1
Total	756	100.0	70	100.0	614	100.0	169	100.0	25	100.0%	31	100.0

Table 6: Relationship between income and Occupation of families

[illegible]

Second, there is a strong correlation between the occupation and income level of the families. Those placed in the unskilled category have a low level of income as well. Skilled workers fare slightly better followed by those in business. From the data in Table 5 shows that a large number of families work as hawkers and vendors. As can be easily expected, they are leading a bare subsistence level existence. Like other unskilled workers, their income generating capacity is low. It is to be expected that their capacity to educate their children is deeply hampered by the low level of their employment and low income level.

Table 7: Relationship between income level and status of families

Income	Caste					
	Ashraf	Upper Caste Convertes	Ajlaf Upper	Ajlaf Lower	Others	No Response
	N	N	N	N	N	N
Less than 1000	16	1	10	3	0	0
1000 to 2000	122	8	100	29	5	4
2000 to 3000	182	15	132	53	4	3
3000 to 4000	92	6	72	30	2	5
4000 to 5000	92	11	77	17	3	3
5000 to 6000	33	1	31	7	2	0
6000 to 7000	14	11	15	3	1	0
7000 to 8000	24	5	14	5	0	1
8000 to 9000	0	0	3	0	0	0
9000 to 10000	44	4	25	6	0	3
10000 to 15000	32	3	22	5	1	1
15000 to 20000	16	1	12	5	1	4
More than 20000	12	2	7	2	0	2
No Response	77	2	94	4	6	5

Finally, the data shows a strong linkage between income level and social status of the families. Considerable body of research exists to show that education, including primary education, is a preserve of the high castes throughout India. It has also been noted that there is also a strong linkage between caste status and occupational levels and earnings. The survey findings very substantially establishes that what has been described to be a pattern in the larger society replicates itself in the case of Muslims.

From the initial enumeration of households in the locality we were also able to find out the details of children and their educational standing. Table 8 sets out the locality-wise break up children attending different types of schools. Table 9 provides the relationship between income level and different types of schools attend by children. Several points emerge out of this data. First, there are on an average 2.1 children per family. This finding stands in marked contrast to the generally impression that Muslim families have a large number of children. Second, nearly 2.2 children are attending school. The largest number of children is attending government schools. On an average 0.9 children are attending private schools and 11 children are going to a madrasa.

Table 8: Locality-wise break up of Children attending different types of schools

Locality	N	Children in Family (Average)	School going Children (Average)	Non-enrolled /drop-out Children (Average)	Govt.School going Children (Average)	Pvt. School going Children (Average)	Madrasa going Children (Average)
Rangpuri	92	2.77	2.23	.35	1.57	.32	.46
Hauzrani	136	2.68	2.53	.08	1.76	.62	.04
Zakir Nagar	126	2.41	2.46	.15	.88	1.50	.03
Abul Fazal Enclave	127	2.01	2.23	.07	.51	1.59	.02
Nizamuddin	119	2.04	2.22	.08	1.31	.84	.12
Bara Hindu Rao	111	1.63	2.11	.26	.86	1.14	.12
Lal Kuan	116	1.70	2.06	.18	.94	1.01	.16
Jahangirpuri	135	2.16	1.91	.58	1.61	.18	.15
Turkman Gate	106	1.64	2.18	.08	1.44	.68	.03
Seelampur	268	2.19	2.35	.18	1.28	1.01	.08
Total	1336	2.11	2.24	.20	1.22	.91	.11

Table 9: Income-wise distribution of children attending different types of schools

Income	School going Children	Non-enrolled /drop-out Children	Govt.School going Children	Pvt. School going Children	Madrassa going Children
Less than 1000	55	2	21	31	7
1000 to 2000	400	66	272	108	11
2000 to 3000	717	75	446	234	61
3000 to 4000	386	17	249	143	18
4000 to 5000	379	27	204	153	17
5000 to 6000	143	9	63	68	9
6000 to 7000	110	7	64	44	3
7000 to 8000	86	13	46	38	8
8000 to 9000	5	0	0	5	0
9000 to 10000	148	7	64	79	6
10000 to 15000	114	6	32	75	4
15000 to 20000	66	2	10	52	0
More than 20000	44	7	5	41	0
No Response	361	33	165	149	8
Total	3005	272	1641	1222	152

Table 10: Caste-wise break up of children attending different types of schools

Caste	School going Children	Non-enrolled /drop-out Children	Govt.School going Children	Pvt. School going Children	Madrassa going Children
Ashraf	1359	149	776	521	77
Upper Caste	176	6	113	59	3
Convertes					
Ajlaf Upper	1076	78	538	492	51
Ajlaf Lower	297	28	183	94	18
Others	49	4	27	20	0
No Response	48	7	14	36	3

Total	3005	272	1641	1222	152

Some very interesting insights emerge from the correlations between income level and caste status and the type of school attended by children of the families. On the whole, the propensity of the family to send the child increases as one moves up the income ladder. Again, together with income level, the propensity of families belonging to high status groups is higher to send their children to private schools. It is also interesting that the tendency to send children to madrasa is considerably higher among very poor families. Thus, the propensity to send children to madrasas is not a function of religious belief or commitment. It is more generally reflects the economic condition of the families which are so short of resources that they can only afford madrasa education, which is invariably imparted free, and cannot countenance meeting even the nominal cost children have to bear when they go to government schools.

On the whole, the salient findings suggested by the enumeration of the families in the selected localities shows that the large majority of the families are extremely poor, being engaged in unskilled and skilled work or eking out a subsistence level existence as hawkers and vendors. This naturally tells upon their earning capacity. However, despite their grinding poverty they are sending their children to schools. There is generally a hierarchy of schools with private schools occupying the highest standing followed by government schools. Madrasas occupy the lowest position in the hierarchy. Given their poverty and low income levels, the large majority of the families are only in a position to send children to government schools. Only those above a certain economic threshold are able to send children to private schools. The most unfortunate ones send their children to the madrasa.

Chapter 4

Schools and Teachers

Schools and teachers are critical to the education process. Schools are significant as the agency of education because they provide the enabling environment for education. Since our educational system is founded on the principle of detaching the student for a certain numbers each day from home, children spend a good number of hours daily at school. If the school environment is not child-friendly and enabling, the chances are that the child will hardly learn anything and may even drop out of school. On the other hand, teachers are crucial to the educational system because they are the agency for transacting information and knowledge that schools are supposed to impart to the child. Therefore, this study tried to tap a number of aspects related to the schools and teachers.

Table 11 presents the type of schools found in the studied localities. One of the common complaints of elite Muslims is that there are no schools in Muslim localities. This belied completely by the data thrown up by this study. Except for Rangpuri, government schools are found in all the localities. Some of them have as many as 5 government schools and a good many have 3 schools. In addition to the government schools, most of the localities also have private schools or schools run by civil society organisations. Thus, lack of schooling facility cannot be a reason for children to not attend and for families to send their children to school.

Table 10: Type of school in the localities Surveyed

Locality	Number of School	State Govt. School	Private School	Aided School	NGO Run School	Madrasa (Religious)	Traditional Muslim Learning Centre
Rangpuri	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Hauz Rani	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
	%	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00
Zakir Nagar	6.00	5.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

	%	83.33	16.67	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Abul Fazal	4.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
	%	75.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	25.00	0.00
Nizamuddin	3.00	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	33.33	66.67	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Bara Hindu Rao	8.00	3.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	3.00	0.00
	%	37.50	25.00	0.00	0.00	37.50	0.00
Lal Kuan	9.00	3.00	3.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
	%	33.33	33.33	11.11	0.00	11.11	11.11
Jahangirpuri	7.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	3.00	1.00
	%	28.57	0.00	0.00	14.29	42.86	14.29
Turkmanpuri	4.00	4.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Sheelampur	11.00	5.00	2.00	0.00	1.00	3.00	0.00
	%	45.45	18.18	0.00	9.09	27.27	0.00
Total	55.00	27.00	11.00	1.00	2.00	12.00	2.00
	%	49.09	20.00	1.82	3.64	21.82	3.64

Table 11: Level of education imparted by school in the localities

Locality	Number of School	Primary Level	Upper Primary	Middle School	Higher Secondary	Fazil	Hafiz	Others
Rangpuri	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Hauz Rani	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
	%	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00
Zakir Nagar	6.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	4.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	16.67	16.67	0.00	66.67	0.00	0.00	0.00
Abul Fazal	4.00	1.00	0.00	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	25.00	0.00	50.00	25.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Nizamuddin	3.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	66.67	0.00	0.00	33.33	0.00	0.00	0.00
Bara Hindu Rao	8.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	3.00	1.00	2.00	0.00
	%	25.00	0.00	0.00	37.50	12.50	25.00	0.00
Lal Kuan	9.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	0.00
	%	55.56	0.00	0.00	22.22	11.11	11.11	0.00
Jahangirpuri	7.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	3.00
	%	28.57	0.00	0.00	14.29	0.00	14.29	42.86
Turkmanpuri	4.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	50.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Shilampur	11.00	4.00	0.00	2.00	2.00	0.00	3.00	0.00
	%	36.36	0.00	18.18	18.18	0.00	27.27	0.00
Total	55.00	21.00	1.00	4.00	16.00	2.00	8.00	3.00
	%	38.18	1.82	7.27	29.09	3.64	14.55	5.45

Table 11 sets out the level to which the school located within the locality imparts education. It is seen that most of them provide education up to the primary level. However, some of them also provide education up to a higher level. Given the network of schooling facilities available in Delhi, the mere fact that the majority of schools are up to the primary level does not reflect badly on the state of educational facilities available. Educational facilities beyond the primary level are available in near-by localities and children can go there after they finish primary level education within the locality.

The school principals were asked to indicate the agency that controls and manages the school. The results of this enquiry are set out in Table 12. Given that the large majority of the schools in the selected localities, it is hardly surprising that government stands out as the principal agency of management of schools. However, it is also noticeable that some private initiative in education also exists in the localities.

Table 12: Management of the School

Locality	Number of School	Managed by Government	Managed by Panchayat	Managed by Municipal Corporation	Managed by Private Individual	Managed by Trust/Waqf	Managed by NGO/Society	Managed by Religious Organisation
Rangpuri	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00
	%	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00
Hauz Rani	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	0.00	0.00	50.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Zakir Nagar	6.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	0.00
	%	33.33	0.00	0.00	16.67	33.33	16.67	0.00
Abul Fazal	4.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.00	1.00	0.00
	%	25.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	25.00	0.00
Nizamuddin	3.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
	%	0.00	0.00	33.33	33.33	0.00	0.00	33.33
Bara Hindu Rao	8.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.00
	%	62.50	0.00	0.00	12.50	12.50	12.50	0.00
Lal Kuan	9.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	3.00	3.00	1.00	0.00
	%	22.22	0.00	0.00	33.33	33.33	11.11	0.00
Jahangirpuri	7.00	3.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	0.00
	%	42.86	0.00	28.57	0.00	14.29	14.29	0.00
Turkmanpuri	4.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
	%	75.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	25.00	0.00
Shilampur	11.00	2.00	1.00	4.00	0.00	1.00	2.00	1.00
	%	18.18	9.09	36.36	0.00	9.09	18.18	9.09
Total	55.00	18.00	1.00	8.00	7.00	11.00	8.00	2.00

	%	32.73	1.82	14.55	12.73	20.00	14.55	3.64
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Table 13 sets out the syllabus followed in the schools in the localities. It is clear that the large majority of them follow the government syllabus, being in the main government schools. However there are also schools following the CBSE syllabus. This distinction follows the government school-private school dichotomy in our educational system.

Table 13: Syllabus followed in Schools

Locality	Number of School	State Govt. Syllabus	CBSE Board Syllabus	Dars-e-Aliya	Dars-e-Nizamia	Other
Rangpuri	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
	%	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Hauz Rani	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
	%	50.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00
Zakir Nagar	6.00	1.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	16.67	83.33	0.00	0.00	0.00
Abul Fazal Enclave	4.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	2.00
	%	0.00	25.00	0.00	25.00	50.00
Nizamuddin	3.00	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	66.67	33.33	0.00	0.00	0.00
Bara Hindu Rao	8.00	0.00	4.00	0.00	1.00	3.00
	%	0.00	50.00	0.00	12.50	37.50
Lal Kuan	9.00	0.00	4.00	0.00	0.00	5.00
	%	0.00	44.44	0.00	0.00	55.56
Jahangirpuri	7.00	0.00	3.00	0.00	3.00	1.00
	%	0.00	42.86	0.00	42.86	14.29
Turkmanpuri	4.00	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
	%	25.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	25.00
Sheelampur	11.00	4.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	3.00
	%	36.36	18.18	9.09	9.09	27.27
Total	55.00	9.00	22.00	1.00	7.00	16.00
	%	16.36	40.00	1.82	12.73	29.09

Table 14 shows the medium of education followed in the schools. Since the large majority of the schools in the localities studied are government schools, Hindi medium enjoys a salient place as the medium of education. This should have some implications for the education of Muslim children. As a rule, Muslims consider Urdu to be their mother tongue. There have been voices from time to time that the salience of Hindi medium is a damper on the education of Muslim children who would like to be educated

in their mother tongue. There may be a grain of truth in this proposition. However, when we place enrolment of children in schools side by side with the medium in which education is imparted in the school, a strong linkage between the two does not come out clearly. Muslim children may articulate their preference for Urdu medium education as an ideal state of affairs, but when it come to education they do not hold that as a significant factors in their choice of schooling. Moreover, the data shows that facilities for Urdu medium education does exist in some localities.

Table 14: Medium of Education in the School

Locality	Number of School	Hindi	Urdu	Regional Language	Urdu & Hindi	English & Hindi	English	English, Urdu & Hindi	Urdu & Arabic
Rangpuri	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	0.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Hauz Rani	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00
	%	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00
Zakir Nagar	6.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.00	3.00	1.00	0.00
	%	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	33.33	50.00	16.67	0.00
Abul Fazal	4.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	2.00	1.00	0.00
	%	0.00	0.00	25.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	25.00	0.00
Nizamuddin	3.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00
	%	33.33	0.00	0.00	33.33	0.00	33.33	0.00	0.00
Bara Hindu Rao	8.00	3.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00
	%	37.50	37.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	12.50	0.00	12.50
Lal Kuan	9.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.00	0.00	0.00
	%	0.00	55.56	0.00	0.00	0.00	44.44	0.00	0.00
Jahangirpuri	7.00	2.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
	%	28.57	42.86	0.00	0.00	14.29	0.00	0.00	14.29
Turkmanpuri	4.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	0.00
	%	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	25.00	25.00	0.00
Shilampur	11.00	4.00	3.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00
	%	36.36	27.27	9.09	9.09	0.00	9.09	0.00	9.09
Total	55.00	10.00	15.00	3.00	4.00	3.00	14.00	3.00	3.00
	%	18.18	27.27	5.45	7.27	5.45	25.45	5.45	5.45

One significant component of the school environment is whether its student population belongs exclusively to one community or has a mixture of students from different communities and backgrounds. This study could not explore the plethora of dimensions that should be explored in order to arrive at an assessment of the cultural ambience of the school. However, the study did try to find out the religious composition

of the school population. Table 15 sets out the ratio between the total number of children and total Muslim children. It clearly shows that the schools are very much mixed in terms of the religious composition of students. This happens to be the case despite the large majority of schools being located in predominantly Muslim localities.

Table 15: Ratio between total children in the school and total Muslim children

Locality	Number of School	Total Children in the School	Total Muslim children in the school	Ratio
Rangpuri	1	80	60	0.75
Hauz Rani	2	887	887	1.00
Zakir Nagar	6	7120	3750	0.53
Abul Fazal Enclave	4	3200	2460	0.77
Nizamuddin	3	1252	1249	1.00
Bara Hindu Rao	8	2178	2042	0.94
Lal Kuan	9	2716	2704	1.00
Jahangirpuri	7	3215	2089	0.65
Turkman Gate	4	3603	3403	0.94
Seelampur	11	7364	5149	0.70
Total	55	31615	23793	0.75

Through a series of questions this study tried to tap the teachers' evaluation of the situation of education in the locality, especially how they evaluated parental interest in the education of their children as well as what steps they had taken to increase enrolment, etc. The picture is presented in Tables 15-20. It is clear from these tables that the large majority of teachers evaluated the parental and student interest in their education positively. Many of them also indicated that they had undertaken efforts to increase enrolment in the school.

Table 17: Teachers Evaluation of students' interest in education

Locality	Number of Teacher	More than 75	From 51 to 75	From 26 to 50	Below 25
Rangpuri	3.00	0.00	1.00	2.00	0.00
	%	0.00	33.33	66.67	0.00
Hauz Rani	3.00	2.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
	%	66.67	0.00	33.33	0.00
Zakir Nagar	9.00	8.00	1.00	0.00	0.00
	%	88.89	11.11	0.00	0.00
Abul Fazal	8.00	7.00	1.00	0.00	0.00
	%	87.50	12.50	0.00	0.00
Nizamuddin	4.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	2.00
	%	25.00	25.00	0.00	50.00
Bara Hindu Rao	11.00	10.00	1.00	0.00	0.00
	%	90.91	9.09	0.00	0.00
Lal Kuan	12.00	9.00	3.00	0.00	0.00
	%	75.00	25.00	0.00	0.00
Jahangirpuri	9.00	6.00	0.00	1.00	2.00
	%	66.67	0.00	11.11	22.22
Turkmanpuri	8.00	5.00	3.00	0.00	0.00
	%	62.50	37.50	0.00	0.00
Shilampur	21.00	12.00	6.00	3.00	0.00
	%	57.14	28.57	14.29	0.00
Total	88.00	60.00	17.00	7.00	4.00
	%	68.18	19.32	7.95	4.55

Table 16: Teachers of Evaluation of the Interest of parents in the education of children

Locality	Number of Teacher	Very interested	Low level of interest	Average interest	Don't bother	No Response
Rangpuri	3.00	2.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00
	%	66.67	0.00	33.33	0.00	0.00
Hauz Rani	3.00	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	33.33	66.67	0.00	0.00	0.00
Zakir Nagar	9.00	7.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	77.78	22.22	0.00	0.00	0.00
Abul Fazal	8.00	4.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	0.00
	%	50.00	12.50	25.00	12.50	0.00
Nizamuddin	4.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.00
	%	25.00	25.00	25.00	25.00	0.00
Bara Hindu Rao	11.00	3.00	6.00	2.00	0.00	0.00
	%	27.27	54.55	18.18	0.00	0.00
Lal Kuan	12.00	8.00	2.00	2.00	0.00	0.00
	%	66.67	16.67	16.67	0.00	0.00
Jahangirpuri	9.00	8.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	88.89	11.11	0.00	0.00	0.00
Turkmanpuri	8.00	4.00	4.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	50.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Shilampur	21.00	12.00	5.00	2.00	0.00	2.00
	%	57.14	23.81	9.52	0.00	9.52
Total	88.00	50.00	24.00	10.00	2.00	2.00
	%	56.82	27.27	11.36	2.27	2.27

Tabke 18: Teachers evaluation of the Number of Children not enrolled in school

Locality	Number of Teacher	More than 75	From 51 to 75	From 26 to 50	Below 25
Rangpuri	3.00	0.00	1.00	2.00	0.00
	%	0.00	33.33	66.67	0.00
Hauz Rani	3.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	2.00
	%	0.00	0.00	33.33	66.67
Zakir Nagar	9.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	8.00
	%	0.00	0.00	11.11	88.89
Abul Fazal	8.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	7.00
	%	0.00	0.00	12.50	87.50
Nizamuddin	4.00	2.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
	%	50.00	0.00	25.00	25.00
Bara Hindu Rao	11.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	11.00
	%	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Lal Kuan	12.00	0.00	0.00	2.00	10.00
	%	0.00	0.00	16.67	83.33
Jahangirpuri	9.00	1.00	0.00	2.00	6.00
	%	11.11	0.00	22.22	66.67
Turkmanpuri	8.00	0.00	0.00	3.00	5.00
	%	0.00	0.00	37.50	62.50
Shilampur	21.00	0.00	1.00	6.00	14.00
	%	0.00	4.76	28.57	66.67
Total	88.00	3.00	2.00	19.00	64.00
	%	3.41	2.27	21.59	72.73

Table 19: Efforts of Teachers to bring children to school

Locality	Number of Teacher	Visit the families & ask them to admit their children in sch	There is very little a teacher can do	Request influential people to ask families to enroll in sch	Other	No Response	Not Applicable
	3.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Rangpuri	%	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	3.00	2.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Hauz Rani	%	66.67	0.00	33.33	0.00	0.00	0.00
	9.00	4.00	2.00	0.00	3.00	0.00	0.00
Zakir Nagar	%	44.44	22.22	0.00	33.33	0.00	0.00
	8.00	2.00	1.00	0.00	4.00	1.00	0.00
Abul Fazal	%	25.00	12.50	0.00	50.00	12.50	0.00
	4.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	0.00
Nizamuddin	%	50.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00
	11.00	4.00	0.00	0.00	5.00	1.00	1.00
Bara Hindu Rao	%	36.36	0.00	0.00	45.45	9.09	9.09
	12.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	5.00	2.00	0.00
Lal Kuan	%	41.67	0.00	0.00	41.67	16.67	0.00
	9.00	7.00	0.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	0.00
Jahangirpuri	%	77.78	0.00	0.00	22.22	0.00	0.00
	8.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	6.00	0.00	0.00
Turkmanpuri	%	12.50	12.50	0.00	75.00	0.00	0.00
	21.00	10.00	4.00	0.00	7.00	0.00	0.00
Shilampur	%	47.62	19.05	0.00	33.33	0.00	0.00
	88.00	40.00	8.00	1.00	34.00	4.00	1.00
Total	%	45.45	9.09	1.14	38.64	4.55	1.14

Table 20: Teachers evaluation of the reasons parents not sending children to school

Locality	Number of Teacher	Education is unaffordable for them	They are indifferent towards education	They are into family business & think education is useless	Other
Rangpuri	3.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
	%	33.33	0.00	33.33	33.33
Hauz Rani	3.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Zakir Nagar	9.00	5.00	3.00	0.00	1.00
	%	55.56	33.33	0.00	11.11
Abul Fazal	8.00	5.00	1.00	0.00	2.00
	%	62.50	12.50	0.00	25.00
Nizamuddin	4.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
	%	75.00	0.00	0.00	25.00
Bara Hindu Rao	11.00	8.00	0.00	1.00	2.00
	%	72.73	0.00	9.09	18.18
Lal Kuan	12.00	9.00	1.00	0.00	2.00
	%	75.00	8.33	0.00	16.67
Jahangirpuri	9.00	6.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
	%	66.67	11.11	11.11	11.11
Turkmanpuri	8.00	6.00	0.00	0.00	2.00
	%	75.00	0.00	0.00	25.00
Shilampur	21.00	11.00	3.00	3.00	4.00
	%	52.38	14.29	14.29	19.05
Total	88.00	57.00	9.00	6.00	16.00
	%	64.77	10.23	6.82	18.18

Again, through a series of questions the study tried to assess the teachers orientation to Muslims as a group and his or her handling of the issues of diversity in the class room. There is today a large body of literature which argues that how subjects are transacted in the classrooms has a good deal to do with shaping the attitudes of groups towards their own communities as well as others. Tables

Table 21: Teachers Evaluation of whether Muslims are of same mind/ think in same way as Non - Muslims about educating their children?

Locality	Number of Teacher	Economic compulsions	They think alike	Discrimination	Religious reasons	We are not backward	Muslims think like non Muslims	Other	Not Applicabl
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	3.00	0.00	0.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.0
Rangpuri	%	0.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.0
	3.00	0.00	0.00	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.0
Hauz Rani	%	0.00	0.00	66.67	33.33	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.0
	9.00	2.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	3.00	3.00	0.0
Zakir Nagar	%	22.22	0.00	11.11	0.00	0.00	33.33	33.33	0.0
	8.00	0.00	0.00	4.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	0.0
Abul Fazal	%	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	12.50	12.50	25.00	0.0
	4.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.00	2.00	0.0
Nizamuddin	%	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	50.00	0.0
	11.00	2.00	0.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	1.0
Bara Hindu Rao	%	18.18	0.00	18.18	18.18	9.09	18.18	9.09	9.0
	12.00	0.00	0.00	7.00	2.00	0.00	1.00	2.00	0.0
Lal Kuan	%	0.00	0.00	58.33	16.67	0.00	8.33	16.67	0.0
	9.00	1.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.00	0.0
Jahangirpuri	%	11.11	0.00	22.22	0.00	0.00	0.00	66.67	0.0
	8.00	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.00	0.0
Turkmanpuri	%	25.00	12.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	62.50	0.0
	21.00	2.00	1.00	4.00	0.00	2.00	3.00	9.00	0.0
Shilampur	%	9.52	4.76	19.05	0.00	9.52	14.29	42.86	0.0
	88.00	9.00	2.00	25.00	5.00	4.00	12.00	30.00	1.0
Total	%	10.23	2.27	28.41	5.68	4.55	13.64	34.09	1.1

Table 22: Teachers Evaluation of Reasons for Muslims lagging behind in education

Locality	Number of Teacher	Economic compulsion	Attitudinal problem	Discrimination	Existential situation	They are not backward	Not Applicable
	3.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.00	0.00
Rangpuri	%	33.33	0.00	0.00	0.00	66.67	0.00
	3.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00
Hauz Rani	%	33.33	33.33	0.00	33.33	0.00	0.00
	9.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.00	2.00	0.00
Zakir Nagar	%	11.11	11.11	11.11	44.44	22.22	0.00
	8.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
Abul Fazal	%	37.50	25.00	25.00	0.00	12.50	0.00
	4.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	0.00
Nizamuddin	%	50.00	0.00	0.00	25.00	25.00	0.00
	11.00	6.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	0.00
Bara Hindu Rao	%	54.55	9.09	9.09	9.09	18.18	0.00
	12.00	6.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	0.00
Lal Kuan	%	50.00	8.33	16.67	16.67	8.33	0.00
	9.00	3.00	0.00	1.00	3.00	2.00	0.00
Jahangirpuri	%	33.33	0.00	11.11	33.33	22.22	0.00
	8.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Turkmanpuri	%	62.50	0.00	0.00	12.50	12.50	12.50
	21.00	9.00	2.00	0.00	5.00	5.00	0.00
Shilampur	%	42.86	9.52	0.00	23.81	23.81	0.00

	88.00	37.00	8.00	7.00	18.00	17.00	1.00
Total	%	42.05	9.09	7.95	20.45	19.32	1.14

Table 22: Teachers Suggestions for spreading education among Muslims

Locality	Number of Teachers	Community Initiative	Govt. initiatives & intervention	Initiative at local level	More Madarsa	Other	No Response	Not Applicable
	3.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00
Rangpuri :	%	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	3.00	0.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Hauz Rani	%	0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	9.00	1.00	2.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
Zakir Nagar	%	11.11	22.22	55.56	0.00	0.00	11.11	0.00
	8.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Abul Fazal	%	37.50	25.00	37.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	4.00	0.00	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Nizamuddin	%	0.00	25.00	75.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	11.00	4.00	0.00	7.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Bara Hindu Rao	%	36.36	0.00	63.64	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	12.00	0.00	5.00	5.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	0.00
Lal Kuan	%	0.00	41.67	41.67	0.00	16.67	0.00	0.00
	9.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
Jahangirpuri	%	22.22	33.33	22.22	11.11	0.00	0.00	11.11
	8.00	1.00	1.00	6.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Turkmanpuri	%	12.50	12.50	75.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	21.00	3.00	4.00	12.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
Shilampur	%	14.29	19.05	57.14	4.76	0.00	4.76	0.00
	88.00	17.00	21.00	43.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.00
Total	%	19.32	23.86	48.86	2.27	2.27	2.27	1.14

Table 23: While teaching do you stick/ restrict to the syllabus or do you tell about other thing not covered in the syllabus?

Locality	Number of Teacher	According to Syllabus	Apart from Syllabus	Religious Education
Rangpuri	3.00	1.00	2.00	0.00
	%	33.33	66.67	0.00
Hauz Rani	3.00	0.00	3.00	0.00
	%	0.00	100.00	0.00
Zakir Nagar	9.00	1.00	7.00	1.00
	%	11.11	77.78	11.11
Abul Fazal	8.00	0.00	8.00	0.00
	%	0.00	100.00	0.00
Nizamuddin	4.00	0.00	4.00	0.00
	%	0.00	100.00	0.00
Bara Hindu Rao	11.00	8.00	3.00	0.00
	%	72.73	27.27	0.00
Lal Kuan	12.00	1.00	11.00	0.00
	%	8.33	91.67	0.00
Jahangirpuri	9.00	2.00	7.00	0.00
	%	22.22	77.78	0.00
Turkmanpuri	8.00	0.00	8.00	0.00
	%	0.00	100.00	0.00
Shilampur	21.00	1.00	20.00	0.00
	%	4.76	95.24	0.00
Total	88.00	14.00	73.00	1.00
	%	15.91	82.95	1.14

Table 24: In India there are people/followers of various caste and creeds. While teachings do you tell students about this diversity?

Locality	Number of Teacher	Yes, about diversity	Limited to Syllabus	Religion	Other	No Response	Not Applicable
Rangpuri	3.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
	%	0.00	66.67	0.00	0.00	33.33	0.00
Hauz Rani	3.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Zakir Nagar	9.00	6.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	66.67	33.33	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Abul Fazal	8.00	6.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	75.00	25.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Nizamuddin	4.00	0.00	4.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Bara Hindu Rao	11.00	6.00	4.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	54.55	36.36	9.09	0.00	0.00	0.00
Lal Kuan	12.00	8.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
	%	66.67	25.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	8.33
Jahangirpuri	9.00	6.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	66.67	33.33	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Turkmanpuri	8.00	4.00	2.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00
	%	50.00	25.00	0.00	12.50	0.00	12.50
Shilampur	21.00	12.00	7.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	57.14	33.33	9.52	0.00	0.00	0.00
Total	88.00	51.00	30.00	3.00	1.00	1.00	2.00
	%	57.95	34.09	3.41	1.14	1.14	2.27

Table- 25: While teaching do you give examples from just one particular community and its customs or do you discuss custom of other communities also?

Locality	Number of Teacher	According to topics	Various examples	Can't say	Religion teachers everything	No
Rangpuri	3.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
	%	0.00	66.67	0.00	33.33	0.00
Hauz Rani	3.00	0.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Zakir Nagar	9.00	1.00	6.00	0.00	0.00	2.00
	%	11.11	66.67	0.00	0.00	22.22
Abul Fazal	8.00	1.00	6.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
	%	12.50	75.00	0.00	0.00	12.50
Nizamuddin	4.00	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
	%	50.00	25.00	0.00	0.00	25.00

	11.00	1.00	8.00	0.00	2.00	0.00
Bara Hindu Rao	%	9.09	72.73	0.00	18.18	0.00
	12.00	2.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Lal Kuan	%	16.67	83.33	0.00	0.00	0.00
	9.00	0.00	8.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
Jahangirpuri	%	0.00	88.89	0.00	11.11	0.00
	8.00	0.00	6.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
Turkmanpuri	%	0.00	75.00	0.00	12.50	12.50
	21.00	4.00	14.00	1.00	2.00	0.00
Shilampur	%	19.05	66.67	4.76	9.52	0.00
	88.00	11.00	64.00	1.00	7.00	5.00
Total	%	12.50	72.73	1.14	7.95	5.68

Table 26: Often there is these complain that teachers discriminate against Dalits, Tribals and Muslim students. What do you think about this?

Locality	Number of Teacher	Yes	Other	No
	3.00	0.00	0.00	3.00
Rangpuri	%	0.00	0.00	100.00
	3.00	2.00	0.00	1.00
Hauz Rani	%	66.67	0.00	33.33
	9.00	0.00	0.00	9.00
Zakir Nagar	%	0.00	0.00	100.00
	8.00	0.00	1.00	7.00
Abul Fazal	%	0.00	12.50	87.50
	4.00	1.00	0.00	3.00
Nizamuddin	%	25.00	0.00	75.00
	11.00	3.00	0.00	8.00
Bara Hindu Rao	%	27.27	0.00	72.73
	12.00	2.00	0.00	10.00
Lal Kuan	%	16.67	0.00	83.33
	9.00	4.00	0.00	5.00
Jahangirpuri	%	44.44	0.00	55.56
	8.00	0.00	0.00	8.00
Turkmanpuri	%	0.00	0.00	100.00
	21.00	1.00	0.00	20.00
Shilampur	%	4.76	0.00	95.24
	88.00	13.00	1.00	74.00
Total	%	14.77	1.14	84.09

This analysis shows that the picture with respect to education in the selected localities is fairly standard. Each of the localities has at least a primary school available within the locality. Some localities have more than one primary school. In the majority of the localities education up to the primary level is possible. For education beyond primary level, the student must go to a higher grade school which is generally available in close vicinity. Some of the localities have facilities for higher grade education within. The

population in the schools is fairly missed despite the localities being predominantly Muslim in their composition.

The teachers evaluate that the large majority of students are interested in education. If despite this interest they are unable to translate that interest into a tangible reality, the explanation generally lies in their poor economic condition. The large majority of poor parents put their children to work fairly early, possibly to augment their meagre income, and this stands in the way of their education. It is also to be noted that the large majority of teachers are cognizant that India is a highly diverse society. Accordingly, while a large number stick to the syllabus unimaginatively, most of them are willing to vest effort in drawing their examples from different parts of the country and different communities to give students a broadened picture of the society. This should augur well for the country as citizenship is largely multi-cultural and students need to be made aware of this significant reality.

Chapter 5

Children and Schooling

Schooling of children is a function of a complex web of factors: availability of schools, parental constraints in term of their financial condition and the tangible benefits they see as coming from educating their children. This study tried to tap some of these aspects through interviews with parents and through community perceptions as brought out during the course of focused discussion groups (FGDs) in a few select localities.

So far as schooling facilities are concerned the picture in respect of the selected localities is remarkably encouraging. There is no dearth of schooling facilities as Table 27 clearly brings out. Not only are schools available in each locality. Schools and educational facilities of a number of different types are also available from government schools, private Hindi medium schools, English medium schools, Urdu medium schools, madrasas and maktabas, gurukuls and informal schools. The study also tried to explore through parents if they considered these facilities adequate and the data is presented in Table 28. It is noticeable that the parents were largely satisfied with the facilities available.

Table 27: Availability of school in the locality

Locality	Household Interviewed	Government School	Private Hindi School	Private English School	Urdu School	Madrasa	Maktab	Gurukul	Informal School
Rangpuri	20.00	16.00	5.00	8.00	0.00	8.00	0.00	1.00	2.00
	%	80.00	25.00	40.00	0.00	40.00	0.00	5.00	10.00
Hauz Rani	24.00	23.00	7.00	3.00	17.00	22.00	6.00	0.00	0.00
	%	95.83	29.17	12.50	70.83	91.67	25.00	0.00	0.00
Zakir Nagar	22.00	13.00	7.00	15.00	13.00	15.00	3.00	0.00	0.00
	%	59.09	31.82	68.18	59.09	68.18	13.64	0.00	27.27
Abul Fazal	21.00	16.00	11.00	18.00	14.00	14.00	6.00	0.00	0.00
	%	76.19	52.38	85.71	66.67	66.67	28.57	0.00	28.57

Nizamuddin	20.00	19.00	11.00	16.00	2.00	19.00	8.00	0.00	
	%	95.00	55.00	80.00	10.00	95.00	40.00	0.00	
Bara Hindu Rao	21.00	11.00	11.00	13.00	13.00	10.00	2.00	0.00	
	%	52.38	52.38	61.90	61.90	47.62	9.52	0.00	
Lal Kuan	24.00	20.00	6.00	16.00	15.00	14.00	3.00	0.00	
	%	83.33	25.00	66.67	62.50	58.33	12.50	0.00	
Jahangirpuri	23.00	13.00	9.00	9.00	1.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	
	%	56.52	39.13	39.13	4.35	43.48	0.00	0.00	
Turkman Gate	21.00	19.00	3.00	9.00	6.00	4.00	1.00	0.00	
	%	90.48	14.29	42.86	28.57	19.05	4.76	0.00	
Sheelampur	52.00	41.00	31.00	36.00	21.00	44.00	1.00	1.00	
	%	78.85	59.62	69.23	40.38	84.62	1.92	1.92	11
Total	248.00	191.00	101.00	143.00	102.00	160.00	30.00	2.00	20
	%	77.02	40.73	57.66	41.13	64.52	12.10	0.81	8

Table 28: Do you consider these educational facilities sufficient for children's education?

Locality	Household Interviewed	Yes	No	No Response	Not Applicable
Rangpuri	20.00	5.00	15.00	0.00	0.00
	%	25.00	75.00	0.00	0.00
Hauz Rani	24.00	14.00	9.00	1.00	0.00
	%	58.33	37.50	4.17	0.00
Zakir Nagar	22.00	14.00	8.00	0.00	0.00
	%	63.64	36.36	0.00	0.00
Abul Fazal	21.00	11.00	10.00	0.00	0.00
	%	52.38	47.62	0.00	0.00
Nizamuddin	20.00	8.00	12.00	0.00	0.00
	%	40.00	60.00	0.00	0.00
Bara Hindu Rao	21.00	10.00	11.00	0.00	0.00
	%	47.62	52.38	0.00	0.00
Lal Kuan	24.00	10.00	13.00	1.00	0.00
	%	41.67	54.17	4.17	0.00
Jahangirpuri	23.00	13.00	7.00	0.00	3.00
	%	56.52	30.43	0.00	13.04
Turkmanpuri	21.00	9.00	12.00	0.00	0.00
	%	42.86	57.14	0.00	0.00
Shilampur	52.00	22.00	30.00	0.00	0.00
	%	42.31	57.69	0.00	0.00
Total	248.00	116.00	127.00	2.00	3.00
	%	46.77	51.21	0.81	1.21

Parental choice in favour of educating their children is likely to be greatly determined by their perception of the importance of education for their children. In a bid to gauge their perception a direct question was asked if they considered education

important for their children. The results are shown in Table 28. It is clear that most parents consider education to be very important for their children lives. However, in reading this data we must keep a fine distinction in mind. It is the distinction of what is perceived in abstract and what is perceived as important in terms of their own material conditions. Since our question was framed at a level of generality, it is possible that when parents replied that they considered education very important for their children's lives they were not thinking in terms of a concrete situation. It is important, nevertheless, that they are aware of the importance of education, even at a level of abstraction, as this holds out that some day they may be willing their abstract perception into the concrete reality of their lives.

Table 29: Do you consider education to be important for children's lives?

Locality	Number of Household Interviewed	It is important for children's lives	It is more important for boys and less so for girls
Rangpuri	20.00 %	19.00 95.00	1.00 5.00
Hauz Rani	24.00 %	24.00 100.00	0.00 0.00
Zakir Nagar	22.00 %	22.00 100.00	0.00 0.00
Abul Fazal	21.00 %	19.00 90.48	2.00 9.52
Nizamuddin	20.00 %	20.00 100.00	0.00 0.00
Bara Hindu Rao	21.00 %	21.00 100.00	0.00 0.00
Lal Kuan	24.00 %	24.00 100.00	0.00 0.00
Jahangirpuri	23.00 %	23.00 100.00	0.00 0.00
Turkmanpuri	21.00 %	21.00 100.00	0.00 0.00
Shilampur	52.00 %	52.00 100.00	0.00 0.00
Total	248.00 %	245.00 98.79	3.00 1.21

Table 30: Do you think Boy's will get any benefits after completing education?

Locality	Total	Boys get employment	Boys earn better	Boys improve marriage chances	Boys earn respect of other	Boys improve English	Other
Rangpuri	20.00	19.00	17.00	11.00	8.00	6.00	0.00
	%	95.00	85.00	55.00	40.00	30.00	0.00
Hauz Rani	24.00	22.00	18.00	16.00	20.00	16.00	2.00
	%	91.67	75.00	66.67	83.33	66.67	8.33
Zakir Nagar	22.00	15.00	9.00	3.00	11.00	4.00	0.00
	%	68.18	40.91	13.64	50.00	18.18	0.00
Abul Fazal	21.00	19.00	13.00	8.00	14.00	5.00	0.00
	%	90.48	61.90	38.10	66.67	23.81	0.00
Nizamuddin	20.00	16.00	15.00	13.00	14.00	12.00	3.00
	%	80.00	75.00	65.00	70.00	60.00	15.00
Bara Hindu Rao	21.00	15.00	13.00	10.00	12.00	13.00	2.00
	%	71.43	61.90	47.62	57.14	61.90	9.52
Lal Kuan	24.00	20.00	17.00	9.00	16.00	13.00	0.00
	%	83.33	70.83	37.50	66.67	54.17	0.00
Jahangirpuri	23.00	12.00	13.00	9.00	7.00	11.00	3.00
	%	52.17	56.52	39.13	30.43	47.83	13.04
Turkmanpuri	21.00	17.00	15.00	5.00	16.00	5.00	4.00
	%	80.95	71.43	23.81	76.19	23.81	19.05
Sheelampur	52.00	45.00	41.00	31.00	44.00	25.00	0.00
	%	86.54	78.85	59.62	84.62	48.08	0.00
Total	248.00	200.00	171.00	115.00	162.00	110.00	14.00
	%	80.65	68.95	46.37	65.32	44.35	5.65

The study tried to concretise the question about the importance by asking two questions relating to the tangible benefits they see as coming from educating their child. Since attitudes towards boys and girls are highly varied and education of a girl child is accorded a low priority, the question was asked separately for boys and girls. The results are presented in Tables 30 and 31. It is striking that parents uniformly say education is a gateway to job and status in society. However, there are slight differences in this respect between the tangible benefits parents saw as coming to boys and girls. Most parents that that education increases the prospects in the marriage market, but this is stated with some degree of reservation in respects of girls. Parents are aware that while some degree of education is important for girls as well, too much education can also become a handicap for them in the marriage market.

Table 31: Do you think Girl's will get any benefits after completing education?

Locality	Total	Girls get employment	Girls earn better	Girls improve marriage chances	Girls earn respect of other	Girls improve English	Other
Rangpuri	20.00	15.00	11.00	15.00	8.00	4.00	1.00
	%	75.00	55.00	75.00	40.00	20.00	5.00
Hauz Rani	24.00	18.00	17.00	17.00	22.00	14.00	2.00
	%	75.00	70.83	70.83	91.67	58.33	8.33
Zakir Nagar	22.00	10.00	4.00	11.00	11.00	2.00	0.00
	%	45.45	18.18	50.00	50.00	9.09	0.00
Abul Fazal	21.00	12.00	11.00	13.00	8.00	5.00	0.00
	%	57.14	52.38	61.90	38.10	23.81	0.00
Nizamuddin	20.00	16.00	14.00	15.00	13.00	12.00	3.00
	%	80.00	70.00	75.00	65.00	60.00	15.00
Bara Hindu Rao	21.00	12.00	11.00	11.00	11.00	14.00	2.00
	%	57.14	52.38	52.38	52.38	66.67	9.52
Lal Kuan	24.00	20.00	17.00	9.00	16.00	13.00	1.00
	%	83.33	70.83	37.50	66.67	54.17	4.17
Jahangirpuri	23.00	10.00	10.00	8.00	8.00	10.00	2.00
	%	43.48	43.48	34.78	34.78	43.48	8.70
Turkmanpuri	21.00	13.00	11.00	10.00	12.00	5.00	4.00
	%	61.90	52.38	47.62	57.14	23.81	19.05
Shilampur	52.00	36.00	34.00	38.00	41.00	24.00	0.00
	%	69.23	65.38	73.08	78.85	46.15	0.00
Total	248.00	162.00	140.00	147.00	150.00	103.00	15.00
	%	65.32	56.45	59.27	60.48	41.53	6.05

Through two other questions the study further tried to explore the gender differences as articulated by the parents for boys and girls. One question asked whether both boys and girls should go to school. The second question was whether the respondents thought that both boys and girls should be given the same kind of education or different kind of education. The results to these two questions are set out in Tables 32 and 33.

Table 32. Do you think both boys and girls should go to school?

Locality	Total	Only sons should go to school	Both sons & daughters should go to school
	20.00	2.00	18.00
Rangpuri	%	10.00	90.00
	24.00	0.00	24.00
Hauz Rani	%	0.00	100.00
	22.00	2.00	20.00
Zakir Nagar	%	9.09	90.91
	21.00	0.00	21.00
Abul Fazal	%	0.00	100.00
	20.00	0.00	20.00
Nizamuddin	%	0.00	100.00
	21.00	8.00	13.00
Bara Hindu Rao	%	38.10	61.90
	24.00	0.00	24.00
Lal Kuan	%	0.00	100.00
	23.00	18.00	5.00
Jahangirpuri	%	78.26	21.74
	21.00	0.00	21.00
Turkmanpuri	%	0.00	100.00
	52.00	3.00	49.00
Shilampur	%	5.77	94.23
	248.00	33.00	215.00
Total	%	13.31	86.69

Table 32: Do you think that both boys and girls should be given same education or different types of education?

Locality :	Total	Same education should be given to both sons & daughters	Different type of education should be given to girls	No Response
Rangpuri	20.00	18.00	2.00	0.00
	%	90.00	10.00	0.00
Hauz Rani	24.00	23.00	1.00	0.00
	%	95.83	4.17	0.00
Zakir Nagar	22.00	19.00	2.00	1.00
	%	86.36	9.09	4.55
Abul Fazal	21.00	21.00	0.00	0.00
	%	100.00	0.00	0.00
Nizamuddin	20.00	20.00	0.00	0.00
	%	100.00	0.00	0.00
Bara Hindu Rao	21.00	21.00	0.00	0.00
	%	100.00	0.00	0.00
Lal Kuan	24.00	22.00	0.00	2.00
	%	91.67	0.00	8.33
Jahangirpuri	23.00	21.00	2.00	0.00
	%	91.30	8.70	0.00
Turkmanpuri	21.00	21.00	0.00	0.00
	%	100.00	0.00	0.00
Shilampur	52.00	49.00	3.00	0.00
	%	94.23	5.77	0.00
Total	248.00	235.00	10.00	3.00
	%	94.76	4.03	1.21

Under normal circumstances one would expect that the decision as to whether the child should be enrolled and which type of school should be preferred would be taken by the parents, more particularly the father. The study tried explore this dimension through two questions: one, who took the decision as to whether and where the child should go to school and, and two, if anyone was consulted what were the special qualifications of that person. Table 33 sets out who took the decision to enrol or not enrol the child in a school or what type of educational institution should he or she should be sent to. Table 34

presents the person consulted in case the decision was taken after consultation with someone else within or outside the family.

Table 33: Who took the decision about whether or where the child should be enrolled

Locality	Number of Household Interviewed	Father	Mother	Grand Father	Uncle	Other
Rangpuri	20.00	14.00	5.00	1.00	0.00	0.00
	%	70.00	25.00	5.00	0.00	0.00
Hauz Rani	24.00	17.00	7.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	70.83	29.17	0.00	0.00	0.00
Zakir Nagar	22.00	15.00	15.00	3.00	2.00	0.00
	%	68.18	68.18	13.64	9.09	0.00
Abul Fazal	21.00	17.00	10.00	3.00	0.00	0.00
	%	80.95	47.62	14.29	0.00	0.00
Nizamuddin	20.00	15.00	6.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	75.00	30.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Bara Hindu Rao	21.00	14.00	5.00	2.00	0.00	2.00
	%	66.67	23.81	9.52	0.00	9.52
Lal Kuan	24.00	17.00	7.00	2.00	0.00	4.00
	%	70.83	29.17	8.33	0.00	16.67
Jahangirpuri	23.00	16.00	4.00	1.00	0.00	2.00
	%	69.57	17.39	4.35	0.00	8.70
Turkmanpuri	21.00	14.00	5.00	2.00	0.00	3.00
	%	66.67	23.81	9.52	0.00	14.29
Shilampur	52.00	45.00	10.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
	%	86.54	19.23	0.00	1.92	1.92
Total	248.00	184.00	74.00	14.00	3.00	12.00
	%	74.19	29.84	5.65	1.21	4.84

Table 34: Who was consulted in case the parents, particularly father, did not decide whether and where the child should be enrolled in school.

Locality	Number of Household Interviewed	Father	Mother	Grand Father	Uncle	Other
Rangpuri	20.00	15.00	4.00	1.00	1.00	0.00
	%	75.00	20.00	5.00	5.00	0.00
Hauz Rani	24.00	19.00	5.00	1.00	0.00	0.00
	%	79.17	20.83	4.17	0.00	0.00
Zakir Nagar	22.00	18.00	14.00	2.00	1.00	0.00
	%	81.82	63.64	9.09	4.55	0.00
Abul Fazal	21.00	20.00	14.00	4.00	0.00	0.00
	%	95.24	66.67	19.05	0.00	0.00
Nizamuddin	20.00	15.00	7.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

	%	75.00	35.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Bara Hindu Rao	21.00	12.00	9.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
	%	57.14	42.86	4.76	4.76	4.76
Lal Kuan	24.00	16.00	9.00	2.00	0.00	2.00
	%	66.67	37.50	8.33	0.00	8.33
Jahangirpuri	23.00	14.00	12.00	1.00	0.00	1.00
	%	60.87	52.17	4.35	0.00	4.35
Turkmanpuri	21.00	12.00	10.00	1.00	0.00	2.00
	%	57.14	47.62	4.76	0.00	9.52
Shilampur	52.00	45.00	13.00	0.00	0.00	3.00
	%	86.54	25.00	0.00	0.00	5.77
Total	248.00	186.00	97.00	13.00	3.00	9.00
	%	75.00	39.11	5.24	1.21	3.63

The study concretely asked respondents whether they were sending their child to school. (see Table 35. If the child was not going to school, why he or she was not going to school was also asked. (Table 35) First, a good number of children are enrolled in school. Second, in case they were not enrolled, parents cited distance between the home and school and financial reasons for not sending the child to school.

Table 35: Are you sending your child to school?

Locality	Number of SHH interviewed	Yes	No	Dropout
Rangpuri	44.00	43.00	0.00	1.00
	%	97.73	0.00	2.27
Hauz Rani	48.00	47.00	1.00	0.00
	%	97.92	2.08	0.00
Zakir Nagar	49.00	49.00	0.00	0.00
	%	100.00	0.00	0.00
Abul Fazal	43.00	43.00	0.00	0.00
	%	100.00	0.00	0.00
Nizamuddin	34.00	33.00	1.00	0.00
	%	97.06	2.94	0.00
Bara Hindu Rao	45.00	45.00	0.00	0.00
	%	100.00	0.00	0.00
Lal Kuan	48.00	48.00	0.00	0.00
	%	100.00	0.00	0.00
Jahangirpuri	56.00	56.00	0.00	0.00
	%	100.00	0.00	0.00
Turkmanpuri	38.00	38.00	0.00	0.00
	%	100.00	0.00	0.00
Shilampur	96.00	96.00	0.00	0.00
	%	100.00	0.00	0.00

	501.00	498.00	2.00	1.00
Total	%	99.40	0.40	0.20

Table 36: Reason for the child not going to school

Locality	Number of SHH interviewed	Because she is a maid.	School is far from here.	Financial problems	No response
	44.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	43.00
Rangpuri	%	0.00	2.27	0.00	97.73
	48.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	47.00
Hauz Rani	%	0.00	0.00	2.08	97.92
	49.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	49.00
Zakir Nagar	%	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
	43.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	42.00
Abul Fazal	%	2.33	0.00	0.00	97.67
	34.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	33.00
Nizamuddin	%	2.94	0.00	0.00	97.06
	45.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	45.00
Bara Hindu Rao	%	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
	48.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	48.00
Lal Kuan	%	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
	56.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	56.00
Jahangirpuri	%	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
	38.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	38.00
Turkmanpuri	%	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
	96.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	96.00
Shilampur	%	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
	501.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	497.00
Total	%	0.40	0.20	0.20	99.20

Parents were also asked if in their estimation the child was learning all that they expected them to learn. By and large the parents were satisfied with the education being imparted to the child. Table 37 sets out the responses. In the case of those who were not satisfied, a series of questions as to whether they had contemplated sending the child to another school and what stood in the way of this decision. Table 38 sets out the response to whether they had contemplated to change the school and Table 39 shows the reason why they had recoiled from taking that decision. It is clear that while not all parents are entirely satisfied with the education their child is receiving there are restraints on the parents shifting the child to another school or another type of school. The principal constraint is economic. Most parents cannot afford their children to a better school which

in their perception be a private school. This shows that quality of education is a matter of concern for parents and when they find quality lacking and they can afford better schooling to the child they do contemplate changing the school.

Table 37: Parental Perception about the child's learning in school

Locality	Number of SHH interviewed	Learning what I expect him to learn.	Not learning what I expect him to learn.	No Response	Not Applicable
Rangpuri	44.00	34.00	8.00	1.00	1.00
	%	77.27	18.18	2.27	2.27
Hauz Rani	48.00	35.00	12.00	0.00	1.00
	%	72.92	25.00	0.00	2.08
Zakir Nagar	49.00	32.00	13.00	0.00	4.00
	%	65.31	26.53	0.00	8.16
Abul Fazal	43.00	40.00	2.00	0.00	1.00
	%	93.02	4.65	0.00	2.33
Nizamuddin	34.00	31.00	2.00	0.00	1.00
	%	91.18	5.88	0.00	2.94
Bara Hindu Rao	45.00	42.00	1.00	2.00	0.00
	%	93.33	2.22	4.44	0.00
Lal Kuan	48.00	32.00	15.00	0.00	1.00
	%	66.67	31.25	0.00	2.08
Jahangirpuri	56.00	36.00	20.00	0.00	0.00
	%	64.29	35.71	0.00	0.00
Turkmanpuri	38.00	33.00	5.00	0.00	0.00
	%	86.84	13.16	0.00	0.00
Shilampur	96.00	88.00	5.00	0.00	3.00
	%	91.67	5.21	0.00	3.13
Total	501.00	403.00	83.00	3.00	12.00
	%	80.44	16.57	0.60	2.40

Table 38: If he/she is not learning what you expect him/her to learn then did you consider changing school?

Locality	Number of SHH interviewed	Yes	No	No Response	Not Applicable
Rangpuri	44.00	3.00	5.00	0.00	36.00
	%	6.82	11.36	0.00	81.82
Hauz Rani	48.00	7.00	4.00	1.00	36.00
	%	14.58	8.33	2.08	75.00
Zakir Nagar	49.00	9.00	28.00	0.00	12.00
	%	18.37	57.14	0.00	24.49

	43.00	4.00	0.00	0.00	39.00
Abul Fazal	%	9.30	0.00	0.00	90.70
	34.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	32.00
Nizamuddin	%	5.88	0.00	0.00	94.12
	45.00	0.00	7.00	1.00	37.00
Bara Hindu Rao	%	0.00	15.56	2.22	82.22
	48.00	9.00	5.00	0.00	34.00
Lal Kuan	%	18.75	10.42	0.00	70.83
	56.00	18.00	3.00	0.00	35.00
Jahangirpuri	%	32.14	5.36	0.00	62.50
	38.00	3.00	2.00	0.00	33.00
Turkmanpuri	%	7.89	5.26	0.00	86.84
	96.00	1.00	6.00	0.00	89.00
Shilampur	%	1.04	6.25	0.00	92.71
	501.00	56.00	60.00	2.00	383.00
Total	%	11.18	11.98	0.40	76.45

Table 39: If yes then why didn't you change the school?

Locality	Number of SHH interviewed	Financial	Discrimination	Religions	Distance	At a latter date	No Response	Not Applicable
	44.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	40.00
Rangpuri	%	6.82	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.27	90.91
	48.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	3.00	0.00	1.00	39.00
Hauz Rani	%	10.42	0.00	0.00	6.25	0.00	2.08	81.25
	49.00	9.00	0.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	37.00
Zakir Nagar	%	18.37	0.00	6.12	0.00	0.00	0.00	75.51
	43.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	38.00
Abul Fazal	%	0.00	2.33	0.00	2.33	4.65	2.33	88.37
	34.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	32.00
Nizamuddin	%	5.88	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	94.12
	45.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	45.00
Bara Hindu Rao	%	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
	48.00	4.00	4.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	37.00
Lal Kuan	%	8.33	8.33	6.25	0.00	0.00	0.00	77.08
	56.00	10.00	8.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	38.00
Jahangirpuri	%	17.86	14.29	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	67.86
	38.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.00	0.00	35.00
Turkmanpuri	%	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	7.89	0.00	92.11
	96.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	95.00
Shilampur	%	1.04	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	98.96
	501.00	34.00	13.00	6.00	4.00	5.00	3.00	436.00
Total	%	6.79	2.59	1.20	0.80	1.00	0.60	87.03

In spite of having learning deficiency in the school parents do not change the school due to many reasons. West Bengal with largest number of respondent follow by Andhra Pradesh

reflects that financial aspects in one of the reason for not changing schools for children's learning. They feel that changing or transferring children to other school involves money while taking admission either in private school or be sent outside village. Besides, children have to be provided with new uniform and books etc. causes tremendous economic pressure. Distance is another reason for not changing school for quality of learning.

There are myriad ways in which parents can strengthen the child's learning process. One of the ways they can do so is by making the child conscious that how he/she does at school is a matter of concern to them. Enquiring whether the child is learning what he/she is expected to learn either from the child or his teachers at school. This study tried to tap the activities that parents engage in to ensure that the child is learning what he is supposed to be learning. Among the activities on which information was elicited were whether the parents visited the school to enquire about the child's progress, help with homework, check the work done at school, talk to the teacher if the learning process is not satisfactory, keep an eye on the company the child keeps or escort the child to school and attend parent-teacher meetings and participate in functions at the school. The responses to the questions about parental interest in the child's education are presented in Table 31.

It is clear from Table 31 that the parental concern in the child's progress at school is not highly pronounced. FGDs were helpful in providing an explanation for this pattern of parental interest in the education of the child. At these FGDs the point was made that the parents are themselves ignorant and are not possessed of the capacity to track down the child's educational progress. At the same time, there was also a clear indication that the parents devised their own strategies of making an assessment of whether the child was learning and whether his progress was satisfactory. Several mothers in FGDs said that, while they were themselves uneducated and therefore unable to track down the child's progress at school, they kept themselves informed about how the child was doing through asking from the children's peers and enquiring about the child's education from teachers whenever they happened to run into the teachers along the way.

Table 31: Do you go to his/her school to talk about his/her studies?

Locality	Number of SHH interviewed	yes	No	No Response	Not Applicable
Rangpuri	44.00	33.00	9.00	1.00	1.00
	%	75.00	20.45	2.27	2.27
Hauz Rani	48.00	47.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
	%	97.92	0.00	0.00	2.08
Zakir Nagar	49.00	38.00	5.00	2.00	4.00
	%	77.55	10.20	4.08	8.16
Abul Fazal	43.00	39.00	3.00	0.00	1.00
	%	90.70	6.98	0.00	2.33
Nizamuddin	34.00	30.00	1.00	2.00	1.00
	%	88.24	2.94	5.88	2.94
Bara Hindu Rao	45.00	44.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
	%	97.78	0.00	2.22	0.00
Lal Kuan	48.00	35.00	12.00	0.00	1.00
	%	72.92	25.00	0.00	2.08
Jahangirpuri	56.00	49.00	5.00	2.00	0.00
	%	87.50	8.93	3.57	0.00
Turkmanpuri	38.00	32.00	6.00	0.00	0.00
	%	84.21	15.79	0.00	0.00
Shilampur	96.00	84.00	9.00	0.00	3.00
	%	87.50	9.38	0.00	3.13
Total	501.00	431.00	50.00	8.00	12.00
	%	86.03	9.98	1.60	2.40

It is a general misconception that Muslim parents prefer their children to be educated in madarsas and maktabas. But the fact is just the opposite. Madarsa education is not necessarily being sought after by parents in many states. Preference for madarsa education is of course indicated by parents, but this preference is not at the cost of general education. FGD discussions clearly bring out two points. First, while parents are clear that religious education is necessary, they do not see madrasa education as an alternative educational channel. Rather, they see both madrasa education and general education as complimentary. Ideally, they would prefer that both can be given and there is a strong tendency among households to send children to both the madrasa or maktab and a general school. They feel that girl should be given religious education or madarsa education after certain level of school education. In the largest number of cases only one

child has been admitted in the madrasa. Enrolment in madrasa varies significantly in terms of number of children in the household.

Second, while parents recognize that both girls and boys should be given the same kind of education, they tend to stress religious education for girls. The principal reason for this, as explained in the FGDs, is that parents feel that girls can pass on religious knowledge to their children and, further, they can perform the religious rituals which are likely to bring prosperity and well-being to the household. It must be reiterated that this preference for religious education is not because they see the madrasa as an alternative to general education. On the contrary, most parents would prefer that a girl child should first have some level of general education before going in for madrasa education.

Chapter 6

Conclusion and Suggestions

This study has explored aspects of education of Muslim children on the basis of an empirical enquiry conducted in six states. From the study a few salient points have emerged which can be briefly recapitulated here.

The study suggests that government schools are the mainstay of the schooling process for Muslim children. In fact, it would not be far wrong that in the popular perception school is understood as government school because that is where most of the Muslim children are studying. This is not to say that parents do not have any complaints about the government schools. They feel that the number of schools is woefully inadequate. While there is a school in every village surveyed, the parents thought that this is not enough as most of these schools are up to the primary level. Therefore, when children complete education up to that level, they are either required to go outside or to drop out of education. The parents and key informants cited many examples where they had made strenuous efforts to get the level of the schools raised or to get a new school started. In almost all cases their efforts were unsuccessful. State authorities were not obliging with the result that the children in many cases were without the possibility of accessing any education.

The parents felt held that Urdu should be taught in schools as a subject. They were not necessarily in favour of Urdu-medium schools or even teaching in Urdu, but felt that provision for teaching of Urdu as a language should be available as it was their cultural heritage and was a source of culture and civilisation.

A large number of Muslim children enrol in madrasas. However, figures on enrolment in madrasas should not be taken at face value. For one thing, the figures are somewhat inflated by the fact that the word madrssa is a generic term and the common understanding is that they are all institutions of religious learning. This is not necessarily true. There are states like West Bengal where the madrasas are run by the government. They are so called because religious studies form a component of the syllabus. For this reason it is important to read the figures on enrolment in the madrsas with a degree of caution. Equally, it must be realised that in suggesting that religious

education is important the parents are not implying that madrsas are an alternative channel of education for their children. They see madras education as complimentary to the school system and are either sending their children to both or would like that their children should have access to both religious education as well as general education.

There is a definite cultural preference for the education, but the parents are reluctant to send children to schools beyond Class VII. As a result, the drop out rate for girls is high after they have passed that class. Ideally, they want that there should be arrangement for separate schools for girls with female teachers. Simultaneously, they want that the structure of teaching methodology in schools should be such as to allow for the preservation of their culture and identity. Many parents said that the school ambience was such that it alienated them and their children. Moreover, they would want that the attitude of teachers was often such that it tended to discourage Muslim children. In short, the parents felt that more inclusive education should be provided so that they are able to identify themselves with the educative process. This is not how they articulate this point, but it broadly captures the sense of what they have in mind.

The parents had few kind words for teachers in government schools though they recognised that in other kinds of schools the teachers tend to be more responsible and responsive. They held that the teachers were often not adequately qualified, carried a great deal of official work on their shoulders so that they were not able to perform well in schools and the number of teachers was too limited with the result that quite often only one teacher looked after all the classes and children in the school. They were categorical that more and better teachers were required. One of the points they noted in favour of private schools was that the teachers were better qualified and more dedicated as well as regular.

One of the prominent issues in the Muslim educational discourse has been the biased nature of text books. A perusal of text books has suggested that some of the books are indeed such that they reinforce communal stereotypes widely prevalent in society. At the same time it should be noted that while discussing this discourse in the FGDs the parents said that they were not themselves educated and could not pass any judgement on the school text books. One way of reading such statements can be that it is text-books are not a part of the popular discourse. They are a part of the elite discourse. Of course, to say this is not to deny the necessity of books that lay greater emphasis on acceptance of diversities and render all sections of society to find something relevant to their culture in the textbooks that they read.

Finally, there is a great deal of enthusiasm for education and parents realise and recognise that education is very important in the contemporary world. If they still are not able to access

education it is not out of any sense of apathy towards education. It is that they realise that even when they would like to access education there are serious constraints on their ability to do so.

It is quite clear from the study that the education of Muslim children is hemmed in by two sets of factors: those that relate to the overall quality of education including provision of adequate infrastructure and those that arise from certain community ethos which, while they are in the process of changing slowly, ought to be accelerated if greater success has to be achieved. The issue of provision of quality infrastructure and quality education, though closely interlinked, affect the educability of all children, especially those from the poorer sections who are not in possession of resources and assets to go in for private schooling facilities. However, the issue of community ethos and preferences are something that the community alone is in a position to address. Outside agencies can play a promotional role, but the ultimate choice to break free from those ethos and preferences would ultimately have to come from within the community.

Appendix Tables

Appendix Table 1: Locality-wise break up of enumerated families by education of children

Locality	Household enumerated	Children in family	Children going to School		Non-enrolled / dropout		Attending govt. School		Attending Private School		Attending Madrasa	
Rangpuri	109	253	209	82.61	44	17.39	149	71.29	30	14.35	42	20.10
Hauzrani	147	365	350	95.89	16	4.38	248	70.86	85	24.29	6	1.71
Zakir Nagar	145	327	309	94.50	18	5.50	112	36.25	189	61.17	5	1.62
Abul Fazal	149	297	286	96.30	11	3.70	72	25.17	202	70.63	3	1.05
Nizamuddin	145	286	265	92.66	21	7.34	157	59.25	101	38.11	15	5.66
Bara Hindu Rao	159	262	239	91.22	24	9.16	96	40.17	127	53.14	14	5.86
Lal Kuan	150	260	242	93.08	21	8.08	108	44.63	117	48.35	18	7.44
Jahangirpuri	153	340	259	76.18	85	25.00	217	83.78	26	10.04	17	6.56
Turkman Gate	147	239	229	95.82	10	4.18	153	66.81	71	31.00	4	1.75
Seelampur	343	714	637	89.22	75	10.50	349	54.79	268	42.07	24	3.77
Total	1647	3343	3025	90.49	325	9.72	1661	54.91	1216	40.20	148	4.89

Appendix Table 2: Children attending schools by occupation of the household head

Locality	Household enumerated	Children in family	Children going to School	Non-enrolled / dropout		Attending govt. School		Attending Private School	
Rangpuri	Unskilled Labourer	27	55	44	80.00	11	20.00	30	68.18
	Artisan	3	13	11	84.62	2	15.38	10	90.91
	Skilled Employment	60	133	109	81.95	24	18.05	73	66.97
	Vendor	4	9	5	55.56	4	44.44	5	100.00
	Small Business	3	9	9	100.00	0	0.00	9	100.00
	Entrepreneur	6	19	17	89.47	2	10.53	14	82.35
	Private Job	3	7	7	100.00	0	0.00	5	71.43
	Government Job	1	3	3	100.00	0	0.00	3	100.00
	No Response	2	5	4	80.00	1	20.00	0	0.00
	Total	109	253	209	82.61	44	17.39	149	71.29
Hauzrani	Others	1	3	3	100.00	0	0.00	3	100.00
	Unskilled Labourer	12	25	25	100.00	0	0.00	22	88.00
	Artisan	5	12	12	100.00	0	0.00	8	66.67
	Skilled Employment	76	194	185	95.36	9	4.64	150	81.08
	Vendor	2	2	2	100.00	0	0.00	2	100.00

	Small Bussian	32	90	83	92.22	7	7.78	46	55.42
	Enterprenuer	5	10	10	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
	Private Job	9	19	20	105.26	0	0.00	9	45.00
	Government Jab	3	2	2	100.00	0	0.00	1	50.00
	No Response	2	8	8	100.00	0	0.00	7	87.50
	Total	147	365	350	95.89	16	4.38	248	70.86
Zakir Nagar	Others	19	52	51	98.08	1	1.92	10	19.61
	Unskilled Labourer	8	21	20	95.24	1	4.76	11	55.00
	Artisan	6	8	4	50.00	4	50.00	1	25.00
	Skilled Employment	27	72	67	93.06	5	6.94	34	50.75
	Vendor	5	13	13	100.00	0	0.00	11	84.62
	Small Bussian	29	63	63	100.00	0	0.00	28	44.44
	Enterprenuer	12	21	21	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
	Private Job	28	57	51	89.47	6	10.53	14	27.45
	Government Jab	7	11	10	90.91	1	9.09	0	0.00
	No Response	4	9	9	100.00	0	0.00	3	33.33
	Total	145	327	309	94.50	18	5.50	112	36.25
	Others	7	12	11	91.67	1	8.33	0	0.00
Abul Fazal	Unskilled Labourer	9	21	21	100.00	0	0.00	12	57.14
	Skilled Employment	23	52	48	92.31	4	7.69	17	35.42
	Vendor	5	10	10	100.00	0	0.00	3	30.00
	Small Bussian	22	48	48	100.00	0	0.00	11	22.92
	Enterprenuer	7	18	18	100.00	0	0.00	9	50.00
	Private Job	55	88	84	95.45	4	4.55	10	11.90
	Total	108	231	212	92.22	14	12.78	43	39.81

Appendix Table 3: Children attending schools by social status of the families

Locality	Household enumerated	Children in family	Children going to School	Non-enrolled / dropout		Attending govt. School		Attending Private School		Attending Madrasa
Rangpuri	Ashraf	82	191	166	86.91	25	13.09	125	75.30	18
	Ajlaf Upper	18	34	21	61.76	13	38.24	13	61.90	7
	Ajlaf Lower	8	22	18	81.82	4	18.18	11	61.11	1
	No Response	1	6	4	66.67	2	33.33	0	0.00	4
	Total	109	253	209	82.61	44	17.39	149	71.29	30
Hauzrani	Ashraf	39	104	99	95.19	5	4.81	79	79.80	18
	Upper Caste Convertes	47	135	130	96.30	6	4.44	81	62.31	37
	Ajlaf Upper	42	84	79	94.05	5	5.95	55	69.62	21
	Ajlaf Lower	17	40	40	100.00	0	0.00	33	82.50	7
	Others	1	1	1	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1
	Total	146	364	349	95.88	16	4.40	248	71.06	84
Zakir Nagar	Ashraf	84	184	178	96.74	6	3.26	69	38.76	108
	Upper Caste Convertes	7	23	19	82.61	4	17.39	7	36.84	11
	Ajlaf Upper	41	90	85	94.44	5	5.56	20	23.53	59
	Ajlaf Lower	12	29	26	89.66	3	10.34	15	57.69	11
	Others	1	1	1	100.00	0	0.00	1	100.00	0

	Total	145	327	309	94.50	18	5.50	112	36.25	189
Abul Fazal	Ashraf	72	153	149	97.39	4	2.61	32	21.48	113
	Upper Caste Convertes	7	12	12	100.00	0	0.00	4	33.33	7
	Ajlaf Upper	40	80	79	98.75	1	1.25	26	32.91	49

Appendix Table 4: Distribution of teachers by type of school

Locality	Number of Teacher	Government School	Private Hindi Medium School	Private English Medium School	Urdu Medium School	Madrassa	Tutor holding informal School	other	No Response
Rangpuri	3.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	0.00	66.67	0.00	0.00	33.33	0.00	0.00	0.00
Hauz Rani	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	0.00	0.00	0.00	66.67	33.33	0.00	0.00	0.00
Zakir Nagar	9.00	5.00	0.00	4.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	55.56	0.00	44.44	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Abul Fazal	8.00	1.00	0.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	0.00
	%	12.50	0.00	25.00	12.50	25.00	12.50	12.50	0.00
Nizamuddin	4.00	1.00	0.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	25.00	0.00	75.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Bara Hindu Rao	11.00	5.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	3.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
	%	45.45	0.00	9.09	9.09	27.27	0.00	9.09	0.00
Lal Kuan	12.00	4.00	0.00	5.00	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	33.33	0.00	41.67	16.67	8.33	0.00	0.00	0.00
Jahangirpuri	9.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.00	1.00	0.00	1.00
	%	33.33	0.00	0.00	0.00	44.44	11.11	0.00	11.11
Turkmanpuri	8.00	5.00	0.00	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	62.50	0.00	25.00	12.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Shilampur	21.00	11.00	0.00	4.00	3.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	52.38	0.00	19.05	14.29	14.29	0.00	0.00	0.00
Total	88.00	35.00	2.00	21.00	10.00	15.00	2.00	2.00	1.00
	%	39.77	2.27	23.86	11.36	17.05	2.27	2.27	1.14

Appendix Table 5: Time taken by the teacher in commuting to the school

Locality	Number of Teacher	Less than half an hour	one hour	one and a half hour	No Response	Not Applicable
Rangpuri	3.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Hauz Rani	3.00	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	66.67	33.33	0.00	0.00	0.00
Zakir Nagar	9.00	9.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

	%	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Abul Fazal	8.00	7.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
	%	87.50	0.00	0.00	12.50	0.00
Nizamuddin	4.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.00
	%	25.00	25.00	50.00	0.00	0.00
Bara Hindu Rao	11.00	5.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	1.00
	%	45.45	18.18	9.09	18.18	9.09
Lal Kuan	12.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	2.00	0.00
	%	83.33	0.00	0.00	16.67	0.00
Jahangirpuri	9.00	6.00	2.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
	%	66.67	22.22	0.00	11.11	0.00
Turkmanpuri	8.00	7.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	87.50	12.50	0.00	0.00	0.00
Sheelampur	21.00	14.00	3.00	0.00	4.00	0.00
	%	66.67	14.29	0.00	19.05	0.00
Total	88.00	64.00	10.00	3.00	10.00	1.00
	%	72.73	11.36	3.41	11.36	1.14

Appendix Table 6: No. of Years the teacher has been teaching

Locality	Number of Teacher	Less than 1 year	Between 2 to 5 years	5 to 10 years	10 to 15 years	15 to 25 years	Above 25 years
Rangpuri	3.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	33.33	33.33	33.33	0.00	0.00	0.00
Hauz Rani	3.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	0.00
	%	0.00	33.33	0.00	33.33	33.33	0.00
Zakir Nagar	9.00	0.00	2.00	4.00	2.00	1.00	0.00
	%	0.00	22.22	44.44	22.22	11.11	0.00
Abul Fazal	8.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	1.00	0.00
	%	0.00	12.50	12.50	62.50	12.50	0.00
Nizamuddin	4.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	0.00
	%	0.00	50.00	0.00	25.00	25.00	0.00
Bara Hindu Rao	11.00	0.00	2.00	4.00	2.00	2.00	1.00
	%	0.00	18.18	36.36	18.18	18.18	9.09
Lal Kuan	12.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	3.00	3.00	4.00
	%	0.00	16.67	0.00	25.00	25.00	33.33
Jahangirpuri	9.00	0.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	2.00
	%	0.00	22.22	11.11	22.22	22.22	22.22
Turkmanpuri	8.00	1.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	4.00	1.00
	%	12.50	0.00	25.00	0.00	50.00	12.50
Shilampur	21.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	5.00	7.00	1.00
	%	9.52	14.29	14.29	23.81	33.33	4.76
Total	88.00	4.00	16.00	16.00	21.00	22.00	9.00
	%	4.55	18.18	18.18	23.86	25.00	10.23

Appendix Table 7: For how long have you been teaching in this school?

Locality	Number of Teacher	Less than 1 year	Between 2 to 5 years	5 to 10 years	10 to 15 years	15 to 25 years	Above 25 years
Rangpuri	3.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	33.33	33.33	33.33	0.00	0.00	0.00
Hauz Rani	3.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00
	%	0.00	33.33	33.33	33.33	0.00	0.00
Zakir Nagar	9.00	2.00	4.00	2.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
	%	22.22	44.44	22.22	0.00	11.11	0.00
Abul Fazal	8.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	0.00
	%	12.50	25.00	12.50	25.00	25.00	0.00
Nizamuddin	4.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	0.00
	%	0.00	50.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00
Bara Hindu Rao	11.00	1.00	6.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
	%	9.09	54.55	9.09	9.09	9.09	9.09
Lal Kuan	12.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	5.00	2.00	3.00
	%	8.33	8.33	0.00	41.67	16.67	25.00
Jahangirpuri	9.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	1.00
	%	11.11	22.22	22.22	22.22	11.11	11.11
Turkmanpuri	8.00	1.00	0.00	2.00	1.00	3.00	1.00
	%	12.50	0.00	25.00	12.50	37.50	12.50
Shilampur	21.00	5.00	4.00	5.00	4.00	3.00	0.00
	%	23.81	19.05	23.81	19.05	14.29	0.00
Total	88.00	13.00	23.00	15.00	18.00	13.00	6.00
	%	14.77	26.14	17.05	20.45	14.77	6.82

Appendix Table 8: Teachers Qualifications

Locality	Number of Teacher	Undergraduate	BA	MA	Fazil	Alim	Other
Rangpuri	3.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	2.00
	%	0.00	0.00	33.33	0.00	0.00	66.67
Hauz Rani	3.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
	%	0.00	33.33	33.33	0.00	0.00	33.33
Zakir Nagar	9.00	0.00	2.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	2.00
	%	0.00	22.22	55.56	0.00	0.00	22.22
Abul Fazal	8.00	0.00	0.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	5.00
	%	0.00	0.00	37.50	0.00	0.00	62.50
Nizamuddin	4.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	%	25.00	50.00	25.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Bara Hindu Rao	11.00	0.00	2.00	5.00	0.00	1.00	3.00
	%	0.00	18.18	45.45	0.00	9.09	27.27
Lal Kuan	12.00	0.00	6.00	3.00	0.00	1.00	2.00
	%	0.00	50.00	25.00	0.00	8.33	16.67
Jahangirpuri	9.00	1.00	0.00	4.00	1.00	1.00	2.00
	%	11.11	0.00	44.44	11.11	11.11	22.22
Turkmanpuri	8.00	0.00	4.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	1.00

	%	0.00	50.00	37.50	0.00	0.00	12.50
Shilampur	21.00	2.00	9.00	6.00	1.00	0.00	3.00
	%	9.52	42.86	28.57	4.76	0.00	14.29
Total	88.00	4.00	26.00	32.00	2.00	3.00	21.00
	%	4.55	29.55	36.36	2.27	3.41	23.86

Appendix Table 9: Other Occupations engaged in by Teachers

Locality	Number of Teacher	Other	Running a shop	Tuition	No Response
Rangpuri	3.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	2.00
	%	0.00	33.33	0.00	66.67
Hauz Rani	3.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	2.00
	%	33.33	0.00	0.00	66.67
Zakir Nagar	9.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	7.00
	%	22.22	0.00	0.00	77.78
Abul Fazal	8.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	6.00
	%	12.50	0.00	12.50	75.00
Nizamuddin	4.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.00
	%	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Bara Hindu Rao	11.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	11.00
	%	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Lal Kuan	12.00	2.00	0.00	1.00	9.00
	%	16.67	0.00	8.33	75.00
Jahangirpuri	9.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	6.00
	%	33.33	0.00	0.00	66.67
Turkmanpuri	8.00	4.00	0.00	2.00	2.00
	%	50.00	0.00	25.00	25.00
Shilampur	21.00	4.00	0.00	0.00	17.00
	%	19.05	0.00	0.00	80.95
Total	88.00	17.00	1.00	4.00	66.00
	%	19.32	1.14	4.55	75.00

Appendix Table 10: Consider your annual income and expenditure and tell us do you live comfortably or with difficulty or are you generally short of money?

Locality	Total	Comfortably	With difficulty	I am generally short of funds	other	No Response
Rangpuri	20.00	3.00	8.00	9.00	0.00	0.00
	%	15.00	40.00	45.00	0.00	0.00
Hauz Rani	24.00	7.00	13.00	4.00	0.00	0.00
	%	29.17	54.17	16.67	0.00	0.00
Zakir Nagar	22.00	9.00	10.00	3.00	0.00	0.00
	%	40.91	45.45	13.64	0.00	0.00
Abul Fazal	21.00	13.00	7.00	0.00	1.00	0.00

	%	61.90	33.33	0.00	4.76	0.00
Nizamuddin	20.00	9.00	7.00	4.00	0.00	0.00
	%	45.00	35.00	20.00	0.00	0.00
Bara Hindu Rao	21.00	13.00	4.00	2.00	2.00	0.00
	%	61.90	19.05	9.52	9.52	0.00
Lal Kuan	24.00	11.00	10.00	2.00	0.00	1.00
	%	45.83	41.67	8.33	0.00	4.17
Jahangirpuri	23.00	9.00	8.00	5.00	1.00	0.00
	%	39.13	34.78	21.74	4.35	0.00
Turkmanpuri	21.00	10.00	8.00	3.00	0.00	0.00
	%	47.62	38.10	14.29	0.00	0.00
Shilampur	52.00	15.00	26.00	11.00	0.00	0.00
	%	28.85	50.00	21.15	0.00	0.00
Total	248.00	99.00	101.00	43.00	4.00	1.00
	%	39.92	40.73	17.34	1.61	0.40

Appendix Table 11: How much do you spend every month on children's education?

Locality	Total	Less than Rs 1000	Rs 1001 to Rs 2000	Rs 2001 to Rs 3000	Rs 3001 to Rs 5,000	Rs 5001 to 10,000	Rs 10,001 to 20,000	Rs 20,001 to 30,000	More than Rs 30,000	No Re:
Rangpuri	20.00	0.00	3.00	3.00	4.00	2.00	5.00	3.00	0.00	
	%	0.00	15.00	15.00	20.00	10.00	25.00	15.00	0.00	
Hauz Rani	24.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	0.00	4.00	5.00	7.00	0.00	
	%	4.17	4.17	8.33	0.00	16.67	20.83	29.17	0.00	
Zakir Nagar	22.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	6.00	7.00	8.00	
	%	0.00	0.00	4.55	0.00	0.00	27.27	31.82	36.36	
Abul Fazal	21.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	
	%	0.00	0.00	0.00	9.52	14.29	14.29	23.81	28.57	
Nizamuddin	20.00	0.00	1.00	3.00	1.00	0.00	6.00	8.00	1.00	
	%	0.00	5.00	15.00	5.00	0.00	30.00	40.00	5.00	
Bara Hindu Rao	21.00	0.00	1.00	2.00	0.00	2.00	2.00	11.00	3.00	
	%	0.00	4.76	9.52	0.00	9.52	9.52	52.38	14.29	
Lal Kuan	24.00	1.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	0.00	3.00	6.00	3.00	
	%	4.17	16.67	8.33	12.50	0.00	12.50	25.00	12.50	
Jahangirpuri	23.00	5.00	8.00	3.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	
	%	21.74	34.78	13.04	8.70	0.00	0.00	4.35	0.00	
Turkmanpuri	21.00	1.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	4.00	4.00	
	%	4.76	14.29	9.52	4.76	4.76	23.81	19.05	19.05	
Shilampur	52.00	3.00	9.00	5.00	7.00	2.00	9.00	7.00	2.00	
	%	5.77	17.31	9.62	13.46	3.85	17.31	13.46	3.85	
Total	248.00	11.00	30.00	23.00	20.00	14.00	44.00	59.00	27.00	
	%	4.44	12.10	9.27	8.06	5.65	17.74	23.79	10.89	

Appendix Table 12: Parental perception about whether Muslims are backward in education?

Locality	Number of Household Interviewed	Yes	No
	20.00	15.00	5.00
Rangpuri	%	75.00	25.00
	24.00	16.00	8.00
Hauz Rani	%	66.67	33.33
	22.00	21.00	1.00
Zakir Nagar	%	95.45	4.55
	21.00	16.00	5.00
Abul Fazal	%	76.19	23.81
	20.00	16.00	4.00
Nizamuddin	%	80.00	20.00
	21.00	20.00	1.00
Bara Hindu Rao	%	95.24	4.76
	24.00	0.00	24.00
Lal Kuan	%	0.00	100.00
	23.00	17.00	6.00
Jahangirpuri	%	73.91	26.09
	21.00	16.00	5.00
Turkmanpuri	%	76.19	23.81
	52.00	46.00	6.00
Sheelampur	%	88.46	11.54
	248.00	183.00	65.00
Total	%	73.79	26.21

Appendix Table 13: Parental Perception of Reasons for Educational backwardness of Muslims

Locality	Number of Household Interviewed	Sense of discrimination	Religious reasons & Traditional mindset	Economical factors	Illiteracy & Ignorance & Unawareness	Lack of educational opportunity & unawareness	We are not backward	Other reasons
	20.00	1.00	2.00	12.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Rangpuri	%	5.00	10.00	60.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	24.00	0.00	4.00	10.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Hauz Rani	%	0.00	16.67	41.67	4.17	0.00	0.00	0.00
	22.00	4.00	5.00	5.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	4.00
Zakir Nagar	%	18.18	22.73	22.73	9.09	0.00	0.00	18.18
	21.00	5.00	6.00	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	2.00
Abul Fazal	%	23.81	28.57	4.76	9.52	0.00	0.00	9.52
	20.00	1.00	4.00	9.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Nizamuddin	%	5.00	20.00	45.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	21.00	2.00	4.00	5.00	8.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
Bara Hindu Rao	%	9.52	19.05	23.81	38.10	0.00	0.00	4.76
Lal Kuan	24.00	18.00	6.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

	%	75.00	25.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Jahangirpuri	23.00	8.00	0.00	5.00	3.00	1.00	0.00	0.00
	%	34.78	0.00	21.74	13.04	4.35	0.00	0.00
Turkmanpuri	21.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	4.00	4.00	1.00	2.00
	%	9.52	4.76	9.52	19.05	19.05	4.76	9.52
Shilampur	52.00	6.00	2.00	27.00	9.00	0.00	0.00	2.00
	%	11.54	3.85	51.92	17.31	0.00	0.00	3.85
Total	248.00	47.00	34.00	76.00	31.00	5.00	1.00	11.00
	%	18.95	13.71	30.65	12.50	2.02	0.40	4.43

Appendix Table Table- Do you consider the expenditure of your child's education, to be a burden on you income?

Locality	Number of SHH interviewed	Duty	Burden	Financial Problem	Psychology for Future	No response	Not Applicable
Rangpuri	44.00	25.00	18.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
	%	56.82	40.91	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.27
Hauz Rani	48.00	32.00	15.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
	%	66.67	31.25	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.08
Zakir Nagar	49.00	33.00	8.00	3.00	1.00	0.00	4.00
	%	67.35	16.33	6.12	2.04	0.00	8.16
Abul Fazal	43.00	36.00	6.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
	%	83.72	13.95	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.33
Nizamuddin	34.00	27.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
	%	79.41	0.00	14.71	0.00	2.94	2.94
Bara Hindu Rao	45.00	37.00	4.00	3.00	1.00	0.00	0.00
	%	82.22	8.89	6.67	2.22	0.00	0.00
Lal Kuan	48.00	29.00	15.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
	%	60.42	31.25	2.08	2.08	2.08	2.08
Jahangirpuri	56.00	35.00	16.00	3.00	1.00	1.00	0.00
	%	62.50	28.57	5.36	1.79	1.79	0.00
Turkmanpuri	38.00	29.00	6.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
	%	76.32	15.79	5.26	0.00	0.00	2.63
Shilampur	96.00	82.00	11.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	2.00
	%	85.42	11.46	1.04	0.00	0.00	2.08
Total	501.00	365.00	99.00	18.00	4.00	3.00	12.00
	%	72.85	19.76	3.59	0.80	0.60	2.40