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Early Educational Marginalization for Muslim Children in India: An Analysis of Nursery School Admission in Private Schools of Delhi, India

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Abstract

Sachar Committee Report on conditions of Muslim community in India detailed upon how they simultaneously face integrated problems relating to security, identity and equity in the country. Following the findings of the committee, several studies, policymakers, academicians have advocated education to be the only sustainable mechanism to enhance socioeconomic status of Muslims in India. However, literacy rates among Indian Muslims continue to be lower than most other socio-religious communities and in recent years, the growth in literacy rates among SCs/STs has been higher than that of Muslims. This raises concerns about possible educational marginalization of Muslims in all arenas of the education sector; pre-primary/primary, secondary and higher/university level.

According to national census data (2011), out of the total children in New Delhi falling in the age category of (0-5 years) more than 16% are Muslims. In correlation, it becomes significant to understand how many of these Muslim children, who are eligible to be enrolled in nursery class, are in reality getting admission in the competitive private school admission market of New Delhi.

This study attempts to conduct a data-based analysis regarding the number of Muslim children (boys and girls) that were enrolled in nursery class in the most recent rounds of admissions of March 2018. The Directorate of Education of NCT of Delhi has put forwarded a list of 1695 recognized private unaided schools, out of which district-wise details of applicants were filled for 951 schools. Using proportionate stratified random sampling method, a sample of 28 private schools from 12 districts of Delhi was prepared.

List of nursery students selected in each of these 28 schools were filtered to understand the percentage of Muslim children who were finally admitted in these schools for the academic session of 2018-19. On the lines of weighted average, the methodology used helped in deriving enrollment characteristics in the sample that were proportional to the overall population. The results of the study showed early educational inaccessibility, deprivation and marginalization of a Muslim child at entry-level class itself in private schools of New Delhi, India.

1. Introduction

1.1. Educational Profile of Muslims in India

The fact that Muslims formulate the largest minority of India (Census, 2011) has been the premise of many national and international research studies since past several decades (Ahmad, 1995; Khalidi,1995; Sachar, 2006; Sachar, Hamid, Oommen, Basith, Basant, Majeed, & Shariff, 2006). It has led to multi-directional assessment of socio-economic and demographic variables related to Muslim community in the country. In fact, India is now estimated to have the largest Muslim population by 2050 (Pew Research Centre, 2015; Gill, 2010).

However, it needs to be simultaneously kept in mind that though Muslims account for account 14.2% of India's population, 80% of the 1.3 billion people in the country are Hindus (Census, 2011). Their large numbers and yet an irrefutable minority status has led Indian Muslims to witness discrimination on multiple fronts. They lag behind in in terms of most of the human development indicators; including per capita income, standard of living, ratio of socio-political representation, employment rates, and educational levels (Sachar, 2006; Basant, 2007).

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Coming specifically to educational status of Muslims in India, research trends have noted that literacy rates among Indian Muslims continues to be lower than most other socio-religious communities and in recent years, the growth in literacy rates in Muslims is even lower than other disadvantaged groups of SCs/STs (Basant, 2007).

The National Sample Survey estimated that the out of school children in India are around 60.41 lakhs. When a religion wise analysis of these children was conducted, it was revealed that that Muslims have the maximum proportion of out of school children in India (4.43%), followed by Hindus and other religions (National Sample Survey, 2014). When understanding school drop-out rate, studies have showed that the probability of a Muslim student discontinuing school is 1.9 times higher that of Hindus/Sikhs (Choudhury, 2006).

The statistics given by Census, 2011, regarding educational indicators of Muslim in India at various levels, has been represented in Table 1. It shows that more than 42% of the Muslims in the country are still illiterate. Only 2.76% of the Muslim population has gained education upto graduation and above.

Educational Indicators	India	Delhi
Percentage of Muslim Population	14.2	12.9
Illiterate	42.7	35.9
Literate	57.2	64.1
Literate without education level	2.9	2.3
Primary Literates	16.0	17.5
Class 10th Literates	6.3	9.7
Class 12th Literates	4.4	4.9
Technical and Non-Technical diploma	0.44	0.3
holders		
Graduates and above	2.76	5.7

Table 1: Educational Indicators of Muslims in India and Delhi

Source: Census 2011, Government of India

Taking specifically the case of NCT of Delhi, which is the sample site of this study, Table 1 shows that education indicators marginally improved as compared to the national scenario. While the literacy rate amongst Muslims in the city is 64%, the number of graduates is also greater at 5.7%. Table 1 also shows that the overall Muslim population of Delhi is lower than the national average.

However, the universe of this study will be only 3-4 year Muslim children residing in Delhi, who are eligible for nursery class admission. When a deeper analysis was done, it was revealed that the percentage of Muslim children (0-4 years) is significantly higher than the adult population at 16.2%; as detailed in Table 2.

Age	Entire Population of Delhi		Muslim Population in Delhi			Muslim Population Percentage			
Group	Male	Female	Total	otal Male Female Total		Male	Female	Total	
All ages	1163934	994750	215868 4	8987326	7800615	16787941	13.0	12.8	12.9
0-4 years	115066	108400	223466	734336	646864	1381200	15.7	16.8	16.2

Table 2: Muslim adult and child population in Delhi

Source: Census 2011, Government of India

In correlation, it becomes significant to understand how many of these Muslim children, who are eligible to be enrolled in nursery class, are in reality getting admission in the competitive private school admission market of Delhi.

2. Rationale and Objectives

Assessing educational indicators has been a popular topic of research to understand socio-economic conditions of Muslims in India. However, while on one hand, educational policy implications have been studied largely in the government school settings across the country (Pandey, 2006; Mooi, & Narayan, 2010; Ojha, 2013). On the other hand, religion wise analyses of gross enrollment rates have mainly been done for primary (Class 1 – 5), secondary (Class 5 -8) and high school (Class 9 -12) level (MHRD, 2017; 2018).

Both these premises to understand educational involvement of Muslim children are significant, yet problematic. Firstly, it needs that to be noted that in the past decade private school market in the country has seen growth in terms of both number of schools and enrollment rates. Delhi is state, which has one of the highest proportions of private schools in the country, of over 40% (Ambast, Gaur, & Sangai, 2017). It, hence, becomes imperative to simultaneously analyze educational indicators within private school set-ups of the country. Secondly, school entry-level classes that are commonly recognized in Delhi and elsewhere are that of nursery and kindergarten. Enrollment configurations in these pre-primary classes rarely come within the ambit of research.

Within this context, it was felt significant to analyze educational composition of Muslim children, specifically for nursery school admission in private un-aided schools of NCT of Delhi. The objective of the study was to analyze trends and draw inferences in terms of:

- 1. Number/Percentage of Muslim children who got admission in nursery class under general category of private unaided schools in Delhi; in relation to:
- Total number of children who got admission in this category
- Total number of Muslim children who applied in this category
- 2. Number/Percentage of Muslim children who got admission in nursery class under Economically Weaker Section/Disadvantaged Group (EWS/DG) category in the same schools; in relation to the total number of children who applied in this category.

3. Methodology

3.1. Sampling Universe

The universe of the research study comprised of all the Muslim children who applied for nursery school admission of private un-aided schools for the academic session of 2018 - 19. The geographical coverage included the entire state of NCT Delhi, covering all districts. According to the Directorate of Education of Delhi (DoE), there are 1695 private schools that are currently registered in all the districts the city. However, out of these, only 953 schools filled in the details of children who applied for nursery admissions, at the online portal of the DoE (www.edudel.nic.in). Due to this, as shown in Table 3, sample population was drawn from the 953 schools whose information was available for scrutiny.

S. No.	Districts in Delhi	Registered Un-aided Private Schools	Sample Population	Proportion of each district	Sample Composition	Number of Sampled Schools
1	East	144	98	0.10	2.9	3
2	North East	303	64	0.07	1.9	2
3	North	46	28	0.03	0.8	1
4	North West A	132	107	0.11	3.1	3
5	North West B	237	173	0.18	5.1	5
6	West A	57	152	0.05	1.4	1
7	West B	234	103	0.11	3.0	3
8	South West A	59	47	0.05	1.4	1
9	South West B	224	128	0.13	3.8	4
10	South	95	59	0.06	1.7	2
11	New Delhi	13	10	0.01	0.3	0
12	Central	26	22	0.02	0.6	1
13	South East	125	63	0.07	1.9	2
	Total	1695	953	1.00	28	28

Table 3: Sampling methodology used in the study

3.2. Sampling Process

The applied methodology used was a combination of probability and non-probability sampling, carried out in multiple stages. In first stage, districts clusters of NCT of Delhi were made. According to the Census of 2011, Delhi is divided into nine districts. However, as per details provided by the DOE, certain districts were subdivided into parts and in total, thirteen districts were taken within the ambit of this study. Using stratified random sampling proportion size of each listed district was quantified.

In the second stage, convenience sampling was used to induce sample size of schools. The total number of schools to be sampled was limited to 28 as for a majority of schools, there was limited or no access to the list of students who were finally admitted in nursery. The admissions took place in February-March 2018, and many schools removed the list from their websites/notice boards as soon as the admission process was over, and it was not available for long-term public viewing.

As represented in Table 3, sample composition was calculated by multiplying proportion of schools in each district by the desired sample size of 28 (N=28). With this, number of schools to be selected from each district varied between 0 and 5, depending upon the number of registered private school in each district and the total number of such schools. In this process, as shown, the district of New Delhi did not have representation in the sample.

Finally, in the third stage a list of 28 schools was proportionately prepared. For each of these 28 schools, number of Muslim children candidates who applied for admission and those who finally got admission were listed. Data analysis was done in relation to the religion and gender of that candidate. Further, EWS/DG category list of admission was also scrutinized and similar stratification according to religion and gender of the candidate was done.

3.3. Sampled Schools

Based upon availability and accessibility of admission related information, the 28 private unaided schools sampled across all districts of NCT of Delhi included Ahlcon International School, Ryan International School, Bal Bhavan Public School, Greenfields Public Sr. Sec. School, Little Flower Public Sr. Sec. School, Nav Bharti School, North Delhi Public School, Srijan School, Modern Public School, Heritage School, GD Goenka School, Sachdeva Public School, Jagannath International School, Sovereign School, NC Jindal Public School, Oxford Senior Secondary School, DAV Public School, Brain International School, Delhi Public School (Vasant Vihar), Delhi Public School (Dwarka), BGS International School, Maxfort School, Basava International School, Mother's International School, Laxman Public School, Sprindales, Delhi Public School (Mathura Roadd), Tagore International School.

For reasons of confidentiality, random representation of data was done and not specifically in relation to any particular school. For data analysis, schools were listed according to numbers and not names. The purpose was not highlight admission details of any one school, but to understand enrollment trends of Muslim children for private schools across the entire state of Delhi.

In total, from 13 districts and sub-districts of Delhi, a total of 28 private schools with 47,249 general category and 930 EWS/DG category candidates were finally assessed based upon on their socio-demographic characteristics.

4. Data Findings

4.1. Muslim children who got admission in relation to the total number of children who got admission

To begin with, Table 4 shows that out the total number of children who applied for admission in sampled private schools, irrespective of their religion, only 8.3% got admission. Out of this, in relation to the number of children who got admission in the sampled private schools, the percentage of Muslim children was even smaller at 2.7%.

When a gendered analysis of the Muslim children admitted in the sampled schools was done around 52% of Muslim boys and 48% of Muslim girls got admission.

Table 4: General category Muslim students who were admitted in sampled schools

0.1.101	Children who applied for	Children who	D.	Muslim children who got admitted			n .
School No.	admission (All religions)	admitted (All religions)	Percentage	Boys	Girls	Total	Percentage
1.	1789	89	5.0	1	2	3	3.4
2.	490	168	34.3	3	1	4	2.4
3.	1335	183	13.7	2	1	3	1.6
4.	795	73	9.2	0	2	2	2.7
5.	1079	137	12.7	4	3	7	5.1
6.	193	67	34.7	0	1	1	1.49
7.	415	70	16.9	1	0	1	1.42
8.	2024	88	4.3	2	2	4	4.54
9.	2211	99	4.5	1	0	1	1.01
10.	2700	137	5.1	0	0	0	0
11.	932	54	5.8	0	0	0	0
12.	2335	88	3.8	0	0	0	0
13.	966	316	32.7	2	0	2	0.63
14.	164	45	27.4	0	0	0	0
15.	1361	130	9.6	1	3	4	3.07
16.	1140	143	12.5	0	1	1	0.7
17.	325	170	52.3	0	0	0	0
18.	899	200	22.2	0	1	1	0.5
19.	2626	129	4.9	1	1	2	1.5
20.	3032	103	3.4	1	0	1	0.9
21.	1453	131	9.0	0	0	0	0
22.	1618	41	2.5	0	0	0	0
23.	931	75	8.1	0	0	0	0
24.	4228	70	1.7	0	0	0	0
25.	2949	589	20.0	6	2	8	1.3
26.	2832	48	1.7	1	2	3	6.2
27.	2075	233	11.2	24	16	40	17.1
28.	2589	102	3.9	3	11	14	13.7
Total	45486	3778	8.3	53	49	102	2.70

4.2. Muslim children who got admission in relation to the total number of Muslim children who applied in the sampled schools

The data was further analyzed to see the percentage of Muslim children who got admission as compared to the total number of Muslim children who had applied in the sampled schools.

Table 5: Muslim students who applied for admission in sampled schools

Muslim students who applied for Musl

School	Muslim students who applied for admission			Muslim students	Percentage
No.	Boys	Girls	Total	admitted	8
1.	31	17	48	3	6.3
2.	13	1	14	4	28.6
3.	23	23	46	3	6.5
4.	22	11	33	2	6.1
5.	42	32	74	7	9.5
6.	0	1	1	1	100.0
7.	4	1	5	1	20.0
8.	3	6	9	4	44.4
9.	10	7	17	1	5.9
10.	9	9	18	0	0.0
11.	3	3	6	0	0.0
12.	6	9	10	0	0.0
13.	3	6	9	2	22.2
14.	1	0	1	0	0.0
15.	8	9	17	4	23.5
16.	4	4	8	1	12.5
17.	3	0	3	0	0.0
18.	1	3	4	1	25.0
19.	4	6	10	2	20.0
20.	25	17	42	1	2.4
21.	9	11	20	0	0.0
22.	5	6	11	0	0.0
23.	7	3	10	0	0.0
24.	129	87	216	0	0.0
25.	141	77	218	8	3.7
26.	141	93	34	3	8.8
27.	202	158	360	40	11.1
28.	236	192	428	14	3.3
Total	1085	792	1672	102	6.1

Table 5 reflects that out of the total Muslim children who had applied for admission, only 6.1% were able to get admission. It was also seen that out the total number of Muslim children who applied, around 65% were boys and 35% were girls.

4.3 Muslim children who got admission under EWS/DG category in the sampled school

Section 12 of the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009 in India has made it compulsory for every private unaided school to admit at least 25% of its entry level class from children belonging to economically weaker and disadvantaged groups. These may include children of families with annual income less than one lakh rupees or children belonging to deprived categories of SC/ST/OBC non-creamy layer/physically challenged/ orphan and transgender and all children living with or affected by HIV (MHRD, 2009).

School	EWS students	EWS/I	n .		
No.	admitted	Boys	Total	Percentage	
1.	32	10	Girls	16	50.0
2.	34		on not availab	_	30.0
3.	10	2.	0	2	20.0
4.	24	1	1	2	8.3
5.	49	4	4	8	16.3
6.	4	0	0	0	0.0
7.	12	1	0	1	8.3
8.	39	1	0	1	2.6
9.	44	3	0	3	6.8
10.	34	3	2	5	14.7
11.	44	1	0	1	2.3
12.	38	0	0	0	0
13.	34	3	2	5	14.7
14.	15	1	1	2	13.3
15.	52	1	0	1	1.9
16.	39	2	1	3	7.7
17.		Informatio	on not availab	ole	
18.	29	0	0	0	0.0
19.	51	1	1	2	3.9
20.	48	3	0	3	6.3
21.		Informatio	on not availab	ole	•
22.	28	3	3	6	21.4
23.	24	0	0	0	0.0
24.	29	4	2	6	20.7
25.	44	1	1	2	4.5
26.	25	0	0	0	0.0
27.	64	30	22	52	81.3
28.	45	13	1	14	31.1
Total	857	88	47	135	15.8

Table 6: EWS/DG Muslim students admitted in sampled schools

Table 6 represents that out of the total students who got admissions in the sampled schools under EWS/DG category, 15.8% were Muslim children. Out of the total, a distinctly greater number of male Muslim students (65%) got admission, as compared to female Muslim students (35%).

5. Discussions

5.1. Acute early educational marginalization of Muslim children in private schools

The data derived in this study is clearly reflective of high educational marginalization faced by Muslim children at entry-level classes itself in private schools of Delhi. Less than 3% of the children who got admission in private schools were Muslims. Further, out of the total Muslim children who applied to these schools, 94% were not able to get admission.

Private school admission in Delhi is conducted through a rigid point system, wherein points are given for criteria like neighborhood distance, siblings in school, either parent as alumni, girl child point, either parent a staff of the school, and education of parents etc. (Sood, 2007). In a country, where long drawn marginalization of Muslim has taken, Muslim families rarely possess the social, cultural and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986) to fulfill any of these criteria. It has been argued that the educational backwardness and illiteracy of Muslims in India is a legacy of the past; wherein parents have passed on the disadvantages to their children (Bhat, & Zavier, 2005). This data can then imply that 'quality' private schooling in Delhi is an option only for elitist, privileged families with social capital. Neighborhood distance to the school is the criteria with the highest points.

Now, disadvantaged neighborhoods such as slums and ghettos are likely to have lesser number of private schools. Therefore, the neighborhood restriction limits access and choice for Muslim students. Further, a majority of Muslim students do not have parents who have been alumina of the school, who are staff/teachers in the school and who have sibling in private school. This results in an inter-generational vicious cycle of educational marginalization for Muslim children in the country.

Also, if Muslim children are not getting admission in private schools; a vast majority of them are opting for unrecognized private schools, government schools, minority schools, and *madarsas*.

5.2. Relatively higher percentage of Muslim children admission in EWS/DG category

Admission under EWS/DG category is fairly transparent and is conducted through a central online portal, without any interference from the private school. Only neighborhood criteria of distance are taken into account while conducting the centralized and computerized lottery system, which may be waived off as per the directives of the State Government and/or Local Authority (MHRD, 2009).

According to a circular provided by DoE (dated 10/01/2018), any resident of Delhi with an adequate income proof, is eligible to apply under EWS/DG category. State Government has even waived off the condition of minimum residency period of 3 years in Delhi.

The percentage of Muslim children who got admission under EWS/DG category is significantly higher than the percentage of Muslim children who got admission under general category (15.8%). In fact, this figure correlates to the above-mentioned total percentage (16%) of Muslim children population (0-4 years) residing in NCT of Delhi (Census, 2011). This can be imply that when given a fair and equal chance, in the absence of rigid and discriminatory 'point system', Muslim children will show adequate representation in educational spaces. On the other hand, higher percentage of EWS/DG category of Muslim students can be reflective of the low socioeconomic conditions of the community. Muslims have been researched to lag behind the national average poverty ratio as compared to other socio-religious communities. Urban poverty amongst Muslims in cities and towns is analyzed to be the highest (Basant, 2012; Hassan, 2013).

5.3. Higher Muslim boy child admission as compared to Muslim girl child

Each set of data regarding Muslim children admission taken in the purview of this study was analyzed through a gendered lens as well. As mentioned, there are extra points given to a girl child in the admission process under general category seats. Despite of a leverage given, at Muslim girl children still lagged behind in getting admission as compared to their male counterpart. From the total Muslim children who applied for admission, proportion of boys was much higher. There is no girl child point given in EWS/DG category. This clearly resulted in acutely lopsided gendered admission trends in the data, in favor of the boy child at 65%.

Multiples studies have accounted for the low level of Muslim girl child education in India. Some of the reasons derived for this are poverty, preference of boy child education, reluctance towards co-ed and secular schooling, inclination towards *madarsa* education for girls (Hasan, & Menon, 2005; Engineer, 2001). While understanding early educational marginalization faced by Muslim children, the Muslim girl child comes out to be a particularly vulnerable entity.

6. Conclusion

Sachar Committee Report on conditions of Muslim community in India detailed upon how they simultaneously face integrated problems relating to security, identity and equity in the country (Sachar,2006). Following the findings of the committee, several studies, policymakers, academicians have advocated education to be the only sustainable mechanism to enhance socioeconomic status of Muslims in India (Basant, 2012). This study highlights that educational marginalization for Muslims in India starts an early age itself, from entry-level primary and pre-primary classes. This results in persistent and vicious scarcities in higher education, income, and employment opportunities for the community.

It is accepted that aggregation of numbers on a particular social issue is not entirely representative of the ground realities of the field of study. However, data-based research does become critical in raising awareness as well as concerns about possible spaces of marginalization. This study is intended to promote future in-depth study on early educational inaccessibility and deprivation of a Muslim child in India, particularly for entry-level classes.

For education to become a facilitator for equity, the foundations need to be laid through quality early childhood care and education (UNICEF,2016). This will become fundamental in alleviating marginalization faced by children born into socially and economically disadvantaged groups like Muslims in India.

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