

*Educating A Minority: A case study of Government Urdu Schools in Bengaluru; Silicon
city*

K.Vaijayanti¹

Abstract

The paper presents the major findings of the survey conducted in Bengaluru on government Urdu schools regarding the issues of access and quality in elementary education within the broad framework of public provisioning. Bengaluru is one of the fast growing cities in India. The attainment of access to quality education should be seen within the cultural and the class context. The provisioning of minority schools in a metro-cosmopolitan city like Bengaluru involves complex issues. At the heart of the debate about the efficacy and equity of provisioning education to minorities lies the notion of secular democratic principle. Minority' choice of school is limited in all circumstances by their location, financial means and their ability to decide on sending their children to schools. The government's focus on access seems to have not coupled with quality in terms of infrastructure and learning outcome. The urban planning seems to lack holistic approach towards the maintenance and functioning of these schools. Many of schools are in a dilapidated state and do not offer even basic facilities. The basis of setting up of these minority schools was to address the equity issues of the minority communities. There seems to be no convergence between the education departed by the religious educational institutions like Madrasas and the public schools. The quality of education therefore seems to have taken a back seat in the schema of aid to minority development. Despite teachers and children being from the same religious community, there seems to be emerging a class within the community which is not adhered to quality education to the members of its own community who are from economically deprived class. There seems to be a pervasive loss of respect and empathy within the community. The dilemma of being a minority has continued to encourage the 'traditional community sense' which seems to be hindering the modernization of the community. The community needs to channelise the 'community sense' towards modernization and mainstreaming. The community leaders need to introspect, debate and discuss modernization of the community as a whole cutting across the classes. There is also an urgent need for the governance to take a close look at these schools which have been in existence since several decades. Though most of the issues raised in the paper may reflect the situation of the mainstream schools in Bengaluru, the issue of minority has been neglected either due to sensitiveness attached to the issue of due to lack of voice and statistics to back.

¹K.Vaijayanti works for Akshara Foundation. The author acknowledges the research assistance of Divya Vishwanath and Shreedevi Sharma during data collection.

No culture can live, if it attempts to be exclusiveMahathma Gandhi

Context:

The importance of education is universal and transcends languages and cultures. It is universally accepted that education should seek to foster the development of respect for human rights, cultural identity, language as well as the environment. These are principles that concern people of all communities, yet it is also well known that minority culture and education in minority languages needs special nurturing if it has to retain its identity. Considering the cultural diversity, the Indian Constitutional framework provides for a unified but culturally diverse nation State. Educational priorities have been defined and the country has made an attempt to address the issue of access, quality and equity in education to all children since 1964 with the Kothari Commission and National Policy on Education to the Right to Education Act (RTE) which reiterates free and compulsory education to every child in the 6-14 year age group. These provisions clearly imply that the State is responsible for ensuring quality education to all children without exception. Article 350A of the Indian Constitution facilitates for instruction in the mother tongue at the primary stage.²

An Urdu-speaking child falls under the category of linguistic as well as religious minority since Urdu is by and large the language of the Muslim religious minority community in India³. The Muslim community is the largest minority group in Karnataka and as per the 2001 census, there are 6.5 million Muslims in Karnataka comprising 12% of the population. According to the Sachar Committee report⁴, Muslims in Karnataka, especially those living in its southern part, speak Urdu and prefer to get primary education in Urdu-medium schools. The availability of Urdu-medium schools allows most Urdu-speaking

² Article 350A, Constitution of India

³ Hussain M, Perspectives on Urdu Language and Education in India, Social Scientist, Vol. 31, Nos. 5-6, 2003.

⁴ Sachar Committee Report, Social, Economic and Educational Status of the Muslim Community of India, GOI, 2006.

children to be educated in their mother tongue. The Sachar Committee also noted that a greater proportion of girls is enrolled in Urdu-medium schools. The quality of elementary education is an important indicator of the development of any community.

Akshara Foundation conducted a city wide survey of government Urdu primary schools to examine the status of government-run Urdu-medium schools in Bengaluru, which cater to the Muslim/Urdu-speaking community. This survey focused on universalisation in terms of the quality of primary education and not just access to primary education. Data from Karnataka's Department of Education shows that among minority language primary schools, Urdu-medium schools make up the highest number (77%) of schools (others being Tamil, Telugu, Marathi, Malayalam and Sindhi-medium schools)⁵. This article presents the main findings of the survey conducted in 171 Urdu-medium schools in the Bengaluru urban district a much lauded Silicon city of Karnataka.⁶

Methodology

The present study is based on a survey of all 171⁷ Urdu-medium schools in the Bengaluru urban district of Karnataka and interviews with 25 HMs and 35 teachers from these schools. Data has also been taken from the household survey⁸ conducted by Akshara Foundation and information collected by the Karnataka Learning Partnership.⁹ Data for learning outcomes is used from the assessment designed and conducted by various programmes of Akshara Foundation.

⁵ Annual Report 2009-2010, Directorate Linguistic Minority, Department of Education, Karnataka.

⁶ Akshara's conducted a household survey in 2009 covering 48,816 households of children attending 1,162 government schools in Bengaluru across all mediums of instruction. Out of this universe around 7,350 Muslim/Urdu-speaking households were identified.

⁷ As of September, 2010, there were 171 Urdu-medium schools in the Bengaluru urban district.

⁸ Akshara's household survey was conducted in 2009 covering 48,816 households of children attending 1,162 government schools across all educational blocks in Bengaluru across all mediums of instruction. The survey represented children across mother tongues, castes and religions. Data from 7,350 Muslim/Urdu-speaking households was used in this study.

⁹ The Karnataka Learning Partnership maintained by Akshara Foundation was formed as a framework for nonprofits, corporations, academic institutions and citizens to get involved in improving government schools in Karnataka.
www.klp.org.in

Socio-economic status of Muslim Parents

Many reports and studies have stressed upon the dismal status of Muslims in India. The 1983 Gopal Singh Committee's report on Minorities suggests that the economic condition of Indian Muslims is worse than that of Scheduled Castes. The 55th round of the National Sample Survey Organization¹⁰ reports that in urban areas, 40% of Muslims as compared to 22% of Hindus belong to the absolute poor category. 30% of urban Muslim households have a working member with a regular salaried job compared to 44% of Hindus. 16% of urban Muslims fall under the casual labor category compared to 14% of Hindus¹¹.

The Sachar Committee reported that large proportions of Muslim households in urban areas are in the less than Rs. 500 per month expenditure bracket. The Committee also found that the literacy rate among Muslims is much lower than the national average and that the literacy gap between Muslims and non-Muslims is greater in urban areas. 25% of children of Muslim parents in the 6-14 year age group have either never attended school or have dropped out. 25% of children of Muslim parents in the 6-14 year age group have either never attended school or have dropped out. Another major finding of the Sachar Committee is that Muslim parents are not averse to mainstream education or to sending their children to affordable government schools.

Akshara's survey of 7,350 households showed that 45% of households live in asbestos houses and 36% live in kaccha structures. About 70% of households had an average size of 4-6 members per family. Around 20% of the parents were illiterate thus showing parents

¹⁰ http://mospi.gov.in/national_data_bank/pdf/468_final.pdf

¹¹ Mohammad Zeyal Haque, The "appeased" Indian Muslims are far more deprived (<http://www.milligazette.com/Archives/01102002/0110200297.htm>).

had some sort of exposure to formal education. Nearly half of the households reported engaged as casual labour and as many as 28% of households did not have a Public Distribution Card. Those who owned cards had yellow card which is distributed for below poverty families.

Schooling for Urdu-speaking Children

Over a period of time, the number of schools has increased many-fold, according to the all-India educational survey. Schooling facilities have significantly improved since 2002.¹² Activities under SSA gained momentum from the year 2002 and a large number of Primary and Upper Primary schools were opened across the country. These standards apply to the Muslim/Urdu-speaking community as well. There are around 1,410¹³ primary schools from stds. 1-7¹⁴ in Bengaluru Urban district. Of this, 171 (about 12%) Urdu-medium schools are currently functional and are managed by the Department of Education. In addition, there are 20 aided Urdu-medium schools and 39 private Urdu-medium schools for Urdu-speaking children in the city. There are also many Madrasas¹⁵ that impart religious education in Bengaluru. More than three fourth of teachers and HMs said that children of government schools attend Madrasas either before or after the school hours to get exposed to religious teachings.

Urdu-Medium Schools by Type and Management in Bengaluru

	Education* ¹⁶	BBMP	Aided	Not Aided	Other Management	Total
LPS	71	0	2	4	0	77
HPS	113	2	17	22	2	156
HS	6	0	1	13	2	22
Total	190	2	20	39	4	255

¹² DISE Report 2007, 2008.

¹³ KLP Database.

¹⁴ Lower Primary schools go upto std. 5, Upper or Higher Primary to stds. 7 or 8 and High schools from stds. 8-10.

¹⁵ While the exact number of Madrasas in Bengaluru is not known, according to some Madrasa teachers and senior officials there are approximately 1,000 Madrasas in the city. These Madrasas do not come under the purview of any government authority in Karnataka. There is no Madrasa Board in the state. Some Madrasas house about 300-500 children with children attending the Madrasa coming from across India. The majority of teachers are qualified and many Madrasas have teachers from different States/languages to teach children from those states.

¹⁶ There is a discrepancy in data reporting. While DISE data shows 184 schools (both LPS and HPS) but the survey found only 171 schools being run by the Department of Education in Bengaluru.

*Source: DISE Report 2010

The Government of Karnataka under SSA supports 15 Madrasas in Bengaluru covering around 1,900 children¹⁷ as of 2009-2010. At present there are 110 Higher primary schools and 61 Lower primary schools in Bengaluru thus showing the accessibility seems to be satisfactory. There are around 45 Urdu-medium schools existing since the pre-independence era in the district. Some of these schools are run in heritage buildings while others function in buildings that are falling apart.

Enrolment and Attendance issues

While enrolment is one of the indicators for effective schooling, regular attendance is a more reliable indicator that may have a bearing on the learning outcomes in schools since large enrolment rates that are reported at the start of the school year can mask non-attendance and/or dropouts later in the school year. The percentage of attendance in school on any given school day is a good indicator of the functioning of the school. Data shows a gap of 27% between children's enrolment and attendance on the day of the visit.¹⁸ The survey shows that in about 45% of schools, more than 30% of children were absent. There is a discrepancy between enrolment and regular attendance as reported by the teacher and the actual attendance on the day of the visit. 11% of Urdu schools have school strength of 25 and below. About 35% of schools have student strength of 150 and above. As contrary to this about half of teachers said that regularity is not an issue and hence there seems to be lacunae in reporting.

24% of the 171 government Urdu schools in Bengaluru have less than 50 children and a minimum of two teachers per school. While the policy on appointing a Kannada teacher in

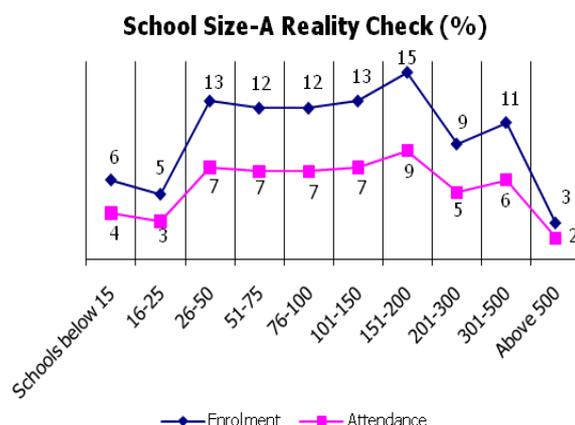
¹⁷ SSA in Karnataka financially supports a Madrasa in terms of teacher salary of Rs. 2,500 per month per teacher, Rs. 5 per child per day as the cost of meals, Rs. 300 per child per year on TLM and Rs. 10,000 per Madrasa for maintenance. In total, a Madrasa with 100 children and three teachers gets about Rs. 3 lakh per year.

¹⁸ Care was taken to organize the visit such that there was no holiday on the preceding and following day. Typically, teachers complain that attendance is thin during the festival season and just before and after a long vacation.

every Urdu-medium school regardless of the strength makes sense the schools with children below 15 students may not be economically viable. A random visit to schools with small student strength showed that learning levels were not up to the mark. For instance, in one school which had an official record of 15 children as enrolled and two teachers as working, the survey found four children and one teacher being present on the day of the visit. A std. 4 child could not read a std.2 Urdu text book. Of the four students, three were siblings. Further this particular school was paying a monthly rent of Rs. 3,500 for its space. A rough calculation shows that the government spent about Rs. 8,000 per child per month to run the school. This raises an issue return on investment of retaining such schools. Alternative arrangements should be thought of in such cases.

Pupil Teacher Ratio (PTR) -Reality Check

Enrolment vs. Attendance		
Distribution of Schools (N=171)		
	Records	Visit
1:5	2	4
1:5 to 10	10	14
1:11 to 20	27	37
1:21 to 25	20	18
1:26 to 30	15	16
1:31 to 40	19	7
1:41 to 50	6	2
1:50 & above	1	1
Total	100	100



In Bengaluru's Urdu schools the overall PTR was 1:27 as against the state's average of 1:40. Reliability on education data is another area of concern¹⁹. A comparative analysis of school size based on the enrolment data from official records and the head count on the day of the visit clearly showed that there were a larger number of small size Urdu-medium schools in Bengaluru as compared to official records. This is a significant finding because most of the plans and the funds related to schools are based on the enrolment data officially

¹⁹ Reliability of Educational Data in the Light of NCERT Sixth Survey

shared by the schools. The reasons for less children being in the schools are many and one of them is due to shift in the parental preference to private and English medium schools and in a fast growing city like Bengaluru real estate demands have made many of these households who used to dwell in the heart of the city are moving away from that geography due to increased cost of living, thereby disturbing the pattern of specific communities staying in some pockets of the city. This indicates that the city planning has to take into account all these factors to ensure easy access to education in terms of the location of the schools as well as changing parental demands for the type of schools.

School Infrastructure

Learning can occur anywhere, but there is no doubt that positive learning outcomes take place in quality learning environments. Facilities, such as a good number of classrooms and amenities inside the classrooms, space for a playground, libraries and laboratories present an overall picture of the status of the school.

Research has shown that the school's infrastructure/environment is an important factor in enhancing learning²⁰, although it is not easy to measure the specific contributory role. Howard White and Edoardo Masset (2005) demonstrate that the delivery of hardware inputs to Ghana's basic education system – building classrooms and supplying textbooks – has had a substantial impact on higher enrolments and better learning outcomes²¹. Carron & Chau (1996) found that the quality of the learning environment had a strong correlation with pupils' achievement in language and Mathematics. It is an undisputed fact that the physical infrastructure of the school is a critical element in attracting and retaining children in schools. SSA emphasizes the provision of **basic physical infrastructure** to all schools in a time bound manner allotting 33% of program allocations for civil works. SSA

²⁰ School Buildings and Student Performance in Developing Countries; www.oecd.org.

²¹ <http://ideas.repec.org/p/wpa/wuwpdc/0504013.html>; 2005.

envisages a **safe and secure, clean and hygienic school campus** with toilets, drinking water, boundary, electrification, mid-day-meal kitchen, playground and landscaping²².

The survey found that around half of the schools own their premises and the rest function in rented spaces or in spaces provided by religious and non-religious organizations on a temporary basis. About one fourth of the Urdu schools do not function in a proper school building. Some function in a shed-like structure, some in a structure that is part-pucca and part-shed and others work in semi-pucca structures. Boundary walls are deemed essential for the safety and security of young children who are vulnerable to accidents in crowded places like Bengaluru, however more than half of primary schools did not have this facility²³.

Further, the survey found that three fourth of schools had drinking water facility and 81% had electricity connection. The presence of usable toilets reflects the extent to which children's and teachers' basic needs are being looked after. Little more than half of schools reported having toilets for teachers. Less than half schools had separate toilets for girls. However, across all these categories about 20% of toilets were not in usable condition. Generally any functional toilet in the school is reserved for teachers and children cannot use the facility.

Around 38% of schools reported having a playground in their schools. Given the space being a scarce resource in urban areas, schools seem to have made no alternative provisions for their students, such as taking the children to a public playground. Space in schools seems to be another area of concern with half of schools having no separate room for the HM; it was common to see HM's room being used as a store room or a classroom due to

²² Annual Report 2007-2008, Department of School Education and Literacy, MHRD India.

²³ Vaijayanati et al Report on Status of Urdu Medium Schools in Baganlore

space constraints or shortage of staff to handle classes. More than half of schools had inadequate number of classrooms and a separate staff room or a designated room for library was not found in three fourth of the schools. In many schools children were found sitting on the bare floor and about one fourth of schools said that they have furniture.

NCF 2005 ²⁴ says that what is needed in school is not just a textbook but a package of teaching/learning material that could be used to engage the child in active learning. The textbook thus becomes a part of this package and not the only teaching/learning material. The survey found that about 80% of schools have teaching aids, such as charts, radios and tape recorders but the issue was how much of it was used.

Teacher Factor

Majority of government school teachers at elementary stage in Karnataka are women and the survey endorsed this. Teacher's experience and qualification have direct linkages with the quality. Survey found that more than one fourth of teachers had 20 years' experience; and all held required 'teaching degree'. Many surveys show that teacher absenteeism rates are high. A survey by Kremer et al. (2005) in rural India in 2003 found that, on average, 25% of teachers in government Primary schools were absent from schools on any given day. The ASER 2005 report also found teacher absentee rate at 25%. The 1999 PROBE survey found very little or no teaching activity at sample schools.²⁵ While, Akshara's survey did not report teacher absenteeism per se²⁶ but the disturbing factor was that at the time of the visit, among teachers who were present, only about half were engaged in teaching. Similar to the PROBE findings, teachers were busy chatting with their co-

²⁴ Position Paper, National Focus Group On Curriculum, Syllabus And Textbooks.

²⁵ PROBE - The Public Report of Basic Education in India was a comprehensive evaluation of the educational system in India and was conducted in 1999.

²⁶ In the case of Model Primary schools we found that there were more number of teachers working than the number sanctioned. This difference could be due to teachers sent on deputation to these schools.

workers, reading magazines or buying jewellery from vendors visiting the school. Teaching activity was reduced to a minimum in terms of both time and effort. In many cases, it was just a question of minding children in a room rather than engaging them in the teaching/learning process. Survey found that teacher accountability in terms of engaging children in meaningful teaching learning process was lacking in more than half of the schools surveyed.

Teacher's also repeatedly said that the children enrolled in these schools are from economically lower strata and they seem to have a strong belief that cognitive ability has direct link with familial background. Teachers were concerned about low parental aspirations, unsettled home backgrounds, and parents passing the socialisation buck to schools, parents' unwillingness or inability to provide educative experiences for their children or to introduce educative materials into their homes.

Return on right kind of Investment

24% of the 171 government Urdu schools in Bengaluru have less than 50 children with minimum of two teachers per school. While the policy on having a Kannada teacher in every Urdu-medium school regardless of the strength makes sense, one would also expect higher levels of learning outcomes in these schools.

A random visit to 4 such schools with small student strength showed that learning levels are not up to the mark. For instance, in one school with a total strength of 15 children and two teachers, four children and one teacher were present on the day of the visit. A std. 4 child could not read a std. 2 Urdu text book. Of the four students, three were siblings. The school was paying a monthly rent of Rs. 3,500 for its space. A rough calculation shows that the government is spending about Rs. 8,000 per child per month to run the school. Such instances raise the question of whether it is economically feasible to retain such schools. An alternative could be to move the children to a nearby larger school and provide free transportation for them to reach school which may be possible in urban areas and in rural areas the strategies have to be different.

Concluding observations

One of the key findings of the Sachar Committee is that Muslim parents are not averse to mainstream education or to sending their children to affordable government schools but a rough comparison of number of children falling in the age group of 5-14 and number of Urdu speaking children in government elementary schools show that many children are out of the schooling system. There seem to be four categories of households. The first represents the educated middle class that sends their children to English-medium schools. The second group sends their children to Madrasas only because they believe that religious education is more important than formal education. The third category represents people who send their children to government schools. Finally, the last group is made up of those people whose children are never enrolled in school.

According to the Sachar Committee, children of Muslim parents have limited access to government schools. This may not hold true in Bengaluru since access does not seem to be an area of concern. In fact, there are 4-5 Primary schools located within one kilometre from the child's home. It is possible that many of these schools were started in localities where the density of resident Muslims was high about 50 years ago. But, over a period of time these localities have been converted into commercial areas and those who resided in these locations have relocated due to the real estate boom. In this changing scenario, the Department of Education should re-examine these schools and take suitable measures, such as merging them with other schools or extending additional infrastructure to the schools, if required. Merging some of the smaller schools may be meaningful in urban areas like Bengaluru that have a shortage of space. A school complex may work better in the city, but such a facility will have to be supported by efficient transportation facilities and basic infrastructure, such as functional toilets, drinking water and mid-day-meals. Traveling a long distance, sometimes by public transport, is not a new experience for many children in

minority schools. For instance, approximately 5-10% of children in a government Urdu-medium school in Bengaluru's North block travel a distance of 10 kilometres from their homes to reach school. Therefore, it is important to look at the schooling issue as an inter-dependent factor say city planning and the access to schooling.

For all the 171 Urdu-medium Primary feeder schools, there are four government Urdu medium High schools in Bengaluru. Keeping in mind students' future employment opportunities, changing perceptions on inclusion increasing the number of Urdu-medium High schools may not be a good option. The government may have to take another look at the medium of instruction from the perspective fast changing society and the world in which today's children are growing up. Introduction of Urdu as an optional third language in the mainstream medium of instruction may be one of the suggestion. However, one also has to be cautious about the extinction of a rich language like Urdu and parents' ability to provide additional inputs literature/literary experiences to the child at home in the mother tongue.

Multi-grade teaching is a common practice in most schools. Different teachers conduct multiple classes in a single room due to space constraints. Despite the advantages of multi-grade teaching, the present challenges may persist unless there is a change in the mindset of the teacher. The pre-service teacher's training does not touch upon multi-grade teaching extensively. Students are not trained to handle multiple grades during their pre-service training. The pre-service training typically exposes students to mono-grade situations and the best scenarios in the education system. When teachers join the schools they are not equipped with TLM, pedagogy or on the job training for multi-grade teaching in Urdu.

Much has been discussed about Right to Education, but the survey found that more than half of HMs and teachers were unaware of Right to Education Act.

The educational infrastructure of many schools is in an abysmal state and needs urgent attention. School should not be seen in isolation and the overall development of the locality reflects the status of a school. With the changing complexion of the city, the urban planners need to understand that these schools can prosper only when the city's infrastructure improve. Solutions like school complexes are worth reconsidering in the light of low pupil teacher ratio with inadequate learning outcomes at the elementary school levels. The overall functionality of the school has linkages with quality in the school. There is an urgent need for the schools to provide unfailingly positive and dynamic settings for children's development and learning, and that could be highly valued by children, parents and the wider community.

Teacher accountability seems to be another critical factor. Despite teacher regularity, qualifications and experience little seems to be happening in terms of learning. Teacher motivation and accountability have direct impact on learning outcomes. There is a threat of large chunk of these children being churned out of the system with out meaningful learning. The community leaders may need to think accountability measures. The crisis seems to be the dilemma of being a minority that encourages the 'traditional community sense' and the community needs to overcome that and move towards modernization.

Quality education entails not just the teaching learning activities in school, but also the overall quality of the environment in and around the school. The community should put pressure on school authorities to provide quality education to their children. The School Development and Monitoring Committee needs to be strengthened in order to achieve this objective. While the onus is on the parents to ensure that their children are receiving a good education, there are many reasons for lack of parents' involvement in their children's schooling. Some parents are not aware of the problems in school and some are not

proactive in taking action when required. Parents have limited understanding of education and are confined to a narrow definition of schooling, which could be attributed to their social backgrounds. For instance, during one of the ‘Samudayadatta shale’ programmes, a parent-teacher interaction organized by the school at the end of the academic year, some parents said that they were not concerned about the lack of basic infrastructure, such as toilets in schools, because they did not have toilets at home. Parents also said that children come home whenever they need to use the toilet. Often children do not go back to school after using the facility and precious school time is wasted in the process. It is important to reinforce that as an institution the school should provide basic facilities to its students. Parents should be informed and made aware of ‘quality schooling’ in order to demand a better quality of education for their children. This is possible only if the State educates parents more effectively and intensively in this direction.

Finally the community needs to channelise the ‘community sense’ towards modernization and mainstreaming. The community leaders need to introspect, debate and discuss modernization of the community as a whole cutting across the classes.

Select Reference

- MW Ngware**, Quality of Primary Education Inputs in Urban Schools: Evidence From Nairobi, 2010.
- Angela W. Little**, Create Pathways to Access, Research Monograph No. 26, Institute of Education University of London, 2008.
- Hussain M**, Perspectives on Urdu Language and Education in India, Social Scientist, Vol.31, Nos. 5-6, 2003.
- Chaise La Dousa**, “Disparate Markets: Language, Nation and Education in North India.” American Ethnologist, Vol. 32, No. 3, 2005.
- Sachar Committee Report**, Social, Economic and Educational Status of the Muslim Community of India, GOI, 2006.
- Annual Report 2009-2010**, Directorate Linguistic Minority, Department of Education Karnataka.
- School Buildings and Student Performance in Developing Countries**; [www.oecd.org http://ideas.repec.org/p/wpa/wuwpdc/0504013.html](http://ideas.repec.org/p/wpa/wuwpdc/0504013.html); 2005.
- Annual Report 2007-2008**, Department of School Education and Literacy, MHRD India.
- Position Paper, National Focus Group On Curriculum**, Syllabus And Textbooks.
- PROBE** - The Public Report of Basic Education in India, 1999.
- Improving Education in Madrasas**, An Indian Case Study, USAID, 2006.
- The Hague Recommendations** -Explanatory Note.
- Report on the Socio-Economic Conditions of Muslims in India**, Indian Social Institute. Jahangirabad Media Institute Action Aid – India.