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A REPORT ON THE STATE OF URDU LITERACY IN INDIA, 2010

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A REPORT ON THE STATE OF URDU LITERACY IN INDIA, 2010

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واسطے جس شہ کے غالب گنبد بے در کھلا

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Introduction

منظور ہے گزارش احوال واقعی
اپنا بیان حسن طبیعت نہیں مجھے

What is the status of Urdu literacy in India at the turn of the twenty first century as gauged through school education? Or how many students in primary schools in various states of India are studying through Urdu as the language of instruction? How many students are learning Urdu as one of the subjects under the three (or four) language formula in various levels of schools? Have the various levels of government—central, state, and local—facilitated or obstructed learning of Urdu in various states since independence? To what can we attribute the uneven levels of Urdu literacy and education in various states? Besides schools run by the state, who are the other institutions involved in promoting Urdu literacy? This Report thus asks five critical questions as noted earlier, and answers to these questions will enable reasonable projections about the future of literacy (as opposed to orality) in and education through Urdu. Essentially, then, this Report quantifies and measures Urdu literacy in India since the 1950s. For the purposes of this Report, literacy is defined as the ability to read and write elementary Urdu in its own script of Perso-Arabic origin. The term “education through Urdu,” is defined as education through the medium of Urdu from primary to secondary level in most, if not all subjects. In answering these questions, this Report will concentrate on the question of Urdu literacy and its higher stage, education through Urdu, in the states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Delhi in northern India, and Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, and Maharashtra in southern India. The role of institutions outside the formal schools system—in particular the Madarsas will be discussed through a quantitative exercise to gauge the number of students

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involved in this stream of education through Urdu. The Report concludes with a summary of key findings and a set of immediate action proposals for reversing the decline of Urdu literacy.

The Report is based on four primary sources. These are: statistics on Urdu literacy and education provided by the Union Government's Commissioner of Linguistic Minorities located in Allahabad, U.P.; data available from the District Educational Officers of the ministries of education in various states, interviews with the officials of public organizations/NGOs, and information available from State Madarsa Boards, both official and non-official. It is surprising that previous official committees on Urdu, whether that chaired by I.K. Gujral or Ali Sardar Jaafari did not bother to collect detailed statistics running over years to get a clear picture of Urdu literacy as measured by number of pupils, schools, and teachers in the nation. Neither did the well-funded National Council for the Promotion of Urdu Language run by the Ministry of Human Resource Development.¹

Before the advent of British rule on the subcontinent at the dawn of the nineteenth century, Indians received education through two patterns. One, shaped by vocational relevance was given in locally dominant languages to cope with the day-to-day needs of society. The other pattern was to provide education to the elites—sons of literati, the ruling class and high officials—by readings of scriptures and historical texts through classical language such as Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian in Pathshalas, Gurukul, Maktabas and Madarsas. During the Mughals and its immediate successor states in the subcontinent, the language of the royal courts, diplomacy, higher levels of administration, judiciary, and revenue

¹ Interview with Director Hamidullah Bhatt, New Delhi 9 December 2005; interview with Ali Jawid, New Delhi May 14, 2010. Jawid was director from April 2007 to January 2009.

collection was Persian.² With the consolidation of the colonial rule, the British abolished Persian (in 1836) as the language of judiciary and administration, replacing it with English. The British administration could not resolve or was not interested in resolving the three basic issues of education: the content, the spread, and the medium or language of instruction. While sons of the Indian elite were educated in English schools in urban areas, right from the primary level, the large masses of the population went to schools imparting education through regionally dominant languages in eastern, southern and western India. However, in large chunks of British territories of Punjab, Northwest Frontier, Oudh, United Provinces (modern UP), the princely states of Hyderabad and Kashmir were exceptions to the rule, where Urdu became the language of instruction in schools, and remained so until the late 1940s. During the long years of struggle for independence, nationalist leaders such as Gopal Krishna Gokhale, (1866-1915), Mohandas Gandhi, (1869-1948) and intellectuals like Muhammad Iqbal, (1876-1938), Rabindranath Tagore, (1861-1941) and Mawlawi Abdul Haq (1870-1961) saw the need for universal elementary education through mother tongue. They hoped that education through mother tongue would be the agent and catalyst for liberation from the European intellectual hegemony, which they thought was as much necessary as political freedom from the colonial power. In Hyderabad, in his Dominions, the enlightened Nizam, Mir Osman Ali Khan (reigned 1911 to 1948) established a full-fledged, well-funded Osmania University in 1917 that imparted higher education through Urdu given that it was the language of instruction throughout the state.³

² A summary of education in medieval India is by Aziz Ahmad, *An Intellectual History of Islam in India*, (Edinburgh: University Press, 1969), pp. 52-65.

³ Haroon Khan Sherwani, "Osmania University: First Phase, Urdu Medium" pp. 237-247, in *Studies in Indian Culture: Ghulam Yazdani Commemoration Volume*, edited by H.K. Sherwani, (Hyderabad, 1962). It is ironic that one of the Language in India www.languageinindia.com

Language Issues and the Constitution

Given the immense linguistic diversity of India, it is unsurprising that there are constitutional provision governing the use of languages in education and administration.⁴ The national constitution adopted in January 1950, divides power to enforce decisions on language between the center and the states. Education is primarily a state subject. Article 345 of the Constitution gives the states the power to adopt whatever languages they choose for official purposes within their territory. However, state powers with regard to language policies are not limitless. The Constitution guarantees certain rights to linguistic minorities, which the state are obliged to provide. Article 20 guarantees the right of citizens in any part of India to preserve their distinct language, script or culture. Article 30 guarantees minorities “whether based on religion or language...their right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice,” and to receive state aid for such institutions without discrimination. Article 350A obliges every state and local authority to “provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother-tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups.” Article 350B establishes a “Special Officer for Linguistic Minorities,” to be appointed by the President to report on “all matters relating to the safeguards provided for linguistic minorities under the constitution. These

first acts of the Indian Military Governor J.N. Chaudhuri was to forcibly change the language of instruction at Osmania from Urdu into English after the Operation Polo of September 1948.

⁴ For the question of “official,” language status, meant for communicating matters of state administration, see Omar Khalidi, ““Politics of Official Language Status for Urdu in India,” *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies* 28, 3 (Spring 2004): 53-77.

reports are then placed before parliament and sent to the state governments. By any measure, the Indian constitutional provisions appear liberal and fair to the minorities. But Indian constitution, like constitutions everywhere is not a self-enforcing document. It requires the executive branch of the government to implement that which is promised in the constitutions. A series of education ministers' conference decisions, memorandums of Indian government, chief ministers' conference decisions since 1949 clearly and unambiguously provide safeguards to the linguistic minorities as detailed in almost every annual report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities since 1956. Most recently, in 2007, the National Commission for Religious and Linguistic Minorities in a report compiled by a former Chief Justice Ranganath Mishra, unambiguously recommended that "the three language formula should be implemented everywhere in the country making it compulsory for the authorities to include in it the mother tongue of every child—including especially Urdu and Punjabi."⁵

In other words, every state in India is under obligation to provide primary education in mother tongue. For instruction in mother tongue at the secondary stage of education, "a minimum strength of 60 pupils in the last four classes and 15 pupils in each class will be necessary, provided that for the first four years, strength of 15 in each class will be sufficient."⁶ In other words, this liberal regime is the framework for providing education at primary and secondary level for

⁵ *Report of the National Commission on Religious and Linguistic Minorities*, (New Delhi: Ministry of Minority Affairs, 2007), available on

http://www.imc-usa.org/files/NCRLM_Ranganath_Misra_Report.pdf

⁶ Commissioner of Linguistic Minorities in India, 17th *Annual Report*, for the year 1974-1975 (Allahabad: CLM, 1976), p. 5.

children of linguistic minorities throughout the nation. But are constitutional guarantees and executive decisions actually implemented? In order to examine the implementation of constitutional guarantees to the linguistic minorities, each state merits separate treatment given the wide variation in the attitude of governing political parties in various states. As discussed earlier, we will examine literacy in and education through Urdu in six states, beginning with Uttar Pradesh as it contains the largest number of Urdu speakers.

Uttar Pradesh: Eclipse of Urdu



A telling picture of UP: no Urdu sign but exhortation in Hindi to learn English in Lucknow in August 2007. Photo by TwoCircles.net

Shortly after independence in mid August 1947, while almost all Indian languages took their rightful place in education, administration and as the medium of mass communication, Urdu did not. It did not for two reasons. First, unlike the speakers of most languages, the speakers of Urdu were not concentrated in one compact geographic region or state to enable political support for the language. They were a minority of speakers everywhere. That situation remains unchanged. The Language in India www.languageinindia.com 35

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second reason was political, particularly in Uttar Pradesh. Unlike the liberal and secular vision of the Congress Party faction led by Mohandas Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and C. Rajagopalacharya, the Hindutva faction of Congress Party led by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and provincial leaders in Uttar Pradesh opposed Urdu as they perceived it synonymous with Muslim culture. Puroshottamdas Tandon, a senior leader of the Congress Party fulminated in a speech on 15 June 1948, warning “Muslims must stop talking about a culture and civilization foreign to our country and genius. They should accept Indian culture. One culture and one language will pave the way for real unity. Urdu symbolizes a foreign culture. Hindi alone can be the unifying factor for all the diverse forces in the country.”⁷ Pundit Govind Ballabh Pant, a Congress leader, (UP Chief Minister 1946 to 1954), speaking in the Constituent Assembly implicitly denied that Urdu was a language distinct from Hindi, characterizing the demand for teaching of Urdu as an “idea of separatism,” and a “bogey,” raised by proponents of “two nation theory.”⁸ In October 1947, the Congress-dominated UP Legislative Assembly voted a Hindi-only policy in the state over the objection of the Opposition Muslim League. The Leaguers walked out in protest, to the sounds of Congress Party legislators calling out, “Don’t come back; go to Pakistan.”⁹

Another Congress leader Sampurnanand (UP Chief Minister from 1954 to 1960), arrogated to himself the role as a definer of Urdu, declaring it “not ... a separate language but merely a style of Hindi in which words of Arabic and Persian

⁷ *National Herald* (Lucknow) 15 June 1948, p. 7.

⁸ *Constituent Assembly Debates, Official Report 7*, New Delhi, 1949), pp. 913-916.

⁹ *Pioneer*, Lucknow, 5 November 1947, p. 1.

derivation form a high percentage.”¹⁰ Echoing the views of the Congress leaders, the Central Working Committee of the Bharatya Jana Sangh (BJS, the earlier incarnation of Bharatya Janata Party, BJP), declared Urdu to be “the language of no region in India, it being only a foreign and unacceptable style of Hindi with a foreign script and foreign vocabulary imposed on India during a period of foreign domination.”¹¹ Writing in *Organizer*, the BJS mouthpiece, the Party President Deen Dayal Upadhyaya, supported the Congress Chief Minister’s notion that Urdu was a foreign imposition.¹² The views of the UP political leaders—whether of Congress or otherwise-- remained the same over several decades. Chaudhuri Charan Singh, who started out as a Congressman and later formed a party of his own, and eventually became a prime minister, believed that “Urdu was imposed by Turks or Mongols (sic) who came from outside; and Urdu was one of the principal causes of India’s partition.”¹³ Banarasi Das (chief minister from 1979 to 1980) and Sripat Misra (1982-1984) both simply denied that Urdu was a language distinct from Hindi. In their respective terms of office, both claimed UP to be a monolingual state and rejected demand for Urdu education as they claimed it would lead to another partition. When Muslim leaders pleaded for simultaneous development of Hindi and Urdu shortly after independence, Banarasi Das, “opposed this idea, arguing that Urdu was the product of conquest and that support for it showed that the theory of two nations survived

¹⁰ Sampurnanand, *Memories and Reflections*, (Bombay: Asia, 1962), pp. 92-93.

¹¹ *Central Working Committee of BJS Documents*, V, 8 May 1954, pp. 21-22, as cited in B.D. Graham, *Hindu Nationalism and Indian Politics*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 118.

¹² Deen Dayal Upadhyaya, “The Politics of Urdu,” *Organizer* (26 May 1958), p. 4.

¹³ Khushwant Singh, “Charan Singh and Urdu,” *The Illustrated Weekly of India* (11 December 1977), pp. 15-16.

partition.”¹⁴ Congress Chief Minister from 1985-1988, Vir Bahadur Singh’s first order upon assuming charge was to “remove the name plaque in Urdu from his office.”¹⁵ In an intemperate attack on Urdu speakers, a Congress minister Vasudev Singh “wanted Urdu supporters to be paraded in the streets on the back of donkeys,” during a debate on official language status in UP Legislative Assembly in July 1985, according to press reports.¹⁶ Although widely and often regarded as sympathetic to minorities, a former chief minister Mulayam Singh insensitively suggested Urdu speakers to change the script of their language.¹⁷ During the tenure of his ministry, the official examination papers for the Fifth class of schools run by Anjuman-i Tarraqi-i Urdu were given in Hindi alphabets despite protest.¹⁸ To their credit, the Nehru faction of the Congress Party, the Communist Parties of India, and a broad spectrum of intelligentsia supported Urdu’s teaching. But they proved no match for Urdu’s detractors in Uttar Pradesh both within and without the ruling Congress Party.

The position of Urdu speaking population and Muslim population over the decades can be seen in the table noted below.

Table I

¹⁴ *Statesman* (New Delhi) 20 September 1951, p. 5.

¹⁵ Salamat Ali Mahdi, “Without Comment,” *Muslim India* (November 1985), p. 525.

¹⁶ *Northern India Patrika* (Lucknow) 16 July 1985, as cited in Selma K. Sonntag, “The Political Saliency of Language in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh,” *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 34, 2 (July 1996): 1-18, citation on p. 16, footnote 48.

¹⁷ D. Gidwani, “Wrong Script: War of Words over Urdu,” *India Today* (28 February 1994), p. 20.

¹⁸ Statement of Sultana Hayat, President of the Anjuman as published in *Nida-yi Millat* (Lucknow) 19 May 1991, p. 18.

Urdu Population and Muslim Population in Uttar Pradesh

Year	Percentage of Urdu Speakers to total population	Percentage of Muslims	Coefficient	Total Urdu Speakers in millions
1951	6.8	14.28		
1961	10.70	14.62		
1971	10.49	15.48		
1981	10.50	15.93	67	9.27
1991	9.15	17.3	51.8	12.49
2001	8.98	18.5		13.3

What does the ideological pronouncement of UP leaders opposed to Urdu suggest? The political and cultural leaders of Uttar Pradesh see India in general and their state in particular as a monolingualistic and monocultural entity. In their thinking it is not enough to promote Hindi, but it also necessary to demote and deny Urdu in order to fulfill the aim of a homogeneous India, captured in the slogan, "Hindi, Hindu, Hindustan," coined by Pratap Narayan Mishra.¹⁹ Thus it is unsurprising that the state governments of UP whether dominated by the Congress Party, or run by coalitions, or controlled by BJP, Samajwadi Party, Bahujan Samaj Party, all have consistently denied the simple, straightforward, constitutional demand of Urdu speakers for primary school education through the mother tongue. What Urdu speakers were asking was nothing more than a continuation of the right to learn their own language, a right that was not denied

¹⁹ Cited in Omar Khalidi, "Hinduising India: Secularism in Practice," *Third World Quarterly* 29, 8 (2008): 1545-1562.

during the colonial era. In U.P. during the colonial era, “the media of instruction were both Urdu and Hindi. Those who took Urdu as a first language subject had to read Hindi as a second language and vice versa...There was no question of Urdu or Hindi teachers as no teacher was confirmed in service unless he showed his competence to teach through both Urdu and Hindi by passing a prescribed examination.”²⁰ It changed swiftly after independence. How did the UP administration go about denying Urdu speakers’ their basic right? Brushing aside any claims of Urdu speakers, the UP Government declared Hindi in Devanagari letters as the sole language of civil and criminal courts on 8 October 1947. Two years later the UP Board of High School and Intermediate Education decided that only Hindi would be the medium of examination for high schools from 1951 onwards and for Intermediate classes from 1953.²¹ Reacting to the unjust move of the UP Board of High School, poet Anand Narayan Mulla penned the oft-quoted couplet:

یہ حادثہ سالِ چہل و نو میں جو ہوا
ہندی کی چھری تھی اور اردو کا گلا
اردو کے ادیبوں میں جو مقتول ہوئے

²⁰ Qazi Mohammad Adil Abbasi, *Aspects of Politics and Society: Memoirs of a Veteran Congressman*, (New Delhi: Marwah, 1981), p. 145.

²¹ *Report of the Uttar Pradesh Language Committee*, August 1962, chaired by Acharya Kripalani, (Lucknow: Government of Uttar Pradesh, 1963), p. 38.

مُلا نامی سنا ہے شاعر بھی تھا

This tragedy that took place in 1949
Involved Hindi's dagger drawn against Urdu's throat
Among those writers murdered in this tragedy
Was a poet named Mulla!

The first subject prescribed in primary school syllabus is Hindi and is called as *Matra Bhasha* mother tongue, regardless of whether it happens to be or not in every case. These measures struck at the root of literacy in and education through Urdu at the primary and secondary levels. Furthermore, the UP Education Code 80(4) makes it mandatory for any recognized secondary school to have Hindi as the language of instruction. Anti-Urdu ideology of the UP Congress led to draconian measures struck at the core issue of Urdu literacy: the right to primary education through mother tongue. Throughout the 1950s, supporters of Urdu speaker led by Anjuman-i Tarraqi-i Urdu (Association for the Promotion of Urdu) and numerous other organizations petitioned the President of India, met the successive chief ministers and education ministers of UP, wrote memorandums to appropriate authorities at various levels of government, but to no avail. One major instance of Urdu struggle of the 1950s, was the memorandum signed by two and a half million people which was presented to the head of state, seeking presidential intervention to safeguard their mother tongue. Zakir Husain submitted the memorandum in 1954. The memorandum, among other demands, asked for no more than the implementation of the constitutional rights for instruction at primary and secondary levels in mother tongue. The President

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would of course not intervene, unless requested by the Prime Minister. The state authorities in Lucknow remained adamant in obstructing literacy in and education through Urdu in UP. The annual reports of the Commissioner of Linguistic Minorities are replete with specific examples by which the UP administration denied learning of Urdu: limiting facilities for Urdu-speakers only to classes where there are ten such students or schools where there are forty Urdu-speaking students; failure to provide such facilities in some schools even where the requisite number of pupils existed. Even when the Urdu-speaking parents met the difficult conditions imposed by the state, authorities failed to provide mother tongue education.²² All that the Urdu speakers' struggle of the 1950s produced was a "press note," directly addressed to no one in particular and certainly without the threat of a punitive measure if the recommendations were not put in practice. At the suggestion of Congress Party, the Union Ministry of Home Affairs, through a press note on 14 July 1958, recommended:²³

Facilities should be provided for instruction and examination in the Urdu language at the primary stage to all children whose mother tongue is declared by the parent or guardian to be Urdu.

Arrangements should be made for the training of teachers and for providing suitable textbooks in Urdu.

Facilities for instruction in Urdu should also be provided in the secondary stage of education.

²² *Report of the Commissioner of Linguistic Minorities*, VI (Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1961), pp. 9-10; 135.

²³ *Report of the Committee of Parliament on Official Language, 1958*, (New Delhi, 1959), Annexure IV, pages, 115-117.

Oddly, it was the Ministry of Home Affairs, not the Ministry of Education that issued the “recommendations.” Regardless, the UP administration was not moved. While admitting of certain administrative lapses in the provision of Urdu’s teaching, it persisted in the view that Urdu was not a distinct language in the first place, that there was a certain percentage of Urdu speakers in the state, but not a whole community of its speakers whose rights needed to be respected, and finally that Urdu could not be promoted as it would interfere with the projection of Hindi as the sole official language in the state.²⁴ In fact, in 1963, the UP Government amended the Three Language Formula which substituted mother tongue—regardless of what it happened to be—by Hindi as the first language, classical Sanskrit along with other modern Indian languages as a second language, and English as the third. Sanskrit, a classical, not a modern language was lumped together with “modern,” languages with a purpose. Given the lack of teachers in “other modern Indian languages,” it was impractical to impart them, so by default Sanskrit was introduced. The third language choice was English, which no pupil or parent wanted to ignore. Thus Urdu was eliminated through a seemingly innocuous mechanism, though it was clear to all and sundry what the intent was. Although even with this amendment Urdu could still qualify as a modern Indian language, yet facilities for teaching Urdu were deliberately not made available, thus forcing students to learn Sanskrit.²⁵ Evidently, subsequent amendments introduced twenty years later further curtailed learning of Urdu.²⁶ The decade of

²⁴ Paul Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in North India*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp.204-207.

²⁵ “How Urdu Was Killed in Uttar Pradesh Through Bracketing it With Sanskrit,” *Muslim India* (August 1983),, p. 357, which reproduces the text of UP Government Order dated 16 March 1963.

²⁶ Khalilur Rab, “Last Nail in the Coffin of Urdu in UP: New School Syllabus Banishes Urdu Even as a Third Language,” *Muslim India* (October 1984), p. 462.

the 1960s passed without any ameliorative measure by the center or the state, despite a litany of complaints, memorandums, deputations and petitions to the appropriate authorities at the center and state. Nearly a quarter century passed and a full generation of Urdu speaking pupils lost their birthright to learn their language before the union government appointed a *non-statutory* advisory committee headed by Inder Kumar Gujral on 5 May 1972. Gujral was then a Minister of State for Works and Housing in the union cabinet. Officially called Committee for the Promotion of Urdu, but unofficially as Gujral Committee, “it was requested to advise the Government on the measures to be adopted for the promotion of Urdu language, and the steps required to be taken to provide adequate facilities for Urdu speaking in educational, cultural and administrative matters.”²⁷ It must be noted that the Committee was merely advisory in nature, not statutory in character, whose recommendations would be binding on the state. The Committee presented its report to the Union Ministry of Education on 8 May 1975. Soon after the Reports’ presentation, in a political measure unrelated to the Report, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi declared a state of emergency in June 1975, effectively suspending democratic rights in the nation. According to Gujral, when the Report was presented in the Cabinet “Indira Gandhi was keen to accept and implement the Report in its totality...To her surprise and my dismay, Jagjivan Ram [the then minister for Irrigation and Agriculture], opposed it vehemently. He was not objecting to a particular recommendation or any other—he just did not want to look at the Report. “You want to equate Urdu with Hindi by the back door,” he said. Both Nurul Hasan [the then Minister for

²⁷ Available online on the website of Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India,

<http://www.education.nic.in/cd50years/u/47/3Y/toc.htm>

Accessed on 2 January 2010.

Education] and I tried to explain that the Report had in no way to tried to resurrect the old rivalry syndrome...But Babuji [i.e. Jagjivan Ram] was unrelenting. “No, no, he said, forcefully, while others [in the Cabinet meeting] chose not to intervene. Mrs. Gandhi watched quietly. Those were the early days of the Emergency and she was not too sure about Babuji’s latent attitude. Instinctively, she felt that he was seeking an issue to embarrass her. She therefore thought it expedient to close the discussion and told Nurul Hasan, “We will look at it later.” This evasive instruction consigned the laboriously worked Report to the dark dungeons of the Ministry’s archives.”²⁸ The end of the Emergency, and the Congress Party’s defeat in 1977 national general elections brought a new government at the Center. The Report was nearly forgotten when the new government presented it to the parliament on 21 February 1979. There was nothing original or revolutionary in the Report. It merely presented the legitimate, basic, constitutional, and fundamental linguistic rights of a minority group. Among other measures, the Report recommended the teaching of Urdu in primary education for those who claim it to be their mother tongue. At secondary level of education, it suggested amendment to the Three Language Formula that would allow teaching of Urdu as one subject in various states. ²⁹ What action did the first non-Congress Central government and the various state governments including UP took on the recommendations of the Report? None whatsoever! When she returned to power a second time in 1980, Indira Gandhi had forgotten the Gujral Report. Just as the Congress government under Indira Gandhi had taken no action on the Report, so also the government under her son and

²⁸ I.K. Gujral, “Report on Urdu,” *Seminar* 332 (April 1987): 26-29, citation on page 27.

²⁹ Ibid.

successor Rajiv Gandhi took no action to implement Gujral's recommendations. On 30 July 1987, the Central government issued a bland statement in the parliament: "The Cabinet decided that since most of the recommendations of the Report would have to be implemented by the states, copies of the Report may be sent to the state governments for their views. Accordingly copies of the Gujral Committee Report were made available to all the state governments...for consideration and comments."³⁰ Instead of acting on the recommendations of Gujral Report, the central government constituted yet another Committee to Examine Implementation of the Recommendation of Gujral Committee for Promotion of Urdu, on 15 February 1990 chaired by Ali Sardar Jaafari, (1913-2000), a Bombay-based leftist poet. The Committee headed by Jaafari found that "education has been brought to the Concurrent list as a result of the 42nd Amendment to the Constitution in 1976. Although it was a far reaching step with regard to the sharing of responsibility between Union government and the States, no benefits have accrued to the Urdu speaking population by this measure. The Gujral Committee's recommendation to set up Urdu primary schools where there are 10 percent or more of Urdu speaking people has not been implemented by any of the States. In Uttar Pradesh, for example, **there is not a single Government Urdu medium secondary school.**³¹ The Gujral Committee's recommendation regarding the Three Language Formula has not been implemented in any of the States in its true spirit."³² Ironically, when I.K. Gujral became the Prime Minister in

³⁰ "Government Statement on the Implementation of Gujral Committee's Recommendation on Urdu," *Muslim India* (September 1987), p. 416.

³¹ Yet it does not prevent the Government from claiming their existence, as noted in CLM reports cited up to 1980s.

³² <http://www.education.nic.in/cd50years/u/47/3X/toc.htm>

April 1997, he took no steps to implement his own recommendations on Urdu. In doing so, he was not alone. He was merely emulating his predecessors. Zakir Husain similarly forgot his earlier passion for Urdu in 1967 upon elevation as President of India. Even earlier, Jawaharlal Nehru, despite his liberal outlook did not pressure the state government of Uttar Pradesh on his government's advocacy for teaching Urdu in primary education. By not coming down hard on the Uttar Pradesh government's anti-Urdu policy, a manifest violation of the constitutional provisions, the Nehru administration and every successive union government is complicit in the state-directed culturecide, as can be seen from the statistics of Urdu speakers' declining number over the decade in various states.

SPEAKERS OF LANGUAGES 1971, 1981, 1991 & 2001: COMPARITIVE STATISTICS

Language	Persons who returned the language as their mother tongue			Percentage to total population				
	1971	1981	1991	2001	1971	1981 ¹	1991 ³	2001 ⁴
INDIA	548,159,652	665,287,849	838,583,988	1,028,610,328	97.14	89.23	97.05	96.56
1 Hindi	202,767,971	257,749,009	329,518,087	422,048,642	36.99	38.74	39.29	41.03
2 Bengali	44,792,312	51,298,319	69,595,738	83,369,769	8.17	7.71	8.30	8.11
3 Telugu	44,756,923	50,624,611	66,017,615	74,002,856	8.16	7.61	7.87	7.19
4 Marathi	41,765,190	49,452,922	62,481,681	71,936,894	7.62	7.43	7.45	6.99
5 Tamil ²	37,690,106	**	53,006,368	60,793,814	6.88	**	6.32	5.91
6 Urdu	28,620,895	34,941,435	43,406,932	51,536,111	5.22	5.25	5.18	5.01

1,2,3,4** Figures not available for 1981 for Tamil. Source is Census of India

How can we interpret this data? It appears that the absolute number of almost all major languages is decreasing compares to Hindi. In the absence of direct,

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verifiable evidence, one can infer that the number and percentage of Hindi speakers is growing on account of three reasons. One is that the administration has aggressively pursued a policy of monolingualism in Uttar Pradesh by denying school instruction in Urdu since more than half a century. Two generations of Urdu speakers have passed with no opportunity to learn their mother tongue. Consequently, it is fair to infer that those educated—and educated for the first time—in any language happened to be literate only in Hindi, and consequently enumerated that language in census as mother tongue.³³ In number of instances, the census enumerators have deliberately enumerated Hindi as the language of Urdu speakers as illustrated in numerous instances.³⁴ Hindi is also growing at the expense of Punjabi in Delhi, Haryana and Punjab and among Punjabis living in other states. The sorry state of Urdu literacy is can be seen through the statistics for instruction at the primary and secondary stages of education in Uttar Pradesh from 1955-56 to 2005-2006.

Table II

Urdu Medium Enrollment in Primary Schools in UP, 1955-2010

Year	No of schools	No of students	No of teachers	Source of Info. & Remarks
1955-56		73, 704		CLM/Brass

³³ M. Ishaq, "Levels of Language Retention among Muslims in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh," pp. 117-126, in *Muslims in India Since Independence: A Regional Perspective*, edited by M. Hashim Qureshi, (New Delhi: Institute of Objective Studies, 1998), based on 1981 census.

³⁴ Dr. A.J. Faridi, Paul Brass, op. cit., p. Sayyid Hamid, "Mardum Shumari Ya Mardum Bizari," *Nida-yi Millat* (24 March 1991), pp. 11-12.

1956-57		77, 827		Ditto
1957-58		65, 324		Ditto
1958-59		55, 067		Ditto
1960-61		100, 465		Ditto
1961-62		111, 779		Ditto
1962-63		121, 570		Ditto
1963-64		153, 699		Ditto
1964-65		182, 396		Ditto
Year	No of schools	No of students	No of teachers	Source of Info. & Remarks
1965-66		231, 383		Ditto
1966-67		225, 922		Ditto
1968-69	2061	230,577	5000	CLM Report July 1069-June 1970, p.119.
1969-70				Data not furnished, CLM Report July 1069-June 1970, p.119.
1970-71	1780	213,528	39,944	Data pertains to 43 districts; number of teachers seems high, CLM Report, July 1972-June 1973, p. 214.
1971-72	2009	242,608	5030	CLM Report, July 1973-June 1974,p.207.
1972-73	2088	257,435	5417	CLM Report, July 1973-June 1974, p.207.
1973-74	2162	252,420	5338	CLM Report, July 1975-June 1976, p. 209.
1974-75	2546	274,633	6436	CLM Report, July 1975-June 1976, p.209.
1975-76	4967	279714	6696	CLM Report, July 1980-June 1981, p.33.

1976-77	2616	211236	5517	CLM Report, July 1980-June 1981, p.33.
1977-79				Not furnished, CLM Report, July 1980-June 1981,p.353.
1979-80	1735	210,192	5733	CLM Report, July 1981-June 1982, p.336.
1980-81	1715	213205	5442	CLM Report, July 1982-June 1983, p. 348.
1981-82	1718	222437	5446	CLM Report, July 1983-June 1984, p. 448.
1982-83				Not furnished, CLM Report, July 1982-June 1983, p. 348.
1983-84	842	97,727	2331	CLM Report, July 1984-June 1985,p. 384.
1984-85				Not furnished by government, CLM Report, July 1985-June 1986, p. 51.
Year	No of schools	No of students	No of teachers	Source of Info. & Remarks
1985-86				Not furnished by government, CLM Report, July 1985-June 1986, p. 51.
1986-87	768	103572	2847	CLM Report July 1988-June 1989, p. 110. There are 8423 attached sections in schools teaching through Urdu.
1987-88	422	97761	2117	CLM Report July 1988-June 1989, p. 110. There are 526 attached sections in schools teaching through Urdu.
1988-89				GAP
1989-90	422	97761	2117	30 th Report of CLM repeats info based given for 1987-88.
1990				Conflicting data in Jaafari Report, p. 69.
1990-91				No data in CLM Report July 1990-June

				1991.
1991-92				GAP
1992-93				No data in CLM Report July 1992-June 1993.

CLM/Brass= Paul Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in North India*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p. 208.

No data in CLM Report July 2000-June 2001, July 2002-June 2003; or CLM Report July 2004-June 2005. The CLM Report for July 2005-June 2006, the UP Government reported “that there are 422 schools where Urdu is the medium of instruction. There are 422 teachers and about 8,000 students. Another 6, 974 schools are mentioned where Urdu...is taught as a subject. The number of teachers is 3,900 and that of students about 3.88 lakhs. It appears that detailed information about the number of students is not gathered and hence, approximate figures are given. The number of Urdu teachers is, prima facie, short of requirements. It is pertinent to mention that on an earlier occasion during the visit of Deputy CLM, it was found that there were no Urdu schools in Varanasi, Mau and Azamgarh and no statistics were available even at the district level. CLM has not been aware of any improvement in the situation.”³⁵

The CLM data as shown in Paul Brass’s study reveals that in the decade of 1956-1966, less than three percent of total enrollment in primary schools of UP enrolled in Urdu medium schools.³⁶

Table III

³⁵ CLM Report, July 2005-June 2006, p. 45.

³⁶ Paul Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in North India*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p.

Urdu Medium Enrollment in Secondary Schools in UP, 1955-1985

Year	No of Schools	No. of Students	No. of Teacher	Source of info. & Remarks
1955-56		5,432		CML/Brass
1956-57		5,308		Ditto
1957-58		5,393		Ditto
1958-59		5,591		Ditto
1959-60		14,699		Ditto
1960-61		14,827		Ditto
1961-62		20,509		Ditto
1962-63		26,491		Ditto
1963-64		33,227		Ditto
1964-65		37,682		Ditto
1965-66		37,699		Ditto
1966-67		43,248		Ditto
1967-68	634	43,240	701	CLM Report, July 1969-June 1970, p. 127
Year	No of Schools	No. of Students	No. of Teacher	Source of info. & Remarks
1968-69	689	49,114	814	CLM Report, July 1969-June 1970, p.128. Data pertaining to 50 districts.
1969-70				GAP
1970-71	393	26,739	664	CLM Report, July 1972-June 1973, p. 228.
1971-72	610	47,461	939	CLM Report, July 1973-June

				1974, p. 221.
1972-73	619	47489	965	CLM Report, July 1973-June 1974, p. 221.
1973-74	521	48735	768	CLM Report July 1974-June 1975, p. 268.
1974-75	107	59593	1835	CLM Report, p. 221. Steep fall in number of schools & inexplicable increase of teachers.
1975-78				Data not furnished, CLM Annual Report, July 1976-June 1977, p. 221.
1978-79				Data not furnished, CLM Report, July 1976-June 1977, p. 221.
1979-80	87	93400	2497	CLM Report, July 1981-June 1982, p. 343.
1980—81	86	106687	2641	CLM Report, July 1982-June 1983, p. 359.
1981-82	149	104731	2550	CLM Report, July 1983-June 1984, p. 455.
1982-83	206	45,647	926	CLM Report, July 1984-June 1985, p. 391. Steep fall in number of students and teachers.
Year	No of Schools	No. of Students	No. of Teacher	Source of info. & Remarks
1983-85				Data not furnished. CLM Report, July 1984-June 1985, p. 391

1985-6				No data, as the State government does not permit Urdu medium schools at secondary level. CLM Report, July 1985-July 1986, p. 52
1986-87	24	3650	1028	CLM Report, July 1988-June 1989, p. 113. Subject students 40023.
1987-88	218	17490	2878	CLM Report, July 1988-June 1989, p. 113. Subject students 54937. Great discrepancy between 1986-87 and 1987-88 figures.
1988-89				GAP
1989-90				30 th CLM Report repeats info for the year 1987-88.
1990-91				No data in CLM Report July 1990-June 1991.
1991-92				GAP
1992-93				No data in CLM Report July 1992-June 1993.

No statistics about UP in any subsequent CLM Reports about Urdu medium secondary schools in UP or statistics about number of secondary schools in which Urdu is taught as a subject and teachers involved. In 1990, the Jaafari Report

noted that “in Uttar Pradesh...there is not a single Government Urdu medium secondary school.”³⁷ Thus it is unsurprising that there are no statistics to report.

Situation Since the 1990s

In the absence of official statistics maintained by the appropriate authority in the relevant department, one is forced to depend on other sources such as surveys. Aijazuddin Ahmad did one such survey in early 1990s. According to this survey only 16.47 percent of all Muslim literates in UP (which are in poor numbers) were educated through Urdu.³⁸ The Aligarh Muslim University runs 7 high and secondary schools, some of which are Urdu medium. But the quality of education is evidently so poor.³⁹ The consequences of no-Urdu in education policies of the successive UP administrations have borne fruit. Fully two generations of Urdu-speakers have passed without being able to study their mother tongue. Consequently, a large number of Uttar Pradesh Muslims are unable to identify Urdu as their mother tongue in the census returns as shown in M. Ishtiaq's study.⁴⁰ The Hamdard Education Society's 1991-1993 survey conducted in four urban centers—Sambhal, Firozabad, Ghazipur and Zamania—shows that of all the Muslim literates, only 26.64 received primary education through Urdu which

³⁷ Jaafari Report, p. 12.

³⁸ Aijazuddin Ahmad, *Muslims in India: Their Educational...Survey*, IV (New Delhi: Inter-India Publications, 1996)p. 159.

³⁹ Muhammad Mahmud Fayzabadi, “Muslim University ke Schooli Nizam main Urdu,” *Urdu Duniya* (July 2000), pp. 33-34.

⁴⁰ M. Ishtiaq, “Levels of Language Retention among Muslims in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh,” pp. 117-126, in *Muslims in India Since Independence*, edited by M. Hashim Qureshi, (New Delhi: Institute of Objective Studies, 1998).

dwindles to 8.84 percent at middle level, shrinks to a further 2.87 percent at high school level, dipping at a mere 2.55 percent at junior college (10+2) stage.⁴¹ Unlike UP, Ishtiaq shows that retention of Urdu as enumerated in census is marginally better in Delhi where there are more schools teaching Urdu.

Appointment of Urdu Teachers

In 1959-1960, Urdu teachers numbered around 30,000.⁴² Due to the anti-Urdu policy of the state, they whittled down to a mere 5000 in 1970-1971, a decade later.⁴³ Evidently the government created 5000 posts in 1984, though teachers actually working were less than 10,000.⁴⁴ Activists in UP complained to Jaafari Committee that “a large number of Urdu teachers...are forced to teach subjects other than Urdu,” and “a sizeable number of teachers are not qualified to teach Urdu.”⁴⁵ Whatever be the exact number of teachers, By the mid 1980s and early 1990s, it had come down further. During his second tenure as chief minister Mulayam Singh Yadav’s government issued an order (G.O. no. 205-15-5-94-208 dated 04 November 1994), advertising 5000 teacher posts for 13, 866 schools. The government further added another 131 teacher posts lying vacant from the previous year, thus raising the number of posts to 6131. Out of the total posts of 6131, the government filled only 4182 posts. The number of teachers appointed is

⁴¹ Aijazuddin Ahmad, *Muslims in India: Their Educational...Survey*, IV (New Delhi: Inter-India Publications, 1996)p. 159.

⁴² “Neglect of Urdu,” *Economic and Political Weekly* (24 August 1984), p. 1410.

⁴³ Jaafari Report, p. 86.

⁴⁴ Jaafari Report, p. 86.

⁴⁵ Jaafari Report, p. 86.

way short of those actually needed.⁴⁶ The UP administration informed Commissioner of Linguistic Minorities in 1999 that it had appointed 7, 799 Urdu teachers.⁴⁷ In subsequent years, 2002, 2006, 2007, there are reports about further appointments, but the numbers are still less than required.⁴⁸ Evidently, Achala Khanna, Director of the UP State Educational Research and Training Council filed an affidavit in a court affirming that “Urdu is not taught in primary schools in UP and hence there is no need of appointing Urdu teachers.”⁴⁹ The Allahabad High Court thus ordered cancellation of the appointment of 13, 000 Urdu teachers on the grounds that Urdu as a medium of instruction is not permitted under UP Basic Education Teachers Rules, 1991.⁵⁰ Oddly, there is only one Junior Basic Training Institute for Urdu medium primary school teachers in all of Uttar Pradesh.⁵¹

Textbooks

⁴⁶ A.R. Fatihi, “Urdu in the Educational System of Uttar Pradesh,” pp. in Sociolinguistics and Language Education: A Festschrift for Dr.D.P. Pattanayak, (New Delhi: Creative, 2001); “5144 Urdu Teachers to be Appointed in UP,” *Radiance* (10-16 September 1995), p. 4.

⁴⁷ Commissioner of Linguistic Minorities, *Annual Report* 38 (1999-2000), p. 12.

⁴⁸ “Appointment of 500 Urdu Teachers,” *The Milli Gazette* (1-15 October 2006), p.19, “Urdu Teachers Appointment,” *The Milli Gazette* (1-15 January 2007), p. 20, referring to the appointment of 13,000 teachers.

⁴⁹ “Effigies of Muslim Ministers Burnt,” [in Meerut] *The Milli Gazette* (16-31 January 2007), p. 19.

⁵⁰ “On Urdu as Medium of Primary Instruction...” *Muslim India* (October 2007), p. 20; “Appointment of Urdu Teachers,” *The Milli Gazette* (1-15 November 2007), p. 19, reports that UP government appealed the decision of the court, though unclear of the result.

⁵¹ S. Imtiaz Hasnain, “Urdu Linguistic Minorities and Education,” pp. 175-200, in *Muslims of Uttar Pradesh*, edited by Abdul Waheed, (Aligarh: Centre for the Promotion of Cultural Advancement of Muslims of India, 2007), citation on p. 182. Jaafari Report noted that there were 4 Urdu teachers’ training colleges in UP in 1990s, see Jaafari Report, p. 87.

A spokesman for the Department of Education told Jaafari Committee that there “33 textbooks of Classes I to VII,” implying that Urdu was still taught in UP schools in late 1980s and early 1990s, yet the number of schools, students are teachers are not available, perhaps because they were not collected in the first place.⁵² The UP Office of the Pathya Pustak Adhyan prepares the textbooks for elementary level, while for secondary schools the task is done by Textbooks Nationalization Unit of the Board of High School and Intermediate Education. It would be fruitful to ask if there any Urdu textbooks prepared now or in the recent past.

Conclusion

At the turn of the twentieth century, the British Governor of UP (1895-1901) Anthony P. MacDonnell directed the use of Hindi in Devanagari letters in the provincial law courts on 18 April 1900. At the time, the Urdu elites saw it as a measure to strike at the roots of their language. A hastily convened Urdu Defense Association met in Lucknow on 18 August of the same year under the leadership of Nawab Muhsin al-Mulk. Flanked by an impressive array of famous literary men such as Abdul Halim Sharar, Mahdi Hasan Fath Nawaz Jang, and Mir Khurshid Ali Nafis, son of the poet Mir Babr Ali Anis, Nawab Muhsin al-Mulk (1837-1907) characterized MacDonnell’s order as the virtual funeral pyre of Urdu. Substituting passionate lover, the evergreen metaphor from the famous sher of an obscure eighteenth century poet to Urdu, Muhsin al-Mulk asked his audience to give a grand funeral to Urdu

⁵² Jaafari Report, p. 83.

چل ساتھ کہ حسرت دل مرحوم سے نکلے
اردو کا جنازہ ہے ذرا دھوم سے نکلے

Although it was an exaggeration, for Urdu continued to flourish in colonial U.P., it was the Hindi supremacists led by the provincial Congress Party that dealt the fatal blow to Urdu literacy after independence, not the colonial authorities. The virtual death of Urdu literacy happened on the watch of Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Azad, Rafi Ahmad Qidwai and other stalwarts. A determined effort can yet revive Urdu literacy only when political pressure is brought upon the state administration. Anti-Muslim violence erupted on 28 September 1989 in Badayun, when the state made a feeble effort to declare Urdu as a second official language. Hindi supremacists intolerance of Urdu Political consensus is needed to defeat Hindi supremacists efforts to erase Urdu.

Delhi



An erroneous street sign in Urdu in Delhi in July 2010. Photo by Mutiur Rahman Aziz

For those who know Urdu's literary history, it is hard to imagine Delhi without the central figures of Mir, Mumin, Zawq, Ghalib, and Bahadur Shah Zafar in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries respectively. So is the case with twentieth century institutions such as Anjuman-i Tarraqi-i Urdu and Jamia Millia Islamia to name the most obvious. However erroneously, for a long time many considered Urdu as spoken by the Delhi elite as the model to be emulated by others. This

attitude ignored a large number of Dehlawis who spoke Karkhandari dialect.⁵³ Until 1947, Delhi was a major center of Urdu literary production if not of population. In that year, the partition related violence and pogroms drastically reduced Urdu speaking population. Subsequent migration to Pakistan that continued until 1971 further curtailed Urdu speakers' numbers. Migration from Bihar, UP and other states has no doubt increased Urdu speakers' population from what it was in the first two decades of independence, yet Urdu instruction in schools remains poor. As the table noted below shows, Urdu medium schools or schools where Urdu may be taught as a subject are fewer than what they ought to be. Humorist Mujtaba Husayn aptly captured the decline of Urdu literacy in Delhi in an article captioned "Jamia se Zamia tak," showing gross errors in the transcription of Urdu in street names in the national capital.⁵⁴

Obtaining accurate information about the number of schools, students, and teachers instructing Urdu are routinely lacking in common with other states. A survey of Okhla, a south Delhi neighborhood in early 1990s revealed that of the surveyed population of literate Muslims, 34.17 percent received education through Urdu, certainly better than compared to neighboring Uttar Pradesh.⁵⁵

⁵³ Gopi Chand Narang, *Karkhandari Dialect of Delhi*, (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1961)

⁵⁴ Mujtaba Husayn, "Jamia se Zamia tak," *Kitab Numa* (March 2000), pages 44-47. As far back as 1974, I overheard a conversation at a concert in which a woman called Ghalib's lyrics as Galib ka gajal!

⁵⁵ Aijazuddin Ahmad, *Muslims in India: Their Education..Survey*, III, (New Delhi: Inter-India Publications, 1995), p. 211. The survey was carried out under the auspices of Hamdard Education Society, New Delhi.

Table IV

Urdu Medium Enrollment in Primary Schools in Delhi, 1967-2010

Year	No. of Schools	No. of Students	No. of Teachers	Source of info & Remarks
1967-68	12	6, 104	267	CLM Report, July 1969-June 1970, p. 120.
1968-69	12	6, 274	269	CLM Report, July 1969-June 1970, p. 120.
1969-70				Data not furnished, CLM Report, July 1969-June 1970, p. 120.
1970-71	33	11,999	243	CLM Report, July 1972-June 1973, p. 216.
1971-72	34	12, 933	288	CLM Report, July 1972-June 1973, p. 216.
1972-73	36	13064	331	CLM Report, July 1974-June 1975, p. 247.
1973-74	40	15200	380	CLM Report, July 1974-June 1975, p. 247.
1974-75	44	15,200	384	CLM Report, July 1975-June 1976, p. 211.
1975-76	51	16, 305	420	CLM Report, July 1975-June 1976, p. 211.
1976-77	52	15, 222	429	CLM Report, July 1976-June 1977, p. 214.
1977-78	61	16,940	464	CLM Report, July 1976-June 1977, p. 214.
1978-79	65	17,583	497	CLM Report, July 1980-June 1981, p. 355.
1979-80	90	18, 776	610	CLM Report, July 1980-June 1981, p. 355.
1980-81	88	19, 104	576	CLM Report, July 1980-June 1981, p. 105.
1981-82	78	15, 058	555	CLM Report, July 1982-June 1983, p. 351.

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1982-83	84	23, 334	585	CLM Report, July 1984-June 1985, p. 585.
1983-84	92	25, 368	658	CLM Report, July 1984-June 1985, p. 385.
1984-85				GAP
1985-86	77			Incomplete data in <i>Muslim India</i> , (February 1986), p. 82.
1986-87	98	49561	692	CLM Report, July 1998-June 1989, p. 110.
Year	No. of Schools	No. of Students	No. of Teachers	Source of info & Remarks
1987-88				No data
1988-89				GAP
1990-91	88	26,000	??	Incomplete data cited by Muin Akhtar Ansari, "Dehli main Urdu Taalim, 1990-91, <i>Nida-yi Millat</i> (1 September 1991), p. 11, based on <i>Hamari Zaban</i> . No data in CLM Report July 1990-June 1991.
1991-92				Data not given in CML Reports from 1989-92 according to MI (June 1994), p. 266; and MI (September 1997), p. 410.
1992-93				No data in CLM Report July 1992-June 1993.
1993-99				CLM Reports for the years contain no data for some states.
2000-01	83	20, 507	562	CLM Report, July 2000-June 2001, p. 52.
2001-02				GAP
2002-03	85	22, 857	558	NCPUL Survey as reported in <i>Muslim India</i> (August 2002), pp. 368-369. There are 25 middle schools with 20, 897 students. Figures slightly different in CLM Report, July 2002-June 2003, p. 244.

2003-04	85	25,231	586	CLM Report July 2003-June 2004, p. 250-251. Includes schools run by DMCorp, NDMCtee,& Directorate of Education.
2004-05	103	31,389	587	CLM Report July 2004-June 2005, p. 203-204. Includes schools run by DMCorp, NDMCtee,& Directorate of Education. Additional stats on Urdu as subject.
2005-06	73	21,633	550	Stats incomplete; CLM Report, July 2005-June 2006, pp. 133-134.

Table V

Urdu Medium Enrollment in Secondary Schools in Delhi, 1958-2010

Year	No. of Schools	No. of Students	No. of Teachers	Source of info and Remarks
1958-59	3	1335	43	Data only for two schools, CLM Report, August 1958-July 1959, p. 255.
1967-68	9	2154	157	CLM Report, July 1969-June 1970, p. 129; also indicate 4, 582 students studying Urdu as a subject.
1968-69	9	2165	161	CLM Report, July 1969-June 1970, p. 129; also indicate 4, 649 students studying Urdu as a subject.
1969-70				No data submitted by state, CLM Report, June 1969-June 1970, p. 10.
1970-71				GAP

1971-72	16	5109	200	CLM Report, July 1973-June 1974, p. 224. also indicate 4, 601 students studying Urdu as a subject
1972-73	17	5456	269	CLM Report, July 1973-June 1974, p. 224. also indicates 5259 students studying Urdu as a subject
1973-74	20	5491	284	CLM Report, July 1974-June 1975, p. 271-272. Also indicates 5733 students studying Urdu as a subject.
1974-75	17	5700	288	CLM Report, July 1974-June 1975, p. 272. Also indicates 5853 students studying Urdu as a subject.
1975-76	17	6724	314	CLM Report, July 1975-June 1976, p. 225. Also 6419 students took Urdu as a subject.
1976-77	20	7479	323	CLM Report, July 1976-June 1977, p. 223. Also 7012 students took Urdu as a subject.
Year	No. of Schools	No. of Students	No. of Teachers	Source of info and Remarks
1977-78	20	2807	303	CLM Report, July 1976-June 1977, p. 225. Also 7003 students took Urdu as a subject. There seems to be an error in reportage of Urdu medium students. Figures for students taking Urdu as subject mis-noted with Urdu medium.
1978-79				GAP
1979-80	27	8486	292	CLM Report July 1981-June 1982, p. 344.
1980-81	23	9576	376	CLM Report July 1981-June 1982, p. 344. Also 8443 students took Urdu as a subject.
1981-82	25	10,057	360	CLM Report July 1983-June 1984, p. 456. Subject students: 9093

1982-83	22	10,258	356	CLM Report, July 1984-June 1985, p. 392. Also 9, 292 students took Urdu as a subject.
1983-84	24	11, 559	396	CLM Report, July 1984-June 1985, p. 392. Also 9, 486 students took Urdu as a subject.
1984-85	98	23322	658	CLM Report, July 1985-June 1986, p. 146.
1985-86	95	225287	681	CLM Report, July 1985-June 1986, p. 146.
1986-87	22	11813	407	CLM Report July 1988-June 1989, p. 113. Subject students: 11813.
1987-88				GAP
1988-89				GAP
1990-91	27			Jaafari Report, p. 72. Data incomplete. No data in CLM Report July 1990-June 1991.
1991-92				GAP
1992-93				No data in CLM Report July 1992-June 1993.
1993-99				CLM Reports for the years contain no data for some states.
Year	No. of Schools	No. of Students	No. of Teachers	Source of info and Remarks
2000-01				Information about secondary schools not available, CLM Report, July 2000-June 2001, p. 52.
2001-02				GAP
2002-03	25			NCPUL Survey as reported in <i>Muslim India</i> (August 2002), p.369. There are 25 middle schools with 20, 897 students. Incomplete data in CLM Report, July 2002-June 2003, p. 244.

2003-04	17	2015	120	Incomplete data in CLM Report July 2003-June 2004, p. 251
2004-05	8	652	16	Incomplete data in CLM Report, July 2004-June 2005, p. 204.
2005-06	2	28	7	Data only from New Delhi Municipal Administration only, not from the state as a whole, CLM Report, July 2005-June 2006, p. 135.

The social composition of the Urdu students is clear, most are children of carpenters, hawkers, imams, muazzins, and other poor people. A survey in 1986, found that a school that was identified as Urdu medium, “turned out to be one that had switched over to Hindi medium.”⁵⁶ Most of the buildings housing Urdu schools are in poor condition, forcing closure of some schools.⁵⁷ Noxious fumes from in-house factories and high decibels of noise in most schools makes for a poor learning environment.⁵⁸ Outright lack of or inadequate number of teachers is a perennial problem.⁵⁹ There are insufficient number of teachers because, “out of 1640 seats [in elementary school teachers’ training centers]...only 20 are available for Urdu medium...”⁶⁰ State “government official claim that there is no dearth of

⁵⁶ “Urdu Education in Delhi: DSEB Survey of Primary Schools,” *Muslim India* (February 1986), p. 82.

⁵⁷ Marooshfa Muzaffar, “Building Crumbling, Govt. Says Close Urdu-Medium School,” *Indian Express* (11 July 2009), internet edition; Firoz Bakht Ahmad, “56-Year Old Urdu School Faces Closure,” *The Milli Gazette* (16-31 July 2004), p. 5.

⁵⁸ “Delhi Schools: Saga of Truancy, Apathy and Negligence,” *Feature & News Analysis* (September 1992), pp. 1-2.

⁵⁹ Chinki Sinha, “Urdu Schools Lack Qualified Teachers,” *Indian Express* (2 September 2009), internet edition.

⁶⁰ “Delhi Government’s Love for Urdu,” *Khabrein.info* June 21 2009; “Petition on Appointment of Urdu Teachers in Schools,” *The Milli Gazette* (16-31 December 2009), p. 21.

books in Urdu medium”,⁶¹ but “a majority of principals of government and government-aided schools claim the contrary. Books become available but very late, when almost half the academic year is over. Most of these textbooks are translated from English and are not up to standard.”⁶² It is not clear if Delhi Bureau of Textbooks is involved in the preparation, publication and distribution of Urdu textbooks. With this state of affairs, it is unsurprising to read captions such as “Dismal Showing of Urdu Schools,” or “Urdu Medium Schools Put Up a Very Poor Show,” or “Languishing Urdu Medium Schools of Delhi,” written by Firoz Bakht Ahmad in press.⁶³ Ather Farouqui, a Delhi activist describes Bakht’s statistics as “fake data,” indicating—unsurprisingly-- rivalries between Urdu promoters.⁶⁴ Occasionally, the gloomy picture of Urdu literacy is relieved by stray reports—not systematic survey—of improvement.⁶⁵ Regardless, the quality of

⁶¹ “NCERT to Provide Urdu Textbooks,” *The Times of India* (28 May 2005), internet edition.

⁶² “Urdu Education in Delhi: Status and Problems: A Survey by National Council for the Promotion of Urdu,” *Muslim India* (August 2002): pp. 368-369. The textbooks were published by the NCERT, according to Jaafari Report, p. 82.

⁶³ These reports are written by Firoz Bakht Ahmad “Dismal Showing of Urdu Schools in India,” *Indian Express* (Bombay 6 July 1993), p. 8; “Urdu Medium Schools Put Up a Very Poor Show,” *Radiance* (11-17 July 1999), pp. 13-14; “Languishing Urdu Medium Schools of Delhi,” *The Milli Gazette* (16-30 June 2002), pp. 8-9; and most recently Ahmad sent statistics of examination results of Urdu medium schools of Delhi and other states for the years 2001-2008 by email dated 23 December 2009 without attributing source of the information.

⁶⁴ Ather Farouqui, “Fake Data on Urdu Education—one More Fraud,” *The Milli Gazette* (1-15 October 2007), p.15; and C.M. Naim’s letter to the editor of *The Annual of Urdu Studies* 14 (1999), p. 347; and the letter of Syed Shahabuddin in the same journal on pages 347-350.

⁶⁵ Chinki Sinha, “Urdu Schools Turn Around,” *Express India* (31 May 2009) internet edition. Sinha reports about improving results in schools in Jaafarabad, Ballmaran, and other areas.

education in Urdu is low as confirmed by a veteran educational activist Ahmad Rashid Shervani.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Ahmad Rashid Shervani, "Plight of 4 Muslim-Managed Delhi Schools," *Radiance* (31 July-6 August 2006), p. 14; and in numerous conversations with him from 2005-2010.

Bihar

If the core of Bihar is recognized as the capital city of Patna, then Mughal Patna called Azimabad qualifies as a major center of Urdu literacy and literary production. Unlike Uttar Pradesh, literacy in and education through Urdu is better provided in Bihar. At least two reasons account for the better situation of Urdu. One is the relative absence of anti-Urdu prejudice among the ruling elite of Bihar

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as represented by the Congress and other parties. While anti-Urdu sentiments were not entirely absent, as exemplified by the violent anti-Urdu agitation of August 1967 in Ranchi, and burning of Urdu textbooks in 2008 in Saharsa,⁶⁷ their intensity does not compare to the deep-seated, rabidly anti-Urdu pronouncements of the Hindutva wing of the UP Congress and the BJS/BJP. Secondly, Bihar is more heterogeneous than Uttar Pradesh. Whereas the only significant linguistic minority in UP are the Urdu speakers, in Bihar the government has to contend with the demands of the Bengali and Maithili speakers as well. Until the formation of Jharkhand in 2000, Bihar also had to be sensitive to the demands of Oriya and tribal languages. The state of Bihar could ill-afford to antagonize the neighboring state government of West Bengal and Orissa by not providing instruction in Bengali and Oriya respectively. A close scrutiny of the statistics provided by the Commissioner of Linguistic Minorities from 1955 reveals that while Urdu is taught in various primary and secondary schools, and the situation is better than in UP, but nonetheless far from satisfactory.

The position of Urdu speaking population and Muslim population over the decades can be seen in the table noted below.

Table VI

Urdu Population and Muslim Population in Bihar

Year	Percentage of Urdu Speakers	Percentage of Muslims	Coefficient	Total Urdu speakers in millions
1951	6.82	11.58		
1961	9.83	12.45		

⁶⁷ "Thousands of Urdu Books Burn and Thrown in Gutters," *The Milli Gazette* (1-15 September 2008), p. 6.

1971	9.00	13.48		
1981		14.13	65	4.99
1991	9.9	14.80	66.8	8.54
2001	9.89	13.7		9.5

Through an Official Languages (Amendment) Act, the Bihar administration declared Urdu as the second official language in the state in 1980. Though the Act is not related to education, it still created a political environment conducive to the promotion of Urdu. Significantly, the Amendment took place during the tenure of chief minister Jagannath Mishra, a Maithili speaker. Bihar is one of the poorest states in India, often lawless, misgoverned and mismanaged. Facilities for instruction in Urdu have also suffered due largely to administrative inefficiency, though some instances of discriminatory attitude is also documented. In a document prepared in 1990, the state Anjuman-i Tarraqi-i Urdu lists a number of familiar issues: irregular payment of salaries to teachers, reduction of reservation of Urdu teachers from an agreed upon 10 percent to 6 percent in Training Colleges; lack of provision of Urdu instruction under the central schemes of New Education Policy, 1986; imposition of Sanskrit in schools through a manipulation of the Three Languages Formula; disregard for the implementation of policy to allow Urdu wherever wanted at primary level; appointment of insufficient number of Urdu teachers; and unavailability of Urdu text books in a number of subjects in time for classes.⁶⁸ A decade later, in 2000, Rizwan Ahmad repeats the

⁶⁸ "Bihar Newsletter: Problems Faced by the Urdu Speaking People," *Radiance* (2-8 July 1990), p. 8; "Urdu Academy Lax in Publishing Textbooks," *Radiance* (24-30 October 1993), p. 4; Jaafari Report, p. 82.

same issues.⁶⁹ Muhammad Badiuzzaman, a retired additional district magistrate of Phulwari Sharif claims that, “there is no such post of an *Urdu teacher* in Bihar. In the immediate post-independence era, upon retirement or death of an Urdu teacher the post was abolished. Later on, in 95 percent of the cases, there never was a post of an Urdu teacher.”⁷⁰ However, Lalu Prasad Yadav, claimed in 2000 when his wife Rabri Devi was the chief minister, that “when appointing 25,000 primary schools teachers, 10 percent were reserved for Urdu teachers, and the appointments were made. Two thousand teachers are being appointed for secondary schools.”⁷¹ Only an independent verification can get to the truth.

The Bihar State Textbook Committee with the help of SCERT prepares the textbooks and publishing is done by the Bihar State Textbooks Publishing Corporation established in 1966. The following table describes Urdu medium enrollment in Bihar schools.

Table VII

Urdu Medium Enrollment in Primary Enrollment in Bihar, 1955-2010

Year	No. of Schools	Number of students	No. of Teachers	Source of info. & Remarks
1955-56		130,771		CLM/Brass

⁶⁹ Rizwan Ahmad, “Bihar main Urdu Taalim ki Surat-i Hal,” *Urdu Duniya* (August 2000), pp. 21-22.

⁷⁰ Muhammad Badiuzzaman, “Bihar main Urdu ka Maujudah Manzar Namah,” *Afkar-i Milli* (July 2000), pp. 130-131.

⁷¹ Lalu Prasad Yadav, “Bihar main Urdu...ke Liye Sarkari Iqdamat,” *Afkar-i Milli* (July 2000), p. 135, which comes from a speech he delivered to the Urdu editors’ conference.

1956-57		137,773		Ditto
1957-58		144,492		Ditto
1958-59		160,142		Ditto
1959-60		196,296		Ditto
1960-61		216,330		Ditto
1961-62		213,936		Ditto
1962-63		285,176		Ditto
1963-64		294,845		Ditto
1964-67				GAP
1967-70				Data not furnished, CLM Report, July 1969-June 1970, p. 115.
Year	No. of Schools	Number of students	No. of Teachers	Source of info. & Remarks
1971-72				Data not furnished, CLM Report, July 1973-June 1974, p. 201.
1972-73	3587	294582	6466	CLM Report, July 1974-June 1975, p. 237.
1973-75				Data not furnished, CLM Report, July 1974-June 1975, p. 237.
1975-78				Data not furnished, CLM Report, July 1976-June 1977, p. 206.
1978-80				Data not furnished, CLM Report, July 1981-June 1982, p. 333.
1980-82				Data not furnished, CLM Report, July 1980-June 1981, p. 39.
1982-84				Data not furnished, CLM Report, July 1983-June 1984, p. 443.

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1984-85				Data not furnished, CLM Report, July 1984-June 1985, p. 380.
1985-86				Data not furnished, CLM Report July 1985-June 1986, p. 63.
1986-89				No data in CLM Report July 1988-June 1989.
1990	5500			Jaafari Report, p. 67
1990-91				No data in CLM Report July 1990-June 1991.
1992-92				GAP
1992-93				No data in CLM Report July 1992-June 1993.
1993-1999				GAP
2000-01				No data in CLM Report July 2000-June 2001.
Year	No. of Schools	Number of students	No. of Teachers	Source of info. & Remarks
2001-02				GAP
2002-03				No data in CLM Report July 2001-June 2002.
2003-04				No data in CLM Report July 2003-June 2004.
2004-05				"No stats given," CLM Report, July 2004-June 2005, p. 140.
2005-06				"No stats given," CLM Report, July 2005-June 2006, p. 97.

CLM/Brass= Paul Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in North India*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p. 208.

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Table VIII

Urdu Medium Enrollment in Secondary Schools in Bihar, 1955-1964

Year	No. of schools	Number of students	No. of teachers	Source of info. & Remarks
1955-56		28,255		Brass
1956-57		30, 453		Ditto
1957-58		31, 639		Ditto
1958-59		35, 214		Ditto
1959-60		32, 159		Ditto
1960-61		37, 377		Ditto
1961-62		41, 243		Ditto
1962-63		39, 226		Ditto
1963-64		27, 169		Ditto
1964-1990				No data available
				No data in CLM Report July 1990-June 1991
Year	No. of Schools	Number of students	No. of Teachers	Source of info. & Remarks
1990-92				GAP
1992-93				No data in CLM Report July 1992-June 1993.

The Commissioner Linguistic Minorities data cited from Paul Brass's book shows that the percentage of Urdu students' enrollment to the total enrollment was a mere 4.11 percent in 1956-77, which fell to 2.06 in 1963-64. What is the percentage of Urdu enrollment at primary and secondary schools since 1964? Language in India www.languageinindia.com 76

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Unfortunately, the relevant educational authorities in Bihar have not provided Commissioner of Linguistic Minorities relevant data for the years 1967-1972. Data is available for the year 1972-73 which notes that there are 30 secondary schools with 24395 students and 502 teachers. There is data about Urdu as subject students.⁷² Then it is not available for the years 1973-85, as noted in the annual reports.⁷³ For the rest of 1980s, there is no data. According to Jaafari Report there were 5500 Urdu medium primary schools in 1989. For the 1990s, there is no data, not in the CLM Report July 2000-01 or subsequent ones. In the CLM Report July 2004-June 2005, the Commissioner blandly notes, “no statistics have been given regarding the schools either [where] minority language is a medium or is taught as a subject. Nor are there any details about the teachers or the students.”⁷⁴ An exactly identical report—word by word—is given in the CLM Report for the subsequent, 2005-2006.⁷⁵ In a survey conducted in Kishanganj in 1991 to 1993, Aijazuddin Ahmad found that among “Muslims, the proportion of those who received education through the Urdu medium was as high as 84 percent.”⁷⁶ However, according to a Bihar State Minorities Commission-sponsored study on the socio-economic status of Muslims, “the large majority of students are divided between Hindi (56.8 percent) and Urdu medium schools

⁷² CLM Report, July 1974-June 1975, p. 253.

⁷³ CLM Report, July 1969-June 1970, p. 123; CLM Report, July 1972-June 1973, p. 220; CLM Report, July 1973-June 1974, p. 212; CLM Report July 1976-June 1977, p. 214; CLM Report, July 1982-June 1983, p. 353; CLM Report July 1983-June 1984, p. 451; CLM Report July 1984-June 1985, p. 388.

⁷⁴ CLM Report July 2004-June 2005, p. 140.

⁷⁵ CLM Report July 2005-June 2006, p. 97.

⁷⁶ Aijazuddin Ahmad, *Muslims in India: Their Educational...Survey*, I, (New Delhi: Inter India Publications, 1993), p. 161

(40.3 percent). The proportion of rural Muslim students receiving Urdu medium education includes students both from Madarsas as well as from a number of private educational institutions. In the urban areas, however, only 18.7 percent of the students are found to receive Urdu-medium education...A large majority of urban Muslim students (71.2) go to Hindi medium institutions. English medium institutions, which are usually perceived as better ones account for only 10 percent of the urban Muslim students.⁷⁷ Although Bihar has the second largest number of students either studying through Urdu medium or studying it as a subject, yet it seems that a majority of Muslim children are not receiving their education in it.

⁷⁷ *Socio-Economic Status of Muslims in Bihar*, (Patna: Asian Development Research Institute, 2005?), pp. 105-106. The Report has evidently gone missing, see, "Govt Report on Status of Bihar Muslims Goes Missing," *The Times of India*, (15 March 2006), p. 15.

Andhra Pradesh



Govt. Boys High School, Moghalpura, Hyderabad in July 2010. Photo by Khurram Nafees

The Qutb Shahi sultanate of Golconda held sway over much of the Telugu speaking territories of southeastern India in medieval times, comprising much of modern Andhra Pradesh. In turn the Mughals and the Asaf Jahi rulers of Hyderabad controlled much of the same area, until 1750s, when the Nizam was compelled to cede the Ceded Districts (of Rayalaseema) and the Circars that is the Northern Sarkars or coastal Andhra. For the most part, the political formations of the time did not interfere in the learning of Telugu even when the language of

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higher levels of law courts and administration was Persian (up to 1884) and Urdu from 1884 to 1948. Under the Nizams, Urdu flourished as the language both of public instruction and state administration. The crowning achievement of the last Nizam was unquestionably the establishment of Osmania University, where Urdu was the language of instruction for three decades, 1918-1948. A large number of Urdu medium high schools were the base from which students entered Osmania for higher education. The Urdu phase in old Hyderabad state ended with the Indian army's bloody Operation Polo of September 1948. A number of government and private schools met the same fate as the new administration sought to remove Urdu from its preeminent status in the educational system.⁷⁸ But opposition to Urdu at the highest political level was minimal, and bears no comparison to the UP Congress leadership's open hostility to it. In fact, the chief minister of then Andhra state donated a thousand rupees, without solicitation when Jawaharlal Nehru inaugurated Urdu Hall in December 1955.⁷⁹

However, the formation of Andhra Pradesh in 1956 changed the situation for Urdu. Ten years after the formation of the state, Andhra Pradesh declared Urdu as the second official language in 1966. Even though the second official language status is unrelated to the question of the medium of instruction in schools, Urdu's

⁷⁸ Sayyid Mustafa Kamal, *Hyderabad main Urdu ki Tarraqi: Taalimi aur Sarkari Zaban ki Haysiyat se*, (Hyderabad: Shugufa Publications, 1990); Ravinder Kaur & T. Vijayasri, "Development and Growth of Primary Education;" V. Elizabeth, "The Growth and Expansion of Secondary Education," unpublished papers presented at the Seminar on Management of Education in State of Hyderabad, Hyderabad: Department of Public Administration, Osmania University, December 1985.

⁷⁸ Habiburrahman, *Chand Yad Dashtain*, (Karachi: Bahadur Yar Jang Academy, 1986), identifies Phool Chand Gandhi, the then minister for education as the moving spirit behind Urdu's displacement as the language of instruction in many instances, see, pp. 78-79

⁷⁹ The chief minister of the then Andhra state was B. Gopala Reddy, 1907-1997.

elevation as second official language signaled official acknowledgement that there is a significant community of Urdu speakers.

The position of Urdu speaking population and Muslim population over the decades can be seen in the table noted below.

Table IX

Urdu Population and Muslim Population in Andhra Pradesh

Year	Percentage of Urdu Speakers to total population	Percentage of Muslims	Coefficient	Total Urdu Speakers in millions
1961	7.10	7.55		
1971	7.77	8.09		
1981		8.47	91	3.68
1991	8.37	8.9	93.9	5.56
2001	8.36	9.2		6.6

Mawlawi Habiburrahman (1898-1991), the doyen of Urdu struggle in Andhra Pradesh for three decades, 1950s to 1980s, acknowledges that the political leadership of the Congress Party generally supported legislation seeking official status for Urdu with the sole exception of P.V. Narasimha Rao, (1921-2004) the then minister for Education in the state.⁸⁰ However, Rao seems to have been a

⁸⁰ Habiburrahman, *Chand Yad Dashtain*, (Karachi: Bahadur Yar Jang Academy, 1986).

loner, as the then cabinet of Chief Minister K. Brahmananda Reddy supported the move to make Urdu as a second official language. Narasimha Rao actually went a step forward, he instigated 24 Hindi, Kannada, and Marathi school administrators to go on strike on 26 Mach 1966 to protest what they called as the “privileged position,” given to Urdu in the official language act.⁸¹ However, thirty five years later, when the second official language status of Urdu was being extended to many more districts in the state in 2001, the vote in the AP Legislative Assembly was unanimous in approval.⁸² In other words, the political leadership in Andhra Pradesh weather those of the Congress Party or the Telugu Desham, both secure in the predominant Telugu identity of the state, felt no problem in accommodating to the wishes of Urdu speaking minority for official status. Like other states, Andhra Pradesh is also bound by the constitutional rights and executive decisions governing instruction of minority languages in education from primary to secondary levels. However, there are numerous problems in implementation, which are mainly of administrative and financial nature. A series of memorandums that the Anjuman-i Tarraqi-i Urdu and other organizations submitted to the AP chief minister centers around demands for (a) donations asked by the authorities for parallel Urdu classes or higher levels in the same institution, a rule that was imposed in 1950s, abolished in 1963, and then re-imposed in 1973; (b) implementation of three language formula in a way that does not eliminate Urdu; (c) shortage of Urdu teachers in Urdu as a subject as

⁸¹ As noted by Habiburrahman in *Chand Yad Dashtain*, op.cit., and reported in *Radiance* (10 April 1966).

⁸² Omar Khalidi, op. cit.

well as for other courses; (d) lack of textbooks in Urdu and other subjects; and (e) lack of Urdu Inspector of Schools.⁸³

Textbooks

In Andhra Pradesh, textbooks from I to X standards are published by AP Government Textbooks Press since 1958. The AP Education Secretary informed Jaafari Committee in 1990 “that there was no problem of Urdu textbooks for Urdu medium schools,” which “are compiled by NCERT,” and of the 3.2 crores of book printed by the state government, a few “lakhs were in Urdu.”⁸⁴ But almost every year textbooks even when published are not delivered on time due to distribution problems.⁸⁵ According to the AP Minorities Commission, in 1990s, “the requirement of books is of the order of 80,000 and it has been represented...that only 40,000 are printed by the Government.”⁸⁶ Why the discrepancy? There is no clear answer. The Intermediate Urdu students suffer similar issues. The Board of Intermediate Education, BIE, which began in 1971, “never bothered to bring out

⁸³ “Andhra Pradesh: Demands of Urdu-Speaking Minority,” *Muslim India* (July 1985), p. 326. “Memorandum to A.P. Education Minister,” *Muslim India* (July 1985), p. 327; “Anjuman Tarraqi Urdu, Andhra Pradesh Memorandum of 8 February 1983 to the NTR Government,” *Muslim India* (March 1984): pp 127-128; J.S. Iftekhhar, “No Books for Intermediate Urdu Medium Students,” *The Hindu* (9 August 2003), internet edition.

⁸⁴ Jaafari Report, p. 82. Since Jaafari Report, there is apparently a change as the curriculum and syllabus are prepared by Board of Secondary Education, see, *Regulatory Mechanisms for Textbooks and Parallel Textbooks Taught in Schools Outside the Government System: A Report*, (New Delhi: Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development, 2005), p. 27.

⁸⁵ “Eight Lakh Textbooks Yet to be Delivered,” *The Hindu* (2 June 2010), internet edition.

⁸⁶ Andhra Pradesh Minorities Commission, *Annual General Report, 1993-94*, (Hyderabad: The Commission, 1994), p. 93.

the prescribed textbooks in Urdu.”⁸⁷ In 2002, “it was the Telugu Academy, which had come to the rescue of the BIE and helped in printing Urdu textbooks.”⁸⁸ According to M. Abdul Shakoor, the Telugu Academy still publishes Urdu textbooks, a task which ought to have been undertaken by the Urdu Academy.⁸⁹ The AP Government’s version on safeguards for linguistic minorities⁹⁰ published in January 1989, contradicts actual experience of impediments to Urdu literacy and education as gleaned from time to time in *Etemad*, *Munsif*, *Rahnuma-yi Deccan*, and *Siyasat*, the four major newspapers published from Hyderabad.

Appointment of Urdu Teachers

According to Muhammad Shafiquzzaman, “the AP government’s G.O. no. 472 dated 4 July 1977 providing for... teaching in Urdu wherever a minimum of 10 pupils per class or 30 per school in ...primary schools and 45 in secondary schools...is fallacious. When the first Urdu student comes for admission to a class, the class is short of 9 students., and he is advised to join schools where Urdu...is available or to opt for the available medium...Urdu teaching...requires Urdu teacher...posting of Urdu teacher will require creation of a post which ...takes years in government...[for its creation]...The transfer of Urdu teachers to non-Urdu schools and non-Urdu teachers to Urdu schools results in the closure of

⁸⁷ J.S. Iftekhhar, “No Books for Intermediate Urdu Medium Schools,” *The Hindu* (9 September 2003), internet edition.

⁸⁸ J.S. Iftekhhar, “No Books for Intermediate Urdu Medium Schools,” *The Hindu* (9 September 2003), internet edition.

⁸⁹ Conversation with M. Abdul Shukoor, Director of Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Urdu, Hyderabad, June 7, 2010.

⁹⁰ *Brochure on Safeguard and Facilities for the Linguistic Minorities in Andhra Pradesh*, (Hyderabad: General Administration (Political-B) Department, 1989).

Urdu schools/classes. Urdu schools are located in cities and towns. And there is always a race for transfer from rural areas to town and cities. Whenever a relative or friend of a minister or M.L.A. or top official posted in rural area is to be brought over to town or cities, naturally the sacrificial lamb are the Urdu teachers. Thus non-Urdu teachers are posted in Urdu classes. With the reduction in number of Urdu teachers, available teachers are asked to take more than one class and gradually the Urdu classes are abandoned. This is a continuous process and is true for colleges as well.”⁹¹ Abdul Karim Khan, IAS, then Chairman of the Minorities Commission noted in mid 1990s, “ the Government has not filled up the vacancies of Urdu teachers for quite some time, which has affected the teaching the Urdu medium schools.”⁹² Often times, government does not fill vacancies caused by retirement or death. Sometime the vacancies of Urdu teachers are not filled because of reservation. As per the reservation system, vacancies are reserved in the following manner for various social groups:⁹³

Scheduled Castes	15 percent
Scheduled Tribes	06 percent
Backward Classes	25 percent
Handicapped	03 percent
Defense Personnel	03 percent

This reservation system poses a problem because in Andhra Pradesh, it is nearly impossible to find any scheduled caste or tribe person seeking the job of an Urdu

⁹¹ Mohd Shafiquz Zaman, *Problems of Minorities Education in India*, (Hyderabad: Booklinks, 2001), p. 144-45.

⁹² Andhra Pradesh Minorities Commission, *Annual General Report, 1993-94*, (Hyderabad: The Commission, 1994), p. 93.

⁹³ *Brochure on Safeguard and Facilities for the Linguistic Minorities in Andhra Pradesh*, (Hyderabad: General Administration (Political-B) Department, 1989), p. 47.

teacher, nearly one hundred percent applicants are Muslim, and good majority women.⁹⁴ The reservation system gives the government an excuse not to fill sanctioned posts, thus creating impediments for Urdu pupils. In 2001, Shafiquzzaman estimated that the “number of Urdu teachers has declined by about 2000 or 30 percent, mainly due to failure to fill in vacancies.”⁹⁵

There are problems besides the question of Urdu teachers. The absence of libraries, labs, and poor infrastructure are other recurring issues in Urdu schools throughout the state as anyone perusing newspapers can see in the 1990s through the first decade of the twenty first century. The following statistics establish the state of Urdu literacy and education in Andhra Pradesh through several years.

Table X

Urdu Medium Enrollment in Primary Schools in Andhra Pradesh, 1955-56-2005-06 & 2009-10

Year	No. of Schools/Sections	No. of Students	No. of Teachers	Source of Info & Remarks
1955-56	822	59,767	1608	CML Report, 1960-61, p. 150.
1956-57	832	60,575	1658	Ditto
1967-58	1007	89,458	2977	Ditto
1958-59	1106	107,671	3616	Ditto

⁹⁴ Exceptions to the rule are when occasionally someone outside the Muslim community does indeed learn Urdu, see P. Sridhar, “Non-Minority Students Opt for Urdu Here,” *The Hindu* (10 November 2009), internet edition. This is a reference to the SC, ST girls learning Urdu in Devarkonda, Nalgonda, A.P.

⁹⁵ Mohd Shafiquz Zaman, *Problems of Minorities Education in India*, (Hyderabad: Booklinks, 2001), p. 144-45.

1959-60	1068	109,116	1648	Ditto; teachers' data incomplete.
Year	No. of Schools/Sections	No. of Students	No. of Teachers	Source of Info & Remarks
1960-61	704	27, 723	916	CLM Report, January-December 1962; not clear why numbers show drastic fall from previous years.
1961-67				GAP
1967-70				No data furnished as noted in CLM Report, 1969-70, p. 115.
1971-72	2830	1,74,010	4959	CLM Report, July 1973-74, p. 200.
1972-73	2868	1,70, 287	4909	Ditto
1973-74	2663	188232	4997	CLM Report July 1974-June 1975, p. 236.
1974-75	2704	202349	5180	CLM Report July 1975-June 1976, p. 204.
1975-76				No data reported as noted in CLM Report, July 1976-June 1977, p. 204;
1976-77	3137	211370	7526	CLM Report, July 1980-June 1981,p. 150.
1977-78	2295	206742	5343	CLM Report, July 1980-June 1981,p. 150.
1978-82				No data reported as noted in CLM Report, July 1982-July 1983, p. 342; & same info repeated in CLM Report July 1983-June 1984, p. 443.
1982-83	2392	247567		CLM Report, 1982-83, p. 380.
1983-84				GAP
1984-85				GAP
1985-86				GAP
1986-87	1358	1,59, 505		Jaafari Report, p. 67. Does not provide teachers' data.
1987-88	1135	1,38,203		Jaafari Report, p. 67. Does not provide teachers' data.

1988-89	1163	210697	4242	CLM Report July 1988-June 1989, p. 110; no. of sections 1444.
1989-90	1293	237591	5215	30 th CLM Report; no. of sections 1711.
1990-91				No data in CLM Report July 1990-June 1991.
Year	No. of Schools/Sections	No. of Students	No. of Teachers	Source of Info & Remarks
1991-92				Data not given in CML Reports from 1989-92 according to <i>Muslim India</i> (June 1994), p. 266; and MI (September 1997), p. 410.
1992-93				No data in CLM Report July 1992-June 1993.
1993-97				CLM Reports for the years contain no data for any states.
1998	1293	237,591	5215	Includes primary & upper primary, Govt. data cited by Shafiquzzaman*
1998-2001				CLM Reports for the years contain no data for any states.
2001-02				GAP
2002-03	2517	3,66,057	9801	CLM Report July 2002-June 2003, p. 46.
2003-04	2378	2,79,779	8,003	CLM Report, July 2003-June 2004, p. 64. On p.65, there are stats for another set of teachers not included on p. 64.
2004-05	2372	196, 307	5490	CLM Report, July 2004-June 2005, p. 34. On the same page there is another set of stats for teaching of Urdu as a subject.
2005-06	2522	257074	7466	CLM Report, July 2005-June 2006, p. 35. On the same page, there is another set of stats for teaching of Urdu as a subject.
2009-10	2351	138515	6609	Source: Sarva Siksha Abhyan, School Education Dept,

				AP Government.
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*Mohd. Shafiquz Zaman, *Problems of Minorities Education in India*, p. 141.

Table XI

Urdu Medium Enrollment in Secondary Schools in Andhra Pradesh, 1955-56-2005-06; 2009-10

Year	No. of Schools	No. of Students	No. of Teachers	Source of Info. & Remarks
1955-56	42	2142	123	CLM Report, January-December 1962, p. 244; figures excludes Telangana districts.
1956-57	44	1676	176	CLM Report, January-December 1962, p. 244; figures excludes Telangana districts.
1957-58	119	35,443	1, 407	CLM Report, January-December 1962, p. 244.
1958-59	210	36, 108	1,360	CLM Report, January-December 1962, p. 244.
1959-60	214	44, 934	1, 564	CLM Report, January-December 1962, p. 244. Also shows 134 school sections teaching Urdu with 25, 739 students.
1960-61	220	45, 500	1, 570	CLM Report, January-December 1962, p. 244. Also shows 154 schools sections teaching 26, 168 students.
1961-62	71	35,614	1,424	CLM Report, January-December 1963, p. 197. Another 5, 303 students studying Urdu as a subject, not medium of instruction.
1963	71	31455	1, 299	CLM Report, January-December 1963, p. 197. Another set of stats shows 6, 965 students studying Urdu as a language,
1967-70				Data not reported, CLM Report, July 1969-June 1970, p. 122.

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1970-71	79	31, 611	1, 575	CLM Report, July 1972-June 1973, p. 29. Another set of stats shows 4,131 students studying Urdu as a language.
1971-72	74	31, 654	1,588	CLM Report, July 1973-June 1974, p. 210. Another set of stats shows 3,885 students studying Urdu as a language.
1972-73	83	35,885	1,587	CLM Report, July 1973-June 1974, p. 211. Another set of stats shows 3357 students studying Urdu as a language.
1973-74	102	36,343	1,745	CLM Report, July 1974-June 1975, p. 251. Another set of stats shows 4479 students studying Urdu as a subject.
1974-75	110	34, 347	1, 689	CLM Report, July 1975-June 1976, p. 213. Another set of stats show 5, 894 students studying Urdu as subject.
1975-76				Data not available, CLM Report July 1976-June 1977, p. 215.
Year	No. of Schools	No. of Students	No. of Teachers	Source of Info. & Remarks
1976-77	65	19504	1327	CLM Report July 1980-June 1981, p. 153. Number of Urdu medium sections:378
1977-78	139	12638	1591	CLM Report July 1980-June 1981, p. 153. Number of Urdu medium sections: 364.Subject students:24481.
1978-81				Data not available, CLM Report July 1980-June 1981, p. 359.
1981-83				Data not available, CLM Report July 1982-June 1983, p. 352.
1983-84				Data not available, CLM Report July 1983-June 1984, p. 450.
1984-85				Data not available, CLM Report July 1985-June 1986, p.190.
1985-86				Data not available, CLM Report July 1985-June 1986, p.190.
1986-87				GAP
1987-88				GAP
1988-89	79	28680	1472	CLM Report, July 1988-June 1989, p. 114; 671 sections.
1989-90	143	37534	1471	30 th CLM Report; 644 sections.

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1990-91				No data in CLM Report July 1990-June 1991.
1991-92				Data not given in CML Reports from 1989-92 according to MI (June 1994), p. 266; and MI (September 1997), p. 410.
1992-93				GAP?
1993-97				CLM Reports for the years contain no data for any states.
1998	143	37,534	1471	Govt. data as cited by Shafiquzzaman@
1998-2001				CLM Reports for the years contain no data for any states.
2001-02				?
2002-03				
2003-04	191	68, 214	2, 474	CLM Report, July 2003-June 2004, p. 64.
Year	No. of Schools	No. of Students	No. of Teachers	Source of Info. & Remarks
2004-05	365	73, 887	2, 607	CLM Report, July 2004-June 2005, p. 35.; Schools teaching Urdu as subject are 278 with 1, 90, 687 students & 5, 097 teachers. Under 3 language formula from 6-10 grades, there are 88516 students.
2005-06	441	77, 928	2, 705	CLM Report, July 2005-June 2006, p. 37; Schools teaching Urdu as subject are 204 with 31, 289 students; & 1, 151 teachers.
2009-10	602	78957	2281	Secondary schools means upper primary and & High schools students. Source: Sarva Siksha Abhyas, School Education Dept., AP Government.

Table XII

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Urdu Literacy in A.P. from Primary through College Levels in 2009-2010

Level of education	Number of students	Number of teachers	Number of institutions	Boys	Girls
Urdu medium schools 1-10 class	3, 24, 875	9572	3055	108725	216150
Urdu Medium Private schools 1-10	25000-30000		1000		
Urdu Medium Junior Colleges	6208		103		
Urdu Medium Degree Colleges	5104		20		

Source: Commissioner of Examination of Board of Secondary Education & Director of School Education, Government of Andhra Pradesh, as supplied by Dr. S. Abdul Shukoor, Director of Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Urdu, Hyderabad.

Table XIII

SSC Results of Urdu Medium Schools in AP, 2000-2010

Year	Total Students appearing for Examination	Total Passed	Percentage pass
2000	8331	2308	27.70
2001	8669	3370	38.87
2002	9295	3751	40.95

2003	10002	4991	49.90
2004	10819	6590	60.91
2005	11718	6007	51.26
2006	12505	6396	51.15
2007	12468	6271	50.30
2008	12843	7512	58.49
2009	14183	9089	64.00
2010	12662	8349	65.94

Source: Commissioner Examination, Board of Secondary Education, as supplied to Dr. S. Abdul Shukoor, Director Center for Educational Development of Minorities, Osmania University, Hyderabad.

As can be seen from the Table noted above, the number of students appearing in the SSC Examination is increasing by the year. However, the results of the examination are inconsistent, and need drastic improvement. Although the state government established 21 Urdu residential schools between 1986 and 2008 to help rural students but the Urdu-speaking community seems to be indifferent to it as everyone is caught up in the fever for English medium schools.⁹⁶

Among the impediments of Urdu medium education in junior and degree colleges is the government order on student strength requiring 30 to 40 students in the arts and science streams of the courses. Unlike English and Telugu medium colleges, Urdu medium cannot enroll the required number of students. The

⁹⁶ Iqbal Muhi al-Din, "Urdu Residential Schools aur Colleges ke Taaluq see Awam main lashaury," *Siyasat* (11 August 2003), p. 1; "Bis Sal Qadim Iqamati Schools Band ho jayen ge," *Siyasat* (March 9, 2008), internet edition; "Sarkari Iqamati Madaris se Muslim Tabqe ki Waqfiyat Naguzir," *Siyasat* (7 June 2010) internet edition, complains of the community's lack of awareness of residential schools, though they are supposed to be imparting high quality education.

government order in 2007 can jeopardize Urdu college as pointed out by MIM MLA Akbaruddin Owaisi.⁹⁷ But Urdu speakers are not above blame. A report in Etemad daily notes that “out of 920 seats for residential Urdu medium junior colleges, a mere 96 candidates appeared for the qualifying test for admission,” indicating a clear lack of interest.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ “Plea to Save Urdu Colleges,” *Deccan Chronicle* 28 February 2007, electronic edition.

⁹⁸ “Residential Urdu Medium Junior Colleges se Tulaba ka Adam Istifada,” *Etemad* daily (23 June 2010) internet edition.

Karnataka



Urdu medium school in Bengaluru in July 2010. Photo by Azmat Sharif

Unlike the neighboring states of southern India, such as Kerala, Tamilnadu and Andhra Pradesh where the speakers of respective majority languages—Malayalam, Tamil and Telugu—feel secure in their own state territories, such is not the case with Kannada in Karnataka. At least two reasons account for the insecurity of Kannada speakers. One is that within the state, only 65 percent of

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the population speaks the state/official language, unlike the neighboring states where the percentage is often 80 percent or more. Although the princely state of Mysore was the core of the Kannada speaking population and promoted Kannada language and culture, nationalist historians saw the “rise and fall,” of Kannada in starkly anti-Muslim terms. In nationalistic terms, thus, the battle of Talikota in 1565 resulting in the defeat of Vijayanagar kingdom at the hands of the Deccani Muslim sultanates was the “end of Karnataka’s glory,” and the early twentieth century was the time for “the recovery of past glories.”⁹⁹ When the states were reorganized in 1956, Kannada-majority districts in neighboring Bombay and Hyderabad merged with Mysore to form Karnataka as it stands today. Kannada became the state’s official language in 1963. But insecurity about Kannada’s status persists manifesting in various ways, sometimes in violence. For examples, when Doordarshan, the national television’s Bangalore station began to broadcast a *10-minute* Urdu news bulletin on 2 October 1994, violence broke out in the state capital, killing 25 people.¹⁰⁰ The man leading the anti-Urdu campaign was the BJP leader B.S. Yediyurappa who called introduction of Urdu broadcasts as a threat to Kannada.¹⁰¹ He became the chief minister of Karnataka in May 2008. Even though the news bulletin was being introduced as part of the Gujral Committee’s recommendations, the union government at the time headed by an anti-Urdu Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao chose not to continue with the broadcast, and hastily recalled Bangalore Doordarshan director Aneesul Haq.

⁹⁹ Janaki Nair, “Memories of Underdevelopment: Language and its Identities in Contemporary Karnataka,” *Economic and Political Weekly* (12-19 October 1996), p. 2813.

¹⁰⁰ S. Rai, “Mind Your Language: An Urdu News Bulletin on Bangalore Doordarshan Sparks off Riots,” *India Today* (11 October 1994), p. 14.

¹⁰¹ S. Rai, op. cit, p. 13.

What was disturbing in the anti-Urdu campaign was, in the words of a journalist, “the active participation of the literary community and such institutions as Kannada Sahitya Parishad. Just how the introduction of a 10-minute Urdu bulletin can injure the interests of the Kannada language is beyond sane comprehension.”¹⁰² Urdu alone is not the victim of Kannada chauvinism.¹⁰³ Anti-Hindi and anti-Tamil expressions, often violent, are common.¹⁰⁴ But despite hundreds of government orders for its promotion, Kannada has not made the headway, mainly due to competition with English, not with Urdu, Tamil, Telugu, Tulu or Marathi, the main minority languages.

There is a long history of Urdu medium from the nineteenth century to the 1950s as documented through state reports by Habibunnisa Waliullah.¹⁰⁵ The position of Urdu speaking population and Muslim population over the decades can be seen in the table noted below.

Table XIV

Urdu Population and Muslim Population in Karnataka

Year	Percentage of Urdu Speakers to total population	Percentage of Muslims	Coefficient	Total Urdu Speakers in millions
1961		9.87		

¹⁰² “Inevitable Distortion,” *Economic and Political Weekly* (15 October 1994), p. 2704.

¹⁰³ K.s. Dakshina Murthy, “Rajkumar and Kannada Nationalism,” *Economic and Political Weekly* (13 May 2006), pp. 1834-1835, for the role of actor Rajkumar in fanning the flames of chauvinism.

¹⁰⁴ Stephen David, “Hate Thy Neighbor: Kannada Belligerence...” *India Today* (23 April 2007), p. 7.

¹⁰⁵ Habibunnisa Begum Waliullah, *Riyasat-i Mysore main Urdu ki Nashw wa Numa*, (Mysore, 1962), pp. 385-425.

1971		10.63		
1981		11.05	85	2.64
1991		11.06	85.7	4.48
2001	9.96	12.2		5.5

Up to 1980, the state government's attitude toward mother tongue as the language of instruction at primary level was fair, but the following year, it changed.¹⁰⁶ A state-appointed commission headed by V.K. Gokak in 1981 sought primacy for Kannada education at secondary level education in violation of the constitutional right of the minorities. But in early 2001, the state government accepted the recommendation of a high-level committee headed by the then education minister H. Vishwanath that mother tongue should be the medium of instruction from class I to VII.¹⁰⁷

Geographically, within the state, most of the Urdu-medium primary and secondary schools or schools teaching Urdu as a subject are found in the Bombay Karnatak and Hyderabad Karnatak regions. Urdu schools in Bombay Karnatak is the legacy of multilingualism education followed in the multi-lingual Bombay province, and in Hyderabad Karnatak, it is the legacy of the Nizam's rule. Contrary to conventional wisdom (stereotype?), attachment to Urdu is not confined to urban areas. It is widespread in rural Karnataka as Professor Mumtaz Ali Khan's

¹⁰⁶ AbdulWahhab Anadolib, "Karnatak main Urdu ki Ibtidayi Taalim," *Urdu Duniya* (November 2001), pp. 15-116.

¹⁰⁷ "Mother Tongue Medium up to Class VII," *Deccan Herald* (4 June 2001), internet edition.

study found.¹⁰⁸ In Mysore city, a study shows that there is support for Urdu medium instruction at primary level, less so at the secondary stage.¹⁰⁹ Thus it is not surprising that the region comprising the old Mysore region lags behind the rest of the state in Urdu education, with the exception of Shimoga, where there has been a notable success through private nursery schools.¹¹⁰ A similar report comes from the historic town of Bidar, where the Shaheen School established in 1991 “has been producing 100 percent success at the SSLC exams for the last five years.”¹¹¹ A startling discovery is the number of Scheduled Caste and Tribes students learning Urdu in Bidar, through Social Welfare schools. The issues that face literacy in and education through Urdu in Karnataka are somewhat similar to those in other states, namely the violation of letter and spirit of the three language formula, the lack of teachers, textbooks and infrastructure. In 2005, for instance, according to the President of Karnataka State Urdu Teachers’ Association, the state did not extend the satellite-based distance education system called EDUSAT to Urdu medium schools...and that there are no Urdu *anganwadis* (neighborhood schools) among the 45,000 such schools.¹¹² According to Maqbool Siraj ‘S findings, “1146 Urdu primary schools do not have water facility; 1162 do not have toilets; 1288 lack compound walls; 1265 without electricity; 1714

¹⁰⁸ Mumtaz Ali Khan, *Muslims in the Process of Rural Development in India: A Study of Karnataka*, (New Delhi: Uppal, 1984). Sociologist Mumtaz Ali Khan, who joined the BJP in 2004, became a minister in 2008.

¹⁰⁹ Hans R. Dua, *Language Use, Attitudes and Identity among Linguistic Minorities: A Case Study of Dakkhini Urdu Speakers in Mysore*, (Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages, 1985), pp. 33-40.

¹¹⁰ “Shimoga Shows the Way,” *Islamic Voice* (November 2000), online edition.

¹¹¹ “Bidar School Shows the Way Forward,” *Islamic Voice* (July 2007) internet edition.

¹¹² “Urdu Education Neglected in Karnataka,” *Radiance* (18-24 December 2005), p. 33.

schools without buildings of their own, and 2000 Urdu-speaking villages or habitations do not have Urdu primary schools within one kilometers.”¹¹³

The textbooks in Karnataka are prepared by State Textbooks Committee and published by Government Textbook Press in Mysore, though it is not clear what role the Press plays in publishing Urdu texts. The State Minorities Commission noted that the “supply of textbooks is not made in time. The Director of Text Books D.E.S.E.R.T. should walk watch the supply of textbooks of all categories including Urdu.”¹¹⁴ The following table shows the enrollment in Urdu medium schools in Karnataka.

Table XV

Urdu Medium Enrollment in Primary Schools in Karnataka, 1955-2010

Year	No. of Schools	No. of Students	No. of Teachers	Source of info. & Remarks
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¹¹³ Email from Maqbool Ahmed Siraj, 6 June 2010, based on research in 2006. Karnataka State Minorities Commission expresses an identical complaint, except that it also notes similar conditions in other schools than Urdu medium, see *Minorities in Karnataka: Vision 2025*, (Bangalore: Minorities Commission, 2005), p. 8.

¹¹⁴ *Minorities in Karnataka: Vision 2025*, (Bangalore: Minorities Commission, 2005), p.12.

1955-56	1338	88,107	Not available	CLM Report, November 1960-December 1961, p. 157
1956-57	1894	145,350	Not available	CLM Report, November 1960-December 1961, p. 157.
1957-58	1927	130,786	4,359	CLM Report, November 1960-December 1961, p. 157.
1958-59	1982	158,537	4,100	CLM Report, November 1960-December 1961, p. 157.
1959-60	2,052	168,787	4,843	CLM Report, November 1960-December 1961, p. 157.
1960-61	2,057	162,800	5,081	CLM Report, November 1960-December 1961, p. 157.
1961-62	2321	213,292	5757	CLM Report, January-December 1963, pp.109-110.
1962-63	2398	266370	6246	CLM Report, January-December 1964, p. 150.
1963-67				GAP
1967-68	2541	274533	7028	CLM Report, July 1969-June 1970, p. 117.
1968-69	2560	284703	7096	CLM Report, July 1969-June 1970, p. 117.
1969-70	2586	293085	7318	CLM Report, July 1969-June 1970, p. 118.
1970-71	2591	307247	7410	CLM Report, July 1972-June 1973, p. 212.
1971-72	2591	313385	7410	CLM Report, July 1972-June 1973, p. 212.
1972-73	2624	316279	7494	CLM Report, July 1972-June 1973, p. 212.
1973-74	2624	322602	7494	CLM Report, July 1973-June 1974, p. 203.
1974-75	2645	331164	7615	CLM Report, July 1974-June 1975, p. 239.
Year	No. of Schools	No. of Students	No. of Teachers	Source of info. & Remarks

1975-76	2686	322065	7669	CLM Report, July 1975-June 1976, p. 206.
1976-77	2689	325622	7995	CLM Report, July 1976-June 1977, p. 207.
1977-78				Data not furnished, CLM Report, July 1976-June 1977, p. 207.
1978-79	2686	342041	7790	CLM Report, July 1980-June 1981, p. 349.
1979-80	2795	355339	8654	CLM Report, July 1981-June 1982, p. 333.
1980-81	2822	360009	8762	CLM Report, July 1981-June 1982, p. 333.
1981-82	2877	363432	9055	CLM Report, July 1983-June 1984, p. 444.
1982-83	2904	368142	9270	CLM Report, July 1983-June 1984, p. 444.
1983-84				No data furnished, CLM Report, July 1985-June 1986, p. 218.
1984-86				No data furnished, CLM Report, July 1985-June 1986, p. 218.
1986-87	2807	490668	10330	CLM Report, July 1988-June 1989, p. 112.
1987-88	2853	530388	11186	CLM Report, July 1988-June 1989, p. 112.
1988-89				27 th CLM Report, 1988, claims Urdu education increased in leaps and bounds, increase of 19, 107 students and deployment of 588 more teachers, p. 149.
1989-90	2853	530388	11186	30 th Report of CLM. Attached sections of schools : 1430; data for year 1987-88.
1990	2853	462666	11136	Jaafari Report, p. 68.
1990-91				No data in CLM Report July 1990-June 1991.
1991-1992				GAP
1992-93				No data in CLM Report July 1992-June 1993.

1993-2000				GAP
Year	No. of Schools	No. of Students	No. of Teachers	Source of info. & Remarks
2000-01	2640	423141	11635	CLM Report, July 2000-June 2001, p.134.
2001-02				GAP
2002-03	3271	456182	13549	CLM Report, June 2001-June 2002, p. 74.
2003-04	3811	No data	15819	CLM Report, July 2003-June 2004, p. 92-93.
2004-05	4097	574152	17227	CLM Report, July 2004-June 2005, p. 59.
2005-06	2326	56135	17779	CLM Report, July 2005-June 2006, p. 51. Not clear why such a steep fall in number of schools.
2006-07				
2008-09		450,897	16298 Working; 17679 Sanctioned posts	Sarva Shikshana Abhiyan, Karnataka
2009-10		443,394	16248 Working; 17860 Sanctioned posts	Sarva Shikshana Abhiyan, Karnataka

Table XVI

Urdu Medium Enrollment in Secondary Schools in Karnataka, 1959-2010

Year	No. of Schools	No. of students	No. of Teachers	Source of info. & remarks
1959-60	29	5291	399	CLM Report, January-December 1963, p. 199. Subject students: 4953.
1960-61	50	5757	430	CLM Report, January-December 1963, p. 199. Subject students: 5539.
1961-62	30	8253	369	CLM Report, January-December 1964, p. 200. Subject students: 4030.
1962-63	34	6442	347	CLM Report, January-December 1964, p. 200. Subject students: 5765
1963-67				GAP
1967-68	29	17403	649	CLM Report, July 1969-June 1970, p. 125. Subject students: 9366. Discrepancy between numbers of students in previous years not clear.
1968-69	31	10574	656	CLM Report, July 1969-June 1970, p. 125. Subject students: 10,582.
1969-70	28	8440	672	CLM Report, July 1969-June 1970, p.125. Subject students: 12474.
1970-71	34	19829	696	CLM Report, July 1972-June 1973, p. 225. Subject students 12221.
1971-72	29	19353	784	CLM Report, July 1972-June 1973, p.225. Subject students: 9277.
1972-73	32	23036	853	CLM Report, July 1972-June 1973, p.225. Subject students:

				10919.
1973-74	33	25189	924	CLM Report, July 1973-June 1974, p.215. Subject students: 12222.
1974-75	33	25768	936	CLM Report, July 1975-June 1976, p.216. Subject students: 13121.
1975-76	33	25906	937	CLM Report, July 1976-June 1977, p.216. Subject students: 13212.
Year	No. of Schools	No. of students	No. of Teachers	Source of info. & remarks
1976-77	34	26430	937	CLM Report, July 1976-June 1977, p. 216. Subject students: 13218.
1977-78	43	22773	771	CLM Report, July 1976-June 1977, p. 216. Subject students:12709
1978-79	33	26909	769	CLM Report, July 1980-June 1981, p. 360. Subject students: 13482.
1979-80	41	30189	1016	CLM Report, July 1980-June 1981, p. 360. Subject students: 16288.
1980-81	42	31137	1004	CLM Report, July 1981-June 1982, p. 340. Subject students: 15282.
1981-82	53	101191	2198	CLM Report, July 1983-June 1984, p. 451. Subject students: 944.
1982-83	84	23699	1125	CLM Report, July 1983-June 1984, p. 451. Subject students: 15317.
1983-84				GAP
1984-86				GAP
1986-87	138	24301	1125	CLM Report, July 1988-June 1989, p. 114. Subject students: 32251.
1987-88				27 th CLM Report, 1988, claims increase in student enrollment,

				sections, and teachers, p. 151.
1988-89				GAP
1989-90	99	33390	1196	30 th Report of CLM. Attached sections of schools : 267; Subject students 34149 data for year 1987-88.
1990-91				No data in CLM Report July 1990-June 1991.
1991-92				GAP
1992-93				No data in CLM Report July 1992-June 1993.
1993-00				No data available.
2000-01	168	31068	1006	CLM Report, July 2000-June 2001, p. 134. Discrepancy between number of teachers noted, p. 136.
Year	No. of Schools	No. of students	No. of Teachers	Source of info. & remarks
2001-02				GAP
2002-03	209	54205	2270	CLM Report, July 2002-June 2003, p. 76.
2003-04				Not given in the CLM Report July 2003-June 2004.
2004-05	297	64768	2182	CLM Report, July 2004-June 2005, p. 60. Subject students: 185624.
2005-07				GAP
2007-08		66004		Sarva Shikshana Abhiyan, Karnataka; students in Social Welfare, Local Bodies; Private Aided; Private Unaided number Total 55419. Social Welfare means, SC, ST schools.
2009-10		79016	19,960 Working teachers; 21, 555 sanctioned.	Sarva Shikshana Abhiyan, Karnataka.

Maharashtra

Until 1960, the Bombay state comprised both the present state of Gujarat and Maharashtra. Given that the state as a whole was multi-lingual also meant the general acceptance of the notion of multilingualism in education. Within the state, Bombay was the state capital and the icon of modern India, as the most cosmopolitan city in the nation. The cosmopolitan character of Bombay has significant implications for the question of language choice in primary through higher secondary education. In addition to the numerous caste and community schools established and sustained by voluntary organizations, the municipal

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authorities are involved in the education of various language groups resident in the city: Gujaratis, Hindi speakers, Kannada, Marathi, Sindhi, Telugu, and Urdu, to name the most obvious since the nineteenth century. The advent of independence, linguistic reorganization of 1950s, bifurcation of the composite state in 1960, the rise of Hindu/Marathi chauvinist Shiva Sena since 1966, none could change the basic structure of primary through secondary education in the state as far as the language question is concerned. Like other states, Maharashtra also follows the fundamental principal of primary education through mother tongue and inclusion of mother tongue in the secondary education as a subject, if the language does not happen to be the medium of instruction.

The position of Urdu speaking population and Muslim population over the decades can be seen in the table noted below.

Table XV

Urdu Population and Muslim Population in Maharashtra

Year	Percentage of Urdu Speakers to total population	Percentage of Muslims	Coefficient	Total Urdu Speakers in millions
1961		7.67		
1971		8.40		
1981		9.25	87	
1991		9.7	75.2	
2001	7.81	10.6		6.9

The state is divided into several regions, each with its own distinct recent and distant past, and each with differing legacies of association with Urdu. Until 1956,

the eastern region of Marathwada was a part of the old Hyderabad state, where Urdu was the language of instruction in many urban areas. The region called Vidarbha known until 1950s as Berar was also a part of the Hyderabad state until 1853, and nominally thereafter until independence. It also inherited a legacy of Urdu schools among Muslims. Similar is the case with the former region called Central Provinces with the capital in Nagpur.¹¹⁵ Urdu has made inroads in the coastal belt of Konkan, and communities hitherto speaking Gujarati. Since the late nineteenth century, Konkani Muslims, Memons, and the tiny sect of Sulaymani Bohras, both speakers of various Gujarati dialects, have adopted Urdu as the language of primary education, formal communication, and religious discourse.¹¹⁶ In the Desh region too, Muslims now increasingly use Urdu as the medium of primary school instruction.¹¹⁷ Unlike many parts of India, where Muslims have not established their own schools, Bombay and Pune are exemplary in community's voluntary effort in establishing and sustaining schools. Anjuman-i Islam, established in 1874, is the premier organization, with a string of schools and institutions spread over the state. A similar organization, started in 1927, is Anjuman-i Khairul Islam with its own schools imparting Urdu. Twenty years later, in 1947, Haji Ghulam Muhammad Azam, a Gujarati Muslim, donated land to build an educational institution in Pune. By the dawn of the twenty first century, the land is now the site of a host of institutions run by a Trust.¹¹⁸ Together with the

¹¹⁵ Muhammad Sharaf al-Din Sahil, *Nagpur ka Muslim Maashirah*, 3 vols.(Nagpur: Aleem Printers, 200)

¹¹⁶ Omar Khalidi, *Muslims in the Deccan: A Historical Survey*, (New Delhi: Global Media, 2006).

¹¹⁷ Veronique Benei, *Schooling Passions: Nation, History and Language in Western India*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008), see chapter V, From Becoming to Being Muslim: Urdu Education, Affects of Belonging and the Indian Nation, pp. 175-207.

¹¹⁸ Jyoti Punwani, "Changing Face of Pune Schools," *The Hindu* (18 March 2003), internet edition.

Kokan Muslim Education Society, (established in 1928 in Bhiwandi, barely 15 miles northwest of Mumbai) the schools run by these voluntary organization have clearly contributed to the rapid Urduization of the disparate groups of Muslims through literacy in standard Urdu. According to Malik Tase, prior to the founding of Kokan Muslim Education Society's first school, "a very large chunk of Muslim population had nothing like a language. Their only vehicle of communication was a dialect that did not function as a language. The school gave them a language (Urdu) which has become the mother tongue of the entire post-1930 generations and Bhiwandi has now become a recognized center of Urdu."¹¹⁹ Tase's assertion finds corroboration in Nashtar's work on education in Konkan region.¹²⁰ There is even an unprecedented Tanzim-i Walidayn-i Urdu Madaris, a parents association of children in Urdu schools. Established in 1991 in Pune, the purpose of the Tanzim is to run Urdu schools to promote education in all groups, as indicated in its annual reports.¹²¹ While a systematic quality assessment of Urdu literacy is lacking, journalistic writings certainly present a positive picture as exemplified by the writings of Hanif Mohammed,¹²² Anis Chishti¹²³, and Muhammad Hasan Faruqi.¹²⁴ Jawid and Unaiza Parekh, parents of one student even did a SWOT

¹¹⁹ Malik Tase, "Kokan Muslim Education Society, Bhiwandi," *The Milli Gazette* (16-30 September 2006), p. 13.

¹²⁰ Abd al-Rahim Nashtar, *Kokan main Urdu Taalim*, (Nairobi: Urdu Writers Guild, 1996).

¹²¹ Tanzim-i Walidayn-i Urdu Madaris, *15th Annual Report*, Pune, 2006, p. 2.

¹²² M.H. Lakdawala, "Urdu Medium School Give Tough Competition to Christian Missionary Schools," *The Milli Gazette* (1-15 October 2003), p. 7; the same writer, "Urdu Medium Schools Luring New Converts," *Radiance* (4-10 April 2004), pp. 18-19;

¹²³ Anis Chishti, "Maharashtra main Urdu Zariya-i Taalim ki Kam Yabi," *Urdu Duniya* (October-December 1999): 35-37;

¹²⁴ Muhammad Hasan Faruqi, "Maharashtra main Urdu Taalim," *Urdu Duniya* (March 2006): 15-19.

(Strengths, Weakness, Opportunities, and Threats) Analysis to determine the consequences of Urdu medium education for their child. It became evident that most of the merit students in Maharashtra came from schools teaching through Indian languages. That test resulted in a positive decision in favor of an Urdu school.¹²⁵ At least two Urdu medium students—Tanwir Maniar in 1997 and Bilal Iqbal Mistri in 1999-- have topped Maharashtra Secondary School Certificate examinations. According to a press report, in Mumbai “apart from English, now Urdu and Hindi appear to be the favored medium of instruction, the capital of a Marathi-speaking state.”¹²⁶ However, some school administrators have noted cases of discriminatory practices against Urdu institutions on a number of occasions.¹²⁷

Appointment of Teachers

In 2005, vacancies of 266 teachers of Urdu were left unfilled in Mumbai Municipal Corporations schools due to reservation for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Nomadic Tribes, social groups not found among Urdu speakers of Karnataka who are all Muslim.¹²⁸ In Maharashtra, the textbooks are prepared by the Maharashtra Bureau of Textbook Production and Curriculum Research, called Balbharati, or Indian child. Within this Bureau there is an Urdu Language Section

¹²⁵ M.H. Lakdawala, “Urdu Medium Schools Luring New Converts,” *Radiance* (4-10 April 2004), pp. 18-19.

¹²⁶ Mahesh Vijapurkar, “Declining Enrollment for Marathi Medium,” *The Hindu* (12 May 2004) electronic edition.

¹²⁷ Fatima Anis, *Maharashtra ke Taalimi Masail aur Urdu Schools*, (Bombay, 1982).

¹²⁸ “No Teachers in Urdu Schools,” *Islamic Voice* (August 2005), p. 5.

with the responsibility of preparing Urdu textbooks.¹²⁹ The following table shows Urdu medium enrollment in Maharashtra schools.

Table XVI

Enrollment in Urdu Medium Primary Schools in Maharashtra, 1959-2010

Year	No of schools	No of students	No of teachers	Source of info & remarks
1959-60	1273	195,738	5227	CLM Report, January-December 1962, p. 208.
1960-61	1313	213,759	5392	CLM Report, January-December 1962, p. 208.
1961-62				Not furnished, CLM Report, January-December 1964, p. 150.
1962-63	804	11,636	2564	Incomplete data in CLM Report, January-

¹²⁹ Balbharati—Urdu Department, see its website,

<http://www.balbharati.in/Language/urdu.htm>

Accessed on June 16, 2010.

				December 1964, p. 150.
1963-67				GAP
1967-68	1637	294,107	7984	CLM Report, July 1969-June 1970, p. 117.
1968-70				Not furnished, CLM Report, July 1969-June 1970, p. 117.
1970-71	1712	317,706	8901	CLM Report, July 1972-June 1973, p. 211.
1971-72	1723	327,311	9317	CLM Report, July 1973-June 1974, p. 204.
1972-73	1776	335,689	9329	CLM Report, July 1973-June 1974, p. 204.
1973-74	1781	344,873	10064	CLM Report, July 1974-June 1975, p. 240.
1974-75	1839	356,193	10813	CLM Report, July 1974-June 1975, p. 241.
1975-76	1860	365,930	10739	CLM Report, July 1975-June 1976, p. 207.
1976-77	1878	387,750	11076	CLM Report, July 1976-June 1977, p. 209.
1977-78				GAP
1978-79	1980	408,002	11435	CLM Report, July 1980-June 1981, p. 351.
1979-80	2013	424,842	10506	CLM Report, July 1980-June 1981, p. 351.
1980-81	1984	438,353	11945	CLM Report, July 1981-June 1982, p. 334.
1981-82	2056	462,514	12028	CLM Report, July 1983-June 1984, p. 445.
Year	No of schools	No of students	No of teachers	Source of info & remarks
1982-84				Data not furnished, CLM Report, July 1984-June 1985, p. 382.
1984-85	2326	431950	12229	CLM Report, July 1985-June 1986, p.298.
1985-86	2395	467156	12526	CLM Report, July 1985-June 1986, p.298.

1986-87	2059	530389	13311	CLM Report, July 1988-June 1989, p. 112.
1987-88	2103	545242	14807	CLM Report, July 1988-June 1989, p. 112; no. of sections 291.
1988-89	2087	557565	13662	30 th CLM Report, no. of sections 320.
1990	2103	505154	14807	Jaafari Report, p. 68. Repeats info based on 1987-88 from CLM.
1990-91				No data in CLM Report July 1990-June 1991.
1991-92				GAP
1992-93				No data in CLM Report July 1992-June 1993.
1993-99				GAP, no data available in CLM Reports for the period.
2000-01	2541	849,372	18381	CLM Report, July 2000-June 2001, p. 156.
2001-02				GAP
2002-03				No data in CLM Report, July 2002-June 2003.
2003-04	2634	79250	18108	CLM Report, July 2003-June 2004, p. 193. There may be an error in number of students as enumerated.
2004-05	2541	763,738	16804	CLM Report, July 2004-June 2005, p. 156. Fall in number of students and teachers from the previous year.
2005-06				No data given in the CLM Report, July 2005-June 2006.
2006-07				
2007-08				
2008-09				
2009-10				

Table XVII

Urdu Medium Secondary School Enrollment in Maharashtra, 1959-2010

Year	No of schools	No of students	No of Teachers	Source of info & Remarks
1959-60	67	14,604	773	CLM Report, January-December 1962, p. 248. Subject students:7445
1960-61	81	17,790	966	CLM Report, January-December 1962, p. 248. Urdu Subject students:7969
1961-64				Not furnished, CLM Report, January-December 1964, p.201.
1964-67				GAP
1967-68	101	49,195	898	CLM Report, July 1969-June 1970, p. 125. Urdu subject students: 19184.
1968-70				GAP
1970-71	142	61,900	1540	CLM Report, July 1972-June 1973, p.224.
1971-72	154	66,282	2512	CLM Report, July 1973-June 1974, p. 217.
1972-73	165	77,060	3049	CLM Report, July 1973-June 1974, p. 217.
1973-74	170	81,485	3315	CLM Report, July 1974-June 1975, p. 262.
1974-75	171	84076	3467	CLM Report, July 1974-June 1975, p. 262.
1975-76	164	82808	3190	CLM Report, July 1976-June 1977, p. 218.

Year	No of schools	No of students	No of Teachers	Source of info & Remarks
1976-77	186	80563	3629	CLM Report, July 1976-June 1977, p. 218.
1977-78				Data not furnished, CLM Report, July 1976-June 1977, p. 218.
1978-79	197	83234	5520	CLM Report, July 1980-June 1981, p. 362.
1979-80	197	90428	5375	CLM Report, July 1980-June 1981, p. 362.
1980-81	208	109523	5785	CLM Report, July 1981-June 1982, p. 341.
1981-82	131	63234	3801	CLM Report, July 1982-June 1983, p. 356.
1982-85				Data not furnished, CLM Report, July 1984-June 1985, p. 389.
1985-86				GAP
1986-87	301	4484885	8206	CLM Report, July 1988-June 1989, p.115.
1987-88	325	156144	8506	CLM Report, July 1988-June 1989, p.115; no. of sections 129.
1988-89	345	169072	8716	30 th CLM Report, no. of sections 139.
1990	325			Jaafari Report, p. 73. Also 129 schools with Urdu medium parallel classes.
1990-91				No data in CLM Report July 1990-June 1991.
1992-93				No data in CLM Report July 1992-June 1993.

1993-2000				No data in CLM Reports
2000-01	698	308100	8837	CLM Report July 2000-July 2001, p. 156.
Year	No of schools	No of students	No of Teachers	Source of info & Remarks
2001-02				GAP Report not seen
2002-03				No data in CLM Report, July 2002-June 2003.
2003-04	809	377606	10,207	CLM Report, July 2003-June 2004, p. 194.
2004-05	933			Incomplete data in CLM Report July 2004-June 2005, p. 156.
2005-06				No data furnished, CLM Report, July 2005-June 2006, p. 106.
2009	927	50958		The number of students noted here includes only passed students, not the number enrolled. Ummid.com, July 09, 2009

In addition to the primary and secondary schools, there evidently are 229 junior colleges with 27910 students who passed the exams in 2009 academic year.¹³⁰ Judged by the number of schools and enrolled students, it is clear that Maharashtra tops the list of states with highest Urdu literacy.¹³¹

¹³⁰ "Insufficient Junior Colleges in Maharashtra Escalating Dropout Cases," Ummid.com 09 July 2009.

¹³¹ Tanzim-i Walidayn-i Urdu Madaris, based in Pune, gives an even higher data. It estimates 2000 KG classes comprising of 2000 teachers and 100,000 students; 4000 primary schools, 2000 teachers and 750,000 students; 1500 secondary schools, 8000 teachers, and 450,000 students; 200 junior colleges, 1000 teachers and 50, 000 students. Letter from Mirza Zafar Ahmad Baig & Ishaq Shaikh, Vice President & General Secretary respectively of the Tanzim, dated 14 May 2010.

Urdu Literacy: State Report Cards, 2004-2008

The State Report Cards (SRCs) is a database of statistics on elementary education, i.e. primary through secondary schools received from all states and union territories of India. Among other datasets, the SRCs provide data on examination results, teachers, mediums of instruction, among other parameters on which information is not available in other sources. Extracting data on medium of instruction, this Report presents statistics on Urdu enrollment in 6 states over four years, 2004-2008. The tables noted below are arranged in order of largest number of students in each state, thus Maharashtra tops the list and UP is at the bottom.

Maharashtra

Year	Total enrollment	Urdu Enrollment	% of Total Enrollment
2004-05	12551005	717282	
2005-06	14647728	8411556	
2006-07	15163550	917210	
2007-08	14579816	953028	

Bihar

Year	Total enrollment	Urdu Enrollment	% of Total Enrollment
2004-05	12717460	828678	

2005-06	13316926	884812	
2006-07	14789364	758984	
2007-08	16629913	874529	

Karnataka

Year	Total enrollment	Urdu Enrollment	% of Total Enrollment
2004-05	7729775	465523	
2005-06	6741266	336185	
2006-07	7781686	451188	
2007-08	7898916	473384	

Andhra Pradesh

Year	Total enrollment	Urdu Enrollment	% of Total Enrollment
2004-05	11333887	310782	
2005-06	11122940	293009	
2006-07	11278928	319852	
2007-08	11012673	311017	

Delhi

Year	Total enrollment	Urdu Enrollment	% of Total
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			Enrollment
2004-05	2041377	18516	
2005-06	2216194	24850	
2006-07	2350023	27440	
2007-08	2420187	25894	

Uttar Pradesh

Year	Total enrollment	Urdu Enrollment	% of Total Enrollment
2004-05	26577442	136262	
2005-06	29487223	97561	
2006-07	31740201	117656	
2007-08	31706325	128892	

CBSE Exams and Urdu Literacy

Central Board of Secondary School Education, CBSE is a national organization with a history dating back to 1921. Its purposes are

To prescribe conditions of examinations and conduct public examination at the end of Class X and XII. To grant qualifying certificates to successful candidates of the affiliated schools.

To fulfill the educational requirements of those students whose parents were employed in transferable jobs.

The results of students who appeared through Urdu medium for CBSE exam for the year 2005 [?] as cited in Sachar Report (page 82, Fig. 4.29) show that performance in CBSE examination is poor. A report compiled by M. Hanif Lakdawala shows that in 2007, the “All India Urdu result in class 10 stands at 50 percent while the non-Urdu result is 78 percent. In class 12, the overall non-Urdu result is 85 percent while in Urdu it is 66 percent. Last year [2006], it was 57 percent and in 2005 it was 35 percent...this is the best Urdu result in two Language in India www.languageinindia.com 122

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decades.”¹³² The Delhi schools in the past did poorly. But evidently there is a marked improvement, as the 2010 result shows. The pass result has shot up to nearly 90 percent, compared to a sorry 31 percent a decade ago.¹³³ The Urdu Model Schools located in Vatepalli, Hyderabad, Darbhanga, Bihar, and Mewat, Hyderabad successfully completed first year of education based on CBSE syllabus. The results, according to a report in *Etemad* have been encouraging.¹³⁴

¹³² M. Hanif Lakdawala, “Urdu Schools: Much Distance to Travel,” *Islamic Voice* (July 2007), internet edition.

¹³³ “Delhi CBSE Results: At 89.12 Percent Urdu Schools Race Ahead,” Ummid.com 23 May 2010, http://www.ummid.com/news/2010/May/23.05.2010/delhi_cbse_results_urdu_schools.htm

¹³⁴ “Pahle Urdu Model School ki Kamyab Takmil,” *Etemad* (28 June 2010) internet edition.

Role of Madarsas in Urdu Literacy

Madarsas have a long and distinguished history in India. They have existed since the early days of Islam in the subcontinent. While the histories of major institutions such as Deoband, Nadwat al-Ulama and others are available, there are no reliable statistics of for madarsa students and teachers in the past to measure their extent, geographic location and influence.¹³⁵ For more recent times, there are some statistics. The Hamdard Education Society in New Delhi conducted a survey of 576 madarsas between 1989 to 1991. It reveals an expansion of madarsas from 1, 06, 678 in 1989 to 1, 47, 011 two years later.¹³⁶ Citing unnamed, undated surveys conducted by National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER) and National Council for Educational Research and Training (NCERT), the Sachar Report claims “that only about 4% of all Muslim students of the school going age group are enrolled in the Madrasas. At the all-India level this works to be about 3% of all Muslim children of school going age. The NCAER data is supported by estimates made from school level NCERT (provisional) data; which indicates a somewhat lower level of 2.3 % of Muslim children aged 7-19 years who study in Madrasas. The proportions are higher in rural areas and amongst males.”¹³⁷ According to India Human Development Survey data of 2005,

¹³⁵ Statistics for enrollment at Deoband and Nadwa from 1945-71 in Mushirul Haq, “Religious Education,” pp. 22-42, in his *Islam in Secular India*, (Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, 1971); and more recent research in *Islamic Education: Diversity and National Identity, Dini Madaris in India Post-9/11*, edited by Jan-Peter Harmut and Helmut Reifeld, (New Delhi: Sage, 2006).

¹³⁶ Qamaruddin, *Hindustan ki Dini Darshagan*, (New Delhi: Hamdard Education Society, 1996), as cited in Qamaruddin, “Status of Madrasa Education in India,” *Radiance* (10-16 August 1997), pp. 33-34.

¹³⁷ *Social Economic and Educational Status of the Muslim Community of India*, (New Delhi: Prime Minister’s High Level Committee, Government of India, 2006), pp. 75-77, citation on p. 77.

enrollment figures in Madarsas are only about one percent of the overall population. This calculates to about 5% of the Muslim children.¹³⁸

Regardless of exact numbers, the madrasas play a major part in Urdu literacy. The language of instruction in most madarsas has been Urdu in most states of India. In some madarsas of Kerala, Tamilnadu and West Bengal, the language of instruction is naturally Malayalam, Tamil, and Bengali respectively.¹³⁹ But these are exceptions; the rule still is that Urdu is the language of instruction in madarsas. It is not the purpose of madarsas to specifically promote Urdu, but given that literature on Islam in it is unrivalled by any Indian language, Urdu is the natural choice as the medium of madarsa education. The curriculum, content, “relevance,” and standard of education at the madarsas, is irrelevant to the purposes of this Report, which is to gauge the status of literacy in and education through Urdu. How many madarsas there are in the country? The Union Ministry of Human Resources Development estimates the nationwide total as around 27, 500, according to a 2006 press report, though it does not tally with other figures

<http://minorityaffairs.gov.in/newsite/sachar/sachar.asp>

¹³⁸ <http://www.ihds.umd.edu/>

Accessed 30 June 2010. I am indebted to Prof. Solande Desai for this reference.

¹³⁹ B.M. Idinabba, from the Beary ethnic group of Muslims in Karnataka made what must be characterized as a highly eccentric statement calling upon Madarsas in his native state to adopt Kannada instead of Urdu, see Jaideep Shenny, “Idinabbad Keen on Madarsas Adopting Kannada,” *The Hindu* 7 March 2005, internet edition; “Kannada Camps in Madarsas and Mosques,” *The Hindu* (12 June 2010), internet edition.

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attributed to it.¹⁴⁰ The following table gives both HRD and other estimate of number of madarsas.

Table XIII
Madarsas in Selected States of India

State	Recognized Madarsas Per HRD	Madarsas/Maktabas Supported under SSA Per HRD	Unregistered/unrecognized Maktabas/Madarsas supported under SSA Per HRD	Madarsas Per Other Estimates
AP	103			250 ¹⁴¹
Assam	384	395	588	633 ¹⁴²
Bihar	3577	882		1118 ¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ "Number of Madarsas in the Country," *The Milli Gazette* (16-31 March 2006), p.20.

¹⁴¹ Based on estimate of Rahimuddin Ansari, Secretary, Dini Madaris Board, AP, given to the author in Hyderabad, 9 December 2009. He estimates the total number of resident and nonresident students at various madarsas to be around 5,000 and 6,000 respectively in all of AP.

¹⁴² Syed Ahmed, "Assam Seeks 50 Crores for Madrasa Modernization," *Radiance* (1-7 November 2009), pp. 13-14. The discrepancy between the HRD and Assam Madarsa Board may be because of different dates from which the data is available.

¹⁴³ Figures obtained from the Bihar State Madrasa Education Board website <http://biharmadrasaboard.edu.in/index.html>

Delhi			40	
Gujarat	1050			
Haryana			30	
HP	8	8	67	
Karnataka	323			
Kerala	42			
MP	4472	3280		
Maharashtra				2637 ¹⁴⁴
Manipur				72 ¹⁴⁵
Orissa	887	500	123	
Punjab			14	
Rajasthan	1570	747+256	261	5000 ¹⁴⁶

Accessed on January 8, 2010, the same figures also given in *Socio-Economic Status of Muslims in Bihar*, (Patna: Asian Development Research Institute, 2005?), pp. 138-139. The Report has evidently gone missing, see, "Govt Report on Status of Bihar Muslims Goes Missing," *The Times of India*, (15 March 2006), p. 15.

¹⁴⁴ Figure supplied by *Lok Rajya*, (September 2008), p 311. *Lok Rajya* is a government monthly publication in Urdu published in Mumbai.

¹⁴⁵ Syed Ahmed, "A Madrasa Board in Manipur in the Offing," *Radiance* (23-29 August 2009): 16-17. Apart from madarsas, there are 97 *maktabs*.

¹⁴⁶ "In Rajasthan, 3.5 Lakh Students Receive Education in 5000 Madarsas," *The Milli Gazette* (16-31 August 2009), p. 9, quoting a report of the State Education Department based on the year 1999-2000 estimates.

Tamilnadu	2			
Tripura	41			
Uttarkhand	92			
Uttar Pradesh	997	291	706	2160 ¹⁴⁷
W. Bengal	508	508		575 ¹⁴⁸
Total	14229	6867	2588	

Source: Regulatory Mechanisms for Textbook and Parallel Textbooks Taught in Schools Outside the Government System: A Report, by Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education, Ministry of HRD, 2005, p. 39.

According to Mohd Shafiquzzaman, in 2001, in Bihar “there are 1307 affiliated Madarasas...receiving grand from Madarsa Education Board, and 2986 madarasas without grant from the Bihar Madarsa Board,” which incidentally was established way back in 1922? It began as Madarsa Examination Board.

How many students are there in the madarasas? The Sachar Committee’s estimate is 4 percent of the total Muslim student enrollment. This is still a sizeable number.

¹⁴⁷ This is a combined figure for three levels of madarsa education in UP, Tahtaniya, primary from class 1-5 (451) ; Fauqaniya, middle, 6-8 (316); ; Aliya, high (1393), Figures for the year 2009/2010 supplied by the Deputy Registrar of UP Madarsa Board via Prof. Masood Alam Falahi, Maulana Azad National Urdu University, Lucknow, January 11, 2010 by email.

¹⁴⁸ Syed Ahmed, “NCERT Hails Madrasa Education System,” *Radiance* (27 September-3 October 2009), pp. 12-14. This figure closely tallies with the announcement of the State Minority Affairs Minister Abdus Sattar’s statement in October 2009, reported by Subir Bhaumik, “India State Changes Madrasa Rules,” *BBC News* online 16 October 2009. Abdus Sattar’s figure was a total of 576 madarasas. The madarasas in Bengal have a long history, see *History of Madrasa Education with Special Reference to Calcutta Madrasa and W.B. Madrasa Board*, (Calcutta: Rays Anwar Rahman, 1977).

Beyond Formal Schools and Madarsas: the NGOs

Besides the madarsas, there are a number of other institutions involved in imparting preschool and elementary education through Urdu. The most recent example is that of Pratham, which means beginning or start in Sanskrit. Pratham is the largest non -governmental organization working to provide quality education to the underprivileged children of India. Pratham was established in 1994. See its website <http://www.pratham.org/>.



Pratham's National Urdu Seminar in Sept. 2007 in New Delhi. Photo by Pratham.

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Omar Khalidi

A Report on the State of Urdu Literacy in India, 2010

Basing on the widely accepted estimate that nearly 90 percent of all Indian students receive primary education through mother tongue, Pratham started a program of preprimary education run in the poorest *bastis*, or slums run by teachers—mostly female—coming from the same community as the students.¹⁴⁹ Pratham runs several specific programs: The first is Balwadi, literally meaning “baby sitting,” but which provides preschool education to children from ages 3 to 5 years. The Balwadi classes build the social, emotional, motor and cognitive skills of the children, thereby preparing them to adjust to the school atmosphere. This also helps the problem of retention and achievement at a nascent age. Since most parents in slums are illiterate and unable to help their children, the Balwadis are a big help. The second program Balvachan, “child’s promise,” is for pupils from ages 5 to 6, is designed for children who are attending Balwadis and Anganwadis. It seeks to build their language and math skills to quip them to enter schools. Working children pose a barrier to Pratham’s mission of “every child in school and learning well.” To end this barrier, the Pratham set up a number of residential schools to teach children who have been rescued from work. Through Residential Bridge Course the children are mainstreamed into schools. Non Residential Bridge Course Centers is another program meant for children between the ages 3-14 years. The centers are established to target the dropout and the children who have never been to schools. The Centers are run in partnership with Sarva Shiksha Abhyan, (SSA) “education for all,” a state-run initiative. Mother Literacy Program of Pratham aims at imparting literacy skills to females of age 15 and up. This

¹⁴⁹ See MIT’s Jameel Poverty Action Lab Policy Brief, no 2 on Pratham at

<http://www.povertyactionlab.org/evaluation/teaching-pre-schoolers-read-randomized-evaluation-pratham-shishuvachan-program-india>

Accessed on July 20 2010

program helps make the students literate with basic math and imparts self-confidence in them to assume active role in the education of children of their families. There is also a Pratham 's pilot program of 30 madarsas in Hyderabad in partnership with SSA. Finally, the Pratham has School-Community Linkage Program in partnership with SSA, whose main goals are to make students identify alphabet and numbers; proficiency in reading fluently; writing paragraphs; and to do arithmetic appropriate to their respective standards. The parents will be involved in improvement of learning quality, to mainstream children to schools, to increase attendance rate and retention of children, and to activate libraries.

It has began an Urdu literacy program as well, as documented on its Urdu report website,

<http://www.prathamap.org/Urdu%20Report.html>

Pratham has produced some quality storybooks inaugurated in 2009 by Vice President Hamid Ansari, see

<http://www.indiaeducationdiary.in/showCD.asp?newsid=1821>

The Maktabas, as distinct from madarsas, for instance, merit study. One example is found in Jamilur Rahman's thesis on Delhi maktabas.¹⁵⁰ The Deeni Taleemi Council of Uttar Pradesh (DTC) is another such institution. Began in 1959 under the leadership of Mawlana Abulhasan Ali Nadwi (1913-1999) and Qazi Adil Abbasi (1898-1980), among the functions of the DTC is to "popularize Urdu as the

¹⁵⁰ Jameelur Rahman, *A Study of the Role of the Maktabas in the Total Literacy Campaign in the Muslim Areas of Walled City of Delhi*, M.Ed dissertation, Dept. of Education, Jamia Millia Islamia, 1995).

medium of instruction in schools.”¹⁵¹ By late 1970s, Abbasi claimed that there were “about nine thousand primary maktab,” spread over “46 districts,” with “a total student population of about 5 lakhs.”¹⁵² The DTC “prepared and published the textbooks,” for the students.¹⁵³ In 1998, the DTC Superintendent H.U. Azmi estimated “20,000 independent and self-supporting maktab (primary schools) all over the state,” of UP.¹⁵⁴ Ten years since Azmi’s statement, a much lower figure has been given by a DTC official, “almost 12,000 maktab,” according to Masudulhasan Usmani.¹⁵⁵ Mostly recently, there are a mere 1000 maktab in the state. The students obtain basic education through Urdu in science, math, Hindi, and Islamic studies. At the fifth grade, the students go through an entrance exam. If the students pass, they can then enter either government schools or go to the higher grades of madarsa education.¹⁵⁶ Some 10, 000 students are enrolled in 2010 in the maktab.¹⁵⁷

Jamia Urdu is an examination body formed as Bazm-i Iqbal in Agra in 1939. It changed the name to Jamia and moved to Aligarh in 1949. The Jamia’s purposes,

¹⁵¹ H.U. Azmi, “Contribution of Deeni Taleemi Council to Muslims’ Education in Uttar Pradesh,” p. 149, in *Education and Muslims in India Since Independence*, edited by A.W.B. Qadri, (New Delhi: Institute of Objective Studies, 1998), pp. 147-150. Azmi was the superintendent of DTC in 1998.

¹⁵² Qazi Mohammad Adil Abbasi, *Aspects of Politics and Society: Memoirs of a Veteran Congressman*, (New Delhi: Marwah, 1981), p. 161.

¹⁵³ Qazi Mohammad Adil Abbasi, *Aspects of Politics and Society: Memoirs of a Veteran Congressman*, (New Delhi: Marwah, 1981), p. 163.

¹⁵⁴ Azmi, op. citi. 148.

¹⁵⁵ Omair Anas, “Deeni Taleemi Council,” *Radiance* (30 October-5 November 2005): 82-85.

¹⁵⁶ Interview with Dr. Masudulhasan Usmani over the phone May 23, 2010.

¹⁵⁷ Interview with Dr. Masudulhasan Usman over the phone May 23, 2010.

among others are, “to promote Urdu as mother tongue,” and “to establish examination centers.”¹⁵⁸ Correspondence course and long distance learning is also among the purposes of the Jamia, though not accomplished. The name *Jamia* Urdu is inaccurate. In Urdu, *jamia* means university. Jamia Urdu is not a university. It is an examination body, pure and simple. The Jamia provided an opportunity for a large number of indigent students who could not afford the cost of formal education to obtain certificates of various levels based on home learning. The number of candidates appearing for the Jamia’s examinations shows an impressive increase from 1949 to 1989 in various states.¹⁵⁹ The Jamia established its own curriculum and a book depot for distribution of textbooks. It owns a purpose-built building and paid staff—numbering 135 in Aligarh in June 2010. The Jamia’s brochure available in June 2010 informs that its examinations (therefore its certificates) are recognized by 16 universities, 4 boards/directorates of education in 3 states as well as three governments. Annually, it holds five examinations, namely Ibtidai, Adib, Adib-i Mahir (first and second years); Adib-i Kamil, and Muallim-i Urdu (first and second years). Muallim-i Urdu certificate holders are able to qualify for Basic Training Certificate, (BTC) enabling them to obtain jobs in primary schools in UP.

At the close of the twentieth century, the Jamia was at the threshold for further progress, but those at the helm of its affairs took a different course. According to journalist Ubaidur Rahman, “Jamia, where around 1.4 lakh students appeared in different examinations in 1998, has seen a steady decline ever since. Only 64 thousand students appeared in different examinations in 1999 and the strength

¹⁵⁸ *Tarikh-i Jamia Urdu: Bayadgar-i Jashn-i Zarrin*, edited by Masud Husain et al, (Aligarh, 1990), p. 84.

¹⁵⁹ *Tarikh-i Jamia Urdu: Bayadgar-i Jashn-i Zarrin*, op. cit, pp, 134,192-93.

declined further to a meager 35 thousand last year.”¹⁶⁰ Evidently the then registrar of Jamia Anwar Saeed, (d. 2009) was responsible for a major embezzlement, as “all the money in different accounts of the Jamia has been emptied, rather stolen. Its Rs 15 million deposit with Steel Authority of India (SAIL) has been withdrawn and squandered away.”¹⁶¹ A new registrar Saba Khan took over the job in 2005.¹⁶² Since then she and the Officer on Special Duty, OSD Farhat Ali Khan have steadily worked for restoring Jamia to its earlier role, and advance its mission. Thus in 2009 as many as 70,000 candidates appeared for the five exams it held. While the numbers dipped to 68,000 in 2010 for various reasons beyond the control of Jamia, OSD Farhat Ali Khan estimates that a 100,000 candidates will appear for exams in 2011. In the 2010 exams, 10,000 belonged to the Muallim-i Urdu category who are likely to get jobs as teachers in UP.¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ Ubaidur Rahman, “Jamia Urdu Thrown to the Wolves,” *The Milli Gazette* 01/08/2001, posted on <http://www.milligazette.com/Archives/01082001/07.htm>

Accessed on June 8, 2010.

¹⁶¹ Ubaidur Rahman, “Jamia Urdu Thrown to the Wolves,” *The Milli Gazette* 01/08/2001, posted on <http://www.milligazette.com/Archives/01082001/07.htm>

Accessed on June 8, 2010.

¹⁶² “Saba Khan New Registrar of Jamia,” *The Milli Gazette* (1-15 April 2005) posted on <http://www.milligazette.com/Archives/2005/01-15Apr05-Print-Edition/011504200555.htm>

¹⁶³ Interview with Farhat Ali Khan, Aligarh June 10, 2010.

The Jamia Millia Islamia's Center for Distance and Open Learning runs an Urdu correspondence course through English and Hindi since 1970, as gleaned from its website

<http://www.jmi.ac.in/cdol/ucc.syllabus.htm>

The present writer was unable to obtain any statistics showing the performance of this course over the years.

In Andhra Pradesh, there are two examples of efforts to teach Urdu outside the formal, state-funded school system. One is run by the Anjuman-i Tarraqi-i Urdu. The summer school began in 1975. Consisting of six weeks of classes in which students ranging in age from 6 to 22 take part, the summer school is designed for those who want to learn basic Urdu. Each year about 150 pupils enroll, according to Ghulam Yazdani.¹⁶⁴



The daily *Siyasat*, a family-run newspaper launched a basic Urdu literacy program in June 1994, under one of its unit, the Abid Ali Khan Educational Trust. It devised three basic, progressive levels for learning to read and write basic Urdu. They are called Urdu Dani, Urdu Zaban Dani, and Urdu Insha. The first two levels concentrate on reading, the third on writing. The Trust supplies the Urdu primers, pencils, notebooks and the blackboards. Each course is programmed for six months, weekly duration consisting of one hour per day of teacher/learner interaction. The students are both adults and children. The literacy program is

¹⁶⁴ Conversation with Ghulam Yazdani of Anjuman-i Tarraqi-yi Urdu, AP, June 6, 2010.

very popular among women as documented by UNESCO.¹⁶⁵ By 2010, over a million students had gone through the program. The Abid Ali Khan Trust's Urdu literacy program has spread beyond Andhra Pradesh to a number of other states. In 2010, the newspaper claimed that 13, 580 students took part in the examination for three diplomas of Urdu Dani, Zaban Dani and Urdu Insha.¹⁶⁶ Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Urdu is the examination body for Siyasat's literacy program. The decadal figures for Urdu literacy program of the Abid Ali Khan Trust can be seen from the following Table.

Year	Centers	URDU DANI			URDU ZABAN DANI			URDU INSHA		
		Applied	Appeared	Pass	Applied	Appeared	Pass	Applied	Appeared	Pass
JAN	513	19152	14579	13864	10444	8013	7833	8865	6503	6069

¹⁶⁵ *Education Initiative for Women by The Siyasat Daily*, Paris: Unesco, 2006, available on

http://unesdoc.unesco.org/Ulis/cgi-bin/ulis.pl?catno=147090&set=4B16362B_2_73&database=ged&gp=0&mode=e&lin=1&ll=f

¹⁶⁶ *Siyasat*, online edition 31 January 2010, internet edition.

2000											
JUN 2000	516	16909	13704	13079	1822	6188	5978	6460	4556	4301	
JAN 2001	514	17205	13315	12380	10713	8108	7658	7031	5315	5083	
JUN 2001	473	19181	15902	14678	9288	6954	6727	5991	4361	4185	
JAN 2002	417	12413	9851	9307	7810	6090	5860	5407	4237	3962	
JUN 2002	487	13483	10872	10250	8088	6399	6174	5961	4519	4245	
JAN 2003	326	9334	6956	6754	5463	3936	3860	4077	2839	2727	
JUN 2003	309	8260	6780	6635	4590	3753	3687	3329	2671	2518	
JAN 2004	319	8571	7106	6916	5360	4226	4118	4122	3213	2917	
JUN 2004	272	6763	5175	4955	4655	3088	2984	2869	2006	2851	
JAN 2005	314	8816	6991	6610	4888	3699	3633	3807	2712	2634	
JUN 2005	329	6376	5060	4908	4119	3135	3091	3208	2310	2303	
JAN 2006	315	10222	9182	9009	6751	5113	5086	4856	3720	3657	
JUN 2006	321	9832	9123	9091	5283	5189	5060	4312	3997	3845	
JAN 2007	229	5618	5482	5350	4813	3608	6562	1551	1487	1410	
JUN 2007	294	8756	8281	8152	6011	5181	5015	4642	6468	3255	
JAN 2008	263	9753	8629	8505	4881	4892	4702	4556	3318	3215	
JUN 2008	231	6280	5888	5828	5287	4396	4155	3853	2708	2691	
JAN 2009	258	-	8229	-	-	4341	-	-	3675	-	
JUN 2009	210	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
JAN 2010	239	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
JUN 2010	208	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
TOTAL		196924	171105	156271	110266	96309	92183	84897	70615	61868	

Distinct from the Abid Ali Khan Trust's exams are another set of examinations



conducted by the Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Urdu, an organization for the promotion of Urdu established in 1938. Besides a possessing an important library, a museum, and a collection of archival materials, the Idarah is active in advancing Urdu literacy. To this end it conducts three progressive levels-- Urdu Fazil, Alim and Mahir-- of examination leading to award of diplomas. The following table shows the statistics of the three exams conducted by the Idarah from 2000-2009.

Year	Appeared	Passed	Appeared	Passed	Appeared	Passed	Total	Total
	Urdu Fazil		Urdu Alim		Urdu Mahir		Appeared	Passed
2000	3460	2091	1486	1086	544	441	5490	3618
2001	3900	2371	2167	1650	616	499	6683	4520
2002	6430	2605	3706	2193	626	393	10762	5191
2003	7448	2847	3631	2163	342	231	11421	5241
2004	7025	2779	2739	1487	227	135	9991	4401
2005	4595	2447	1933	1382	155	110	6683	3939
2006	1781	1251	1048	827	107	83	2936	2161
2007	2130	1678	1220	1021	96	81	3446	2780
2008	1824	1404	1204	1075	46	42	3074	2521

2009	1705	1263	991	886	46	35	2742	2184
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In 1999, the AP Board of Intermediate Education recognized the Fazil course as equivalent to Intermediate in Humanities for all those students who studied English as one of the subjects. However, the BIE derecognized the Fazil degree in 2004.¹⁶⁷ Despite recognition by several universities, the decision of the BIE put thousands of students in uncertain conditions, as many were appearing for District Selection Committee (DSC) exams, upon passing which they would have qualified to obtain jobs as School Assistants in secondary schools and as Secondary Grade Teachers, SGT. The Idarah is working to get the recognition restored in order to ensure students' continued interest in the diplomas.

The Hyderabad-based Foundation for Educational and Economic Development, FEED, established in 1993, runs 57 Urdu medium schools across Telangana, according to its 2010 report.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷ J.S. Iftekhar, "DSC-2003: Urdu Fazil Students in Quandary," *The Hindu* (26 February 2004), internet edition, idem, "DSC Notification Baffles Urdu Medium Students," *The Hindu* (7 December 2003), internet edition; and "DSC Candidates in a Fix," *The Hindu* (2 July 2006) internet edition.

¹⁶⁸ Report on <http://www.feed-hyd.org/aboutus1.htm>

Accessed January 11 2010; according to the Foundation newsletter, there were 9, 350 students in its 57 schools, while its only 5 English medium schools enrolled , 2660 students located in Adilabad, Mahboobnagar, Medak, Nizamabad and Rangareddy district, see *FEED Newsletter 4* (2009-2010), p. 4.

Beyond Formal Education: State-Funded Institutions

ہیں کواکب کچھ نظر آتے ہیں کچھ

دیتے ہیں دھوکا یہ بازی گر کھلا

The union government established a well-funded central organization called Tarraqi Urdu Board in 1969 funded by the Ministry of Education. The union government reconstituted the Board as the National Council for the Promotion for Urdu Language, NCPUL in 1996 under the Ministry of Human Resource Development. The foundation stone for a dedicated office building for the Council was laid on 27 March 2010 in Jamia Nagar's Okhla Vihar area in New Delhi. It runs a scheme for the establishment of Urdu study centers to run one year diploma course.¹⁶⁹ What have been the successes, lessons or failures of this scheme? It is yet to be disclosed, though Vice-Chairman of NCPUL Chandrabhan Khayal claimed that "there were around 350 centers to teach Urdu till a few years ago. Now [in 2010] we have 662 centers around the country...Each center has at least 30 or more students."¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹ <http://www.urducouncil.nic.in/>

Accessed on May 10 2010.

¹⁷⁰ Mohammed Wajihuddin and Anahita Mukherji, "Urdu and Sanskrit Hold Fort," *The Times of India* (27 March 2010) internet edition.

However, allegations of fraudulent schemes in the NCPUL led to the arrest of its director Hamidullah Bhatt in 2005.¹⁷¹ But, using his clout with Kashmiri members of parliament, Bhatt managed to come back to the same post in April 2009, despite demand for his removal by academics, activists, and scores of parliamentarians cutting across party lines.¹⁷² Bhatt eulogized Urdu-hating BJP's union minister for Human Resource Development during 1999-2004 and initiated schemes clearly injurious to Urdu.¹⁷³

In 2006, the Ministry of Human Resource Development established three centers professional development of Urdu teachers at Maulana Azad National Urdu University in Hyderabad, which is called Center for Professional Development of Urdu Teachers, see its website

<http://www.manuu.ac.in/cpdumt.html>

And at Jamia Millia Islamia, it is called Academy of Professional Development of Urdu Medium Teachers

http://www.jmi.ac.in/apdumt/majorareas_apdumt.htm

and at Aligarh Muslim University in Aligarh it is called Urdu Academy, see

<http://www.amu.ac.in/uacademy.htm>

¹⁷¹ Athar Farouqui, "The Great Urdu Fraud," *The Milli Gazette* (1-15 May 2005), inter edition; "CPUL's Hamidullah Bhatt in CBI Net," *The Milli Gazette* (16-31 October 2005), p. 20; Andalib Akhtar, "Committee to Probe Activities of Urdu Council," *The Milli Gazette* (1-15 August 2005), p. 17; "NCPUL and Hamidullah Bhatt: Fall of the Invincible," *The Milli Gazette* (1-15 November 2005), pp. 16-17.

¹⁷² Anita Joshua, "MPs Demand Removal of NCPUL Director," *The Hindu* 18 August 2009, internet edition.

¹⁷³ Bikramajit De, "Abuse of Urdu," *Economic and Political Weekly* (27 November 2004), pp. 5085-5088.

The websites indicates various programs and courses that the centers offer, though an independent assessment of their activities so far is unknown.

Governments in AP, Bihar, Delhi, Karnataka, Maharashtra, and UP established Urdu academies between 1972 to 1981 with the objective of advancing the cause of Urdu. However, many of the Academies have become dens of corruption and malpractices exemplified by the case of financial scandal that rocked the UP Urdu Academy in November 2005 involving illegal withdrawal of funds.¹⁷⁴ Issues other than finances also plague Urdu academies. Evidently, “less than one third of the 45 board member of the Andhra Pradesh Urdu Academy know the language,”¹⁷⁵ in 2002. Six years later, a *Deccan Chronicle* report headlined “Urdu, Greek to Academy Staff,” quotes the Academy President Rahimuddin Ansari saying that the director does not know how to read or write Urdu.”¹⁷⁶

The A.P. Academy’s website claims that there is a scheme of Open Urdu Schools, “meant for the Urdu mother tongue drop outs at primary level in 8 districts, [through which] 100 Urdu Open Schools [have been] established---(Hyderabad 40, Ranga Reddy 10, Medak 08, Nizamabad 08, Kurnool 10, Guntur 08, Cuddapah 08, Anantapur 08).¹⁷⁷ It also awards “best” Urdu teachers and students.

¹⁷⁴ “Financial Scandals,” *The Milli Gazette* (1-15 February 2005), <http://www.milligazette.com/Archives/2005/01-15Feb05-Print-Edition/011502200559a.htm>

Accessed on May 10, 2010.

¹⁷⁵ “Urdu Panel Does not Know Urdu,” *Deccan Chronicle* (8 October 2002), internet edition.

¹⁷⁶ “Urdu, Greek to Academy Staff,” *Deccan Chronicle* (28 January 2008), internet edition.

¹⁷⁷ There is no indication of what year this scheme began, see

The Delhi Urdu Academy runs several programs related to literacy, such as Urdu adult education program, Urdu coaching classes, Urdu Certificate course centers; a part time Urdu teaching program in schools and scholarship and prizes for students in Urdu medium schools or students opting for Urdu as one subject in schools.¹⁷⁸ There are no statistics about the number of students involved in each of the schemes nor any information on when each program began.

The **Central Institute of Indian Languages** (CIIL) was set up on the 17 July 1969 to assist and co-ordinate the development of Indian Languages in Mysore. The Institute is charged with the responsibility of serving as a nucleus to bring together all the research and literary output from the various linguistic streams to a common head and narrow the gap between the basic research and development; research in the field of languages and linguistics in India.

The **CIIL** also runs seven Regional Centers in the various linguistic regions of the country to help and meet the demand for trained teachers to implement the three-language formula and thereby provides assurance to linguistic minorities. It has published a few books on Urdu, see its website

<http://www.ciil.org/>

<http://www.aponline.gov.in/apportal/departments/departments.asp?dep=25&org=168&category=about#openSchools>

Accessed on May 14, 2010.

¹⁷⁸ <http://artandculture.delhigovt.nic.in/urdu/scheme.htm>

Accessed on May 14, 2010

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The CIIL runs an online course for learning Urdu, though it would be good to know how many people have used it since the year it began, which is not indicated. There are two Urdu Research and Teaching Centers that CIIL runs in Lucknow and Solan, Himachal Pradesh. An independent assessment of their scientific output in the development of Urdu pedagogy is needed, though the one page devoted to it in Jaafari Report is not encouraging.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁹ Jaafari Report, p. 93.

Major Findings

The major findings of the Report based on the statistics state education authorities provided to the CML and to the State Report Cards establish the state of Urdu literacy in India. The most recent statistics available through the State Report Cards are shown in the following table. The states are noted in order of highest Urdu enrollment, which are compared with Urdu population in each state. If the enrollment figures are compared with Muslim population in each state the results will be even more revealing.

Urdu Literacy in Six States: Comparison of Urdu Enrollment in Six States in 2007-08

State	Urdu mother tongue Population in millions per Census 2001	Urdu Medium Enrollment in Primary-Secundary Schools	Source
Maharashtra	6.9	953028	State Report Cards
Bihar	9.5	874529	Ditto
Karnataka	5.5	473384	Ditto
Andhra Pradesh	6.6	311017	Ditto
Uttar Pradesh	13.3	128892	Ditto
Delhi	1.0*	25894	Ditto

*Delhi Urdu population in 2001 is 872,581,94 & rounded off to a million for 2010.

In light of the statistics shown above, it is clear that

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1. Urdu literacy in India is highest in Maharashtra as measured by the number of schools, students, and teachers imparting education through Urdu medium or as a subject. It compares very well considering that its Urdu population is roughly the same as in neighboring Andhra Pradesh. Maharashtra's record is of course hugely better than Uttar Pradesh with twice larger Urdu population.
2. Bihar comes second, with the largest number of schools, students and teachers. But it does not compare as well when its larger Urdu population is taken into account. Perhaps it is due to the general poverty of population known as "backwardness," in Indian parlance.
3. Karnataka comes third. Despite its slightly smaller Urdu population with neighboring Andhra Pradesh, it has done better. This is surprising and calls for further investigation into this matter.
4. Andhra Pradesh is fourth. Despite, or because of the Nizams' legacy, it has **not** done as good as one would expect. It is perhaps because in the Nizams' era, the medium of instruction in government schools was predominantly Urdu, which changed after 1948 Operation Polo, as the new administration switched the medium to Telugu in most schools.
5. The combined literacy figures of the three states of AP, Karnataka and Maharashtra conclusively establish that Urdu literacy is now highest in the Deccan states. It is hardly a coincidence. Literary Urdu in the form of Deccani or pre (or proto)-Urdu began fully two centuries before Urdu literacy began in the plains of northern India.
6. Delhi and UP combined come a distant fifth, firmly blasting the myth that *wadi-i Gang-o jaman*, Indo-Gangetic plains is the heartland of Urdu. In the

post-colonial state-sponsored culturecide, Urdu literacy is nearly wiped out in UP. Ideological opposition to the teaching of Urdu is harshest in Uttar Pradesh, regardless of political parties in power. In this regard there is no difference between the BJP, Congress and other parties. The removal of Urdu from state schools happened in the heyday of Nehru, not that of Vajpayee. There was nothing left for BJP to do in UP as the UP Congress had successfully wiped Urdu from government schools.

7. Madarsas play a pivotal role in the perpetuation of Urdu literacy. Indeed they are the fortresses of those faithful to Urdu. Madrasas have made inroads into regions hitherto considered outside the traditional areas of Urdu literacy.
8. State-funded institutions with enormous funds have done poorly in the spread and perpetuation of Urdu literacy. Absence of accountability and transparency is at the heart of such failure.

Immediate Action Proposals

1. The statistics collected in the Report are based on those supplied to the Commissioner of Linguistic Minorities and other sources. NGOs, voluntary organizations and those concerned with the promotion of Urdu should double check the statistics. For example, using Right to Information Act, RTI, an attempt should be made to find out the physical location of schools, sections/parallel classes identified by the governments in order to ascertain their actual existence. Part of the inquiry should be to verify the number of students and ascertain the exact degree to which Urdu in its own script is part of the curriculum.
2. Using RTI, a census should be undertaken to verify the actual number of teachers identified as Urdu teachers currently employed. Part of this inquiry should also include the total number of vacancies of Urdu teachers so far sanctioned and actually at work. A related item of inquiry should be to find out the appointment of inspecting staff for Urdu schools in each state. The Gujral Committee had recommended the creation of a Joint Directorate (Urdu) in each education department.
3. Appropriate authorities of Urdu Academy, NCERT, SCERT, and others should be asked to report on the state of the affairs about preparation, publication and distribution of Urdu textbooks in a timely fashion every year. If the authorities fail to furnish a report, recourse must be made to RTI.
4. The present Report is quantitative. Other researchers should undertake a study to report quality of Urdu literacy in schools whether run by the state at various levels, private organizations and madarsas.

5. The financial irregularities in all state-funded agencies such as NCPUL, Maulana Azad National Urdu University, and Urdu academies should be investigated to ensure accountability. The same applies to nongovernmental Urdu organizations that receive public funds.

سفینہ جب کہ کنارے پر آگیا غالب
خدا سے کیا ستم و جورِ نا خدا کہیے

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