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A COMPARISON BETWEEN PUPILS WHO ATTEND MADRASAH AND OTHER TYPE OF SCHOOLS IN BANGLADESH: THEIR REASON FOR GOING, THEIR EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS AND CONTRASTING SYSTEMS OF EDUCATION

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by

Umme Salema Begum

Thesis submitted to the School of Education, University of Durham for the Degree of Master of Arts in Religious Education

1993

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14 JAN 1994

TO MY LATE FATHER

ABSTRACT

The Education system of Bangladesh is characterized by the presence of traditional religious (madrasah) and general (school) education. The prevalence of this duality is considered to be one of the fundamental problems in promoting an integrated educated society in the country. The difference between these two groups of people can be observed not only in their orientation and thinking but also in all aspects of life ranging from style of dressing to commitment towards politics. Those coming out of the general education system dominate educated society and the national development process, while those who receive education through the madrasah system usually live on religious activities and rituals and its teaching. Hence their contribution towards national development is hardly visible. The present study, which is probably unique of its kind in Bangladesh, is an empirical one investigating this duality in education, its causes, influencing factors and consequences.

It has been evident in the present study that although the root of this duality lies in historical facts, present management by authority largely adds to the problem. Then apathy towards the issue has aggravated the situation and the rift continues to be as wide as ever. There are some social, economic and cultural factors among the people which also keep this issue alive. It has been found in this study that factors like parental educational background, level of education, influence of relatives, level of economic condition, family tradition and attitude towards religion seem to have influenced the enrolment of children into the two systems.

Integrating these two contrasting systems of education was felt necessary by most of the respondents although on the question of how to achieve this integration opinion did not converge. It is of course a difficult task, but not impossible. For the greater benefit of society, all should come forward to minimize the gap between the two systems of education.

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M.A. Thesis - Mrs. U.S. Begum

U S Begum

The spelling of traditional terms derived from Arabic conform to conventions used in official English-language publications by the Government of Bangladesh.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

Dualism in the national education system is one of the fundamental problems of every muslim country. After the introduction of modern system of education in these countries the traditional education has became peripheral. The modern secular education, on the other hand, dominated the whole sphere of education, such as scientific, technological, social and economic and coexists parallely with traditional religious education system. The impact of this dualism is quite visible in society, and most often, is reflected as a negative phenomenon in the process of socio-economic progress.

Since modern education offers people wide ranging opportunities to be materially established in society, most people are attracted to this system (Bilgrami and Ashraf: 1985). The people who are educated in the traditional religious institutions, therefore, remain alienated from the main stream of society.

From time to time, the governments of muslim countries have made sporadic efforts to reform the education system, which evolved during the colonial period, in the light of the needs and aspirations of the people who now live in independent states.

The results of these efforts have never been encouraging. They failed to develop an integrated education system for all people in society.

The education system of Bangladesh is not an exception to that. It is characterized by the presence of modern secular and traditional islamic theological education with predominance of the former. Traditionally, children in most cases, start their first education with religious teaching and they are enrolled in primary schools or *ebtedayee madrasahs*.[1] In many cases children start their religious and general education at the same time while they are enrolled either in madrasahs or in general schools.

Modern education provides educated men and woman with wide ranging opportunities to choose their careers. It gives them opportunity to earn more and secure key positions in society and to lead a comfortable and honourable life. The traditional islamic education on the other hand produces a different class of people usually known as 'alim' (Pl. Ulema). Their role in society is limited to the promotion of islamic ideology and the performance of religious rituals. They in fact, play a very insignificant role in shaping society according to the code of Islam.

It is a paradox that officially Islam and islamic education have

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[1]Madrasah is an educational institution where mainly religious education is given. Ebtedayee means primary, which is the first stage of madrasah education.

been recognized by the state which is an indicator of the primacy of religion in social and political culture, but in reality, the authority patronizes secular education. Very recently, Islam has been declared a state religion and madrasah education or traditional religious education has been given equal status with modern secular education (Rakib: 1990). The government gives financial support for both systems of education. Despite all these institutional facilities for religious institutions, students educated from them cannot stand at par with those who were educated in general secular schools. Rather, they are in most cases alienated from the mainstream of society and their position in society appears parasitic.

Since the liberation of Bangladesh in 1971, the government has been made several efforts to remove the shortcomings of madrasah education. Yet, there is a wide gap between the educated people drawn from the two different systems. Madrasah educated people cannot come into the main stream of development work to make a contribution to national development. Therefore the existence of the dual system of education is considered to be a waste of national wealth as well as of national intellects.

This situation demands setting up an advanced and effective educational system within the limited expenditure capacity of the country so as to meet the growing scientific and technological demands as well as to meet the aspirations of the people. It is therefore necessary to understand the people's social and emotional needs, and their thinking, in order to help map out

national education more effectively. Otherwise any effort attempting to reform the national education system is bound to fail.

Objective of the Study

The objective of the present study is to focus attention on the prevalent contradiction between the two systems, while officially both systems are recognised and granted equal status. The specific objectives are as follows:

a. To identify the causes of social alienation of people educated in madrasah system.

b. To identify the factors involved in the education system, both secular school and religious madrasah which influence the student to be enrolled in the two different systems.

c. To suggest how best to minimize the gap between the two different types of educated people in order to achieve a balance in modern educated muslim society.

Significance of the Study

The significance of the present study lies in the fact that, while a dual system of education in the country is considered to be an inefficient process both in terms of cost and effect, it is imperative to undertake research focusing on the issue for several reasons. First, considering that a significant proportion of the students, ie. about 15 percent of the total enrolled, are in the madrasah education system backed by an equal

government outlay per teacher, the end result seems to be rather frustrating as most of these students cannot contribute directly towards national development. It is therefore vital to comprehend the factors associated with this problem.

Secondly, although there has been growing concern among the peoples, particularly those who are directly involved in madrasah education, about the consequences of having two parallel systems there has hardly been any systematic study on the said issue so as to get an insight into the problem. Under the circumstances, the present study attempts to answer the much felt need.

Thirdly, a number of attempts have been made by the government during the last five decades with a view to reforming the education system of the country. Consequently, a number of commissions were appointed to suggest ways and means of reforming the education systems. However, none of these reports has been accepted by those supporting either system. Most reports were reportedly found to be biased and were in favour of the general education system while hardly any constructive suggestions were put forward to reform the madrasah education system. It is because these commission reports *inter alia* were not based on studies involving both the educational systems. The present research is one that attempts to study both these systems and to throw some light on the issues around it.

Methods of the Study

The present study is empirical in approach and is mainly one of an exploratory nature. Being dictated by the objectives, the study has been conducted according to the following sequence:

1. Relevant literature from secondary sources was reviewed to outline the nature of the problem in muslim countries with particular reference to Bangladesh.

2. As mentioned earlier, the issue was hardly looked at from an academic point of view in Bangladesh, and it is not generally understood. This has created problems for the selection of appropriate samples to generate primary data. A reconnaissance survey, was therefore undertaken to get a preliminary insight into the whole range of people involved in connection with this problem.

3. Finally, a questionnaire survey was undertaken to generate primary data for the study.

Sources of Data: As noted above, the study has been carried out on the basis of data collected from both secondary and primary sources. The secondary sources includes published materials and official documents in the form of books, journals, magazines, newspapers, reports, gazettes, manuals and hand books, etc. This literature was reviewed to provide an insight into the educational system, both madrasah and schools. The literature

survey helped to improve the understanding of the nature of the problem both past and present.

Primary data were collected in several stages, by conducting questionnaire surveys. The first target was to select the parents to get information about the reasons for sending their children into different systems. Since it was difficult to find appropriate respondents, ie. the parents or guardians who sent their children either to madrasahs or to schools, it has been found that it was much easier to locate the students first from their respective institutions. Therefore, the first stage of primary survey was at the madrasahs and schools.

The students from higher classes at the secondary level were selected from both madrasah and schools. They were interviewed with a short questionnaire simultaneously at both places.

The second stage of questionnaire survey was a follow-up study with the parents or guardians after getting preliminary information and the addresses from the students.

The third stage of the primary investigation was with intellectuals who were involved with education and research at the national level.

The Study Area: The data were collected from Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh, for several reasons: First, Dhaka is a large city with a population of more than 6 million, where many madrasahs

and schools were found within fairly short distance. Secondly, it was important that the parents and guardians researched were from places where both kinds of institution were available. Using a sample area which had both madrasahs and schools side by side did help the researcher to understand and extract from the respondents specific reasons for the choice of either system of education for their children. And finally, it was an added advantage for the researcher to be familiar with the study area rather than some other section of the country.

Thus four educational institutions were purposely selected from four different locations in the city. Two of them were madrasahs and the other two were schools. Among the schools, one was run by the government and the other was by the private sector. Similarly, among the madrasahs, one was private and the other was funded fully by the government.

Selection of the Respondents and Interview Method

1. Students and their parents and/or guardians: A random selection technique was used for the selection of students. Altogether 26 students have been selected as respondents from four institutions. They were selected from a higher class (class IX) so that they can give information properly. Half of them were from religious madrasahs and the rest from general schools. During the interviews their household income, occupational background of the family and social status were considered. Each of them were interviewed with an open ended questionnaire.

The students have been chosen from class IX, whose ages ranged from 15 to 16 years. The purpose of selecting students at this level was because they had all by now chosen their future line of education with their career in mind. As a follow-up the parents and guardians were interviewed in order to get more insight on the subject.

2. National level experts and educationists: The respondents at the national level were selected from a cross section of people attached to the field of education and research. During the selection of these respondents a balancing technique was followed with a view to getting an insight from both sides. Therefore, their respective educational backgrounds were considered while they were selected.

Twenty respondents have been selected at the national level. Half of them were educated in religious madrasahs but not necessarily identified presently with madrasah education, and the rest were educated in general schools and connected with the general education system. All interviews conducted with them were absolutely of an open ended nature.

Scope and Limitations

As mentioned at the outset, the present study addresses a fundamental problem for the education system of Bangladesh. The problem is deep rooted in the history of the socio-political culture of the country during the last three hundred years. Apart from historical evolution that it underwent, the system has

its own dynamics even at the present stage. The present and the past are inter-related and cannot be discussed separately in a meaningful way. Therefore, the context of the present study is quite vast and it is obviously impossible to address the entire range of problems in one isolated study such as present one.

The present study mainly focuses on identifying the factors that are related to the enrolment of the students in both systems. Therefore it was essential to highlight the factors that contribute to an ever widening gap between the two systems and to put the present study in a proper perspective. Finally, an attempt has also been made to explore possibilities of minimizing the gap between the two system.

All these three issues of a different nature are closely linked, and hence cannot be separated from each other. This modest effort is addressed to all these issues with enormous limitations.

Chapter II

ISLAMIC APPROACHES AND SYSTEMS OF EDUCATION WITHIN ISLAMIC COUNTRIES: A REVIEW

As mentioned earlier, the education system of Bangladesh is entrenched into a dualism: modern secular education on the one hand and traditional religious (madrasah) education on the other. This dualism has been considered one of the major problems in achieving a unified and appropriate education system in the country. In this chapter, an attempt has been made to review the situation in other muslim countries, to find whether duality in education exists in these countries.

Any approach towards national education evolves from the needs and requirements of the society. In this context, society's religious values play an important role in shaping the education system. Since Islam, as a religion, has a profound impact on society as well as on the state of behaviour, it is essential to see what is really the islamic approach to education. It is argued, in this study, that islamic values among the people of the countries concerned, are the main generating force of religious education . The modern education system on the other hand prevails, in most of the muslim countries, as an essential system of education for present day society. Therefore, it is also necessary to highlight what are the theoretical bases of

this modern education which is being practised in muslim countries. Therefore, at the beginning of this chapter, the main basis of religious and modern education will be introduced.

While islamic educational development is the key objective of the madrasah education and since it is an integral part of the national education system, it is useful to review the experience of other islamic countries in this direction. Although the source of knowledge in Islam is Quran and Sunnah, the basis of development of this section is made from the views of muslim scholars who worked on islamic education. The key objective of this chapter is therefore to highlight the educational approaches of Islam according to the view of muslim scholars and educationists. The following areas will be highlighted:

1. Modern secular education with special reference to the approaches of Idealism and Pragmatism.
2. The islamic concept of education.
3. The pattern of education in selected muslim countries.

Education

It is not easy to define education. It is a life-long process which plays a profound role in the life of a person and in society at large. Education in fact, holds the key to many wider issues of society. There is no fixed meaning of education. Rather, it is the field of continuous debate and disagreement. In very general terms, education can be considered as a social service directed towards increasing the creative strength of

society, providing training facilities for individuals commensurate with their abilities, instilling an awareness of social justice and equal opportunities and producing each younger generation with the knowledge, skills and understanding they need to assume their place in society. (Turkish Review: 1991)

There have been many theories of education. Of those the **Theory of Idealism** provided a basis of educational development, particularly in the western world for a long time. It was first explained in the work of the Greek philosopher Plato (428-347 BC), and has been restated by many subsequent theorists. As a traditional view of education it is still at the root of many people's attitudes towards education even these days.

This Traditional view of education as has been stated by Kelly (1987) is: "This is a theory of education which is based on a very strong view of knowledge and truth, one which believes that there are universal truths to be found. It thus regards education as concerned primarily to inculcate in children a firm sense of what these moral values or moral truths are. It also often sees education as a process by which certain valuable aspects of high culture are transmitted. Another main emphasis is on education as intellectual development, the development of man's powers of reason.... It is also a view that requires educational planning to begin from some notion of its end product, some conception of what kinds of people the education system should produce". (p.2-3)

Plato's main aim was to devise a theory and a scheme of education which would result in a balanced and harmonious individual and a balanced and harmonious society. His concern was not with education in itself but with its social function. He develops his theory of education in support of his political theory, his view of society. (Kelly: 1987)

Plato's theory of education is strongly based on a particular view of knowledge and of truth. To him knowledge is absolute and certain, and can be attained in all spheres. He believes in the supremacy of reason over all other human attributes. Through reason man can attain knowledge and establish truth in the field of science, of mathematics as well as of morals, aesthetics and politics.

An alternative approach towards education has been put forward by John Dewey. **The Theory of Pragmatism of John Dewey** is one of the most famous views of modern educational philosophy which has influenced the concept of education throughout the twentieth century. In his theory of Pragmatism, Dewey brought a number of different threads together into a single theory of knowledge, of man, of society and of education. His view of knowledge is directly related to educational theory and practice.

Dewey (1899) saw education theory as a synthesis of philosophy, sociology, and psychology and formed his own theory in considerable part by criticizing the dominant views in these disciplines that were prevalent at that time. His view of

philosophy was that is the theory of education in its most general phases; by which he meant that "there is little point in theorizing about knowledge, about man or about society without any attempt to develop a theory about how one's views of these are to be translated into reality, a view about education". (Kelly: 1987, p. 16)

He (Dewey: 1899) gave a clear notion about knowledge, man and society and education. To him knowledge was in a state of continuous evolution. It is not that body of fixed eternal truths. It is a creation of man, not a gift from some divine or metaphysical sources, and like all creations of man, and like man himself, it must be seen to evolve, to change, to develop. Dewey (1899) saw knowledge as an evolving phenomenon to meet the changing needs of man and society. Knowledge is created and continues to be created to modify and to solve the ever changing problems of man and nature. With regard to education Dewey's notion was an ideal balance, a merging of the apparently divergent aspects of experience. He emphasized that pupils must learn how to generate new knowledge, how to contribute to the evolution of knowledge to be used in solving problems and themselves to be developed through such use.

Dewey's theory of Pragmatism was influenced by Darwin's theory of evolution. From this notion of evolution he developed the view that nothing in human experience can properly be seen as fixed, static or eternal, that everything must be recognized as being in a state of continuous change, development, or evolution.

Thus education is also to be seen and planned in terms of a continuous developmental process.

Dewey's theory of Pragmatism is opposite to Plato's theory of Idealism. The most fundamental differences are: 1. Plato regarded knowledge as fixed, as objective, as true in a very strong sense. On the other hand Dewey regarded education as tentative, as in a permanent state of development and evolution, as true in only a provisional way, as man-made or socially constructed. 2. To Plato education is a matter of transmission; to Dewey it is matter of a process of development. 3. Plato sees notion of education as cognitive or intellectual development; Dewey emphasizes the importance of other forms of development particularly those of an emotional or affective kind. However, both these theories can be found in the context of current educational scene.

Islamic Notion of Education

Zakiyyah Muhammad (1990) defined islamic Education as "remembrance of Allah in all that one thinks, learns and does."(p. 27) Quoting from Quran (112: 1-4) she argues that "The remembrance of Allah in one's learning is the beginning of Tawhid, understanding that Allah is one, is the originator of all knowledge, is the source of all things, good and that all that exists in interrelated and interdependent except Allah"(p. 27). She also emphasises the moral aspect of islamic education. To

her 'the essence of islamic education is moral excellence for the pleasure of Allah' (p.27).

Al-Attas (1979a) defines islamic education as achieving 'Adab', meaning ritual purity. 'Adab' refers to the recognition and acknowledgement of the right and proper place, station and condition in life and to self-discipline in positive and willing participation in enacting one's role in accordance with that recognition and acknowledgement, its occurrence in the individual and in society as a whole reflects the condition of justice. Therefore, achieving Adab means maintaining justice, and loss of it means loss of justice. He argues that any confusion in islamic knowledge leads to loss of Adab. Any loss of Adab within the community leads the community towards injustice and the leadership in such communities does not possess the high moral, intellectual and spiritual ability required for islamic leadership. Therefore, it is not desired to have such loss of Adab according to the philosophy of islamic Education.

Ashraf (1985) defines education as "a purposeful activity directed to the full development of individuals" (p. 24). To him, the meaning of islamic education is not only theological teaching, but it is more than that. It means that the all branches of knowledge should be taught from the islamic point of view.

From these definitions, three aspects are clearly apparent: First, the source of knowledge is God, the creator. Second, the

objective of islamic education is to maintain justice and harmony among the people, and Third, knowledge should be generated for the requirements of all walks of life in the light of direction given by Islam.

Aim of Islamic Education: The aim of education as defined in the First World Conference (1977) was as follows: "Education should aim at the balanced growth of the total personality of Man through the training of Man's spirit, intellect, his rational self, feelings and bodily senses. Education should cater, therefore, for the growth of Man in all its aspects: spiritual, intellectual, imaginative, physical, scientific, linguistic, both individually and collectively and motivate all aspects towards goodness and the attainment of perfection. The ultimate aim of Muslim education lies in the realisation of complete submission to Allah on the level of the individual, the community and humanity at large".(Ashraf: 1985, p.4)

This definition has been given by them from an islamic point of view. About the acceptability of this definition to a modern society, Ashraf (1985) adds,"it depends on our assessment of the society, how it regards Man and his destiny and how therefore it wants his personality to develop. Its acceptability depends also on historical and practical considerations and on the justifications that islamic metaphysics supplies."(p. 4-5)

Al-Attas (1979) on the other hand defined the aim of islamic

Education as the creation of good and righteous men who will follow the path of Allah (God) in the true sense. Quran and Sunnah are the main basis of this path. For worldly affairs the guideline is 'Shariah' which has been derived from the Quran and Sunnah. This is the primary source of islamic knowledge. The secondary source is human intellect and its tools which are in constant interaction with the physical universe. Man is free to do as he pleases but within the framework of Quran and Sunnah. The aim of islamic education is therefore to remain within the framework of Quran and Sunnah, following shariah and earning knowledge by interacting with physical properties of the world and achieving Adab. However, he presents a model of islamic education. He argues, citing from the Quran, that God has given mankind knowledge about everything. As vicegerent of God on earth man has the responsibility or duty to earn that knowledge. This has been emphasized many times in the Quran and also directed by the prophet.

The Importance of Education in Islam: In Islam emphasis has been placed on learning, education and its dissemination in society. There are many verses in the Quran and in the Traditions from the Prophet which refer to the importance of learning and knowledge. In Islam, learning is an obligation (Fard) for all Muslims. Prophet Muhammad (SM) said "Seeking knowledge is incumbent on every Muslim man and woman "(Bukhari).[1] Ashraf (1989a) said man has relationship with God, man and nature. Knowledge about God-

[1]One of the six major Hadith (Sunnah) collected by Imam Bukhari.

man relationship is Fard 'ayn and different branches of knowledge that provide two other relationship is Fard kifayah.[2] Because of the expansion and needs of modern civilisation, he (Ashraf: 1989a) suggested each child should know some basic knowledge in each of the three branches of knowledge. He believes that pupils need specialise in only one of these three if she or he is intellectually capable of specialisation. Otherwise each child should acquire a general competence in each of the three basic branches of knowledge. These three branches are man's relationship with God that is theological knowledge, men's relationship with man that is social, and men's relationship with nature that is scientific knowledge.

In order to achieve the ultimate aim and objectives of education, the First World Conference on Muslim Education has classified knowledge into two categories:

1. Perennial knowledge derived from the Quran and the Sunnah and all that can be derived from them with emphasis in the Arabic language as the key to the understanding of both.

2. Acquired Knowledge' including social, natural and applied science susceptible to quantitative growth and multiplication, limited variations and cross-cultural borrowing as long as consistency with the shariah as the source of value is maintained.

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[2]**Fard** (obligation) is of two kind: 1. **Fard'ayn** (essential obligation) and 2. **Fard kifaya** (optional obligation).

Comparison between the View of Education and Islamic Education: Abdullah (1982) in his book has tried to formulate a theory of education based on original islamic sources i.e. Quran, Hadiths and Tafsir (Interpretation of Quran). He has denied the duality of knowledge as either man produced or divinely revealed. To him by separating man-made knowledge from revealed knowledge people not only deprived themselves of the truth, they misled themselves as well.

Al-Attas (1979) underscored that islamic Education faces serious contradictions with modern secular education. This contradiction, according to him is rooted in the very philosophy of both systems of education. There cannot be any contradiction within the achieved knowledge because it is not opposed to the philosophy of Islam about one God and man as His vicegerent. Badawi (1979) examines modern scientific knowledge and the Islamic tradition can be a complementary and not contradictory one. In Islam man is superior because of knowledge. So there could be no ground for conflict between science and religion. The present conflict and gap is artificial. It is possible to narrow down this gap.

To Ashraf (1989a) knowledge in all fields of human life is interrelated and integrated. The traditional system of education has kept the spiritual and theological traditions alive, but they present no alternative to the earth-centric world view. It is necessary to know islamic traditions of knowledge, and how all branches of it acquire 'aqli' (intellectual) knowledge and were

interrelated to revealed 'naqli' (transmitted) knowledge. Both of those are relevant , not contradictory from the islamic point of view. He (Ashraf) therefore suggests a methodology of scientific analysis which is governed by the principles of Quran, and to know and maintain the natural law and not destroy it or torture or twist it to show our power.

From the above discussion it has been found that according to modern philosophers like Dewey the difference between modern education and islamic education is inevitable. But Plato's theory of education is very similar to the islamic philosophy. To the islamic philosopher and educationist there is no difference between education and islamic education as there is no contradiction between science and Islam. Rather they are relevant and complementary. The present gap is bridgeable. That is why Ashraf (1989a) recommended governments to create one unified system of education governed by the basic religious approach to life and knowledge and not to maintain two different systems as traditional and secular. The basic system should be common but there should be enough scope for specialisation in individual fields of knowledge.

Islamic education is rooted in the Quran and in the teaching of prophet Muhammad (SM). Within a relatively short span of time after the death of the prophet, islamic education spread all over the territory conquered by islamic rulers. In the initial stages, during the first four centuries of Hijrah, Masjid based

Maktabs (or schools) were the seats for learning (Bilgrami and Ashraf: 1985 & Szyliowicz: 1973).[3] From very elementary to the highest levels, education was given from these Mosque-based educational institutions.

From the fifth century onward, emphasis shifted from mosques to city based large educational institutions, although mosques were always attached to them. This process brought a characteristic change in islamic education; ie. emphasis has been shifted from spiritual to intellectual, without losing sight of spiritual education (Bilgrami and Ashraf 1985). The main facts of islamic education during the period of islamic rule were: 1. development of morals and building character among the students, 2. higher education was aimed at developing knowledge in the interpretation of Quran and Hadith, Islamic law (Fiqh), Logic (Manteque), Mathematics, Medicine and Social sciences. The essential characteristic of education in Islam was that the teachings were to be given from the standpoint of basic Islamic source like Quran and Hadith.

This tradition continued all through the periods of muslim rule. But changes occurred in the process of education among the muslim people with changes of their national history. Zakiyyah Muhammad (1990) mentioned that with the process of colonization in muslim countries, Quranic based islamic education began to change and

[3]In fact, the Mosques had four basic functions: Prayers, Administration, Preaching and Education.

over time the long rooted islamic education was supplanted by secular and materialist education.

Education System of Muslim Countries

Most of the muslim countries have a dual system of education. Before the introduction of modern education, at one time, islamic education was the only system and prevailed as a highest priority all over the muslim countries of the world for several centuries. This traditional religious system of education was supplanted gradually by modern secular education. The process and history of this supplanting is more or less same all over the muslim world.

Referring to four muslim countries (Turkey, Pakistan, Egypt and Sudan) Bilgrami and Ashraf (1985) noted that modern education entered into islamic countries either through cultural influences or political domination. While Muslims have benefited from the western technological advancement, the governments of muslim countries patronized secular education. Traditional islamic education on the other hand remained under private enterprise, although an inadequate help was very often extended by the government, to help them to exist as religious seminaries or theological institutes. The muslim world (those are the member

of OIC[4]) can be divided into two groups on the basis of language i,e. Arab and non Arab.

The Arab states: To Tibawi (1972) the ideas of modernization and their application was the cause of fragmentation of religious education in the various regions of Arab world. With reference of fourteen Arab countries (Algeria, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Saudi Arab, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Yemen and South Yemen) he gave an evolutionary picture of modern alien western educational systems within these countries. He mentioned that the national education system of these countries has been changed by three types of process: 1. Internal education revolution, 2. European missionary work and 3. Western occupation. All these changes influenced substantially islamic education. The traditional Islamic schools, which was the original public system, have changed and become virtually private schools. They were subsequently either absorbed in the modern system or remain outside it. In either case their syllabus was changed to be closer to that followed in the state schools.

He (Tibawi: 1972) argues that islamic education in the Arab countries is a shadow of the past. In the constitution of some countries it exists only on paper. But average Arab Muslims, are more strongly attached to islamic education than Arab Nationalism. So the education system of these countries could not serve the people's will. The content of Modern Educational

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[4]Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) whose current members are about 45 countries.

system is alien to them and the quality is low if compared with western countries. On the other hand, National islamic education does not relate much to real life situations. The teaching of islamic education is insufficient at all stages. Quaranic or religious studies is not more than one subject of primary and secondary school in many of the Arab countries in modern educational institutions. But at the higher level several aspects of Islam are studied as academic disciplines in the Universities (which is efficient).

While Islam as a subject is taught in general schools and at university level the separate religious schools represent an unjustified dualism in public education, described by Monir Morsi (1990) with reference to Arab Gulf states. He argues that the aim of religious education is preparing specialists in religious sciences. But it is not beyond question whether this specialization can be achieved at public education level. To him if the goal is to prepare preachers, counsellors or teachers and scholars in religion then indeed, the right place for such preparation is higher education, where they can receive the highest level of education, culture and thought that would match the great responsibilities of these highly intellectual professions. The preparation of highly qualified leaders in islamic sciences should be of a good standard which could be adequately achieved only in higher and university institutions rather than in secondary schools.

Saudi Arabia's system of education is an exception to the other

Arab and Gulf States. They have an independent system of religious education with the presence of technical, agricultural, commercial and industrial education, at secondary level mentioned as Monir Morsi (1990). He argues that the two forms should be integrated together as it is the case in Saudi Arabia. The kingdom of Saudi Arabia is the only country where the basic islamic education is given side by side with modern education, under one roof (Al-Mubarak: 1984). For example, at present, Saudi Arabia provides 31 percent of the curriculum in public primary education from islamic teachings (Table: 2.1).

Table 2.1 Time Allocation in the Weekly Study Plan of Public Primary Schools of Saudi Arabia

Subjects	Time allocated	Average Weekly period 29
Religion	31%	100%
Arabic language	30%	100%
Mathematics-sciences and social studies	39%	100%

Sources: Morsi, M. M. (1990) *Education in the Arab Gulf states*, vol-28, Qatar: University of Qatar.

The Table shows one third emphasis given on the language which is Arabic. General or modern subjects were found in only about 40 percent of the total course.

The Saudi Arabian education policy states that all religious studies are basic at all the stages: primary, intermediate and secondary education with all its branches and that islamic

culture is a principal subject in all the years of higher education. This Saudi policy is adopted by Bahrain whose constitution stipulates that religious education is one of the important bases in the cultivation of the citizen. The law organizes the various aspects of care that ought to be given to religious education at all different stages (Morsi: 1990, p.45). Although this model suits Saudi Arabia and can possibly be replicated in the other Arab nations, it may not be possible for non Arab muslim countries. Non Arab muslim countries may not maintain 60 percent of their curriculum in under the heading of Arabic and religion.

Egypt is another example of an Arab country where a dual system of education prevails in a different model. Their islamic education is similar to General education. Although the general education is the dominating system of the country, the veteran institutions Al-Azhar which were entirely devoted to Islamic and Arabic studies, have been absorbed into the modern national systems. This institute became a state university and its scope widened by the institution of new colleges besides the traditional colleges of islamic law and theology. (Tibawi: 1972)

The Non-Arab States: Like the Arab states the non Arab muslim countries have a similar problem with their national education system where modern education is the dominating system and islamic education is secondary. For example,

1. Turkey is one of the most modern and secular countries in the

muslim world where 98 percent of population are muslim. They have two systems of education where secular education is dominating and traditional islamic education remains secondary. Tug (1985) describe how Turkey is maintaining a dual system of education. During the nineteenth and early twentieth century, islamic education was a dominating force. Under a secular policy, islamic education became limited and religious activities became a matter of personal belief and worship. The growth of religious institutions was discouraged and even ceased for almost a generation. This created a gap in society in terms of shortages of qualified people who could lead the religious activities. The muslim people's demands for more religious teaching in society compelled the government to shift away from its previous standpoint. As a result, the Imam Khatib schools (Religious school) were founded in many cities by the Ministry of education. The aim was to create future prayer-leaders and preachers. These institutions were welcomed by the majority of people of the country as an alternative to the secular schools.

The main feature of Imam Khatib schools is that the religious subjects, such as Quran and its interpretations, Hadith, Islamic Law (Fiqh), Islamic philosophy including Arabic and Persian accounted for over 40 percent of the curriculum, while the rest of the subjects were from science and social sciences. The graduates from Imam Khatib schools since 1975 could register with the various faculties of the Universities in the areas concerned with the Arts, Social sciences, as well as the physical sciences. The number of such schools reached 72 in 1970 and the number of

graduates was approximately 50,000. The numbers of both the institutions as well as the students are still on the increase. The graduates of these institutions could be teachers in secondary schools.[5] They could also be appointed by the ministry of Religious Affairs as muftis, preachers or Imams in mosques (Tug: 1985 & Bilgrami and Ashraf: 1985). This development, however, took place in parallel with a modern secular education system.

2. In the Islamic Republic of Iran, despite the revolutionary approach to social reform in the light of Islam, a dual education system exists. Formal education is given through a four tier, (pre-primary, primary, secondary, and higher) education system. The second system is theological seminaries (Hawzeh Ilmiyeh) which aims at spreading islamic culture and training the muslim scholars. (Mohsenpour: 1989)

Unlike the other muslim nations, where religious and modern education go on side by side, Iran has made a tremendous effort to islamicize this modern education system. Within a few years of the revolution the curriculum of modern education was reshaped in the light of thinking in Islam. It seems that the islamization of modern education did not fulfil the demands for the traditional theological approach to islamic education in Iran. Therefore 'hawzeh ilmiyeh' exists side by side with the general education in a complementary manner.

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[5]Beside Imam Khatib School, they teach Islam in general Primary School (by 1949), in middle schools (by 1956) and high school (by 1967) as an extra curricular voluntary basis.

3. Indonesia is one of the largest muslim countries. As in other muslim nations, the Indonesian education system is also following two parallel routes- traditional education dominated by islamic values and modern education. Modern education in Indonesia was introduced by the Dutch, during the colonial period. Despite the fact that this modern education provides opportunities for public sector functions, traditional religious education remained equally popular. But because of the lack of intellectual creativity on the part of Indonesian religious scholars (as in many other muslim countries) and traditional theologically oriented approach to traditional education, secular education got the edge over the traditional one (Mansurnoor: 1990).

On the other hand, secular education was introduced by the Dutch during their colonial period to prepare civil servants and clerks in colonial bureaucracy and offices. So from the beginning of its introduction it was the best ladder for social mobility. Therefore, the students were mostly children and relatives of indigenous elite and chiefs. But the traditional institutions are still popular among the majority of the population. A great number of the population still benefit considerably from religious institutions. Islamic education is taught in private and public schools and also conducted at home, particularly in the popular religious institutions like Langgar, Pesantren, Mosque and Madrasah.

Since religion occupies a central position for muslim people,

islamic education can not be over emphasized. It is reflected in the writings of Mansurnoor (1990) when says: They want not an education to prepare students for a better worldly life, but also an education that will foster piety and commitment to their tradition. The Indonesian authorities, however, narrowed down the gap between the two contending systems by introducing general subjects in religious institutions and religious subjects in modern secular institutions.

Apart from the muslim majority nations there are a number of countries where muslims live as minority groups. The tradition of islamic education can be found in those countries also. India, for example, has one of the largest muslim minority groups. About 115 million Muslims live in India. Besides India's national education, the muslim community has their own religious educational institutions. These institutions have been continuing to function without any substantial patronage from the government.

4. The Philippines is another example where muslim minorities have their own islamic educational institutions known as madrasah. Although the madrasahs are not recognised by the government and the subjects which are taught in the madrasahs are not credited by government-recognized bodies, the muslim students enrol in madrasahs. The madrasah enrolment is almost as large as total enrolment of both Christians and Muslims in all public and private secondary schools throughout central Mindanao (Pandapatan: 1990). The argument we want to put forward here is

that the muslim minority group, wherever they live, stand united for their muslim identity and religious needs of the Muslims. As a result, they set up their own educational institutions shaped according to their religious requirements.

The Crisis of Education within Muslim Nations

Most of the muslim countries are in deep educational crisis. The priority of education, whether it is religious or general, remains in most of these countries at a low ebb. Langgulung (1983) observes that crises in education throughout the Muslim Ummah originated mainly from the politicization of education. He notes, "the politician, being almost universally unknowledgeable about the ideational problems of the scholars in the disciplines, blunders whenever he interferes" (p.21).

Secondly, illiteracy and low standards of education engulfed all muslim nations. The people of the muslim countries are in general less educated than the average of other Asian Nations. Even a worse picture will emerge if the literacy is compared among the male and female.

General education in most muslim countries, especially the Arab countries, is not qualitatively comparable to non muslim nations. The rich Arab countries, who can afford much more investment than the poor also suffer from a low standard of education due to lack of proper administration and appropriate policy. Commenting on the quality of Arab education Tibawi (1972: p.216) quotes Fakhir

Aqil: "The truth is that the standard of the pupil who completes any Arab secondary school is below that of the pupil who completes a similar school in Britain, France, America and Russia.....The same applies to university graduates".

Another issue in education of muslim nations is an urban biased approach. Almost all over any muslim country, economic and social facilities are concentrated in the urban areas and hence the level of education differs from urban to rural areas. Their economic inequality marked a difference in living standards between the people, which still reflects more or less in an inequality of educational opportunity. In this process the urban people have a higher opportunity than the rural people.

Finally, the most important issue is the social prejudices for female education. Islam emphasised education for both male and female simultaneously. But due to ignorance or due to misinterpretation many muslim families discourage female education preferring to keep their daughter inside the house without giving education. This social prejudice acts as an obstacle for the progress of national education.

However, all these issues of education in muslim countries, as mentioned above, have also a religious dimension of explanation. Qutb (1979) in his article "Role of Religious Education" points that throughout the muslim world modern schools are unable to hold the spirit of religion. On the other hand religious education cannot fulfil the necessities of contemporary life.

This situation is unlike earlier muslim education where there was no contradiction between religious and worldly education. He, therefore, argues for an integrated education system in the muslim world.

Ashraf (1985) said, education of muslim countries being practised today is not in an appropriate direction. Religious education deals only with the theological teaching. On the other hand, a modern secular attitude to all spheres of life is not shaped according to religious belief. Rather, they often contradict. And this attitude is very different from the muslim ontological approach to knowledge.

He argued that the modern secular education and traditional islamic theological education virtually produce two conflicting groups of people. Therefore, he emphasized that they must prevent muslim society from the invasion of alien and divisive ideas and ideologies by planning a new muslim education system. He also suggested that in the development of an islamic curriculum the authorities and islamic educationist have to show how these perspectives give a balanced view of man for material advancement and spiritual progress.

Despite the contradictions between modern and traditional religious education, religious education exists not because the governments of these countries want to provide islamic education, rather, it is the people who support islamic education and demand it. Therefore, islamic education continues from the will of

people at private and semi-private levels. However, the governments give partial support to islamic institutions. But islamic education or madrasah education is conspicuously absent in the educational policy of most muslim countries.

Chapter III

BANGLADESH: A PROFILE OF ITS EDUCATION SYSTEM

Bangladesh is one of the least developed countries in the world. Least developed is not only in economic term, but also in terms of literacy and education. Three quarters of the country's 109 million people cannot read and write (1991). Even of those who are considered educated, a substantial part have dropped out of primary education. This section will focus on Bangladesh with special emphasis on its dual education system. However, the following pages will sketch the overall situation of the country in terms of its geography, history and socio-economic condition to which the education system is directly or indirectly linked.

Geographically, Bangladesh is located in the eastern part of South Asia, bordering on India and Burma on all sides except the South. Bangladesh faces the Bay of Bengal to the south. The geographical condition of the country is controlled by the location of the Himalayan mountains in the north and the Bay in the south which together produce the country's life line called monsoon. An extremely flat and low lying country like Bangladesh does not always find the monsoon a blessing, but also a curse bringing havoc with floods and cyclones every year which destroy the country's resources and hard-achieved fruits of development.

Apart from the miseries of natural disasters, Bangladesh has got two important resource elements, fertile land and its people. About 109 million people (1991) crammed into its only 145000 sq. kilometre area produce almost an urban density all over the country. The growth of population is also one of the highest in the world (2.17% per annum according to 1981 Census). In terms of their distribution over the space most of the people live in the rural areas while about 15 percent live in country's 400 urban centres. The bulk of these people live in an under developed condition because of their backwardness in terms of education and economic conditions.

The recent efforts of the government to accelerate economic development, particularly to eradicate rural poverty, are encouraging but insufficient to make real headway. More than 50 percent of the rural people still live below the poverty line[1] (BBS: 1990). Per capita income in Bangladesh is also extremely low, less than $200 annually. The low levels of income and general poverty in the country are in fact the manifestation of several factors. First and foremost is landlessness. Half the households in the country do not have any cultivable land. Surplus agricultural labourers including those who are landless find difficulty in getting absorbed in any viable economic activity. The industry sector is still limited, and employs only about 8 percent of the total labour force. The service sector is also limited because of low levels of education. In fact, the

[1]Poverty is measured if the intake of food is less than 2122 k. calorie per person per day.

present stagnation in the economy is the result of the low education level.

The education sector has received less than 10 percent of the national budget during recent years (BBS: 1990). Most of this money is spent on hard infra-structure like building schools and colleges and on the salary of the teachers. Very little is spent on the improvement of education like equipment, modernization, training of the teachers etc. Poor people both in the countryside as well as in the towns have problems in reaching educational institutions. Although primary education is free and books are also supplied free of cost at the primary level very high dropout rates have been observed. This dropout is because of poverty in most cases, though other reasons are also found.

Religion is one of the most important elements in the country which influences almost all spheres of life, especially education. The majority of people in the country are muslim, although there are people from other religions also. The percentage of muslim population is 86.6 while that of Hindus, Buddhists and Christians are 12, 0.6 and 0.3 percent respectively (1981). Many of these religious people, especially the muslim population, prefer to educate their children through religious educational institutions. Many parents also prefer to give their children religious education at an early age. As a result religious educational institutions such as madrasahs and tols have been surviving throughout the centuries and growing day by day in the country.

The reasons for failure in educational progress are not easy to highlight. These reasons are rooted in its colonial history and inefficient management of its political economy. Bangladesh came under muslim rule in the early 13th century and continued for the next 500 years. During this period a massive Islamization process was continued. Development of religious education took deep root during this period. However, during muslim rule a substantial part of Bengal was able to maintain an independent status which had began to be eroded in 1757 when the British East India Company took over power in the country.

British rule continued for the next 200 years when the region achieved a modern education system in addition to its religious dimension, although economically it was exploited and politically subjugated. Because of this economic exploitation and political control the nation could not benefit from its modern education system. It is evident from accounts that during the period of about one century (ie. 1821 to 1921) there was hardly any change in the levels of education among the Indian population. More than 90 percent of the total population were found illiterate at the handover of political power in 1947. If the modern education system introduced by the British government had been effective and popularly accepted by the people the result would have been different. Rather, this education system helped to create an educated elite who actually were parasites on society.

The third phase of history began with the birth of two nations: India and Pakistan in 1947. As a part of Pakistan, Bangladesh

was under semi-colonial exploitation by Pakistani military rulers during the period 1947 to 1971.

Bangladesh emerged as an independent nation in 1971. After independence several attempts have been made to advance the condition of education. Education is seen as a basic right for all citizens and also as a means to raise productivity and solve socio-economic problems (Education Commission Report: 1974).

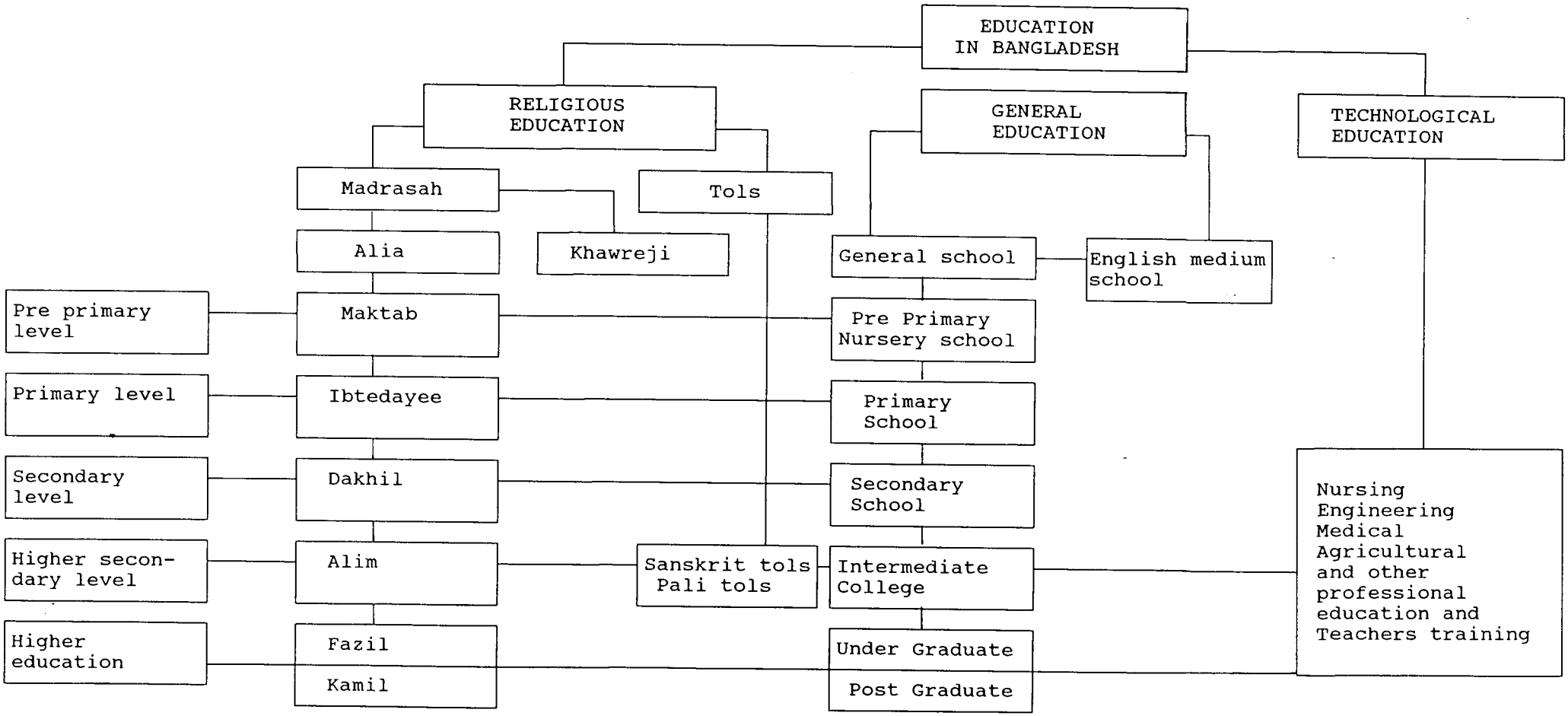
The Existing Pattern of Education

The objective of this section is to high-light the educational scenario in the country during recent years. Bangladesh, in fact, has been trying very hard to increase the level of literacy and education. But the achievement so far has not been encouraging. It can be seen from recent statistics that in 1981 the level of literacy in the country was only about 26.2 percent for population aged 5 years and above (BANBEIS: 1992a, p.181). This level has decreased to only 24.8 percent in 1991 (BBS: 1991b, p.4). This decrease, however, was due to the change in the definition of literacy.[2]

Bangladesh inherited two different systems of education from the British rule. The system still continues. One of them is general secular education and the other is traditional religious

[2]The definition of literacy in 1974 was one who can read in any language. This definition has been changed in the subsequent census as to one who can read newspaper and write a letter.

Figure 3.0 Education System of Bangladesh



Source: compiled by author

education. The general secular education system has occupied the mainstream over time, while religious education maintains a narrower stream. Figure 3.0 shows the two systems of education with their detailed breakdown.

Table 3.1 shows a comparative picture in terms of numbers of students, numbers of educational institutions and numbers of teachers in both systems. It can be observed in the table that although 15 percent of all students were enrolled in the madrasah system, the percentage share of both educational institutions and teachers are relatively higher in madrasah than in general education.

General Secular Education

As the main stream of education, general education occupies about 85 percent of the country's total enrolled students (Table 3.1). The overwhelming majority of educated people engaged both in private and public sectors come from general education.[3] Their contribution is apparent in all respects: science, arts, history, philosophy, economics, sociology, etc.. Table 3.2 provides some basic information on general eduction in Bangladesh in 1991.

Primary Education: Free and universal primary education has been introduced in Bangladesh since the independence of the country (BANBEIS: 1992c). To make primary education more effective,

[3]This point will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Table 3.1 Comparison between Madrasah and General Education, 1991

(Figures are in thousands)

Items	Madrasah		General educational Institution		Total (%)	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos	(%)	Nos.	(%)
Student	2867	(15)	16101	(85)	18968	(100)
Institutions	23	(28)	58	(72)	81	(100)
Teachers	146	(30)	348	(70)	494	(100)

Sources: Compiled from BANBEIS (1992) **Bangladesh Educational Statistics, 1991**, Dhaka: Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Information and Statistics.

Table 3.2 Number of General Educational Institutions, their Students and Teachers, 1991

level of education	Number of institutions	Number of students (in 000)	Number of Teachers (in 000)
Primary	45930	11940	190
Secondary	10715	3156	130
Higher Secondary	333	124	5
Graduate	547	756	15
Post Graduate	9	52	3
Others	272	73	5
Total	57806	16101	348

Sources: Compiled from BANBEIS (1992) **Bangladesh Educational Statistics, 1991**, Dhaka: Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Information and Statistics.

greater importance has been attached to promoting primary education in the country. In 1990 primary education was made compulsory for all children aged between 6 and 10 years. In addition to that, the government has also been supplying text books for children in primary schools.

It has already been mentioned that, Bangladesh is an overpopulated country with a very large child population. In terms of enrolment in primary schools (as well as in the Ibtedayee Madrasah) the situation is not that discouraging. For example, out of 15 million children aged between 6 and 10 in 1991, 12 million were enroled in primary school (BANBEIS: 1992a). It shows that the rate of participation is more than 80 percent. In fact, this rate would be much higher if enrolment in the Ibtedayee Madrasah is included.

But the discouraging fact is that the rate of dropout from primary school is one of the highest in the world (CUS: 1990). Nearly 80 percent of the children enrolled in class I, dropout before completing class V. One study shows that poverty is the main reason for such dropout(CUS: 1990). The other reasons are unattractive school environment and poor physical facilities, harsh treatment by the teachers, irrelevant curriculum, long distance of school from home, inability of parents to help children in their homework due to illiteracy (CUS: 1990).

Despite all these facilities and encouragement from the government the overall situation of primary education in

Bangladesh has been worsening. The main reasons for this discouraging situation are many. The most important of all is the allocation of resources for primary education. Although the government is spending nearly 46 percent of the total allocation for education for the Primary sector every year, the per capita spending per student stands at roughly taka 530 per year. If the salary of the teachers and other institutional expenditure is included this figure will be remarkably low. Related to this is teaching equipment. Because of low expenditure, modern teaching equipment cannot be made available.

Apart from primary schools there are some other arrangements also to supplement basic education. Before primary education there is also pre-primary education. There are about 2500 privately managed pre-primary schools mostly in urban areas. There are some pre-primary schools in rural areas managed by the local communities.

Pre-Primary education in rural areas is dominated by 'Maqtab'. The 'Maqtab' is Masjid based informal type of religious education centres. It gives lessons for beginners at pre-primary level. Elementary religious courses along with simple Bangla and Arithmetic are taught in these institutions (BANBEIS: 1992c). In Bangladesh there are about 58124 'maqtab' with 898000 students.

To eradicate illiteracy from society, the Bangladesh government has placed more emphasis on adult non-formal education along with

the introduction of universal primary education. The Mass education programme has been put under the direct supervision of the ministry of education. Government officers in charge of Mass literacy have been appointed all over the country. About 800 non government voluntary organizations (NGO)s like Under Privileged Children Education Programme(UCEP), Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee(BRAC), Bangladesh Rural Development Board (BRDB) etc. run institutional non formal education and training courses. For the welfare of physically Handicapped and Mentally Retarded Children there are few government and non government organisations in Bangladesh, offering education and training.

Secondary Education: The total length of secondary education is seven years,beginning from class VI to XII. The age of the students ranges from eleven years to seventeen years. Secondary education has broad divisions. First, Junior secondary which comprises three years of education, from class VI to VIII. Second, secondary education comprises two years class IX and X. This is in fact an important stage for many reasons. 1. A public examination is due for all students at the end of class X. This examination is called secondary school certificate examination (SSC). 2. In this stage students are divided into two groups according to their choice, the general group and the science group. 3. After successful completion of SSC examinations the students have options whether they will continue this education in the third level of secondary education or go for certain other options like jobs, training etc.

The next stage of secondary education is called higher secondary education. The length of higher secondary education is two years to be spent in educational institutions called college. At the end of this two years, students have to sit another public examination known as higher secondary certificate (HSC). Higher secondary education is a link between secondary and higher education. At this stage students are divided into different groups like Science general, Science premedical, Science pre-engineering, Commerce, Humanities, Music, Home economics etc.

Secondary educational institutions are categorised into two known as High schools and Colleges. There are about eleven thousand high schools all over the country of which about two thousand are at junior level. The high schools and colleges are controlled by the Directorate of Secondary and Higher education and its examinations are controlled by the Board.

The total number of colleges in the country about 880. Of all these about 550 have dual status i.e. they teach Higher secondary and Higher education. Up to HSC level examinations are controlled by Boards, and Higher education is controlled by the Universities. In the curriculum of secondary education, one subject is Religious Studies in all five classes. But in higher secondary level Religious studies is optional. Those who opt for religious education can take up to 60 percent of their curriculum in religious studies (Islamic Studies).

The minimum qualifications for the teachers of the High Schools

are graduation. For the High School teachers there are facilities for training. In the colleges, on the other hand the minimum educational qualifications of the teachers are Masters degree. In terms of training facilities for college teachers, the government has just begun a programme to train them (BANBEIS: 1992c).

Higher Education: Dr. Kudrat-i-Khuda Education Commission Report set the objectives of Higher Education as follows: "The role of Higher Education is to prepare competent knowledgeable and far-sighted people for assuming various higher responsibilities,to create such an educated group in whom the attachment to work, love for learning, freedom of thought, a sense of fairness and a humanitarian instinct are fully developed; to open up new horizons of knowledge and indicate their solutions". (Education Commission Report: 1974). These objectives of higher education have hardly been achieved. This is evident from the same report (Government of Bangladesh) that, "The higher education prevalent today is unable to meet the requirement of society because it is not related to social realities..... The higher education today is merely a passport to the government service" (Government of Bangladesh: 1974).

The present higher education system in Bangladesh not only seems to be irrelevant to societal needs, it is also extremely limited. At present there are nine Universities in the country, three of

which have started functioning recently.[4]

Among all these Universities, four are specialised in different branches of knowledge (For example two universities are for the study of Engineering and technology, one for Agriculture and one for Islamic studies). Apart from Universities, more than five hundred colleges offer higher degree programmes in various branches of knowledge. Some of these colleges even offer Honours and Masters degrees. Beside these many other professional colleges of law, health, engineering, music agriculture and technology also offer higher education.

Apart from Universities and colleges, there are institutes for almost every branches of knowledge. Some of these institutes also offer higher degrees like M Phil and Ph D.[5]

Religious Education

Religious education is a most important part of our education system. Religion as a subject has been made compulsory for people of all religions. The Muslims study Islam and the Hindus and Buddhists study their religion. The religious educational institutions are also separate for each different religion. For example, muslim religious educational institutions are called

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[4]These three are Islamic University, Sylhet University of Science and Technology and Khulna University.

[5] For example, Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies(BIDS), Bangladesh Institute of Agriculture and Research(BARI), Institute of Bangladesh Studies(IBS) etc.

Madrasah and those for the Hindus and the Buddhists are called Tol. Apart from all these religious institutions, religion is also taught in the general Schools, Colleges and Universities in a very limited way. The following pages describe very briefly the general pattern of religious education with special focus on Muslim religion.

Madrasah: Madrasah education plays an important role for the Muslim. It is in fact, a parallel system to general secular education in the country. Table 3.1 provides a comparative picture between Madrasah and general school education. It shows that 28 percent of all educational institutions are madrasah, while its share of students is 15 percent. This indicates that the number of students per educational institution in madrasah is lower than in the general school, college etc. In terms of teachers madrasah's share of all teachers is 30 percent for 15 percent students. This proportionate picture between madrasah and general schools can be explained as follows. First, madrasahs can attract fewer student than the modern schools. Madrasahs usually attract only marginal boys in the family. Second, the proportion of female students in madrasah is very low compared to schools. The madrasah system does not allow co-education, although a few female madrasahs have been established recently, they do not cover the whole country. Third, madrasahs are established spontaneously by religious minded people, specially by the "Ulama". They hardly consider the threshold population. The government usually does not prevent them because of public sentiment. As a result madrasahs grow unrestrictedly

without having a sufficient number of students.

Like general education madrasah education has also several stages. The first stage is called "Ibtedayee" or primary stage. Altogether 5 years teaching is given in this stage, from age 6 to 10 (BANBEIS: 1992c). The students in the "Ibtedayee" classes study general subjects with Islamic subjects. Islamic subjects cover about 42 to 46 percent of all subjects (calculated on the basis of marks distribution) compared to less than 10 percent in the schools in the different classes of primary level (Table 3.3).

The creation of Ibtedayee madrasahs is very recent. The Government encouraged and recognized them in order to improve literacy in the country, specially to promote the government's compulsory primary education policy. Ibtedayee madrasahs, like other madrasahs, are controlled by the Madrasah Education Board. The Board set its curriculum and issues concerning its recognition.

In Bangladesh there are about 16 thousand Ibtedayee Madrasah with about 1,730 thousand students and 58 thousand teachers. Therefore, about 60 percent of the total madrasah student were found at the Ibtedayee level with corresponding 70 percent of total number of madrashs. It gives an institution student ratio of about 1:108 and teacher student ratio of 1:30 which is much better than general primary education (Table 3.4).

Table 3.3 Islamic and Arabic Subjects in the Curriculum, 1991 (in percent).

Class	Group	Islamic education in Madrasah	Islamic education in School
I-II	NA	42	10
III-IV	NA	30	8.86
V	NA	46	8.86
IX-X	General group Science group Others group	60 50 90	10
XI-XII	General group Science group Others groups	80 40 90	Optional 20 to 60

Sources: 1. BMEB (1990) **Curriculum and Text book 1990-91**, Dhaka: Bangladesh Madrasah Education Board.

2. BISE (1990) **Curriculum and Text book 1990 -91**, Dhaka: Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education.

3. Jabbar, M.A (1991) "Role of Ibtedayee Madrasah, In Universal Primary Education in Bangladesh" Paper presented in a seminar on Universal Primary Education, organized by Government of Bangladesh and UNESCO, Dhaka 4-5 Dec.

The Second Stage 'Dakhil': This is equivalent to secondary education in the general school system. It lasts for five years. At the end of the fifth year, there is a board examination held under the control of the Madrasah Board. Between 1989-91 an average 49000 students appeared before Dakhil examination. Those who pass the Dakhil examination have been regarded as SSC passed since 1985.

The Third Stage Alim: This is equivalent to the Higher Secondary education system. The length of study is two years followed by a board examination. Like Dakhil, Alim classes include different subjects both from science and general studies. Those students who pass Alim are regarded as HSC passed since 1987.

The Fourth stage Fazil: Like Alim, Fazil is also a two years course, followed by a board examination. Fazil is equivalent to Bachelor degree in general terms. The government in principle agree that Fazil and Bachelor degree are equivalent, but in reality there is discrimination. The problem arises because Fazil examinations are not controlled by the Universities. People ask how a degree can be conferred without a University.

The Fifth Stage Kamil: The same problem remains with the next stage 'Kamil', also two years in duration, considered generally as equivalent to Masters degree from University.

Fazil and Kamil degrees are not yet recognised as B.A. or M.A. degrees. Even those who have passed those degrees cannot get

admission to M.A class of Islamic studies or the Arabic department of Universities without having a graduation degree from general education. They cannot compete with general educated graduates. Only in the field of primary, secondary school and madrasah teaching, do they get similar opportunities as general graduates or post-graduates. The reason for this discrimination is that both Fazil and Kamil degrees are awarded by the Madrasah board instead of Universities.

In Bangladesh, there were about 800 Fazil and 90 Kamil Madrasah with 205 thousand and 44 thousand students respectively in 1991 (Table: 3.4).

The general characteristic of madrasah education particularly in the case of higher education, ie. Kamil, is that there is no research at this level in any of these institutions. Nor do they have any professional journal. They also do not have professional groups. Therefore, the quality of education particularly in creating new knowledge is obviously low.

Other types of Madrasah: The Government recognised madrasahs, generally known as Alia madrasahs, are the mainstream of the madrasah education system. The Alia system in fact runs in parallel with the general secular education system (Table 3.5). Besides the Alia system there are some other kinds of madrasahs in the country which run in parallel with Alia madrasahs. These

Table 3.4 Number of Madrasah its Teachers and Students, 1991

Level	Number of Madrasah	Number of Students (in 000)	Number of Teachers (in 000)
Ibtedayee	15986	1730	58
Dakhil	4270	614	54
Alim	798	165	13
Fazil	797	205	15
Kamil	94	44	2
Others	868	109	4
Total	22813	2867	146

Sources: Compiled from BANBEIS (1992) **Bangladesh Educational Statistics 1991,** Dhaka: Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Information and Statistics.

Table 3.5 Madrasah Education as Parallel to the General Education.

Level of General Education	Level of Madrasah Education	Duration of course
Primary	Ibtedayee	5 years
Secondary	Dakhil	5 years
Higher Secondary	Alim	2 years
Graduation	Fazil	2 years
Post Graduation	Kamil	2 years

Sources: BBS (1992) **Bangladesh Education in Statistics 1991,** Dhaka: Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics.

are different in type and nature. The first type is 'Maqtab' (non formal religious pre-primary educational institution) which has been described earlier.

The second type is 'Forquania' madrasah. It offers basic education for a maximum of 4 years of Islamic religious education including elementary Bengali language and simple arithmetic (BANBEIS: 1992c). 'Forquania' madrasahs are established on the initiative of local people informally with their donations. Very occasionally the government provides an amount of money specially for the rehabilitation of such madrasahs if the initiative is taken by the local people. But this money is not spent on the salary of the teachers.

The third type of madrasah outside the Alia system is known as 'Khariji' or 'Qaumi' madrasah. The word 'Khariji' means 'outside' and denotes its nature. All the khariji madrasahs are in fact outside the purview of government patronage.

Unlike the Alia madrasahs which emphasize both religious and general subjects of knowledge, Khariji madrasahs focus only on the religious subjects. Starting from the beginning, the khariji system altogether has 14 years of education compared to 16 years in the Alia system. In Bangladesh there are about 868 Khariji madrasahs with about 109,000 students. These madrasahs are not controlled by any board or directorate centrally. however, they have some informal links among themselves to consider certain things together like development of the

curriculum and examinations etc. Most of these madrasahs are residential and in many cases free boarding and lodging for the teachers and students are arranged locally. The main source of finance is community patronage. In some cases, fees from students also provide a very insignificant amount of finance.

Tol Education: Religious education in Hinduism and Buddhism is given in 'Tols' in the Sanskrit and Pali colleges respectively. It has already been mentioned that in the schools, colleges and even in the universities sanskrit and pali have been taught separately for the Hindus and the Buddhist religious community. Apart from this, both sanskrit and pali are also taught in privately managed traditional religious institutions.

In the traditional system, there are about 250 institutions offering such courses in the country. All these institutions are under the control of the Bangladesh Sanskrit and Pali education Board. Most of these institutions are attached to different temples, monasteries etc. The sanskrit institutions offer religious teachings and scriptures for the Hindus and the Pali institutions offers the same for the Buddhists.

Educational Administration

The educational administration and management in Bangladesh is run by the Ministry of Education in association with the attached departments and directorates as well as a number of autonomous bodies. For administrative purposes Bangladesh has been divided in to 4 divisions, 64 districts and 460 upazila (1991). At each

of these levels educational administrators are appointed. For the secondary level of general education there are Boards of Secondary and Higher secondary education in each of the four divisions. The Ministry of Education has four departments and directorates. The Directorate of Primary education, the National Academy for primary education (NAPE), the Directorate of Secondary and Higher Education and the Directorate of Technical Education are responsible for respective education sectors.

In addition to these, the National curriculum and Text Book Board (NCTBB) is responsible for curriculum development, printing and supply of text books for Primary to Higher secondary levels. The National Academy for Educational Management (NAEM) is responsible for in-service training for civil service education cadre officers, educational administrators and teachers at the secondary and higher secondary levels.

The Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Information and Statistics (BANBEIS) is responsible for the compilation and dissemination of information and educational statistics from Primary to university levels.

The Universities control higher education and examinations in their respective affiliated colleges. The University Grants Commission (UGC), created in 1973, coordinates activities of the universities and allocates government grants. Recently, the government has accepted a proposal for setting up an affiliating university to control examinations of the affiliated degree

colleges in Bangladesh.

The Madrasah Education Board is responsible for controlling public examinations for all madrasah students in the affiliating Madrasahs. It is also responsible for producing the curriculum and Text books for Madrasah students.

Thus all these government and autonomous bodies have been sharing the administration of education. The non-governmental education is controlled and administered by non government organizations and Boards. Apart from these a number of NGOs promote primary education in Bangladesh.

Education Finance : Primary education is almost wholly financed by the government; only 16 percent of primary schools are private. At the secondary level over 95 percent of the schools, colleges and most of the madrasahs are private receiving 75 percent cost of teachers and employees salary from government funds. For the other costs, the schools and colleges mostly rely on tuition fees, and the madrasahs very often rely on public donations. The universities are autonomous but receiving 85 percent of their financial needs from the government. The cost per student of annual government recurring expenditure is shown in Table 3.6.

It can be observed in Table 3.6 that per student government expenditure is higher in madrasah than in the general schools.

Table 3.6 Per Student Annual Recurring Expenditure, 1990-91.

(In Taka)

Pattern of education	Government	Private
Primary School	532	N.A
Secondary School	2179	690
College	4538	946
Madrasah	4273	978

Sources: Compiled from BANBEIS (1992) **Statistics of Educational Finance and Expenditure**, Tables 9.1, 9.2, Dhaka: Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Information and Statistics.

This differences are much higher between the private sector madrasahs and schools. For example, the government spent Tk 978 per madrasah student in the year 190-91 compared to that of Tk 690 for student in general schools, which is about 42% higher. This is not because the government gives more money to madrasahs but rather due to: a) low enrolment of students in madrasahs and b) in efficient and corrupt management of the madrasah system.[6]

But in terms of investment on education it has been and still is far too low by any standard. As per expenditure on education from GNP it was 1.5 percent in 1980 and 1.9 percent in 1988 which is one of the lowest in the region and falls far below the regional average of 4.4 percent of GNP. (CUS: 1990)

[6]While undertaking fieldwork, the researcher found a number of cases of such corruption.

Chapter IV

THE CAUSES OF SOCIAL ALIENATION OF MADRASAH EDUCATED PEOPLE

The dual system of school and madrasah education has long been continuing in our education system. From these two systems two different classes of people are being produced. One group is the mainstream of society and the other is marginalized from it. Literature, Arts, Science, Technology, Economics, Politics, History and Philosophy etc. are taught in the modern system of education. As a result modern educated people lead society in its economic development, scientific innovations, politics and literary works. Their footsteps are marked, in fact, in all walks of life. Those educated in the madrasah are far away from scientific research, technological innovations and literary works. However, they come into politics, taking islamic ideology as the principal pattern for political rule. But it is rarely explained how this ideology can be practically translated into reality. These two different ways lead them to two distinct destinations. Both groups have their own identity, in appearance, in dress and also in the way of life. Those educated in school consider madrasah people not only out-dated and parasitic but also consider them misfits in their society.

Those educated in madrasah on the other hand think that the modern educated are far away from the path of 'Allah' and

therefore their success in this world is for a short time. They also consider them responsible for all the problems in society.

Major Differences

Dress: Dress is one of the important elements of distinction between school and madrasah educated. The students and teachers of madrasahs put on dresses considered to be similar to the dress of Prophet Muhammad (SM) and his companions. This is usually a knee long shirt and a cap on the head, looks almost like the dresses of Arab Muslims. The school educated people, on the other hand, put on clothes similar to the clothes of western developed society.

These distinguishing characteristics of dress among the two groups of people are a primary factor of rift between them. An islamic scholar once mentioned that to many people, madrasah students are a group of people with long dresses covered heads which is the result of a paralysed and incomplete education system. On the other hand, the school students are young and smartly dressed with jeans pants and shirts (Bari: 1991). The general acceptability of modern western clothes among the common people and its use by the educated elite is the prime badge of so called modernity. To the rural people from the country in general, even their modern clothes look out of place in the city. But, for activity for example in the sports field, a madrasah student stands out as odd because of his clothes. Dress has significant impact on the mentality of the people.

Politics and the Madrasah Educated People: Bangladesh is a multiparty democratic country. At present, the number of political parties in the country is more than 50. All these parties have different goals and objectives. But they also have many things in common. Most of the parties try to promote a secular ideology but some of them are doing politics in order to establish an islamic ideology in the country. In general the madrasah educated people give their support to those parties which promise to establish islamic rule in the country. On the other hand the overwhelming majority of the general educated people supports political parties which are not based on islamic ideology.

This bipolarity among the people can also be traced back to the history of the country's politics. Pakistan was created as a homeland for Muslims and the Pakistani leaders promised to make Pakistan an islamic country. But, Bangladesh was created on a secular ideology. As a result, during the independence war, most of the madrasah educated people did not give their active support to the creation of Bangladesh. Because of this, the madrasah educated people in general are treated as anti-Bangladeshi elements in the country, although this is not true in totality. But the fact is that the madrasah educated people and students still give their support to those parties which claim Bangladesh as an islamic country, without appropriate examination of their motives and past history. Therefore, in the arena of Bangladesh politics, two groups of people (the madrasah and general educated) are divided prominently into two blocks in most cases.

Employment Prospects and the Madrasah Educated People: Apart from dress and politics, the madrasah educated people are alienated from public and private services, in the general administration of state machineries. Almost all sectors are overwhelmingly dominated by general school educated people. Although Madrasah students spend the same 16 years in education as general educated students for their education, they can hardly compete with the school educated. It has been found from a separate survey by the reasearcher undertaken during field survey in 1992 on some selected government, semi-government, autonomous and private organizations that 90 percent of all the public and semi-public positions are occupied by school educated people. Only about 8 percent of the employees in those service organizations were found to have been educated in madrasah . If the teaching profession were excluded, the percentage of madrasah people would be extremely low, ie., it accounted for only about 0.43 percent (Table 4.1). It is important to note that none of the first class officers have came direct from madrasah education, although the government recognises their degrees, and gives an equivalent value to their counterpart in the schools and colleges. In most cases the madrasah educated are not eligible to apply for most of the jobs except to some extent in the education sector. The Country's judicial laws in most cases are islamic in nature. But none of the judges or advocates is madrasah educated, while Madrasahs are offering Kamil (highest) degree in Fiqh (Islamic law) to produce experts in Islamic law.

Table 4.1 Educational Institutions Where the Employees of Selected Public and Semi-public Organiztions Recieived their Formal Education

Names of organizations	Educated in madrasah	Educated in schools	Educated in both madrasah and school	Total
Public Service Commission[a]	2	166	4	172
Sonali Bank[b]	-	37	-	37
Dhaka Education Board[c]	6	112	18	136
Government Secondary school[d]	145	1261	7	1431
A research Institute[e]	-	56	-	56
A non-government organization[f]	-	20	-	20
Total	153	1652	29	1834

Source: Field Survey by Author in 1992.

[a]On the basis of a smaple survey in the Public Service Commission's Training Academy.
[b]On the basis of a total survey in the Personnel Division of Sonali Bank Head Office.
[c]Total Survey on the employees of Dhaka Madrasah Education Board.
[d]From a published document by the Government on newly appointed teacher in Secondary Government High Schools, 1992.
[e]Total survey on the employees of Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies.
[f]On the basis of a total survey in an NGO, named Early Implementation Project in Bangaldesh.

Those 'Foqaha' (Law expert) do their practice and use their knowledge outside the government courts, especially in the Rural areas in an informal way. In the villages, where people cannot afford court expenses they very often go to the Maulanas to solve their social or family problems.

The main government job for madrasah educated people is teaching in schools or madrasahs. It has been mentioned before that out of total public service only 8.34 percent of positions are occupied by the Madrasah educated. From this 8.34 percent 7.91 are in the teaching profession. Over 94 percent of the madrasah educated in services employment have been absorbed in the teaching profession.

The most common professions that the madrasah educated people enjoy are: *Imam, Muajjin* or *Khatib* of Mosque. Many of them do missionary work together with their own business. But it is very common picture in Bangladesh, for them to undertake registration of marriages,*janajah, Munajaat*, recitation from holy Quran, *Akika* and islamic missionary works instead of any permanent job. These are the works they live on in most cases. The main objective of this chapter is to find out the causes of social alienation of madrasah educated people. The following pages will sketch the overall reasons for this contrasting situation.

Causes of Alienation

While investigating the causes of social alienation of madrasah

educated people, it has been found that they are rooted mainly in historical events through several centuries. Secondly, various social factors were also involved in this alienation process. And finally, some systemic faults in madrasah education were found as a cause of the social alienation of madrasah educated people. Therefore the causes can be divided into three groups:

1. The Historical causes
2. The Social causes
3. The Systemic Faults

The Historical Causes:

The history of Madrasah education in Bangladesh goes back a millennium or more. It goes hand in hand with the history of Muslim rule in Bengal, although the madrasah education was originated long before Muslim rule in Bengal. It is well known that the Arab Traders had contact with Bengal through the port of Chittagong. It is evident that after the rise of Islam the Arabian Muslim traders carried with them the teachings and ideas of Islam to this country along with their commercial commodities (karim: 1987). This trade relationship also provided facilities for the sufis, saints and devoted Muslim missionaries to visit this part of the world. It is also evident from historical events that a large number of saints came to Bengal between the 8th and the 13th century to do missionary work (Ali: 1983). They established mosques and khanquahs in various parts of Bengal. They were used to convey the teachings of Islam to their

disciples and to the newly converted Muslims of this area(Ali: 1983).

Islamic Education was formally and systematically introduced in Bengal when Ikhtyar Uddin Muhammad Bakhtyar Khalji established Muslim rule in this area at the beginning of the thirteenth century (1201/ 1203). This education system continued for about five centuries, which is considered by many as the 'Golden Period' for islamic education (Ali: 1983). It was a unitary system of education. The persons who were taught in the Madrasahs were not only able to perform as religious teachers and spiritual guides but also were social workers, writers, engineers, doctors, soldiers and sailors etc. Islamic educated people (the sayyid, the alim and the sufis) were held in very high esteem and they belonged to the higher echelon of society (karim: 1987). In addition to the people educated locally in Madrasahs the muslim rulers welcomed and honoured people from outside the region. They were given suitable employment at an appropriate place in order to expand educational facilities (karim: 1987). Madrasah educated people were the mainstream of society. To join the main stream educated people, even people of other religions like Hindus, also used to take education in the Madrasah (Ali: 1983). In fact, madrasah educated people enjoyed the highest positions in the state during those days. But this trend was eroded gradually during the 200 years of British Rule.

British Period : The British took over the administration of Bengal in 1757. Islamic education in the sub-continent faced a blow at this time. British policy throughout the next 200 years since 1757 did not patronize islamic education, rather,it destroyed the backbone of the muslim education system. As a result, Muslims, particularly those educated in madrasah became alienated from the state administration, military and other social and economic processes. The followings are some of the policies which hit the education system directly.

1. The Grant of 'Dewani' to the East India Company in 1765:" The administration of the Imperial Taxes was the first great source of income in Bengal, and the Muslim aristocracy monopolized it" (Hunter: 1871). When King Shah Alam made over to the East India Company the formal grant of 'Dewani' (collection of Government revenue), the Department of Finance and Accounts passed out of the hands of the Muslims to the direct control of the British (Hunter: 1871). This was the first step in making a division between the islamic educated people and others, because Muslims were driven away from the service of Revenue, Finance and Accounts Departments and were replaced with British or Hindus (Hunter: 1871). Muslims were virtually eliminated from the entire civil and revenue administration. Not only that, they lost those sources of emolument which enabled them to bear the expenses of the education of their children and were deprived of that power which they formerly possessed to endow and patronise public seminaries.

2. The Permanent Settlements: There was a series of changes introduced by Lord Cornwallis and John Shore. The Permanent Settlement of 1793 was one of those. Through Permanent Settlement, landed properties of Muslim upper and middle class families were either confiscated by the British or transferred to Hindus which elevated the Hindu revenue collectors to the position of landlords and zamindars (Hunter: 1871). The whole tendency of the settlement was to acknowledge as the landholders the subordinate Hindu officers, who dealt directly with the husbandman (Hunter: 1871). It deprived the Muslim majority from proprietary rights in the soil and they lost their ability to patronise islamic education. It is evident from W. W. Hunter (1871), "A hundred and seventy years ago it was almost impossible for a well-born Muslim in Bengal to become poor; at present it is impossible for him to continue rich " (Hunter: 1871, p.134).

This was another step in alienation for Islamic educated people. Because, in those days it was "the practice of the Musalman land proprietors to entertain teachers at their own private cost for the benefit of the children of the poor in their neighbourhood, and it was a rare thing to find an opulent farmer or head of a village who had not a teacher in his employ for the purpose" (W. Adam Quoted in Bari: 1991, p. 5-6). Because of the Permanent Settlement, those two groups of Muslims in Bengal lost their ability to employ islamic educated people and patronise the public seminaries. As a result, a large number of islamic educated people became unemployed and alienated from society.

3. **The Resumption Laws of 1828:** Through The Resumption Proceeding, an outlay of £800,000, an additional revenue of £300,000 a year was permanently gained by the East India Company. But it gave the finishing stroke to the fortunes of the Muslim Bengal (Hunter: 1871).

When the British seized political power in Bengal, one fourth of the whole province of Bengal had been rent-free 'Lakhiraj' and 'Awqaf' land dedicated to education and other religious and pious works. These were used for the maintenance and smooth running of islamic religious institutions, especially for the madrasahs (When the country passed under British rule in the latter part of eighteenth century, there were 80,000 madrasahs in Bengal, on an average one madrasah for every four hundred persons). The Rulers, Amirs and rich men used to make generous endowments of rent free land for the maintenance of the Mosques, Madrasahs and Khanqahs (Ali: 1983). But they did not maintain the title deed seriously, neither was it fixed nor permanent (Hunter: 1871), because the oral word was enough for them (Bari: 1991). Through the Resumption Laws this occupation of land was disregarded as were other matters. Most of the lakhiraj land and considerable amounts of other landed property including vast waqf estates of the Muslims were confiscated and taken over by the British Rulers.

That directly affected the Muslim education system. Most of the madrasahs had either been closed or could not run any more and madrasah educated people became unemployed and dependent upon the

local community. According to W.W.Hunter (1871), as a result of the Resumption Laws "Hundreds of ancient families were ruined, and the educational system of the muslims which was almost entirely maintained by rent-free grants, received its death blow. The scholastic classes of the Muhammadans emerge from the eighteen years (1828-46) of harrying, absolutely ruined..... There can be no doubt whatever, that from those resumptions the decay of the Muhammadan system of education dates" (Hunter: 1871, p.158-159).

4. Calcutta Madrasah: The history of Madrasah Education in Bengal under British rule cannot be explained without the history of the Calcutta Madrasah. The Calcutta Madrasah was established by Warren Hastings in 1781, and shifted in 1947 to Dhaka with its staff and rich library and re-named as 'Madrasah-i-Alia, Dhaka. It was the establishment round which the system gradually grew up.

As the result of the transfer of 'Dewani' to the British the Muslims lost all their power as well as the ability to maintain their own education system to educate their children. So they applied to Warren Hastings to establish a government madrasah in Calcutta. On the other hand, under the conditions of the transfer of Dewani the state language remained Persian and Judicial law was Islamic. On these conditions the Calcutta Madrasah was established with the aim of "promoting the study of Arabic and Persian languages and Muhammadan law with a view to producing loyal civil servants " (Maulana Akram Khan Education

Commission Report: 1951, 97). As a result for years it produced accomplished scholars, able officers and competent administrators and served as the fountain-head of the educational progress of the Muslims of Bengal who continued to retain for more than half a century their due share in the administration of the country (Muslim Education Advisory committee: 1934).

For the time being the Calcutta Madrasah could not bring about a fruitful future for madrasah education. Within six decades it started to create a group of people who were parasitic and alienated from the mainstream of society. After a couple of centuries and even after making innumerable efforts the madrasah education system could still not overcome this problem.

According to islamic scholars the fault of the Calcutta Madrasah was mainly with its curriculum (Field survey). The traditional course had undergone drastic changes in 1791, which generated dissatisfaction among many concerned. The teaching of Hadith and Tafsir was excluded from the curriculum, although these are the basic source of islamic knowledge. This was a major deviation from traditional courses of Indian muslim education. Because it was the official language, Persian occupied an important place in the curriculum, while Arabic was relegated to a secondary position. On the other hand, important general subjects like History and Geography were omitted (Akram khan education Commission Report: 1951). If the curriculum of madrasah education had been free from all these faults and appropriate to the social needs the result would have been different.

5. Inauguration of the English System of Education and Substitution of Persian by English as the State Language: The British Government of India inaugurated English Education in 1835 in the place of the indigenous national system of education. Schools and colleges were organised around Calcutta University to supersede the madrasah system as a passport to public service. Even the Government made a regulation in favour of English Education, "The great objective of the British government ought to be the promotion of European literature and sciences amongst the 'natives' of India and that all the funds appropriated best employed on English Education only." (Ali: 1983, p.49)

The Introduction of the English system of education resulted in the abolition of Persian as the official language in the year 1837. Therefore, all official business was to be continued either in English or in Bengali. Because of these two events the government madrasah lost its importance as a recruiting ground for public service, which could therefore hardly produce men capable of holding their own in the race of life, nor could it minister properly to the spiritual, social and other needs of the community. Thus the whole community became unprovided for. They were gradually alienated from all spheres of social life.

6. Apathy of the Muslim Community about English Education: It has been mentioned earlier that the educational, social and economic life of the Muslim community received a setback by the replacement of Persian by English as the official language of the country (The Muslim Education Advisory Committee: 1931). Since

the Muslims could not accept the English system and kept themselves within the limit of traditional islamic education, they were not able to compete with general educated people and come forward to the mainstream of the society. Therefore, the Muslim community's backwardness resulted from their apathy about accepting English Education.

During the early nineteenth century some changes were made in the curriculum of the madrasah courses on the recommendation of various committees. One such change was the introduction of the teaching of English language: this was introduced to Calcutta Madrasah in 1820, and because of some problem it was reorganised in 1829. The authority of the madrasah tried to make attendance of the students in the English classes compulsory and to make English popular even increased the amount of the stipends from Rs. 2 to Rs. 5 a month, available from the English department. But all these efforts to make English popular among the madrasah students were unsuccessful. This can be seen from the fact that during the period from 1829 to 1851 only two junior scholars were found who could finish the English course (Ali: 1983).

Another effort to make English popular among the Muslims was the introduction of an Anglo-Arabic class, opened in 1847, exclusively for the benefit of the students of the Arabic department. But this effort also did not achieve any tangible success (Ali: 1983).

Because of the failure of English and Anglo-Arabic classes, the council of Education in 1853 recommended opening an Anglo-Persian Department. As a result, an Anglo-Persian Department in Calcutta Madrasah was developed in that year where Persian was taught simultaneously with English. Subsequently, the status of this Department was also raised but failed to attract Muslim students to study in the Anglo-Persian department. As a result the department was closed in 1869 (Report of the Madrasah Education committee: 1938).

All these efforts to make the english system of education popular among the Muslims were supported by one group of Muslim leaders. But they failed to make English education popular among the madrasah students mainly because of their apathy towards it. However, it did not stop the spread of english language among the non Muslims in Bengal. Those who accepted and learnt English got enhanced positions in society. Thus, the Muslim community fell far behind the Hindu community and the madrasah educated people remained alienated from the mainstream of society.

7. Policy of Calcutta University about Madrasah Education: The policy of Calcutta University was one of the causes of madrasah educated people being alienated from the mainstream of society. After the establishment of Calcutta University in 1857 all the schools and colleges of Bengal were organised round the University. But there was no provision for the teaching of Arabic and Persian in the University and none of the madrasahs was included within Calcutta University. It was developed

virtually as "a Hindu temple of learning whose influence steadily filtered through the several stages of instruction down to the primary school" (Ali: 1983, p.98). The main reason was "inadequate representation of Muslims on its controlling bodies and boards. This cannot but be highly detrimental to the best interests of Muslim education in Bengal" (Ali: 1983, p.100). The Department of Islamic Studies never opened in Calcutta University, although it was recommended by several committees and there was a strong demand for it from the Muslim community (Ali: 1983).

If Calcutta University had not had this policy from the beginning and if the different bodies of the University's administration had appointed a proportion of Muslims and if they had affiliated the Alia Madrasahs, the history of madrasah education would have been different (Bari: 1991).

8. The British Government Prefer to put Hindus in the Place of Muslims: When the country passed under British Rule the Muslims were a superior race, and superior not only in stoutness of heart and strength of arm, but in power of political organization and in the science of practical government (Hunter:1871 ,. During the Muslim period all sectors of government service were monopolised by Muslims, while Hindus were in a subordinate position. Even after the reforms of Akber very few Hindus were appointed in the state offices. But after the British occupation the whole picture became very different. The Muslim became subordinate to the Hindus and to the British.

The cause of this destruction of the Muslim monopoly was mainly company's policy. The Company took over the country from the Muslims. That is why they were conscious about Muslim power. They shut all paths for Muslim aristocracy. 'They shut Muslim aristocracy out of the army because they believed that their exclusion was necessary for their (British) own safety. They abolished the Muslim monopoly of the most lucrative functions in the administration, because their deprivation was essential to the welfare and just government of the people' (Hunter: 1871). The third sources of Muslim greatness was their monopoly of Judicial, Political or in brief Civil Employ. The Cornwallis Code also broke this monopoly slowly.

During those days, the British had no worries from the Hindus, because they were in a subordinate position. So the British wisely and confidently transferred the privileges of Muslim aristocracy to the Hindus. "For the first fifty years of the company's Rule the Musalmans had the lion's share of state patronage. During the second half century of power the tide turned at first slowly, but at a constantly accelerating pace. Then the Hindus poured into it and have since completely filled every grade of official life....Even where it is still possible to give appointments in the old fashioned friendly way, there are very few young Muslim officials. Now one or two unpopular appointments about the Jail are the most that the former masters of India can hope for" (Hunter: 1871, p.141,142).

Table 4.2 Distribution of state patronage in Bengal, April 1871

Nature of services	Europeans	Hindus	Muslims	Total
Covenanted Civil service	260	-	-	260
Judicial Officers	47	-	-	47
Extra Assistant Commissioners	26	7	-	33
Deputy Magistrates	53	113	30	196
Income Tax Assessors	11	43	6	60
Registration department	33	25	2	60
Judge of small court	14	25	8	47
Munsif	1	178	37	216
Police department	106	3	-	109
Public works department, engineer	154	19	-	173
PWB,Subordinate	72	125	4	201
PWB, stablishment	22	54	-	76
Medical department	89	65	4	158
Dept. of public Instruction	38	14	1	53
Other Department	412	10		422
Total	1338	681	92	2111

Sources: Hunter, W.W (1871) *The Indian Mussalman*, Lahore, reprinted in 1968.

By adopting a series of policies the British destroyed the backbone of the Muslim indigenous system. They introduced their own system. The Hindus had no reason not to welcome it, because Islamic and English education are similar to them. Rather it was advantageous for them, because the British favoured them. They found this a great opportunity to supersede their former masters. But Muslims kept themselves away from English education. The result was that they fell far behind the Hindus. After some time some of the Muslims realised that there was nothing more to be lost by their former aristocracy. Everything had gone and now there was no way to keep themselves in the mainstream of society unless they started to take english education. But others remained attached to islamic education and neglected english education and so remained alienated from the mainstream of society.

9. Emergence of Khariji Madrasah: The Calcutta Madrasah failed to satisfy the Muslim community from a different point of view. The result of this was the re-emergence of madrasah education. In various places a new kind of madrasah was established by public donations. For instance, Maulana Muhammad Qasim Nanatawi's Deobond Madrasah* (established in 1866) is worth noting here. The British Government virtually failed to bring them under its control. The madrasahs did not accept any control from the public authority either. Eventually these madrasahs were named 'Khariji' i e Excluded type. Deoband attracted a large number of students from Bengal, who went there for higher islamic learning in preference to the Calcutta Madrasah (Ali: 1983). During that time the quality of islamic education in the Khariji

* Deobond madrasah is also known as Darul Uloom Madrasah, established in 1866 as a stronghold of puritan revivalist movement to protect true islamic values.

Madrasahs was claimed to be better than Government Madrasahs; their emergence had created a division within Madrasah Education. This division was also one of the causes of alienation among madrasah educated people from the mainstream of society.

If the Khariji Madrasahs had been brought under the control of the government keeping their curriculum unchanged, or alternatively, if the government had launched madrasahs similar to those of Khariji Madrasahs, the history of madrasah education in Bengal would have been different. But it did not happen that way. The British government seem to have always been reluctant to go deeper into the problem to solve it practically. Failure to find an ultimate solution made a division among the Muslim people. This dualism finally became the main constraint on the smooth promoting of islamic education.

9. New Scheme Madrasah: The Government, however, tried to keep the people away from the Khariji Madrasahs. As a result of this effort the New Scheme madrasahs were created by the government. This can be seen from Archdel Arl Education Commission Report of 1907-8. "The Commission suggested that the standard of madrasah education should be raised substantially, so that the people would not go to Deoband and Laukhnows" (Faridi: 1986, p.53). Despite some positive recommendations from the Arl Commission the British Government failed to popularize madrasah education. However, the Government subsequently made efforts to remove problems from madrasah education. For instance, the Government announced the establishment a University at Dhaka to include a

'Faculty' of Islamic Studies, which must necessarily be an extension of the studies of the Madrasah. During that time local educationists, alim (religious leaders) and politicians cooperated with the government. Shamsul 'Ulama Abu Nasr Muhammad Waheed prepared a comprehensive scheme for a national system of muslim education from the primary stage to higher stages extending over 18 years. The Government of Bengal approved that curriculum and the New Scheme Madrasah was established in 1914. After the establishment of the University of Dhaka in 1921 this madrasah education was affiliated to the University.

The New Scheme Madrasah system of education opened a new horizon for islamic education. The main attraction of this system was the combination of islamic and general subjects and also affiliation with the University. That is why the system became so popular that in 1947 when the British handed political power to Pakistan the number of new Scheme Madrasahs in Bangladesh (the then East Pakistan) was 1074 with 85629 students. While the number of Old Scheme Madrasah was 378 with 39812 student. Muhammad Ishaq (1969) comments on this, "New Scheme Madrasah, a synthesis of modern and classical systems of education. Within a decade of the emergence of this new scheme, hundreds of Junior Madrasahs were founded throughout Bengal.....Muslim students in hundreds and thousands enrolled themselves in these institutions and passed out of them to receive higher education in Colleges and Universities. Thus education came within the easy reach of the poverty-stricken Muslim nation of the then

Bengal, and the door to ideological modern education became wide open to them. As a matter of fact, the New Scheme Madrasah ushered in a renaissance in the domain of Muslim education solidifying their ideological and cultural basis". (p.4)

Within the New Scheme Madrasah the Government of Bengal established a system which was suitable for the then Muslims of Bengal. But because of their Divide and Rule Policy outside the educational scene this evolution could not bring a fruitful future. Dr. Ali comments on this, "The Government education policy was a clear manifestation of their hostile attitude towards the Muslims. Their policy of divide and rule wonderfully succeeded not only in bifurcating the education system into antagonistic 'secular' and 'religious', but also in splitting up religious education in Bengal into Old scheme, New scheme and Khariji or qawmi system. As a result, the Muslim of the Sub-continent remained entangled in Social, Political, Cultural, intellectual and ideological crises and complexities "(Ali: 1983, 150-51).

"There could be no solution of the problem involved in the educational backwardness of the Muslim community unless the Madrasah were reformed and brought into line with the needs of modern life" (Akram Khan Education Commission Report: 1951, p.1o8). But behind this policy they played their Divide and Rule Policy. They have not included the Calcutta Madrasah under this scheme. Thus in addition to the national education system, at the end they divide the national islamic education system as Old

Scheme, New Scheme and Khariji or Qawami System (Ali: 1983). These divisions in the education system created a long-term problem for the nation and the madrasah educated people suffered most. This division of the madrasah education system acts as an important obstacle to bringing madrasah educated people in the mainstream of society.

Pakistan Period:

The alienation of madrasah educated people continued during the 24 years of the Pakistan Period. Pakistan's education policy's thrust was islamization and the creation of an islamic society. The Government of Pakistan failed to solve any practical problems for madrasah education. Rather, their adopted policy virtually closed all the ways to an integrated and unified education in the new republic and failed to bring madrasah educated people with the majority of people to contribute to national development. The causes of failure can be grouped as follows:

1. Failure to Introduce an Appropriate Uniform Education System: Pakistan's education policy was directed and controlled by westernized bureaucrats and not by eminent educationists. As the British pattern of education was followed from Primary to University level, western secularism dominated the national ideology. Instead of aiming at a balanced development of body and mind during Pakistan rule, education practically aimed at attaining material prosperity at the cost of mental, moral and spiritual well-being. This can be seen from Akram khan Education

Commission Report, 1951.

At the beginning of the Pakistan period, there were three kinds of education system: i. General education, the absolute secular education. ii. Old Scheme Madrasah system, which was completely islamic in nature and iii. New Scheme Madrasah. Therefore, education in Pakistan was a combination of an islamic and general education. Besides these there was Khariji Madrasah education which was completely islamic in nature and was controlled privately without help from government.

On the question of a uniform national education system, the Akram Khan Education Commission recommended integrating the New Scheme Madrasah education with the general system. Public opinion was divided on this question, whether the madrasah should be merged with general school education or the General (school) education should be merged with the New Scheme Madrasah (Akram Khan education Commission Report: 1951, p.116). The Commission also recommended integrating the Ibtedayee courses of Old Scheme Madrasah with General Education. On the other hand, the commission surprisingly omitted the question of the Khariji Madrasah which had a strong hold in the field of Islamic Education. The Khariji Madrasahs still remain 'Khariji' which means outside government recognition. None of the committee's recommendations have so far been implemented. Therefore, no changes were observed in the arena of education in the early Pakistan period.

In addition to the Akram Khan Commission, the Government of Pakistan created many other Commissions to resolve the national educational problem. None of these commissions succeeded in formulating an appropriate education policy, nor were they able to solve any problem of islamic education or for islamic educated people. Rather, all the Commissions strongly recommended the integration of the Reform Madrasah with General education.

2. Integration of New Scheme Madrasah with General Education:

To some educationists, merging the New Scheme Madrasah with general education was the main cause of alienation of madrasah educated people from the mainstream of society. Scholars in islamic education gave evidences that the process of alienation was rather stronger in the Pakistan period than the pre Pakistan period (Field survey).

In the Reform Madrasah Curriculum, a good combination of secular subjects like English, vernacular, mathematics, History, Geography and Science, and basic islamic subjects like Arabic, the Quran, Islamic Law and Theology was effective and suitable to enable people to work for national development. The standard in secular subjects was the same as in the High Schools. It was also brought into line with the Department of Islamic Studies in Dhaka University (Maulana Akram Khan Education Commission Report: 1951).

The history of the Reform of Madrasah education is a history of bringing madrasah education into line with the general system

under the University. But following the recommendation of the Education Commission Report, 1951, which was followed by the Ataur Rhman Khan Education commission Report, 1957, all these madrasahs have been integrated with General Schools and colleges since 1958. The integration was completed within one decade as shown in Table 4.3. Scholars believe that the New Scheme was abolished due perhaps to the lack of support for the Scheme within the committee. As a result of this integration the flicker of any hope for an ideal integration between traditional and modern general education has evaporated (Ishaq: 1969).

Table: 4.3 Growth and Abolition of New Scheme Madrasah

Year	Junior Madrasah	Senior Madrasah	Islamic Intermediate College	Total
1915	-	9	-	9
1947	896	64	7	967
1959	515	46	-	561
1966	4	4	-	8

Sources:

1. Faridi, A.H (1985) Madrasah Shikha: Bangladesh (Madrasah Education: Bangladesh), Dhaka: Bangla Academy.
2. Report of the East Bengal Educational System Reconsrtuction Committee (Moulana Akram Khan Commission Report) 1950-51
3. Ataur Rahman khan commission Report, 1957.

3. Apathy of the Government Towards Islamic Eduction: This can be seen from the action taken by the Government on the recommendation of the Education Commission Report 1951, which was in favour of islamic education, specially of the Old Scheme Madrasah. The major aspects of the recommendations by the 1951

Commission Report (Maulana Khan Commission Report) are as follows:

- In the Old Scheme Madrasah some useful general subjects were recommended for inclusion in the curriculum.

- In order to generate some original thinking in Islamic Studies and to make a contribution to islamic knowledge the Commission had recommended that research be undertaken by the students of the highest levels (Kamil).

- In the matter of distributing Government grants to private madrasahs, no discrimination would be made between them and the general secondary schools.

- In order to improve the standard of teaching in the madrasahs, immediate steps be taken by Government to establish training Institutions for the training of teachers and inspecting officers of madrasahs.

- In view of the fact that the Fazil and Kamil standards of Old Scheme Madrasahs are equivalent to the BA and MA standards respectively so far as islamic education is concerned, students passing the fazil and Kamil examination should be treated as graduates in respect of their pay and prospects in positions befitting their academic qualifications.

- In order to maintain the integrity of the Old Scheme Madrasah

system of education and ensure its proper functioning and development the Commission suggested establishing an islamic University. The university, in addition to controlling the madrasahs would promote higher islamic learning and research.

□ In order to promote higher islamic learning and research, a Research and Translation Bureau was to be established by the Government with necessary staff and funds for research work in the various branches of islamic learning and for the compilation of books on Islamic Culture.

In reality none of these recommendations were put into practice. The Government of Pakistan formed commission after commission, and delayed the process instead of fast implementation. This was mainly due to the existence of a series of undemocratic governments in Pakistan who hardly had any intention of actually developing education. Rather, their intention was to remain in power and buy time. Because of government apathy, the problems with madrasah education remained unresolved and madrasah educated people remained alienated from society's main force.

Bangladesh period

Bangladesh was born with an ideology of a secular country. This was considered by many a blow to the madrasah education at the beginning of the post independence period. Most of the madrasahs were closed during this period and madrasah education remained in total uncertainty. This set-back to madrasah education,

however, did not come from an executive order of the then government; rather this was a result of the circumstances prevailing that time. As most of the teachers and also students worked with pro-pakistani political forces, after independence, at least for the first few years, they maintained an extremely low profile in the country. For about one year many of them did not open the madrasahs and government policy was not clear regarding what should be the fate of these madrasahs. It was observed that, due to this uncertainity madrasah education suffered considerably.

This created dissatisfaction among many of the Muslims. The concept of secularism created confusion within the country, whether it meant anti-religion or neutrality towards religion. Not only at home, confusion prevailed outside the country also. The islamic countries of the world, particularly those in the middle East, gave no support to Bangladesh because of its secular identity. Moreover, the post-independence scenario of madrasah education created confusion among those countries, as to why religious education in Bangladesh remained closed. The middle East factor, during that time, was important because it was an important source of foreign currency. Considering this the Awami league government made its policy clear regarding islamic education in the country and its policy towards other islamic nations.

Madrasah education not only survived this time, but also got hope of reform under the endeavour of some the 'Awami-league'

leaders, especially Maulana Abdur Rashid Tarkabagish. Efforts were made during the period of the Awami-league Government to make madrasah education modern and appropriate for contemporary society. In order to reform, a committee was appointed by the then Education Commission which put forward several suggestions:

1) The medium of instruction in madrasah should be Bengali instead of urdu. This was a milestone in the history of madrasah education.
2) Madrasah education should be considered equivalant to general education. Necessary reforms should be made to this end.

The Awami league government, however, could not implement all its policy towards madrasah education during its tenure. The situation turned in favour of madrasah educated people after the new regime took over power in Bangladesh in 1975. The islamic connection was increased during the post-1975 period with active support from many muslim countries. The following remarkable reforms were made from that time:

1. Science subjects were introduced in madrasah education in 1975 (Rakib: 1990). Following by this 200 madrasahs have been brought under the project of science educational program in 1982-83 (BANBEIS: 1988).

2. Madrasah education was reorganized into a five-stage education system which is similar to general education under an act called 'Madrasah Education Act 1978'.

3. The Government in principle agreed that madrasah education should be given the same value as General education since 1980. However, in reality, only Dakhil and Alim examinations were considered as SSC since 1985 and HSC since 1987 respectively (Rakib: 1990).

4. The Ibtedayee section of madrasah education has been recognised as equivalent to primary education since 1983.

Due to these reforms, madrasah education got a new impetus in the systems of education in Bangladesh. As a result, the number of madrasah began to increase without any control in the country. But in practical terms lots of obstacles still exist in madrasah education which require the proper attention of the authorities.

The Systemic Faults of Madrasah Education

While investigating the causes of social alienation of madrasah educated people, it has been found that there are some problems associated with madrasah education itself which are responsible for this rift between madrasah and school educated people. These problems, for the analysis in the present study, will be called "systemic fault" or "systemic problem". In this thesis the systemic problems have been derived mainly from secondary literature and substantiated by the case studies and interviews.

1. The main reason for the differences between madrasah and

school educated people is the fact that these two groups of people do not the enjoy the same opportunities in society. For example, madrasah educated people cannot come into the public services and get public sector jobs in proportion to their numbers. Generally it is believed that madrasah students are not fit for public service. But the madrasah educated people's opinion is that they are not given the opportunity to compete with others.

The fact is that the degree obtained from the madrasah system is not considered equivalent to that of the colleges and universities. Only Dakhil and Alim certificates from the madrasah system are considered equivalent to SSC and HSC respectively in the general education system. But this is not sufficient to succeed or compete in the job market. Structurally, Fazil and Kamil are considered the same level as Bachelor Degree and Masters respectively in the general education system. In reality this cannot be implemented due to the problem that those madrasahs which give higher degrees are not affiliated with any of the universities. Many of the respondents argue that without affiliation to a university these madrasahs cannot give valid higher degrees.

As a result, self confident students from madrasahs do not even stand a chance in the job market. However, a recently established Islamic University in the country may reduce this problem.

2. Divergent views exist in the country on the issue of the educational quality of madrasah education among the general population as well as among various groups of educated people. Some believe that madrasah education is not useful for the development of the country. They argue that madrasah education creates a class of people who depend mainly on others and cannot be engaged in productive activities. This notion, however, is only partially justified: the main reason behind this is the outdated and irrelevant curriculum of madrasah education. It has been mentioned above that in spite of having some positive proposals to reform madrasah education by various education commissions, reform has not been possible because of the half hearted attitude of the governments. This can be seen from the recommendations themselves and from the reality of madrasah education.

Other people most of whom are educated in madrasah, argue just the reverse. According to them madrasah education is essential for society not only for the sake of religion but also to develop society from a moral point of view. They also think that madrasah educated people are self sufficient and can survive on their own without support from the government. The madrasah students, in most cases, get a job, however small it is, earlier than school students. Of course, all these jobs are in the informal social sectors.[1] They strongly argue that lack of the

[1]For example, Imam in the Mosques, teachers in the madrasahs and Maktabs, and other innumerable social activities like marriage making, services after death etc.

government's interest in the development of madrasah education comes mainly from their ignorance about religious education.

These arguments and counter arguments both in favour and against madrasah education create a division between groups of people. It does not help towards any practical solution. Therefore, alienation among them is as wide as ever.

3. There are some general weaknesses in the higher education of the madrasah system. Firstly, most of the subjects taught in madrasah are not taught at university level. Therefore, there is no research on the development of the subjects. Secondly, there is no professional organization in the madrasah education system, nor is there any professional journal brought out by the madrasah teachers.

4. From the point of view of professional education madrasah education has very limited scope. Although the proponents of madrasah education claim that the system is self-sufficient and teaches subjects covering all aspects of life, in reality the situation is not like that. One cannot become an accountant, a doctor or an engineer from a madrasah. The reason is that the subjects offered by the madrasahs are mainly religious, and very few subjects are modern or provide secular knowledge.

5. Educational quality is an important issue on which madrasah education suffers most. The reasons are as follows:

5.1 Educational equipment is one of the reasons for poor educational quality. In Bangladesh there are about 90 madrasahs offering higher degrees. But none of those has adequate library facilities, nor they have a good science laboratory. Even the Dhaka Alia Madrasah has a library with 30 thousand valuable reference books which is not maintained properly.

5.2 Shortage of qualified and trained teachers is another reason for poor educational quality. In Bangladesh there are no training facilities for madrasah teachers at any level. There is hardly any teacher who has subject specialization. These are considered essential for the progress of educational quality.

5.3 Research facilities are an important factor to maintain educational quality. But none of the madrasahs has any research facility or research programme, nor is there any research journal of professional groups. Once Dhaka Alia Madrasah had a research and publication department which has virtually remained closed since 1981.

5.4 The unplanned expansion of madrasah in numbers is another reason for poor educational quality. In the Bangladesh period the number of madrasahs increased without any control by the government authority. In many cases once established an Ibtedayee Madrasah can be easily and quickly upgraded to the highest level. In most cases these madrasahs suffer from lack of students. Sometimes, they act in the intrest of the Institution instead of the students. The teachers of madrasah

usually give unreasonable marks in examinations to satisfy the student. Some of the respondents alleged that there are some madrasahs which show an inflated number of teachers as well as students to get some extra benefit. In some cases to protect the institution from government rules about the number of students they show an inflated number of students.

Finally those madrasahs are not able to provide subjectwise qualified and sufficient teachers because of financial problems. Thus they virtually fail to supply education of high quality as well as to maintain the religious ethical environment in the institution.

6. Lack of islamic education in the general School is another dimension of the problem. In Bangladesh islamic education is compulsory for all muslim students up to class X. It has been found in the survey that none of the respondents agreed that this is sufficient for the children. Rather it is considered inadequate. As long as the curriculum of schools fails to promote islamic knowledge, they cannot compete with madrasah educated people.

7. Absence of appropriate education policy: To many educationists and intellectuals, the absence of an appropriate education policy is one of the causes of alienating the madrasah educated people. Since liberation several education committees have been appointed. But because of the political uncertainity in the country none of their recommendations has been

implemented, and no policy has been adopted. That is why in Bangladesh there is virtually no appropriate education policy suitable for all the changing political circumstances. Without an appropriate education policy it not possible to solve the basic problem for madrasah education and the people educated there.

8. The main problem is lack of government support. Many scholars think that without government support madrasah educated people cannot come into the main stream of society. Madrasah education which was neglected in the British period was not rehabilitated during the Pakistani period. Even since independence, although some reform has been made, the situation is not completely favourable. Neither has the government made any policy to recognise their degrees nor is the government changing the rules for public service recruitment.

Social Causes

In the previous sections it can be observed that two different groups of educated people, one from madrasahs and the others from schools have drifted from each other historically and also as a result of systemic faults. Now, focus has been given to the socio-economic factors as to how they produce two distinct camps in society.

In Bangladesh, and also this pattern can be found in other countries of south Asia, social activities can be broadly divided

into two groups: I. Socio-religious and II.Social in general.

Socio-religious activities are related to religious performance that is, prayer (five times daily, Jumua- once in a week and *Taraweih*- one month during the month of ramadan), religious teachings and numerous other activities(like death rituals, milad etc.) and festivals like *Eid*, wedding ceremonies.
The other kind of socio-cultural activities like dance, music, drama or play, fair etc. on the other hand, are very strong elements of our culture.

These two different types of activities were found dominated by two groups of educated people. The first group of activity performed by the so called Alim (madrasah educated people) and the second group of activities are performed by generally educated people.

In Bangladesh the key persons in socio-religious activities are the madrasah educated people, usually known as Alim in society and they dominate all these activities. The majority of them are engaged as Imam and muajjin in the mosque followed by teaching profession in *maqtab*, school (primary and secondary) and in madrasah. Beside these jobs they very often keep themselves involved in other socio-religious activities. With social changes, these practices have been changed over time. Their presence on the occasion of a marriage ceremony has also grown in order to make the marriage ceremonial. During sickness and personal problems many of the sufferers go to them and ask them

to pray for them. After the death of people, the maulanas pray for them and bury them according to islamic custom with their beloved relatives friends and family members. According to islamic rules anyone can do these socio-religious activities. But it is the social system that allows these to be performed only by them.

Non-religious social activities on the other hand are performed and dominated by general educated people. The madrasah educated people do not show any interest in these activities. The national ceremony like New years day, Shahid day, independence day, first spring days are celebrated through cultural function. Music, dances, drama, recitation of poetry, fair etc. are the integrated part of those functions which is very popular among the people. The madrasah educated people keep themselves away from these.

Thus two kinds of social activities are performed by two groups of people. Both are essential for society. Because of religious belief the generally educated people take part in the socio-religious activities behind maulanas, but the madrasah educated people never come to attend the non religious social activities behind generally educated people. Rather they keep themselves away from these activities which are popularly accepted by the biggest section of the society.

While investigating the causes of social alienation of madrasah educated people some other social factors also have been found

in this process. Those are as follows:

1. Religious Factors: Religious factors play an important role making many madrasah educated people involved only in religious activities. Many of the madrasah educated people devote their life to religious activities in terms of preaching, helping people in the path of religion and religious teaching. To remain restrained from worldly life and comfort is one of the philosophies of their life. The school educated people on the other hand prefer to be established in the world. Holding social position, administrative power, earning money and leading a comfortable and luxurious life is their philosophy. To the majority of the population, their life style is attractive. That is why they are considered superior in society. While many of the madrasah educated people are satisfied with their religious performance, they actually do not show any interest to come in the main stream of society and remain alienated.

2. Economic factors: The economic factor is one of the important factors for this alienation. Madrasah educated people remain economically in a disadvantaged position. The main reason for this is the lack of institutional facilities in favour of madrasah people. While madrasah educated people cannot compete for jobs in the government, semi government or autonomous institutions they are socially compelled to be satisfied with their own religious type of activities as pious and virtuous. As mentioned earlier, they work in the mosque, madrasahs and other religious institutions. In most cases these institutions

ie, mosques, maktabs and madrasahs depend on public donations. Some of these institutions are partially supported by the government. But those outside government patronage very often collect money from the people during the prayer time, in the waj mahafil, and sometimes from door to door in the days of religious festivals like Eidul Fitr or Eidul Adha to run those institutions and for the payment of its staff. These practices are not considered very prestigious in society.

While the religious institutions cannot pay sufficient salary to their staff, what happens is that many of them usually do their religious duties in society in lieu of taking money for teaching. Many of them even take money by preaching Islam. To many of the intellectuals, this kind of earning is unethical (field survey). Their argument is that there is a verse in the holy Quran that "They purchase not a trifling gain at the price of the revelations of Allah. Verily their reward is with their Lord." (Al Quran, 3: 199). They (the intellectuals) also mentioned that because of this earning they are also considered by many people as dependent upon people and parasitic on the society. To them (intellectuals), if religious institutions could be included under the control of the government by paying the salary of the maulanas, the total picture would be very different. Those institutions would not have to rely on public money and the maulanas would not have to take money from people by performing their religious duties.

3. Political cause: In Bangladesh, politicians are divided into three prominent groups. First is the right leaning western capitalists form of of politics; second, left leaning socialist oriented politics; and third, is islamic politics. The former two groups are dominated by school educated people. In the politics of Islamic Ideology the support of madrasah educated peoples is overwhelming.

In the beginning of this chapter the effort was made to explore how the two dimensions of political views segregate the two groups of people from each other. It was mentioned that while Pakistan was created on the basis of Islamic Ideology, Muslims in general gave their full support to that. But subsequently, when it was found that the country is far from Islamic Ideology, the religious people formed different political groups. Even after liberation this process continued. Still the madrasah educated people and students give their support to those parties which claim Bangladesh as an islamic country. As a result of their past history and their support for islamic political parties, they are regarded as an anti-Bangladeshi element. Although this is a matter of controversy this image virtually alienates the madrasah educated people from the overwhelming majority.

4. Mentality: There is a perceptual gap among the people who were educated in madrasahs and those who were educated in general schools. This perceptual gap has been found to be one of the causes of social alienation of madrasah educated people from

those educated in general schools.

The source of this contrasting perception is their inability to understand each other's position. It has been mentioned before that the madrasah educated people in general think that those educated in the schools are not on the path or way prescribed by God; and therefore, they are undermined by the madrasah educated community. By contrast, the school educated people think that the people in madrasah are outdated in terms of knowledge, and whatever knowledge they have is not at all appropriate for contemporary society. This gap in perception among them puts these two groups in two different camps. The First group can generally be termed as Traditional, and the latter is the modern group.

"A section of modernist thought, due to ignorance or prejudice like Macaulday and Halliday, is that these madrasahs served no useful purposes or that they turned out men who are a burden on society and a drag on the educational progress of the country" (Ali: 1983, p:153). That is why, many of them considered that the madrasah educated people should not be allowed to come in the main stream of society. To them, if they are absorbed, society will turn to backwardness rather than modern ways. The utility of religious teaching to them, is not essential.

On the other hand, to the madrasah educated people, they are the people in society who sacrifice themselves for religion and call people to the path of religion. But, their views on this matter

are different. Many of them believe that they are alienated because the mainstream of the society, which is dominated by the school educated people, is full of non-islamic activities, and the madrasah educated people cannot be part of that society. They also think that their educational quality is up to expectation.

These are, however, extreme views from both sides. But the majority of people in madrasah education think that the government's discriminatory policy is responsible for this alienation. On the other hand, most of the school educated people consider that madrasah education is not of high enough standard to absorb them in the public function.

There are many neutral people who came out of general schools, but have respect for madrasah education or vice versa. But in general, because of the contrasting mentality of the madrasah and school educated people they cannot be united in the one stream of the society. Thus the "Main reason for the failure of madrasah reform can be traced to the basic difference between the attitude and outlook of the reformist and the traditionist. The reformist tried to secularize the whole madrasah system on the western pattern, whereas the traditionist have always tried to islamize the whole system of modern education". (Ali: 1983, p.192). For the greater interest of the nation these two groups cannot even go into the depth of the problem. If these two groups of reformists and traditionists could be united to go into the depth of the problem, the social relations of madrasah

education and the educated people would have been different.

Recapitulation of the Main Findings

In this chapter, the pattern and causes of social alienation among madrasah educated people have been discussed and examined. The information used in this chapter has been taken from published literature, but supplemented where necessary by the primary information collected by the author.

At the beginning of this chapter efforts were made to describe the pattern of alienation of madrasah educated people in society. The causes of this alienation have been identified in three dimensions. Firstly it is rooted in the colonial history of the country. Secondly, because of some systemic fault they cannot come forward in the mainstream of society. Finally, some social causes like religious, economic, political and the mentality of the two groups of people have been found as responsible for this alienation process.

During the five hundred years of Muslim rule madrasah education held the highest position. During those days there was no division or distinction between islamic education and general education. All the educated people of society were the product of one of the madrasahs. That is why there was no contrast within educated people in society.

Historical evidence available shows that the present contrasting

situation of general educated and madrasah educated is largely the result of British policy. At the beginning of British rule, through a series of reforms like the grant of Dewani, Permanent settlements and resumption laws to the Awqaf estates, the ground had been prepared to diversify national education by breaking the backbone of the well-established islamic education. By the grant of 'Dewani' the Muslim lost those sources of emoluments which had enabled them to bear the expenses of their children's education and thus were deprived of the power which they formerly possessed to endow and patronise public seminaries. Because of Permanent Settlement, the majority of the Muslim middle class lost their proprietary rights as well as the capability to patronise their own education system. Through Resumption Laws the government seized all the Awqaf properties of muslim educational institutions and the madrasahs of Bengal had either to be closed or became unable to deliberate a high quality of education.

Secondly, the establishment of the Calcutta Madrasah virtually divided islamic education into private and government. Most of the madrasah people did not endorse the curriculum and therefore it failed to attract the majority of the Muslims. Only those who wanted to get a job and establish themselves in society, enrolled in the Calcutta Madrasah. But the majority of the population kept themselves away from education or remained attached to the private madrasahs.

Thirdly, After the introduction of the English system of education which was followed by the abolition of Persian and

substitution of English as the state language, the Calcutta Madrasah lost its attraction as a recruiting ground for public servants and also lost its popularity. As a result, the private madrasahs emerged with support from the general public. The private madrasahs, therefore, gave the highest quality of islamic education and became popular instead of the government madrasah. As a result Calcutta Madrasah education was degraded in the field of islamic education as well as in the field of general education.

Fourthly, after the establishment of Calcutta University, it became communal as it was dominated by Hindus and did not include the madrasah educated with those from other schools and colleges. There was not any provision for teaching madrasah subjects in the university. That is why the madrasah educated were not permitted to compete with the generally educated people in the job market.

Finally, the government of Bengal established another kind of madrasah to bring islamic educated people into the mainstream of society. Although this program was successful in many respects it could not bring any fruitful future in the field of islamic education. Instead it created another division within islamic education as well as islamic educated people.

During the Pakistan period the process of being alienated for madrasah educated people not only continued but also increased. The Pakistani military government failed to introduce a uniform education system for the people on the basis of an appropriate

education policy. Although they integrated the New Scheme madrasah with general education, eventually, they lost the focus on islamic education. The New Scheme Madrasah was the only system which promoted islamic education and at the same time supported islamic educated people helping them be absorbed in public sector activities. By integrating the New Scheme Madrasah, all the ways have been closed for the modern religious education. As a result, being an islamic state, the government of Pakistan failed to introduce a sound education system based on both religion and modern ways to match the needs of society.

Bangladesh has emerged as a secular state. Madrasah education therefore suffered from uncertainty in the first few years of independence. But very soon, after 1975, madrasah education got some new status. As a result madrasah education not only survived but through a series of reforms many of its problems have been removed. But still there are many problems for the process of integrating the two systems. Among these problems in education management, particularly with regard to madrasah education, are notable. Institutional arrangements, lack of proper educational policy, government apathy towards madrasahs, and importantly lack of sufficient preparation of the part of madrasah authority, make madrasah education suffer a serious set back.

Some social factors are also responsible for the alienation of madrasah educated people. Traditionally the madrasah educated people are dependent on donations and charity from the people and

are not patronised by the government. Therefore, by performing religious duties, many of them get money from the people. The madrasah educated people are also isolated politically, because of their overwhelming support for islamic oriented political parties.

Finally the perceptual gap between educated people from madrasah and school is also resposible for this alienation process. Mentally, both groups are alienated from each other. Both groups want a reform in education in which their own belief and identity should be preserved.

Chapter V

DETERMINANTS OF THE STUDENTS' ENROLMENT IN MADRASAH OR IN SCHOOL

It has been indicated in the preceding chapters how wide is the gap between the two education systems, --madrasah and school. The causes of this gap and its implications in society have also been discussed. In this chapter, the attempt is made to look into the factors which relate to the enrolment of the students either in schools or in madrasahs. It has been found that the career opportunities are extremely limited if a student is educated in a madrasah. Job prospects are much higher for those educated in the general school education. Moreover, those who have been educated in madrasahs lead a peripheral life in society. It is therefore important and also interesting to know why the students are enrolled in religious institutions, what kind of family background they come from, and in what circumstances they make the choice of their line of education.

Primarily the students from both systems were asked about the reasons for the enrolment in their respective educational institutions. It was assumed that since the student respondents were of aged 15 and above, they were able to answer the question of a future career.[1] Secondly, students' parents and guardians

[1]It is recognized that children's basic interests are stable by the age of 15. For details see Ginsberg, Eli, et. al. (1972) Occupational Choice New York: Columbia University Press.

were also interviewed about their decisions with regard to their children's line of education. In addition to that, respondents' family backgrounds were also studied to find whether there is any correlation between the nature of households and their children's enrolment in educational institutions.

A number of factors have been found which play an important role in the enrolment pattern. In most cases a number of factors work together. The factors are grouped into five different categories. These are: 1. Social factors, 2. Economic factors, 3. Cultural factors, 4. Institutional factors, and 5. Special circumstances.

Social Factors

In general the people of Bangladesh are economically poor and socially backward, backward particularly in terms of education. This is reflected in the present study, while investigating the social determinants of children's enrolment either to madrasah or to school. These determinants are as follows:

Educational Background of the Parents: It has been observed that the parents educated in a madrasah usually send their children to a madrasah and those who were educated in a school prefer schools for their children's education. Exceptions will be found in other circumstances, like occupation, income and sometimes locational factors (to be discussed later). In the case of illiterate parents the situation is different. Since they do not

have any clear idea about the future prospects of their children, they are often influenced by others. The most important factor is the persons who influence them. Sometimes they themselves decide. On the other hand those who are more highly educated, particularly in the school system, usually send their children to schools with a view to their future prospects.

Table 5.1 shows that the relationship between educational background of the parents and their children's enrolment either in madrasah or in schools. It is clear from the table that, compared to the parents of madrasah students, parents of school students are more educated.

Respondent's mothers educational qualifications reflect a clearer picture. It is reflected in the table (table 5.1) that, out of 26 mothers two are illiterate and they sent their child to a madrasah. Out of 18 below secondary educated mothers, ten sent their children to madrasah while eight of them sent their children to schools. On the other hand, higher educated mothers sent their children mostly to the schools, except only one.

It has also been found that the parents of madrasah students sent their children to both madrasah and schools. But the parents of school students sent their children only to school and none to madrasah.(Table 5.2)

Table: 5.1 **Education for Children from the Following Parental Background.**

Qualifications of parents	Father			Mother		
	Children attending		Total	Children attending		Total
	M	S		M	S	
Illiterate	1	0	1	2	0	2
Below Secondary	4	1	5	10	8	18
Secondary	3	6	9	0	4	4
Graduate and above	4	6	10	1	1	2
Madrasah educated	1	0	1	0	0	0
Total	13	13	26	13	13	26

Sources: Field Survey, 1992.
M= Madrasah
S= School

Table: 5.2 **Pattern of Family Preference for Madrasah and fr Schools by the Guardians of Madrasah and School Students.**

Household of students attending	Family send their other children			Total Household
	Only to madrasah	Only to school	To both	
Madrasah	1	0	12	13
School	0	13	0	13
Total	1	13	12	26

Sources: Field survey, 1992.

Who Influences the Children During their Enrolment in Madrasah or in School? Usually it is the parents who decide their children's enrolment either in madrasah or in school. But, sometimes other members of the family also influence the decisions. The present study shows that the relative and family members of madrasah students influenced the parents to send their children to madrasah, which was not found in the case of school children. Madrasah students' guardians have often been influenced by Imams, madrasah teachers and other influential religious persons who are in most cases related to the family.

Table 5.3 shows that in the case of children's enrolment in the school, parents played the decisive role in all cases, but in the case of madrasah students some other persons in the family along with the parents played a dominant role in decision making.

Sometimes, distinguished close relatives directly or indirectly influenced the decision of students enrolment in academic institutions. For example, a famous doctor, scientist or educationist in the family can influence the children to follow their path. In the same manner, a highly respectable madrasah educated person like Imam of a mosque or a teacher of a madrasah and so on can influence children to study in madrasah.

Sex of Student: Traditionally the female section of society were kept out of madrasah education. It is probably due to the fact that the religious rituals are performed by the men, not by the women. But in recent years women are increasing in the madrasah

education system. National level statistics show that still males dominate madrasah education (92.28%). (BANBEIS, 1990:29)

The reasons for male dominance in the madrasah system are: Firstly, islamic rituals are performed under the leadership of men. Women cannot be a Imam or Muajjin of a mosque and they are not entitled to lead any kind of socio-religious performance.

Secondly, men and women mixing together has been prohibited in Islam. It has hindered the development of a co-education system among madrasahs in Bangladesh. On the other hand women's madrasah were also not established to educate women in the past. In recent years separate madrasahs for girls are being established to remove the past problems. As a result, female students in madrasahs are increasing over time.

Size of Household or Number of Children in the Household: The size of the household sometimes acts as a determinant in the enrolment of children to educational institutions. A household with more children is likely to send their children some to madrasah and some to school. This helps the household to minimize the cost of education. It is important to note here that the expenditure in madrasah education is usually less than half that of the school system. Small households, with one or two children usually prefer to send their children to school. It has been found in the survey that the household size of the madrasah student is bigger than the household size of the school students.(Table 5.4)

Table 5.3 Person most Influential in Making the Decision to Send the Children either in Madrasah or in School

Dominant Person	Enroll in madrasah	Enroll in school
Parents	10	13
Grand parents	3	-
Brother/Sister	1	-
Uncle/Aunt	1	-
Neighbour	1	-
Nephew	1	-
Total	17	13

Source: Field Survey, 1992.

Multiple answer possible

Table 5.4 Household Size of the Student.

Number of household member	Madrasah student	School student	Total
Below 5	3	5	8
6-7	2	5	7
8-9	4	1	5
10-11	2	1	3
12-13	1	1	2
14 and over	1	0	1
Total	13	13	26
Average size of household	8.05	6.53	7.30

Sources: Field survey, 1992.

Social Inhibitions / Prestige: The guardians of the students who were educated in madrasah and were devoted workers in Islam feel ashamed if their children do not go to a madrasah. It is because the workers in Islam try to bring other children to madrasah education. If their children do not go to madrasah, they cannot solicit to bring in others. On the other hand, those who are educated in the school system, often hesitate to send their children to a madrasah. The reasons are, firstly, many people do not want to make their children Alim who mainly live on donations from others. Secondly, some of the madrasahs live on public donations and zakat from the rich. Many guardians have reservations about sending their children to madrasahs because of the fact that their children would be educated and live on the money of others.

Economic Factors

While examining the basic reasons for student's enrolment in madrasah or schools, an effort has been made to examine the role of economic factors in the choice. The economic motive is one of the important determinants of type of education. Usually people want to be educated in order to lead a better life with better income prospects. From the very beginning parents and guardians try to motivate their children to have an education which will bring a prosperous life. For this they invest huge amount of money to achieve modern education. But those who cannot afford to spend that amount look for some less expensive type of education. The present study tends to confirm that the

economic ability of parents and guardians is one of the more important factors determining children enrolment in madrasah or schools.

Madrasah education is less expensive than the school system, although it varies from school to school and madrasah to madrasah. There are some madrasahs, which are absolutely free. But after primary education none of the secondary schools offer free education.

Generally the people of Bangladesh are poor. And most of them illiterate (75%). It is very difficult for the common people in the countryside to advance their children by an appropriate career choice. Generally they consider two things: first, which system of education would be less expensive and second, which education will bring them quick returns. In the case of the first consideration, there are some people who really cannot afford to pay all the expenses of their children in schools. So, they send some of their children to madrasahs. Most people adopt the second option for a quick return. But ultimately many guardians fail to continue their children's education to the end. That is why the rate of dropouts in Bangladesh is one of the highest in the world. Therefore, two aspects seem to be important among the economic factors - the income levels of the household and secondly the job prospects.

Income Level of the Households: It was postulated that the well

off families send their children to school. It is because they do not face any financial constraints in paying their educational expenses. The table 5.5 shows that 11 out of 13 madrasah students come from households which have an income less than Tk=10,000 per month. On the other hand a similar number of their counterparts in schools come from higher levels of income, ie. household income around 15,000 Taka per month.

Because of the small sample size and urban bias in the present study the economic dimension does not show a very clear picture. However, a large sample from all over country would certainly show more a precise picture in the direction mentioned above.

Opportunity for Job / Employment: Job opportunity is a significant factor in determining the students' enrolment in educational institutions. Although the opportunity for public sector employment is open to both school and madrasah educated, in reality the madrasah educated people cannot compete with the school educated people. It is because the madrasah education is not designed to serve modern public service activities. Therefore, school educated people dominate the modern job market. The madrasah curriculum is designed to develop students as experts of Islamic religion, although they also study arts and science subjects in a limited manner but not sufficiently to compete with their counterparts in schools.

Table: 5.5 Household Income of the Student

Monthly income in Taka	Madrasah student	School student	Total
Below 5,000	5	0	5
5,001- 10,000	6	4	10
10,001-15,000	0	6	6
15,001-20,000	2	2	4
20,001-25,000	0	0	0
25,000 and above	0	1	1
Total Households	13	13	26

Source: Field survey, 1992.
Taka 60 = £1 (1992)

At higher level positions, for example in the class I officer level, madrasah educated people are not even eligible to apply, although the government recognises their degrees as equivalent in applying for class I jobs. For these reasons students from higher educated families and those who aim to become public servants, go straightaway to the school, instead of madrasah.

However, a large number of madrasah educated people are absorbed in the teaching profession, both in madrasah as well as in the school. This is in fact the only area where they show their competence. For example, the census data show that (Table 4.1) madrasah educated people occupy only 8.34 percent of the total jobs in the public sector. Of these 94.77 percent are engaged in the schools in the public sector.

The greatest opportunity for jobs for the madrasah educated people are religious institutions like madrasah, maktab and mosques. There are about 131,640 mosques all over the country which absorb most of the madrasah educated people. In fact, this is their absolute domain where no school educated people can even compete.

Although the job prospects are high in this sector, their salary is very low. It is because these institutions are financed by private donations. But even these are very attractive for many in the countryside for their social status and respectability in the village.

In most cases job opportunity seems to be an important factor in choosing enrolment in schools but less often in choosing madrasah. The parents of madrasah students prefer their children to be involved more in missionary works than modern jobs. The question of salary and achieving jobs seems to be not very important to them. Table 5.6 shows that out of 13 parents of school students 11 preferred a particular profession. But the parents of madrasah students preferred missionary works including jobs.

Occupation of Parents: Most of the population in Bangladesh are involved in agricultural activities and live in rural areas. At first their children go either to maktab or to primary schools. The families with a strong religious background continue their children from maktab to madrasah, the others go to school. But in the urban areas there are hardly any maktabs. The children go first to nursery and then to primary schools. There is little chance for them to go to madrasah. But some urban parents do send their children to madrasah.

It has been observed that the children from the elite class usually go to school. Super elites even send their children to English medium schools. But those who are at lower strata of the professions, sometimes send their children to madrasah. Table 5.7 does not show any clear picture with regard to the occupation of the father and their children's enrolment either in madrasah or in schools. However, it can be said that those whose professions are related to religious activities send all or at

Table 5.6 The Professions That the Parents Would Like For the Student in Future

Profession	Profession of Madrasah student	Profession of School student
1. Missionary work	4	-
2. Any profession according to islamic law	4	-
3. Business	3	-
4. Researcher	2	-
5. Allah knows	1	-
6. Depends upon student	2	-
7. Teacher	3	-
8. Engineer	-	2
9. Lawyer	-	2
10. Judge	-	1
11. Doctor	-	5
12. Army	-	2
13. Government officer	-	1
14. Did not thought	-	1
Total	19	14

Multiple answer possible

Sources: Field survey, 1992.

Table 5.7 Main Occupation of the Household Head

Occupation	Household		Total
	Madrasah student	School student	
Government job	4	4	8
Business	5	4	9
Bank service	0	2	2
Land lord	0	1	1
Worker abroad	0	1	1
School Teacher	1	1	2
Worker of garments industry	1	0	1
Imam/ Madrasah teacher	1	0	1
Clerical Job	1	0	1
Total	13	13	26

Sources: Field survey, 1992.

least some of their children to madrasah.

The reason for not showing a clear picture in the table is probably the small number of the sample. Secondly, the study has been conducted in the urban areas, where people are involved in some kind of modern jobs. The reason why they are sending their children to madrasah can be discovered from other tables.

Cultural Factors

The term culture is used here to mean the social tradition. The traditional education of Bangladesh (and in a broader sense in this region) was dominated by religion. The Hindus and the Buddhists used to receive their religious education from an institution known as tol. But the Muslims used to receive their religious education from madrasah. These institutions, in fact, used to offer a wide range of subjects other than religion. During the British period, a parallel education system has been introduced which is more or less secular in style. Modern subjects particularly science have started to become more popular since then. But religious education did not totally disappear. Since those days, ambitious people started to study modern subjects in school to get privileges and prestige. But those who opposed this intervention favoured traditional education. This legacy still continues among many Muslims. They think that school education is not suitable for children to develop their morality. On the other hand Hindus favoured modern education more than Muslims. Thus cultural affinity is a factor which

determines many students' enrolment either in madrasah or in school. These factors are as follows:

Religion: As a strong element of culture religion plays an important role as to what kind of education the children will receive. Muslims, although the substantial majority of their children go to modern schools, believe that their children should be brought up with islamic values. The other religious groups also try to protect their respective religious values. But the super religious people consider the acquisition and dissemination of islamic knowledge- learning and teaching as a sacred duty of every Muslim. They prefer to enroll all their children in the madrasah. Their arguments are : I. Prophet Muhammad (SM) said, "Disseminate from me even if it is a small piece of knowledge." II. One of the basic tenets of Islam is 'Dawa' means teaching others about Islam.

The influence of 'Tablig jamat'[2] with regard to madrasah education seems to be quite apparent these days. While investigating the cultural factors behind the choice of educational system it has been found that, many people after coming in touch with tablig jamat send their children to the madrasah. It seems that this is due to their religious passions. Many of them believe that their children, once educated in madrasah, will subsequently devote themselves to the religious cause and will be a continuous source of virtues, even for their

[2]A group of people who preach Islam on a voluntary basis.

parents. This notion comes from the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad (SM) that, after death peoples sources of virtues will be stopped except in three cases. One of them is the dissemination of religious knowledge among the people.

It has also been found during the field survey that some of the followers of 'Tablig Jamat' who did not send their children to the madrasah, feel a sort of religious obligation after joining the 'Tablig Jamat'. They think they might be questioned by God (Allah) in the life hereafter. They therefore repent for their deeds.

Family Tradition: Sending children either to madrasah or to school is also a matter of family tradition. The families who have a religious tradition and also a religious educational background prefer to enroll at least some of their children in madrasah. On the other hand, the families with modern educational traditions are very likely to educate their children similar to their own background.

The peer (spiritual guide) families have the strongest affinity with religious education. They try to maintain their traditional way of life in order to play the same role as they used to play. Secondly, it is also essential to educate their children in madrasah and develop them properly in the spiritual line to represent them in the future. And thirdly, they have in fact very little choice but to send their children to madrasah because if they do otherwise they might lose their public image which is

essential to maintain this tradition.

In order to keep their family tradition they maintain social relations with families of similar tradition. For example, in the marriages of their boys and girls they always prefer to have a similar kind of family.

To maintain their tradition they also try to develop a religious institution known as *'Darbar' or 'Khanka'* (Sufi-convents). They built these 'Khanka' or 'Darbar sharif's centring on a mosque and /or a madrasah. They encourage people to come here and take lessons particularly their keenest followers. However, this kind of peer families are too few to have a substantial impact on madrasah education. But they try to maintain a very big network through their followers throughout the country.

The followers (Murid) on the other hand are often influenced by their peers directly or indirectly to get associated with their religious institutions. Many of them ultimately send their children to the madrasah built by their peers.

Apart from peers, there are other religious families who have their tradition with madrasah education. They also prefer to have madrasah education for their children. Imams of the mosques or teachers of the madrasahs for example fall in this group. Since they call others to come to religious education, they feel an obligation to send their own children there. It has been observed that at least one of their children are in a madrasah.

A similar pattern is also observed among the families who have a tradition with school education. For example, professional groups like lawyers, doctors, or high officials with name and fame often send their children to the institution of their own choice. The members of their families are always influenced by them. They always look for a vision with their tradition with regard to their education. They try to keep their family pride up through modern education and profession.

The families who have many school educated persons and do not have any madrasah educated relatives, send their children to schools. Table 5.8 shows that none of the school students have madrasah educated persons in their families. Similarly, most of the do not have any relatives educated in madrasah (table 5.9). On the other hand, most of the madrasah students have some madrasah educated persons among their families and also have relatives (Table 5.10).

Among families who do not have any educational background at all, it has been observed that they have different patterns with regard to their children's enrolment. Some of them send children to madrasah and many of them to schools. It depends on their personal choice and various social, economic and other circumstances.

Religious Dogma: Many students are enrolled in madrasahs, because their parents or guardians made 'mannat' (Vow to Allah) about it. This kind of vow is made in different situations and

Table 5.8 Educational Qualifications and Number of Household Members of the 13 School Student.

Qualification	Madrasah educated	School educated	Others	Total
Below secondary	-	14	-	14
Secondary	-	11	-	11
Graduate	-	9	-	9
Post graduate	-	1	-	1
Student (level not known)	-	43	-	43
Illiterate	-	-	1	1
Others (Doctor, Engineer)	-	6	-	6
Total	-	84	1	85

Sources: Field survey, 1992.

Table 5.9 Madrasah Educated Relatives of all the Students.

Student	Madrasah educated relative have	Have not any educated in madrasah	Total
Madrasah	9	4	13
School	3	10	13
Total	12	14	26

Sources: Field survey, 1992.

Table 5.10 Educational Qualifications and Number of Household Members of the 13 Madrasah Student.

Qualification	Madrasah education	School education	Others	Total household member
Below secondary	-	25	-	25
Secondary	1	10	-	11
Graduate	2	6	-	8
Above graduate	1	8	-	9
Student (level not known)	-	-	44	44
Illiterate	-	-	5	5
Quari/ Hafiz	3	-	-	3
Total	7	49	49	105

Sources: Field survey, 1992.

contexts. Some of the situations are mentioned below:

1. Preference for sons is still prevalent in the society, particularly in rural areas. When a family do not have any son sometimes they make a vow to Allah if they have a boy they will send him to madrasah.

2. Some parents make this kind of vow for their sick and disabled child also to get them well.

3. There are some other families, whose children usually die during the child-birth or immediately there after. In these circumstances the parents or guardians make this kind of vow that if their child does not die in childhood they will send him to madrasah. It has also been found in the survey the parents of one student got a kind of order in a dream to send their son to madrasah; that is why their son was in the madrasah.

These are some of the examples of a situation when people make a vow. But in reality, there are varieties of other contexts when the parents make vows.

Institutional Factors

Apart from social, economic and cultural factors it has been observed that institutional factors are also involved in the choice of a particular educational system. The institutional facilities are an important controlling factor for the choice of education system. The institutional facilities vary between

madrasahs and schools. Generally, schools have good facilities for the students in terms of educational equipment, laboratory facilities, tiffin, transport etc. which attracts students. Madrasahs, on the other hand, in many cases have accommodation facility which is also a positive factor in the choice of the madrasah system. It can be mentioned here that the accommodation and food are in most cases free or highly subsidised. Due to such facilities some parents send their children to madrasahs.

The reputation of madrasah and school is also a determining factor. Parents usually try to send their children to an institution with a good reputation, irrespective of their types, such as madrasah or school. Quality of teaching and standard of education is central to such reputation.

Competitiveness and changes of institution several times in the general education system are also related to the choice of education system. Sometimes the parents think about the ability of their children, whether they would able to cope with high competition in schools. Not only competition, in the school system students have to change institutions from primary to high school, and high school to college and then college to university. At every stage there is competition as well as other problems. Considering all these, weak students are usually sent to madrasahs where in most cases once admitted they can continue until the last stage.

Lack of Knowledge about the System: In Bangladesh there are

many, particularly those who are illiterate, who do not have a clear idea about the education system. Nor they can see the implications of education either from madrasah or schools. Even many of the school educated people have a very shallow or no idea about madrasah education and there are many madrasah educated who have no idea about general education. This lack of knowledge about the systems is an important factor for enrolling their children either in school or in madrasah.

Special Circumstances

There are some special circumstances which usually influence the decision of the parents and guardians with regard to their children's enrolment either in madrasahs or in schools. Some of these factors are as follows:

Location: Location is an important factor for children's enrolment in the educational institution. Parents usually prefer a closer location if other factors remain the same. If a madrasah is located within a close proximity to the home, it is likely that many of the children will go to madrasah. In case of non-availability of either madrasah or school within a close distance, the decision depends on other factors such as the economic condition of the parents. One example can be given here from one of the girl respondents. After completion of primary education she did not find any girls' high school close by. The residential girls high schools in the towns are quite expensive. Her parents then sent her to a residential madrasah in Dhaka city

where lodging is free. She indicated that she did not want to study in a madrasah, but the circumstances compelled her to go there. In another example, a guardian of a school student said that because of unavailability of a good madrasah within a closer distance he sent his child to school.

Influence of Ustad/ Teacher: The influence of ustad (religious teacher) with regard to children's enrolment in madrasah plays an important role. This role is much stronger than the teachers in general schools. It is because the Ustads pay a closer supervision to the children and also try to influence their parents. Generally the school teachers do not try to influence the parents to send their children to school. Maybe this is because they have sufficient students. But in the case of madrasah, Ustads make lots of effort to get more students in their institutions.

Chapter VI

OPINION OF NATIONAL LEVEL EXPERTS AND EDUCATIONISTS ON THE DUAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

As pointed out earlier, the present study is based largely on primary sources of information. Apart from students and guardians of students at both education systems, an effort has been made to get opinions at the national level from educationists and experts as to how they view the whole problem. Considering time and research constraints, 20 national level educationists and experts were interviewed with a pre-designed questionnaire. The respondents were selected from different strata of society. The table in the appendix (Appendix 5) shows their characteristics including their present affiliation. But for the purpose of analysis of their diversified opinions, it was necessary to classify them into suitable groups.

On the basis of their educational background and the opinion they expressed the respondents were categorized primarily into two groups: (a) the respondents with a background of madrasah education and, (b) the respondents with secular school education background. The percentage distribution of the respondents among these two groups was fifty fifty.

The second classification of the respondents was made on the basis of the opinion they expressed. The respondents from each

educational background were further classified into two groups: hard liners and moderates. Thus, all the respondents were classified finally into four groups as illustrated in table 6.1.[1] and 6.2. The table 6.1 distinguishes four groups of people as indicated below:

1. Religious hardliner.
2. Religious moderate.
3. Secular moderate.
4. Secular hardliner.

The religions hardliners are extremely conservative in their mentality and do not want to compromise at all on the question of religion. The religious moderate group, most of whom were educated in the madrasah system, are to some extent 'modern' in their thinking. They support reforms of madrasah education to achieve a better and more effective religious education. The secular moderate people did not deny the necessity of a religious component in the national education system. Rather, their concern was how best the essence of religions can be utilized to enhance a good society. The secular hardliners are exactly opposite to the religious hardliners. They ruled out any role for religious education in society.

The main issues which will be highlighted in this chapter are related to a central problem: ie how far madrasah education in

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[1]The classification given in the table is based on respondents' general characteristics such as their educational background, professional affiliation, their opinion etc. The classification may not, however, appear as fully scientific.

the context of the overall education system of Bangladesh is viable, viable in terms of its effectiveness in society and of its acceptability by the people of all walks of life. As mentioned earlier, madrasah education reached its present stage through a number of politico-historical ups and downs. At the beginning, madrasah education was the only system of education. At the end of British rule modern secular education was introduced which continued parallel with madrasah education. This division of the education system ultimately created a gap among the educated people, which was elaborated earlier.

Table 6.1 Characteristics of the Respondents at National Level.

Educational characteristics	Total Number	Characteristics of their opinion	
		Hardliner	Moderate
Religious	10	3	7
Secular/ general	10	3	7
Total	20	6	14

[a]Educational characteristics were determined on the basis of the respondents first degree. All 10 religious educated respondents therefore were educated primarily in madrasah. This does not, however, mean that they are occupying their present position on the basis of madrasah education. Most of them were later educated in general secular education system. The generally educated people do not have any madrasah degrees.

Table 6.2 Summary of the Opinion of the National Level Experts

Issues	Religious hardliner	Religious moderate	Secular moderate	Secular hardliner
Necessity of madrasah education	Most necessary	Necessary	Not in agreement	Unnecessary
Effectiveness madrasah education	Not effective	Effective	Less effective	Not effective
Utility of madrasah education	Useful	Some useful	Useful with reservation	Useless
Quality of madrasah education	Not good	Not very good	Not good	Hopeless
Complementarity of madrasah education to the overall education	Complementary	Complementary	Little complementary	Obstacle
Opinion on the standard of secular education in madrasah	Not good	Good	Problematic	Problematic
Education system Secular/ religious	Religious	Integrated	Integrated	Secular
Is integration of both system necessary	Integration of secular education to religion	Integration keeping existence of religion	Integration so that Islamic values can be maintained	Secularize the whole system
Effectiveness of religious education in general school	Not effective	Not effective	Not effective	Unnecessary

Source: Compiled by the author from interviews.

In this chapter, an effort has been made to introduce the opinion of national level educationists and experts as to what extent madrasah education is credible and how to minimize the differences, if any, among educated people from the two systems.

The main discussions will be on the following points:

* Madrasah education: its necessity, utility and effectiveness in society.
* On the question of the quality of madrasah education.
* The gap between the educated peoples from these two systems.
* On the question of the integration of these two systems.

Madrasah Education: Its Necessity, Utility and Effectiveness in Society. On the question of the necessity of madrasah education in society responses were different among the respondents. The religious hardliners thought that madrasah education was necessary because of the fact that it gives moral education at least to some people who guide society towards religion. To them, school education, although not anti-morality, does not give moral education either. The hardliner respondents are of the opinion that religious education in madrasahs at present is not very effective due to its orientation towards modern subjects. As a result the quality of education is neither up to the mark from a religious point of view, nor fully qualified in general education. The same opinion was given by the hard-liner secular respondents. But the difference of opinion between these two

groups is that the religious hardliner felt the necessity of religious education and secular groups did not feel any utility of this for society.

The religious moderate respondents and the secular moderates were very close in their opinion on the question of necessity, utility and effectiveness of religious education. But they were not in agreement on the system of education.

According to religious moderate groups, madrasah education would not have survived for centuries, if it had not any utility. Madrasah education is necessary, and it has much more scope to make a better Muslim society. They felt the necessity of more religious experts in society, which only madrasah education can produce. They argued that since the doctors and engineers are made (or educated) in separate departments, similarly, the religious experts can only be produced in the relevant institution known as madrasah. On the question of utility, they said that the madrasah educated people served society with great care. There is no alternative to madrasah education to produce religious people.

The secular moderate respondents, on the other hand, felt the necessity of religious education, although they questioned the viability of the existence of madrasah education as a parallel system. According to them, religious education is necessary, but that does not mean that this religious education is to be received from a madrasah. Their ultimate opinion on the

effectiveness of madrasah education is mixed. Some said that it has some utility and effectiveness. To others, its present effectiveness is very low.

From the above discussions on the opinion of respondents (on the necessity, utility and effectiveness of madrasah education), it can be said that except for secular hard-liners, all other respondents felt the necessity for a more developed form of religious education. But opinions varied on the patterns and forms of education. The secular hardliners, on the other hand, denied the necessity of a religious education. On the question of utility an almost similar opinion was found. But the effectiveness of present madrasah education is questioned by most of the respondents, although some in the moderate religious group opined that it had some effectiveness.

On the Question of Quality of Madrasah Education: In general the quality of education in Bangladesh is low. But the quality of madrasah education, according to the most of the respondents is extremely low. The main reason for this low quality according to most of the respondents is the incoherent syllabus. It can be mentioned here (also mentioned earlier) that the blend of religious and modern education in madrasah is the main cause of this low quality.

Secondly, there is hardly any control of quality in madrasah education. There is only one board which controls the whole madrasah education system from the beginning to the higher

degrees.

Thirdly, the board lacks experts and specialist educationists who could develop the curriculum of madrasah education.

Fourthly, there are no facilities in the madrasah education system for training the teachers. As a result a large number of low quality teachers dominate madrasah education.

Fifthly, in general education for almost every branch of knowledge there are research and the creation of new knowledge. But in the madrasah system there is no research and there is no professional journal to disseminate new knowledge.

These factors in madrasah education were expressed by almost all the respondents.

On the Question of a Gap between the Educated People from the two Different Systems of Education: It has been argued in the previous chapters that there exists a gap between the people educated in the two different systems. This gap is social, economic, political as well as psychological. The nature of this gap however has been elaborated earlier. In this section, an attempt is made to know the views of educationists as to how they perceive this gap and what, according to them, might be its implications for our social and national life.

Most of the respondents, agreed that a gap exists. According to

them, this gap is not helpful for society and national development. The reasons for this gap are many. One of the important reasons, as mentioned by most of them except secular hard-liner groups, is that the general secular education has been shaped and evaluated by appropriate authorities and developed according to the needs of society. But madrasah education, as it was outside the fold of government for long, has not been properly evaluated and reshaped according to social demand. As a result, over time, the utility of madrasah education except for religious rituals, is gradually diminishing from the development point of view.

The secular hard-liner respondents looked at the issue from a different point of view. To them, religious thinking pulls people backward. Religious education, therefore, does not go hand in hand with progress. On the other hand, the generally educated people contribute in all aspects of life- such as in arts and culture, science, philosophy, etc. They argued that although general subjects are taught in madrasah, it will not bring any positive results because of the approaches and view points towards general education and progress in general.

The religious hard-liner views were opposite to those of the secular hardliner. They thought that the gap between general and madrasah education had been artificially created by the authority. Madrasah educated people can also contribute as well as the other educated. But the government rules keep them away from it.

Both the moderate groups on the other hand, identified the government policy as a reason for this gap. Because of the lack of an education policy this gap is widening. For example, the madrasah educated people, whatever might be the reason, do not qualify for general public services and therefore they remain out-side the mainstream.

Some of the respondents, most of them are in moderate groups, gave evidence how political authorities in the past had made this division in the system of education. They referred to British colonial rule, when the then political authority created this division for their own benefit. Over time, the two systems evolved in a manner that they could not appear as complementary to each other. Religion remained an isolated entity for a few people. The generally educated, on the other hand, emerged as sole agents of development and progress in society. In this connection one of the respondents said "..... The important implication of this two education system is that it produced two conflicting groups of people. Those educated in madrasah could not study science and those who studied in general school could not learn religion. Religion as a resource of universal prosperity, therefore, has lost impact forever."[2]

Some other respondents from moderate groups, also expressed similar opinions. The separation of religion from general and science education therefore appeared detrimental for society.

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[2]Professor Muhammad Shamsher Ali, Vice Chancellor, Open University, Bangladesh.

In their opinion, education should be based on a universal need of society where religion and science can coexist together in an integrated manner.

Other opinions can also be found. Some believe that religion as a component in the education system should be eliminated. They argue that religion not only possesses negative elements for prosperity, but also creates a different class. In this connection, a secular hardliner respondent indicated the implication of such class based education in society. He said "...We have three education systems: (not two) 1. The general education, where common people receive their education. 2. The English system of education where the rich and upper class people send their children; and 3. The Madrasah education, where the children from poor families and the dull students of rich families receive their education. Therefore, it is obvious, that this education will create a class-based society."[3]

This marxist explanation of the education system in Bangladesh was however not accepted by the religious hard-liner people. They, in fact, do not consider religious educated people as a different class in society. They argue that society needs different kinds of people, scientists, philosophers, engineers, doctors, economists, etc. The religious educated people serve society from a religious point of view. To them, this is rather natural. Various groups of people will serve society in various

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[3]Professor Serajul Islam Chowdhury, Department of English, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh.

different ways and ultimately, all of them together, will lead society towards development.

On the Question of Integration: It is clear from the above discussion and also noted earlier that the education system in Bangladesh is divided into two, and that the people who were educated in these two different system are in two opposing camps. The opinion given by the selected national level experts on the issues related to this, by and large, confirms the situation that there is a rift in the education system. It is important to note here that the respondents themselves were divided in giving their opinion on the origin, pattern, and implication of this rift.

But, at least at on one point all 20 respondents gave a convergent opinion. They all unanimously agreed that the present education system divided into two parallel lines, is neither good nor desirable for development of society. At this point, an attempt has been made to get their (experts) opinion as to how this gap can be minimized, or in other words, how it is possible to develop and integrate the education system in the country.

As mentioned earlier, the respondents unanimously underscored the need for an unified system. But, it has not been possible to get a unified opinion as to how the two systems can be integrated. Apparently different opinions have been found among the four groups of respondents. The religious hardliner respondents emphasized an integrated education through 'islamization' of knowledge at all levels. According to them, it is not sufficient

to study just one subject in religion in the general schools, rather the whole syllabus should be reshaped from the religious point of view. This is how an integration is possible. They, however, rejected the idea of bringing the two education systems closer through modification at both ends, ie introducing more general subjects in the madrasah and introducing more religious education in the schools. It seems that their model is very close to the model of post-revolutionary Iran. It has been discussed in a previous chapter that although Iran has religious educational institutions (Hawzeh Ilmiyeh), after the revolution the islamic government of the country made a tremendous effort to islamicize their modern education system. Within a few years of the revolution the curriculum of modern education was reshaped in the light of thinking in Islam. Therefore, 'Hawzeh Ilmiyeh' exists side by side with the general education in a complementary manner (Mohsenpour: 1990).

The secular hardliner respondents expressed exactly the opposite view. According to them integration should be based on secularization of madrasahs and bringing all madrasahs into the fold of general education. They argued that since the madrasah education does not have any practical utility, it should be merged into the general education system for the greater benefit of society. They also argued that if anyone wants to learn religion, he may do so on his own, as one's democratic right. But it must be outside the patronage of the government.

The two moderate groups of respondents, ie moderate religious and moderate secular, also supported an integrated education system.

To both these groups, the gap between the systems is very wide. Integration is not possible in a short period of time. The first approach should be to narrow down this gap in an acceptable manner and only then is the attempt at integration possible.

The minimization of the gap between the two systems, however, remained controversial among the two moderate groups. The religious moderate people would like to see a more substantial syllabus of islamic education up to certain level (for example, up to secondary level) in schools and expansion of general subjects in madrasah up to a certain level. This procedure ultimately narrows down the gap between madrasahs and schools. This model is similar to the model of Indonesia. It has been discussed in the previous chapter how the Indonesian authorities, narrowed down the gap between the two contending systems by introducing general subjects in religious institutions and religious subjects in modern secular institutions (Mansurnoor: 1990).

The secular moderate respondents were not of a unified opinion on this issue. Some of them said that if religious and moral education is increased among all students, there will be no gap among the educated people. Their emphasis was on islamic values and culture which are deeply rooted in society. Without religious values society cannot exist.

Some other moderate secular respondents gave their opinion in a different way. They shifted the responsibility onto the

authority who must search for an appropriate solution through research. According to them, without research, any arbitrary integration is bound to fail. Fundamental research should be undertaken by the appropriate authority about the objectives and the process of integration, and this should be done as early as possible for the greater benefit of society.

It is clear from the above discussions that the education system in Bangladesh has a deep problem. The dualism in education, due to the parallel existence of madrasahs and general schools is one of the causes of this problem. The people who are concerned about education gave their opinion on various aspects of these problems. The analysis and discussions above demonstrate that divergence is much greater than convergence in opinions. This is probably the main reason why a reform has not been possible. In the context of the integration of these two systems one of the scholars in this field wrote: "....The main reason for failure of all attempts at reforming the education system is the basic difference between the attitude and outlook of reformists and the traditionalists. The reformists tried to secularize the whole system on the western pattern, whereas the traditionalists have always tried to islamicize the whole system of modern education." (Ali: 1983, 192)

Chapter VII

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

In the present research, a dual system of education, religious madrasah and modern schools in Bangladesh has been studied. The dual system of education in the country evolved over a long period of about 250 years and has produced two conflicting groups of people, where one group is considered as progressive who remain in the main stream of society and the other is alienated from them. An effort has been made in this study to find out the pattern and causes of this alienation process. The factors related to the students' choice of either system of education and the implications of the gap between the two systems was explored in order to find some solution to minimize this unexpected gap. The study is based on both primary and secondary sources. The primary data were collected through field survey at various levels.

The dual education system is not unique to Bangladesh. The examples of other muslim countries also show that this dual system of education with the existence of modern secular and traditional religious education. The modern system of education is patronized by the government and has remained in a healthy condition. On the other hand, the religious education system is

patronized by a section of people with partial support from the government. Development of education in the light of both the religious outlook of the people and modern needs at the same time is virtually absent in the education policies of most muslim nations.

It has been argued in this study that in Bangladesh the madrasah educated people are alienated from the well established generally educated people. The causes of this alienation have been identified at three levels. First, at the historical level. The alienation process had been rooted in the past colonial history of the country. During the 500 years of muslim rule, there was only one system of education which used to develop all aspects of life both moral as well as other national needs. The available historical evidence shows that the present contradiction between the two educated groups is largely the result of British policy. Second, the reasons for this alienation of madrasah educated people were found at the level of education management by authority. There are some systemic faults within the national education system. Among these, education management, particularly with regard to madrasah education is notable. Inadequate institutional arrangements, lack of appropriate education policy, government apathy towards the type of education given by madrasahs and most importantly, lack of sufficient preparation on the part of madrasah education authorities are responsible for this situation.

At the third level, some social factors were found as the cause

of this alienation process. Traditionally the madrasahs are dependent on donations and charity from the people and are not patronised by the government. Therefore, there is a feeling among the people that the madrasah educated people live on charity and a large section of society disapproves of it. The madrasah educated people are also isolated politically, because of their overwhelming support for islamic oriented political parties.

The perceptual gap between educated people from both madrasah and school is also responsible for this alienation process. Mentally, both groups are alienated from each other. Both groups want a reform in education in which their own belief and identity should be preserved.

The factors leading to the students' decision to enroll either in madrasahs or in general schools are related to various social, economic, cultural and institutional aspects of society. The important determining factors are as follows:

□ The educational attainments of the parents. Usually madrasah educated parents and guardians prefer to enroll their children in a madrasah, and school educated people send their children to schools. However, exceptions were also found. Parents' level of education seems to be related to the enrolment of their children. Parents with lower educational attainments sent their children more to madrasahs, while those with higher educational attainments sent all their children to general schools.

- The influence of other people also sometimes plays a significant role. Influence of distinguished close relatives like famous doctors or famous religious leaders influence the children to follow their own line. Family members, like grandparents, uncles and brothers also influence the students' preference for the madrasah. In the case of enrolment in schools, relatives' influence was not so apparent.

- Traditionally the male students have stronger preference for madrasah than the female students.

- A household with many children prefers to enroll some of their children in the madrasah and households with fewer children put emphasis on sending them to school.

- Social inhibition also is significantly related to the students enrolment. The household head who works in madrasah or religious institutions is more likely to prefer to enroll their children in madrasah and feel shame to send their children to school. Similarly, those who were educated and have work in modern institutions have reservations about enrolling their children in a madrasah because of social prestige.

- Perception of job opportunities is also found related to the students' enrolment. Those who prefer a career job after finishing their education usually enroll in general school. On the other hand those who want to disseminate islamic knowledge rather than get a well-paid job prefer to enroll in madrasah.

In some cases less competitive job opportunities in religious institutions like mosque and madrasah also attract the rural student to enroll in a madrasah.

□ Low income families prefer to enroll their children in madrasah; higher income families prefer general education. This is because the fees and expenses for madrasah are far less than for school. Poor families are always reluctant to spend on education. On the other hand, children from elite classes are usually sent to school. Even super elites send their children to English medium schools.

□ Religious belief has been found significantly important for the students' choice of enrolment. The religious Muslims believe that their children should be brought up with islamic values. But the super religious people prefer to enroll their children in the madrasah.

□ Family tradition also plays an important role in the students' choice of educational institutions. For example the peer (spiritual guide) families have strongest affinity with religious education. To maintain their traditional way of life they prefer to enroll their children in madrasah. A similar pattern is also observed among the families who have traditions with school education. For example professional groups like lawyers, doctors and high officials with name and fame hardly ever send their children to study in madrasahs.

□ It has been found that religious dogma is one of the most significant determinants for the students' enrolment in madrasah. Many of the students enrolled in madrasahs because their parents and guardians made a vow to Allah about it.

□ Finally, some special circumstances like the availability of certain educational institutions is also found as a factor in the students' decision to enroll in particular educational institutions.

Each of the enrolments, either in school or in madrasah, are determined by one or more factors at a time. From this, it seems that modern education hardly attract those who prefer to study in madrasah. Similarly those who enroll in school have many reasons, not to enroll in madrasah. In these circumstances, it seems the dual system of education is unavoidable.

One of the objectives of the present research was to find possible ways of minimizing the gap between the two education system. National level experts gave opinions on this issue. The present research discovered a number of divergent views among the national experts. However, some similarities in opinion were also found.

The secular hardliners denied the necessity for religious education, while the religious hardliners demanded an education system based absolutely on religious belief. On the other hand, both the moderate groups of respondents felt the necessity of

religious education in society with some differences in the form of education. To the religious moderate group, there is no alternative to madrasah education to teach islamic knowledge. On the other hand, the secular moderate group did not feel the necessity of separate institutions for religious education such as madrasahs.

A divergent opinion was also found among the experts on the question of the effectiveness of present madrasah education, their quality and the resultant impact of such education on society.

The views of the experts and educationists on the question of a widening gap between the educated people from the two different systems of education, however, to some extent did converge. Most of the respondents agreed that a gap exists, which is not helpful for society and for national development. But the opinion was not similar on the reasons for such a gap between the two systems.

Although the experts and educationists were divided in their opinion on the origin, pattern, and implication of this rift, they unanimously underscored the need for a unified system.

The opinion of the experts and educationists was again divided on the question of how to integrate. The religious proponent group wanted an islamization of knowledge at all levels of education as a first step towards integration. The opponent

group, on the other hand, demanded an immediate merge of madrasahs in to the general education system.

The two moderate groups of respondents supported an integrated education system. Considering the wide gap they said that integration in a short period of time is not possible. To them the first approach should be narrow down this gap in an acceptable manner. The religious moderate people emphasized the expansion of islamic education up to a certain level in general schools and expansion of general subjects in madrasahs up to a certain level. The secular moderate respondents on the other hand emphasized moral education, which they thought would minimize the gap between the two groups. They also shifted responsibility on to the authority who will search for an appropriate solution through research and democratic processes. According to them, unless the opinion of people is examined and researched, any arbitrary integration is bound to fail.

Conclusions

The education system of Bangladesh is characterized by the presence of traditional religious and modern secular education with the predominance of the latter. The prevalence of this dualism in the education system has led to manifold problems. This is a paradox that officially Islam and islamic education have been recognized by the state policy which is an indicator of the primacy of religion in the social and political culture,

but those who are educated and have developed their thinking in islamic knowledge lead a peripheral life in society. This has been found to be a fundamental problem in the development of an integrated educated society in the country. Generally educated people overwhelmingly dominate educated society and for that matter the development activities in almost all spheres of life. But the people who received their education in madrasah are alienated from other educated people and their activities centred mainly around religious teaching and rituals. The two groups of people are different not only in terms of their activities but also in their orientation thinking, behaviour and dress.

This study explores the causes of this alienation, particularly the factors which influence the parents and guardians to enroll their children either in madrasahs or in schools.

Like other muslim countries this dualism in Bangladesh is rooted in its colonial history. Historical evidences show that the present contrast between the two system of education and thereby contradiction between the two groups of people is largely the result of British Policy. However, the present study shows that the historical explanation of this contradiction is not sufficient. The process of alienation continued during the post colonial period mainly due to the failure of authority to promote an appropriate education policy in the country. There are systemic faults within the national education system, like inadequate institutional arrangements, lack of education policy, government's apathy towards the type of education given by

madrasahs, etc. One of the important reasons for this alienation, for which madrasah authority is largely responsible, is that they are extremely sensitive about accepting modernization.

This study also investigates the reasons why and how the parents make their choice of educational institution (either madrasah or School) while there is a rift between the two systems. A number of factors emerged in this study of which parental educational background has been found to be the most dominant factor for the children's enrolment in either schools or in madrasahs. For example, parents with madrasah education background were found to prefer madrasah education for their children and vice versa. Low levels of education, economic conditions, the influence of relatives, family tradition and the degree of affinity with religion also were found to be important determinants for the enrolment of students.

On the question of integration or minimizing the gap between the two systems national level experts gave their opinion. It has been found from these opinions that integration of these two contrasting groups of educated people is an absolute necessity for society and its progress. However, the views did not converge as to how this integration would come about. The religious respondents were in favour of islamization of knowledge at all levels. On the other hand, the generally educated respondents who were moderate in their attitudes towards religion felt that society needs people who are developed morally,

intellectually and scientifically. Whether they come from madrasah or Schools hardly matters. But the madrasah, under its present conditions, is not capable of producing such people.

This divergence in views among the two groups of people is not new. But what is important here is that the people want an integrated system. Considering the wide gap, integration within a short period may not be possible. But effort should be made as early as possible, at least not to widen the gap any more.

Suggestion and Direction for Further Research

This is an exploratory study. Any suggestion out of such study may be regarded as premature. But the present study, as it is unique in its kind, raised more questions than it answered. More elaborate studies are necessary to answer all these question and to make appropriate suggestions. The following are some of areas, in which immediate research should be undertaken.

(a) A detailed investigation of the nature and appropriateness of the curriculum in madrasah education.

(b) The management of madrasah education and on the system of effective control of it.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: CENSUS ON THE EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF THE EMPLOYEES IN VARIOUS GOVERNMENT, SEMI GOVERNMENT AND NON GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION.

Name of Institution/Organization: .....

Address : .....
.....
.....

Number of Total employees : .....

Name of respondent : .....
Designation : .....

Permanent Address : .....

Educational Qualification.

Tick ( ) where applicable.

1. Primary		1. Ibtedayee	
2. Junior secondary		2. Class seven	
3. Secondary		3. class ten	
4. SSC		4. Dakhil	
5. Higher secondary		5. Class Twelve	
6. HSC		6. Alim	
7. Graduate		7. Fazil	
8. Post Graduate		8. Kamil	
9. Others		9. Quari/Hafiz/others	

APPENDIX 2:1 STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE (GENERAL SCHOOL)

Name of the Student : .....Age.....

Class.....Name of the Institution.....

Name and address of the guardian of the respondent .....
.....

1 Where did you started your first education?

A At home B kindergarten C Maqtab/Madrasah
D Mosque E

2 From whom you took the first lesson?

A Parents B Brother/Sister C Uncle/ Aunt
D Other relative E

3 What was your first education? Religious or General?

4 Why have you chosen School instead of Madrasah?

5 Whose interest was more in favour of going to School?

6 Which educational institution you think to be the best, Madrasah or School? Why?

7 Could you please explain the positive and negative aspects of both Madrasah and School?

8 Which profession would you like to choose?

9 Which of the following items can you perform? Whom did you learn from and who encouraged you?

Item	Can	Cannot	From whom	Who encouraged
Prayer				
Quran reading				
Singing				
Drawing				
Sports				
Others				

APPENDIX 2:2 STUDENTS QUESTIONNAIRE (RELIGIOUS MADRASAH)

Name of the Student : .....Age.....

Class.....Name of the Institution.....

Name and address of the guardian of the respondent .....
.....

1 Where did you started your first education?

A At home B kindergarten C Maqtab/Madrasah
D Mosque E

2 From whom you took the first lesson?

A Parents B Brother/Sister C Uncle/ Aunt
D Other relative E

3 What was your first education? Religious or General?

4 Why have you chosen Madrasah instead of School?

5 Whose interest was more in favour of going to Madrasah?

6 Which educational institution you think to be the best, Madrasah or School? Why?

7 Could you please explain the positive and negative aspects of both Madrasah and School?

8 Which profession would you like to choose?

9 Which of the following items can you perform? Whom did you learn from and who encouraged you?

Item	Can	Cannot	From whom	Who encouraged
Prayer				
Quran reading				
Singing				
Drawing				
Sports				
Others				

APPENDIX 3:1 QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE PARENTS AND GUARDIANS OF RESPONDENT SCHOOL STUDENT

Name of the guardian .....Date of interview.....

Name of the respondent .....
Relationship with the student.....

1 Household information

Sl	Name	Relationship with student	Marital status	Educational qualification	Main occupation	Other occupation
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						

2 Have any of the members of this family ever studied in madrasah? If yes, where is he? and what does he do?

3 Did you ever think of sending your children to madrasah? If yes, why did not send them?

4 What were the reasons behind sending your children to school?

5 Who played the dominant role in sending your children to school?

6 Did anyone advise you to send your child to madrasah? If any, who is he/she or who are they?

7 Have you ever thought of moving your children from school to madrasah?

8 What profession you think would be undertaken by your child in future?

9 Is there any need of the people educated in madrasah in our society?

10 Your child is studying in school instead of madrasah. Are you dissatisfied or do you regret it?

11 Nowadays religions are also taught in the schools. Do you think it is sufficient to know about religion?

12 The dual system of madrasah and school education has been continuing in our country for a long time. Do you support it? Yes.....No.....

If yes, why?

If no, why?

APPENDIX 3:2 QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE PARENTS AND GUARDIANS OF RESPONDENT MADRASAH STUDENT

Name of the guardian .....Date of interview.....

Name of the respondent .....

Relationship with the student.....

1 Household information

Sl	Name	Relationship with student	Marital status	Educational qualification	Main occupation	Other occupation
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						

2 Have any of the members of this family ever studied in madrasah? If yes, where is he? and what does he do?

3 Did you ever think of sending your children to school? If yes, why did not send them?

4 What were the reasons behind sending your children to madrasah?

5 Who played the dominant role in sending your children to madrasah?

6 Did anyone advise you to send your child to school? If any, who is he/she or who are they?

7 Have you ever thought of moving your children from madrasah to school?

8 What profession you think would be undertaken by your child in future?

9 Is there any need of the people educated in madrasah in our society?

10 Your child is studying in madrasah instead of school. Are you dissatisfied or do you regret it?

11 Nowadays religions are also taught in the schools. Do you think it is sufficient to know about religion?

12 The dual system of madrasah and school education has been continuing in our country for a long time. Do you support it? Yes.....No.....

If yes, why?

If no, why?

APPENDIX 4: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE INTELLECTUALS.

1 In our country we have two education system, one is School education and the other is madrasah education system. What is in your opinion of the effectiveness of madrasah education in our national life?

2 It has been mentioned earlier that we have two education system. Its impacts are visible in our national life. How do you evaluate this dual polarized system of education?

3 Is the madrasah education an obstacle or complementary to the overall education field in the country?

4 There is a close relations between ethics and information of Knowledge. Among these two education system, which education system in your opinion is more effective for the promotion of morality in our society.

5 It seems that in the public sector employment there is hardly any one from madrasah educated people. Why these people do you think can not come to the main stream of the society?

6 If the madrasah educated people are alienated from the main stream of the society, then why these people still go to Madrasah? And what kind of profession do they try to adopt?

7 Is it necessary to improve the quality of madrasah education? How?

8 Do you think that it is necessary to have an integration between madrasah and school? How the integration will be possible?

9 To which level do you think madrasah and school education should be integrated? And why?

10 Is it necessary to have religious education compulsory for all students or it should be optional?

11 How much religious education should be compulsory for all students you think?

12 There are some religious education taught in the school also. Do you think it is necessary and effective?

13 In the recent years science education has been included in the madrasah education. Do you think it would be effective? Please evaluate.

14 Generally it is viewed that those who are educated in the madrasah is different kind of people. Do you support this process to be continued?

15 How you think the problems of both the system, madrasah and school could be removed?

APPENDIX 5: LIST OF RESPONDENT AT NATIONAL LEVEL.

Sl	Name	Description
1	Maulana Mufti Fazlul Huq Amini	Principal, Lalbag Madrasah
2	Quari Muhammad Ubaidullah	Imam
3	Muhammad Unus Ali Shikhder	Principa, Madrasah-i-Alia, Dhaka
4	Hafiz Habibur Rahman	Principal, Tibbia Habibia College, Dhaka
5	Dr. Md Serajul Huq	Professor emeritus, Department of Islamic Studies, University of Dhaka
6	A.R.M. Ali Haider	Assistant Professor, Department of Islamic Studies, University of Dhaka
7	Dr. Md. Raisuddin	Professor, Department of Islamic Studies, University of Dhaka
8	Dr. Md Mustafizur Rahman	Professor, Department of Arabic, University of Dhaka
9	Anwarul Huq Khan Majlish	Director, BANBEIS
10	Professor MA Mannan	Chairman, Madrasah education Board
11	Dr. Serajul Islam Chawdhury	Professor, Department of English, University of Dhaka
12	Dr. Shamsher Ali	Vice Chancellor, Open University, Dhaka
13	Dewan Muhammad Azraf	Professor of Philosophy
14	Sanaullah Nuri	Editor, Daily Janata
15	Lutfar Rahman	Director, Planning Scheme 4 Water Development Board, Dhaka
16	Dr. Habibur Rahman	General Manager, Sonali Bank, Head Office, Dhaka
17	Bashir Al Helal	Deputy Director, Bangla Academy, Dhaka
18	Dr. Iftekharuz Zaman	Director, BIISS
19	Brigadier M. Abdul Hafiz	Director General, BIISS
20	Dr. Ahmed Sharif	Professor, Department of Bangla, University of Dhaka