

# LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND SCHOOLING: STUDY OF FOUR SCHOOLS IN DHAKA CITY

Submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy

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**3 July, 2017**

## Table of Contents

<b>Chapter One: Introduction</b> .....	01
1.1 Propositions- Three different education systems: Pedagogy, Institutional Practice, Family Culture	02
1.2 Pedagogy of Different Educational Systems	03
1.3 Students' Behavior	05
1.4 Research Contexts	
Study setting: The secondary level mainstream schools/Dakhil/Madrassa under Madrassa board/ English medium international schools in Dhaka	05
1.5 Potential use of research findings	06
<b>Chapter Two: Literature and conceptual framework</b> .....	07
2.1 Introduction: Diversified education systems in Bangladesh in the realm of sociological theories	07
2.2 Theoretical considerations	
a. Sociology of Education; evolved from normative science to social science	07
b. The core concepts of sociology to education	09
c. Why Bourdieu's theory of education is focused in this research in Bangladesh context?	11
d. Bourdieu's theory of education: theory of symbolic violence	14
e. "Pedagogic Action" is achieved by "Pedagogic Word": Habitus, a process of internalization and bodily disposition	16
f. Class structure reproduced through schooling: Distinction is a symbolic power of the dominant culture	17
2.3 Cultural reproduction and social reproduction	23
2.4 Class structure	25
2.5 Bourdieu's multiple correspondence analysis of class fraction	27
2.6 Social space trajectory	29
2.7 Cultural variety and reflexivity influences mismatch between habitus and field	31
2.8 Theories of language, culture and education	
a. Language and education	35
b. Language and pedagogic discourse	36

- c. Language and classroom discourse 38
- d. Globalization and education 40
- e. Cultural hybridity 43
- f. Convergence and divergence in education 45

### **Chapter Three: Education system and social structures in Bangladesh**

3.1 Establishment of Multiple Education Systems under Indian Subcontinent.....	47
3.2 Reforms in Primary and Secondary Education systems in Bangladesh	
a. Primary Education.....	60
b. Secondary Education.....	63
3.3 Extracts from National Education Policy of Bangladesh 2010.....	65
3.4 Introduction of English Medium Education in Bangladesh.....	67
3.5 How Madrassa Education Evolved in Bangladesh.....	68
3.6 Challenges with Madrassa Education.....	76
3.7 Socioeconomic Status and Class Structure in Developing Countries.....	77
3.8 Concepts and Measures of SES and Class.....	77
3.9 Measures of SES Used in the Studies.....	78
3.10 Social structure in Bangladesh	
a. Class stratification in Bangladesh and its differential roles modern society and stratification in Bangladesh	80
b. Cultural Capital from School Reproduced in the University in Dhaka	86
c. Class domination through education	86
3.11 Impact of cultural globalization in Bangladesh	88
3.12 Conclusion	89

### **Chapter Four: Language, Culture and Schooling: a mixed methods research process**

4.1 Why mixed method research approach in the research design?	90
Mixed method: explanatory sequential design	91
4.2 Multiple data sources	92
A. Quantitative Data	92
B. Qualitative Data	94
C. Data and Support	97
D. Mixed method research decisions: analysis, integration and reporting	103
E. Data integration	105

- F. Reporting 106
- G. Ethical considerations 106
- H. Confidentiality 106
- I. Treatment of data 106
- J. Data sharing and validation of data 107

## **Chapter Five: Empirical Findings**

5.1 Introduction.....	108
5.2 Overview of the “Pedagogic Authority System”described by the four target Secondary Schools and Madrassa undertaken in this research.....	109
5.3 Teaching Technique, Teacher’s Qualification, Teacher’s Training.....	113
5.4 Emphasis on Co curricular Activities and Cultural Practices in the School.....	120
5.5 Socio Economic Status and Culture of the Families of the Students from Different School Systems.....	122
Results.....	127
5.6 Academic & Career Aspiration of the Students from Different Education System.....	133
5.7 Youth Culture in Dhaka City: Scope and Practices in and out of the School.....	143
5.8 Configuring Cultural Distinction- Individual’s Taste and Life Style.....	166

## **Chapter Six: Publication.....170**

## **Chapter Seven: Concluding Remarks.....185**

References 189

### **Tables**

Table 1: Things Students Dislike in Their School.....	114
Table 2: Co-curricular Clubs in the School.....	120
Table 3: Preference for co-curricular club by the Students of the Three Education System.....	121
Table4: Family income of the respondent of the Three Education Systems.....	122
Table 5: Educational qualification of Fathers of the Respondents.....	125
Table 6: Occupation of the Father of the Respondents.....	126

Table 7: Bivariate analysis of Occupation of the Father of the Respondents with the types of Education Systems.....	127
Table 8: Mother's occupation of the Students of Three Education Systems (Results in Count and Percentage by Education System).....	128
Table 9: Education level of the Mothers of the Respondents .....	129
Table 10: Trend of Visiting Places in School Vacations.....	130
Table 11: Aim in Life of the Secondary School Students.....	133
Table 12: The mostly read newspaper/magazine by the Secondary School Students.....	143
Table 13: Food Habits of the Secondary School / Madrassa Students.....	150
Table 14: Trend of Life Style.....	166

## Figures

figure 1: The major theoretical framework.....	20
Figure 2: Frequencies of SES variables appearing in the 67 studies.....	79
Figure 4: Mapping of the Schools undertaken by purposive sampling.....	99
Figure 5: Name of the Schools finally participated in the Data Collection Process....	100
Figure 6: Sampling Technique and Sample Size of the Research.....	100
Figure 7: List of Research Assistants.....	102
Figure 8: Empirical Framework of the Research.....	103
Figure 8: Marks Distribution by Language, Subjects and as Medium of Education...	120
Figure 6: Trend of watching Movies for entertainments?.....	144

## Illustrations

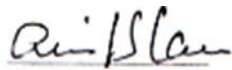
Illustration 1 Madrasha students cheering up after Dakhil Results.....	113
Illustration No 2: Teen Ager Smokes Hookah with Shisha in Lounge in Dhaka city.....	153
Illustration No. 4 : Comic convention in Dhaka city.....	187

## Charts

Bar Chart : Aim in Life.....	135
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## Certification

It is hereby certified that the student U S Rokeya Akhter, bearing Reg. No 68, Session 2013-14, has tried her best to revise her thesis in response to the comments and observations raised by the PhD committee. I truly hope that the examiners will find the revision on her thesis entitled "Language, Culture and Schooling: Study of Four Schools in Dhaka City", in the Department of Sociology, University of Dhaka, satisfactory.



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## **Chapter 1- Introduction:**

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Bangladesh is an emerging nation of multidimensional power structures. It has been struggling to cope with the advancement of international political, educational and cultural influences and also managing the hurdle to tackling with the global market economies as well as the national issues for development. Research on globalization shows that national educational system and policies are being affected worldwide by the Globalization and International Educational influences (Spring, 2008). English has been leading the language of instructions in every aspect of global commerce. In order to get better opportunities in occupation and profession English language came up as the essential part of local education systems. Since the colonial and postcolonial period, British Education System was introduced by few church based missionary schools in India and Bangladesh (Mukerji, 1957). During the post liberation period some elite families established private English Medium schools, offering international standard education in Dhaka. But those were limited to primary education and only few elite families used to avail that private English medium education till the mid80s. The trend expanded by number of institutions, spread out to new locations and increased by school years from the latter part of 80s. Then new rich families also started sending children to those schools, primarily in Dhaka, Sylhet and Chittagong, later in other districts, at least opened a semi English medium education in the name of Kindergarten education. Though worldwide globalization influences the developing countries to take over English medium education to become skilled on the universal language (Spring, 2008), Bangladesh Government and Education Policy makers have long been looking forward to a uniform national education system (Khatun, 2015). In fact, parallel to the mainstream education system two other basic education systems prevail in Bangladesh, one is madrassa education under government approved madrassa education board and the other one is English medium international education system, (though not recognized nationally). Differences between these education systems lie on the preference of language-(Bengali, or English or Arabic), as a medium of

instructions regarding lessons and education materials in schooling, though the basic difference is rooted in the thematic priorities of curriculum designs.

**The basic argument** of this research stands on the multidimensional education system running in an emerging nation must have serious implications to establish further cultural differences, and that might have reaffirming inequalities in opportunities between the classes and social groups through education. So the objective of the research is to find the formation and reformation of social structure through the diversified education systems in Bangladesh.

**Research Question 1:** Do the different educational systems represent particular social classes?

**Question 2:** How do students from particular education systems contribute to constructing new types of social classes, culture and practices?

### **1.1 Propositions - Three Different Education Systems; pedagogy, institutional practice, family culture:**

Parallel to the mainstream education system two other basic education systems prevail in Bangladesh, one is madrasa education under government approved madrasa education board and the other one is English medium international education system, (though not recognized nationally). Differences between these education systems lie on the preference of language (Bengali, or English or Arabic), as a medium of instructions regarding lessons and education materials in schooling, though the basic difference is rooted in the thematic priorities of curriculum designs. Such as the mainstream education based within a national context, English Medium education conceptualized over an international context and Madrasa Education outlined solely with religious values. The mastery of language skills in the education system and use of legitimate language in schooling are the pivotal concepts to analyze the reproduction in school culture, the processes in forming new social groups in the society. The specific propositions those has been focused in the research are as below:



- i) Pedagogic Action, Legitimacy in Education system will be discussed with the most popular theories of Pierre Bourdieu, Cultural Arbitrariness and Symbolic Violence
- ii) Socialization in the education environment, disposition of individual's practice in social and cultural space which entails the theory of Habitus and Field.
- iii) Class structure and Inequality in Educational Attainments will be analyzed through Bourdieu's theory of reproduction in Education.
- iv) Cultural Variety among the Families of the students enrolling in schools and madrassas will be discussed with the theory of Multiple Correspondence of Class Fractions to find association to different education systems exist in Bangladesh.
- v) Influence of Globalization on Education, Language and Culture will be discussed with several theories, theory of Cultural Hybridity, theory of Cultural Distinction, theory of Symbolic Capital, Habitus Enclave, and Cultural Fractions through changes in Taste of music, food, dress, technology, which are all about practice of life style etc.
- vi) Finally the trend of new social groups through cultural fractions will be discussed whether it is converging or diverging?

## **1.2 Pedagogy of Different Educational Systems:**

In Bangladesh the system of education is divided into three different branches. Students are free to choose anyone of them provided that they have the means. These branches are: The English Medium, The Bengali Medium, and The Religious Branch. In the English Medium system, courses are all taught in English using English books with the exception for Bengali and Arabic. English medium schools are mainly private and thus reserved for the wealthy class. O and A level exams are arranged through the British Council in Dhaka, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/English-medium\\_education](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/English-medium_education)

There has never been a policy to provide better education facilities only to the privileged people either. Academicians and policy makers have been trying to establish uniform quality education up to secondary education for decades. But prevailing inequality in basic education system in urban areas could not skip eyes

of educationists and policy makers. The huge diversity in curriculum as well as in contents and huge discrepancy in school fees structure appeared as a cultural divergence among students from different educational systems. For instance conversation style, gesture, use of language and relationship between boys and girls from English medium schools are mostly marked and high browed by the parents and teachers of mainstream education system. Besides, educationists and policy makers do not support foreign curriculum for our students rather they prefer uniform education system. During nineties enrollment in English medium schools increased to a big size in Dhaka city that captured lots of stories in the media, newspaper and all concerns around lack of spirit of nationalism, inadequate learning process and ignorance of Bengali language, and cultural diffusion seemed like a cultural shock to the middle-class people, educationists as well as policy makers. The obvious question arises that why people from social groups both elite and middle class are running after these private English Medium schools?

On the other hand, there area lot of controversies with the quality of private madrassa education system. So why and who are the stakeholder of private education institutions and particularly English medium education system and madrassa education system has demand to analyze. Besides need to find the gaps of mainstream education system that is why it cannot convince many families to get their children in national education system and be in the same line! It is also imperative to find the cultural inequalities growing from this inequality in access to educational attainments and new forms of social groups through the diversity in the educational systems.

Parents who aim to get their children proficiency in English language, in speaking and writing usually prefer English medium private schools or English version national curriculum education for their children. There is a huge difference among the objective of the curriculum, text book contents, book publisher, education facilities, examination system and learning system among these three education systems. So I have gone through the contents of all three education systems at the VIII to X grades and made comparative analysis of these

curriculums, learning materials, teaching staff and school authority, school system, administration and education attainments etc. Also have to know the views from academics, policy makers, parents on three different education systems exist in our country.

### **1.3 Student's Behavior:**

Students enrolling in different education systems might have differences in family culture, which promotes parents to choose a particular education system for their children. Family culture always makes long lasting and significant influence to build practice as well as culture of new generation. But in modern society beside family culture there is ample scope to adopt with diversified culture individuals wish to follow, pursuing own taste. It is aim to find how young boys and girls develop their taste beyond family practice, get structured through school environment and practices, gets into new forms of global culture through media, social media, reading books and magazines, adopt diversity in the style of culinary culture living with the obvious changes in the inevitable courses of everyday life. What influences most like either popular culture or mastery of skills, and how far family socioeconomic capacity or status matters will be observed in forming new structures and if develop fractions in groups.

### **1.4 Research Contexts**

**Study Setting: The Secondary Level Mainstream Schools/ Dakhil Madrassa under Madrassa Board/ English Medium International Schools in Dhaka**

According to BANBEIS information Public schools are more or less established in every location across the country though more in capital city, private schools following both NCTB curriculum and English Medium were founded in Dhaka, Chittagong and Sylhet at first but more in number in Dhaka and particularly were centered at Dhanmondi or close to Dhanmondi area (the posh or elite residential area). On the other hand Madrassa education institutions have never been located in Dhanmondi, rather the reputed madrassa like Government Alia

Madrassa, and private Tamirul Millat Madrassas are located in the old Dhaka city. In order to select the location of the education institutions from three education systems I preferred Dhanmondi and Mohammadpur which is the closest residential area established during the old period of Dhaka city, also because madrassas are available there. Education institutions were chosen randomly according to the list available in BANBEIS but the school authorities had restrictions on approval for interviews. So, it compelled me to move towards different locations keeping a few criteria in mind, like best performing school or madrassa, and co-education. Age group was selected from 14 to 17 years old enrolling in class 9 or 10.

### **1.6 Potential Use of Research Findings**

The research findings will create scope for further related research in significant areas that require specific guidelines for advocacy strategies to make changes in national planning, education policies and institutional governance. Since research findings led by an individual researcher cannot make direct influence on social perception and traditional harmful practices but the identified problems, cause and effects should not be left without question. The research findings may be proposed to any development organization at the national level or to the country program of UN system organizations and other government or donor funded organizations to make specific studies and approach projects to influence changes among the related stakeholders.

## Chapter 2- Literature and Conceptual Framework

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### A Review of Theories, Context and Evidence

#### ***2.1 Introduction: Diversified Education Systems in Bangladesh in the realm of Sociological Theories;***

In order to discuss the social and cultural structures structuring of three different education systems Sociological theories on education and culture has been reviewed for the conceptual framework of this research. Considering the highest level of contribution in the field of education and cultural studies in respect to the sociological aspects since 80s and use of his theories in the philosophical analysis by most of social thinkers and nonetheless reviews with criticism French Philosopher Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework has been the central focus in this dissertation. Here is a summary chart for understanding the context of the research in correspondence to the relevant theories of social sciences of post modern and neoliberal period.

#### **2.2 Theoretical Considerations**

##### ***a. Sociology of Education; Evolved from Normative Science to Social Sciences***

Until the 1950s, theory in educational research was used to follow same as way as theory in the physical, normative sciences. For example educational theory was viewed as a way of developing, connecting and evaluating hypotheses in order to understand particular educational phenomena (O Connor, 1957).

Educational theory is often seen as a means to forming or justifying certain forms of methodology or pedagogy that is about teaching and learning from classroom practices.

In 1960s however a major shift took place. The British philosopher Paint Hirst argued that educational theory was distinct from theories derived from the normative sciences. Unlike natural sciences educational theory cannot refer to a single hypothesis or a logically connected set of hypotheses that have been confirmed by observation. The sense of theory in natural science is that to provide us with

standards by which one can assess the values and use of any claimant to the title theory (Hirst, 1966, P. 38).

As Hilliard puts it: "Scientific theory is descriptive, educational theory is predictive' (1971, P. 42). The word predictive is used in the sense of individuals being seen to master educational practice by working with its theoretical, multi-dimensional aspects, like uses theory of philosophy, psychology, sociology etc; and issues in distinctive, validated educational practice' (Hirst, 1966, P. 49).

Following on from Hirst's work in the 1960s, and the prominence subsequently given to sociological, philosophical and historical analyses of learning contexts, educational research mirrored the type of quantitative, naturalistic approaches used in these social sciences (Grenfell, ).

Later opt out the method of natural science's theories; in particular ethnography has become a popular means of representing the pedagogic context. Ethnography has been described as a 'culture studying culture' (Spreadley, 1980, p. 13), which pertains to its anthropological origins; that is the study of human activity in terms of context, relations and belief systems.

In order to do that method several questions come like;

- Do we bring theory to the context in order to explain what is going on, or do we 'ground' it in observation?
- Do we form mini-hypothesis which is tested out in a range of situations reroute to producing something that is more generalizable and rigorous?
- Does theory represent reality, or is reality so relative to context that any formal description of its base actuality is bound to fail to capture its rationale? Theory pretends in some ways to explain reality, but now does it do this?
- To what extent does it represent what actually occurs? On what evidence is it based? How far can we generalize from the particular context?

There are contradictions in expression, representation and relativism of these issues. The first representations involves unacceptable assumptions about the asymmetry of explanations of true and false beliefs and of actions based on them; the second

leads to all those problems that usually follow from the adoption of a relative epistemology, notably internal inconsistency (Hammersley, 1992, p. 54)

The fact that we might not regard knowledge as uni-dimensional but as multifaceted has long been recognized. Two important ideal types in social science research express the extremes of this plurality of view; namely, subjectivity and objectivity. Subjectivity refers to individual knowledge. It is personal; partly intuitive; affective; and may not have any direct relevance outside of the person who holds it. Hermeneutic approaches are a characteristic version of this. Objectivity refers to the contrary; it is 'knowledge without a knowing subject,' to adopt a phrase coined by a modern day founder of scientific theory Karl Popper. Clearly, both forms of knowledge have their place, both must exist.

#### **b. The Core Concepts of Sociology of Education**

At the core of the sociological study of education are questions about social change and the relationship between schools and society. When the sub discipline was emerging in the 1950's, structural functionalism was the dominant theoretical approach to understanding how society and its various institutions, including schools, work. Early sociologists like Emile Durkheim, Pitirim Sorokin, and Talcott Parson were interested in schools not just in and of themselves, but in relation to the wider society, to their connection and value to other institutions and the overall functioning of the social system. As Functionalists claim that schools sort based upon merit; conflict theorists argue that schools sort along distinct class and ethnic lines. According to conflict theorists, schools train those in the working classes to accept their position as a lower-class member of society. Conflict theorists call this role of education the "hidden curriculum." Again Reproduction theorists who were Structuralist neo-Marxist, looking at the power of the capitalist economic structure believe that it heavily affects education and social structures.

The subtlety of the reproduction of privilege is one of the main themes of Neo Marxists like Bowles and Gintis, Althusser, and Pierre Bourdieu.

Bowles and Gintis' theory of Schooling as Economic Reproduction, whereby the Correspondence Principle explains the way in which the hidden curriculum of schools reproduces the social (and economic) class structure of society within the school, training school students for different economic and social futures on the basis of their social and economic pasts — their parental background.

Bourdieu's sociology of education is likely to be best understood as a theory of practice to construct a general "theory of symbolic violence" integrating the study of education into a wider field concerned with power, inequality and social order. For example those factors which make pupils/ students 'at home' in an educational institution, which are the product of family education, create or reproduce class inequalities in achievement. The legitimate authority of the school system can multiply social inequalities because the most disadvantaged classes, too conscious of their destiny and too unconscious of the ways in which it is brought about, thereby help to bring it upon them.

In constructing a "theory of symbolic violence", Bourdieu and Passeron attempt to specify in theoretical terms the whereby, in all societies, order and social restraint are produced by indirect, cultural mechanisms rather than by direct, coercive social control. All culture is based on hidden arbitrariness and there are three modes of cultural arbitrariness according to Bourdieu: diffuse education, which occurs in the course of interaction with competent members of the social formation in question (informal peer group may be the example for it), family education, which speaks for itself, and institutionalized education (examples of which might be age-set initiation rituals, on the one hand, or school, on the other). The second core concept of Bourdieu's theory is Habitus or the bodily disposition of an individual in a field or social context, that he discussed first by the learning process of inculcation, what is more, cumulative; the habitus acquired during family education is the basis for the receipt of the classroom message, which in turn is the basis for the response to all subsequent cultural and intellectual messages. The early year of life remain, however, the most important. Bourdieu argues that the dominant habitus is transformed into a form of cultural capital that the schools take for granted and which acts as a filter in



the reproductive process of hierarchical society (Harker, 1984). This is the basic reason why Bourdieu's theoretical analysis has been focused in this research.

**c. Why Bourdieu's Theory of Education is focused in this research in Bangladesh Context?**

Knowledge and possession of "highbrow" culture is argued by Bourdieu to be unequally distributed according to social class and education, to be institutionalised as legitimate, and to confer distinction and privilege to those who possess and deploy it. Along with economic, social and human capitals, such cultural capital actively reproduces social inequalities.

The value of such "highbrow" culture is also recognised and rewarded in schools unevenly (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). Children exposed to elite culture at home are advantaged in schools. Teachers recognise and reward this advantage thus excluding other children who lack similar cultural capital. This pedagogic action subjects working class or minority pupils to a form of "symbolic violence" forcing them into a competitive mechanism that rewards only dominant cultural capital. However, this pedagogic action is recognised as meritocratic and legitimate. The dominant culture thus appears as the opposite of what it really is, namely, arbitrary, via a process of „misrecognition“ (Bourdieu, 1977; 1974, p 32). Utilising and promoting such arbitrary criteria of assessment, it is argued that teachers introduce bias in their grading of student educational performance by actually rewarding elite culture-related competences rather than scholastic performance. Thus, schools reproduce particular forms of intergenerational social mobility and stratified outcomes.

Symbolic violence misrecognized and social structure reproduced in the process of cultural reproduction, where the habitus remains as the 'black box'. It is only through changing the students' habitus that the Cultural capital required to make an effective workforce.

Bourdieu's work on Language is highly focused on the relations between language, power and politics. He strongly criticized the traditional approaches to language, including the linguistic theories of Saussure and Chomsky and the theory of speech-acts elaborated by Austin and others. According to Bourdieu

Language should be viewed not only as a means of communication but also as a medium of power through which individuals pursue their interests and display their practical competence (Bourdieu, 1992). These linguistic expressions are understood by the product of relation between linguistic market and linguistic habitus. Bourdieu's account on linguistic habitus represents a major contribution to the study of language and power. His distinct concept of Symbolic Power is that invisible power which can be exercised only by those who do not want to know that they are subject to it or they even themselves exercise it. Language is one of the elements of 'Symbolic Systems' for structuring the structures, structured structures and instruments of domination.

Language for Bourdieu is essentially representative of social structural differentiation. It always relates to something. The relation is characterized by meanings that are valued according to differential values—the sense of words. What is in a word? For Bourdieu, a word is a socio-cultural time capsule packed with socially derived meaning—the use of the word.

Then in the long term through all these circumstances multidimensional education systems what is the tendency of social trajectory (remain divided or move towards the common social system) in most of the societies would be an interesting area to look into. The convergence concept in education may be helpful in this regard.

Bourdieu's theory of practice attempts to go beyond this dichotomy. His intent was to find a theory which is robust enough to be objective and generalizable, and yet account for individual subjective thought and action.

At the base of Bourdieu's work, therefore, is both a philosophical perspective and practical methodology which have attempted to establish an alternative to the extremes of post-modernist subjectivity and positivist objectivity. Both traditions have deeply marked research and writing on education. Bourdieu's ideas offer an epistemological and methodological third way which has implications for the way we approach enquiring into educational phenomena; for example, how we carry out research, analyze data and present results.

The practical case examples used in education research are very different from Bourdieu's. Nevertheless, it is believed that many of the issues he explores in an explicit fashion, and the connected issues he raises, have direct and generally applicable implications for numerous aspects of education research. For instance, language, relations between school and the family, young people's career choices and elements within the academic discourse in higher education.

The list of topics and themes Bourdieu has covered takes in most of the major field of study. However it is education that his ideas have had the greatest impact. Much of his early work dealt with educational issues, topics and themes appeared in two major books; *Les Heritiers* (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1964) and *La Reproduction, Elements Pour Une Theorie du sysyemedenseignement*(Bourdieu and Passeron, 1970). The latter was published in English in 1977 and quickly became a classic text in the sociology of education canon. Bourdieu also contributed two chapters to the seminal book, *knowledge and control* (1971) that represented a new sociological direction in the study of the process of classroom knowledge construction.

Since these early works, Bourdieu had offered a number of articles on topics related to aspects of education and pedagogy. Bourdieu is a social theorist, whose work has addressed a wide range of contemporary topics and themes, including art, the media, language, sport, politics and other socio-cultural issues. His ideas have long been used by sociologists of education to develop their explanations of class, status and power in pedagogic contexts. Much of his work has been developed in a French academic field which has included the principal instigators of post-modern namely, Foucault, Derrida, Lacan, Leotard but Bourdieu has worked to differentiate himself from this trend.

Bourdieu's theory is one of practice and for practice. It is not theory developed, but one which is founded on a very specific epistemological stance. Practice and theorizing are not regarded as separate activities, displaced in time and place during the research process, but mutually generative of the ways and means of collecting data, analyzing it and developing explanations which lead to an

understanding of the object being investigated. Bourdieu's approach is not static like common forms of ethnography or ethnographical theorizing that lacks dynamism.

**d. Bourdieu's Theory of Education: Theory of Symbolic Violence**

Bourdieu's sociology of education is likely to be the aspect of most readers of his work are familiar with, which is best understood as an theory of practice to construct a general "theory of symbolic violence", on the one hand, and an equally general theory of the social reproduction of advanced industrial societies, on the other hand. In constructing a "theory of symbolic violence", Bourdieu and Passeron attempt to specify in theoretical terms the whereby, in all societies, order and social restraint are produced by indirect, cultural mechanisms rather than by direct, coercive social control. In doing so, they draw heavily upon Weber, in particular upon his discussions of authority and legitimate domination.

The Theory of Symbolic Violence is systematically laid out in the first half of *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, first published in French in 1970. The theory was developed in the course of empirical research on the French education system, but it obviously draws upon Bourdieu's Algerian work and is intended to 'apply to any social formation, understood as a system of power relations and sense relations between groups or classes. Symbolic violence, according to Bourdieu, is the imposition of systems of symbolism and meaning i.e. culture upon groups or classes in such a way that they are experienced as legitimate. The legitimacy obscures the power relations which permit that imposition to be successful. Insofar as it is accepted as legitimate, culture adds its own force to those power relations, contributing to their systematic reproduction. This means the reproduction of this power relation is a process of misrecognition; not exactly what the relations are the processes how they are perceived in a form in the eyes of beholders to be legitimate.

Culture is arbitrary in two senses, in its imposition and in its content. What the notion of arbitrariness denotes here is that, other than as the result of an empirically traceable history, culture cannot be deduced or derived from any

notions of appropriateness or relative value. Bourdieu meant cultural arbitrary is the sanction of arbitrary of 'pure de facto' that lies behind all culture.

The mainstay of the exercise of symbolic violence is 'pedagogic action', the imposition of a cultural arbitrary, of which there are three modes: *diffuse education*, which occurs in the course of interaction with competent members of the social formation in question (informal peer group may be the example for it), *family education*, which speaks for itself, and institutionalized education (examples of which might be age-set initiation rituals, on the one hand, or school, on the other). The symbolic strength of any pedagogic agency – its capacity successfully to inculcate meaning- is a function of its 'weight' in the structure of power relations.

Pedagogic Action, in reproducing culture in all its arbitrariness, also reproduces the power relations which underwrite its own operation. This is 'the social reproduction function of cultural reproduction'. Pedagogic actions reflect the interests of dominant groups or classes, tending to reproduce the uneven distribution of cultural capital among the groups or classes which inhabit the social space in question, hence reproducing social structure. Pedagogic action involves the exclusion of ideas as unthinkable, as well as their positive inculcation. Exclusion or censorship may in fact be the most effective mode of pedagogic action.

'Pedagogic Authority' is a necessary component or condition of successful pedagogic action. It is an arbitrary power to act, misrecognized by its practitioners and recipients as legitimate. This legitimacy makes, it possible for pedagogic action to work. It is experienced as neutral, or even positively valued, but no pedagogic action is 'culturally free'. Pedagogic authority is so fundamental that it is often implicitly or explicitly identified with the natural or primordial relationships between parent and child. Although technical competence may be an aspect of the explicit claim to educational legitimacy, it is actually a matter of institutional authority. Every agency exerting pedagogic action is authoritative

only in as much as it is a 'manmade representative' of the group whose cultural arbitrary it imposes.

This authority is not uniform within or between all groups and classes. Bourdieu explains every group or class has a different pedagogic ethos that functions of facts to the differing success of pedagogic action. He meant pedagogy (education) which is a consequence of family education and recognition of the likely market or material value of education to members of the class or group. Pedagogic authority becomes more legitimate when the sanctions which it has at its disposal are confirmed, for any given collectivity, by the market in which the value of the products of the pedagogic action concerned is determined.

**e. 'Pedagogic action' is achieved by 'pedagogic work': Habitus, a process of internalization and bodily disposition**

*A process of inculcation which must last long enough to produce a durable training, i.e. a habitus, the product of internalization of the principles of a cultural arbitrary capable of perpetuating itself after PA (pedagogic action) has ceased and thereby of perpetuating in practices the principles of the internalized arbitrary.*

Pedagogic actions requires time and consistency for internalization, during the process of inculcation; so pedagogic actions and pedagogic agencies are of stable than other kind of symbolic violence.

Bourdieu argues that the experience- as a pupil – of pedagogic work is the objective condition which generates the misrecognition of culture as arbitrary and bestows upon it the taken for granted quality of naturalness. Pedagogic work legitimates its product by producing legitimate consumers of that product. Pedagogic work has the function of keeping order, through linked processes of self- limitation and self-censorship, children stop asking 'why'? Exclusion works so powerfully as self-exclusion.

The learning, this process of inculcation is, what is more, cumulative; the habitus acquired during family education is the basis for the receipt of the classroom

message, which in turn is the basis for the response to all subsequent cultural and intellectual messages. The early year of life remain, however, the most important.

**f. Class Structure Reproduced through Schooling: Distinction is a symbolic power of the dominant culture**

Bourdieu describes *Distinction* as “an endeavor to rethink Max Weber’s opposition between Class and Status” (1984, p. xii). As we have seen, this endeavor had occupied him since the 1960s, in particular because it raised the question of the relation between the economic and the symbolic. In Bourdieu’s view, differences of status (that is, of lifestyle) may be seen as manifestations of social class differences. To evaluate this proposition, he devises an explanatory argument which postulates, first, a causal connection between class location and “habitus”; and, secondly, a relation of “expression” between habitus and a variety of practices situated in different domains of consumption—practices which cohere symbolically to form a whole “style of life”. Thirdly, however, Bourdieu further asserts that these practices serve to constitute social collectivities—that is, “status groups”—by establishing symbolic boundaries between individuals occupying different locations in the class structure. The process through which this occurs is a contentious one, taking the form of what he calls a “classificatory struggle.” And, finally, Bourdieu demonstrates that this struggle amounts to only one of the many modalities through which “symbolic power” is exercised.

Dominant or elite groups are distanced from the practical material demands of need which ‘thrust a pragmatic disposition on the dominated class. Bourdieu acknowledges Bernstein’s work – with the seminal work of Basil Bernstein on linguistic codes and the classification and framing of knowledge. The distinctive pedagogic works of different groups or classes do not merely differ with respect to explicitness, but also in as much as they inculcate different disposition to acquire the ‘particular type of symbolic mastery that is privileged by the dominant cultural arbitrary.’

In a social formation – such as most advanced industrial societies where the dominant culture favors ‘symbolic mastery’ over practical mastery, the dominant pedagogic work, particularly in secondary education, will lean heavily on the implicit inculcation of that symbolic mastery.

‘Distinction’ regarding food choices:

The members of the professionals are mainly distinguished by the high proportion of their spending which goes on expensive products, particularly meat and especially the most expensive meat (veal, lamb, and mutton), fresh fruit and vegetables, fish and shellfish, cheese and aperitifs (Bourdieu, 1984:184). Whereas lower professionals spend more on dairy products, bread and non-alcoholic drinks.

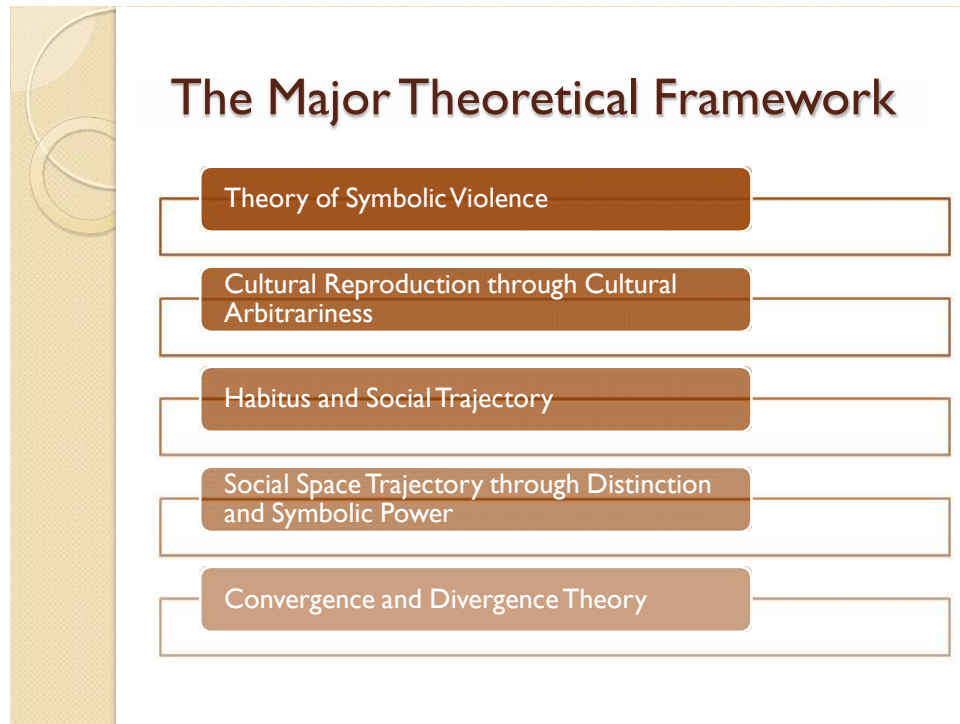
This indicates the ‘bourgeois ethic’ of enjoyment of good things in moderation. However one could say this display of classes’ taste and consumption can only relate to the western world and have greater difficulty doing so to the Third world.

Bourdieu’s analysis of food and its connection to social class extends itself to the analysis of the body like fellow sociologist Foucault, although they do hold some contrasting views. Foucault believes power to reproduce docile bodies, self-regulating citizens to act according to society where as Bourdieu sees the body as a signifier of class due to the fact that each class has a conception of its body whether it is working class, female or male. (‘Social distances are written into bodies, or more exactly, into the relationship to the body, to language and to time (Bourdieu, 1990:128)). By this Bourdieu means that a body shape or appearance often relates to the social class the body is from, their way of life and life choices and at current time. For example, working class males rely on strength as they are often laborers. They must maintain their body to ensure that they are not marginalized in the workforce whereas this is less important for the middle class males. This relationship between body, language and time is important. Susan Bordo noted that in the late 19th century ‘being plump was a sign of success; muscles were a sign that you were working class due to manual labor and being pale was a sign of not having to work in a field.’(Bordo, 1992) This is how the middle class perpetuate themselves. It is not just economic



capital that deems them superior to the working classes but cultural and social capital. This is where the work of Beverly Skeggs comes into play: 'Class is signified through elegance and sophistication which demonstrate a dissimulation from the working class but a simulation of the middle class' (Skeggs, 1997:84)

Skeggs built upon the work of Bourdieu, specifically looking at women and their role. Skeggs wrote that 'it was not a negative to be a working class male as they could use it as a source of identity on the other hand it was highly exclusive for working class women.' (Skeggs, 1997:74) It is especially difficult for women as the body and home was where class was lived out; both of these sites are particularly important to women. 'It is these areas where taste operates to commit symbolic violence'. (Skeggs, 1997:90) Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence; it 'is the imposition of systems of symbolism and meaning (i.e. culture) upon groups or classes in such a way that they are experienced as legitimate' (Jenkins, 1992:104). Simply people do not think about their circumstances they just accept their 'social trajectory' as legitimate and make best with what they have. Skeggs research contradicts this 'acceptance of legitimacy'. Her work shows that women are fully aware of their status and are constantly trying to overcome it by improving their appearance, mind and relationship, therefore posing question to Bourdieu's work. If one did not hold this urge to improve oneself this is in fact what distinguished them apart from the middle class and created distances between the two. 'The working – class body which is signalled through fat is one that has given up hope of ever 'improving' of becoming middle-class' (Skeggs, 1997:83). Vehicles for this improvement were the marriage market and education which were both means of converting capital into economic and cultural growth.

**Figure: 1 The Major Theoretical Framework**

Finally, Bourdieu moves on to a series of propositions which are especially about those systems of symbolic violence (educational systems) which depends on the institutionalized schools. One of the most important characteristics of institutionalized educational systems is their role in reproducing the conditions of their own existence. They have to reproduce themselves as distinct fields, differentiated from other fields. In the creation of an apparently autonomous educational system there is a reciprocal relationship of mutual reinforcement between structural processes of institutionalization and the professional interests of those who monopolize pedagogic work (teachers). The latter becomes formalized into a homogenous and orthodox 'work of schooling'. This routinized work produces a standardized and ritualized school culture within which these agents of the education system reinforce their own value by ensuring the reproduction of the educational market which bestows that value upon them.

The pedagogic authority of the school is the source of the illusion that the symbolic violence exercised by the educational system is unrelated to the overall structure of power relations, in as much as it fosters a view of schooling as a legitimate or neutral process. One of the ways in which it does this is by

facilitating the limited social mobility of a limited number of the dominated group or class. This illusion is further fostered in state education systems by the fact that education is not paid for directly: it appears to have the open access of being free. The work which teachers do to therefore appears as disinterested and motivated solely by ideals of education and learning. Thus is symbolic violence misrecognized and social structure reproduced in the process of cultural reproduction, where the habitus remains as the 'black box'.

There is a clear relationship between cultural capital and habitus within education. It is only through changing the students' habitus that the Cultural capital required to make an effective workforce on the European level can be created. The habit created within the institution of the school has a great impact on the cultural capital that can be accumulated throughout a lifetime. Bourdieu argues that the dominant habitus is transformed into a form of cultural capital that the schools take for granted and which acts as a filter in the reproductive process of hierarchical society. (Harker, 1984)

The theory of habitus is premised on the theory of a 'gift' ( or cultural capital). This 'gift' is the feel for the game socially constituted by early immersion in the game. (Bourdieu 1990) This gift may be considered as the form of cultural capital that is being passed down by the dominant cultural group. This is done not only to perpetuate the European project by imbuing it with a sense of legitimacy through participation, but also because changing the habitus created in the school system is essential to creating a workforce capable of competing in the global economy.(De Beus, 2001)

Bourdieu defines a field: as a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions objectively defined in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation...in the structure of the distribution of power (capital) who possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (Bourdieu &Wacquant, 1992:39).

Consequently his concept of field is there to provide a framework for analysis of the agents and their positions within a given field. The position of the agent is a result of the interaction between the individual's habitus and his or her place within the position of the field and how much capital that person has accumulated (Calhoun, 1992:5). This accumulation of economic and cultural capital decides whether people are subordinate or dominant in the fields. Bourdieu acknowledges that 'Positions in fields can to some extent be shaped by the habitus that actors bring with them' (Bourdieu and Boltanski 1975, cited in Swartz 123). This therefore exposes the belief that Bourdieu does not just believe structures cause social inequality but the agents do too. There are many varieties of fields that exist; all consist of their own internal logic and regulatory principles that govern the agenda of the field. Power of course is the most important field; power being the root of all struggles carried out over symbolic and material resources. This struggle for symbolic resources is central to Bourdieu's theory. Bourdieu highlights unlike other sociologists that geographic location can play in part in the field of power as one could be nearer to cultural capital than others. 'Bourdieu compares the structure of a field to that of a poker game where the pile of chips reflects the unequal distribution of capital that both summarizes the results of previous struggles and orient strategies for the future' (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:98-99, cited in Swartz, 1997:123)

One can see that a field is a 'site of struggle' whereby agents have to compete to gain monopoly amongst these fields; 'struggles over the power to define each field' (Calhoun, 1992:6). This is different to other sociologists similar concepts: Goffman's total institutions, Althusser's 'ideological state apparatus' and Foucault's 'order of discipline' are seen as functional rather than sites of struggles. The fundamental difference between Bourdieu's concept of field and Althusser's concept of 'ideological state apparatus' is that Bourdieu allows for resistance against the dominant power. (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:102) Bourdieu recognizes under certain historical situations that a field could begin as an apparatus only if the dominant are able to eliminate successfully any resistance that the subordinate give. As a result of this formation of resistance, Bourdieu thinks that his work is dissimilar to Foucault's theory of domination

because 'his frameworks allows for resistance whereas that Foucault does not' (Bourdieu and Waquant, 1992, cited in Swartz, 1997:124). This is naturally a positive as he acknowledges that not everyone automatically accepts everything as it is. There is some resistance to the dominant classes.

However it could be argued that there is no indication of this room for resistance in his frameworks as he sees that there is no chance of a 'deficit habitus' and the habitus logic governs the classificatory system. 'This common classificatory logic is always adjusted to the division of the established order (and thereby the interest of those who dominate it)' (Garnham, cited in Calhoun et al, 1993:183). Therefore this logic eradicates any chance of resistance. The fact that Bourdieu see culture as arbitrary also affirms this lack of room for resistance. This links to Bourdieu's third concept; Capital. Capital ultimately means power; the capacity to exert control over one's future. It is this 'differential distribution of capital' that structures society yet individuals do strive to optimize their level of capital. The accumulation of their capital is what determines their 'social trajectory' and their opportunities in life. Bourdieu's notion of capital is not as deterministic as Marx; economic capital is not the only form of capital and power. There is social, cultural, economic and symbolic capital; all of which interact between one another. Bourdieu sees economic as the most efficient form of capital which roots class at the centre of analysis just like Marx. However Bourdieu does not concentrate on the means of production as being central to class divides, rather social reproduction. Cultural capital is the root of social reproduction.

### **2.3 Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction**

Bourdieu, in the 1960s, successfully sought to make break with an over-specialized, ploddingly empirical and bureaucratized sociology of education, integrating the study of education into a wider field concerned with power, inequality and social order. The first major work in which he did so was *The Inheritors*. This is essentially a study of the production and reproduction of cultural privilege. For example choice of discipline to study and attitude towards education are reproduced by family background. Those factors which make pupils/ students 'at home' in an educational institution, which are the product of

family education, create or reproduce class inequalities in achievement. The subtlety of the reproduction of privilege is one of the main themes. Bourdieu argues that the system consecrates privilege by ignoring it, by treating everybody as if they were equal, when they come from different cultural endowment. Privilege becomes translated into 'merit'. For some, higher education is an effort and a constant struggle; for others, members of the dominant classes, it is their legitimate heritage. The legitimate authority of the school system can multiply social inequalities because the most disadvantaged classes, too conscious of their destiny and too unconscious of the ways in which it is brought about, thereby help to bring it upon them.

**Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture**, the work drew upon Bourdieu's later research and was published first in 1970, which remains the best known of all Bourdieu's work. **Reproduction and the later article Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction** expand and developed the arguments on social inequalities reproduced by cultural arbitrariness through school system.

The dominant culture – cultural arbitrary – is misrecognized as legitimate by subordinate classes. However, despite this legitimacy, members of these classes stand in a different relationship to it than do the dominant groups by virtue of the differences in class habitus of each. The habitus of each group is generated by their contrasting positions within the 'objective structures' of society, and the different subjective expectations of the objective probabilities attaching to their respective class locations.

The pedagogic process is legitimated through mutually dependent ideologies of equality of opportunity and meritocratic achievement. Bourdieu's central theme in his analysis of education is defined in term of arbitrary cultural capital since it is being inculcated with dominant cultural arbitrary, excellence and scholastic achievement. It therefore follows the pupils whose familial socialization bestows upon them the appropriate level of cultural capital – both more of it and of the 'right' kind – will necessarily achieve more academically than those whose relationship to the cultural arbitrary is more distant. At every rung on the educational ladder the subordinate class will tend to eliminate themselves. The

process of cultural reproduction reproduces the class relations of the social structure.

## **2.4 Class Structure**

To start with, it must be recognized that for Bourdieu, the notion of a class structure encompasses the entirety of the occupational division of labor. This implies that he grants the notion a considerably wider purview than do Marxian theories, which restrict its scope to a system of positions defined in terms of ownership of and/or control over the means of production. Consequently, Bourdieu is not confronted by the problem upon which so many Marxian theories have foundered—namely, that of determining how to cope with all those positions in the division of labor which cannot be characterized in terms of the canonical division between “owners” and “workers” (or which cannot be characterized “adequately” or “satisfactorily” in these terms). Thus, his model effectively encompasses not only the “middle class” occupations that have been the source of so much grief in the Marxist tradition, but also those which have hovered at the fringes of most class analytical schemes, including positions in public administration and the state “apparatus,” the so-called “professions,” and—not least of all—intellectuals, artists, and other “cultural producers.”

In Bourdieu’s understanding, the occupational division of labor forms a system. This implies that locations in the division of labor are differentiated from—and thus related to—one another in terms of theoretically meaningful factors. For Bourdieu, these factors derive from the distributions of “capital.” Bourdieu regards as capital “the set of actually usable resources and powers” (1984, p. 114). He insists, moreover, that there exist multiple species of capital which cannot be subsumed under a single generic concept. In the present context, the most important of these are economic and cultural capital (see Bourdieu 1986; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, pp. 117-120). Whereas Bourdieu tended to treat the meaning of the former concept as more or less self-evident throughout the course his career, the latter was the object of extensive elaboration (and has

given rise to extensive debate). Put simply, the notion of cultural capital merely refers to a culturally-specific “competence,” albeit one which is efficacious—as a “resource” or a “power”—in a particular social setting. In highly differentiated societies, two social agencies are primarily responsible for “inculcating” cultural capital: the family and the school. Its most fundamental feature lies in the fact that, because it is embodied, its acquisition requires an investment of time (Bourdieu 1986, p. 244-6).

Bourdieu thus develops his model of the class structure by means of an analysis of survey data which includes a wide variety of indicators of the economic and cultural capital possessed by individuals located in positions throughout the occupational system. The model may be understood as a factorial space constituted by three orthogonal axes.

Bourdieu is well-known for also having identified a third form of capital: “social capital” (see Bourdieu 1986). This form of capital is of secondary importance in the analysis of capitalist societies for Bourdieu; it took on a more central role, however, in his occasional discussions of state socialist societies (see Bourdieu 1998 b, pp. 14-18).

Cultural capital may also occur in an “objectified” form—that is, in the form of material objects whose production or consumption presupposes a quantum of embodied cultural capital. And, it may occur in an “institutionalized” form, meaning as an embodied competence which has been certified by an official agency possessing the authority to legally “warrant” its existence—that is, in the form of educational credentials (Bourdieu 1986). One of the foremost characteristics of cultural capital, for Bourdieu, is heritability; as such, it can make a substantial contribution to the inter-generational reproduction of the distribution of individuals across class locations, since “the social conditions of its transmission and acquisition are more disguised than those of economic capital” (Bourdieu 1986, p. 245).



## 2.5 Bourdieu's Multiple Correspondence Analysis of Class Fractions

Bourdieu's preferred statistical technique is Multiple Correspondence Analysis(MCA), a technique similar to factor analysis, but used with categorical analysis.

The first (and most important) axis differentiates locations in the occupational system according to the total volume of capital (economic and cultural) possessed by incumbents. For Bourdieu, class location is a function of position on this axis. Thus, his data indicate that members of occupational categories such as **industrialists, private sector executives, and college professors** occupy overlapping positions at the upper end of the axis, and hence share the same class location; Bourdieu thus refers to these categories collectively as the "**dominant class**" (or sometimes the "bourgeoisie"). Similarly, **manual workers and farm laborers** occupy overlapping positions at the other end of the axis, indicating that they share a class location opposed to the occupations making up the dominant class; these categories are collectively designated the "**working class**" (or "les classes populaires"). In between, we find overlapping occupational categories such as small business owners, technicians, secretaries, and primary school teachers, which are collectively termed the "petty bourgeoisie" (see Bourdieu 1984, pp. 128-129).

The second axis in the factorial space differentiates positions within class locations. Bourdieu refers to opposed positions along this axis with the Marxian vocabulary of "**class fractions.**" This terminology, however, should not be interpreted according to Marxian theories, as the meaning he attributes to it falls well outside the scope of Marxism. For Bourdieu, classes are divided internally according to the composition of the capital possessed by incumbents—that is, the relative preponderance of economic or cultural capitals within "the set of actually usable resources and powers." Thus, occupational categories within the dominant class are differentiated from one another such that professors and "artistic producers"—the occupations whose incumbents hold the variables. One characteristic of MCA which is of particular interest to him is the fact that **individual cases retain their categorical "identities" within the factorial space.** This makes it possible to plot the dispersion of the members of each

occupational category within the space (see the summary results of such an analysis provided in Bourdieu 1984, pp. 128-9, and for “full” models, pp. 262,340). For an interesting discussion of Bourdieu’s use of MCA, see Rouanet, Ackermann, and Le Roux (2000).

The greatest cultural capital and the least economic capital—are opposed to industrialists and commercial employers—the occupations whose incumbents hold a preponderance of economic capital but relatively little cultural capital. Located in between these two polar extremes are the professions, whose incumbents exhibit a relatively symmetrical asset structure. In a similar manner, the petty bourgeoisie is differentiated along the second axis between the small business owners, endowed primarily with economic capital, and primary school teachers, endowed primarily with cultural capital. Intermediate between them are categories such as technicians, office workers, and secretaries. The occupational division of labor is differentiated along a third axis, one which amounts to a quasi-structural treatment of time.

Generated primarily from indicators of the economic and cultural capital of the family of origin, this axis differentiates positions according to the trajectories followed by their incumbents—or in other words, according to the change or stability they have experienced over time in the volume and composition of their capital. Here Bourdieu’s data reveal, for example, that members of the professions are more likely than any other members of the bourgeoisie to have been born into this class. His approach, it can be noted, opens up an intriguing area for the study of mobility: in addition to vertical movements (along the first axis), mobility may also entail “horizontal” or “transverse” movements (along the second axis)—that is, an individual’s class location and his or her fraction location are simultaneously variable over time. Bourdieu refers to the latter type of movement, in which a preponderance of one type of asset gives way to a preponderance of the other, as a “conversion” of capitals.

Mobility along the “horizontal” axis of the structure is governed by what Bourdieu calls the prevailing “conversion rate” between the different capitals (for example, the prevailing costs or returns associated with education).

The model that Bourdieu constructs of occupational division of labor in this manner is intended to be understood as a structure of objective positions—that is, as locations which are “occupied” by individuals, but which exist as a “quasi reality” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, p. 27) independently of them. As such, Bourdieu terms it the social space of the social formation under analysis. It is meant to represent a single system of objective relations between the various possible combinations of the most important “**powers and resources**” in the social formation, and their evolution over time.

## **2.6 Social Space Trajectory**

As such, it stands at considerable distance from those developed by the more familiar traditions of class analysis. In particular, Bourdieu’s **social space** is separated from them by the fact that the three axes which constitute it—**volume, composition, and trajectory**—are viewed as continuous dimensions, from both a methodological and a theoretical vantage point (Bourdieu 1990a, p. 140). This implies that the model does not postulate any inherent lines of cleavage specifying the structural threshold where one class gives way to another, and hence, that within “this universe of continuity,” the identification of discrete class (and fraction) locations amounts to no more than a heuristic convenience ( Bourdieu 1984, pp.258-259, 339). Correlatively, although the fact that Bourdieu conceptualizes social space in gradational terms appears to echo those “stratification” models in which the occupational order is understood as a continuous scale of positions (differentiated, for example, in terms of their rewards they carry), it nevertheless stands far apart from them by virtue of its multidimensional configuration ( Bourdieu 1984, pp. 124-125; also 1991, pp. 244-245). As noted, this opens the way to an analysis of forms of mobility (“conversion” of capital) that such models ignore; and, as will be demonstrated, it also opens the way to an analysis of forms of conflict that such models are incapable of acknowledging. As they themselves suggest, Bourdieu’s conception of social space does resemble the “disaggregated” orientation to class analysis

developed by Grusky and Sørensen (1998), at least insofar as both center on the occupational system.

**Cultural capital** is one of the Bourdieu's main interests. He affirms that it is not as easily obtainable as economic capital; it is something that one acquires through life as a result of social circumstances:

The selection of meanings which objectively define a group's or a classes culture as symbolic system is arbitrary insofar as the structure and functions of that culture cannot be deduced from any universal principle, whether physical, biological or spiritual, not being linked by any internal relations to the 'nature of things' or any 'human nature' (Bourdieu, 1977:8)

However this cultural capital is 'assigned' for Bourdieu's term 'arbitrary culture' means that culture is simply assigned at random; no basis for why one class should like a certain music or art more than another or why one is more admirable than another. Nevertheless cultural capital is ultimately how one speaks, one's taste in life, one's attitude towards art and music and one's bodily dispositions. Alternatively how one acts in any given situation even if there is no reason why any of these should reflect one's class.

**Bourdieu determined that there were 3 types of taste** from statistical surveys; legitimate taste, middlebrow taste and popular taste. All make a clear differentiated hierarchy in class. Bourdieu eloquently illustrates this in a passage from

Education was an important institution to Bourdieu. He saw it overcome by symbolic violence as its mediating structures determined the allocation of status and power, instigating social inequality further rather than eradicating it. Rather than eliminating social inequality which education advocated, it was cementing it more into society. His main qualms about the system were the selection process, class reproduction, academic content, language and academic qualifications equating to social classifications. (Jenkins, 1992:190) Bourdieu argues that higher education systems preserve uneven social system by favoring certain cultural heritages and disregarding others. In effect, class continues to be reproduced.

Another aspect is that higher education is self-selective therefore his argument being that due to lower classes internalized dispositions they are more likely to drop out, having limited belief in their likelihood to succeed as a consequence of previous members of that class. Cultural capital once again being the central part, Bourdieu found that it affected educational attainment as students often performed higher if they obtained more cultural capital. He saw that cultural capital could be transformed into occupations with high status and incomes at the end of the tunnel of education. Bourdieu also found that curriculum content and style were all tailored towards the language of people who held high cultural capital. Bourdieu's analysis of French higher education could be argued as not entirely relevant to British education system, due to public/private schools, and the vast amount of topics available, acceptance of lower credentials at universities and the clearing system. Or it could be argued that it is more applicable due to the public/private schools in Britain, as it creates the system to be more stratified thus reproducing 'distinction' further. The decision by the government to increase tuition fees supports this further as it could be seen as strategy to re-establish cultural elitism dominating higher education over the non-cultural elite.

### **2.7 Cultural Variety and Reflexivity influences mismatch between Habitus and Field**

Bourdeusian theorist Will Atkinson invokes the metaphor of a flashlight to illustrate the disjuncture between the objective and subjective fields of possibility which confront a subject. His phenomenological reconstruction of habitus seeks to explain "the limits of the conceivable range of possibilities" in terms of the power of habitus for "illuminating in consciousness, like the beam from a torch, only a circumscribed arc of social space and leaving the rest in the unknown, unthinkable darkness" (Atkinson 2010: 104). My contention is that this metaphor can be usefully be reclaimed from the use made of it here and that what Atkinson (2010: 52) describes as "the full weight of accumulated categorization" can usefully be reconceptualised in terms of the generative mechanism through which cultural variety influences reflexive deliberation. If we

understand culture, following Archer (1985, 2011: loc 3696), as the “repertoire of ideas for construing the situations in which [subjects] find themselves”, we are left with the question of how their ensuing influence accumulates biographically. Atkinson’s (2010) metaphor of the flash light nicely captures this as a synchronic relation, in which the subject’s perception of the possibilities available to them are filtered through a prism of ‘accumulated categorization’[2], but it lacks an account of the diachronic i.e. past ideas which subjects have incorporated into their mental representations of the natural, practical and social orders[3] exercise a conditioning influence upon present action, one result of which will be the reproduction or transformation of the stock of mental representations influencing future deliberations.

The question remains however as to how this ‘categorization’ accumulates. As Atkinson (2010: 52) admits, the “precise contents of the habitus and how it generates conscious thought and intention ... is never really elaborated in a systematic way, leaving it open to the charge of being an explanatory black box”. Archer’s (2003, 2007) account of communicative reflexivity cracks open this black box by elaborating upon how the stock of mental representations is reliably reproduced through the dynamics of external conversation: trusting similar others, circumscription of internal dialogue and privileging the shared present (Archer 2007: 270-281). The decline of the contextual continuity necessary for communicative reflexivity[4] progressively erodes the shared mental representations which are necessary for internal conversation to be externalized, seeking confirmation and completion by trusted others, in a manner experienced as subjectively worthwhile (Archer 2007: 84-85). The decline of contextual continuity exercises an independent influence upon the likely stock of potential interlocutors, given the time taken for relationships of this sort to be established and the relative immobility likely necessary for them to be retained[5]. This accounts for the fragility of communicative reflexivity in contemporary circumstances. Even were someone is born into circumstances precipitous to it, the likelihood of those circumstance both remaining stable and a subject remaining within them is increasingly low. As Archer (2012) and Carrigan (2014)

both illustrate, one important vector of change is the transition of students to university, leading to a transformation of the students themselves and implications for their web of familial relations and 'home' friends at the time of entry.

With the decline of communicative reflexivity comes the necessity of recognising the different modes through which cultural structures are mediated at the level of personal reflexivity. The failure to do this can be seen in debates about the 'split habitus' and 'intra-habitus' contradictions. For instance Mouzelis (2007) invokes the 'intra-active processes' that can ensue when a subject finds themselves under the influence of a habitus with 'two fundamental aspects'. Friedman (2015) discusses Bourdieu's ambivalent treatment of 'long-range social mobility' and its implications for reflexivity, something which he recognised in his own life when writing in an auto-ethnographic mode but relegated to the periphery of social analysis in the lives of others in his description of 'hysteresis effects': mismatches between habitus and field, a disjuncture between objective demands and subjective capacities, leading to negative sanctions from others within it. The notion of hysteresis has natural scientific origins, gifting the term with connotations of change and time lag (Grenfell 2014: 128). As Friedman (2015) notes, Bourdieu began to explore hysteresis effects at the level of personal life in his later work, leaving it an open question as to whether this investigative thread might ultimately have led to a revision of the concept of habitus. After all, Archer's (2007) account of the 'demise of routinisation' could be translated into Bourdieusian terminology as a thesis about the normalisation of hysteresis[6]. Rosa's (2013) notion of an intra-generational pace of change describes the same trend.

While Bourdieu implicitly maintains the stability of the field and relegates a mismatch to an 'effect' at the level of subject, Archer (2003, 2007) instead conceives of changing characteristics of the social context (continuity, discontinuity and incongruity) and their relation to the different modes through which the reflexive capacities of subjects can be exercised. In doing so, the relation between the objective and subjective is opened up in way much more

amenable to investigating their interplay than is the case when a homology is assumed and its absence is regarded as an outlier. Under conditions of contextual continuity, there tend to be a mutually reinforcing relationship between cultural variety and social circumstances. Our repertoire of ideas for construing our situations find confirmations in the characteristics of those situations and in the ideas of those with whom we discuss the choices faced in them. Dependence upon concepts does not entail determination by concepts and so there's notnecessity here but rather conditioning influences operative via a number of pathways (structural, ideational, relational, biographical). The result is that our access to cultural variety is heavily circumscribed, something which practitioners of communicative reflexivity are liable to accept and work to reinforce[7]. With the emergence of contextual discontinuity, this mutual reinforcement between the socio-cultural and the cultural system begins to loosen, as novel opportunities force subjects to look beyond interlocutors for guidance. Furthermore, the influence of established variety within a stable context diminished because of the growing tendency for subjects to move beyond and between milieu as they sought to take advantage of these opportunities. In some cases, new ideas encountered might support established ways of doing things within a milieu, but in others cases they might lead a subject to feel they have no choice but to move beyond it. Under these circumstances, cultural variety may still be circumscribed within a particular milieu but subjects are more likely to move between milieus and thus 'take' variety with them when they move. With the growth of contextual incongruity, cultural variety began to be encountered within a milieu, such that subjects are confronted with the necessity of evaluating mutually incompatible ideas. Archer (2012) investigates the implications of this for the development of reflexivity but what I wish to stress here is how this encourages some subjects to look towards the cultural system in order to find ideas which help reconcile the conflicts they face. Increasingly, the activity of subjects within a context contributes to an expansion of cultural variety, as opposed to being something brought about by moving between contexts.



## 2.8 Theories of Language, Culture and Education

### a. Language and Education

More specifically related to classroom knowledge and talk, Edwards and Mercer (1987) have listed three principal approaches: linguistic, social and anthropological, and psychological. By linguistic they mean the analysis of classroom discourse by such researchers as Sinclair and Coulter (1975), Stubbs (1976), Barnes (1976) and Barnes and Todd (1977). These writers demonstrated how classroom knowledge was structured and built through identifiable patterns. For example, the I-R-F exchange structure, where *initiation* of talk by the teacher leads to *response* from a pupil, to which the teacher provides a *feedback*. Quantitatively, researchers in this tradition established the famous 'law of two-thirds': that, in the average classroom, two-thirds of time is spent on talk; two-thirds of this is by the teacher; two-thirds of which is based on lecturing or questioning. However, little account of the individual pupil was taken in this research, nor the message of the linguistic medium: who constituted it and its impact in specific contexts.

The opposite might be said about the sociological and the anthropological approach to classroom talk and knowledge. Here, broad ethnographic studies (Willis, 1977;

Heath, 1983) have been used to account for the ways pupils' social class background contributes to their level of academic achievement. However, in these cases, a predominant message, that of class reproduction, appears to be more important than the medium. As Bernstein said 'it is as if the specialized discourse of education is a voice through which others speak class, gender, religion, race, region (1986, p. 206).'

Edwards and Mercer's work can be located in the 'new' psychology of education; essentially, a socio-cognitive approach to the construction of classroom knowledge through discourse, and heavily influenced by the work of the Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky (1962; 1978). From a Vygotskian perspective, thought and language are very close, and are immanent in social interactions. For Vygotsky, whatever appears within any one individual'

psychology, appears first at an 'interpsychological' level; that is on the social plane of human development. Knowledge and learning are discursive and social, and occur in what Vygotsky called the *Zone of Proximal Development*, or 'the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with capable peers' (1978, p. 86).

### **b. Language and Pedagogic Discourse**

Language, for Bourdieu cuts across and partially integrates these approaches. It is 'constructivist' in an almost Vygotskian way; but also 'structural' in that it rests on the belief that generating structures, and the principles on which they are based, are identifiable.

We have seen that language for Bourdieu is essentially representative of social structural differentiation. It always relates to something. The relation is characterized by meanings that are valued according to differential values—the sense of words. What is in a word? For Bourdieu, a word is a socio-cultural time capsule packed with socially derived meaning—the use of the word. It derives its meaning from relations with other words:

The all-purpose word in the dictionary, a product of the neutralization of the practical relations within which it functions, has no social existence: in practice, it is always immersed in situations, to such an extent that the core meaning which remains relatively invariant through the diversity of markets may pass unnoticed... The different meanings of a word are defined in relation between the invariant core and the specific logic of different markets, themselves objectively situated with respect to the market in which the most common meaning is defined. (1991a, p. 39) The game of 'Scrabble' could not be played without the use of 'all-purpose' words. In such games recourse to a dictionary often functions to legitimate word choice: a word exists or does not exist, is either correctly or incorrectly spelt. In practice however, words get their meaning from their relation to other words. Meanings are determined by particular fields, in relation to 'core' or orthodox meanings. These words are

'things to think with' and express ideas. For Bourdieu, the basis of much of this meaning is the differential structuring of society:

All agents of a particular social formation have in common a set of fundamental schemes of perception which receive an initial objectification in opposing adjectival pairs commonly employed to classify and qualify people and objects in the most different sites of practice...the network of opposition between high (or sublime, elevated, pure) and low (or vulgar, flat, modest), spiritual and material, fine (or refined, elegant) and gross (or fat, rough, brutal, coarse), light (or subtle, alive, deft) and heavy (or slow, thick, obtuse, laborious, gauche), free and forced, wide and narrow, or, in another dimension, between unique (or rare, different, distinguished, exclusive, exceptional, singular, incredible) and common (or ordinary, banal, current, trivial, anything), brilliant (or intelligent) and dull (or obscure, faded, mediocre), has as principle the elite of the dominating and the mass of the dominated. (1979, p. 546, Own translation) Words never exist on their own but in discourse, in relation to each other: the form and the content of a discourse depend on the relation between a habitus (which is itself the product of sanctions on a market with a given level of tension) and a market (*field*) defined by a level of tension which is more or less heightened, hence by the severity of the sanctions it inflicts on those who pay insufficient attention to 'correctness' and to 'the imposition of form' which formal usage presupposes. (1991a, p. 79) Words form part of fields and can represent them. By entering a field, a word takes on meaning from that field through its position within the *network of relations* immanent in the semantic field. Bourdieu argues that this attribution of meaning is a kind of imposition: It 'is both a transformation and a transubstantiation: the substance signified is the signifying form which is realized' (1991a, p. 143). Prescribed meaning becomes legitimate interpretation. The notion of 'symbolic violence' is pertinent to this discussion. If words come imbued with authority and prescribed meaning, they impose legitimate definitions in a way that does not tolerate non-orthodox versions; one form dominates, the other is suppressed. In this way, one social groupings' definition of meaning is established at the expense of another's, even though the latter may be perfectly valid.

Pedagogic language can be seen in these terms; as the product of a particular field/context. As such, it will be governed by what is valued in that field, what is legitimate, what is excluded. This is apparent, not only in the language of an interaction, but the whole site—the time and place such exchanges take place—and the way a particular field connects with other fields within education. There is an issue of what is the legitimate and who defines it? There is another issue of how this is represented in schools and classrooms through language. A third is the effect of individual habitus, for both teachers and pupils, in the field. A fourth is the extent to which such differences of language can be expressed in terms of social class and what other generating principles might be present in classroom discourse. I now want to explore these notions with specific reference to particular pedagogic contexts.

### **c. Language and Classroom Discourse**

Language, for Bourdieu, is primordial. He is mindful of the way in which social reality is constructed in and through language. He has noted, as have Austin and Searle, the illocutionary force of language; the way it seemingly can cause effects over and above the basic words 'in themselves'. The way ships are named is a good example of this, or the knighting of someone by the Queen. Both of these are acts of 'magic', where power is conferred on someone by the group to act in their name in allotting social prestige and status to others, places or objects. He refers to the case of the *skeptron* in Homer, which has to be held by the orator in order for him to have the right to speak. Again, the power is not in the object itself, but the acknowledged symbolic power ascribed to it by the group or field.

In the academic field, language is used to confer scholastic credit on individuals; this is as true in formal qualifications as in micro contexts of classroom assessments. The teacher has authority, or at least authority is given to the teacher, to act in certain ways and according to certain principles. But schools are each very different and give rise to very different cultures. The following three examples show how aspects of the pedagogic discourse look in practice.

The first example is taken from a bilingual primary school classroom (Bourne, 1992).

The teacher in this study is 'progressive' and seems to be adopting an approach which is in keeping with the 'common knowledge' of Edwards and Mercer (1987); that is that knowledge is constructed between pupils and between pupils and teachers. Yet, Bourne finds that the teachers' classification of pupils conforms to a series of binary adjectival pairs that include and exclude certain pupils in terms of care, attention, intelligence, behavior, etc. On the basis of these, the teacher constructs an 'ideal pedagogic subject' to which she operates and wants pupils to conform: the pedagogic discourse of the teacher is tuned to the construction of a common knowledge, and strategically avoids interactions which disrupt the smooth construction and presentation of the class as sharing and participating successfully within that common knowledge. The use of question, answer and response forms in a class where a number of pupils are in the early stages of learning English would endanger and possibly disrupt that smooth flow, and make language opaque and problematic, rather than being the transparent medium through which conceptual development can be monitored. (Bourne, 1992, pp. 316–17)

In other words, what is legitimate for the teacher constructs a certain type of classroom discourse which locates individual pupils' needs and expectations in relation to it, which in turn has effects on how they act with respect to each other. Bourne goes on to discuss the consequences that the avoidance of a certain type of pupil-teacher exchange has for pupils. The pupils elicit responses differentially from the teacher according to the way they engage with her/his. She/he concludes that this engagement itself is determined by a series of cultural expectations inherent in particular pupils. If we reinterpret Bourne's discussion in Bourdieu's terms, it would be necessary to detail the content of teacher/pupil discourse in terms of habitus specific expectation; in this case, pedagogic (teacher) and socio-cultural (pupil) as expressed through language and the range of activities mediated by it. Moreover, these discursive products and processes would have to be seen in terms of the organizational principles of the specific field site. It would then be possible to demonstrate, as Bourne does, how certain pupils are excluded from the discourse, or exclude themselves—not explicitly and with intent—but by the way they behave, respond to the teacher's demands, and

connect with fellow pupils. For example, one pupil persists in initiating topics with the teacher, and, as this runs counter to the teacher's 'legitimate ideal', challenges her/him. The response the pupil receives quite literally puts her/him in her/his place' as a pupil. Her/his questions are often met with direct commands for her/him to go and fetch something, with no acknowledgment of her/his message. Other times, her/his initiations are ignored.

**d. Globalization and Education:**

The economist Theodore Levitt is credited with coining the term globalization in 1985 to describe changes in global economies affecting production, consumption and investment (Stromquist, 2002). The term was quickly applied to political and cultural changes that effect in common ways large segments of the world's peoples. One of the common global phenomena is schooling. As the opening editorial to the new 2003 journal *Globalization, Societies and Education* – the very founding of this journal indicates the growing importance of globalization and education as a field of study – states (Dale & Robertson, 2003), "Formal education is the most commonly found institution and most commonly shared experience of all in the contemporary world" (P, 7).

However, globalization of education does not mean that all schools are the same, as indicated by studies of differences between the local and the global (Anderson – Levitt, 2003).

The language of globalization has quickly entered discourses about schooling. Government and business groups talk about the necessities of schools meeting the needs of the global economy. For example, the U. S. organization Achieve, Inc. (2005), formed in 1996 by the National Governors Association and CEO of major corporations for the purpose of school reform, declared that "high school is now the front line in America's battle to remain competitive on the increasingly competitive international economic stage". The organization provided the following definition of the global economy with a publication title that suggested the linkages seen by politicians and business people between education and globalization, *America's High Schools: The Front Line in the Battle for our Economic Future.*"

The Launching of the *Globalization, Societies and Education* journal required the editors to define their field of study. The editor stated that globalization and education would be considered as an intertwined set of global processes affecting education, such as worldwide discourses on human capital, economic development, and multiculturalism; intergovernmental organizations; information technology; nongovernmental organizations; and multinational corporations ( Dale& Robertson, 2003).

With regard to educational discourses, most of the world's governments discuss similar educational agendas that include investing in education to develop human capital or better worker and to promote economic growth as a consequence, educational discourses around the world often refer to human capital, lifelong learning for improving job skills and economic development. The World systems approach sees the globe as integrated but with two major unequal zones. The core zone is the United States, the European Union, and Japan, which dominates periphery nations. The goal of the core is to legitimize its power by inculcating its values into periphery nations (Arvove, 1980; Clayton, 1998, Wallerstein, 1984, 2004).

World cultural theorists argue that schooling based on a Western model is now a global cultural idea that has resulted in the development of common educational structures and a common curriculum model. But the world systems analysts believe that the core countries are trying to legitimize their power by using aid agencies, in particular through support of education, to teach capitalist modes of thought and analysis (Arvove, 1980, Tabulawa, 2003; Wallerstein, 1984, 2004).

In general, post colonial analysis (Crossley & Tikly, 2004) includes issues of slavery, migration and Diaspora the effects of race, culture, class and gender in post colonial settings; histories of resistance and struggle against colonial and neo-colonial domination; the complexities of identity formation and hybridity; language and language rights; the ongoing struggles of indigenous peoples for recognition of their rights. (P. 148)

Choosing from multiple educational models, local actors adapt them to local circumstances sometimes against the desires of local elites. Summarizing the case studies in her edited book, Steiner-Khamsi (2004) wrote,

Educational transfer from one context to another not only occurs for different reasons, but also plays out differently. For example, despite all the political and economic pressure on low-income countries to comply with “international standards” in education, imported policies do not have homogenizing effects, that is, they do not lead to a convergence of educational systems.

In the context of knowledge economy primary and secondary education becomes preparation for the lifelong learning required by the rapidly changing technology of the knowledge economy. It is important to note that global discourses on education and knowledge economy changed the field of adult education.

One of the much studied aspects of the knowledge economy is the global migration of workers. The largest migration is from poorer to wealthier nations. Again, about migration originally the focus was on “brain drain” a term, according to Vinokur (2006), first used in the United Kingdom to describe the influx of Indian scientists and engineers. Now the focus is on the developing phenomenon of “brain circulation”. Where skilled and professional workers move between wealthy nations or return to their homelands after migrating to another country. The problem of maintaining social cohesion with concern of the Global Commission on International Migration, which has listed it as one of its six “principles of actions”.

Nothing better expresses the World Bank’s commitment to the idea of a knowledge economy and the role of education in developing human capital than its publication *Lifelong Learning in the Global Knowledge Economy* (World Bank, 2003).

In addition to loaning money to promote human capital education, the World Bank supports private education in developing countries when governments cannot afford to support public schools for all. Similar to the World Bank, OECD takes a human capital approach to education with a concern about social cohesion as related to global migration: “Both individuals and countries benefit from education. “ For individuals, the potential benefits lie in general quality of life and in the economic returns of sustained, satisfying employment. For



countries, the potential benefits lie in economic growth and the development of shared values that underpin social cohesion” (OECD, 2007c).

Research shows that most INGOs and NGOs, in particular the World Bank and OECD, are also supporting educational plans tied to the World Bank and OECD, are also supporting educational plans tied to the knowledge economy and human capital development. Gender equality in education is a priority of most global organizations. Neoliberal discourses and the GATS have stimulated a push for global privatization of educational services, in particular in higher education and sale of information services and books by multinational corporations. Brain-circulation might also contribute to a growing uniformity of global educational practices because of local pressure to ensure an education that will help graduates participate in the global economy. The growth of English as the language of global commerce is making the teaching of English a fixture in most national curricula.

**e. Cultural Hybridity:**

Hybridity is an association of ideas, concepts and themes that reinforce and contradict each other at the same time. For the contradictory and variance nature of hybridity in use creates emptiness of employing it as a universal description of culture. Social agents with a variety of motivations and objectives muster communication processes to articulate versions of hybridity that suit their purposes. The usage of the word “trans culturalism”, to be fully explained in the synthetic notion of culture and a dynamic understanding of relations between cultures, it is conceived as the discursive formation of international communication theory. The underlying critical observations are:

1. Hybridity must be understood historically in a triple context
  - a) the development of vocabularies of racial and cultural mixture from the mid-nineteenth century onward;
  - b) the historical basis of contemporary hybrid identities that is local history bears upon the present; and
  - c) the juncture at which the language of hybridity entered the study of international communication studies and position in cultural globalization.

The discourse of hybridity connects two literatures: anti “cultural imperialism” and pro “cultural globalization” writings. The demonized cultural imperialism thesis gives way to a benign vision of global cultural resistance, and cross cultural fusion. The cultural imperialism is one view an inadequate vision for international communication and culture because it ignores power.

2. Hybridity must be understood as a rhetorical notion. This entails comprehension of a uses of hybridity in mainstream public discourse and the analysis of the advent of hybridity in international communication studies for its rhetorical aspects; whereby hybridity facilitates negation of power in public treatments of intercultural relations. Thomas Nakayama and RolertKrizek’s research on Whiteness (1995), as a strategic rhetoric ability to be many things at once, to be particular to be a source of identity and difference.” (P 302). A strategic rhetoric of hybridity frames hybridity as natural, commonplace and desirable in intercultural relations. It is one aspect of globalization that represents the whole as egalitarian exchange and positive change. In this respect hybridity is a metonym for globalization.
3. The concept of hybridity must be operationalized as an emergent phenomenon that eludes easy classification hybridity poses a challenge to empirical research on media reception and to analyses of media texts. The post colonial theory is pertinent for its various approaches to hybridity. Mikhail Bakhtin (1981) and Homi Bhabha (1994), has been credited with taking the concept of hybridity from biology to language and culture. Beyond their concept cultural and political economies of “culture of covering” among radio disc jockeys in post world war II, hybrid media texts reflects the importance of the politico-economic context in which hybrid media programs are created and consumed.

Hybridity has proven a useful concept to describe multipurpose electronic gadgets, designer agricultural seeds, environment friendly cars with dual combustion and electrical engines, companies that blend American and Japanese management practices, multiracial people, dual citizens, and post colonial cultures. As one journalist put it, the “trend to blend” (Weeks, 2002, P. C 2) is upon us.

As “one of the most widely employed and disputed terms in post colonial theory” (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, 1998, p.118), “hybridity” has been characterized as a subversion of political and cultural dominations (Bhabha, 1994; Joseph, 1999), or alternatively, as a retrogressive discourse that celebrates the experience of privileged intellectuals (Friedman, 1997).

Since hybridity involves the fusion of two hitherto relatively distinct forms, styles, or identities, cross-cultural contact, which often occurs across national borders as well as across cultural boundaries, is a requisite for hybridity. The occurrence of contact typically involves movement of some sort, and in international communication contact entails the movement of cultural commodities such as media programs, or the movement of people through exchange of people, ideas, and practices.

The second is motivated by poverty and repression and by the promise of upward mobility and concretely happen through transportation technologies. The former is understood as international communication and the latter’s relevance is through one of its consequences the development of migrant or diasporic media. Media research has to some extent mirrored the debate in postcolonial studies, addressing hybridity alternately as a sign of empowerment or as a symptom of dominance.

Contemporary research shows (e.g. Zuckermann), the concept of hybridization, or hybridity, in the analysis of genetic classification of languages, as well as cultural studies. In fact, it reflects cultural and social interactions and often manifests the attempt of a culture to preserve its identity when confronted with an overpowering environment (e.g. American influence), without segregating itself from possible influences. In this new millennium, communications technology facilitates ever increasing contact between languages and cultures. With the influence of satellite television and the Internet, the mobility of words is reaching an unprecedented level.

#### **f. Convergence and Divergence in Education**

Following Inkeles’ (1981) reformulation of convergence theory, Inkeles and Sirowy (1983) studied the educational systems of seventy-three rich and poor

nations. Among thirty different “patterns of change” in educational systems examined, they found evidence of marked convergence in fourteen, moderate convergence in four, considerable variability in nine, mixed results in two, and divergence in only one. Based on these findings, they conclude that the tendency toward convergence on common structures is “pervasive and deep. It is manifested at all levels of the educational system, and affects virtually every major aspect of that system” (p. 326). Also worthy of note is that while the authors take the conventional position that convergence is a response to pressures arising from a complex, technologically advanced social and economic system, they also identify diffusion via integration of networks through which ideas, standards, and practices in education are shared. These networks operate largely through international organizations, such as UNESCO and the OECD; their role as mediating structures in a process leading toward cross-national similarities in education constitutes an important addition to convergence theory, with wide-ranging implications for convergence in other institutions.

### Chapter 3: Education System and Social Structure in Bangladesh

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The dissertation is designed, focusing on the secondary level education systems in Bangladesh, to find the new social forms which are being created through access to knowledge, ethics, social structures and culture of new generation. The total size of the student population in Bangladesh is around 29 million which is about 20% of the total population (143 million), the percentage of primary school going students is 55.95% (around 17 million) and secondary school going students is 25.5% (around 7.4 million). The national education policy for the basic composition of mainstream education system for the primary and secondary level students, scope of reproduction of education and capitalize the attainment in higher education has been described from existing literatures. A number of research works and literature has been reviewed including policies and documents related to education system, as well as studies on class structure and new forms of culture in the postmodern period in Bangladesh.

#### **3.2 Establishment of Multiple Education Systems Under Indian Subcontinent**

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The guru was highly respected in ancient India. The guru's school usually received state support in the form of allotment of rent-free lands. But guru had full autonomy to decide what to teach and how to teach. Generally in guru's school the pupils studied the three main vedas: the Rigveda, the Yajurveda, the Samaveda and sometimes the Atharvaveda and also metaphysics and preliminary course on grammar, logic, ethics, biology, arithmetic, doctrine of prayer, astronomy and also all branches of culture and knowledge as were known then. The curricula showed that guru's school provided both general and occupation-oriented courses. The period of study usually lasted till the age of 16 and sometimes, till the age of 24. The relationship between the guru and the pupil was cordial and personal.

Towards the end of ancient period a strong caste system made access to education restricted. Then two types of schools- the toll or pathsala and the network of indigenous elementary schools were developed. The tolls were seats

of higher learning including secondary education. The teachers imparted instruction through sanskrit and provided their students with traditional classical learning.

In later period, Brahmanic education flourished along with Buddhist education. It also continued throughout Muslim and British periods. In Bangladesh, tolls are the secondary level institutions of Brahmanic education.

The essence of Buddhist education system arouses from imparting education to the monk. In Buddhist system a pupil does all physical work and renders the services to the spiritual preceptor as per his requirement. In turn, the teacher gives the pupil all possible intellectual and spiritual help and guidance by teaching and instruction. A competent preceptor or senior bhikshu generally supervises two young probationer bhikshus. The group of young bhikshus lived in the vihara. Such residential viharas were developed in various parts of India including the present territory of Bangladesh.

Viharas were seats of higher learning like present day residential universities. But these had a provision for extending of elementary knowledge and education. Actually there was no provision of secondary level institution at that time. But elementary level courses prepared the students for advanced and specialized studies at the viharas. So it is presumable that elementary education covered both primary and secondary levels of education.

Huen Tsang who stayed in India from 629 to 645 AD found that primary course started at the age of 8 and continued up to the age of 15 and subjects like grammar, arts and crafts, ayurvedic medicine, logic and theology were taught. i- tsing who stayed in India from 673 to 687 AD observed that pupils were taught five major disciplines at elementary level- grammar and lexicography, fine arts, ayurvedic medicine, logic and theology and philosophy. After this stage, the level of specialized or higher studies began. Buddhist monastery primarily prepared the students to learn religious studies. But I-Tsing found that some monasteries also had courses on materialistic disciplines where the students were taught subjects related to their practical life. Lord Buddha had consented to enroll

women already left behind their respective families forever as disciples in the monasteries. Certain rules were developed to regulate the life of the nuns under complete subjugation of monks. Gradually, a code of conduct and manners were developed for education and training of the nuns. But there is lack of evidence of details of actual training they had received in viharas. One of the remarkable contributions of Buddhist education system was its secular curricula. Admission of laymen and non-Buddhists in viharas were opened and thus Buddhism created awareness about the quest for education among common people.

**Maktab& Madrassa Education in Muslim Period:** After the establishment of Muslim rule in India (around 1204-1206), Bengal was ruled as a province and sometimes as an independent state by subahdars, and sultans respectively. The territory constituting Bangladesh was under the Muslim rule for over five and a half centuries from 1201 to 1757 A.D (Islam, 1992). These rulers and nawabs established maktabas and madrassas as educational institutions in Bangladesh. Maktabas provided primary education and madrassas were for secondary education and higher learning. The madrassa of Bengal were in a flourishing condition during Muslim rule. These were run with state funds. The nobility and the private individuals were also found to set up and run madrassas at their own initiative. Many illustrious scholars, administrators and officials were graduates of madrasahs in Muslim Bengal. In the school of Shah Mubarak his sons Faizi and Abul Fazl, historian Badauni and other scholars were students. In the madrassa run by Sharafuddin Abu Taoama in sonargaon students studied both secular and religious subjects. During the rule of emperor Shahjahan the madrassas of Jahangirnagar specialized in teaching science, theology, philosophy and mathematics.

Madrassa education was free and madrassa teachers enjoyed high status in the society. The courses of madrassa generally included religious subjects like the quran, the hadith, theology and other disciplines of Islamic Studies. Secular subjects such as History, Logic, Geography, Algebra, Astronomy, Medical Science, Chemistry and other technical, vocational, professional subjects were given more importance in some centres. The medium of instruction was Persian but Arabic

was compulsory for Muslims students. Teaching of history was one special feature of madrasa education during Muslim period. As a result, these learning centers could produce some illustrious historians in the subcontinent. Generally Muslim students studied in madrasa. Mughal Emperor akbar adopted a policy so that Hindu youths can study at madrasa.

**Scope of Education for Girls in Muslim Period:** Women during Muslim rule did not have opportunity for education due to purda system. But there are evidences that in harems of kings, nawabs and nobles some ladies, daughters, sisters of kings and nobility received education and some of them attained great distinction. But great mass of Muslim women received no education at all except some domestic training in performance of household duties.

**Quality of Madrasa Education Falls Down by the Decline of Muslim Period:** The tradition of madrasa education continued during the British period but its nature and character of flourishing period changed to a great extent. In early 19th century as reported by Adam (1835-1838) there were various types of madrasahs and wide range of courses such as Grammatical works, Rhetoric, Logic, Law, Doctrines of Islam, Ptolemy and Astronomy; courses of Natural Philosophy, Science, History and Literature were also taught.

During the decline of Muslim power due to lack of state patronage, financial support from the landed aristocracy and nobility and change of official language from Persian to English madrasa education lost its past glory. Rather it assumed conservative character and used classical language as medium of instruction. Madrasa education with some modifications is continuing in Bangladesh.

European trading companies began their commercial activities in India from 1600 AD. Gradually, the Portuguese, the French, the Dutch and the English settled in some important parts and commercial centers. Among them the English East India Company had established their rule in India. Till the early 19th century, they did not evolve any definite educational policy.



**English Schools Established in East India:** It was only in the Charter Act of 1813 that education of the Indian people was included within the duties of the East India Company and an annual sum of 10,000 pounds was provided for their educational activities. However, the company mainly spent the money for oriental learning. The progressive reformers of Bengal such as Rammohun Roy protested against this and demanded western education for the people of this country. But the company did not pay any attention to this. However, as per the Charter, missionaries were allowed to work in the country. This had great impact upon the development of modern type of English schools at primary and secondary levels. The East India Company and the British Crown were generally indifferent to education in Indian sub-continent until the early 19th century. Throughout the last decades of eighteenth century and beginning of nineteenth century, European missionaries and the East India Company established several schools and colleges for developing educational program of this area (Mukerji, 1957).

One of the important events of this period was the endorsement of Macaulay's Minute in Lord Bentinck's Despatch of 7 March 1835, which provided that western learning should be spread through English language. Use of English as a medium of instruction in public education was announced by the government formally. As a result, a good network of English high schools and colleges were established in Bengal, mostly due to government initiative and support. The new high schools demonstrated fairly high standard of instruction in language and literature, but their standard not up to the mark in basic subjects of humanities and social sciences. The syllabus was mainly bookish.

Secondary education received a new dimension in Wood's Education Dispatch of 1854. It allowed the provincial government to give grant-in-aid to high schools on fulfillment of some conditions. Specifically, schools should provide secular education. This policy ultimately enabled the government to withdraw from the field of educational activities and transfer the responsibility upon the Indians. However, grant-in-aid system, scholarship scheme for students of all levels and

creation of department of Public Instruction resulted in a remarkable expansion of secondary education in Bengal.

The Indian Education Commission of 1882 addressed the problems of secondary education at a great length. The government accepted the commission's recommendations to transfer all government secondary schools to private bodies and to establish a model government high school in each district headquarters. By the beginning of the 20th century the province of Bengal experienced a spectacular growth of secondary education. There were 3,097 English high schools in India in 1901-1902 and nearly a half of them were in Bengal. At the district level, Bengal had more schools than any other province. There was an English secondary school for every 104.3 square miles. It also had the largest number of unaided schools run privately without any government grant. These schools low tuition fees and easy admission changes fulfilled the growing demand for western education in Bengal.

Secondary education experienced a setback as a result of Curzon's regressive education policy adopted in 1901 on the basis of Simla conference. It imposed strict control over high schools by the universities and the Education Department. However during Curzon's period, the partition of Bengal in 1905 offered a better opportunity for the development of education in East Bengal. Henry Sharp, the first Director of Public Instruction of East Bengal, initiated an educational improvement program. He arranged a special aid program for Muslim students such as scholarships at every level of education and eight percent places in government aided schools were kept for free education of Muslim students. A Muslim hostel in every government school was established. As a result, there was a substantial increase in the number of Muslim students in primary and secondary schools. The increase was about 35% from 425,800 in 1906-1907 to 575,700 in 1911-1912. The policy of promoting education in eastern Bengal continued under unified government of Bengal throughout the rest of British period.

During 1921-1937, the number of secondary schools in Bengal's rural areas increased remarkably. A massive expansion of girls' education in secondary level, introduction of mother tongue as the medium of instruction and some improvement in training and service conditions of teachers were done in the same period. The World War II reduced the pace of development of secondary education. In the post war period, some efforts were made to introduce vocational courses in high schools and to establish high school with technical, commercial and agriculture education.

During the Partition of Bengal in 1947, there were two types of schools, middle school and high schools for providing secondary education. Middle schools offered education of grades I to VI and high schools grades VII to X. There were nearly 20,000 middle schools and 2,000 high schools of which over 50% were managed privately from the contribution of people and the government grant. Less than 40% of the high schools received grant-in-aid from the state. Only forty schools were fully supported by the government. There were five schools for the training of middle school teachers'. Two training colleges, one in Calcutta and the other in Dhaka were set up to train up high school teachers.

In 1849, JED Bethune first established a regular secular girls' high school in Calcutta with six pupils. Bethune's experiment was so successful that it became a model of girls' school in other provinces of India. But the progress of girls' in secondary level education was very slow. By the end of the century (1896-1897), there were only two girls' English high schools in Bengal, one was Bethune School in Calcutta and the other was Eden School in Dhaka.

The impetus of girls' education came from the Indian Education Commission of 1882. According to the commission's recommendations, the Bengal government took up several steps including introduction of special subjects suitable for the girls were included in the curricula and co-education in general, besides giving higher amount of grants to girls' schools. The District and Municipal Boards also started to allocate a higher amount of grants for girls' education. Education of Muslim girls entered into a new stage with the efforts of Muslim women

particularly Nawab faizunnesa choudhurani and roquiah sakhawat hossain . Gradually, with the opening of female training schools, and introduction of concession started and free studentship, prize and scholarship schemes, got a momentum in girls' education in Bengal.

**Pakistan period:** The first task of the government of East Bengal within the framework of Pakistan was to reduce the gap created in the educational sector of the province due to large scale exodus of Hindu teachers, administrators and staffs to India. The Partition reduced the jurisdiction of Calcutta University over the schools and colleges located in East Bengal. To fill up the gap, the government promulgated the East Bengal Educational Ordinance 1947 to facilitate the establishment of the replacing the former Dhaka Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education Bengal Secondary Education Board (EBSEB) new East and immediately, all high schools came under the control of this new education board.

Between 1947 and 1960, no major policy reforms and reorganization of secondary education was done by the central government of Pakistan. However, some measures adopted by the government had significant impact on the development of education in East Bengal. The Pakistan Educational Conference of 1947 held in Karachi recognized Urdu as the lingua franca of Pakistan and proposed compulsory teaching of Urdu from grade 6 in areas where Urdu was not the medium of instruction at the primary stage. This resolution had repercussions in East Bengal and a strong public opinion against this resolution turned into a mass movement. Ultimately, as a result of the language movement in 1952, Bangla was recognized as one of the two state languages of Pakistan and the condition of compulsory teaching of Urdu in the secondary schools in East Bengal was relaxed.

Secondary education was recognized as a separate academic and administrative unit and its duration extended from 5 to 7 years consisting of three sub-stages: middle (grade 6-8), secondary (grade 9-10), and higher secondary (grade 11-12). A uniform curriculum was followed in the junior schools or middle stage.

Diversification was introduced in the secondary stage. Along with compulsory subjects, students were offered to choose any one of the following - Humanities, Science, Commerce, Industrial Arts, Home Economics and Agriculture.

The higher secondary stage was separated from the control of the university. Curricula of this stage included mother tongue and English as compulsory subjects for all students. Students could choose required number of courses from any one of the following streams: humanities, science, commerce, fine arts, Islamic studies and agriculture. The administration of secondary education was carried out by the provincial education directorate headed by the Director of Public Instruction (DPI).

The Board of Education had the academic control over secondary schools. In pursuance of the new policy, four boards were set up at Dhaka, Comilla, Jessore and Rajshahi to conduct SSC and HSC examinations within their respective jurisdiction. The curricula and syllabi of the secondary and higher secondary courses were prepared and prescribed by the boards. The curricula of the middle stage were prescribed by the Education Department.

The minimum qualification for the teachers of middle schools was HSC, for the secondary schools a bachelor degree with professional training, and for the teachers of higher secondary education masters degree.

In the past, financing of secondary education was basically a responsibility of private enterprises. The government maintained only a small number of schools. The Pakistan Education Commission, as well as the Second Five-Year Plan (1960-65) emphasized reliance on private effort rather than on government resources. During Pakistan period, the cost of running private schools in East Pakistan increased enormously. The schools paid minimum salary to teachers. Qualified teachers were not attracted by such poor salary. This resulted in the deterioration of standard of secondary education.

During Pakistan period, the number of girls' secondary schools expanded considerably. In 1947, there were about 200 girls' high schools and by 1970, the

number rose to about 700. In addition, girls were found to avail co-education facilities in secondary schools, particularly those in the rural areas. By 1972-73, girls' enrolment in secondary schools stood at 0.27 million or 16% of total secondary school enrolment.

**Bangladesh period:** Immediately after the independence, the government of Bangladesh took initiative to formulate a new education policy and formed an Education Commission on 26 July 1972, with Dr Muhammadqudrat-i-khuda as its chairman. The commission produced its report covering all aspects of national education. Regarding secondary education it put forward recommendations to be implemented for a long term. But before the adoption of the report the country's political scenario was changed with the assassination of the president 15 August 1975. Later in the same year, the National Curriculum and Syllabus Committee was formed and it implemented the curricula and syllabi prepared by itself for the secondary level were during 1980-85. It played a major role for the development secondary education till 1996 when it was replaced by the new curricula.

The present secondary education curricula and syllabi were prepared by the initiative of the National Curricula Co-ordination Committee (NCC) of 1993 and it was implemented from the academic session of 1996. Several committees were constituted successively between 1978 and 2010 to formulate and implement the education policy and program.

At present, the secondary education consists of three sub-stages: lower secondary, (junior) secondary and higher secondary, and this structure may be termed as the 3+2+2 plan. Lower secondary education (grade 6 to 8) is offered in junior high schools. Many high schools and a few intermediate colleges also offer lower secondary education. Most junior high schools have primary section attached to them. The secondary stage (grade 9-10) is offered in institutions of various types: schools having one to ten grades or twelve grades, three to ten grades; and six to ten grades. Higher secondary education (grade 11-12) is offered in some high or secondary schools, intermediate colleges and degree

colleges. However, the Education Policy of 2010 recommended expanding primary level upto grade VIII. Meanwhile, the Primary Education Final Examinations and the Junior School Certificate Examinations after the completion of Grade V and Grade VIII were introduced in 2008 and 2010 respectively. The Education Policy of 2010, having two stages of secondary education is scheduled to be implemented by 2018.

The objectives of secondary education of Bangladesh were set on the basis of the guidelines prepared by the Bangladesh Education Commission of 1974, the National Curriculum and Syllabus Committee of 1975 and the National Curricula and Co-ordination Committee of 1993. Its aim was to enable the learners to acquire new knowledge, skills, use modern science and technology, develop positive outlook and scientific attitude, to acquire skills for self-employment and to inspire them with patriotism, and religious, moral, cultural and social values.

One of the features of the existing secondary education system is its uniformity. General secondary education, vocational education and madrasa education (Dakhil and Alim stage) are brought under one system for maintaining uniformity, standard and mobility. In the general sub-system of education the curricula of lower secondary education comprises Bangla, English, mathematics, religious education, social science, home economics, arts and crafts, physical education and health as compulsory subjects. The students can take Arabic, advanced Bangla and advanced English as elective subjects.

In 2001, there are six compulsory subjects in the secondary stage: Bangla, English, Mathematics, Religious Education, Social Science, Home Economics, Agriculture, Social Science or General Science. In addition, pupils can take subjects related to their own groups- Science, Humanities, Business Education, Home Economics and Islamic Studies. The students can study another elective subject totaling the marks in the SSC examination 1100. In the Higher Secondary level Bangla and English are compulsory for all students. They also study three subjects from the specified groups- Science, Humanities, Business Education,

Home Economics and Islamic Studies. They can also take an elective subject. The total mark in the HSC examination is 1200.

The Ministry of Education is the national policy making organ for educational development in Bangladesh. Secondary education is the direct responsibility of the Department of Secondary and Higher Education headed a Director General. The Department has four divisional and eight zonal offices. Under the jurisdiction of eight zonal offices, there are 64 district education offices. The district education officers are responsible for management and inspection of junior high schools and high schools within their respective districts.

Government high schools and colleges are managed according to the rules and regulations issued by the government. All junior high schools and non-government secondary schools have their respective managing committees constituted according to the rules and regulation of the respective Boards of Intermediate and Secondary Education. The non-government intermediate colleges are managed by their governing bodies constituted as per the rules set by the boards. The examination system in the secondary schools and the administration and management of the SSC and HSC examinations remained almost same as it was before liberation. Scholarships are awarded to the meritorious students on the basis of score in the secondary and the higher secondary examinations.

Bachelor's degree is the minimum requirement for a high school teacher. Having a professional training, from any of the 11 teachers' training colleges and the Bangladesh Open University is another minimum requirement for a high school teacher. By 1995, about 34.5% of the teachers obtained professional degrees. For teaching students of intermediate classes, the requirement is a master's degree.

From the very inception, Bangladesh government has been encouraging female education. Facilities and opportunities for girls' education were created at all levels. At secondary level enrolment of girl students expanded greatly since 1994 due to adoption of various financial assistance projects and free tuition for girls



studying in grades 6 to 10. Female teachers are being appointed in secondary schools to increase girls' enrolment.

There were about 12,000 secondary schools in Bangladesh in 1975. The number went up to 19,083 by 2009. Of those, 15,589 were high schools and rests were junior secondary schools. Beside 1275 Higher Secondary Colleges, there were 657 Higher Secondary Schools and Colleges, both public and private sectors having intermediate level courses in 2009. All junior schools are privately managed. There are 317 government secondary schools, 170 for boys and 147 for girls. Of the nine government intermediate colleges, three are for girls. There are 11 cadet colleges. Some secondary level institutions are run by the autonomous bodies such as universities, banks, mills, and public sector corporations. There are 6771 Dakhil and 1487 Alim madrasa in the country. 77% of institutions run co-education program whereas 18.86% schools and institutions are exclusively for girls and 2.31% are meant for boys only.

At present (2011), after completing primary education 85% students enroll in secondary schools. The figure was less than 50% a decade ago. This success could be achieved due to adoption of the universal primary education program by the government in 1991. About 6.81 million students (46.31% boys and 53.69% girls) were enrolled in secondary schools in 2008. By 2011, the school and student ratio stood at 1:364. Teacher-student ratio and school-teacher ratio were 1:33 and 1:11 respectively.

In the Pakistan period, the secondary education system prevailed in our country could not contribute much in terms of creating mid-level skilled manpower due to lack of a programmatic education policy and poor financial allocation. The government of Bangladesh in its first, second and third five year plans stressed the need for linking secondary education with employment generation. But remarkable successes were achieved in the field of secondary education during the fourth plan period (1990-1995). These include were infrastructure development of institutions, strengthening of administration and management, renewal and modernization of curricula of secondary level institutions and

teachers training colleges through the Secondary Education Development Project (SEDP). Another great achievement in this period was enhancement of female education participation.

B Ed and M Ed curricula were modernized and double shifts were introduced in the training colleges to train up more teachers. A scheme was taken up for training 7,000 female teachers for rural secondary schools. An Educational Management and Information System was set up for continuous observation and monitoring of implementation of the new curricula and ensuring quality of education. Bangladesh Open University offers SSC course for students who cannot continue in formal schools as regular students.

The Fifth Five Year Plan provided additional classrooms in 7,000 schools, introduced double shifts in selected rural and urban secondary schools, developed of science laboratories with modern equipment and continuation of present financial assistance program for female students studying in grades 11 and 12. One innovative policy adopted in the plan was the involvement of community and private efforts in educational activities. Meanwhile, a long term work-plan has been finalized to implement the New Education Policy of 2010, under which primary schools and high schools of the country are being upgraded in phases to impart education up to class VIII and higher secondary levels respectively. Programs relating to infrastructural development, recruitment and training of more teachers are underway to materialize the objective by 2018.

### **3.1 Reforms in Primary and Secondary Education systems in Bangladesh**

#### **a. Primary Education**

##### **Aims and Objectives**

Primary education possesses utmost importance in our national life. Primary education is the basis of building up a skilled citizenry and the path to include the whole population within the education system. So, equal opportunities will be created to ensure access of all sections of children to primary education irrespective of ethnicity, socio-economic conditions, physical or mental challenges and geographical differences. This is the Constitutional responsibility

of the state. Since this stage forms the foundation of subsequent levels of education, so delivery of quality primary education is a must.

### **Duration and implementation of primary education**

The duration of primary education will be extended from Class V [now in practice] to Class VIII. There are two significant concerns to realize it: a) the need for infrastructural development and b) recruitment of adequate number of qualified teachers.

The following steps will be taken immediately to include Classes VI, VII and VIII into the primary education structure from FY 2011-12:

- to prepare new curriculum , textbooks and the teachers' guidelines for Classes I to VIII;
- to organize effective training for the teachers for pedagogical practices in view of the extension of the curricula;
- to bring in required reorganization in the educational administration and management.

For this restructuring of primary education, the physical facilities and the number of teachers will have to be increased. This 8-year long primary education will be ensured for all children of the country, regardless of gender, socio-economic conditions and ethnicity by 2018 through the implementation of appropriate methods.

### **Integration of different streams**

According to the Constitution of Bangladesh, the State is committed to ensure uniform basic education for all. As per this Constitutional directive and with a view to introducing non-discriminating education system, a uniform curricula and syllabus will be followed in some specific subjects at the primary level in all schools across the country. This will be done to integrate all the streams of primary education such as government and non-government primary schools, kindergartens (both Bangla & English media) and ibtedaye madrassas. The schools can teach some extra subjects, in addition to those specific subjects, with permission from the relevant department or directorate of education.

To develop the skills of the learners and for quality education, the *ibtedaye* and all kinds of madrassas will introduce and follow 8-year primary education program and they have to implement the newly integrated primary education system.

Step has been taken to eradicate the existing discrimination in terms of facilities in different types of primary education institutions (community schools, non-registered and registered schools, government schools, kindergartens and urban/rural schools). All such institutions including the kindergartens, English medium schools and all types of madrassas have to register themselves with concerned authorities in compliance with set rules.

### **Curricula and Syllabi**

Specific subjects such as Bangla, English, Moral Science, Bangladesh Studies, Mathematics, Social Environment, Natural Environment with emphasis on topics like climate change, Science and Information Technology are to be there in the syllabus as compulsory subjects for all students of diverse streams of primary education. A committee of experts formed to develop the curricula and course contents of all subjects. This committee will act with critical examination and appropriate attention.

The instruction related to information technology will be delivered through books as long as infrastructure is not adequately developed and adequate number of computers and teachers cannot be provided. Appropriate steps are taken from the very beginning to ensure English Writing and Speaking skills and that will be continued and emphasized in the forthcoming classes as per needs. Subjects suitable for co-curricular programs can be introduced from the Class I. Teaching of respective religious studies and moral sciences will be introduced as a compulsory subject right from the primary level. In the last three Classes, i.e, from Classes VI to VIII, students will be exposed to pre-vocational and information technology lessons so that they can avail themselves of job opportunities if they discontinue their studies after the primary level.

## **b. Secondary Education**

### **Aims and Objectives**

In the new academic structure, the secondary level of education will include Classes IX to XII. At the end of this level, students will choose different streams of higher studies according to their capabilities, or they will earn their livelihood by their acquired vocational education or they can seek further vocational skills.

#### **The aims and objectives of secondary education are:**

- \_ to help develop learners' latent intellect and comprehensive inner faculties;
- \_ to develop a learner with competencies so that s/he can compete in the job market, especially in the economic sector of the country;
- \_ to impart quality education at this primary level to extend and consolidate the knowledge acquired during primary education to help the students acquire a strong foundation of quality higher education;
- \_ to make efforts to mitigate discriminations among various secondary educational institutions and among various socio-economic, ethnic and socially backward groups; special steps are being taken to support advancement of education in the backward regions as long as necessary;
- \_ to design, continue and implement a uniform curriculum and syllabus for the selected subjects, irrespective of streams.

### **Strategies**

#### **Media of instruction**

At this level, the media of instruction is Bangla

#### **Curriculum, Syllabus and Textbooks**

There will be three streams at the secondary level, general, madrasa and technical and each stream will have several branches. However, for all streams, uniformity will be maintained through some stipulated compulsory subjects, such as Bangla, English, Bangladesh Studies, General Mathematics and Information Technology. Examinations of each of these subjects of all the streams will be held with identical question papers. Of course, there will be some compulsory and optional subjects in each of the streams.

To achieve excellence in the stream-related subjects, the syllabus will be designed as per needs and specific syllabus will be developed accordingly.

Bangladesh Madrassa Education Board and Bangladesh Technical Education Board will be responsible for designing and preparing the textbooks and curriculum of special subjects of Madrassa and Vocational Education.

### **Infrastructure, teachers and staff**

High schools need to be added with Classes XI & XII, while higher secondary colleges will have to add Classes IX & X. For this, the number of classrooms, furniture and educational instruments will be increased. In high schools, subject-related teachers including English will be appointed to teach at higher secondary level. For the implementation of these steps, special care will be taken for supply of funds.

Infrastructure development of the educational institutions and availability of educational materials will be ensured to deliver proper education and there will be facilities of enriched library and instruments of sports. For better management of the library, the post of a librarian will be created.

Every school offering science subjects must have a laboratory with necessary tools and apparatus and its proper use and maintenance will be ensured.

### **Unprivileged students and under-developed regions**

Appropriate facilities similar to the steps noted in the primary education section will be provided to ensure equal opportunities for the students who suffer from some limitations. Regional discriminations will be dealt with accordingly.

### **Economic activities and development of technology**

Measures will be taken to expedite government support on a priority basis (such as salary and benefits of teachers, the instruments and materials for teaching sciences etc.) to the schools offering various subjects of science or subjects related to social sciences and business studies, such as economics, accounting and other subjects like information technology, computer sciences connected with technical education. All these subjects are closely related to economic activities and development of technology.

### **Teacher-student**

Teacher-student ratio will have to be progressively raised in phases to 1:30 by 2018.

### **Student assessment**

On completion of Class X, a public examination will be held on a national basis. This will be known as Secondary Examination and stipends will be awarded till Class XII based on the score of this examination. On completion of Class XII, another public exam will be held, which will be called Higher Secondary Examination. Creative methodology will be applied to both the examinations and evaluation will be made in the grading system. Stipends for higher studies will be offered on the basis of the results in Higher Secondary Examination.

### **Invigilation and monitoring**

Administration will conduct regular and effective invigilation and monitoring of the educational institutions.

### **Others**

All cadet colleges will follow the uniform curricula in matters of basic subjects and take part in the general public examination system.

Since the course contents, curriculum, examination and assessment of the 'O' level and

'A' level education is held on overseas policy, so these will be treated as a special system. This system will be run according to government approval. But both the levels will have to include Bangla and Bangladesh Studies as in practice in the general stream of secondary education. So in acceptance of this condition O level certificate will be treated as equivalent to SSC while 'A' level to HSC.

## **3.2 Extracts from National Education Policy of Bangladesh 2010**

This education policy will work as a basis for an education system suitable for the delivery of education which will be pro-people, easily available, uniform, and universal, well planned, science oriented and of high standard according to the constitutional directives and it will also work as a strategy to counter all

problems. With this idea in view, the aims, objectives, goals and principles of the Education Policy will be as follows.

- to reflect the Constitutional guarantee at all levels of education and make learners aware of the freedom, sovereignty and integrity of Bangladesh;
- to stimulate the intellectual and practical qualities of the learners so that moral, human, cultural, scientific and social values are established at personal and national levels;
- to inspire the students with the spirit of our war of liberation and develop patriotism, nationalism and qualities of good citizens (i.e, sense of justice, non-communalism, dutifulness, awareness of human rights, cultivation of free thinking and discipline, love for honest living, the tolerance of corporate life, friendliness and perseverance);
- to promote the continuity of national history, tradition and culture through an intergenerational process;
- to remove socio-economic discrimination irrespective of race, religion and creed and to eradicate gender disparity; to develop non-communalism, friendliness, global fraternity, fellow-feeling and respect for human rights;
- to create unhindered and equal opportunities of education for all as per learners' talents and aptitudes, irrespective of geographical, social and economic situations to establish a society that is free from discrimination; to resist use of education as a commodity to reap profits;
- to attach substantial importance to information and communication technology (ICT) along with Maths, Science and English in order to build up a digital Bangladesh based on knowledge-orientation and cultivation of ICT;
- to develop some uniform and basic ideas amongst all learners; to establish a sense of equal status amongst all citizens of the country to implement a uniform curriculum of certain basic subjects at the primary level schools of diverse delivery systems; to prescribe and ascertain the learning of some uniform textbooks to attain that; to initiate some method of teaching in some basic subjects at the secondary level to achieve similar objectives;



- to extend the use of information and communication technology ( ICT) instrumental in educational process at every level
- to promote and develop the languages and cultures of the indigenous and small ethnic groups;
- to ensure the education of the physically and mentally challenged learners;
- to ensure efficient and correct teaching of Bangla language;
- to take necessary steps to create facilities of playground, sports, games and physical exercises in all educational institutions for the healthy growth of the physical and mental qualities of the learners;

### **3.3 Introduction of English Medium Education in Bangladesh**

A vast number of schools in Bangladesh are English Medium schools. English Medium schools are mainly private schools where all the courses are taught in English except one Bengali Language subject at ordinary level (O Level). These schools in Bangladesh follow the General Certificate of Education (GCE) syllabus where students are prepared for taking their Ordinary Level (O Level) and Advanced Level (A Level) examinations. The General Certificate of Education system is one of the most internationally recognized qualifications, based from the United Kingdom. The Ordinary and Advanced Level examinations are English equivalent to the [Secondary School Certificate](#) (SSC) and [Higher Secondary School Certificate](#) (HSC) examinations respectively. Most students sit for these exams from the registered schools in Bangladesh who follow the GCE syllabus. Those who do not attend a school that follows the GCE syllabus may also sit for their Ordinary and Advanced Level examinations from British Council. These examinations are conducted under the supervision of British Council in Bangladesh. The GCE examination conducted by the British Council takes place twice a year. Currently there are two boards operating from Bangladesh for Ordinary and Advanced Level Examinations, which are Edexcel and University of Cambridge International Examinations.

### **3.4 How Madrassa Education Evolved in Bangladesh**

The madrassa tradition in South Asia goes back to the thirteenth century and its spread and consolidation was linked to the establishment of the Mughal Empire. Arabs formally entered the subcontinent in the eighth century during the Umayyad Caliphate of Walid I (705-715) by sending a young Arab general, Mohammad IbnQasim, to fight off some pirates off the coast of Sind. The real foundation of the Muslim empire in India, however, was laid during the Sultanate period (1175-1526) and the Islamic Sharia (or code of law) was institutionalized by the end of the fourteenth century (ibid).The madrassa tradition can trace its history to the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate in the early thirteenth century. Sultan QutubuddinAibek established a number of mosques to provide religious as well as modern education, a tradition that was continued under the Mughal Empire, leading to the rise of a strong madrassa establishment. Funded mostly by the state, these madrassas trained the elite during the Mughal period. The displacement of the Mughal Empire by British rule, however, entirely transformed the status of madrassas in Indian society, and played a decisive role in shaping the current madrassa tradition in South Asia. First of all, with the demise of the Mughal Empire, the official sources of support to these groups dwindled. The British government changed the policy with respect to the Madad-i-Ma'ash (revenue free lands) that sustained various institutions of Muslim education and learning. This made the madrassas even more dependent on voluntary financial contributions from the community. Nizami (1983) and Metcalf (1978) show that those madrassas that were unable to secure additional public support eventually closed down.

At the same time, with the changes in the administration and economy introduced by the English East India Company, madrassa education lost much of its utility. Whereas earlier, Muslim education had relevance to both religious and secular needs, gradually it became increasingly otherworldly. Hence the Muslim educated classes became divided between the modern educated and the madrassa educated. The economic irrelevance of madrassa education under the new regime led it to attract increasing numbers of children from economically

less well- resourced families. This made the madrassa system even more dependent on public donations and also made it less appealing to the affluent classes (Metcalf, 1978; Robinson, 2001). Apart from the need for greater public support, British rule also brought other changes to the madrassa system. Some Muslims who attended modern educational institutions, like the Delhi College, transferred the principles of these western institutional models to religious education in the post-1857 period. The idea of formal classes and a set syllabus, which was introduced in DarulUloom Deoband, as opposed to the old practice of flexible teaching between the Alim (scholar) and the student, reflected the influence of the western education that some of the initiators of the madrassa had received at Delhi College.

In order to survive in this changed environment, madrassas were required to dramatically reorganize themselves. This period thus saw the rise of a reformist madrassa tradition that came to be known as Deoband, and is today at the centre of controversy around militancy in South Asian madrassas (Ahmed, 2005). Dar-ul-Uloom Deoband was set up 1866 in response to the changed status of madrassas and Islam in general within Indian society following the establishment of British Raj. The ulema leading this tradition argued that in changed times it was important for Muslims to focus on individual reform and personal religious responsibility. The focus shifted to individual action and the purification of Islamic principles. The Deoband school adopted the Dars-i-Nizami that evolved at the Farangi Mahal madrassa during Mullah Nizamuddin's lifetime in the eighteenth century and in the years immediately following his death, and that remained the dominant system of Indian Islamic education. Dars-i-Nizami consolidated the rationalist traditions of scholarship derived from Iran. However, the Deobandi ulema placed much emphasis on the Quran and Hadith, known as the traditional sciences, as opposed to Farangi Mahal's emphasis on logic and jurisprudence, known as the rational sciences (Metcalf, 1978; Robinson, 2001).

Deobandi ulemas aimed to train educated ulema who would be dedicated to reformed Islam and individual reform. Deoband also established the tradition of setting up sister madrassas. Today Deoband represents the dominant ideological tradition within madrassas in Pakistan as well as Bangladesh (Asadullah and Chaudhury, 2006). The syllabus, literature and method of instruction developed at Deoband continue to be followed by madrassas with allegiance to the Deoband school of thought. Other important schools of Islamic thought in South Asia include Sunni-Berelvi, Ahle Hadith/Salafi and Shia. The Berelvi madrasa tradition, which has the second largest following among South Asian Muslims, was also founded during the colonial period, in 1904. Its followers, known as Berelvi, are spread all over India. The Berelvi tradition is strongly opposed to the very puritanical strains of the Deoband movement, which have an aversion to saint and Sufi worship. In Bengal, colonial rule was also important in another way in giving rise to present day madrassas.

Here the British themselves initiated a new Madrassa tradition in a bid to reform the Madrassas. It did not go much beyond Bengal, but within Bengal it developed roots, though it remained from the start and to date outside the religious hierarchy. The Aliya Madrassa, initially known as the Calcutta Madrassa, was the earliest of the state-managed educational institutions initiated in India under British rule. It was established in October 1781 by Governor-General Warren Hastings, who also bore its expenses for one and a half years. The Bengal Government took it over in April 1782. The purpose of the Aliya Madrassa was to train students in Persian, Arabic and Muslim Law (Fiqh) for appointment to lower posts in government offices and the courts, particularly as interpreters of Muslim law. The Madrassa took up the same syllabus as was taught in traditional Madrassas (the Dars-i-Nizami), but also added secular subjects. In 1826, English courses were introduced at elementary level. In 1850 a major reorganization took place and the Madrassa was divided into two separate departments, an Arabic (Senior) Department and Anglo-Persian (Junior) Department. The plans to bring the Madrassa within the fold of Calcutta University, however, did not materialize. After the partition of the sub-continent, the Calcutta Aliya Madrassa

was shifted to Dhaka. Only a limited number of Madrassas were established under the Aliya system before 1971; instead expansion came after 1979 when the state initiated a formal Madrassa reform programme and gave systematic incentives to Madrassas to modernize (Asadullah and Chaudhury, 2006).

The objective of Hastings' establishing a Madrassa becomes clear from the following: in a report he prepared prior to leaving India, Hastings wrote that the Muslims needed to be engaged by the criminal courts, the police and other departments. With the fall of the Muslim rule, their situation had become almost that of beggars. They were so badly off that they could not afford to send their children to schools to obtain an education that would get them government jobs. This is the context in which the Madrassas were created so that Muslim students can get an education and qualify for government jobs. This interest in establishing Madrassas did not stem from any love for Islam or from any idea that this was a superior mode of education. It was simply a political decision, the long-term goals of which were by necessity limited to ensure peaceful governing.

From the very dawn of the nineteenth century, there arose a heated debate regarding the aims, methods and medium of education in India. However, this debate was primarily limited to the British and the upper class Hindus. The Muslims were more or less silent on this matter. Apart from a few exceptions, for the most part they were in favor of the conservative tradition. Instead of modern education, they were satisfied with learning Arabic/Persian languages and makhtabs and Madrassas. Still, after many debates, it was decided to introduce English classes in the Kolkata Madrassa in 1824 and in the Kolkata Sanskrit College in 1827.

The 1813 Charter, which was based on the 1792 document by Charles Grant, *Observation of the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain*, and later on the famous 1835 Education Policy developed by Lord Macauley gradually heightened the importance of an English education and a Western knowledge base. Macauley recommended closure of the Kolkata Madrassa and the Sanskrit College and discontinuing financial support to publications in Arabic,

Persian and Sanskrit. Although his first recommendation was not accepted, his second recommendation was.

It was in this continuity that in 1907-8, the famed Earl Committee under the leadership of the then Director of Mass Education Archdale Earl and the Nathan Committee formed in 1914 made recommendations for massive reformation of the Madrassa education system. The New-Scheme system for Madrassas was initiated from April 1, 1915. The major characteristic of this scheme was to discard Persian and make English compulsory. During this time Bangla, mathematics, geography, history, English drawing, handicrafts and drills were included in the syllabus.

A large number of students enrolled within the first three days when the General Committee for Education established the Mohsin College in Hoogli with funding from the Mohsin Fund in 1836. However, surprisingly, among 1,200 students enrolled in English and 300 in the Oriental Studies department there were only 31 and 81 Muslim students respectively. Grabbing the opportunity provided by the low numbers of Muslims, the alleged friend of Muslims, Mr. Hunter proposed that instead of spending the available resources on the Mohsin College, the money should be spent in establishing Madrasahs in Hoogli, Dhaka and Chittagong. It should be noted that nowhere in the will of Haji Muhammad Mohsin was mentioned that his bequest should be spent on the Muslims only.

The public sector support that the Madrassas receive in today's Bangladesh is a much-transformed form of the Madrassa established by Warren Hastings, Governor General of India in the British period in October 1781. Hastings' concern for Madrassa education was a long term plan based on political interest for peaceful governance through making scope of minimum education to the Muslims who became shattered by the fall of Muslim rule, to serve in the lower level positions in the Government as well as in criminal court, particularly as interpreters of Muslim law. Beside the Government managed Madrassa, other forms of Madrassa continuing its operations in India, Bangladesh and Pakistan as

the Quomior the KharijiMadrassa, without governmental endorsement and with funds arriving from abroad and local community donations.

Under the global focus on western education policy, English was given more emphasis in the Education System of India and so Madrassa education was reorganized with new schemes. The major characteristic of the new scheme was to discard Persian and make English compulsory. During this time Bangla, mathematics, geography, history, English drawing, handicrafts and drills were included in the syllabus. After the partition of the sub-continent, the Calcutta Aliya Madrassa was shifted to Dhaka. Only a limited number of madrassa were established under the Aliya system before 1971; instead expansion came after 1979 when the state initiated a formal Madrassa reform programme and gave systematic incentives to Madrassa to modernize (Asadullah and Chaudhury, 2006).

In 1985 the first Madrassa qualification level (Dahkil) was recognized as equivalent to the senior secondary certificate and in 1987 Alim (the next level) was given the status of the higher secondary certificate. The purpose of establishing the Board was to prepare Muslim students to excel in all fields. The key responsibilities of the Madrassa Education Board include: to review, approve and register Madrassas; to conduct examinations for Dakhil, Alim, Fazil and Kamil qualifications; to publish results and issue certificates; to approve the appointment of management committees for the Madrassas; and to develop the curriculum and syllabus.

In Madrassa Education, all possible opportunities to learn Islam and to develop this stream will be ensured. Steps will be taken so that the students can understand the ideals and spirit of Islam and learn about its doctrines and ways of life. At the same time, the students will get competencies in different branches of knowledge and sciences. They will be able to add qualitatively in those areas. They will be enabled to equally compete with the students of general and English medium. With this end in view-

**The aims and objectives of madrassa education included in the National Education Policy:**

- To establish firm belief in Almighty Allah in the minds of the learners and his Prophet (Pbuh) and to enable them to understand the true meaning of Islam;
- To build them up as students motivated to preach and propagate the tradition of Islamic virtues; to build up their character in a way so that they can make the communities aware of different aspects of Islam, its religious customs and rituals and to inspire the learners to the codes of life as prescribed in Islam;
- To build them up in a way that they can know and understand the true ideal and spirit of Islam.
- To instruct and follow the general and compulsory subjects as recommended for different levels of others streams.

**Strategies**

At present, Madrassa education is an inseparable part of the national education process. Therefore, necessary steps will be taken to keep the originality of this stream but it will be updated according to the demands of present times so that it imbibes new vigor. Currently, in Bangladesh 5-year Ibtedaye, 5-year Dhakil, 2-year Alim, 2-year Fazil and 2-year Kamil courses are in practice. To maintain equivalence to other streams Madrasa courses will be redesigned where Ibtedaye courses will be of 8-year and Dakhil and Alim 2-year each. 4-year Fazil honours and 1-year Kamil course will be introduced to coordinate these with the higher education of general stream, subject to recruitment of necessary and qualified teachers and availability of necessary materials.

But till these facilities can be ensured, the existing duration of Fazil and Kamil courses will continue.

At the Ibtedaye level, curriculum of different classes will be coordinated in tune with other streams including the compulsory subjects such as, Bangla, English, Moral Science, Bangladesh Studies, General Mathematics, Social Environment, Environmental Science with the inclusion of the concepts of 'climate change', and Information Technology. These subjects will be compulsory for all. From



Classes VI to VIII, pre-vocational and communication technology education will be offered. At Dakhil level, Bangla, English, General Mathematics (upto Class X), Information Technology and Bangladesh Studies will be compulsory subjects.

A Qowmi Madrassa Education Commission will be formed with representatives from the persons involved with the learning process and management of this stream. This commission will prepare necessary recommendations for education in this stream and submit them for the consideration of the government.

Like other streams, importance will be given to the subjects such as, English, Science,

Mathematics, Bangladesh Studies, Information Technology and Vocational Education in the syllabus and curriculum of Ibtedaye and Dakhil levels so that the students get equal opportunities and find them competent for the demand and needs of the national and international job market. To attain this goal, the Madrassa teachers will be properly trained; laboratories with adequate supply of tools and apparatus will be established and infrastructure will be developed like other vocational and technical education institutions.

As in the general stream, in Madrassa education too, necessary reforms will be enacted.

Necessary education materials, scholarships, supply of free textbooks and instruments for sports etc. will be ensured and a rich library will be established in every madrassa.

Bangladesh Madrassa Education Board will be reorganized to function more effectively for the approval and re-approval of madrassas, designing curriculum, textbooks, conducting examinations and giving certificates at the Ibtedaye, Dakhil and Alim levels.

The evaluation process as practiced in the education of general stream will be followed in madrassas too.

Proper management and supervision will be effectively in place to improve the quality of teaching at every level of Madrassa education. The process will be in consistent with the one proposed for general education system.

Comparative theology will be offered as an optional subject at Fazil and Kamil levels.

At present, for the higher levels of Madrassa education, namely Fazil and Kamil, the overall responsibility of management including recommendation of curriculum and textbooks, supervision and monitoring of the institutions and the conduct of the examinations lies with Islamic University at Kushtia. It is difficult for a regular university to accomplish all these responsibilities. An affiliating Islamic University will be established to perform all these functions.

### **3.5 Challenges with Madrassa Education**

The Madrassas attached to the board follow a standard curriculum. In the early years, depending on their teaching capacity, all Qomi Madrassas teach secular subjects to grade 8. From class 9 onwards the focus shifts exclusively to religious education. In addition to this, there are also a few other regional boards of Qomi Madrassas, which often revolve around a specific Madrassa. IttehadulMadaris is another influential Qomi Madrassa board, mainly under the influence of the famous Al-Jamiya Al-IslamiyaPattia in Chittagong. Unlike the Aliya Madrassas, whose degrees are recognized by the government, the degrees issued by the QomiMadrassa boards are not recognized by the state. Thus they cannot be used for securing a government position. However, they are important for Qomi Madrassa students seeking teaching positions within the religious hierarchy of Qomi Madrassas, for religious jobs in the Gulf region and for jobs in the private sector (Bano, 2007).

The first evidence to support the above claim comes from the main criticism of the Qomi Madrassas, which is that they only produce graduates for religious jobs, children who can be absorbed only into positions as the heads of mosques, khateeb and future Madrassa teachers. Having studied secular subjects only to eighth grade and in some cases for an even shorter period, they are of limited use in the commercial sector and the government's refusal to recognize Qomi Madrassa degrees means that their graduates are not eligible for government positions. In this scenario, the most natural source of employment for them is the religious hierarchy, represented through the dense mosque network across the country.

### **3.6 Socioeconomic Status and Class Structure in Developing Countries**

The concepts of socioeconomic status (SES) and class are pervasive in sociological studies, yet an examination of the sociological and social science literatures suggests a lack of consensus on their conceptual meaning and measurement. The review focuses on the use of SES and class in a specific substantive field, studies of child health and fertility in developing countries. The mechanisms that underlie the relationship between SES and fertility and child health and the divergent results found in this field were discussed. The reviewers investigated the relationship between the conceptual and empirical literature, highlighting the inconsistencies that have been found.

### **3.7 Concepts and Measures of SES and Class**

No one theory has a monopoly on the meaning of SES or class. Socioeconomic status refers to the position of individuals, families, households, or other aggregates on one or more dimensions of stratification. These dimensions include income, education, prestige, wealth, or other aspects of standing that members of society deem salient. There are different ideas about what class is, but it is generally defined relationally, referring to groups of people who share a similar position such as the relationship to the means of production. All too often SES and class are ambiguous terms that serve as shorthand expressions to refer to social and economic characteristics that are believed to be important, but the rationale or meaning of which is not always made clear.

There are nearly as many concepts of socioeconomic status and class as there are authors writing on them. However, distancing ourselves from the particulars of each work, it is possible to discern two broad approaches. The first sees class or SES as essentially a unitary concept. From this perspective, a fundamental dimension underlies class (or SES), and it is this dimension that is the primary driving force of some class analyses. The second viewpoint focuses on the components of SES or class and treats them as having distinct effects. This conceptualization disputes the unidimensionality of class or SES. It highlights the

separate dimensions of stratification and predicts that different dimensions can have different consequences.

We briefly describe each of these conceptualizations and typical ways in which they are operationalized below. Before detailing these distinctions, we note that having a unidimensional concept of class does not deny the possibility of including other components of inequality in an analysis. Many scholars who use class in their analyses do not assert primacy of class in determining all social phenomena (Wright 1996).

### **3.8 Measures of SES Used in the Studies**

In addition to considering the conceptual approaches and how they relate to the empirical strategies of the articles, we examined the actual measures in the analyses.

We found that there is little consensus on the issues of which components of SES should be included and how they should be measured, outside of the widespread agreement that maternal education should be incorporated lists the number of articles in which the main variables appeared. The variables listed in Table below represent broad categories within which there was a good deal of variation across the studies. Initially, we compiled a detailed list of all the different ways in which each of these variables was measured. This list was too vast to represent in the table, but we describe some of the various ways in which each was measured and the meanings that authors assigned to them below.

Clearly, maternal education is the most frequently used socioeconomic variable in these studies. It was included in every study except one for which SES was incorporated in the empirical analyses. In contrast, husband's or paternal education was included in only about a third of the articles. Education is sometimes measured by following variables in the table show the frequency of appearing in the studies;

**Figure 2:** Frequencies of SES variables appearing in the 67 studies

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
Female/maternal education or literacy	66
Durable goods, agricultural assets, and/or housing quality	35
Husband/paternal education or literacy	23
Husband/paternal occupation	15
Female/maternal occupation	13
Income or consumption	11
Pays social security (indicator of access to health care)	1
Received remittances	1
High-caste household	1

Living Standards Measurement Study (LSMS) of the World Bank. Household surveys for 21 developing countries, some with repeated cross-sections. Generally include data on education, employment, income, expenditures, and health data for all household members, but this varies by country. Some countries have community and school data that can be linked to households. <http://www.worldbank.org/html/prdph/lsmfamily> Life Surveys (FLS) conducted by RAND, for Malaysia, Indonesia, Guatemala, and Bangladesh Surveys contain detailed current and retrospective data on family structure, economic status, education/ training, transfers, migration, and other topics, as well as community and school data. Upon completion of the third wave of the Malaysia Family Life Survey, the three Malaysian Surveys will enable researchers to examine the effects of family background on educational outcomes over half a century. Surveys for Malaysia and Indonesia are two of the few longitudinal surveys for developing countries. <http://www.rand.org/FLS>

Program for Student Assessment (PSA) of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), An internationally standardized assessment of the skills and knowledge of 15-year-olds in 32 countries, 28 of which are members of the OECD, and four of which are developing countries (China, Brazil, Korea, Mexico). First round of surveys completed in 2000 contain data on student achievement in reading, math, and science, family background, teachers,

classrooms, and schools, as well as student perceptions and aspirations.  
<http://www.oecd.org/els/pisa/>

### **3.9 Social Structure in Bangladesh**

#### **a. Class stratification in Bangladesh and its Differential Roles Modern Society and Stratification in Bangladesh**

Dhaka was originated as a Mughal Metropolis of Bengal, in the first decade of the seventeenth century, it gradually grew stronger in the nineteenth century both politically and socioculturally.

For a short period from 1905 to 1911 Dhaka became the capital city of the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam as a result of the first Bengal partition. But after the annulment of Bengal partition in 1912 the city of Dhaka again reverted to its original status, (Karim, A. K. Nazmul (1961), pp.66-68).

It was then only an Eastern city of the British Empire in India. But with the second partition of Bengal in 1947 it was made the provincial capital of East Pakistan. The present metropolitan status of Dhaka as the capital city is the direct result of the victory in the War of Liberation of Bangladesh in 1971.

We should now more specifically look into the class structure of Dhaka city as it obtained in the post-Plassey period of company rule. Sirajul Islam in his well-written article Social Life in Dhaka 1763-1800 maintains that the city of Dhaka was conquered in 1763 by the British East India Company just six years after the Battle of Plassey in 1757. The society of Dhaka city at that time was highly stratified into different status groups. Sirajul Islam has identified some important status groups or classes. According to him, the highest status groups consisted of princely families who formed Mughal aristocracy, government pensioners, the lower-ranking upper class and lake rajdars. As regards ranks and status they were followed by the trading and manufacturing classes with whom indigenous banias, mutsuddis, gomosthas, paikars, kayals, sarrafs, mohrers, paiks, peadas, and an adequate number of laborers we reconnected.

The local factory men constituted an opulent class in the urban society of Dhaka. In terms of the Weberian market situation they could be recognized as predecessors of the Baboos during colonial rule. Here we could trace some kind

of middle class in Dhaka city at that time. The most numerous group of small traders formed the next important social category. During the period of currency chaos in the late eighteenth century, a class of traders, specializing in currency business, emerged as a distinct social group, whom Sirajul Islam called Currency Capitalists a kind of finance capitalists in the Marxist sense. The whole money market was controlled by them. According to Sirajul Islam, the decline of the Mughal aristocracy led to the emergence of a new society in Dhaka in the last decade of the eighteenth century.

On the other hand, Sharif Uddin Ahmed has used two criteria for classifying the population of nineteenth-century Dhaka such as religion and sect. In terms of religion the Muslims and Hindus were the two main social groups. And then he has divided Muslim society on the basis of Islamic sects such as Shia and Sunni. According to him, the Muslim society of nineteenth-century Dhaka was composed of two groups: the small alien upper class of Shias who rose to prominence through wealth, influence and patronage; and the large local group of Sunnis who comprised the bulk of the service community, the Muslim artisans, the shopkeepers and the laborers. Hindus formed the second largest social group in Dhaka which included high, middle and lower layers of the caste system. Occupationally, the majority of the Hindus in Dhaka were businessmen, manufacturers, artisans, clerks and laborers. There were a considerable number of Hindu landowners in the Dhaka city and in the surrounding areas, who formed the nucleus of a new elite class, the bhadrolok. By the middle and late nineteenth century they soon moved into government services, judiciary and professions created by the British administration. H. Walters in the census of the city of Dhaka in 1830 had demonstrated the detailed occupational distribution of the population belonging to two major religious groups, Muslims and Hindus. Some middle class elements might have later on arisen from these occupational groups, but the census itself did not make any clear reference to this.

The establishment of Dhaka College in 1841 contributed to the development of the city in various ways. The college added a new dimension to the cultural, social and intellectual character of the city. The foundation of Jagannath College in 1884, which has recently been made a university, further strengthened the

potentiality of academic institutions to produce graduates so that they could join the ranks of civil administration. The Brahma Samaj which was first founded in Calcutta by Raja Rammohan Roy in 1828 had its branch in Dhaka in 1846 played a pioneering role in the regeneration of urban society in Dhaka. Through the establishment of the Law Department in the Dhaka College in 1863 the Bengali students had developed their eagerness to have an independent career in legal profession. Between 1868 and 1872, for example, forty-nine students qualified from the Law Department as the leaders of the High court. The rise of these qualified lawyers not only ensured a better legal service within the city but also introduced a new element in its society a group of highly educated professionals who could speak their mind to secure the city's welfare, and whose professional independence ideally placed them to assume social leadership. The role of the Mitford Hospital and the Ahsanullah Engineering College should be mentioned in this regard.

Thus we have seen how the lawyers, engineers and physicians the three important professional groups of the modern middle class came into being in the city of Dhaka in the late nineteenth century.

There is a close connection between the development of modern middle class and cultural renaissance in Bengal society. The uneven growth of English educated middle class among the Muslims and Hindus in Bengal resulted into an exclusive and partial renaissance. Nazmul Karim has dealt with this problem in an objective manner. He discusses the questions why renaissance did happen among the Bengali Hindu intelligentsia and not among the Muslims.

Karim has sought the answer to the question in the peculiar emergence of intellectual class in the urbanized sections of the Bengali Hindu-Muslim society. The Hindu middle class intelligentsia belonged to an altogether different social category when compared to the urbanized Muslims.

In the twentieth century due to the working of various social, economic and political factors, the upper strata of the Muslim Society of East Bengal gradually merged with the Muslim masses and that process gave birth to middle class in the urban areas. This is how with the second partition of Bengal in 1947 the society of East Bengal was left with the sole leadership of the Muslim middle class. As the



Muslim educated middle class grew in strength, it came to challenge the supremacy of the landed aristocracy in Muslim politics, particularly in East Bengal. The fissures in the unity of the two sections of the Muslim elite, the landed aristocracy and the educated middle class found their expressions in the power struggle between the educated middle class elite of East Bengal/East Pakistan and landed aristocracy-cum-civil-military bureaucratic elite of West Pakistan which culminated in the war of Liberation in 1971. Consequently, the upper strata which provided leadership in the field of commerce and industries lost its hold over society. In view of this special situation, we may presume that the leadership would necessarily fall on the Bengali Muslim middle class together with a sprinkling of those Bengali Muslims who became rich during Pakistan rule and also those who amassed a good deal of wealth in the wake of the Liberation struggle and its aftermath. It seems that the Liberation Struggle has convulsed society to its roots.

In early 1980s a research held by Areance and Burdaen.

They classified social stratification in 4 categories. Those are:

1. Poor peasant;
2. Middle peasant;
3. Rich peasant; and
4. Land lord

Ram Krisna Mukharjee, Dr. Anowerullah Choudhury, P.J. Bartocy and many more has worked on social stratification in Bangladesh. But what is the dynamic change in present Bangladesh?

Kamal Siddiqui and his coauthors in their study, *Social Formation in Dhaka City (1990)*, have made a kind of class analysis of Dhaka city population on the basis of municipal holding tax number according to which holding tax-payers generally belonged to the lower middle class to the rich class. Besides holding tax the above mentioned authors have shown the land ownership pattern in Dhaka city in the mid-1980s in which they have classified the income groups into four categories such as upper class, upper middle class, middle and lower middle class, and poor class.

According to their estimate the upper class formed 2 per cent of Dhaka's population while owning 15 per cent of the land; the upper middle class constituted 28 per cent of the population but owned 65 per cent of the land; middle and lower-middle class formed 30 percent of population having only 20 per cent of land in their ownership and the poor class which constituted 40 per cent of the population did not own any land. Since the authors did not show the middle class and lower middle class separately while keeping upper middle class as a different category, it is difficult to ascertain the actual size of the middle class.

Therefore, we would here like to lump together all three segments of the middle class following Warner's scheme of urban class stratification. If we do so then we can see that middle class constituted 58 per cent of the total population of Dhaka city in 1986 having 85 per cent of the land in their ownership.

The authors also looked into the mobility pattern of the Dhaka residents. According to them, a considerable vertical mobility in terms of income, education, occupation, property, etc. had taken place for the General Household Survey (GHS) respondents during the fifties, the sixties, and after the Liberation of Bangladesh, although this may have slowed down considerably or came to a grinding halt in recent times. This kind of upward mobility for the middle and rich class was possible only because of the special vacuum filling circumstances generated through the creation of Pakistan and Bangladesh. Aid-dependent economic development and remittances of migrants to the Middle East and the West were perhaps other factors in this regard. Marriage was still ensuring some upward mobility within a limit, but excluding the lower classes.

The above authors have discussed different aspects of the middle class of Dhaka city.

According to them, the middle class is not a monolithic social category as it is divided in their opinions on various issues. It was only in 1971 that the vast majority of the middle class were for the first time united in the Bangladesh movement.

On the other hand, Stanley A. Kochanek in his recent study on Bangladesh business and politics observed that Bengali Muslim intellectuals dismissed Bengali

Muslim businessmen claims of hardship and sacrifice and argued that those businessmen had been given a freeride. The middle-class leftist saw the new Bengali entrepreneurs as arbitrarily chosen custodians of public resources. In the eyes of leftist intellectuals, Bengali Muslim entrepreneurs were nothing but petty traders, contractors, and touts who lacked social legitimacy. As a result of these attitudes there existed a powerful political constituency among the petty bourgeoisie and deprived masses in East Pakistan against the private sector.

There was, therefore, little public opposition to the nationalization of these holdings by the first post-Liberation Government. The disinvestment and denationalization policies of the Zia and Ershad governments slowly revived private-sector entrepreneurship. The development of entrepreneurship has been based on political patronage, connections, free credit and monopoly control. As a result, Bangladesh has developed three types of enterprises: industrial fronts, aid conduits, and legitimate factory production units.

Despite different types of difficulties, Bangladesh is beginning to develop a new entrepreneurial class from the nineties under three political regimes headed by Khaleda Zia and Sheikh Hasina. And along with this upper stratum of Bangladesh society there emerged a new segment of the middle class which has been extending for the last two decades in various ways in different sectors of socio-economic life of the country. The bulk of this newly emerged middle class is definitely bred in Dhaka. In this connection, it would be interesting to look into the observation of Professor Rehman Sobhan who says:

“In Bangladesh, society is increasingly becoming a fragmented society since people are divided by politics, by class, by gender and by communal denominations. The growing influence of money and muscle in the electoral process has effectively disenfranchised people of modest means, women and religious, as well as ethnic, minorities. Bangladesh’s two societies are characterized by the emergence of elite which is becoming increasingly differentiated from the mass of society. This elevation of a group of people, who a little over three decades ago, were part of a shared fabric of middle class society in Bangladesh, into a far more exclusive elite, integrated into the process

of globalization ... such an emergent elite repudiates the spirit of the Liberation war which promised to establish a just social order<sup>16</sup>.”

Although Sobhan does not specifically mention about the fate of the existing middle class of Dhaka city, so to say, of Bangladesh as a whole under globalized capitalism, it is not difficult to understand the ultimate condition of the middle class and the stratification or status is too elusive.

#### **b. Cultural Capital from School Reproduced in the University in Dhaka**

What does it mean that social class is reproduced culturally? Or, how does society get reproduced culturally? Many reproduction theorists argue that school as a cultural institution helps to reproduce social class. Among others, Bourdieu (1984) argued how the class- culture gets reproduced in school practices. By defining class as the difference between tastes of different social groups he argued that in capitalist societies, there are different social groups who compete among themselves over the societal valuation of tastes. Thus different social groups earn different status according to their distinct tastes. Some groups with distinct tastes and relatively privileged life styles have advantages over other status groups. He defined the individual's taste culture in terms of her/ his cultural and linguistic capital and how schools act in the production of taste culture of status formation of certain groups. In classical Marxism, reproduction of the economic structure happens in the realm of capital accumulation. In sharp contrast, in Bourdieu's scheme, production and reproduction of status groups happens in school practice. However, many reproduction theorists (Giroux 1983; Macleod 1995; Gorder 1980; Apple 1982b) have written Bourdieu's perspective off since as they see it as too functional and simplistic.

#### **c. Class Domination through Education**

Social inequality, broadly defined, is based on race, class, gender, age, and so on. A large amount of previous anthropological scholarship, by its disciplinary traditions, has focused on the impact of broader, mostly westernized, political, economic, and ideological forces on the lives of the vast majorities in non-western societies. Marginalized, oppressed, and less powerful social groups and their ways of life have been a popular theme in anthropological inquiry lies on

the discipline's traditional focus itself. Traditionally, anthropology as a discipline by and large had paid relatively more attention to the people or the groups of people who are marginalized and oppressed by the broader forces of change. However Nader (1969) argued that rather than studying the impacts of powerful institutions and global forces of change on the marginalized populations, we need to focus on the processes of subjugation and oppression in contemporary societies. Rather than focus on the marginalized, oppressed and neglected people as objects of anthropological studies, contemporary anthropology should also include powerful institutions, powerful social groups, and the mechanisms of domination of power in their research agenda. Thus, she suggested, "studying up" People or group of people who control and exercise power over the vast majority sometimes need serious anthropological investigation. Often it is the powerful social groups in developing countries still suffer from subjugation and marginalization.

In contemporary societies, how formal schooling helps to maintain the unequal social class structures in society has been of interest to many scholars. Bourdieu and Passeron (1990), two leading scholars in this field of inquiry, suggested a cultural reproductive model in relation to class, school and domination. This model has been criticized; some elements of his theory are still powerful in understanding the role of schooling in shifting economic situation of contemporary urban Bangladesh.

In a sense his project was inspired by the idea of studying up. He has chosen to study two student groups in Bangladesh, who in many senses belong to the upper social strata. In the both public and private universities, it is the upper-middle and the elite classes who have privileged access to higher education. Schools are the sites where the interaction between political economy and culture is visible. Higher education being the strongest and most formal articulation of cultural capital, it is important to understand this situation and its relation with economic, social and political factors in creating and maintaining inequality in contemporary urban Bangladesh.

### 3.10 Impact of Cultural Globalization in Bangladesh

The most important effect of cultural globalization is the commercialization of culture. Production and consumption of cultural goods and services have become commodities, along with the essentials of social life (marriage and family life, religion work and leisure). What once was an element of the way of life becomes a product, rather than something unique men had made to suit their own needs and circumstances. In urban Bangladesh, technology of multi- channels TV began in 1991 and hence satellite broadcasting has been delivering 'lots of channels to viewers'. Cultural domination by electronic media within the society thus has eventually become a major concern of sociological inquiry, how the urban youth accept and respond to their access to global culture (DilaraZahid; 2007).

*“We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the million whom we govern –a class of persons Indian in blood and colour but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and intellect” (Macaulay, cited in, Ramgopal, 1963)*

The process of globalization today is nothing but a new version of the speech of Macaulay in the nineteenth century. Starting in the sixteenth century, Western adventures made a conscious effort to undermine the cultural heritage of various people around the world. This was accomplished by imposing Western religion and cultural practices on those with a different way of life. While today the same is true of the march of globalization. According to Martin Albrow (1992), globalization is a process to bring all the human beings of the world in a comprehensive community. The process involves various types of efforts. There are, thus, various types of globalization, such as economic globalization, political globalization, cultural globalization, etc., although they are all interconnected and interrelated.

The most important far-reaching effect of cultural globalization is the commercialization of culture. Production and consumption of cultural goods and services have become commodities, along with the essentials of social life (marriage and family life, religion, work and leisure) that are the crucibles of

cultural creations. Culture whether it is music, food, clothes, art, sports, images of age, youth, masculinity or femininity has become a product, sold in the market place. As the former chairman of Coca-Cola, Robert Goizueta said: "People around the world are today connected by brand name consumer products as much as by anything else."(Akande,2002).

The common characteristic of the globalized culture is that it pursues the same "one size fits all" idea: the archetypical middle class family according to the American model in which consumerism is the norm. The result of this cultural process of homogenization is that a large section of the world's population dreams of living like Cosby & Co or like the characters in any other stereotype American soap opera. Traditional values have been overtaken by Coca Cola culture.

In Bangladesh scope for employment has been created through new business establishments in various aspects like textiles industries, garment industries, local and national level social development programs, small entrepreneurships, agricultural industries, bank and micro finance institutions, hospitals etc. Though most of the employers are centered to the capital city Dhaka with head offices and decentralization of economic establishment like garment and textile industries, private education institutions, hospitals and retail markets require moving towards all districts and at local level.

### **3.11 Conclusion:**

According to the policy makers and education analysts the National Education Policy 2010 emphasized on the uniformity at the primary and secondary level of different streams through few subjects as the basic knowledge and perception of patriotism grows equally. Social classes as Marx's capitalist society has never formed in Bangladesh but there were classes in the peasant society and also found social fragmented structure in urban Dhaka in the recent studies. The interesting finding of several researches conducted on health issues in developing countries in South Asia revealed mother's education as the crucial variable to measure classes.

## **Chapter 4: Language, Culture and Schooling: a mixed Methods Research Process**

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It has been observed in the last 20 years several social sciences disciplines interest to use quantitative and qualitative methods in research design and analysis. The mixed methods, quantitative and qualitative in the same research design, data processing, analysis and integration, has been the *third research paradigm*, (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p, 15), and a new star in the social science sky, (Mayring, 2007, p. 1) in the social sciences research works. This kind of merit is required for social facts to uphold the status of science. Mixed method approach make the scope social sciences researches, present evidence based data in connection to the huge statistical and quantitative analysis. Mixed method is an intuitive way of doing research that is constantly being displayed through our everyday lives (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011, p. 1).

### **4.1 Why Mixed Methods Approach in the Research Design**

Combining methods is challenging and should only be undertaken when there is a specific reason to do so. There are many good discussions of reasons for mixing methods found in the literature to help researchers guide their work. The prominent frameworks on the reasons for mixing methods include triangulation, complementarities, development, initiation, and expansion. Hunch to response to new insights is an essential aspect of conducting mixed methods research but at least one clear reason as to why a researcher is planning to combine methods is rather important! Greene, Caracelli, and Graham (1989) and Bryman (2006) identified several reasons for mixing methods and gave elaboration to define the context; from those two reasons explain best for mixing methods in the current research.

First one is 'Offset' that refers to the suggestion that the research methods associated with both quantitative and qualitative research have their own strengths and weaknesses so that combining them allows the researcher to offset their weaknesses to draw on the strengths of both. For instance the



language skill or mastery on language would not be possible to test except Focus Group Discussions with the students the qualitative method of data collection, on the contrary questionnaire survey method helped to streamline the key points for Focus Group Discussion. The other reason is 'illustration' refers to the use of qualitative data to illustrate quantitative findings, often referred to as putting "meat on bones" of "dry" quantitative findings. The popular music and movies were listed from survey questionnaire but why different group of student differs in choice or taste in entertainment required Focus Group Discussion and Interviews. Without quantitative survey method the huge number of names and frequency against those was not possible to find. This is important because young people when they start to develop their taste they take multiple varieties of entertainment due to curiosity for new arrivals. To identify the social groups by the weight of choice of young people survey is the first step to get into the analysis. On the contrary the qualitative method made the scope to present detail on the sorted out names of the movies or songs which is not suitable to present in quantitative method. So this dissertation has undertaken the best suitable mixed methods design called Explanatory Sequential Design, is discussed below.

### **Mixed Method: Explanatory Sequential Design**

In the Explanatory Sequential Mixed Method Design, the researcher begins by conducting a quantitative phase and follows up on specific results with a second phase. The second phase must be the qualitative that is implemented for the purposes of explaining the initial results in more depth, and it is due to the focus on explaining results that is reflected in the design name. This design has also been called qualitative follow up approach (Morgan, 1998). The explanatory design is well suited when the researcher needs qualitative data to explain quantitative significant (or no significant) results, positive performing exemplars, outlier results or surprising results (Bradley et al., 2009; Morse 1991). In addition it can be used if the researcher wish to form group based quantitative results and follow up with the subsequent qualitative research or to use quantitative results about participant characteristics to guide purposeful sampling for a qualitative

phase (Creswell, Plano Clark, et al, 2003, Morgan 1998; Tashakkori&Teddlie, 1998).

The explanatory sequence design has been chosen for this dissertation since the quantitative methods had collected a huge data through survey questionnaire having number of open ended questions about students taste on music, movies, cuisines, books, newspaper, websites and also what do they like and dislike in the school; which is all about variables to identify language proficiency and popular youth culture and also to identify them in the social groups. These huge statistics demanded more precise streamline of variables explaining in depth which is done through purposeful sampling from the group responded in the phase one and received lots of interesting stories about new forms of cultural practices from within the fragmented social groups.

## **4.2 Multiple Data Sources**

The mixed methods data analysis is done on quantitative and qualitative data collected through multiple sources (Secondary and Primary sources) as per demand of the research question and availability of relevant data.

### **A. Quantitative Data**

#### **a. Primary Data**

##### **i. Survey Questionnaire**

A survey questionnaire developed containing questions (closed ended or open ended and coded) for demographic data, teaching and learning environment, high school students' taste about reading books, music, movies, cuisine, types of spending free time, and aim in life, choice internet websites and newspaper, use of mobile etc.

##### **ii. Competence Test with Multiple Choice Questions**

As per the National Education Policy all students in Bangladesh in the Primary and Secondary level students must study Bangla, Maths and Bangladesh studies as the common subject regardless of any particular stream of education system. To assess the knowledge about civics, economics, history and geography of

Bangladesh and the sense of patriotism a competence test 50 multiple choice questions was given to take a test for 30 minutes.

**b. Secondary data**

National statistics management institutions BANBEIS and BBS have been explored for national quantitative data to increase the weight and credibility of the data presentation in this research dissertation.

**Field Mapping Data Source from BANBEIS**

Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Information & Statistics (BANBEIS) is a central depository of Bangladesh government for the collection, dissemination and provider to all stakeholders. It started its activities as an attached department of Ministry of Education. BANBEIS data resource is explored to find list of Schools, Madrasas and English Medium Schools. It helped for field mapping and selecting schools in Sylhet, Chittagong and Dhaka districts for conducting research sampling as well.

**Demographic and Gender Based Data from Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS)**

The Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics has been in existence for more than 38 years, being formed from the merger of four other agencies in 1974. Since its inception, its role has been to provide the government of the day and the nation as a whole with statistical information to guide decision making and the development process. While much has been achieved, there is fairly widespread agreement that the Bureau and the national statistical system of which it is the apex organization, needs to be strengthened and improved if it is to meet the information needs of the country in the twenty first century. BBS database has been used as secondary data resources, in this dissertation for Gender and Age group based national statistics on Education and overall population growth information.

## **B. Qualitative Data**

### **a. Primary Data**

#### **i) Classroom Teaching and Learning Environment Observation**

Sitting at the back of the classroom quietly for a period for classroom teaching and learning Environment observation was done in at least one period in every school either class VIII, IX or class X. The classroom observation included teacher-students interactions, teacher's behavior and language or commanding patterns, teaching methods and students to student interaction.

#### **ii) Key Informant Interview**

Six students from different universities were interviewed for taking their stories for the key information, among them two were selected from each stream of schooling system, under National Curriculum General Board, National Curriculum Madrasa Board and British Curriculum English medium education. The objective of using case study as a tool is to figure out how cultural capital, earned through family background and schooling help getting higher education. This is actually to focus on the scope and opportunities for higher education as well as comparative analysis of cultural capital grown from three different education systems, transition from one to another social group, influenced by individual taste.

#### **iii) Focus Group Discussion**

Focus Group Discussion is used for collecting qualitative data in phase 3, taking students from the same sample group has been selected for the quantitative data collected in phase 2. The objective for using FGD tool was to get in depth or detail information about favorite entertainments; like why choice of music, movies, books, heroes, TV programs entertainment differs among the secondary school going students. Reasons behind different choices or popularity can be language skills, access to cultural elements, or sense of entertainment grows as one belongs to a particular social class!

**iv) Participant Observation in the DJ Café and Shisha Lounge**

Visited DJ Café s where shisha in lounges are available in different locations. Spending time with friends as a customer in the lounges allowed the researcher enough space to observe the genuine environment in those restaurants and newly formed culture in regular days and on special occasions like Valentine’s Day. The participant observation revealed a lot of unknown things about youth culture in Dhaka city.

**v) Bengali and English Language Communication Skill Assessment through Writing and Speaking**

Since in respect to the market value of language skills in Bangladesh context both formal Bangla and fluent English has high demand the researcher kept scope to write comments about personal choices about music, movies, super star, popular student in the school, about shisha bar and DJ café in own language. The speaking skill is assessed through FGD. The assessment has been done rating on four skills of language like - pronunciation, spelling, choice of words and understating and expression level in conversation using the following Likert scaling tool.

**Figure : 3 Expression Scaling Tool**

Questions					
1.	① Strongly Agree	② Agree	③ Neither	④ Disagree	⑤ Strongly Disagree
2.	① Strongly Agree	② Agree	③ Neither	④ Disagree	⑤ Strongly Disagree
3.	① Strongly Agree	② Agree	③ Neither	④ Disagree	⑤ Strongly Disagree
4.	① Strongly Agree	② Agree	③ Neither	④ Disagree	⑤ Strongly Disagree

**b. Secondary Data**

**i) Print media**

Print media was explored to find news printed on National Education Policy 2010, reaction from Islamic Political Parties and Madrassas and also the news on Hefazat E Islam 13 point Issue on Women's Advancement Policy. This news was important to analyze the discussion raised by Madrassa Students during Focus Group discussion. Besides in the questionnaire students mentioned the name of the newspaper they mostly read so the analysis on that variable required review of those newspapers in respect to the language and understanding of the editor's perception because that must reflect the readers' choice.

**ii) School Magazine/year book/school profiles**

Researcher was sincere to collect any publication either year book, school magazine or profile from each and every school have been undertaken for data collection. School profile is important to know about the education objective, focus of the school management authority, school achievements, co-curricular performances, inter school performances, standard of the school and background of students as well.

**iii) Electronic Media**

Electronic Media has been taken as a source of secondary data source to use the supplementary information as the justification of the trendy youth culture found through primary data. There are live media reporting program being produced on different concerned issues for high school going adolescents, for instance drugs Yaaba business is growing behind the trendy youth culture that take place in the manner of forbidden entertainments like DJ café or Shisha café linked with the crime world in cities. Though this is far away from the objective of the researcher here to figure out new forms of trendy youth culture and who in which process get involved in it.

#### **iv) Internet Posting**

Social Media and you tube are very much popular in Bangladesh. Facebook posting fun creations you tube, memes, photography, sticker and language used in comments, is a huge resource to get the trend and variations in youth culture. Even news and photos of current cuisine culture, different forms of entertainment update information is available in internet websites, blogs and postings which source is extensively used in this research.

### **C. Data and Support**

#### **i) Field Mapping**

At the beginning the researcher thought to cover cities where a number of reputed English Medium International High Schools are established, and Madrassa Education is also popular beside mainstream schools under National Curriculum Board. Considering the research capacity and time, limitation of funds and possible use of data in future works as a PhD dissertation researcher selected most advanced cities in Bangladesh, Sylhet, Chittagong and Dhaka. After collecting data and data analysis from Sylhet, Chittagong and partly finished in Dhaka the first presentation to the Academic Committee of the Department Sociology, a lot of comments came up. Working on those comments the researcher revealed that the research question has to be more precise and the subject demands in depth qualitative analysis to get the PhD standard research. So accordingly research question, data collection method and tools revised and field mapping has been redesigned delimiting only within Dhaka. The researcher decided to keep the research design in three phases. The first design is reckoned as the preparatory or pilot phase that was done in Sylhet, and Chittagong. 2<sup>nd</sup> phase was only the data collection and analysis part in quantitative method with the revised tools in newly mapping field on 400 students from 4 academic institutions at the secondary school level. The 3<sup>rd</sup> phase includes qualitative methods in the same field which was undertaken during the 2<sup>nd</sup> phase but fewer respondents (students) were purposively selected for FGD from the previous sample group.

The new field mapping included Uttara, Mohammadpur, and Baily Road for English and National curriculum Education, on the other hand had to include Tongi, for Dakhil Madrasas locations.

Actually Dhanmondi and Mohammadpur was the preference in location for field because Schools and Madrasas of all the three kinds of education system at secondary school level available there in good number; on top of that a number of pioneer International schools were established in this location since 1950s. The list of Schools and Madrassas are collected from BANBEIS but found no madrassas in Dhanmondi area. Keeping English Medium schools in special consideration random sampling started from Saint Xavier Green Herald School in Mohammadpur, moving to Dhanmondi sample 2 was taken Sunbeams School located in road 16 new Dhanmondi,

1). A lot of obstacles (Generally Exams or Holidays) faced during data collection and lack of cooperation from English Medium International Curriculum School authorities hampered the task. Since the researcher has to complete the target participants according to the adequate sample size that complies with 5% error protected number, she expanded the field not being confined to this area only, rather went to select the well performing schools as long as the authority provided cooperation. School selection process also considered the issues like, Boys School, Girls school and co-education system in terms of Gender Equality; besides also considered residential and non-residential, Bangla and English version. The detail mapping of the Schools and respondents by sex is shown in figure 2 & 3 accordingly and sampling technique for survey questionnaire, competence test, FGD, interviews and participant observation is noted in the following table 2.



**Figure 4: Mapping of the Schools undertaken by purposive sampling**

Sl	Name & Type of the School	Location	Finally data collected from	Location
1	Sunbeams School, International Curriculum &Co education school	Dhanmondi16, and recently senior section relocated at Uttara new campus with school vehicle services.	Sunbeams School, International Curriculum & Co education school	Uttara, Sector 11
2	Dhanmondi Boys' Government School, National Curriculum	Dhanmodi 16	Residential Model College, National Curriculum MPO School, only for boys, few seats to reside	Mohammadpur
3	Dhanmondi Girl's Government High School, National Curriculum	Dhanmondi 11	Viqarunnissa Noon School, Only for Girls and National Curriculum MPO School	Baily Road
4	TamirulMillatKamil Madrasa, Boy's Section	TongiGazipur	Mohammad Hafizia Madrassa (Girls and Boys)	Mohammadpur

**Figure 5: Name of the Schools finally participated in the Data Collection Process**

<b>Name of the Sample Schools * Sex of the Respondents</b>			
name of the respondent school	sex of the respondent		Total
	male	female	
TamirulMillatKamil Madrasa	81	39	120
Residential Model College	78		78
Sunbeams School	56	55	111
Viqarunnisa-noon School	0	91	91
Total	215	185	400

**Figure 6: Sampling Technique and Sample Size of the Research**

<b>Probability Sampling; Multi Stage Cluster Technique</b>						<b>Non Probability Sampling, Snowball for cases and key informants</b>			
Sl	Field/ City	Schools/ Madrasa	Survey with students	Students' Competence Test	Students' FGD	Case Study of students/ young professional	Key informants( teacher, school administration, SMC member, parents) interview with university students	Participant Observation hang out with friends	Class Room Environment Observation
<b>1<sup>st</sup> Phase : Pilot phase</b>									
1	Sylhet	7	90	120	7	3	20		7
2	Chittagon g	5	70	50	5	3	10		5
<b>2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Phase: Quantitative and Qualitative Methods</b>									
3	Dhaka	04	400	200	4	0	07	4	06

**i. Field Research Procedures**

Field research has been conducted through a plan of activity with prepared tools and assistance in data collection process in hand. Seeking appointment of the Principal or Head Master of the School, submit an application for the permission to work with the students for two hours of class to take a MCQ test and fill up the survey questionnaire by students of either X or IX Grade during the interview with the Principal and later. If the class size is 40+ students both the tasks were done dividing the class equally by calling random numbers and later 8-15 students were called who were interested to talk for FGD carried on for an hour with a checklist designed for further detail findings. Teachers were interviewed in the teacher's room. A short interview with Guardian was also taken in the school yard. The researcher visited Café 33 at Baily Road where a girl's Birthday Party was going on, visited a farewell party at Café Italia, Valentine's Day at Café Lounge in Dhanmondi, a DJ concert at the Bench Lounge, Comic convention in the presence of more than 1000 youth visitors and 100+ comic player observed in participatory method. These observations will be narrated and analytical report with pictures will be presented in Atlas ti 7.

**ii. Funding Support**

The researcher could arrange a little amount of fund support from Social Science Research Center under planning commission of Bangladesh Government and mostly had to arrange personal funds for all the expenses for allowance for assistants and logistics.

**iii. Research Assistants**

The researcher could adhere with this huge work hiring assistance of competent graduates from public universities and young professionals of relevant field, list of research assistants are following;

**Figure 7: List of Research Assistants**

Name	Qualification	Assistance Provided With
Nessa Syedatun	Honors and Masters from Sociology Department, Dhaka University, MS from Teased University, UK	Data collection during pilot phase
Jewel Rana	Honors and Masters from Sociology of Dhaka University,	Data Collection during 2 <sup>nd</sup> phase
Anowar Jahid	Honors from Sociology Department of Dhaka University	Data Collection during 2 <sup>nd</sup> phase
Kazi Reedwan	Honors and Masters from Urban Planning Department, Jahangirnagar University,	Data entry frame and data entry in SPSS during pilot phase
Nurul Islam Biplob	Honors and Masters from Anthropology Department of Jahangirnagar University, research assistant BRAC	Data Analysis in SPSS and STATA of 2 <sup>nd</sup> phase data collection
Marilyn	O Level and A Level from Saint Xavier Green Herald School, Honors from English Department of Eastern University	Transcript from audio records and description of youth entertainment about TV show, movies and music
Aporajita Mitra	Honors From University of Dhaka	References in alphabetic order
S R Khan Orthee	Honors from University of Dhaka	Organizing content page

**iv. Data Gathering Procedures**

Data was gathered by school after checking and manual corrections the bunch of survey questionnaire sent to the data entry operator. Since the size of the questionnaire is quite large and open ended questions have opportunity give two/three choices, the data entry framework became little critical. All the data was given entry but for those multivariate responses were coding and with those codes analysis done by entering data in the individual windows.

## I) Mixed Methods Research Decisions: Analysis, Integration and Reporting

### i. Data analysis

The following table provides the empirical framework that shaped the research insights presented in this research. Both quantitative and qualitative data was systematically analyzed using appropriate commercial software to explore the cultural capital of youth from different education system and socio economic background. Quantitative data were analyzed using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 20, while qualitative data utilized Atlas.ti qualitative version7.

**Figure 8: Empirical Framework of the Research**

Empirical space	Quantitative	Qualitative
Main data Analyzed	Perception Survey Data	FGD, Case Studies, participant observation of new forms of entertainments
Supplementary Data	National statistical	Parental and teachers interviews, Focus Groups movie stories, school magazine, internet postings
Analytical Techniques	Descriptive statistics  Correlation analysis,  Testing by Chi- Square	Coding  Thematic analysis  Narratives  Dialogic reporting
Software	SPSS 16 and later in version 20	Atlas.ti 7
Mixed Methods Principles Employed	Utilized to build case	More prioritized
	Data Integration at multiple research stages	

**a. Quantitative (SPSS and STATA)**

Variables and data were entered in SPSS software by school category and analysis was done both in SPSS and STATA as per demand of the research question, like Frequency tables on what students like and dislike in the school, cross tables on aim in life of the students by father's occupation and education again for all the three education systems, and also one Multinomial regression analysis is done only to see the relationship between monthly income of the families and the education system they undertake for their children.

**b. Qualitative (coding analysis techniques)**

In this research audio recorded Interviews of students taking higher education and young professionals were converted into transcript, notes of FGD were written organized by group codes as used in the FGD checklist, pictures and participant observation notes lounge and café culture were documented to use in the analysis, internet posting and web browser documents downloaded and organized in folders, school profile and school magazines were reviewed and documented properly for explanatory qualitative analysis. In order to make more practical approach, popular qualitative data analysis, enables to block and label text segments with codes so that they can be easily retrieved; organize codes into a visual, making it possible to diagram and see the relationship among them; and search for segments of text that contain multiple codes. The program vary in how and the extent to which they carry out these functions.

Coding, the core feature of qualitative data analysis, is the process of grouping evidence and labeling ideas so that they reflect increasingly broader perspectives. If an example in narrative research, in which a chronology of an individual's life is composed using a sequence of codes, or themes, from data. In this process, the themes, interrelated themes, or larger perspectives are the findings, or results, that answer qualitative research questions.

## II) Data Integration

One of the salient issues among mixed methods researchers is the degree to which they “genuinely integrate” the quantitative and qualitative components of their studies (Bryman, 2007). The main issue is how mixed methods mutually illuminate the research findings so that “the end product is more than the sum of individual quantitative and qualitative parts” (Bryman, 2007). In this research, the process of data integration was shaped by three research decisions:

*i) Correlation:* correlation between education systems (national curriculum board, madrasa board and English medium international curriculum) and social groups (by family income, occupation and education; by cultural sense/choice through music, movies, TV shows, dresses and cuisine; also by language skills and nonetheless passion for Bangladesh). The researcher tried to see all these types of correlation through mixed methods and in three thematic stages of reproduction of cultural capital. First is the learning or growing period as the participant belongs to a family, in a social group and got into an education system. The second stage is the transition period these participants try to get the opted tertiary and higher education as well as look for the entertainments as per own choice. Finally how the young professionals struggle to get the opportunities and make new forms of social groups according to their taste of life style and expertise gained through cultural capital.

*ii) Prioritizing Qualitative Data:* In the process of data integration, this study has prioritized qualitative data over quantitative data because they offered more research information that was useful in developing the arguments in this study. However, whenever possible, quantitative findings were referred to establish how qualitative findings were informed by quantitative analysis.

*iii) Mixing at multiple stages:* In this study, data integration occurred at multiple stages in the research process. This research was designed to have both primary and secondary data from various sources; the primary intention of which was to combine the evidence.

**iv) Reporting**

In the reporting of data, there have been three important dimensions observed in this study. First tried to find the differences among secondary level students through three different education systems, secondly tried to identify the Social Space Trajectory of students through means of entertainments, social classes are fragmented by taste, regardless of their economic or academic background; and thirdly focused the new forms of social groups through the language skills that is Symbolic Capital and Cultural Capital.

English translations of transcripts presented in this thesis were more “contextual” than “literal”.

**v) Ethical considerations**

Participation in survey questionnaire, interviews and focus groups was strictly voluntary. All interview and focus group respondents signed a consent form and for survey questionnaire teacher’s consent in the form was taken. The consent form outlined the purpose of the project, study design, what respondents would be asked to do, possible risks and benefits, the voluntary nature of participation, issues surrounding confidentiality, the storage and use of data, and follow-up information.

**vi) Confidentiality**

The respondents were explained that any information gathered in this study would be kept confidential. All respondents gave signed consent to use and release research information research information. In this study, the first names of respondents in reporting the respective data will be used.

**vii) Treatment of Data**

With the consent of the respondents, qualitative data from interviews and focus groups were recorded either through written notes or audio-visual equipment. Interviews and focus groups took place at the field sites. The date and time of interviews and focus groups depended on the availability of the respondents.



**viii) Data Sharing and Validation of Data**

A recent discussion has arrayed traditional quantitative, traditional qualitative and mixed methods types of validation under a general framework of construct validation and has incorporated several discussions of mixed methods validity under a common rubric (Dellinger & Leech, 2007). In addition, authors have discussed how it relates to the research design and data collection, to data analysis, and to interpretation of findings (Onwuegbuzie & Johnson, 2006). In more recent works Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009) discussed about validity in the

A recent discussion has arrayed traditional quantitative, traditional qualitative and mixed methods types of validation under a general framework of construct validation and has incorporated several discussions of mixed methods validity under a common rubric (Dellinger & Leech, 2007). In addition, authors have discussed how it relates to the research design and data collection, to data analysis, and to interpretation of findings (Onwuegbuzie & Johnson, 2006). In more recent works Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009) discussed about validity in mixed methods as it is related to the design and the interpretation stage of research.

In this research validity was defined as the strategies employed in mixed methods, addressed potential issues in data collection, data analysis and the interpretations, compromising the merging or connecting of the quantitative and qualitative strands of the study and the conclusions drawn from the combination. For instance the FGD respondents were shared about the findings of the perception survey on the particular school environment, the taste of entertainments, income group the majority respondents falls into etc.

## Chapter V :Empirical Findings

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### 5.1 Introduction:

The empirical data collection in this research includes a detail process to draw the total of the school systems as well as the pedagogic activities and pedagogic management. During the first phase data collection in 2006 and 2007 in Sylhet and Chittagong the survey questionnaire was longer that has captured lots of information more than capacity to do research within a PhD dissertation in the line of objective oriented specific analysis. Then in the latter phase the survey questionnaire was edited into a precise formate and applied only in Dhaka city for collecting rather representative data through identifying the adequate size of sample respondents, living in a city. The survey questionnaire has covered student's family culture & socio economic status, student's perception on the school system & educational system, perception of popular culture, student's eating habits and practice in the leisure time with family and friends, and finally student's academic aspirations. During the 3<sup>rd</sup> phase trend of career opportunities by interviewing Key Informants, who were selected from different university students. Considering the 1<sup>st</sup> phase as the piloting stage of data collection and analysis (annex 6), the 2<sup>nd</sup> phase survey and 3<sup>rd</sup> phase Focus Group Discussions (FGD) has been undertaken as the final data analysis of this research. Along with the 2<sup>nd</sup> phase survey questionnaire there were one checklist to collect school/ institutional profiles (annex 2) and a multiple choice question on social science, which contained equal portion from four subjects Civics, Geography, History and Economics for competence test. FGD checklists were produced based on the experience of the 2<sup>nd</sup> phase survey findings. School profile checklist was developed to know about history of establishment, area of the school, teacher's academic qualification, teaching skills & technique, teacher & student ratio and relationship, school management system, results, and principles of education etc.

## **5.2 Overview of the “Pedagogic Authority System” described by the four target Secondary Schools and Madrassa undertaken in this research**

**5.2.1** Viqarunnisa Noon School is an all-girls school in Dhaka, Bangladesh; it has about 20,000 students. It was established in 1952 by Begum Viqarunnisa Noon, wife of Firoz Khan Noon, the then governor of East Pakistan. The school's motto is “Light through learning. Viqarunnisa noon school has '4' branches in Dhaka city the main branch is in Bailey road the other branches are in Dhanmondi, Azimpur and Bashundhara. Viqarunnisa Noon School and College received 'International Star for Quality (ISAQ) Award' for its contribution to leadership, quality and excellence on 21 September 13 in Geneva. The school also won the International School Award organized by British Council in 2012.

The school has an active football team as well as a handball team, which has on several inter-school competitions. The girls also take part in various other activities like jamborees, camping, and hiking and even have their own girl guides sector. As a part of their education, the girls are encouraged to take part in various humanitarian, environmental and cultural programs, such as the observing 21<sup>st</sup> February, Bengali New Year, World Environment day or even the World Hand Washing Day.

Academically the school has shown so much progress and gone from strength to strength that eventually the school had to introduce a lottery system to select admission of their students. They have one of the highest admissions and pass rates in Bangladesh. The year 2013 saw their pass rate of 99.93% .

**5.2.2 Dhaka Residential Model College** is a public school in Mohammadpur, Dhaka. The Government of Pakistan founded the school in 1960, when Bangladesh was still a part of Pakistan. The school is the only one of its kind in Bangladesh under the direct control of the Ministry of Education. Admissions are based on an entrance examination, medical examination and an interview. The school offers education for students ranging from third grade to twelfth grade.

With over 4,200 students, 1,000 of which reside in its six dormitories, DRMC is the largest public and one of the largest residential schools in the country.

Dhaka Residential Model College is noted for its academic performance and extracurricular activities, having produced many leaders in business, the military and state politics as well as scientists and engineers. The school employs about 200 teaching staff and 80 non-teaching staff. The student-teacher ratio is 20:1. Teachers occasionally attend training programs organized by different government institutions.

Students of primary section take subjects including Bengali, English, mathematics, social science, general science, arts and crafts, religion and physical science. Students have to take agricultural science after completing their primary education. Students of the secondary level have to elect one of the three major programs: Arts and Humanities, Commerce and Science. Students of the intermediate level (grades 11 and 12), have to elect one of the three major programs as well. Students have some compulsory subjects and some optional subjects in each of the programs.

The school is highly regarded for its top ranking in the board exams of Bangladesh. The Ministry of Education awarded the institution in 2008 for brilliant performance in the HSC examination. This year they had a 100% success rate – 467 students sat for their SSC exams and all passed.

The school has physics lab, chemistry lab, computers lab, biology lab, and a library with more than 20,000 books, journals, newspapers and magazines.

Due to its vast size, the extracurricular activities offered here are diverse. Sports are a major feature of life at Dhaka Residential Model College. DRMC has teams for football, cricket, volleyball, hockey and basketball that participate in national and regional games. Its Debating society is renowned all over Bangladesh, having won several championships and being awarded by the government of Bangladesh.

It also takes an active part in quiz bowls inside the college and outside, apart from debates, quiz bowls and sports, DRMC students also participate in other extracurricular activities such as math Olympiads, informatics Olympiads, science Olympiads and science fairs. DRMC publishes a magazine annually, *Shandipan*, containing school related news, poems, articles, stories, science fiction, jokes and other items of interest, written by the students, teachers and staff.

**5.2.3 Sunbeams school** was established on January 15<sup>th</sup>, 1974 and until 1994 it was just until 5<sup>th</sup> grade, now it has 2 campuses. Sunbeams school has two campuses; one is located in the residential area of Dhanmondi and conducts classes from Playgroup to Class 4. The other campus is located in Uttara and has classes from Playgroup to 'A' Levels.

The school's mascot is the rising sun and its 7 rays signifies Knowledge, Skills and Learning; Leadership and Initiative; Faith and Patriotism; Humility and Tolerance; Integrity and Honesty; Confidence, Self-Reliance and Commitment.

Its academic excellence is proven over time with its vast experience, being one of the first English medium schools in Dhaka. Sunbeams has achieved outstanding results in the GCE O' Level examinations in the last five years, with a large number of students achieving 6 A grades and above; in 2004, 52% achieved this result, in the following three years this proportion was 56%, 58% and 40% respectively, while in 2008 and 2009 the proportion rose to 73% and 72% respectively.

The school also has a vast library, a separate biology laboratory and physics and chemistry lab along with various other academic facilities.

In order to keep their students well rounded and fresh minded the schools has various sports facilities including two football fields and one outdoor basketball court, canteens, and an auditorium. Sunbeams has also encouraged its students to achieve more in extra-academic activities like sports and debate.

The school has also encouraged its students to pursue interests in dance, art and music, with the number of talented artists and performers in the school growing daily. Community service has always been an integral part of the philosophy of the school, and students are encouraged to participate in programs that benefit the community. The school observes National Days like Independence Day, Victory Day and PohelaBaishakh, and emphasizes the patriotic spirit in its students.

### **Sunbeams School Exam Results**

The school has always stressed academic excellence from all its students, as is displayed through the achievements of its students in international examinations throughout these 36 years. Students have always been encouraged not only to aim for the high standards set by the school, but also to set high standards for themselves. Sunbeams has achieved outstanding results in the GCE O' Level examinations in the last five years, with a large number of students achieving 6 A grades and above; in 2004, 52% achieved this result, in the following three years this proportion was 56%, 58% and 40% respectively, while in 2008 and 2009 the proportion rose to 73% and 72% respectively.

### **5.2.4 Tamirul Millat Kamil Madrassa:**

The administrative authority of Tamirul Millat Kamil Madrassa addresses this education system as a modern religious education institution. Currently this institution has three residential campuses; two for boys and one for girls. At first Tamirul Millat Kamil Madrassa established only for boys, in 1963 in Jatrabari, Dhaka. With the support of community people and elite Muslims this Madrassa expanded gradually. Strict administration and teaching system made a success in good results under Madrassa education board and also achieved the award of top ten best education institutions from Government. The management body of this Madrassa feels that education for girls is important but there is a lack of

opportunities for them. So Tamirul Millat MohilaShakha established in Demra later in 2012.

**Tamirul Millat Kamil Madrasa, Jatra Bari, Dhaka obtained the third position with 87.71 points, Tamirul Millat Kamil Madrasah, Tongi, Gazipur got the 8th spot with 79.47 and Ta'mirul Millat Kamil Madrasah, Mohila Shakha, Demra, Dhaka attained the 9<sup>th</sup> position with 78.76 points, 30 May 2012, Nirapad News.**



**Illustration no. 1 Madrasha students cheering up after Dakhil Results**

### **5.3: Teaching Technique, Teacher's Qualification, Teacher's Training**

A student from Sunbeams School wrote; our school is unique because of the teachers. The teachers are much more helpful than any other school I have been to. Also, the teaching techniques are different. They teach in a friendly and coordinative way. They allow us to have fun but to a certain limit.

We learn a lot about international stuffs, but we do not learn much about local affairs, languages, etc. but the way we learn science and math is very advanced from other schools. We are quite ahead.

This will help our future because they teach us more practical things, things we can implement in our daily lives, our jobs, etc. we have to study very hard now, but I believe that this will pay off later. We are also given a lot of extra knowledge, taught behaviors, which help us to become better people.

The type of teaching we get I believe is special if learnt well and can be used to make a difference, since our foothold is strong. The qualities we are taught and the variety of information we receive teaches us to help, educate others. If we can remember and use what we are taught, we can do something special; written by student of Sunbeams School, Dhaka. Though most of the students in Sunbeams feel in this way we need to know further the image of teachers to the students and classroom teaching system, as Bourdieu termed it the **pedagogic action**.

### 5.3.2 Students' Responses about the School Management, Discipline & Pedagogic Authority System

**Table 1: Things Students Dislike in Their School**

What the respondents Dislike in the School	Types of Education Systems			Total
	National Curriculum School	English Medium School	Madrassa Education	
Rules	44	7	5	56
	44.90%	29.17%	7.35%	29.47%
Torture	3	1	4	8
	3.06%	4.17%	5.88%	4.21%
Routine	7	4	4	15
	7.14%	16.67%	5.88%	7.89 %
Indiscipline	4	0	9	13
	4.08%	0.00%	13.24%	6.84 %
Teachers	2	0	5	7
	2.04%	0.00%	7.35%	3.68 %
Teaching Method	17	0	6	23



	17.35%	0.00%	8.82%	12.11 %
Environment	1	1	9	11
	1.02%	4.17%	13.24%	5.79 %
Exploitative language	2	0	6	8
	2.04%	0.00%	8.82%	4.21 %
Location	8	8	5	21
	8.16%	33.33%	7.35%	11.05 %
Dirtiness	2	0	2	4
	2.04%	0.00%	2.94%	2.11 %
No objection	7	3	9	19
	7.14%	12.50%	13.24%	10.00 %
others	1	0	4	5
	1.02%	0.00%	5.88%	2.63 %
Total	98	24	68	190
	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00 %

The above table shows that no students from English medium schools responded that they don't like teachers or teaching methods, the language of school authority is established might be quite well that the students like it. Whereas 17% National Curriculum students and 8.82% Madrassa students responded that they don't like the teaching method. Even more the striking point is 8.82% madrassa students and 2.04% National Curriculum students responded that they dislike the exploitative language used in the education system whereas no students from English medium mentioned about it, similarly findings for indiscipline came up from madrassa 13.24% and from National Curriculum schools 4.08% whereas English medium 0%. On the contrary Rules and Routine are the major areas how 29.17% and 16.67% English Medium students reacted that they remain under pressure.

### 5.3.3 Participant Observation on Classroom Learning Environment :

Through Participant observation in the classroom it is revealed that teachers presence and teacher and students interaction style differs among the three education systems. Since the class size is big in National Curriculum School, sometimes there are accommodation shortages for students. Teachers are trained and experienced but the class hour is very short to interact with individual students problems. Teacher has to shout to control the class. In Madrassa Teacher uses sticks, there are thin bamboo sticks kept in the teachers room. Teachers in the English medium school are bound to speak in English with the students so the interaction become rather formal but care of individual students is a policy of the management and number of students is also smaller than other education systems.

### 5.3.4 Language as the medium of instruction and Interaction

The basic difference in the English medium school is English is the medium of instruction and the curriculum and books published in India, England, Singapore etc. And second major difference is marks distribution for languages. Parents of English Medium schools admits there children in order to making their children skilled in English so that they don't get challenges in higher education and immigration to western countries become easier too. This is not well accepted by the National Curriculum and Madrassa students though. The following finding is an evidence of making different groups by the language through education system.

#### FGD responses from English Medium Students

R10: They don't understand the way I speak and I don't understand them either.

I: What about your choices?

R10: Most of the time yes. The things that I like, they don't.

R9: I would like to say that, the major difference between these 2 sectors is that the English medium students have more of everything, more money, more friends, more choices to hangout, I think Bangla medium students are kind of limited or within boundaries.

R10: It's more like an instinct in the **different ways we look at things,**

R9: **We are more modern I think.**

R10: I've seen one thing a lot, when parents are asked where their child studies, and they answer 'in an English medium school' the other person looks on like a sneer like being in an English medium school is bound to be the destruction of the child. This is a very bad idea.

R9: Yes, they think that English medium students aren't good.

### 5.3.5 Language Proficiency by Education System

The students of National Curriculum in Dhaka city are quite good in grammatically correct spoken English at least in understanding questions and replies. Madrassa students are very poor in English communication. Using Likert scale the observation through conversation in English and writing specific responses it is found that in writing and speaking English medium students use native American or British style but cannot speak completely in Bangla.

**FGD with English Medium School Students**

R2: My father enrolled me. I'm not very good in Bengali.

R1: My parents enrolled me.

R1: maybe they thought the syllabus was better, the books etc.

R3: I feel that they thought that it would give me a better future.

R6: Yes, I guess they thought the prospects were better?

R2: For me, my father lives abroad so it's better for me to study in an English medium so I can cope when I go abroad, that might be something a Bangla medium student might not be able to do as easily.

R7: My father's a business man and I want to be an automobile engineer, in Sweden. Sweden offers the best scope for studying Automobile engineering, there are good institutions there. I'll try and if that doesn't work out I have India as my second option. There are a few companies there if I get a chance there I might join. I got fascination about cars. Well, umm... I think maybe because the students from Bangla Medium schools create a lot of trouble or get into trouble more often. According to me, they aren't too 'into' education. They seem to be more interested in their friends, problems or their ego.

R2: No, I don't think that's true.

R7: Well once we had fallen into a spot of trouble, I called out to my friends to fight against Bangla Medium students but they didn't come forward rather some Bangla Medium boys did. It's like their education is on one side of the world and their instinct to fight is on the other.

### **FGD with National Curriculum Students (Boys)**

R.1: I do not know much about O level and Dakhil Madrassa. But O level students get better in practical education, which is very praiseworthy. But they also should pay attention to Bengali since it's our mother tongue.

R.2: Everyone is doing well in their own sectors.

R.3: I think that O level students are getting more opportunities because of their study system. But they should not think that they are the idol of the new generation.

R.4: I like my one most and these are good too. Since I'm not much clarified about the other two mediums I cannot comment.

R.5: Students are all alike and it doesn't really matters what system we endure into because after all we are here to seek knowledge.

R.6: According to me, O level students are progressing but my personal opinion says if anyone wants to settle down in Bangladesh then they'll need to board SSC. The Dakhil Madrassa are lacking behind than us.

R.7: Students of O levels are most experienced. They get more practical knowledge about everything.

### **5.3.6 School Curriculum, Text Books, and Contents**

The Curriculum and text books developed by different education boards are being followed under the three education systems in Dhaka City. National Curriculum Text Book Board follows National Education Commission and Policy for the development or any amendments in the secondary school curriculum and text books. These text books mostly covers nationalism, patriotism, stories of national heroes, martyres, history of Indian continent, independence of Bangladesh, the geography, natural resources, economy, agriculture and business productions etc of Bangladesh are illustrated there. Mathematics and science also mostly following the philanthropists of this area mostly. So the teaching method is also followed mostly traditional lecture methods and exam/ results oriented studies. Social norms, cultural practices and politics of South Asia are inbuilt in these text books. A cognitive test/ multiple choice questions (MCQ) was taken on the social subjects to assess the level of knowledge on overall Bangladesh Studies.

Subject Area	Assessment Tools	Obtained Score by % by Education System		
		Bengali Medium	English Medium	Madrassa
	No from the list of MCQ			
<b>History of Bangladesh</b>	45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 34	95	80	55
<b>Economics</b>	5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 15, 17, 41, 43, 44, 12, 14	90	80	65
<b>Politics</b>	3, 4, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 40, 38, 42	86	50	70
<b>Geography</b>	19, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32	85	80	45
<b>State Policy</b>	1, 2, 9, 20, 21, 27, 33, 39. 42	75	50	80
<b>Social</b>	35, 36, 37,	100	90	100
<b>Public Health</b>	16, 18,	100	90	90
<b>Total</b>	50	90.14	74.28	72.14

The table above shows that MCQ for Bangla Medium students have done well , basically the question tool has been developed from their text book. English medium students are not familiar with state policy and politics. Similarly Madrassa students did not perform well, because many of them did not answer the total questions. Regarding English medium students people assume that they study international curriculum so they do not know well about own country. Madrassa students read daily news paper and some of them are interested in party politics, who might have some knowledge about politics and state policies. History of Bangladesh is not of their interest as Madrassa curriculum do not focus on those.

**Figure 8: Marks Distribution by Language, Subjects and as Medium of Education**

Types of Education System	Languages and Subjects				
	Bengali	English	Arabic	Other Language	Other subjects
National Curriculum	200	200	100		600 in Bangla
Madrassa Education	100	100	500	Farsi	400 in Bangla
English Medium	100	100		3 <sup>rd</sup> Language (French/ Spanish/ German)	600/700 in English

The above marks distribution is the main factor how the education systems put emphasis on languages and the output of the learning makes differences in languages among the students from three education systems. NCTB has both versions Bengali and English Medium education system whereas English medium education emphasises 800 marks subjects mostly in English, Bengali 100 marks and German or French in few schools and Madrassa education follows Bengali, Farsi, Arabic for 500 marks and English only for 100 marks. Also through likert scale during the conversation assessed that NCTB students are generally good in both languages Bengali and English, English medium students use spoken English in native (UK, USA or Australian) style whereas Madrassa students good at Arabic and Bengali, lacks in English.

#### 4. Emphasis on Co curricular Activities and Cultural Practices in the School

**Table 2: Co-curricular Clubs in the School**

Types of Education System	Participation in the School Co-curricular clubs		
	yes	no	Total
Bangla Medium	129	30	159
	60.28%	20.41%	44.04%

English Medium	66	16	82
	30.84%	10.88%	22.71 %
Madrassa Education	19	101	120
	8.88%	68.71%	33.24%
Total	214	147	361
	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

The table above shows that 60.28% Bangla Medium students and 30.84% English Medium students participated in co-curricular clubs compared to 8.88% students in Madrassa Education.

#### 5.4.2 : Comparison of Co Curricular Activities by school system from the Academic Year Plan / Published in the Year book

**Table 3: Preference for co-curricular club by the Students of the Three Education System**

Preference for co-curricular club	Types of Education System			Total
	National Curriculum School	English Medium School	Madrassa Education	
Science-club	12 15.19%	1 1.59%	1 5.26%	14 8.70 %
Computer-club	9 11.39%	0 0.00%	1 5.26%	10 6.21 %
Debate-club	11 13.92%	18 28.57%	12 63.16%	41 25.47 %
Sports-club	27 34.18%	11 17.46%	4 21.05%	42 26.09%
Language-club	3 3.80%	4 6.35%	1 5.26%	8 4.97%
Cultural-club	13 16.46%	15 23.81%	0 0.00%	28 17.39 %
others	4 5.06%	14 22.22%	0 0.00%	18 11.18 %
Total	79 100.00%	63 100.00%	19 100.00%	161 100.00%

The table above shows that in the National Curriculum school, 15.19% students prefer participating in the science club, 11.39% prefer computer club, 13.92% prefer debate club, 34.18% prefer sports club, 3.80% prefer language club, 16.46% prefer the cultural club, and 5.06% prefer other types of clubs. Out of the English medium students, 1.59% preferred science clubs, 0 preferred computer club, 28.57% preferred debate club, 17.46% preferred sports club, 6.35 preferred language club, 23.81% preferred cultural club and 22.22% preferred other kinds of co-curricular clubs. 5.26% students each preferred science club, computer club and language club, 0 students preferred cultural club and other kinds of clubs, 63.16% students preferred debate club and 21.05% preferred sports club in Madrassa education.

## 5.5 Socio Economic Status and Culture of the Families of the Students from Different School Systems

**Table4: Family income of the respondent of the Three Education Systems**

Family income of the respondents	Types of Education Systems			Total
	National Curriculum School	English Medium School	Madrassa Education	
Below 10,000	1 0.62%	0 0.00%	32 26.67%	33 8.92%
10,001-30,000	7 4.35%	0 0.00%	35 29.17%	42 11.35%
30,001-60,000	14 8.70%	5 5.62%	26 21.67%	45 12.16%
60,001-90,000	42 26.09%	13 14.61%	13 10.83%	68 18.38%
90,001-1,20,000	73 45.34%	19 21.35%	9 7.50%	101 27.30%
1.20,001-1,50,000	18 11.18%	37 41.57%	2 1.67%	57 15.41%
above 1,50,000	6	15	3	24



	3.73%	16.85%	2.50%	6.49%
Total	161	89	120	370
	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

Socio Economic Background of the Families Undertaking Different Educational System

Table above shows that 1 or 0.2% of families sending their child/children to National Curriculum Schools earned below Tk. 10,000 compared to the 0% of English Medium School students. 32 or 8.2% of Madrassa students said that their families earned within the same bracket (below tk 10000/), amounting to the total of 33 or 8.2%. Here it becomes quite apparent that low income earners prefer to enroll their children in Madrassas. An English medium school would be totally out of their budget and National Curriculum Private Schools. Government operated National Curriculum Schools are free of cost but very few in the city though.

7 or 1.8% of families sending their child/children to National Curriculum schools earned between Tk. 10,001-30,000 compared to the 0% of International school students. 35 or 8.8% of Madrassa students said that their families earned within the same bracket (11K-20K), amounting to the total of 42 or 10.5%. Yet again the same issue as above.

When asked about families earning between Tk. 30,001-60,000 per month, 14 or 3.5% National Curriculum students acceded to the point as did 5 or 1.2% International school students and 26 or 6.5% Madrassa students, making the total out to be 45 or 11.2%. This income bracket would be a strain on a middle class family if they planned on sending their child to an English medium school but some do manage especially with the low budget English version schools popping up over Dhaka.

Of the families earning between Tk. 60,001-90,000 per month, 42 or 10.5% sent their child/children to National Curriculum schools compared to the 13 or 3.2% of both International school students and Madrassa students, making the total out to be 68 or 17% .As above.

73 or 18.2% of families sending their child/children to National Curriculum schools earned between Tk. 90,001-120,000 compared to the 19 or 4.8% of International school students. 9 or 2.2% of Madrassa students said that their

families earned within the same bracket (51K-100K), amounting to the total of 101 or 25.2%. Here comes a conflict of choice in choosing schools because the parents can afford all 3 but then again we see a preference for National Curriculum schools maybe due to the ill reputation of English Mediums or due to the fact that parents prefer their child to study something they know and understand and are closer to their worlds.

18 or 4.5% of families sending their child/children to National Curriculum schools earned between Tk. 120,001-150,000 compared to the 37 or 9.2% of English Medium school students. 2 or 0.5% of Madrassa students said that their families earned within the same bracket (101K-300K), amounting to the total of 57 or 14.2%. Here the high income bracket shows us that the parents can easily afford English medium schools and furthermore wish for their children to receive an education in English to further their opportunities and hence opt for these schools compared to the National Curriculum ones.

When asked if their families earned above 150,000, 6 or 1.5% Bangla medium students said 'yes' as did 15 or 3.585% of International school students and 3 or 0.8% Madrasah students , making the total of 24 or 6%

The missing data amounted to 8 or 2.0% on Bangla Medium students, 22 or 5.5% in International school students and 0% in Madrassa students, making the total come to 30 or 7.5%

The total data collected from the 400 students surveyed comes to 169 or 42.2% for National Curriculum students, 111 or 27.8% for English Medium school students and 120 or 30% for Madrassa students.

The summary of the discussion gives impression that some of the elite or well of families choose English medium education to enroll their children because they think the books and contents are superior to National Curriculum. Their intension is to going abroad and taking expensive fascinating subjects for higher studies. They also worry about being bullied by other students and problematic incidences in the school environment, what might happen in Bengali Medium public schools or those schools offers students from every socioeconomic status.

**Table 5: Educational qualification of Fathers of the Respondents**

Father's educational qualification of the respondent	Types of Education Systems			Total
	National Curriculum School	English Medium School	Madrassa Education	
Primary	1	1	13	15
	0.68%	1.18%	11.50%	4.35 %
Junior	3	0	9	12
	2.04%	0.00%	7.96%	3.48 %
S.S.C	3	4	21	28
	2.04%	4.71%	18.58%	8.12 %
H.S.C	5	4	27	36
	3.40%	4.71%	23.89%	10.43 %
Graduation	62	32	22	116
	42.18%	37.65%	19.47%	33.62 %
Post graduation	73	44	21	138
	49.66%	51.76%	18.58%	40.00 %
Total	147	85	113	345
	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00 %

The table above shows that 49.66% National Curriculum students have fathers who have completed post-graduation, compared to 51.76% students in English Medium, and 18.58% in Madrassa Education. 42.18% National Curriculum students have fathers who have completed graduation, compared to 37.65% students in English Medium, and 19.47% in Madrassa Education

**Table 6: Occupation of the Father of the Respondents**

Father's occupation	Types of Education Systems			Total/Overall
	National Curriculum School	English Medium School	Madrassa Education	
1. Farmer	2 (1.31%)	0 (0.00%)	6 (5.41%)	8 (2.32 %)
2. Service Holder	56 (36.60%)	24 (29.63%)	46 (41.44%)	126 (36.52%)
3. Business	50 (32.68%)	35 (43.21%)	42 (37.84%)	127 (36.81%)
4. Labor	0 (0.00%)	1 (1.23%)	2 (1.80%)	3 (0.87 %)
5. Driver	2 (1.31%)	0 (0.00%)	5 (4.50%)	7 (2.03 %)
6. Khotib	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	5 (4.50%)	5 (1.45 %)
7. doctor	17 (11.11%)	7 (8.64%)	5 (4.50%)	29 (8.41%)
8. Engineer	15 (9.80%)	5 (6.17%)	0 (0.00%)	20 (5.80 %)
9. Politician	1 (0.65%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	1 (0.29 %)
10. Others	10 (6.54%)	9 (11.11%)	0 (0.00%)	19 (5.51 %)
11. Total	153 (100.00%)	81 (100.00%)	111 (100.00%)	345 (100.00%)

The table above shows that 41.44% students in Madrassa Education have fathers who work as service holders, compared to 29.63% in English Medium and 36.60% in National Curriculum. 37.84% Madrassa students have fathers who work in Business, compared to 43.21% English Medium students and 32.68% National Curriculum students. 4.5% Madrassa students have fathers who are doctors, compared to 8.64% English Medium students and 11.11% National Curriculum students. No Madrassa students have fathers who are engineers, compared to 6.17% English Medium students and 9.80% National Curriculum students.

From table 5 and 6 one can assume that there might be correlation between father's education and occupation for choosing children's education system.

## Results:

Table 7: Bivariate analysis of Occupation of the Father of the Respondents with the types of Education Systems:

H (a): Respondents' types of accepting education system depends on their fathers' occupation.

H (0): Respondents' types of accepting education system does not depend on their fathers' occupation.

Father's occupation	Types of Education Systems			Total number of respondents (%)	p-value
	National Curriculum School	English Medium School	Madrassa Education		
Farmer	2 (25.00)	0 (0.00)	6 (75.00)	8 (100.00)	<0.001
Service Holder	56 (44.44)	24 (19.05)	46 (36.51)	126 (100.00)	
Business	50 (39.37)	35 (27.56)	42 (33.07)	127 (100.00)	
Labor	0 (0.00)	1 (33.33)	2 (66.67)	3 (100.00)	
Driver	2 (28.57)	0 (0.00)	5 (71.43)	7 (100.00)	
Khotib	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	5 (100.00)	5 (100.00)	
Doctor	17 (58.62)	7 (24.14)	5 (17.24)	29 (100.00)	
Engineer	15 (75.00)	5 (25.00)	0 (0.00)	20 (100.00)	
Politician	1 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)	
Others	10 (52.63)	9 (47.37)	0 (0.00)	19 (100.00)	
<b>Total</b>	153 (44.35)	81 (23.48)	111 (32.17)	345 (100.00)	

### Interpretation:

We can infer from the chi-square test that there's a statistically significant association between the respondents' types of education system and their fathers' occupation with the significance of p- value (<0.001). And, therefore, we can declare that respondents' types of accepting education system depends on their fathers' occupation.

**Table 8: Mother's occupation of the Students of Three Education Systems  
(Results in Count and Percentage by Education System)**

Mother's Occupation of the Respondents	Types of Education Systems			Total
	National Curriculum School	English Medium School	Madrassa Education	
Housewife	100	52	103	255
	66.67%	64.20%	90.35%	73.91 %
Service-Holder	13	7	9	29
	8.67%	8.64%	7.89%	8.41 %
Business	6	3	0	9
	4.00%	3.70%	0.00%	2.61%
Labor	0	0	1	1
	0.00%	0.00%	0.88%	0.29%
Teacher	24	10	1	35
	16.00%	12.35%	0.88%	10.14 %
Doctor	5	7	0	12
	3.33%	8.64%	0.00%	3.48 %
others	2	2	0	4
	1.33%	2.47%	0.00%	1.16 %
Total	150	81	114	345
	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00 %

The table above shows that 90.35% students in Madrassa Education have mothers who are housewives, compared to 64.20% in English Medium and 66.67% in National Curriculum. 7.89% Madrassa students have mothers who work in as service holders, compared to 8.64% English Medium students and 8.67% National Curriculum students. 0.88% Madrassa students have mothers who are teachers, compared to 12.35% English Medium students and 16.00% National Curriculum students. 0% Madrassa students have mothers who are doctors, compared to 8.64% English Medium students and 3.33% National Curriculum students.

**Table 9: Education level of the Mothers of the Respondents**

Mother's education of the respondents	Types of Education System			Total
	National Curriculum School	English Medium School	Madrassa Education	
Primary	2	1	28	31
	1.37%	1.22%	24.56%	9.06 %
Junior	0	0	12	12
	0.00%	0.00%	10.53%	3.51%
S.S.C	10	12	44	66
	6.85%	14.63%	38.60%	19.30 %
H.S.C	26	12	24	62
	17.81%	14.63%	21.05%	18.13 %
Graduation	53	24	4	81
	36.30%	29.27%	3.51%	23.68 %
Post graduation	55	33	2	90
	37.67%	40.24%	1.75%	26.32%
Total	146	82	114	342
	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

The table above shows that 36.67% National Curriculum students have mothers who have completed post-graduation, compared to 40.24% students in English Medium, and 1.75% in Madrassa Education. 36.3% National Curriculum students have mothers who have completed graduation, compared to 29.27% students in English Medium, and 3.51% in Madrassa Education

**Table 10: Trend of Visiting Places in School Vacations**

Choice of visiting places in School Vacation	Types of Education System			Total
	National Curriculum School	English Medium School	Madrassa Education	
Home town/village	128	41	88	257
	82.58%	51.25%	74.58%	72.80 %
Amusement Park	5	13	0	18
	3.23%	16.25%	0.00%	5.10 %
Tourist spot	10	8	10	28
	6.45%	10.00%	8.47%	7.93%
picnic spot	0	3	2	5
	0.00%	3.75%	1.69%	1.42%
outside Dhaka	7	2	15	24
	4.52%	2.50%	12.71%	6.80%
Asian country	2	9	2	13
	1.29%	11.25%	1.69%	3.68%
Europe	1	1	1	3
	0.65%	1.25%	0.85%	0.85%
others	2	3	0	5
	1.29%	3.75%	0.00%	1.42%
Total	155	80	118	353
	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

The table above shows that 82.58% National curriculum students, 51.25% English medium students, and 74.58% Madrassa students visit their home town/village during holidays. 3.23% National curriculum students, 16.25% English medium students, and 0% Madrassa students visit amusement parks during holidays. 4.52% National curriculum students, 2.5% English medium students, and 12.71% Madrassa students visit other parts of the country outside Dhaka during their holidays. 1.29% National curriculum students, 11.25% English medium students, and 1.69% Madrassa students visit other Asian countries and a few travels to European countries during holidays. From this table a significant difference of cultural practice appears, that might depends on access to financial abilities.



FGD Findings Regarding Visiting Places for Vacation

**English Medium**

R10: Family vacation is the best vacation.

R12: Outings. Visiting places, I believe that if a vacation time is not properly utilized it's not a vacation.

R11: Now it's more about studies.

R12: Yes, that's true. When we were younger, vacations were all about having fun, going out with our friends or family but now it's a time to study. Our exams are coming up.

I: So a difficult time is ahead, studies and studies.

R9: Not really, we do hang out with friends. We meet up and things like that.

I: What an alternative to hanging out at these lounges or restaurants?

R7: Friends place.

R10: A roadside tea stall is the best place.

R7: No I think that's very backward, something that rickshaw pullers do, obviously we wouldn't do that!

R10: Why not, now its winter time, there's a different sort of fun is hanging out like that and chatting. There were even times when late at night at about 9:30 we would meet up at a restaurant in Banani just to have tea.

### **National Curriculum(Girls Only)**

#### **Q.1- How did you spend vacation after the exam?**

R.1: Went on a trip, along with I was hanging out with friends, neighbors and watched TV.

R.2: Reading books, hanging out with friends, listening to music, and social network.

R.3: Hanging out with friends, read incomplete story books, visited cousins, watched movies and so on.

R.4: I spent it by visiting friends and relatives, and I started tutoring a girl in this vacation.

R.5: Watched TV, gossiped, went to Bangkok with family, read books, visited places etc.

R.6: By roaming around on various places, reading story books, visiting friends and family, learning swimming etc.

R.7: Spent it by visiting my friends and reading story books.

### **Madrassa Boys**

#### **Q.1- How did you spend vacation after the exam?**

R.1: Tried to get myself admitted into a renowned college.

R.2: I spent my vacation by playing with my friends or gossiping with them.

R.3: Learnt about computer and technical works.

R.4: Learnt about computer and technical works.

R.5: By reading books and playing.

R.6: Travelling around and visiting neighbors.

R.7: I spent my vacation by reading many books.

## Remarkable and Special Events

### National Curriculum Boys

R.1: Eid day is the best day. It's one in a year opportunity. Like to spend the day with family and then friends. Likely to have anything delicious on that day.

R.2: I mostly spend my free time by hanging out with friends or watching TV. There are many event. I like pizza and biriyani.

R.3: Most of the time using Facebook, listening to music or watching TV.

R.4: I have pigeons and spend time with them. Don't have any special event and I like all kind of fast foods.

R.5: I like to spend free time by playing computer games and like chocolate cakes.

R.6: Spend time in social networking or by watching movies.

R.7: I like to spend my time by talking to friends over the phone or on Facebook. Most enjoyable event is the DJ party I attended last year and I like to eat biriyani.

## 5.6 Academic & Career Aspiration of the Students from Different Education System

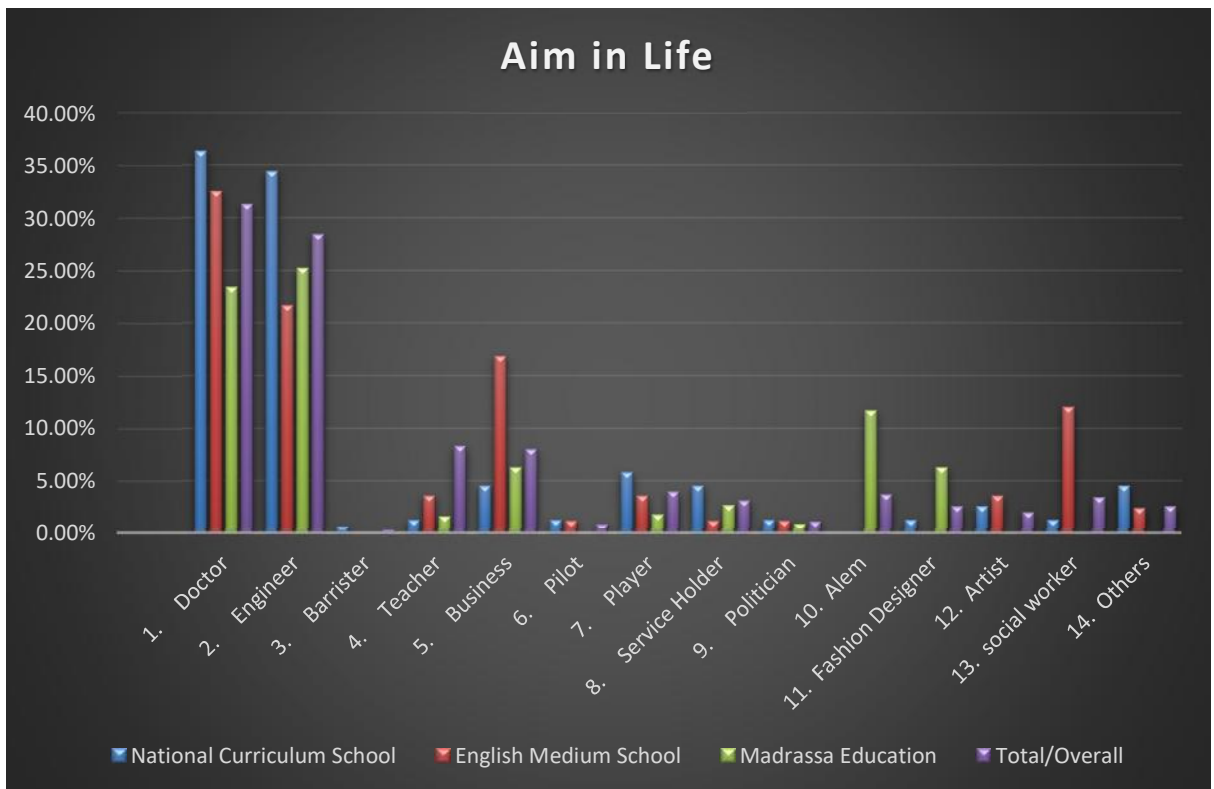
**Table 11: Aim in Life of the Secondary School Students**

Aim in life of the respondents	Types of Education System			Total
	National Curriculum School	English Medium School	Madrassa Education	
Doctor	56	27	26	109
	36.36%	32.53%	23.42%	31.32%
Engineer	53	18	28	99
	34.42%	21.69%	25.23%	28.45%
Barrister	1	0	0	1
	0.65%	0.00%	0.00%	0.29 %
Teacher	2	3	24	29
	1.30%	3.61%	21.62%	8.33 %
Business	7	14	7	28
	4.55%	16.87%	6.31%	8.05%
Pilot	2	1	0	3
	1.30%	1.20%	0.00%	0.86 %
Player	9	3	2	14
	5.84%	3.61%	1.80%	4.02%

Service Holder	7	1	3	11
	4.55%	1.20%	2.70%	3.16 %
Politician	2	1	1	4
	1.30%	1.20%	0.90%	1.15%
Alem	0	0	13	13
	0.00%	0.00%	11.71%	3.74%
Fashion Designer	2	0	7	9
	1.30%	0.00%	6.31%	2.59%
Artist	4	3	0	7
	2.60%	3.61%	0.00%	2.01 %
social worker	2	10	0	12
	1.30%	12.05%	0.00%	3.45 %
Others	7	2	0	9
	4.55%	2.41%	0.00%	2.59 %
Total	154	83	111	348
	100.00%	100.00 %	100.00%	100.00 %

The table above shows that 36.36% National Curriculum students, 32.53% English medium students, and 23.42% Madrassa students want to be doctors. 34.42% National Curriculum students, 21.69% English medium students, and 25.23% Madrassa students want to be engineers. 1.3% National Curriculum students, During the FGD some indepth information came out that is, why English medium students spoke about business? Mostly due to their family background. Ultimately the highest number of students from all three education system have interest to study medical or Engineering. Both the Bangla medium and English medium students auto mobile and autobot engineering which is something new ideas they have from their network whereas madrassa students who put much effort in studies and simply they think about the highest ranking education is Engineering. So there is a difference in choosing the way of upward trajectory. 3.61% English medium students, and 21.62% Madrassa students want to be teachers. Neither National Curriculum students, nor English medium students, can be Alem without studying Alem, whereas 11.71% Madrassa students want to be Alem. Interestinly from Madrassa students some showed interest to be politician and also some have wishes to be fashion designer.

Bar Chart : Aim in Life



**What about your future plan? Tell about your dream or ambition. Who inspires you the most and how?**

**National Curriculum Girls**

R.1: I am really good at Maths and Physics. I will major one of them and will try to get admitted at University of Dhaka. I have thought of this far. In many ways, I'm my own inspiration.

R.2: Well I want to be an architect and study in MIT (USA), settle there. My mom inspires me and if any popular person then its Bill Gates.

R.3: I haven't specifically thought about it. It keeps changing. I have a dream of going to University of Dhaka. My friends inspire me the most.

R.4: I want to be a doctor. My parents are my inspiration. Besides I also want to be a RJ (part-time).

R.5: I want to be an engineer. If not then a banker. I want to be self-dependent and that's all. So whatever takes it, I'll go for that.

R.6: My future plan is to be an architect. So I'm now looking forward to study in a good college. Then get admitted into BUET. If I fail then I want to study in University of Dhaka. My dad is my inspiration.

R.7: I want to be a doctor. My mother is my inspiration. She tutors me and encourages me to be a good student.

### **National Curriculum Boys**

R.1: To be an automobile engineer and researcher on autobots. My mother gives me the inspiration most and then my sister.

R.2: My future plan is to be banker.

R.3: Have not decided yet. But my dream is to be a famous person so that everyone knows me by name.

R.4: I would like to preach Quran to others in future. My dream is to make many people religious. I was inspired by Md. Kamrul because he told me that it is our bounded duty.

R.5: My dream is to be an engineer. My father inspires me.

R.6: I want to be a pilot. My dream is to travel different countries around the world. My parents inspire me in many activities.

R.7: My future plan is to be an engineer. My father inspires me the most because he has struggled through his life.

### **Madrassa Boys**

R.1: I want to be a Doctor.

R.2: I want to be a cricketer. My uncle inspired me.

R.3: I want to be a detective.

R.4: I want to be high official.

R.5: I want to be the prime minister of our country, want to be a politician and Mahmud AhmediNejad inspired me.

R.6: I want to be a doctor. My brother inspired me.

R.7: I want to be an engineer.

### **English Medium Students**

Interviewer (I): What do you want to be?

Respondent (R)1: Aeronautical Engineer.

I: What about you?

R2: Doctor.

R3: Engineer

R4: Textile Engineer.

I: What does your father do?

R4: My father's a business man, garments factory.

I: What about yours?

R2: Engineer

R3: Engineer

R1: Garments

I: What does your father do?

R5: My father's passed away.

I: What do you want to be, when you grow up?

R5: I want to be an engineer; I really want to study engineering.

I: So most of what we're getting is doctors and engineers'. Did this wish come from yourself or were you inspired by something or someone?

R1: I like planes and engineering. I like building stuff.

I: How did you get to know about this field of study?

R1: I did some research on the internet plus one of my cousins' studies aeronautical engineering in Bangladesh. I was really encouraged by him. He has told me of all the privileges of studying this subject and how it can bring my life to a certain form.

I: Where is your cousin?

R1: Right now my cousins at MIST (Military Institute of Science and Technology).

I: Is it similar to the MIT of USA?

R1: Yes.

I: What is his background like?

R1: His father is Maj. Gen. Hamidul Hasan.

I: What about his educational background, did he study here or abroad?

R1: He studied at Adamjee but I'm not sure about his higher studies.

I: Ok.

I: So, why are you interested in Textiles? Your father is in the garments business right?

R4: Yes, actually I get inspired by my father. From a young age I've seen him involved in this work, the fabrics, the clothes all this put together. By seeing all this I get insight and it's also because I feel proud of my father, I want to be like him.

I: Ok good. What about you?

R3: I like the subject.

I: You like science? You want to be an engineer right?

R3: Yes.

I: Your father is an engineer too, so have been influenced by seeing your father, or did you think about it on your own?

R3: Both actually.

I: What do you want to be?

R5: Engineer

I: What type of engineer?

R5: Nano engineering.

I: What is that all about?

R5: It's about designing microchips.

I: How did you get this idea?

R5: My elder brother. He studies in Italy. He suggested this as an interesting subject for me to study.

I: Do they offer this subject in our country, BUET (Bangladesh University of Engineering and Technology) maybe?

R5: I'm not sure, North South University maybe.

I: What does your mother have to say about this?



R5: She tells me to study whatever I want. Personally I think I might not be able to, but I still want to give it a try.

I: What do you want to be?

R6: I want to study law.

I: What does your father do?

R6: He's a businessman; garments factory.

I: Then how did you get this idea, to study law?

R6: I like to argue

I: Has anyone ever told you that you argue well?

R6: Well I get opinions according to the places/situations I'm in. I'm also financially ambitious.

I: So you think lawyers earn more than a garments businessman?

R6: Obviously!

I: How come? Do you agree?

R4: No.

R6: Garments have a good income here, domestically, but not everywhere.

I: Meaning you will study law, become a barrister and go to the UK? Is that your target?

R6: USA.

I: After your A'levels?

R6: Yes.

I: So what attracted you most to get this plan or lineup? As far as I know, most people go to the UK to study law, so why the US for you?

R6: No I won't go there. I like the American accent better and I'm not too keen to the British.

I: Most of the Bangladeshi's feel this way but why you, you're from a much later generation, even we haven't seen what the British had done here.

R6: Instinct I guess. I don't have any exact reason behind it.

I: Hmm confusing. What about sports? What's your favorite soccer team, Chelsea?

R6: I don't watch soccer, I prefer basketball.

I: So all US based things you prefer.

R6: Yes. You, most of the Bangladeshi people go to the UK, it's too mainstream.

I: So you want to be different?

R6: If you go there you'll see almost 80% of the people are Indians, there are very few 'white' people. About 2% are Bangladeshis', but there's no difference really.

I: How interesting. Have you been there yourself and faced this issue?

R6: Yes when I was around 6 years old, we went to visit Newcastle for around 3 weeks. I never expected to see so many Indians there; was quite disappointed.

I: So you don't like the Indians too much either?

R6: No, can't stand them.

I: Did it have anything to do with the fact that in a foreign country there should be 'white people'?

R6: Well, even back then when I was 6, I didn't expect to see so many 'brown' faces. So from that experience, I lost my interest in the UK.

I: Did u have any subsequent experiences to that, I mean you were very young then. What are things made you begin to dislike the Indians?

R6: Disliking the Indians was something that came rather later actually, from their film industry, music etc.

I: But hasn't there film industry like captured the entire world?

R6: Sure, they are rather multicultural; they act like Americans yet speak like the English. They aren't unique in any way.

I: Any other reasons you don't want to go to the UK or tell me why do you like the US?

R6: I don't know, what other options do we have for studying law abroad?

I: thank you.

I: What about you, what would you like to be?

R2: Doctor. I had a plan from childhood to be a doctor, I didn't really understand it back then, but I gleaned a bit of information from TV shows what I read etc, and the prospect of saving lives all inspired me.

I: Have you given any thoughts as to where you will go and study?

R2: Well after finishing my A 'levels I can study in Bangladesh or I might go abroad. As far as I know, previously we English medium students could not study medicine in our government medical colleges but the rules have been relaxed now; there is a quota for us.

I: Actually the thing is, the content that you have to study, isn't it?

R2: Yes, most of the time the content is from Bengali medium books, so if you study from that you'll do fine. And honestly, when I started studying since I've become attracted to biology.

I: Does your family have any opinions on this choice?

R2: My family supports it.

I: Your father is an engineer isn't he, where is he right now?

R2: In the USA. I believe that having a doctor in each family is very good.

I: Since your father is in the US, won't you have to settle there in the future?

R2: No, I don't think we will settle in the US, for the medical studies the UK might be better.

I: Why?

R2: My father says so; In the US they have medical schools but the thing is I don't like their culture. The way I have brought up in here in Bangladesh is very different from the USA. For example here when we become 18 or however old we might be we still live with our parents but there once they turn 13 they begin to have thoughts about living on their own. There are also certain cultural barriers.

I: Isn't it the same in the UK?

R2: Umm. I do have relatives and cousins there.

I: So you're saying that English Medium students just can't study within the country, they have to go abroad?

R6: Yes.

R7: Well, the private universities are making a comeback and hopefully they will succeed. The education provided in public universities becomes tough for us.

R6: Parents or even students might prefer the institutions abroad because they provide much more security and facilities for the students; you can study in much more comfort and peace.

I: Hi, please take a seat. What would you like to be when you grow up?

R8: Doctor or a fashion designer.

I: Hi, your friend wants to become an automobile engineer, what about you?

R9: Well I first want to be an architect if not then an engineer; Computer engineer.

I: Where will you study?

R9: America, my brother studies there and so will I.

I: What about you, where will you study?

R8: I still don't have any idea.

I: Where did you get the idea of fashion designing?

R8: I love art, and I'll be good at fashion designing I believe.

**5.6.1: What are you doing for the next step (any preparation, coaching, any decision or action).**

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### **Madrassa Boys**

R.1: I want to get admitted into a good college than in Dhaka Medical College. After becoming a doctor I want to go abroad.

R.2: I want to accomplish higher studies.

R.3: Coaching.

R.4: Coaching.

R.5: Coaching.

R.6: I will take preparation for higher studies.

R.7: Coaching for getting admitted in BUET.

## 5.7: Youth Culture in Dhaka City: Scope and Practices in and out of the School

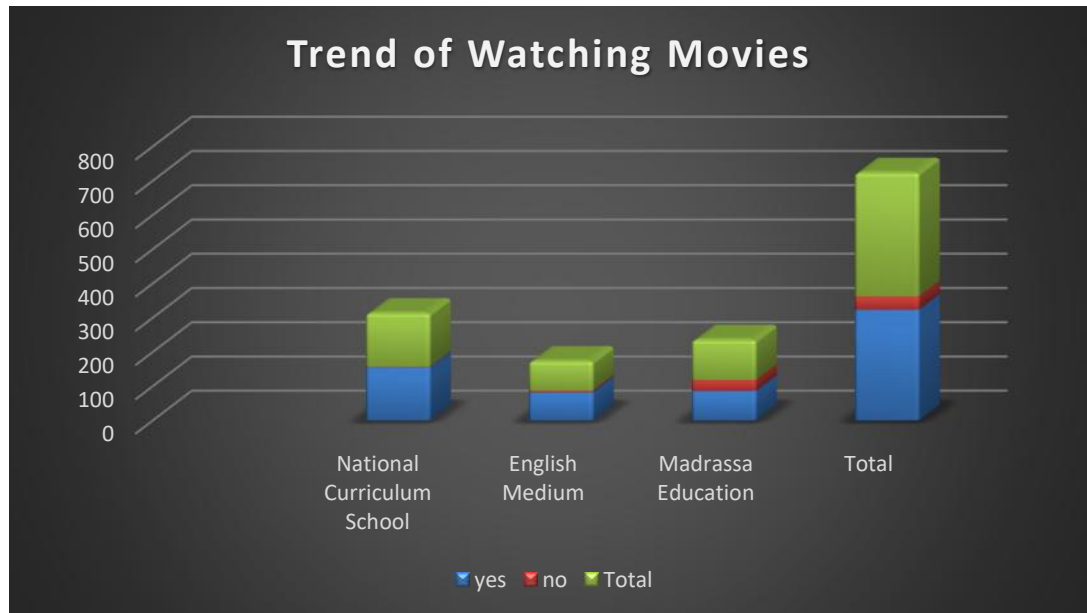
Table 12: The mostly read newspaper/magazine by the Secondary School Students

The mostly read newspaper/magazine by the respondents	Types of Education System			Total
	National Curriculum School	English Medium School	Madrassa Education	
Daily Star	21 14.29%	45 66.18%	1 0.90%	67 20.55 %
Pothom Alo	86 58.50%	7 10.29%	16 14.41%	109 33.44 %
kalerKontho	15 10.20%	0 0.00%	6 5.41%	21 6.44 %
NoyaDigonto	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	22 19.82%	22 6.75 %
Songram	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	1 0.90%	1 0.31 %
Jugantor	5 3.40%	2 2.94%	3 2.70%	10 3.07%
Amar Desh	1 0.68%	1 1.47 %	44 39.64%	46 14.11%
Bangladesh Protidin	10 6.80%	0 0.00 %	9 8.11%	19 5.83%
Ittafaq	4 2.72%	2 2.94%	9 8.11%	15 4.60 %
Others	5 3.40%	11 16.18%	0 0.00%	16 4.91 %
Total	147 100.00%	68 100.00%	111 100.00%	326 100.00%

The table above shows that the highest 66.18% of English medium students, the read Daily Star a national level English newspaper, the highest 58.50% of National Curriculum students, read the secular and most popular Bengali national daily Prothom Alo, and the highest 44% of Madrassa students read AmaderDesh and next higher 22% Madrassa students prefer NoyaDiganta which are Islamic party owned newspaper.

The culture of linguistic practice of adolescents may be assumed that the orientation has relation with the education system. Now the choice or taste of adolescents for watching movies is presented below.

**Figure 6: Trend of watching Movies for entertainments?**



Types of Education System	yes	no	Total
National Curriculum School	155	2	157
English Medium	82	5	87
Madrasa Education	86	32	118
Total	323	39	362

Mostly Madrasa students said that they do not watch movies in questionnaire tools but there are interesting findings in FGD method.

**Q.6- Make a list of your favorite music, writer, movie, superhero, TV show/ program, books, etc. Explain why you like them.**

**National Curriculum Girls**

R.1: Music of: One direction, Jennifer Lopez, Pittbul, Kesha, Taylor Swift, Usher, Linkin Park, Owl city, Akon, Michael Jackson, Arash, Backstreet boys,

Writer: J. K. Rowling, Shakespeare.

Movie: Ready, Night at the museum, liar liar, Bruce Almighty, Tower heist, Fantastic four 1&2, etc.

TV show: One tree Hill, Modern Family.

Books: Harry Potter, Merchant of Venice.

I'm a movie buff, and I also love to listen to various music.

R.2: Music: Taylor Swift, Enmigue Iglesias, One direction, Maroon 5, Linkin Park, etc.

Writer: Dan Brown, Leasly Pearse, Jafar Iqbal.

Movie: Harry Potter, 3 idiots, well this varies but these two are my all-time favorite.

TV show: One tree hill, Grey's anatomy etc.

Books: Twilight, Till we meet again.

R.3: Music: melodious music.

Writer: SattajitRoy, MdJafar Iqbal.

Movie: Titanic, Harry Potter, Hangover, 3 idiots, Due date etc.

Books: Ami Topu, Obonil, Feluda, Patta, Bohubrihi, Bristirthikana and so on.

R.4: Music: Invisible

Writer: Humayun Ahmed

Movie: 3 idiots

I like these because they go with me.

R.5: Music: Anything by Pittbull, Enchanted by Taylor Swift.

Writer: I don't read books.

Movie: Life is Beautiful, any movie by Lindsay Lohan, A walk to remember.

Super-hero: The green lantern

TV show: the series "Friends", football game.

R.6: Music: Top Bighang, nickel back, Tagore song etc.

Writer: Md Jafar Iqbal, Sydney Sheldon etc.

Movie: Animate movies, Life of pi, Argo, etc.

TV show: One tree hill, Super Natural, Gossip girl, Masterchef, Pokemon etc.

Books: detective books.

I love them because they are cheerful and sad stuffs can make people depressed towards their life.

R.7: Music: soft melody because it soothes my mind.

Writer: Humayun Ahmed because his stories are interesting and good to read.

Movie: the Harry Potter series because this plot is on friendship and love.

Super Hero: Wolverine because he fights for the welfare and justice. His super powers are fascinating.

TV show: The vampire diaries. This is based on fantasy that is why my favorite.

Favorite book: The princess diaries because this is about teenage problems.

### **National Curriculum Boys**

R.1: Music: Akon

Writer: I don't read novel much.

Superhero: Kick ass

TV Show: Man vs Wild

Movie: Life of pi, face off, city of ember, memento, Death of Emili Rose, The beautiful mind, Pretty woman, The Vatican city.

I think all of my likings are unique and creative as well.

R.2: Music: Rock and Pop

Writer- I don't read much books. But like Enyd Blyton and Humayun Ahmed. And also Niaz Chowdhury.



TV Show: How I met your mother, 2<sup>nd</sup> and a half men, Big bang theory.

Movie- Avatar and Avengers. Don't watch hindi movie much but liked 'Barfi' and 'Kahani'.

I think all of these are great and awesome.

R.3: Music: Linkin Park, Bon jovi, Eminem etc.

Writer: I don't read novels.

Superhero: Dicky

TV Show: How I met your mother, Two and a half man etc.

Movie: Shawshank, Redemption, Valentine's Day etc.

R.4: Music: Micheal Jackson, Scorpions, Pet shop boys.

Writer: Don't have favorite writers.

Superhero: Avengers

Movie: Jack Reacher, Oblivion, Mission Impossible, Knight and Day. Like them because these are action movies and thrilling.

R.5: Music: Akon

Books: Sharlock Holmes, Natboltu

Superhero: Green arrow, Batman.

TV Show: Arrow, Bleacn.

Movie: Laurax, Sherlock Holmes, Ghost rider 2.

R.6: Music: Iron maiden, Script, Metallica

Writer: Eunos Ali (Dpt. of Physics)

Superhero: Iron man, Thor

TV Show: How I met your mother, Two and a half men,

Movie: Cinderella man, Argo, Campaign.

Books: Board books.

R.7: Music: Pop and soft rock

Writer: Don't like reading books.

Superhero: Iron man

TV Show: Two and a half men

Movie: Avengers

I like these because I enjoy them.

### **Madrassa Boys**

R.1: Music: Songs of Habib, Nancy, and Kona

Writer: Humayun Ahmed

Movie: Movies of Shahrukh Khan

R.2: Different kinds of songs and books. Movies of Amir Khan and Salman Khan's are my favorite.

R.3: Music: Islamic music

Writer: Suneel Gangapaddhay

R.4: Music: Islamic music

Writer: Kazi Nazrul Islam

Books: Islamic books

R.5: Music: Hindi music

Writer: Humayun Ahmed, Rakib Hasan

Movie: Harry Potter

R.6: Music: Linkin Park, Islamic music, love songs

Books: Islamic books regarding Rasul (S.M)

R.7: Music: Islamic music

Books: Islamic books

TV shows: Peace TV shows.

### **English Medium Students**

R7: Flash.

R9: Batman.

R6: Green Lantern

I: Do you know that the Comic Convention is taking place?

R10: My superhero from there would be Ghost Rider.

R7: Yes, it's at "The Bench"

I: Have you been there?

R7: I thought it might be over.

I: No it's still on tonight. Who's planning on going? I went last night, to see what it's all about. It was quite crowded due to the small space.

I: What about music? What types of music do you like?

R7: Death Punk Metal, Rock.

R10: Rock

R6: Hip-Hop

R3: Classic Rock

I: All English right?

R7: Even the Bangla bands performing hard rock, metal aren't bad. In the case of Pop, Bangla isn't...

R10: Artcel, Warfaze.

R6: Justin Beiber

R10: Do you listen to One Direction too?

R8: One Direction isn't bad!

I: What about you?

R9: I listen to all types of music?

I: Soft Music?

R8: I listen to all types of soft music, even in Bangla. I study music at Chayanath.

I: Are you studying Nazrul Geeti?

R8: At the moment I'm studying everything. I'm allowed to choose my subjects from the 3<sup>rd</sup> year, right now I'm in my 2<sup>nd</sup> year.

Table 13: Food Habits of the Secondary School / Madrassa Students

Favorite food of the respondents	Types of Education System			Total
	National Curriculum School	English Medium	Madrassa Education	
ice-cream	12	10	13	35
	18.46%	15.15%	24.07%	18.92 %
Pizza	6	11	6	23
	9.23%	16.67%	11.11%	12.43 %
Burger	7	4	13	24
	10.77%	6.06%	24.07%	12.97 %
Sandwich	7	8	5	20
	10.77%	12.12%	9.26%	10.81 %
Fuchka	7	2	1	10
	10.77%	3.03%	1.85%	5.41%
Chotppoti	5	1	1	7
	7.69%	1.52%	1.85%	3.78 %
Chocolate	7	10	0	17
	10.77%	15.15%	0.00%	9.19 %
Drinks	2	7	1	10
	3.08%	10.61%	1.85%	5.41 %
Hailm	3	3	1	7
	4.62%	4.55%	1.85%	3.78%
Biriani	0	2	1	3
	0.00%	3.03%	1.85%	1.62%
Chicken	6	3	5	14
	9.23%	4.55%	9.26%	7.57 %
Noodles	3	4	5	12
	4.62%	6.06%	9.26%	6.49 %
Others	0	1	2	3
	0.00%	1.52%	3.70%	1.62%
Total	65	66	54	185
	100.00%	100.00 %	100.00%	100.00%

The table above shows that 18.46% National Curriculum students, 15.15% English medium students, and 24.07% Madrassa students list ice cream as their favorite food. 9.23% National Curriculum students, 16.67% English medium students, and 11.11% Madrassa students list pizza as their favorite food. 10.77% National Curriculum students, 3.03% English medium students, and 1.85% Madrassa students list Fuchka as their favorite food. 10.77% National Curriculum students, 15.15% English medium students, and no Madrassa students list chocolate as their favorite food. Again data shows that Madrassa students are a few in diversified taste of food varieties whereas English medium students are more towards western food like Pizza. FGD findings are more details on taste for music, movies, restaurants, café and lounge culture.

**Q.7- How would you like to spend your free time mostly? Share your most interesting event or occasion of your life. And what do you like to eat?**

#### **National Curriculum Girls**

R.1: I mostly hangout with my friends or neighbors, watch TV or movie, chat with friends. Most interesting event was when we friends used to bunk sports classes and one day, we caught red-handed but I saved us by lying to our teacher. That day I realized that I'm one hell of actor, when I'm needed to be one.

R.2: Shopping or going out in a long trip.

R.3: Reading story books and listening to songs. One of my most interesting event was performing in the opening ceremony of ICC.

R.4: Chatting on Facebook, is the thing I do mostly in my free time. The result day of SSC was the most interesting day of my life.

R.5: Watching TV. Can't remember any event.

R.6: Mostly by nursing my pet and passing time with my parents. Besides, watching TV, Facebooking, playing games etc. There are lots of events, can't write them all.

R.7: Listening to music, reading story books, watching TV.

#### **Madrassa Boys**

R.1: I spend my time studying different books and by sharing various information with my friends on Facebook.

R.2: I like to spend times by playing and my favorite food is fish.

R.3: I like to spend my free time by playing and my favorite food is noodles.

R.4: I spend my free time by playing with my friends.

R.5: I spend my free time by playing with my friends and all kind of fast foods are favorite.

R.6: Would like to spend my free time by watching TV and favorite food is mango.

R.7: I spend my free time by playing. I don't have anything interesting in my life. I like to eat burgers.

**Q.8- How do you spend time with friends? Sleep over or hangout?**

**National Curriculum Girls**

R.1: Definitely hangout. I've never slept over at any friend's house.

R.2: Hangout.

R.3: I spend time with them by hanging out and gossiping.

R.4: Playing games, gossiping, etc. Hangout.

R.5: Hangout.

R.6: Hangout. We also sleep over. I have more than four sleep over experiences.

R.7: Hangout.

**National Curriculum Boys**

R.1: Due to family restrictions, sleep over is not allowed. But yes, hangover is peaceful. Once in a week is must.

R.2: Hangout is preferable the most.

R.3: Due to family restrictions, sleep over is not allowed at this age. However, hangover is allowed and often once in a week.

R.4: I am someone who likes to be alone. I don't spend time with friends but spend an hour weekly in Facebook.

R.5: Spend time with friends by gossiping.

R.6: Mostly spend my times with my friends in coaching and sometimes hangout.

R.7: I spend time with friends by hanging out in various places and don't sleep over because our parents don't permit us.

### **Madrassa Boys**

R.1: I usually spend much time with my friends regarding study than hanging out.

R.2: Most of the time I play with my friends.

R.3: Hangout.

R.4: I usually spend much time with my friends by playing and hanging out.

R.5: Play with them.

R.6: Sleep over.

R.7: I usually spend much time with my friends by playing and studying

**Q.9- What do you think about DJ Café, Shisha Bar, Café 33, Café Dejevu, and Café H<sub>2</sub>O etc.?**



**Illustration No 2: Teen Ager Smokes Hookah with Shisha in Lounge in Dhaka city**

### **National Curriculum Girls**

R.1: I have never even heard of them before.

R.2: Never been to any of these.

R.3: I haven't heard about them before.

R.4: I hate these. Because they do not go with our culture.

R.5: Never heard about this before.

R.6: Never heard of them actually, but shisha bar is common. My opinion is that people should avoid this. These are the dead ends of the life.

R.7: Well, I never been to any of these places but I guess these would be nice places to hang out with friends.

### **National Curriculum Boys**

R.1: These places are intrinsic, a place to hangover with friends not with family obviously. But the environment had an impression. It mostly attracts the teenagers.

R.2: These places are good. They don't serve shisha under age 21 as of government restriction and also considering the social value. This view must be changed.

R.3: I myself don't like going to these places.

R.4: I think these are not necessary for the country.

R.5: Personally I never heard of above places.

R.6: I think these places are quite enjoyable to us.

R.7: I think these cafes and bars are interesting. The common people think that shisha is harmful but these are not. And also it is banned for under age 21.

### **Madrassa Boys**

R.1: These should be banned.

R.2: Students of our age go to these places which is very pathetic.

R.3: The places which provides ways for addiction should be banned.

R.4: The places where people are taking drugs should be banned.

R.5: (Blank)

R.6: Youths should not go there.

R.7: I personally don't like these places and as well as the people who go there. People who go there should be shown the right path.

### **English Medium**

R7: I love like Djs. It's awesome.

R8: I hate it. I find it unrefined.

R7: Djs are for special occasions or for a certain time is fun but too much of it is bad.



R9: No!

I: Could you explain why?

R10: When it crosses the limit its bad.

I: Do you consider it to be sound pollution?

R7: Yea.

R8: Yes

R7: We're enjoying it but the people who aren't there must feel that way.

R10: At one point it becomes annoying and then you don't like it anymore.

I: How long do you think it can be tolerated for?

R10: For a maximum of 3 hours I would say.

R7: It also depends on the DJ, their skills and how they do it.

I: Do you think things like concerts; DJs etc are easily accessible for today's youth?

R7, R10: Yes, everyone can go.

R8: I don't go.

I: Why is that? Do girls go less than boys?

R7: Yes, actually very few girls are seen at these things, feminism or something.

R10: It all depends on what they like I think comparatively I mean.

I: So why don't you go, does your family have any problems with it?

R8: Yes, that and I don't have much of an interest in it either.

I: Have you ever been there and then felt like "no I don't like this"?

R8: No, I've seen these events on the TV and I think these types of things aren't really what I'm looking for. On top of that my parents would never allow to me to go.

R7: See, there's a preconceived notion that these things are bad, and so the girls know that their parents won't allow them to go so they don't even bother.

I: Why are they considered bad?

R10: A bad influence?

I: A bad Influence? What is bad there?

R9: Swear words are used occasionally.

R10: A lot of people go there, maybe it's a fear that the girls might socialize with the wrong sort of people and you might be influenced by their types of activities and things.

I: So the DJ-ing itself isn't bad but the environment created there with many types of people can be adverse.

R9: For hanging out within a budget and keeping good food in mind, I would recommend BFC or KFC. For something more special I would say the Westin or the Radisson, if possible.

I: I've heard about this place called "Lounge", it's a different kind of place to hang out, with a couple of restaurants, no tables... a kind of open seat basis place...

R7: What would you like me to say about that?

I: Well I would like for you to speak from the heart about what you feel about such places and what others might feel as well.

R7: Yes, I guess it ok for hanging out, it's a different kind of place, very comfortable, no one bothers you. You can sit in peace and talk with your friends or your girlfriends.

R11: I haven't gone to any.

I: Why?

R7: Look, it's like a trend. First we see it as a way of being an adult and then once you go a couple of times, once you grow up you realize it's just a waste of time.

I: So girls don't really go there?

R11: No it's just us few who haven't been, there are others in our class who have been.

I: Why don't we invite them to this little discussion? Call them over.

R11: She went with her sister. They tried the 'shisha' I think but nothing else. It doesn't have any nicotine in it or anything.

R10: You feel high, maybe a little dizzy.

R7: No, Not really, I would say it's just for the flavor of it. The smoke comes out like a cigarette; I don't think it's as harmful.

R10: But there are a few people nowadays who mix different things into it, but that's a different story.

R7: Yes, they even pay extra for certain types of things to be added to it.

I: So how did you understand when you first had it that no narcotics had been mixed in, because extra payment was not asked for or some other reason?

R7: Well actually a normal shisha does not give any adverse effects, you don't even feel anything.

R10: I think maybe they don't give anything strong in the beginning, that why it doesn't have any effects.

R7: There aren't any effects.

R10: Maybe the more expensive ones do.

I: Well, I don't think you have reached that age yet, you know the youth culture of going to lounges or having 'shisha', like in our time we had weed/ marijuana and there wasn't much scope to go to restaurants and stuff.

I: Those who go to lounges, have 'shisha', you know not regularly but just for the purpose of tasting it or giving it a try they are one group, but what about those who are regular, for whom these kinds of activities are a part of life or lifestyle, do you think they know what they are doing or do their parents even know what they are doing?

R10, R7: No

R9: They do it because they think it shows a higher status level, it can attract girls, they feel it might make them more interesting or popular.

R7: It can be seen as a treat as well. Also girls are restricted in some lounges. And I don't think their parents know what they are doing. They tell their mum that they might be going out for a bit, instead they go to a lounge, have their fun and come back and no ones the wiser.

R9: Also the girls who do go to the lounges are very open (flirtatious) with the boys. The boys seeing this opportunity to talk with the girls, to hangout are influenced to go there more often.

I: Are these girls from other groups or from the same place... what do you think?

R7: Well they might be from a different group, or it could be two separate groups meeting at the same place or maybe even they have a different status level.

I: Do you suppose that these girls as they are so open with the boys are even open with their parents and tell them where they are going?

R10: No.

R7: No, it's the same. In our Bangladeshi culture it's believed that girls don't do bad things, they're saints, so if these activities are brought out into the open, then for our Bangladeshi society it's a big factor.

**.Q.10- Are you with any music dance or cultural activities, cycling, swimming or sports? Please explain.**

#### **National Curriculum Girls**

R.1: No, I'm not.

R.2: Guitar, painting, swimming, cycling.

R.3: I am good at singing.

R.4: No.

R.5: No.

R.6: Dancing and swimming.

R.7: No.

#### **National Curriculum Boys**

R.1: BD Cyclist an organization by some cheerful leaders.

R.2: Not a part of any cultural activities. However, I do cycling and swimming.

R.3: I play guitar and took parts in some co-curricular activities. Like to play cricket.

R.4: No, I'm not a part of any activity.

R.5: No, I don't take parts in any cultural activities.

R.6: I sometimes play football.

R.7: No.

### **Madrasa Boys**

R.1: I like to sing songs alone all by myself.

R.2: I like to play cricket the most.

R.3: No.

R.4: No.

R.5: No.

R.6: I am with a cricket club.

R.7: I like to play. Like- cricket, football.

### **Q.11- Who do you think popular in your class? Why is he or she popular?**

#### **National Curriculum Girls**

R.1: Binita Zaman, because she is confident, can express herself, good at giving speeches, she can't sing but never hesitates to go up on a stage and sings her lungs out, also she is good at debating, dancing. Besides her academic performance is also good.

R.2: I don't remember anyone being popular than me. No reason.

R.3: I think Sabrina, who is our miss preparatory. She is funny, multi-talented, genius, lovely and friendly.

R.4: I think I am the most popular one.

R.5: I think Binita, because she is a teacher pet and a really good student. I don't hate her for that though.

R.6: Binita and well I'm also popular. We both together organized and choreographed our annual sports display. My book made me popular and her as well.

R.7: I think my classmate Binita is popular. She takes part actively in all sorts of social, cultural and recreational activities.

#### **National Curriculum Boys**

R.1: Rabbi bhai is the best. He is an all-rounder.

R.2: Zarif. He is the first boy and my friend. Also he has a veto power.

R.3: Shafkat. He is cool, awesome and legendary.

R.4: Truly, I don't know and if there is any I don't care.

R.5: Boron, Arko, Mamun, Rabbi.

R.6: Rabbi bhai is the best. He is awesome and one of the best athletes in our class.

R.7: My friend Abdul Haque Rabbi. He is popular because of his caring, good and friendly nature.

### **English Medium**

R7: Well, those who go to these types of things - DJ parties, those who roam around a lot are more interesting, so they are more popular. Someone who sits at home all day isn't very interesting to talk to compared to someone who comes and tells us "I went here or I did this". As humans we are curious.

I: Let me put something forward- For example, when you with the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> grade and were beginning to grow into a more mature level and become young adults, then when you brought some interesting news from a smaller circle and spread it among a bigger circle of peers, would that make you more popular among both your seniors and juniors around you?

R9: Yes, that does draw a bit of attention.

I: What about the girls? Is the same true there?

R8: yea I guess so.

R10: No I don't think so.

R7: You don't need say anything more, you don't know anything.

I: Why wouldn't he know anything? Doesn't he go to DJ parties and things like that?

R7: No, he stays at home or goes to concerts mainly.

I: Where are these concerts?

R10: RCC, Radisson Hotel and some other places.

### **Madrassa Boys**

R.1: Labib. He is popular because of his good and friendly nature. Also he shares many information.

R.2: I am the most popular student in my class. Because I sing well in the class that is why everyone likes me.

R.3: Kawser. Because he is confident, honest and also a good student.

R.4: Siam Ahmed. Because he is brilliant and intelligent.

R.5: Kawser. Because he is friendly.

R.6: Shibli. Because he is a funny boy.

R.7: Motasim Billah because he always studies.

**Q.2- What do you think about the students from other two mediums of education beside yours (O level or SSC or Dakhil Madrassa).**

R.1: They are quite friendly.

R.2: I like the IGSCCE O Level system the most. Don't like the SSC curriculum and don't prefer Dakhil Madrassa.

R.3: They different from each other. And also I don't have much idea about the education system or the students.

R.4: Well, truly others are better but in manner or courtesy we are better.

R.5: The students who study in O level have a unique way of study and those who study in Dakhil have knowledge regarding Islam.

R.6: The other two mediums are quite different and the students are friendly.

R.7: Prefer the O level system to SSC and Dakhil.

**Converstions with English Medium Students**

I: Some of you have expressed your opinions on the Bangla medium students or their education. You must know that we have a Madrasa board of education and a huge number of students study there. What do you think about them? They are about your age, they too study in classes. Do you have an idea about them?

R6: I guess they are pretty within themselves; they aren't too interested in the outside world.

R7: they don't communicate much with anyone, they lead their live simply.

I: Do you agree that Madrasa students don't have a good idea about what's going on in the world around them?

R2: No not really. It's not that they don't have any idea about the world around them. It's just that they are very religious.

I: Do you think that detaches them from the world and its' goings on?

R8: No.

R7: No I meant that they do know what's going on around them but they live their lives their way and we live ours, our way. It's different.

I: Could you explain further?

R9: They have only one subject.

R7: No, no they don't. They have plenty of subjects.

I: They don't have commerce yet.

I: Ok, how about letting me know about your super heroes.

### **English Medium**

R3: I hate Politics.

R7: It's at an excess level in Bangladesh.

R6: It's corrupted. The corruption is broken beyond repair.

R3: Interesting

I: Bangladeshi politics or world politics?

R3: Any kind!

R3: No I hate politics; it's all about stealing as much money as you can.

I: Do you understand that politics is one thing and practice is another? So you hate the practice?

R3: Not really. It's like many people have many hobbies and they keep them in practice but it doesn't mean doing stuff that's unnecessary.

I: I don't think you understood what I meant. It's like politics should be in every individual.

R3: Yea but if the practice of it is bad that's not a good thing.

I: Yes. The thing is the things that you are seeing is corruption. But what do you know about politics? You say that you hate politics that should mean that you know what good politics is.



R3: This doesn't happen in any other countries, at least outside of South Asia like Europe, North America. Exams, education isn't held up for political reasons. I mean, we are the future, if you're going to block us...

I: I understand. Now what you're talking about is party politics, but the politics for the nation, for the universe, that is individual politics. Do you understand that? You see, walking into a school and shooting 20 kids, that too has political aspects. Because they have the law to use arms, privately they are allowed to. There are many amendments in politics. So politics is what we think about our society, our nation. Have you ever thought about politics in that way?

R8: Actually I think that, those who are involved in politics should be single, so that they can focus on the country more.

I: ok, let's move onto DJs and hanging out and stuff.

I: There must be certain restaurants that you frequent or want to frequent that has a 'wow' factor right? What are those?

R9: For hanging out or something else?

I: Any one.

R9: For hanging out within a budget and keeping good food in mind, I would recommend BFC or KFC. For something more special I would say the Westin or the Radisson, if possible.

I: I've heard about this place called "Lounge", it's a different kind of place to hang out, with a couple of restaurants, no tables... a kind of open seat basis place...

R7: What would you like me to say about that?

I: Well I would like for you to speak from the heart about what you feel about such places and what others might feel as well.

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R11: I haven't gone to any.

I: Why?

R7: Look, it's like a trend. First we see it as a way of being an adult and then once you go a couple of times, once you grow up you realize it's just a waste of time.

I: So girls don't really go there?

R11: No it's just us few who haven't been, there are others in our class who have been.

I: Why don't we invite them to this little discussion? Call them over.

R11: She went with her sister. They tried the 'shisha' I think but nothing else. It doesn't have any nicotine in it or anything.

R10: You feel high, maybe a little dizzy.

R7: No, Not really, I would say it's just for the flavor of it. The smoke comes out like a cigarette; I don't think it's as harmful.

R10: But there are a few people nowadays who mix different things into it, but that's a different story.

R7: Yes, they even pay extra for certain types of things to be added to it.

I: So how did you understand when you first had it that no narcotics had been mixed in, because extra payment was not asked for or some other reason?

R7: Well actually a normal shisha does not give any adverse effects, you don't even feel anything.

R10: I think maybe they don't give anything strong in the beginning, that why it doesn't have any effects.

R7: There aren't any effects.

R10: Maybe the more expensive ones do.

I: Well, I don't think you have reached that age yet, you know the youth culture of going to lounges or having 'shisha', like in our time we had weed/ marijuana and there wasn't much scope to go to restaurants and stuff.

I: Those who go to lounges, have 'shisha', you know not regularly but just for the purpose of tasting it or giving it a try they are one group, but what about those who are regular, for whom these kinds of activities are a part of life or lifestyle, do you think they know what they are doing or do their parents even know what they are doing?

R10, R7: No

R9: They do it because they think it shows a higher status level, it can attract girls, they feel it might make them more interesting or popular.

R7: It can be seen as a treat as well. Also girls are restricted in some lounges. And I don't think their parents know what they are doing. They tell their mum that

they might be going out for a bit, instead they go to a lounge, have their fun and come back and no ones the wiser.

R9: Also the girls who do go to the lounges are very open (flirtatious) with the boys. The boys seeing this opportunity to talk with the girls, to hangout are influenced to go there more often.

I: Are these girls from other groups or from the same place... what do you think?

R7: Well they might be from a different group, or it could be two separate groups meeting at the same place or maybe even they have a different status level.

I: Do you suppose that these girls as they are so open with the boys are even open with their parents and tell them where they are going?

R10: No.

R7: No, it's the same. In our Bangladeshi culture it's believed that girls don't do bad things, they're saints, so if these activities are brought out into the open, then for our Bangladeshi society it's a big factor.

I: Do you think these matters are coming to light more nowadays?

R7: See when couples elope most of the blame falls on the girls, in the same way if this gets out in the open, it might be detrimental and nobody wants that.

R10: Us boys, even we don't want that.

I: Well then they must be having a certain status level which provides them with the courage to move around like this. I believe they even dress differently? Are they much different from the girls in your school or peer groups?

R7: Yes, the girls who go to lounges, they dress well but they act like boys. I guess they do this so that they can be more open and attract the boys.

I: Then how do the boys control them?

R12: They don't!

I: How do they control themselves?

R7: Well it's like the girls pretend that they aren't interested in talking to us, we act in the same way until at one point one parties leaves and then nothing takes place.

R9: In a way I believe we are more controlled than girls. I been out with many girls and I've seen this.

**Configuring Cultural Distinction- Individual's Taste and Life Style****Table 14: Trend of Life Style**

Respondent's choice of life style	Types of Education System			Total
	National Curriculum School	English Medium School	Madrassa Education	
Religious Leader	13 9.42%	8 11.59%	81 79.41%	102 33.01 %
self	43 31.16%	14 20.29%	7 6.86%	64 20.71%
Film star	15 10.87%	20 28.99%	7 6.86%	42 13.59%
Singer	4 2.90%	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	4 1.29%
Sportsman	12 8.70%	1 1.45%	7 6.86%	20 6.47%
Eminent Personality	10 7.25%	9 13.04%	0 0.00%	19 6.15 %
Relatives	14 10.14%	6 8.70%	0 0.00%	20 6.47 %
Brands	19 13.77%	5 7.25%	0 0.00%	24 7.77%
Others	8 5.80%	6 8.70%	0 0.00%	14 4.53%
Total	138 100.00%	69 100.00%	102 100.00%	309 100.00%

Table above shows how the respondents follow the lifestyle of different people and Brands. Accordingly National Curriculum students following religious leaders amount to 13 or 3.5% of the total 103 or 25.8% whereas English Medium school students count of 8 or 2.0% and Madrassa students a staggering 81 or 20.2%. It

doesn't come as a surprise that Madrassa students would be the ones with the most following of a religious leader as their world does revolve around religion. Most National Curriculum School students too, follow religious personalities but this is rather uncommon for English medium students as they are lax in following religious customs or acquiring religious knowledge beyond what they absolutely have to.

Those following Brands amount to 19 or in National Curriculum students, 7 or in English Medium school students and 0% in Madrassa students making the total of 26 or 6.5%.

Now by brands we must come to find out what brands they mean, because each sector has their own set of identities. The Brands followed by English medium students would not necessarily be the same as followed by National Curriculum School students.

Students following themselves amount to 45 or 11.2% in National Curriculum School students, 18 or 4.5% in English Medium school students and 7 or 1.8% in Madrassa students, making the total come to 70 or 17.5%. Apparently National Curriculum School students do not lack in self confidence in their abilities and as such follow themselves more than English medium or Madrassa students.

National Curriculum School students following movie stars amount to 16 or 4.0% of the total 43 or 10.8%, whereas International school students count of 20 or 5% and Madrassa students for 7 or 1.8%.

Students following the lifestyle of Singers amount to 4 or 1% in National Curriculum schools, 2 or 0.5% in English Medium School students and again 0% in Madrassa students making the total come to 6 or 1.5%.

Students following media Personalities amount to 10 or 2.5% in both National Curriculum School and English Medium school students, whereas Madrassa students come in at 0% yet again making the total come to 20 or 5%.

Here again lies the question of what stars are followed and why. English medium students would naturally follow the western side more as they have a far wider

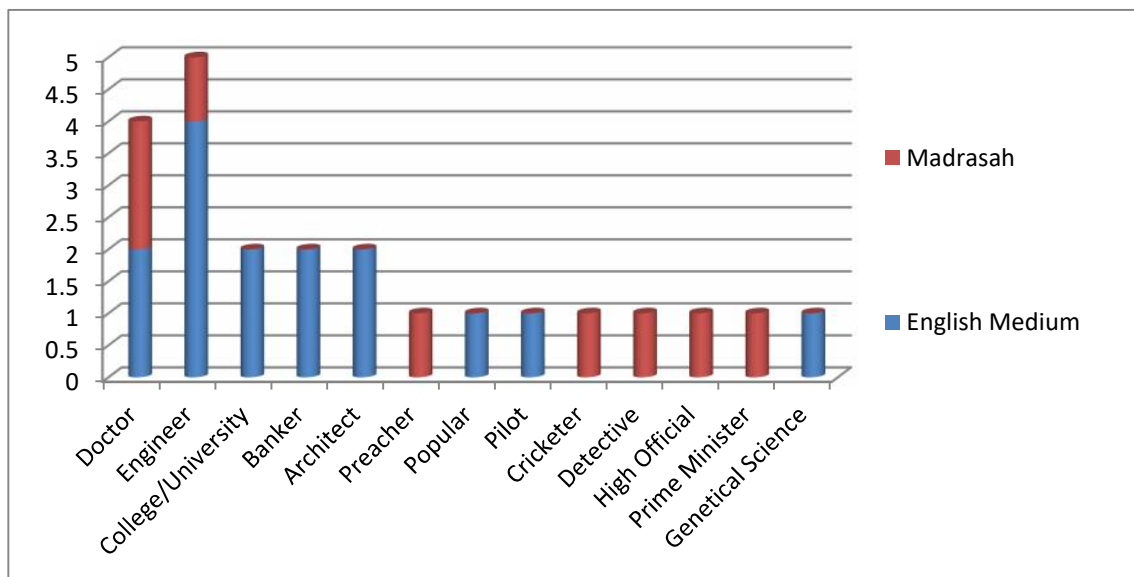
diversity where as the National Curriculum School students are left with only certain characters and personalities which they feel are worth following.

Students of National Curriculum schools following sportsmen amount to 12 or 3%, those from English Medium schools amount to 2 or 0.5% and Madrassa students amount to 7 or 1.8% making the total come to 21 or 5.2% National Curriculum School students following the lifestyles of their relative's amounts to 15 or 3.8% compared to the 12 or 3% of English Medium school students and the 0% of Madrassa students making the total out to be 27 or 6.8%.

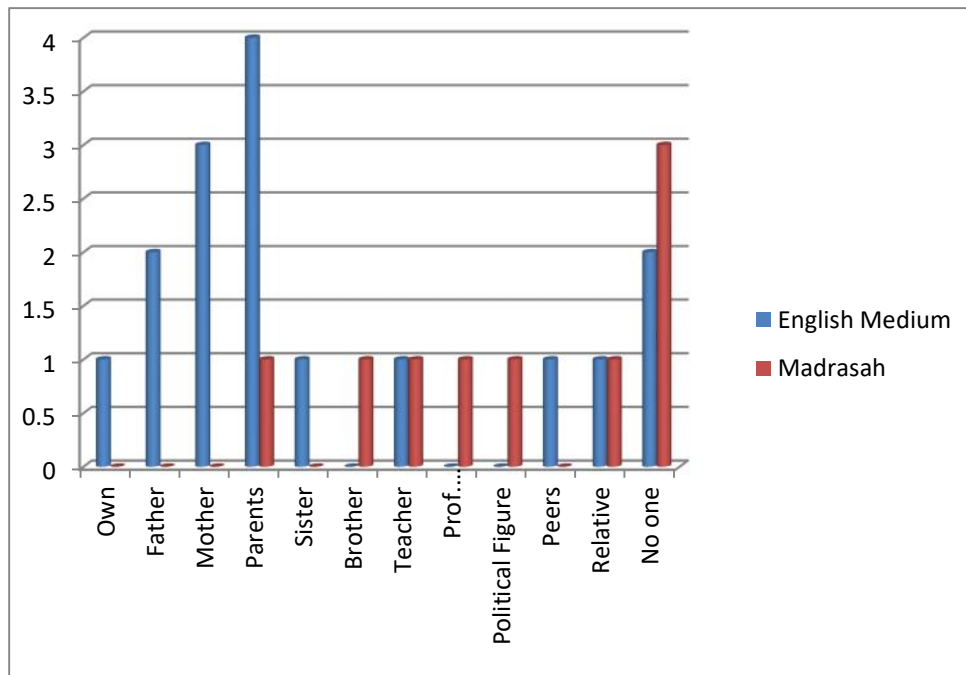
When asked if following the lifestyles of any other personality or brand, 8 or 2.0% National Curriculum School students responded in kind, as did 6 or 1.5% of English Medium school students compared to the 0 respondents of the Madrassa students, the total coming to 14 or 3.5%.

The missing data amounts to 26 or 6.5% in National Curriculum School students and English Medium school students and 18 or 4.5% in Madrassa students, from the total of 169 or 42.2% in Bangla medium students, 111 or 27.8% of International school students and 120 or 30% of Madrassa students of the 400 students charted

According to FGD findings the charts below show the future plans of the students and the people who inspire them most on their journey.



In accordance with the choice of their profession or their future plans, most as seen in Bangladesh, wish to become Doctors or Engineers, while only a few think outside of the box and wish to become RJ's or study Genetics.



According to sex, we see that girls choose more stereotypical professions compared to the boys. In the boys division itself we see the Madrassa students being more open in their choices of wanting to be cricketers or even the prime minister compared to the students from English medium school who wish to become bankers or engineers.

As far as inspiration goes, most draw inspiration from their family or teachers. To yet again subdivide the girls of the English medium schools tend to lean more towards their parents or peers, whereas the boys from the English medium lean on relatives too beside their parents or relatives.

Here too we see the Madrassa students going in a different direction and deriving inspiration from their Prophet, teachers or even no one in particular.

## Chapter VI: Publication

**SAJSS** South Asian Journal of  
Social Sciences

Volume 1, Issue 1  
January-June 2016

Article

### **Culture of Arbitrariness in Madrasah Education System**

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Online Version Published: 1 July 2016

#### **Abstract**

In recent decades, several Madrasahs in Bangladesh have been marked by media for being involved with training young students into militants. A number of print and electronic media reported its alleged connection to fundamentalist in Bangladesh. In this concern, understanding institutional influence on Madrasah students has been undertaken to analyze through Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's concept of cultural arbitrariness. The discussion has focused on the practice of abusing students and its reaction on young minds. No direct connection was found between Madrasah student's involvement with religious extremist groups, but one Madrasah funded by one leader from Jamaat e Islam has indirect commitment to be part of its student wing called Islamic Chhatra Shibir. Overall there is significant ignorance of Madrasah students regarding democratic political consciousness in the country. On social and political issues, the rational interpretation is always superseded by purified conceptualization of religious principles.

**Keywords:** Madrasah Education System, Social Group, Cultural Arbitrariness, Habitus

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### **1. Introduction**

Parallel to the mainstream education system two other basic education systems prevail in Bangladesh<sup>1</sup>, one is Madrasah education under government approved madrasa education board and the other one is English medium international education system, (though not recognized nationally). Differences between these education systems lie on the preference of language Bengali, or English or Arabic), as a medium of instructions regarding lessons and education materials in schooling, though the basic difference is rooted in the thematic priorities of curriculum designs. Such as the mainstream education based within a national context, English Medium education conceptualized over an international context and

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### Akhter: Culture of Arbitrariness in Madrasah Education System

Madrasah Education outlined solely with religious values. The mastery of language skills in the education system and use of legitimate language in schooling are the pivotal concepts to analyze the reproduction in school culture, the processes in forming new social groups in the society.

This paper will especially focus on sociocultural orientation of Dakhil<sup>2</sup> students that is shaped by the institutional practices within an education system. According to the special survey of BANBEIS,<sup>3</sup> the enrollment in 2010 shows a total of 1266255 students in Dakhil Madrasah, which is quite a huge number to ignore, while analyzing the changes in social structure. To be more specific, this is one-sixth of the enrolments in the mainstream education system at the school certificate level (special survey, BANBEIS 2010).

The public sector support that the Madrasahs receive in today's Bangladesh is transformed from the Madrasah established by Warren Hastings, Governor General of India in the British period in October 1781. Hastings' concern for Madrasah education was a long-term plan based on political interest for peaceful governance through making scope of minimum education to the Muslims who became shattered by the fall of Muslim rule, to serve in the lower level positions in the Government as well as in criminal court, particularly as interpreters of Muslim law. Besides the Government Madrasah, other forms of Madrasahs have been continuing operations in India, Bangladesh, and Pakistan. Quomi<sup>4</sup> or the Khariji Madrasah, do not have governmental endorsement but run with funds from the wealthy Islamic States and local community donations as well.

Under the global focus on western education policy, more emphasis was given on English in the Education System of India and so Madrasah education was reorganized with new schemes. The major characteristic of the new scheme was to discard Persian and make English compulsory. During this time Bangla, mathematics, geography, history, English drawing, handicrafts and drills were included in the syllabus. After the partition of the sub-continent, the Calcutta Aliya Madrasah was shifted to Dhaka. Only a limited number of Madrasah were established under the Aliya system before 1971; instead, expansion came after 1979 when the state initiated a formal Madrasah reform program and gave systematic incentives to a Madrasah to modernize (Asadullah and Chaudhury, 2006).

In 1985 for the first time, Madrasah qualification level (Dakhil) was recognized as equivalent to the senior secondary certificate and in 1987 Alim (the next level) was given the status of the higher secondary certificate. The purpose of establishing the Board was to prepare Muslim students to excel in all fields. In 1978, a Qomi Madrasah board was set up in Bangladesh with the name of Wafaq ul Madaris al Arabia, Bangladesh. It was a continuation of the process that had already started in West Pakistan in 1957 with the establishment of Wafaq ul Madaris Al-Arabia, Pakistan. Unlike the Aliya Madrasahs, whose degrees are recognized by the government, but the degree is issued by the Qomi madrasa boards are not

recognized by the state. Thus, they cannot be used for securing a government position. There are thus two parallel systems of madrasa education operating in Bangladesh today. What has made the state invest seriously in the Madrasah modernization programme, and what has made some Madrasahs accept state money, leading to the increased size of the Aliya madrasa tradition, is an interesting puzzle, given that similar measures in India and Pakistan have met limited success in the former and tough resistance in the latter.

In 1999 an attempt to update the Madrasah curriculum in Bangladesh was undertaken by the ministry of education. Diversified syllabus for Dakhil level education (general, science, Mujabbid that is for specialization in reading Quran correctly, and Hifjul Quran) was improved the standard by reviewing the syllabus and adopting a curriculum by the Madrasah Education Board in 2000 (Sattar 2004). Besides, the following objectives are found for the BMEB's textbooks: develop students in performing Ibadat, help the students study the content of Holy Quran, Hadiths, and Fiqh, help the students to use (reading, writing, and understanding) Arabic language in daily life, Acquire knowledge of Islamic tradition and culture, and Strengthen bonds of brotherhood with Arab countries (Sattar 2004).

## 2. Methods and Materials

The research covered four Madrasahs, which are registered under Aliya Madrasah Board; two best performing (only residential and separate campus for girls and boys) huge Madrasahs located at the outskirts of Dhaka City and two co-education Madrasahs (residential accommodation for few), located in the heart of Dhaka city. 120 Dakhil students aged from 14 to 19 years old were chosen randomly from class X and IX (in case not available from class X), for survey interviews with individual questionnaires and conducted FGD (each covering at least 8 students from those who participated in the survey), one from each Madrasah. Also, interviews with individual students, teachers, and management personnel and ex-students, who were enrolling in higher education in Public Universities, were taken for this research. This study has undertaken two Madrasahs located in the heart of the Dhaka city; Shahjadpur Najar Mahmud Alim Madrasah, located in Shahjadpur, Gulshan and Baitul Fazal Islamia Madrasah in Nurjahan Road, Mohammadpur. Both the Madrasahs have provision for Girls and Boys students sitting in the same classroom. But girls' enrollment is fewer than boys. Two big Madrasahs were undertaken from the outskirts of Dhaka city; Darrunnajat Siddikia Kamil Madrasah located in Demra and Tamirul Millat Madrasah in Tongi, Gazipur, because inside the city no big Madrasah is established. In this research findings, two cases found who have had primary and secondary education in Madrasah system and currently studying one in Arts faculty and the other in social Science faculty of Dhaka University were intervened for in-depth interviews.

Akhter: Culture of Arbitrariness in Madrasah Education System

### 3. Results

#### 3.1 Socioeconomic Status of Madrasah Students

Mosque based Madrasahs provide accommodation, food, and education for free, for the orphan children and also children from impoverished families. Dark classrooms and filthy toilets in old abandoned building or in the tin shed construction is a common poor condition of Madrasahs. In Dhaka city, many of those Madrasahs cannot provide a separate room for classes and night accommodation for the residential students. Girls in hijab<sup>6</sup> sit on one side and boys on the other side and at the back wall clothes of residential boys' are hanging is not a surprising picture there<sup>7</sup>. These Madrasahs are running on community donations and at the Dakhil level get a little subsidy for teachers' salary from Government. The well-off Muslims donate in the Mosque as part of wasiyah<sup>8</sup>. The quality of education environment and standard of the education system depends on the fund flow and fund management. For instance, Darrunnajat and Tamirul Millat are well established Madrasahs, running for long years and the performance in Board examination is also good, in average they score second and third highest. Darrunnajat showed their fund situation and budget items for the academic year 2013 which is quite sound and they already have constructed four storied academic building with library, computer and science lab facilities though differs from mainstream education.

Mohammed Ashraf 16 years' old boy, a student of class IX in Baitul Fazal Islamia Madrasah located at Mohammadpur, Dhaka, wishes to be a cricketer but his mother wants him to be a Maulana. It was her pledge to Allah since he was in the womb if almighty bless her with a son she will teach him Quran E Hafez. Considering mother's emotion Ashraf could not carry out cricket practices rather trying hard to compromise with his dream and sacrificing own choice. Like Ashraf, many of the Dakhil students didn't go to mainstream education because of their parents' wish. With this religious devotion, children are sent to Maktab<sup>9</sup> and Madrasah for Hefzi<sup>10</sup> in common, which is a long traditional practice of the Muslim spiritual families. Maulana or Principal of a Madrasah is the most prestigious profession in rural areas. Rural people trust them and recognize decisions from the religious leader as the best solution for either the domestic or social challenges in reference to the Holy book of Quran and Hadith of the Prophet Mohammad PBUH.

The below table shows families by father's occupation and income, who prefer their children, enroll in Madrasah education. It followed Bourdieu's work for class analysis through the occupation of the father in 60s. In the FGD also maximum boys and girls, mentioned government service, accountant, peon or mechanic for the occupation of father, and few girls told their uncle or brother serve in the fourth class of the government bank. Few mentioned driving as father's current profession. Madrasah students belong mostly from income earner group taka 5000/ to taka 30000/ per month and a few families have a monthly income up to

Taka 50000/; and who are from the occupation groups either of simple services like clerks, accountant or small business and entrepreneurs of grocery supplies or agricultural products. Nonetheless, the occupation group labor, driver, and farmer who belong to the low-income group might get it convenient. This data perfectly complies with the BANBEIS guardian profile socio-economic analysis, special survey. As per the survey findings, education level of the father, uncle or brother as the family income earner has the qualification of 23% HSC level, subsequently on graduation and post-graduation has almost similar qualification 20% and 19 %, nevertheless 10% and 8% parents have up to Primary and junior level education. Khatibs, have good enough educational qualification, i.e. post- graduation or graduation and their children also have the same vision to be Alem in future. These families have prestigious status; people consider them for wisdom in Islam and also follow their leadership in religious practices for generations in the locality.

**Table 1: Family income and Father's /Family Occupation**

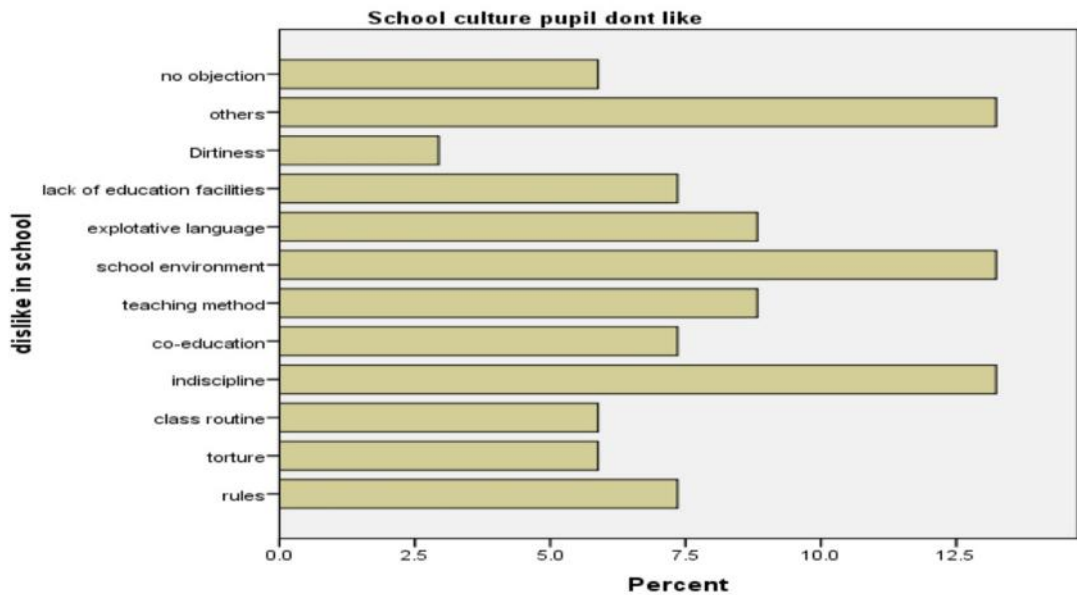
Family income in Taka /per month	father's/ family occupation							Total
	farmer	service	business	labor	driver	khatib	others	
5000-10000	3	7	8	2	4	0	3	27
11000-20000	0	21	9	0	0	2	0	32
21000-30000	2	7	13	0	0	2	2	26
31000-50000	1	5	5	0	1	0	0	12
51000-100000	0	4	4	0	0	1	0	9
1100000-300000	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
above 300000	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>111</b>

### 3.2 Pedagogic Practice, Legitimate Reproduction, and Culture of Arbitrariness

There were three questions about '*what students like most of the school system*', '*what they miss very much*' and '*what they don't like in the school*', asked in the survey interview; naturally many were hesitant to tell against the authority. 42% respondents dropped it, might because they misrecognize the true arbitrary culture of the pedagogic authority, though the rest 58% replied with ten significant causes against the school system. Torture, class routine, strict rules, teaching method, exploitative language, lack of facilities are the causes mostly mentioned by the boys which are related to pedagogic action and whereas co-education system, dirtiness, indiscipline are the concerned points raised by the girls, which are the practical issues and have mostly been ignored by the Madrasah authority. Let us see how students responded to the questions.

**Akhter: Culture of Arbitrariness in Madrasah Education System**

Figure 1: What pupil don't like in School



***'What students like most of the school system?'***

Students from each and every Madrasah interviewed are found proud to be part of religious education; they believe that they are getting the best education than the students in other education systems. They think being a Muslim this is a must to learn Quran and Sunnah correctly. Their teachers have vast knowledge on Islamic history and on the Quranic analysis both for worldly life and eternal life. In Baitul Islamia Madrasah students were found collected money voluntarily to organize a Milad Mehfil to get dua<sup>11</sup> from the respected huzurs for the upcoming examinations. They wrote an invitation card in nice handwriting then photocopied and were planning for a fist after the Milad, which was an exciting event for them. In few Madrasahs, especially residential Madrasahs, students are encouraged to read those newspapers which have a chief editor from Islamic group or critic of non-communal group. In the survey findings, the show 18% students read Noya Diganta and 38% students read Amar Desh. Whereas only 13% reads country's most popular newspaper Prothom Alo, who campaigns for the consequences of the Independence of Bangladesh and committed to establishing non-communal democracy as well. Darrunnajat Madrasah organizes seminar and speech competition every Friday followed by Jumma Prayer. During the FGD with Darrunnajat Madrasah, few students were found remarkably smart in arguments and conversations as well. They were too much decisive to oppose the Government initiative to reform the women's advancement policy to establish women's rights, referring it to every issue of focus group discussion. Even they supported the movement of Hefazat E Islam<sup>12</sup> in

2010 with 13 points charter by giving reference from Sunnah. The summary of the charter was to stop any secular activities and to protest against the policy of equal rights for women. Similarly, FGD with Tamirul Millat Madrasah revealed that it has been funded by the political foundation of political party Jamat E Islam. That foundation has an objective to fund Madrasahs for forming student's wing called Chhatra Shibir, under Jamat e Islam.

***'What pupil misses very much in Madrasah'***

The Madrasah authority follows hard discipline and strict rules in the everyday lifestyle to establish religious belief sustained for long. Children has to wake up early in the morning to do morning prayer (Fazar namaj and then recite from the Holy Quran, in fact they are bound to pray five times), wear long Panjabi (Jobba), pajama, tupi for boys and hijab for girls but girls are not allowed to go to the Mosque. During FGD several students (boys) mentioned that they are waiting for leaving Madrasah after Dakhil exam and dreaming of getting admission in general college so they will switch over to fashion wear from jobba. Residential Madrasah students suffer from the very simple daily menu being usually provided in the dining. There in a week provides meat only ones or twice, the routine food is monotonous, boring and contains low nutrition too. The authority doesn't allow any kind of entertainment TV, radio, and music, and mobile are prohibited in the madrasa premises. Besides the textbook lessons Madrasah authority allows only Milad and debate, at best Darrunnajat Madrasah has provision for participating in a speech on current issues in the light of Quran and very rare cases boys get the opportunity for a football match in co-curricular activities. Madrasah students would like to have all co-curricular activities those are a regular program in the general schools. The figure below shows the things Madrasah students don't like.

***'What pupil don't like in Madrasah '***

Boys told that they are being tortured mercilessly; hujur (teacher) uses special sticks on boys for any silly points, sometimes even for no reasons. In Chittagong, a special kind of solid bamboo grows in the forest that is processed to make stronger unbreakable sticks for beating students in Madrasah. Students are beaten up for breaking discipline, if dress code, five times namaj, and study instructions, memorizing stuff etc. are not followed properly. Beating starts most of the cases along with exploitative language. That language is humiliating since most of the time insults parents or family, saying "your parents are Kafer<sup>13</sup>, so they haven't taught you how to behave with huzur and could not give Quran education". Girls are not usually beaten up or shouted at so they don't have complaints against teachers; on the other hand, they are not much concerned about teaching method, education facilities, and career. In the FGD, boys told that girls don't do well in the exams because they have less access to education facilities than boys get. Girls under the hijab remain shy, quiet and cornered in the classroom; few girls said that they are not comfortable with the boys who seem indecent for

### Akhter: Culture of Arbitrariness in Madrasah Education System

their approach in communication, hair style, dress up and movements. A number of girls don't like the dirt and mess in the Madrasah premises. A good number of students avoided to say the specific issue they don't like but told that there are other issues they don't like.

## 4. Discussion

Shahjadpur Najar Alim Madrasah students raised a question, why Madrasah students are treated differently in every sphere of life? Students in Madrasah learn three languages and have an additional mastery in Arabic but in the job market preference for Madrasah qualification is poor, within the boundary of Madrasah they follow so many restrictions again in the family, parents and relatives prevent them from watching movies, listening music and easy going life unlike other siblings and relations. Sometimes they are frustrated by all these inequalities. Though NCTB<sup>14</sup> had targeted to disseminate the basic knowledge of civics, geography, and history of Bangladesh as compulsory for all (Madrasah and mainstream) students, a competence test<sup>15</sup> on these subjects, conducted specifically on class IX / X students scored very poorly. Basic Mathematics and social sciences are not taught in Mujabid and Hifjul Quran groups. Science students do not have adequate scope for experiments and practical classes. A number of subjects are included in the syllabus, which has no significant outcome at this level. Both in the marks distribution and subject contents Madrasah education has given less priority in Bangla 50% and English 40% syllabus than mainstream education system (CAMPE 2008)<sup>16</sup>.

According to Bourdieu every institutionalized educational system owes the specific characteristics of its structure and functioning to the fact that, by the means proper to the institution, it has to produce and reproduce the institutional conditions whose existence and persistence (self- reproduction of the system) are necessary both to the exercise of its essential function of inculcation and to the fulfillment of its function of reproducing a cultural arbitrary which contributes to the reproduction of the relations between the groups or classes, *Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, 54.*

There are many prison-like Madrasahs (school system with Islamic religious curricula) in Bangladesh. Children in a number of Madrasahs are often chained—even for slightest offenses. The Daily Janakantha of 15 March 2005 published a news reporting a 13-year old boy's escape from Madrasah with feet chained, and hands tied up with a piece of wood. On 25 April 2005; UNICEF, Save the Children and the Bangladesh Government jointly published a survey result. The survey shows that children suffer from crueller punishments in schools and madrasahs as than at home (The Daily Janakantha. 08 July 2005).

In August 2010, under the order of the High Court, Bangladesh officially banned all forms of corporal punishment in schools. The ministerial guideline came into effect from April 2011. Yet then Bangladesh newspapers reported 63 incidences of corporal punishment at the time of the observance of one year of Bangladesh's banning of corporal punishment in August

2011. The prohibition is enacted in legislation from March 2012. Corporal Punishment in Bangladesh School System: An Analytical Appraisal of Elimination Strategy Directions, ASA University Review, Vol. 6 No. 2, July-December 2012.

Bourdieu argued that the experience- as a pupil - of pedagogic work is the objective condition which generates the misrecognition of culture as arbitrary and bestows upon it the taken for granted quality of naturalness. Pedagogic work legitimates its product by producing legitimate consumers of that product. Pedagogic work has the function of keeping order, through linked processes of self- limitation and self-censorship, children stop asking 'why'? Exclusion works so powerfully as self-exclusion. The theory of "Symbolic Violence" by Bourdieu and Passeron was an attempt to 'apply to any social formation, understood as a system of power relations and sense relations between groups or classes. Symbolic power is that invisible power which can be exercised only with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it or even that they themselves exercise it (Bourdieu, 1992; 164). This invisible symbolic power lies on symbolic forms like the myth about religion, language, and art as to the neo-Kantian tradition as instruments for knowing and constructing the world of objects. Thus, symbolic invisible power is recognized as Marx notes in his Theses on Feuerbach, the 'active aspect' of cognition. Again Durkheim counting himself in the Kantian tradition lays the foundations of a Sociology of Symbolic Forms. With Durkheim the forms of classification cease to be universal forms and become social forms, that is, forms that are arbitrary and socially determined. As to religious system faith-based Islamic institutions, Madrasahs avoid morning assembly and ignore National Anthem that` is common in the general education system. Through the news published in Amar Desh on newly formed secular education policy in 2010 of the country, many Madrasah students got grievances, came out to protest.

Again in 2011, this newspaper published on the country's women advancement policy with a misinterpretation of the clause on women's equal rights that is a violation of Muslim law. And the 13-point charter to the Government, published in 2013 by Hafezat E Islam, an Islamic association, was an event brought out in capital city gathering a huge number of Madrasah students from Chittagong. Since then Madrasahs everywhere are being engaged against the secular thoughts and writings. This is apparent in social media especially Facebook and blogs leaders of the Islamic associations and political party who has the mandate of Islamic Fundamentalism, Jamaat e Islam has an influence on the Madrasah education system. They disseminate the message of denial against the policies and legislations to establish equal rights, irrespective of any religion and gender. For instance, Jamaat e Islam announced ultimatum to stop Shahbag protest<sup>17</sup> for hanging war criminals (who later formed the political party Jamaat e Islam in Bangladesh). Jamaat e Islam leader Delwar Hossain Sayeedi's posts of all about fundamentalism on his official Facebook are acknowledged by students at Tamirul Millat Madrasah Facebook.



### Akhter: Culture of Arbitrariness in Madrasah Education System

This situation also can be referred to Bourdieu's focus on historical generalizations, a particular Education System structured and functions to produce the habitus<sup>18</sup> for the social condition. In this regard, he referred Durkheim, who tried to explain, at the beginning how the French Education System was structured and functioning to produce Christian habitus and he put efforts to integrate Christian faith with the Greco-Roman Heritage. Bourdieu recognizes Weber's analysis of trans-historical characteristics of every church to influence all institution to structure and function to produce religious habitus, as more generic condition of the society.

Qomi madrasahs are often associated in this debate, as groups involved in religious militancy have been argued to have links with Qomi madrasahs. Islamic Oikya Jote, Harkat-ul-Jihad-al-Islami (HUJI), the Jihad Movement, Arakan Rohingya National Organization and Rohingya Solidarity Organization are the prominent Islamic groups blamed for Islamic militancy (Lintner, 2004). The main jihadi organization in Bangladesh, Harkat-ul-Jihad-al-Islami, has an estimated strength of 15,000 and is argued to be sympathetic to Al-Qaida and the Taliban (Lintner, 2004). Established in 1998, Arakan Rohingya National Organization is a platform of Rohingya migrants from Burma fighting for an autonomous Muslim region in Burma's Arakan state. The Jihad Movement is another platform for several of these Islamic groups in Bangladesh. The biggest Islamic political party in Bangladesh remains Jamiat-e-Islami which, after a chequered history, has now become a prominent political force. Jamiat-e-Islami has also been blamed for supporting militant groups and so has its student organization, Islamic Chhatra Shibir (ICS), Bano, 2008. Daily Times Lahore published in Bangladesh Madrasahs Following in The Footsteps of Pakistan Madrasahs? The Harkatul Mujahedeen al-Islami (the one called HUJI in Bangladesh) is the outfit whose leader was a graduate of the Banuri Mosque seminary in Karachi. The Hizb-al-Tahrir, which Pakistan banned only after Yuldashev's discovery, worked in tandem with him in Central Asia and is now clearly working in tandem with HUJI in Bangladesh. An increasing number of Bangladesh's Madrasahs are now following the pattern of the study of the Madrasahs in Pakistan and have become Deobandi in their worldview. The Hindus have been targeted, aided by the widespread belief that they should be expelled from the country. The jihad in Afghanistan brought in Al Qaeda money, and the training camps in Bangladesh have since begun to turn out warriors for the Taliban and AL Qaeda. Madrasahs have sometimes been labeled as "weapons of mass instruction" or "factories for global jihad", and as such have been perceived as a threat to the West and for individual countries hosting them (Rashid, 2000; Stern, 2000; Malik, 2008; Rahman, 2008; Ali, 2009). But in a similar behavioral study<sup>19</sup> on Madrasah students published in 2011, Delavande and Zafar concluded that the distinct behavior of Madrasah students cannot be wholly attributed to selection.

In particular, they provide evidence that rules out Madrasahs playing a role in promoting distrust and anti-social behavior. This casts doubt on the general perception that Madrasahs teach hatred and ideological extremism - at least with regards to groups within the Pakistani

society - and is consistent with Madrasahs promoting religious teachings and offering an environment that emphasizes selflessness; Delavande and Zafar; 2013.

The issue of sexual abuses was strikingly come up during a conversation with ex-students of Tamirul Millat Madrasah who are now the graduation level students at Jahangir Nagar University. This is even worse because it happens not because these young boys make any mistake rather they are victims of violence conducted by the Madrasah staff or anybody related to Madrasah authority<sup>20</sup>. This remains top secret, no one questions or claims against these religious institutions. Why parents and teachers keep all these misconducts hidden and allow continuing these offenses inside the religious education institutions might be an interesting analysis in Gender perspectives!

In the FGD with Tamirul Millat Kamil Madrasah, boys informed that 60 percent or above students in many Madrasahs are being sexually abused by the Madrasah super or huzur. This is a violation of the faith of the religion and also the trust of the parents who put their son to Madrasah, believing to get their children a spiritual foundation, a childhood safe and secure for their children. Though same-sex relationship and sexual relationship beyond marital relation, are prohibited in Islam, boys are being sexually abused by the teachers or staff in Madrasahs. They are treated as "Ghilman", young slaves, who were bound to serve the wishes of soldiers during the war when a part of the world was being conquered by Ottoman, Persian and Mughal Empire. The concept of Ghilman has been almost a granted practice in central Asia, which is followed by sinful Moulana's in Madrasahs in Pakistan and Bangladesh, as legitimate as holy men in the paradise will be surrounded by Houris and if wishes will be provided with Ghilman. Sexual abuses of young teenage boys are much safer than to girls because these young boys do not have the courage to say no or they don't even know what is happening by the respected person and how to make a complaint about this unusual and uncomfortable incidence.

## 5. Conclusion

Muslim families especially from the village or having a close connection to village life are more devoted to religious faith, so most Madrasahs are located outskirts of the city and in villages. On the other hand, very few Madrasahs found in the heart of the city, low-income families living in the city, who do not have enough resources to take competitive education, rather get relieved by putting children in Madrasah. And another group of families found who are worried about proper guardianship; either families of orphan (children of a single mother or no parent) or children living with mother and relatives because father migrated for work, also prefer residential Madrasah education for children as convenient, where food, shelter and education are merely free of cost. Traditionally the religious teachers (Hujur) have been acknowledged to be strict as long as religious lessons and practices are concerned. But few Hujurs take it as granted for whatever they would like to do. Beating for silly excuses and

### Akhter: Culture of Arbitrariness in Madrasah Education System

using any exploitative language is the common practice in all Madrasah institution only differs in limit depending on the whole management system. But the unfortunate and very alarming point is this sort of torture often turns into a harsh masculine abusive trend that also includes sexual abuses. This approach cause disrespect, hatred and urge to be set free in the soft mind of the pupil but they remain quiet so long they enroll in Madrasah system. To some extent a mal-orientation on sexuality might have long effects afterward in the family and society as well. Madrasah education system develops a sense of ethnocentric understanding among the students that is a feeling of oneness in one religious custom of lifestyle which is totally different from society out of the wall of Madrasah. The students grow up with a pride that they have the best knowledge about Islam and Quran. They believe another education system has to lack in knowledge on Islamic history and Quran education that must be the only education for life and so they feel superior to the group from another education system. Though Madrasah students grow within an ethnocentric domain due to living maximum time in the confined lifestyle inside the wall of Madrasah they also develop a double identity in oneself. Regardless of right or wrong of religious faith, maximum Madrasah students enjoy an opposite personality in secret where they are free from the legitimate culture of Madrasah environment. Sometimes this opposite identity is contradictory to the religious values, faith, and thoughts.

Due to strict rules, merciless punishments, unethical and unfair demands from socially respected religious personalities, the Madrasah teachers develop a sense of deprivation and aggressiveness which leads to an abnormal outbursts approach. In this circumstance they are misguided and joined political groups in the name of Jihad<sup>21</sup>. Many Madrasah students are mobilized to take part in vandalism and political protests. Jamaat e Islam, a religion based political party formed Chhatra Shibir by giving shelter and all types of supports to the vulnerable students from Madrasah. If this practice continues young generation might be divisions and a large portion of our young generation will be involved with socially disruptive activities, especially from the residential Madrasahs funded by Islamic Fundamentalist Groups from home and abroad. An urgent and drastic movement is required to stop engaging young Madrasah students in activities for the sake of creating political unrest. Besides, there are lots of stories available on 'Bachha Bazi', sexual abuse of young boy. It will be imperative to analyze in greater details the issue of sexual abuse and its impacts on the behavior of Madrasah students in the light of the theoretical concept "Habitus" that is the disposition of oneself and structuring of structures.

### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> In Bangladesh, the system of education is divided into three different branches. Students are free to choose anyone of them provided that they have the means. These branches are: The English Medium, The Bengali Medium, and The Religious Branch. In the English Medium system, courses are all taught in English using English books with the exception for Bengali and Arabic. English medium schools are mainly private and thus reserved for the wealthy class. O and A level exams are arranged through the British Council in Dhaka, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/English-medium\\_education](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/English-medium_education)

- 2 Madrasah Board Exam after level ten
- 3 Bangladesh Bureau of Education Information and Statistics
- 4 Community funded Madrasah, trains pupil on the Holy Quran and Islamic History
- 5 Bangladesh Madrasha Education Board
- 6 Hijab is for girls covering body, mainly with two pieces of clothes; a scarf that covers from head down through the neck and chest and only eyes remain open.
- 7 See the picture of this classroom in the Annex
- 8 Contribution to the institution to run Islamic Education
- 9 Informal academic institution for young children to learn Arabic
- 10 Memorizing the whole book of Quran
- 11 prayer
- 12 In January 2010, Hefazat-e-Islam was formed, comprising the teachers of more than one hundred Kawmi madrasas at Chittagong, Bangladesh. The formation was triggered by the 2009 Women Development Policy draft, which would have given women equal rights by inheritance. Ahmad Shafi, the director of Hathazari Madrasa and Mufti Izharul Islam, the chairman of the Islamist party Islami Oikya Jote, are regarded as the founders of Hefazat-e-Islam, Bangladesh. The group was formed to protest the government's secular policies in education and politics
- 13 Who doesn't have faith in Allah
- 14 National Curriculum and Textbook Board
- 15 A competency test multiple choice question paper is attached in the Annex
- 16 Education Watch 2007
- 17 Jamaat-e-Islami's ally Hefazat-e-Islam has announced it would hold mass rallies in all Upazila headquarters on March 1 if the government does not stop the Shahbag movement and free its detained leaders and activists by Feb 2013, claiming that the Shahbag movement was against Islam.
- 18 Bourdieu's (1968: xx) earliest definitions of habitus once again:  
A system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks, thanks to analogical transfers of schemes permitting the solution of similarly shaped problems.
- 19 Stereotypes and Madrasahs: Experimental Evidence from Pakistan
- 20 On 22 Oct 14, Daily News Observer reports "The police have unearthed the mystery over the murder of Keraniganj madrasa student Abu Raihan, confirming that he was killed for refusing a homosexual advance from a Madrasa staff."
- 21 Protest against any attack on Islam

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## Chapter VII: Concluding Remarks

In reference to the Bourdieu 's thoughts regarding education and social structure one has to relate the concept of symbolic violence which remains misrecognized in the educational system, and social structure reproduced in the process of cultural reproduction, where the habitus remains as the 'black box'. The following illustration can pose the meaning of symbolic violence for girls in Madrassa education.



Illustration No 3: Girl Students in Purdah, as abide by Madrassa System, having class in the classroom where boys reside after classes over.

If we revisit the focus group discussion, we will be able to analyze the insight of the girls under the purdah that they are bound to put on. Girls in the Madrassa basically do not find themselves comfortable with the institutional rules neither they like classroom environment abide by uninteresting restrictions. Girls are not shown any dream to become something after finishing studies in principle, most of them are not attentive to their lessons. Rather many of them enjoy reading fashion magazines. Despite the conservative educational system of banning all kind of exposure for girls they are alike other girls. Some of them expressed their

aim in life is to become fashion designer. That might not be utopia if any of them get the circumstance in their favor. That may be due to the habitus of their choice, which enables to achieve something with the power of Black Box. In the context of University students Siddiquir Rahman has portrayed Bourdie's Symbolic Violence as a model in Dhaka city where due to influence of globalization private universities are focused to English as a medium of instruction (Rahman, Siddiquir, 2007).

Bourdieu determined three kind of taste, legitimate taste, middlebrow taste and popular taste. All make a clear differentiated hierarchy in class. Again He mentioned about status group within a symbolic boundary. According to the findings there are significant status gap in thoughts, cultural practice and habitus between Madrassa and English medium students, (Begum, 1993).

According to findings we see how various school students respond to their corresponding school curriculum. Most have a high tolerance or understanding of the different methods and syllabuses followed but they do have opinions on each. The students of English medium schools tend to think that National Curriculum School students have the advantage in the country as they have a better understanding of the locals and a better grasp of the language. They had nothing negative to say about Madrassa students rather they appreciate the Madrassa students for their in-depth knowledge on Islam and some even go as far as saying that English medium schools could do with a tad more instruction on their religion. In offence however the English medium students describe the inadequacies of the Bangla medium curriculum by stating that instead of understanding an issue or subject the students tend to memorize it, they also believe that Bangla medium students do not do well abroad due their lack of English skills.

The English Version students had plenty to say when asked about their feelings on English Medium school students and Madrassas. They say that English medium students go far due to their English skill, better method of education and even their extensive study material, syllabus and opportunities. They also



believe that English medium students are friendly and have a more rounded practical knowledge as they are given more freedom but on the downside they can be arrogant and as always there is the lacking in their mother tongue. In general the English version students did not prefer the Madrasa system of education, believing it to be backward and in need of progress in all fields.

The Madrasa Students in accordance with the English version students believed the English medium students to have more opportunities and scopes for advancement due to their English skills but on the downside they say that English medium students have little or no knowledge on their mother tongue or Islam for that matter.

In the line of the research question it can be assumed that there is different status groups reproduced through different education system though cannot be marked as classes. Madrasa students might not be comfortable with the High Brow events like Comic Conventions, which is fun making show where teen agers from NCTB and English Medium students enjoy dressing like comic characters. Madrasa students are forbidden to make fun even scholars tell that Agdoom Bagdoom poetry is a secular lesson which is not appropriate in Madrasa.



Illustration No. 4 : Comic convention in Dhaka city



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## Chapter VII : Appendix

### Appendix 1: Survey Questionnaire

PhD Dissertation of Ms. Rokeya Akhter, Research Fellow, Dhaka University  
on Language Culture and Schooling: Study of Four Schools in Dhaka City  
Data Collection Tool 2  
Questionnaire for Students

#### Introduction of the Respondent:

1. Name: \_\_\_\_\_
2. Age: \_\_\_\_\_
3. Sex: \_\_\_\_\_ 01= Male, 02= Female
4. Religion: \_\_\_\_\_ 01=Islam, 02=Hinduism, 03=Buddhism,  
04=Christianity,05=others
5. Name of the School: \_\_\_\_\_
6. Reads in Class: \_\_\_\_\_
7. Address: \_\_\_\_\_

8. Monthly Income: put tick: in BDT 1=5000/- 10000/, 2= 11,000/ - 20000/, 3= 21000/ - 30000/, 4= 31000/ - 50,000/, 5= 51000/- 100000/, 6= 110000/- 3,00000/, 7= above 300000/
9. Property/Assets: put tick: 1= own flat, 2= house, 3= land, 4= agricultural products,5= shop, 6= market, 7= industry, 8= others

1.1 Family members & their information:

SL	Name	Relation with the respondent	Level of Education	Occupation	
				1st	2nd

2. Culture:

2.1 Days you observe (Put tick)

SL	Days	At School	With Friends	Family
1	New Year			
2	Amor Ekushey& Mother Language day			
3	Bangla NaboBarsho			
4	Independence Day			
5	Victory Day			
6	Father's Day			
7	Mother's Day			
8	Valentine's Day			
9	Halloweens Day			

10	Teacher's Day			
11	Others			

## 2.2 School Programs for students (put tick)

1. Cultural Function
2. Carnival / Fair
3. Milad
4. Picnic
5. Study Tour
6. Annual Sports
7. Debate
8. Class Party
9. Science Fair
10. Scout
11. Others

## 2.3 Your School Discipline: Put tick

1. Morning Assembly
2. School Uniform
3. Quran Telwat
4. Five Times Prayer
5. Others

## 2.4 School Competitions you participate: Put Tick

1. Cultural Competition
2. Inter school Cultural Competition
3. Football Tournament
4. Art Competition
5. Spelling Competition
6. Essay Competition
7. Math Competition
8. Others

## 2.5 Are you member of any club?

1= yes, 2= no

## 2.6 Do you like sports?

1= yes, 2= no

2.7 What games do you play?

1= \_\_\_\_\_

2= \_\_\_\_\_

3= \_\_\_\_\_

### 3. Teaching and Learning System

3.1 Think why you learn more with some teachers than others!

1= some teachers are friendly (smiling face, listen to problems and try to solve those)

2= some teachers have vast knowledge

3= Teacher gives proper directions to students

4= Interesting teaching techniques

3.2 Think why some students learn better than others!

1= Have self-motivation

2= Give concentration to class

3= Gives a lot of effort

4= blessed by family environment

5= Intellect level is high

6= others

3.3 Which subject you like most? \_\_\_\_\_

3.4 Do you have private tutor/ coaching for school studies?

1= yes, 2= no

3.5 What supporting reading materials you study for school lessons?

1= Guidebook available in the market

2= Teachers' note

3= Downloads from internet

4= Search libraries, American cultural center or British council

5= school library

6= others

3.6 Do your Parents have scope to meet teachers?

1= yes, 2= no

3.7 If yes when do your parents contact your teachers?

1= If teachers call my parents as a recognition of my good works

2= To collect progress report

3= to complain against about academic issues

4= If teacher call for disciplinary matters

5= teacher call for academic issues

6= others

3.8 Does your school have co- curricular club?

1= yes, 2= no

3.9 What is your preference for clubs? \_\_\_\_\_

4 Fashion

4.1 What type of casual dress you like?

\_\_\_\_\_

4.2 What influences your style?

\_\_\_\_\_

4.3 Name the cosmetics or toiletries you use?

\_\_\_\_\_

4.4 Do you go to beauty parlor/ men's saloon? 1= yes, 2= no

4.5 If yes what do you do there?

1= \_\_\_\_\_

2= \_\_\_\_\_

3= \_\_\_\_\_

4.6 Do you have own cell phone? 1= yes, 2= no

4.7 If yes why do you need it mostly? \_\_\_\_\_

4.8 Do you have internet access? 1= yes, 2= no 3= often

4.9 Do you have social networks? 1= yes, 2= no

4.10 if yes name that/ those \_\_\_\_\_

5. Leisure & Recreation

5.1 Who do you spend your free time with?

1= family, 2= friends, 3= relatives, 4=alone, 5= other

5.2 How do you spend your free time?

1= play ground

2= friends home

3= café/ restaurant

4= tea stall

5= others

5.3 Which TV program is your favorite?

1= \_\_\_\_\_

2= \_\_\_\_\_

3= \_\_\_\_\_

5.4 Which satellite channel you watch mostly?

1= \_\_\_\_\_

2= \_\_\_\_\_

3= \_\_\_\_\_

4= \_\_\_\_\_

5.5 Do you watch movies? 1= yes, 2= no

5.6 Name favorite movies

1= \_\_\_\_\_

2= \_\_\_\_\_

3= \_\_\_\_\_

5.7 Name favorite superheroes

1= \_\_\_\_\_

2= \_\_\_\_\_

3= \_\_\_\_\_

5.8 Name favorite music with category

1= \_\_\_\_\_

2= \_\_\_\_\_

3= \_\_\_\_\_

5.9 How do you spend vacation? Countryside/ Asian countries/ Europe/ America.....others

1= \_\_\_\_\_

2= \_\_\_\_\_

3= \_\_\_\_\_

6. Language and Literature

6.1 Do you read newspaper or magazines? 1= yes, 2= no

6.2 If yes name that/ those

6.3 Name favorite books and writers

1= \_\_\_\_\_

2= \_\_\_\_\_

3= \_\_\_\_\_

6.4 Favorite websites /journals if any

1= \_\_\_\_\_

2= \_\_\_\_\_

3= \_\_\_\_\_ -

7.1 What are your hobbies?

1= \_\_\_\_\_, 2= \_\_\_\_\_, 3= \_\_\_\_\_



7.2 name options of your aim in life?

1= \_\_\_\_\_

2= \_\_\_\_\_

3= \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix 2: MCQ

### Competence Test for Class IX/X

#### MCQ

**Name:**

**School Name:**

**Obtained Marks:**

**Date:**

1. When did Bangladesh become independent?
  - a) March 26, 1971
  - b) March 27, 1971
  - c) December 14, 1971
  - d) December 16, 1971
  
2. On what depends the number of members of a pourashava?
  - a) Area and food supply
  - b) Area and Population
  - c) Population and Industry
  - d) Population and Employment Opportunity

3. With whom a pourashava is composed?
  - a) Elected male and female members
  - b) Nominated male and female members
  - c) Nominated members and elected female members
  - d) Elected member and nominated female members
  
4. The UNO day is-
  - a) August 14
  - b) October 24
  - b) January 10
  - d) April 25
  
5. Bangladesh become the member of UNO-
  - a) In 1971
  - b) In 1973
  - c) In 1974
  - d) In 1970
  
6. Gross National Product is-
  - a) Income and the foreign exchange earned by the people of a country
  - b) Goods and services produced in a country during a given period of time
  - c) Entire riches and territory of country
  - d) Total value of agricultural and industrial products of a country
  
7. Ability to save depends upon-
  - a) Willingness to save
  - b) Real income
  - c) Foresight and Ambition
  - d) Institution of investment
  
8. Risk Taking means-
  - a) Bearing uncertainty of gain of loss
  - b) Supervision of production activities
  - c) Guiding the employees
  - d) Collection and coordination of factors
  
9. Which bank can issue notes in Bangladesh
  - a) Sonali Bank
  - b) Rupali Bank
  - c) Janata Bank
  - d) Bangladesh Bank
  
10. The head of the highest expenditure to the budget 2006-2007 of the Government of Bangladesh
  - a) Civil administration
  - b) Defence
  - c) Education
  - d) Health and Family Welfare
  
11. What is the main cause of poverty in Bangladesh?
  - a) Apathy towards work
  - b) Idleness
  - c) Economic backwardness

- d) Dependence on others
12. What is the cause of low productivity in agriculture of Bangladesh?
- Unfertile land
  - Traditional method of cultivation
  - Illiterate peasants
  - Natural calamities
13. What is the main obstacle to the industrial development of Bangladesh compared to other countries?
- Lack of sufficient capital
  - Paucity of fertile land
  - Lack of skilled workers
  - Lack of raw materials
14. What is the cause of low standard of living in Bangladesh?
- Lack of education
  - Absence of communication
  - Economic backwardness
  - Lack of cleanliness
15. Why does inflationary situation prevail in Bangladesh?
- Over production
  - Due to oversupply of money
  - Absence of employment opportunity
  - Due to high wage rates
16. What is AIDS?
- A mental disease
  - An incurable communicable disease
  - A virus
  - A disease caused by malnutrition
17. What is the effect of high standard of living-
- To aid population growth
  - To retard population growth
  - To expand employment opportunity
  - To increase the number of educational institutions
18. If child birth takes place in quick succession-
- Both mother and baby are attacked with diseases
  - Both mother and child remain well
  - The baby suffers from malnutrition
  - The mother keeps in good health
19. Which was the drought prone region in Bangladesh?
- Eastern region
  - Western region
  - Northern region
  - Southern region
20. Who is in charge of the administration of the ministry?
- Minister
  - Secretary
  - Additional Secretary
  - Deputy Secretary
21. On whom lies the responsibility of administration of the division?
- Deputy Commissioner

- b) Commissioner
  - c) Secretary
  - d) State Minister
22. In Bangladesh members of parliament are elected
- a) By the direct vote of people
  - b) By the indirect method
  - c) By the intermediate electoral body
  - d) By direct vote of the eligible voters
23. Which is the function of election?
- a) Selection of representatives
  - b) Selection of Government employees
  - c) Formation of political parties
  - d) Selection of the members of a political party
24. In which country the name of the legislature is Parliament?
- a) Bangladesh
  - b) India
  - c) Great Britain
  - d) USA
25. What is Sovereignty?
- a) Absolute power of the government
  - b) Absolute power of the state
  - c) Absolute power of the President
  - d) Absolute power of the Prime minister
26. Which principle of citizenship is followed in Bangladesh?
- a) Principle of education
  - b) Citizenship by partners
  - c) Citizenship by birth place
27. Which right helps to develop human qualities?
- a) Political
  - b) Legal
  - c) Civil
  - d) Economic
28. The equator divides the earth into the two parts-
- a) The north and south circles
  - b) Tropic of Cancer and Tropic of Capricorn
  - c) North and South Hemisphere
  - d) Oceans and Continents
29. What is the name of imaginary line passing through Greenwich extending from north pole to south pole?
- a) Equator
  - b) Main meridian
  - c) Longitude
  - d) Latitude
30. Which Planet does not have satellite?
- a) Uranus
  - b) Earth
  - c) Jupiter
  - d) Venus
31. In how many days the Sun move around on its own axis?
- a) About 25 days
  - b) About 23 days

- c) About 21 days
  - d) About 19 days
32. When did Bangladesh become Independent?
- a) March, 26, 1971
  - b) March 27, 1971
  - c) December 14, 1971
  - d) December 16, 1971
33. Whose influence was prominent in the provincial election of 1954?
- a) Educated lower class
  - b) Educated middle class
  - c) Educated upper class
  - d) Educated middle and upper class
34. Who was the leader of the Non Cooperation Movement?
- a) Maulana Shakhawat Ali
  - b) A.K. Fazlul Huq
  - c) Mahatma Gandhi
  - d) Chittaranjan Das
35. Who moved the labor resolution?
- a) Mohammad Ali Jinnah
  - b) A.K. Fazlul Huq
  - c) Khaja Nazimuddin
  - d) Shaheed Suhrawardi
36. When was the First War of independence held in this country?
- a) In 1757
  - b) In 1847
  - c) In 1857
  - d) In 1947
37. Who donated his property for the spread of Muslim education?
- a) Syeed Ameer Ali
  - b) Nawab Abdul Latif
  - c) Haji Muhammad Mohsin
  - d) Haji Shariatullah
38. Which media performs the primary role in socialization?
- a) Film/Cinema
  - b) Family
  - c) Playmate
  - d) Schools
39. The meaning of social change is:
- a) The change in economic behavior
  - b) The change in political institution
  - c) The change in behaviors
  - d) All of the above
40. In which place is the practice of early marriage high in Bangladesh?
- a) Rural areas
  - b) Urban areas
  - c) Hilly areas
  - d) River side areas
41. Political right means
- a) Right to live
  - b) Right to contract
  - c) Right to Religion

- d) Right to family
42. Which is the essential element to form a state?
- Government
  - Dictator
  - Democracy
  - Political party
43. Which is not the aim of political parties?
- Identified problems and try to solve them
  - Capture power through election
  - Achieved progress and prosperity of party
  - Capture power in any way
44. The annual budget is prepared and submitted by
- Prime minister
  - President
  - Finance minister
  - Speaker
45. By what name the legislature of Bangladesh is known?
- Legislature
  - JatiyaSangsad
  - Legislative Assembly
  - Parliament
46. What is the basic economic problem of human life?
- Unlimited wants
  - Scarcity
  - Scarcity of resource
  - Externality
47. The highest amount of foreign exchange earning item of the existing exports of Bangladesh is-
- Raw jute
  - Fish and frozen food
  - Jute products
  - Leather
  - Readymade Garments
48. Which one is the number one problem in Bangladesh?
- Population problem
  - Unemployment Problem
  - Dowry system
  - Crime
49. Teenagers of what age group generally called juvenile delinquents in Bangladesh?
- 7-12 years
  - 6-12 years
  - 7-16 years
  - 7-20 years
50. The owner of cooperatives is-
- Government
  - Entrepreneur
  - Members of the business organization
  - Some partners

### **Appendix 3: FGD findings**

I: I gave a briefing at the beginning. Its like- When parents enroll their children into schools, they have certain objectives in mind we call this 'cultural capital'. Parents themselves have a background – an economic background, an educational background and a cultural background or religious background. According to this they place them in different institutions to attain academic credential and so on. These children then receive these academics along with a social environment as they grow up. For example if I went o a primary school with this same research my finding would be different as they aren't involved in many social events, as they are still controlled by their parents. You on the other hand are at a stage above children and just below youth, an intermediary stage if you will. Now you will go on to produce a new type of society, our theory says that, you will reproduce it through 3 mediums- family, society and education. In society we see there are new types of things growing or popping up like this new 'shisha' trend which wasn't there previously, there was 'hookah' used by the Jamindars or maybe used by elderly people in villages. But for the youth of today, this culture which includes the 'shisha' or the 'hookah' it's interesting how you are enjoying such things. That's what I want to know. Maybe it's not you directly but you see someone else doing it and you can give me some information on who actually is involved in these activities, maybe provide some conjecture on why they are involved in such things.

R12: But there isn't any tobacco or anything in the 'shisha'.

I: But there are some chemicals.

R12: Yes, a type of powder with parts of water which creates smoke.

I: I'm not trying to find anything bad or wrong with these things; I'm just interested in what today's young people are interested in, where you like to hang out and such. Before bunking school was considered a big thing, a thrill, now you have more access to money, parents are more accepting of children gaining a diversified culture so that in the future when they grow up and join society as an adult they don't face as much barriers. I believe in that too. But we see that this varies from sector to sector, from Madrasa background families to other families, I mean there are various cultures out there. So I'm trying to find the cultural fractions. So, don't think I'm here to find out bad things I'm actually trying to find out this new emerging culture. I've been to these places but my observation won't be the same as yours. Like I went to The Bench last night, as you might know the Comic-con is still on. There was a DJ party after many individuals dressed in their favorite character suits did a walk through; I took picture of my children with them. I went upstairs thinking I might get a better view of the things going on, but the amount of smoking that was going on was unbearable and I had to come back down.

I: well if you could let me know about some other things like you vacation, or any Bengali superheroes or literature it would be great.

R12: Ananta Jalil.

I: Who's that?

R7: Bengali film actor

R10: he made his own film and stuff and everyone thinks he's a clown, in that sense he's our hero.

I: Have you read books by Md. Jaffar Iqbal.

R7: Yes, we all know Md. Jaffar Iqbal, most of us have read book.

R10: Even Humayun Ahmed.

I: After the death of Humayun Ahmed, there was a frustration among many people. How did you feel? Was there any depression almost you?



R7, R10: Most of us had grown up reading his novels , most of which were on teenage lives so they taught us a lot and we even used to see his TV dramas.

I: How would you compare it with the books you read now, or the TV serials that on Star World etc?

R10: Very Different.

R7: I don't think they can be compared, as they are western.

I: I mean compare in the sense of the entertainment you are receiving.

R10: The Bangla ones aren't bad but in the English ones I think the portrayal is better, more interesting.

R7: Our dramas are too family oriented, too much backbiting and typical serial things like that.

I: where would you find that?

R7: Bangla, Hindi.

R10: Besides the Humayun Ahmed ones, I don't think there's much of anything in Bengali cinema or TV dramas. Most of the stories are all jaded.

R9: I think their standard is very low. The English movies or English serials have very high standards so when we watch them we lose our interest in Bengali or Hindi entertainment.

I: In the case of the language, you have one subject here. Even though we speak Bangla at home or amongst ourselves, but if we look at the language individually, why is English considered more convenient, or isn't it?

R10: For those studying in Bangla medium schools I think Bangla is more convenient and for us studying in English medium schools, English is more convenient, because it's what we grew up with from a young age.

I: What about in the sphere of entertainment?

R10: I think their movie industry and everything is far better than ours.

I: But they speak fast, or use many tongue twisters, sarcasm or native accents how does that affect you?

R10: We're used to it.

I: Do you know anybody from a Bangla medium or Madrasa background, how do they see this language or the use of it?

R10: there are members of my family who would study in Bangla medium schools?

I: And what difference would you find amongst yourselves?

R10: They don't understand the way I speak and I don't understand them either.

I: What about your choices?

R10: Most of the time yes. The things that I like, they don't.

R9: I would like to say that, the major difference between these 2 sectors is that the English medium students have more of everything, more money, more friends, more choices to hangout, I think Bangla medium students are kind of limited or within boundaries.

R10: It's more like an instinct in the **different ways we look at things,**

R9: **We are more modern I think.**

R10: I've seen one thing a lot, when parents are asked where their child studies, and they answer 'in an English medium school' the other person looks on like a sneer like being in an English medium school is bound to be the destruction of the child. This is a very bad idea.

R9: Yes, they think that English medium students aren't good.

R10: It's not always the case though; good students do come out of English medium schools.

I: Yes, a very wrong idea, they aren't given many opportunities in the Public Universities either, very few perhaps the most meritorious are passed through, that too only if they can go through all the Bangla medium texts and surpass through; then too we see that they become very isolated, a couple lost among a sea of Bangla medium or Madrasa entries. That is rather painful.

R10: That's why we see a maximum of our students queuing up outside universities like North South for their higher studies. There isn't much of a choice, besides that we have IUB, IBA. And finally the choice left is going abroad. There aren't any other places in Bangladesh.

I: Yes the only thing left are private universities but then again there we see most of the students are from outside of Dhaka, there again you have a pain because they themselves are just getting acquainted to our city culture.

I: How do you like to spend your vacation?

R10: Family vacation is the best vacation.

R12: Outings. Visiting places, I believe that if a vacation time is not properly utilized it's not a vacation.

R11: Now it's more about studies.

R12: Yes, that's true. When we were younger, vacations were all about having fun, going out with our friends or family but now it's a time to study. Our exams are coming up.

I: So a difficult time is ahead, studies and studies.

R9: Not really, we do hang out with friends. We meet up and things like that.

I: What an alternative to hanging out at these lounges or restaurants?

R7: Friends place.

R10: A roadside tea stall is the best place.

R7: No I think that's very backward, something that rickshaw pullers do, obviously we wouldn't do that!

R10: Why not, now its winter time, there's a different sort of fun is hanging out like that and chatting. There were even times when late at night at about 9:30 we would meet up at a restaurant in Banani just to have tea.

I: But girls aren't able to do this?

R7: Obviously not!

R10: No, there are a few girls that do. I've seen a couple of girls present when we go to have tea.

R7: Daredevils.

R10: Not really!

I: But compared to the boys this is a very small ratio. So how do you think they spend their free time?

R10: With their girl friends I guess.

R7: At home.

R10: there are certain parents who do allow their girls to go out.

I: What about slumber parties, is that a girl thing or do boys do it too?

R7, R10, R11: No we do sleepovers as well. We play video games and things like that.

R9: With a sleepover there's always a chance that you might slip out at night.

R10: to the roof perhaps but not out of the house.

R9: We have.

I: Do you always have enough money on you to do such things? Do you receive pocket money from your parents?

R7, R10, R9, R11: Yes.

R10: I don't really need the money as long as I can be with my friends.

R7: Sometimes we see that we take the money today and after a few hours, we hang out, treat each other and the moneys over.

R10: It depends on the situation I think, there have even been times when we've all gathered together but no one has any cash on them.

R9: Most of the time, money doesn't really matter.

I: You ever have that experience where your families meet, cousins meet up and go to your village home and have fun?

Favorite TV program data were found by school type followed by the respondents the ensuing results showed up. 76 or 20.1% of Bangla Medium students followed Drama serials compared to the 69 or 18.2% of International school students and 46 or 12.1% of Students from Madrassas, amounting to 191 or 50.4% of the total.

44 or 11.6% of Bangla Medium students followed sports channels compared to the 29 or 7.7% of International school students and 43 or 11.3% of students from Madrassas, amounting to 116 or 30.6% of the total.

National Curriculum School students following Islamic channels a total of 8 or 2.1%, while 0% of students from English Medium schools say they follow Islamic channels compared to the 67 or 17.7% of Madrassa students, making the total come to 75 or 19.8%. It is shocking that English medium students are not at all interested in Islamic channels comparing to National Curriculum School students

and Madrassa. Maybe these students wish to be better informed and find TV channels a good place for the information.

Talk show channels followed by National Curriculum School students' amount to 10 or 2.6% compared to the 0% of International school students. Out of the Madrassa students surveyed 7 or 1.8% said that they followed the fore mention channel, making the total come to 17 or 4.5%. Talk shows in Bangladesh feature topics like politics, sports or cinema which isn't of much interest to English medium students compared to the Madrassa students or National Curriculum education.

Those viewing News channels count for 17 or 4.5% of National Curriculum School students and 1 or 0.3% in the case of English Medium school students whereas the Madrassa students come in at 47 or 12.4%, making the total out to be 65 or 17.2%. Being in the age of the digital world, English medium students get their information instantly online omitting the need to view TV channels to get their update on news; perhaps this explains why English medium students don't view News channels as much as National Curriculum students.

National Curriculum students viewing Educational channels amount to 25 or 6.6% whereas English Medium school students amount for 8 or 2.1% and Madrassa students come in at 27 or 7.1% of the total 60 or 15.8%. As Above. 67 or 17.7% of National Curriculum Students said they view cultural programs, 33 or 8.7% of English Medium School students said the same and 18 or 4.7% of Madrassa Students said they too, view musical channels making the total amount to 118 or 31.1%. Bangladeshi cultural programs are aired so frequently and often old footage is used hence loosing the interest of the youth of Bangladesh, or perhaps they have become so jaded in their views that only western objects can catch and hold their attention. National Curriculum or Madrassa students on the other hand are more country or culture oriented, following and developing it so it would seem appropriate that they follow these channels more.

National Curriculum students viewing Discovery or Geography channels amount to 79 or 20.8% whereas International school students amount for 61 or 16.1%

and Madrassa students come in at 24 or 6.3% of the total 164 or 43.3%. More or less equal and would depend on the individual themselves.

When speaking of other channels the National Curriculum students amounted to 50 or 13.2% compared to the 30 or 7.9% in English school students and Madrassa students came in at 28 or 7.4% making the total come to 108 or 28.5%.

The total surveyed students for this were 161 or 42.5% for National Curriculum Students, 105 or 27.7% of English Medium school students and 113 or 29.8% of Madrassa Students out of the 379.

When we look into the music preferences of the students of English medium schools and Madrassa students we find vast differences between both.

When we look further into the choices of the Students from the English Medium schools we find most of their choices influenced by Hollywood, very few choose to watch Hindi movies or listen to Hindi songs in comparison though Madrassa students tend to follow either Islamic entertainment or Bangla entertainment. Even in their choices of superheroes we see the same tendencies. Most of the Hero's chosen by the English medium students are from popular action movies based on comics such as Thor, Iron Man or Wolverine whereas a student from the Madrassa stated his hero to be Prophet Muhammad (s.m).

A look into the movie choices of the participants may choose to be of interest. 'Avengers' seems to be the overall popular Hollywood movie. Based on the Marvel Comics collection, the 'Avengers' sees a team of superheroes team up when an unexpected enemy emerges that threatens global safety and security, Nick Fury, Director of the international peacekeeping agency known as S.H.I.E.L.D., finds himself in need of a team to pull the world back from the brink of disaster. Spanning the globe, a daring recruitment effort begins. The genre of the film is Action & Adventure , Science Fiction & Fantasy. This has been seen to be most popular with the youth of today, mostly due to its high action play, the underlying drama, witty rebates from the superheroes and the plain fact that they get to see all their favorite superheroes in one place at the same time.

Titanic (1997), almost a classic in its definition, is a must watch for students from all sectors, mostly the girls. This movie is immortal for the youth of Bangladesh, due its high drama points and ill fated romance. This spectacular epic re-creates the ill-fated maiden voyage of the White Star Line's \$7.5 million R.M.S Titanic and the tragic sea disaster of April 15, 1912. Running over three hours and made with the combined contributions of two major studios (20th Century-Fox, Paramount) at a cost of more than \$200 million, Titanic ranked as the most expensive film in Hollywood history at the time of its release, and became the most successful. This coupled with the acting of Leonardo Di-Caprio and Kate Winslet made it a purely irresistible film.

The 'Pirates of the Caribbean' trilogy is probably one of the highest grossing pirate films ever made, its action and humor as well as the acting of Johnny Depp as Captain Jack Sparrow has propelled the films to one of the most watched of the decade. The films are purely fantastical and are steeped in action, adventure and an underlying love triangle. Since its debut and its following sequels in Bangladesh, the youth have faithfully followed its progress.

'Star Wars' can be said to be a purely subjective movie, only those with a deep interest in life outside our galaxy, science fiction and fantasy watch it. It should be said that most girls in Bangladesh do not prefer this film and it's the boys, although few, who watch it. 'Star Wars' is an American epicspace opera franchise centered on a film series created by George Lucas. The film series has spawned books, television series, computer and video games, and comic books. Their weapon of choice, the light saber, is commonly recognized in popular culture. The storylines contain many themes, like philosophy and religion.

'House full' is a Bollywood movie full of laughs, romance and drama. It is seen to be popular among all students who are interested in the commercial films of the Bollywood industry. The hero, Arush is an unlucky guy in search of true love. When his latest relationship sours, he decides to return to London and spend time with his best friend Bob. Bob and his wife Hetal decide to help Arush, and the two introduces him to their boss's daughter. This boosts Arush's optimism

until the relationship fails as quickly as it began. Believing that his unluckiness will prevail, he decides to try to commit suicide but is saved. Sandy is everything that he wants in a true love, and Arush hopes that she will end his unlucky streak. When the time arrives for him to meet Sandy's brother, he is fearful and hesitant as Hetal hopes to reunite with her estranged father by telling a lie or two. Together, the couples decide to help each other overcome the obstacles that they have created for themselves. The movie is considered to be purely hilarious and a must watch for Hindi comedy lovers.

'3 Idiots' is a critically acclaimed Bollywood movie, which not unlike the other movies by Amir Khan like 'Rang De Basanti', 'Lagaan', shows the value of life, freedom and morality which we should all live up to. Since its release in 2009, the movie has turned out to be a must watch for all students, especially those who are about to set forth into college or university.

'MatirMoyna/the Clay Bird' was an instant hit among the Bangladeshi youth as soon as it hit the theaters, it gave a welcome relief from the jaded commercial film industry of Bangladesh and promoted the country in a new light. The story line is based on a family who must come to grips with its culture, its faith, and the brutal political changes entering its small-town world. The story also has a big influence from the Muslim religious sector due to an overzealous father and a lot of the youth can empathize with the situation.

'Amar Bondhu Rashed' is not unlike 'MatirMoyna' in the sense that it deviates from the commercial films of Bangladesh and goes more artsy. Based on a book authored by Md. Jafar Iqbal, the story follows a boy during the Liberation war of Bangladesh in 1971, the boy understands what's going on around him while the other students are oblivious, finally they begin to help the 'muktibahini' (freedom fighters) in the war until Rashed is unfortunately killed during one of their reconnaissance. This movie attracted the youth as it showed 'their' part in the liberating of the country and how one so young was so courageous and was eventually martyred.



'Prem ManenaBadha' is a purely commercial, romantic Bengali movie starring Shakib Khan and Apu Biswas, the 2 leading stars of the Bangla film industry. Most of the youth of Bangladesh be it English or National Curriculum medium watch the Bengali movie in order to make fun of the plot, the acting and the hilarious action scenes and dance sequences provided.

'100% Love' is a Kolkata Bangla film. The film is extremely popular among the Madrassa and National Curriculum School students. It shows an extravagant love story filled with twists and turns. The screen presence of Koel and Jeet (the actors) comes across as truly believable, it has been unofficially declared a hit by most of the youngsters viewing it and it's not uncommon to hear its famous theme songs blaring from the streets of Dhaka.