GENERAL EDUCATION AND MADRASAH EDUCATION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO BANGLADESH

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GENERAL EDUCATION AND MADRASAH EDUCATION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO BANGLADESH

by

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To my father late Md.Akkel Ali Badshah
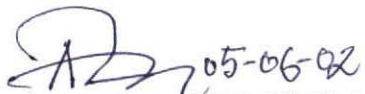*And*
My mother Sahera Khatun

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Declaration

This is a pleasure for me to certify that Ms. Umme Salema Begum has written the thesis on "General Education and Madrasah Education with Special Reference to Bangladesh" under my direct supervision. I consider this as an original work of her own and the conclusions made in this thesis are the results of her own investigation. I also declare that this thesis or part of it has not been submitted to candidature for any other degree.

05-06-02

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Date: 5 June 2002

Abstract

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

It has been evident in the present study that, seeking knowledge is considered to be obligatory in Islam. There is no difference between education and Islamic education; rather they are relevant and compulsory. Therefore, duality in education is not necessary. The root of this duality lies in historical facts, while the present management authority adds to the problem. Authority's apathy towards the issue has aggravated the situation and the rift between the systems continues to be as wide as ever. There are some social, economic and cultural factors, which also keep this issue alive. It has been found in this study that factors like parental educational background, level of education, influence of relatives, level of economic condition, family tradition and attitude towards religion seem to have influenced the enrolment of children into these two systems of education.

Integration of these two contrasting systems of education was felt necessary by most of the respondents although opinion on the question of how to achieve this integration did not converge. It is of course a difficult task, but not impossible. For the greater benefit of the society, all should come forward to minimise the gap between the two systems of education. This study argues that the introduction of different sociological, scientific, technological subjects in *madrasah* and improvement of religious education in general school can minimise this gap. Therefore, producing an appropriate and effective education policy through research in democratic way by a democratic government is necessary. However, merely such an effort will not be sufficient unless our education policy is formed properly and institutional reform for the management of *madrasah* education in particular is undertaken as soon as possible.

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Chapter I

General Introduction

Statement of the Research Problem

Dualism in the national education system is one of the fundamental problems of every Muslim country. After the introduction of modern system of education in these countries the traditional education (i.e., the only system of education of those countries for several centuries) has become peripheral. The modern secular education, on the other hand, dominated the whole sphere of education, such as scientific, technological, social and economic and co-exists parallel with traditional religious education system. The impact of this dualism is quite visible in the society, and most often, is reflected as a negative phenomenon in the process of socio-economic progress.

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

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

The results of these efforts have never been encouraging. They failed to develop an

integrated education system for all people in the society.

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

Modern education provides educated men and women with wide ranging opportunities to choose their careers. It gives them opportunity to earn more and secure key positions in the society and to lead a comfortable and honourable life. The traditional Islamic education on the other hand produces a different class of people usually known as *'alim'*.[2] Their role in the society is limited to the promotion of Islamic ideology and the performance of religious rituals. They in fact, play a very insignificant role in shaping society according to the code of Islam.

In the history of politics in Bangladesh it can be seen that the politicians educated in modern schools and colleges want to promote a secular ideology, while the other politicians educated mainly in *madrasahs* try to establish and promote Islamic ideology in the pattern of livelihood. Those parties are not based on Islamic

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

ideology and try to promote secular ideology, cannot avoid *madrasah* education, rather they have to support it to satisfy public sentiment. On the other hand, it is a paradox that during the era of Islamic political parties though officially Islam and Islamic education has been recognised by the state which is an indicator of the primacy of religion in social and political culture, but in reality, the authority patronises secular education.

During the period of President H.M Ershad, Islam was declared as state religion, just to emphasise on Islam as code of life. At the same time, *madrasah* education for that matter the traditional religious education has been upgraded to equate with the modern secular (general) education (Rakib: 1990). In fact, since the liberation of Bangladesh, all the governments provided financial support for both systems of education. *Madrasah* education was modernised by introducing science subjects in the curriculum and by changing the medium of teaching from Urdu to Bengali. Despite all these poor institutional arrangement and facilities in favour of religious institutions, students educated from these institutions cannot stand at par with those who were educated in general secular schools. Rather, they are in most cases alienated from the mainstream of society and their position in society appears to be parasitic.

Efforts have also been made by the governments since the liberation of the country in 1971 to remove the shortcomings of *madrasah* education. Governments in different time have set-up commissions and committees, but none of their

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[2] Those people are educated in Islamic knowledge.

recommendations were effectively accepted or implemented. As a result the gap is widening between the educated people drawn from these two different systems. *Madrasah* educated people cannot come into the main stream of development works to make a contribution to national development. Therefore, the existence of the dual system of education in the country is deeply entrenched and such duality is considered to be a problem to evolve a nationally integrated system of education.

This situation demands setting up of an advanced and effective educational system within the limited expenditure capacity of the country so as to meet the growing requirement of scientific and technological knowledge as well as to meet the aspirations of the people. It is, therefore, necessary to understand the present two-way system people's social and of education at a broader scale and emotional needs, and their thinking in order to help map out national education more effectively. Otherwise any effort attempting to reform the national education system is bound to fail.

Objectives of the Study

The objective of the present study is to focus attention on the prevalent contradiction between the two systems of education, general secular and religious *madrasha* education. While officially both systems are recognised and given official recognition; in reality the educated people from these two systems are being gradually alienated from each other. The specific objectives of the study are:

a) To highlight the educational approaches in Islam as viewed in the Holy *Quran, Sunnah* and the views of Muslim scholars and educationists.

b) To investigate into greatest teachings of Islam for education and to study its evolutionary process from the early history of Islam to the modern period.

c) To find out the causes and consequences of the emergence of the two systems of education and the gradual alienation of *madrasah* educated people from the mainstream of the society.

d) To identify the factors involved in the students' enrolment in both secular school and religious *madrasah* system of education.

e) To suggest how best to minimize the gap between the two different types of educated people in order to achieve a balanced modern educated Muslim society.

Significance of the Study

The significance of the present study lies in the fact that, while a dual system of education in the country is considered to be an inefficient process both in terms of cost and effect, it is imperative to undertake research focusing on the issue for several reasons. First, considering that a significant proportion of the students, i.e. about 10 percent of the total enrolled, are in the *madrasah* education system backed by an equal government outlay per teacher, the end result seems to be rather frustrating as most of these students cannot contribute directly towards national development. It is therefore vital to comprehend the factors associated with this problem.

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

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

Methods of the Study

An empirical approach has been followed in undertaking the present research. Such an approach was essential as the objectives of the study dictated. It is to be mentioned here that main variables of this study are the dualism in our education

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system. The principal research questions are (a) what are the reasons for such dualism? (b) What are the consequences of such dualism in our society at large? And how to achieve a balanced and unified system of education in the country if dualism is proved to be detrimental?

All these questions require primary information from the level where the system actually being operated and practised, i.e., the investigation must be made at the practitioners' level. At the same time, any system being practised at the grass root level must have input from the policy making level. Thus, to study the cause and effect of dualism in our education system, require investigation at the both bottom as well as at the top policy making level.

The nature of investigation is thus an empirical, which needs primary information. However, since the system of education has evolved through a historical process over a longer period of time, historical data and information was required to collect for the present research. Extensive secondary materials were also required to link the primary information and to give present research a perfect shape. Therefore, the present study followed a multi-level approach.

The following diagram shows the methodological approach to the present study.

Figure 1.0: Methodological Approach

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                    ┌─────────────────────┐
              ┌─────│ Conceptualization of│─────┐
              │     │ the problem         │     │
              │     └─────────────────────┘     │
              ▼                                  ▼
    ┌──────────────────┐           ┌──────────────────┐
    │ Study of causes  │           │ Study of         │
    │                  │           │ consequences     │
    └──────────────────┘           └──────────────────┘
              │                                  │
              ▼                                  ▼
    ┌──────────────────┐           ┌──────────────────┐
    │ Historical       │           │ Analysis of      │
    │ information      │           │ present          │
    │                  │           │ situation        │
    └──────────────────┘           └──────────────────┘
              │                                  │
              ▼                                  ▼
    ┌──────────────────┐           ┌──────────────────┐
    │ Secondary data   │           │ Primary data     │
    │                  │           │                  │
    └──────────────────┘           └──────────────────┘
              ▲                                  ▲
              │     ┌─────────────────────┐     │
              └─────│ National objectives │─────┘
                    │ policies and programs│
                    └─────────────────────┘
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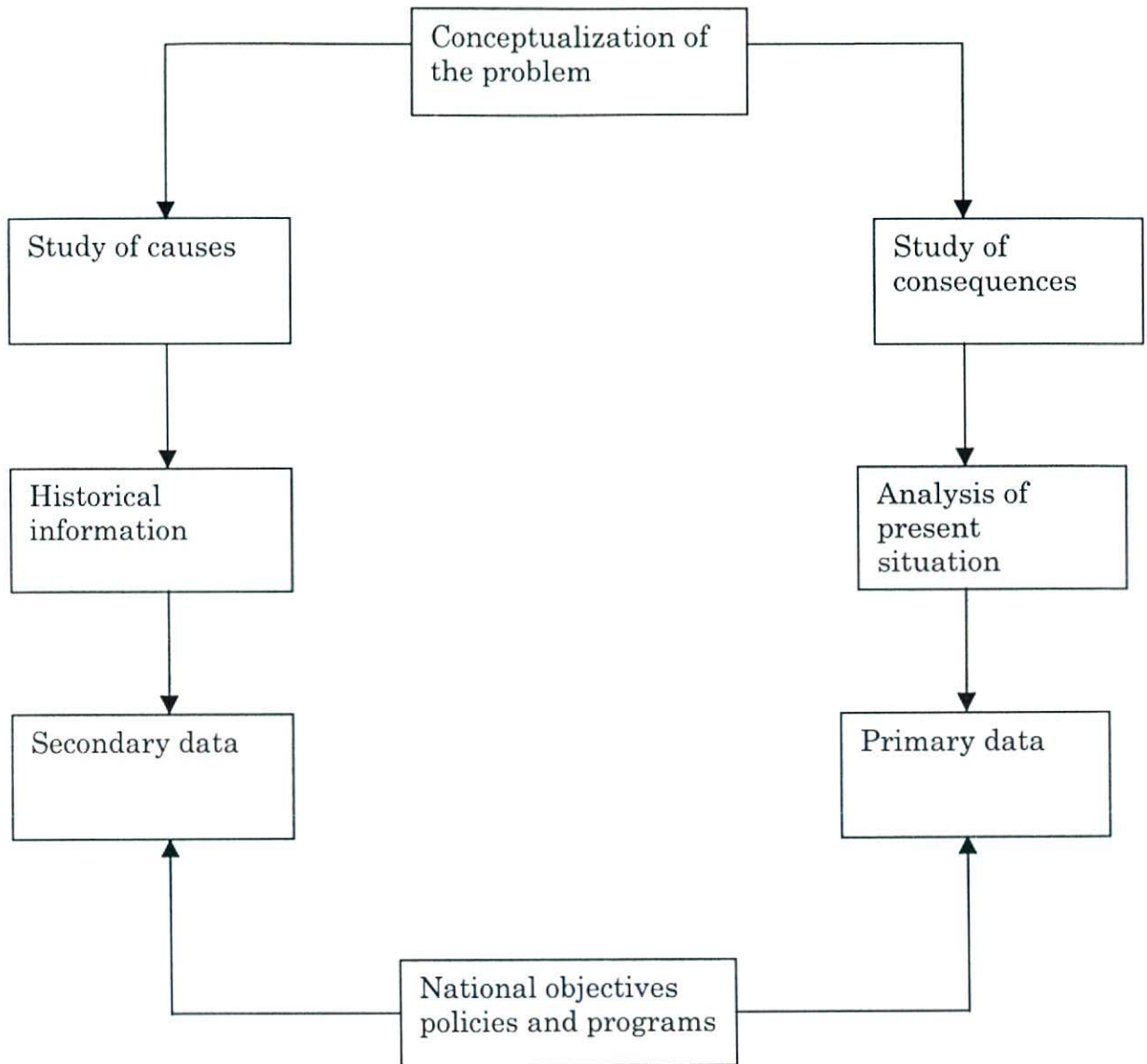
The study has been conducted according to the following sequences:

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

Bangladesh.

2. The concept of education in general and Islamic approach towards education in particular also reviewed through secondary literature.

3. Education of Islamic Age and teachings of Muhammad SM on subsequent Muslim also reviewed through secondary sources.

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

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

Sources of Data

As noted above, the study has been carried out on the basis of data collected from both secondary and primary sources. The secondary sources include published materials and official documents in the form of books, journals, magazines, newspapers, reports, gazettes, manuals and hand books, etc.

Primary data were collected in several stages, by conducting questionnaire surveys. The first target was to select the parents to get information about the reasons for sending their children into different system of education. Since it was

difficult to find appropriate respondents, i.e. the parents or guardians who sent their children either to *madrasahs* or to schools, it has been found that it was much easier to locate the students first from their respective institutions. Then to t5race their parents and guardians. Thus, the first stage of primary survey was to choose *madrasahs* and schools at various locations.

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

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

The third stage of the primary investigation was at the national level. At this stage in-depth interviews and were conducted with the experts and intellectuals who were directly or indirectly involved in education and research at the national level. The experts were chosen from various disciplines as well as occupational categories. It is to be noted here that both *madrasah* and school educated persons were also considered in the process of the selection of respondents at this level. The names of the respondents were shown in Appendix Five.

The Study Area

The present study focuses on the situation of education in Bangladesh. Thus, the

whole Bangladesh is the study area. However, the study needs to generate primary data form appropriate respondents. With this in aim, it is necessary to select educational institutions of various types and form different locations. In terms of type educational institutions, both *madrasah* and schools both were considered. In terms of location, however, it would have been ideal, if institutions could be selected from all over the country. Due to limitations of time and resources, the researcher considered two locations: Urban and rural. The justification lies in the assumption that the urban people are more oriented towards, modern general education, while the rural people may have more leaning toward *madrasah* education.

Thus, data were collected from both rural and urban area. Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh was chosen for urban area and Bhola district was chooses as remote rural area. The reasons are: First, Dhaka is a large city with a population of more than 10 million, where many *madrasahs* and schools were found within fairly short distance. Similarly Bhola district has been chosen due to its remote position. However, there are many school and *madrasah* located within the reasonable distance in the island. In order to get diversified answers from the respondents these two areas were selected.

Secondly, it was important that the parents and guardians interviewed were from places where both kinds of institution were available. Using a sample area, which had both *madrasahs* and schools side by side, did help the researcher to

understand and extract from the respondents' specific reasons for the choice of either system of education for their children.

And finally, it was an added advantage for the researcher to be familiar with the study areas rather than some other section of the country.

Thus, eighteen educational institutions were selected purposively from four different locations. In the Dhaka City for 100 students and 100 parents or guardians 10 institutions (five school & five *madrasahs*) were selected. On the other hand, ten educational institutions were selected from different areas of Bhola District for similar number (100) of students and similar number of parents or guardians (100). Al together, 200 Case were investigated through 400 (200 students & 200 Guardians) questionnaires. Among these half were for boys and half were for girls. Similarly half were school and half were *madrasahs*.

Table 1.1: The Study Area and Selection or Respondent Students (200) and their Parents (200)

	Study Area							
Location	Urban Area (100 respondents)				Rural Area(100 respondents)			
	Dhaka city				Bhola District			
Institution	Madrasah (50)		School(50)		Madrasah (50)		School(50)	
Gender	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
No of students	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25
No. of Parents	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25
Total	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50

Selection of the Respondents and Interview Method

1. *Students and their Parents or Guardians:* A random selection technique was used for the selection of students. Altogether 200 students have been selected as respondents from 20 institutions. Of these institutions 10 were from Dhaka City and 10 were from Bhola District. The respondents were selected from a higher class (class IX) so that they can give information properly. Half of them were from religious *madrasahs* and the rest from general schools. Similarly half of them were male and the remaining half of them were female students to make a gender balance. During the interviews, students' household income, and occupational background of the family and social status were considered. Each respondent was interviewed with an open-ended questionnaire.

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

2. *National level Experts and Educationists:* The respondents at the national level were selected from a cross section of people attached to the field of education and research. During the selection of these respondents a balancing technique was followed with a view to getting an insight from both sides.

Therefore, their respective educational backgrounds were considered while they were selected.

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

Scope and Limitations of the Study

As me ntioned at the outset, the present study addresses a fundamental problem for the education system of Bangladesh. The problem is deep rooted in the history of the socio-political culture of the country during the last three hundred years. Apart from historical evolution that it underwent, the system has its own dynamics even at the present stage. The present and the past are inter-related and cannot be discussed separately in a meaningful way. Therefore, the context of the present study is quite vast and it is obviously impossible to address the entire range of problems in one isolated study such as the present one.

The present study mainly focuses on the causes and consequences of dual system of education, with special reference to the social alienation of *madrasah* educated people. Therefore it was essential to highlight the factors that contribute to an ever-widening gap between the two systems. The theoretical bases of education and Islamic education and identify the factors that are related to the enrolment of the students in both systems also addressed to put the present

study in a proper perspective. Finally, an attempt has also been made to explore possibilities of minimising the gap between the two systems. All these issues of a different nature are closely linked, and hence cannot be separated from each other. This modest effort is addressed to all these issues with enormous limitations.

Structure and Organisation of the Thesis

This thesis is organised in ten chapters. The first chapter has introduced the research problem, objectives, significance and methodology of the present research. The theoretical bases of Islamic education general education have been discussed in second chapter. The third chapter provides insights into the teachings of Muhammad (SM) and on the subsequent periods Muslim rule about education. The historical background of the present problem of dualism has been discussed in chapter four. The fifth chapter is giving experiences of other countries with special reference to the position of religious education in the national education. Chapter six has been devoted to education system of Bangladesh as to highlight the issues of dualism. Chapter seven addresses the causes and consequences of social alienation of *madrasah* educated people. Determinants of students' enrolment either in *madrasah* and school have been discussed in chapter eight. Chapter nine describes the opinion of selected national level of experts and educationists on the dual system of education and its implications. Finally, chapter ten summarises the whole study and provides conclusions from the findings.

Chapter II

Islamic Approaches to Education: A Review

Introduction

As mentioned earlier that, the education system of Bangladesh is entrenched into a dualism: modern secular education in the one hand and traditional religious (madrasah) education on the other. This dualism has been considered as one of the major problems in achieving a unified and appropriate education system in the country. In this chapter, attempt has been made to review the concept of education in general and Islamic education in particular with special reference to the Holy Quran and the Sunnah.

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

and modern education is introduced.

The basic sources of knowledge in Islam are the Holy Quran and Sunnah. Thus, this chapter has been developed on the basis of quotations from the holy Quran and Sunnah and substantiated from the views of Muslim scholars who worked on Islamic education. The aim is to highlight the educational approaches to Islam as viewed in the Holy Quran and Sunnah, and the views of Muslim scholars and educationists. The areas highlighted are:

1.   Modern secular education (with special reference to the approaches of Idealism and Pragmatism).

2.   Education as suggested in the holy Quran and Sunnah; and

3.   The Islamic concept of education.

1. Modern Secular Education

It is not easy to define education. It is a life-long process, which plays a profound role in the life of a person and in society at large. Education in fact, holds the key to many wider issues of society. There is no fixed meaning of education. Rather, it is the field of continuous debate and disagreement. In very general terms, education can be considered as a social service directed towards increasing the creative strength of society, providing training facilities for individuals commensurate with their abilities, instilling an awareness of social justice and equal opportunities and producing each younger generation with the knowledge,

skills and understanding they need to assume their place in society. (Turkish Review: 1991)

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

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

Plato's main aim was to devise a theory and a scheme of education, which would result in a balanced and harmonious individual and a balanced and harmonious

society. His concern was not with education in itself but with its social function. He develops his theory of education in support of his political theory, his view of society. (Kelly: 1987)

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

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

Dewey (1899) saw education theory as a synthesis of philosophy, sociology, and psychology and formed his own theory in considerable part by criticising the dominant views in these disciplines that were prevalent at that time. His view of philosophy was the theory of education in its most general forms. He indicated that "there was little point in theorising knowledge, about man or about society without any attempt to develop a theory about how one's views of these are to be translated

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into reality, a view about education". (Kelly: 1987, p. 16)

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

Dewey's theory of Pragmatism was influenced by Darwin's theory of evolution. From this notion of evolution he developed the view that nothing in human experience can properly be seen as fixed, static or eternal, that everything must be recognised as being in a state of continuous change, development, or evolution. Thus education is also to be seen and planned in terms of a continuous developmental process.

Dewey's theory of Pragmatism is opposite to Plato's theory of Idealism. The most

fundamental differences are *a)* Plato regarded knowledge as fixed, as objective, as true in a very strong sense. On the other hand, Dewey regarded education as tentative, as in a permanent state of development and evolution, as true in only a provisional way, as man-made or socially constructed. *b)* To Plato, education is a matter of transmission; to Dewey it is matter of a process of development. *c)* Plato sees notion of education as cognitive or intellectual development; Dewey emphasises the importance of other forms of development particularly those of an emotional or affective kind. However, both these theories can be found in the context of current educational scene.

2. Education According to Quran and Sunnah

One of the important elements, which Islam has recommended most emphatically, is learning knowledge and its dissemination in the society. The very first version of the Holy Quran revealed upon Muhammad (SM) was with regard to education that is about reading and writing. Allah said: "Read! In the name of your Lord who has created (all that exists). He created man from clot (a piece of thick coagulated blood). Read! And your Lord is the most Generous. Who has taught (the writing) by the pen. He has taught man that which he knew not" (Sural Alak: 1-5). According to Hamdard's Report on Education (1986) this revelation to the Holy Prophet enshrined the reality that to read, write, and acquire knowledge was the fundamental right of man, it was, thus, Islam that unfolded for the first time in human history the principle of Universal education (Hamdard: 1986).

The importance of knowledge and the necessity of acquiring knowledge have been stressed in several verses of the Holy Quran and innumerable Hadith of Prophet Muhammad (SM). Holy Qura'an repeatedly urges people to think, and to observe and to use their intellect. Allah encouraged and praised those intelligent persons who imply their intellect to understand and to explore the mysteries of His creation. Therefore, in the following sections, effort has been made to discuss a few of these to realise the position of education and importance of dissemination knowledge in Islam.

i)   ***In Islam Education is Compulsory and Obligatory for every Muslim, Man and Women.*** Prophet Muhammad (SM) said, "Seeking knowledge is compulsory upon every Muslim male and female" (Anas. b. Malik: Ibn Majah). In this tradition the prophet of Islam reminded his disciples that seeking knowledge is an obligation. While the word 'Muslim' included both men and women and obliged for all classes of people. Therefore, education is a fundamental right of every men and women on an equal basis. (Sohofi: 1988)

ii)   ***There is no Limitation of Age for Seeking Knowledge.*** Knowledge can be earned at any time throughout ones life. Prophet (SM) said, "Seek knowledge from cradle to the grave" (Tirmizi). In this context, Sohofi (1988) mentioned that the limitation of time and duration has been removed and seeking knowledge is not related to a particular period of human life cycle. It begins with the opening of the eyes (birth) and ends with the closing of

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them forever (death) (Sohofi: 1986).

iii) ***There is no Restriction for Searching Knowledge in Islam.*** Knowledge can be acquired from anywhere. Obtaining knowledge is one of the fundamental rights of every Muslim as it is their obligation. Therefore, Muslims should not be worried about the place from where knowledge or wisdom can be found. Prophet (SM) said, "Knowledge resembles something missed by a believer and he who loses something, will pick it up when he finds it". Prophet Muhammad (SM) said, "seek knowledge even if it is in China" (Anas: Baihaqi). From this *hadith*, it can be argued that the acquisition of knowledge in Islam is important. Referring to this *hadith*, Sohofi (1988) said, knowledge could be acquired from any person or anywhere of the world, even from non-believers and from very far (Sohofi: 1986). Khan (1988) argues that, since China was much away from Arabia and in those days it was too difficult to travel, therefore, the aim and objectives of this *hadith* are that knowledge should be obtained even if there are great difficulties in obtaining it.

iv) ***Searching Knowledge has a Spiritual Importance.*** There are many *Hadith* in this regard. For example;

a. Who treads the path of knowledge, Allah will lead him to tread the path of the heaven and whoever dies in the pursuit of knowledge, Allah will take him as martyr"(Muslim).

b. One, who goes out in search of knowledge, he is in the path of Allah till he

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returns" (Anas: Tirmizi).

c. Whoever searches after knowledge, it will be expiation for his past sins" (Sakhbarah: Tirmizi).

d. When a man dies, all his actions are cut of from him except three: ever-recurring charity, knowledge from which benefit is derived or a virtuous child praying for him" (Abu Hurairah: Muslim).

e. Whoever treads a path of seeking knowledge.......surely the angels spread out their wings out of pleasure for the seeker after knowledge; and as for the learned man, whatever is in the heavens and the earth and also the fishes in fathom of water beg pardon for him" (Kasir-b-Qais: Tirmizi, Abu Daud).

f. To seek knowledge for one hour at night is better than keeping it (night) awake" (Darimi).

All these above-mentioned *Hadith* give importance on seeking knowledge for a perfect Islamic life. There is no restriction of time, place and gender in seeking knowledge. Knowledge is thus universal and every Muslim man and women should acquire it with their utmost effort.

v) *Islam Patronises Learning and Learned People.* Allah will raise the men of learning and faith to high and honourable levels. About the superiority of knowledge the Holy Quran says "Allah will exalt those who believe among you, and those have knowledge, to high ranks" (Mujadalah: 11).

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Khan (1986) said, in this verse human beings have been advised that those who attain knowledge they will be exalted high ranks. It is clearly told that those who have been given knowledge and those who believe in God will be raised in ranks. There are many *Hadith* about it. For example;

a. "The nearest for men in the rank of Prophet hood are the learned and the fighter for religion" (Ibn Abbas: Abu-Nayeem).

b. "The learned men are the heritage of the prophets and the prophets left for heritage no silver or no gold coins, but they left Knowledge. So, whoever acquires it, acquires a sufficient fortune" (Kasir-b-Qais: Ahamd, Tirmizi, Abu-daud).

c. "On the Resurrection day, three persons will intercede, the Prophets, then the learned and then the martyrs" (Osman-b-Affan: Ibn Majah).

d. "On the Resurrection day, the ink of the learned will be weighed the blood of martyr" (Ibn Abdul bar).

e. "It is better to learn any chapter of knowledge than to pray 100 rakats of prayer" (Ibn Abul Bar: Ibn Majah).

f. "Attendance in the assembly of a learned is better than prying thousand *rakats,* visiting of thousand patients and participating thousand funeral processions. The companions of Holy Prophet asked the Prophet if it was better than recitation of Quran. He replied, "Was the Holy Quran beneficial without knowledge" (Ibn Jozi).

From all these above mentioned *Hadith* it is clear that Islam patronises learning and learned persons and there is a relation between securing knowledge and

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superiority of human being. Searching knowledge has more importance than additional (*Nafal*) prayer except *Farz* (inevitable) prayer.

vi) ***Knowledge is a Determining Factor for Superiority.*** It is stated in the Holy Quran (Sura Bakara), greatness of Adam over the angels is due to the fact that Allah granted Adam the knowledge of the reality of things. That knowledge entitled him to bring the crown of creation and to receiving the obeisance of angels. On the other hand, the angels expressed their inability by saying, 'Glory to you, we have no knowledge saving that you have taught us. The reason of the success of Adam stated in Quran, "And He (Allah) teaches Adam the name of everything"(*Sura Bakara*: 35). Prophet Muhammad (SM) said, "Allah says, whoever is given wisdom has indeed been given a great good, but men of understanding are mindful". Considering these Ibrahimy (1988) urges that this proves that *'ilm'* or knowledge was a genuine factor for determining superiority that is a precious gift from Allah.

There are many other versions in the Holy Quran where Allah distinguished between literate and illiterate. For example,

a. 'Say, are those who know equal with those who know not? But only the men of understanding will pay heed' (Zumar: 9).

b. 'The blinds are not equal to the seer; nor the darkness tantamount to light; nor the shadow equal to the suns' full heat; not the living equal with the

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dead' (Fatir: 19-22).

In this 'verse' God the great has told that those who possess and those who do not are not equal. Thus, holy high ranks remain to those who obtain knowledge and if human being wants to rise, he should attain knowledge. (Khan: 1986)

There are many *Hadith* about the superiority of learned men over others. For example,

a. 'The most precious person is one whose deeds are many, and the least worthy person is the one who has least knowledge'.

b. 'The superiority of the learned man over the pious worshipper is like my superiority over meanest of you' (Abu Ommah al Baheli: Tirmizi).

c. 'Who so meets with death while in search of knowledge to bring Islam back life, there will be only one degree in paradise between him and prophet' (Hasan: Darimi).

d. 'A learned pious man is1000 times better than an illiterate pious man does. He is to the illiterate as the prophet was to the most ordinary man or as the moon to a star' (Kasir-b-Qais: Ahmad, Tirmizi, Abu Daud).

e. 'The superiority of a learned man over the pious worshipper is like the superiority of the full moon at full moon-light over the rest of the stars' (Ahmad, Tirmizi, Abu Daud).

f. 'The performance of Muslim learned over the Muslim devotee is seventy time more' (Ibn Adi).

g. "The superiority in education is better than the superiority in divine service"

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(Ayesha: Baihaqi).

In Islam martyrs occupy special position. There are several *hadithes*, which highlight the position and status of martyrs in Islam. Similarly divine services and devotees also have high rank in Islam. From the above-mentioned *hadith* it is clear that, in Islam learned person occupies highest rank over martyrs and devotees. Position of learned person is so significant that in Islam, the learned man is not equivalent to a man, but a group of people. The loss is lesser in the death of a tribe than the death of a learned man. Prophet Muhammad (SM) said, 'The death of a tribe is easier in comparison to the death of a learned' (Bukhari and Muslim).

vii) ***Knowledge Strengthens the Power of Faith.*** The holy Quran states "It is only those who have knowledge among his slaves fear Allah the most" (Sura Fatir: 28). Prophet Muhammad (SM) said, 'And whoever gains knowledge is lucky and gains a great thing. And whoever followed a way to seek knowledge, Allah will make easy for him the way to paradise' (Bukhari).

viii) ***Searching of Knowledge is more Important than its Acquisition.*** Without understanding and guidance good virtue is not possible. Since understanding and guidance are the main aspects of knowledge it can be very well understood that the holy prophet emphasises its importance. Islam also approves that the capacity or capabilities of understanding of all people are not similar. Therefor, Islam encourages on searching of knowledge more than its acquisition. Prophet Muhammad (SM) said," Who

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so seeks knowledge and then acquires it, there are two rewards for him, and if he doesn't acquire, there is only one reward for him" (Waselah-b-Asqa' a Darimi).

ix) ***Learned Men are Most Beneficent***. Prophet (SM) said, 'Do you know who is the most beneficent? God is the most beneficent; then of the children of Adam I am the most beneficent and after me the most beneficent among them is the man who acquires knowledge and spreads it. He will come on the day of resurrection as a chief by himself (Anas bin Malik: Bayhaqih).

'Allah gives understanding of the religion and guidance to him for whom He wants beneficence' (Sa'id Ibn Ufair: Bukhari, Muslim).

Considering the importance of knowledge and education, people should urge knowledge from Allah. Allah teaches us to pray to Him. 'My Lord, increase me in knowledge' (20: 114).

From the discussions mentioned earlier, it is clear that Islam has laid an utmost importance to knowledge and learning. Seeking knowledge is considered to be religious duty. It can be acquired at any age or any time of one's life cycle. There is no age bar for seeking knowledge; nor there is any restriction about the place and from any person even from non-believers.

Seeking knowledge has spiritual importance. Educated and learned persons have

honourable position in Islam. It is a determining factor for superiority. It helps to strengthen the power of faith of a person. Therefore, Islam encourages people to seek knowledge and also teaches them to urge knowledge from Allah.

What is Considered as Education and Knowledge in Islam?

It is clear from the above discussion that Islam emphasises on Education. The question arises what kind of education is permissible in Islam, or in other words, what is considered knowledge or education according to the Holy Quran and Sunnah?. The Major considerations are as follows:

i) *Education for Literacy*. Referring to the Surah Alak (verse 1-5) whi ch has been discussed earlier, it can be said that the very first aim of education in Islam is learning reading and writing i.e., literacy. Safi (RA) (1413 AH) explains that, in this verse Allah shows two methods of education: reading and writing. The word *'ikra'* emphasised on the oral education. Then the importance has been put to the use of pen by using the word *'Qalam'*. He (Safi: 1413 AH) described a hadith from Hazrat Abu Hurairah (RA) that Prophet (SM) said, 'At the beginning of the creation of the Universe, Allah has created a pen (*Qalam*) and ordered it to write down everything. And the pen wrote everything that are going to be happened in this universe from its creation to the last day (Safi: 1413 AH). It can be said that, this hadith is an evidence of the importance and necessity of planning in written form before any creation.

Khan (1986) said that in these verses human beings have been told to remember

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God, read the Holy Quran and to get education through pen. It has also been told that human beings can get all education only from the God. To him, these verses of the Holy Quran have laid stress on literacy, with the ability to read and write thereby enabling people to know i.e., to acquire new knowledge (Sura Nur: 68).

In another verse of the Holy Quran, Allah said, 'O you who believe! When you contract a debt for a fixed period, write it down. Let a scribe write down in justice between you (the parties); let not the scribe refuse to write as Allah has taught him, so let him write' (Bakara: 282). In this verse, importance of writing an agreement between parties has been emphasised.

ii) *Education is to know an Unknown thing and be Familiar with it.* As Allah said, 'He taught Adam the names of everything' (Bakara: 35). 'He has taught the human being which he did not know'. In this verse, Allah taught the first man Adam, which was unknown to him. The education mentioned here is to know which is unknown and this process of education start from the birth of a person indicated, by Safi (RA) (1413 AH).

iii) *Knowledge is for Moral and Spiritual Advancement.* Allah said, "It is He who has sent among the illiterate ones a messenger of their own, to recite unto them His revelations and to make them grow and to teach them scripture and wisdom" (Jumua: 2). The Prophet said, "To Devil a learned theologian is stronger than a thousand pious worshipper" (Tirmizi, Ibn Maja). Therefore, Islam emphasised on a Comprehensive knowledge of religion. Prophet Muhammad (SM) said, "If Allah wishes to do good to a

person, He makes him comprehend the religion" (Mawiyah: Bukhari). In another hadith Prophet (SM) said, "The most precious person is he who learn Quran and teaches it to others" (Sunan Ibn Maja). Importance of learned theologian on society has been stated in another Hadith, "There are two classes of my followers when they are good people are good and when they are bad, people are bad, - The rulers and the theologians" (Ibn Abbas: Abu Nayeem).

iv) *Islam Approves Education for Scientific and Technological Advancement that is Necessary for Practical Life.* Knowledge of worldly affairs cannot be separated from knowledge of religion. It has been narrated in one tradition that once prophet preferred scientific discussion more than that of incantation and prayer. He said, "both groups are proceeding towards goodness and happiness but I will join the group that is engaged in scientific discussion, for I am ordain to lead people towards knowledge and perfection". So he joined them and took part in the discussion (Abdu'llah bin Armu: Darimi).

v) *Islam Approves 'Knowledge' for the Welfare of the Society.* Learned men and scholars can easily turn peoples' attention to knowledge and learning. Allah said, "And it is not (proper) for the believers to go out to fight (*Jihad*) all together. Of every troop of them, a part only should go forth, that they (who are left behind) may get instruction in (Islamic) religion, and that they May warn their people folk when they turn to them, so that they may beware (of evil)" (Tauba: 122).

There is a Hadith that the Prophet of Islam urged the people (mission) of *'Abdul Qais'* to memorise the faith and knowledge (as he explained them) and to inform their people, whom they left behind (at home). It is narrated that Prophet (SM) told them to get back to their people and to teach them (Muhammad Ibn Bashar: Bukhari).

vi)   *Islam Approves as an Unbounded Endeavour of Human being for Education and Knowledge.* Referring to the sayings of Prophet Muhammad (SM) ("This world is a place for preparation for the life here after). Dr. Ibrahimy (1988) argues that if a man does not know this world and the problems there of, how can he build his other world on the basis of theirs world? He therefore, suggests that, Muslim should have sufficient knowledge about this world and on the basis of which he will be able to make his other world glorious. That is why Islam encourages acquiring knowledge of all sciences and crafts. Acquiring knowledge is easy when a person is educated. Prophet Muhammad (SM) said,

a. "This is an age wherein learning will have no control over anything" (Abu Darda'a: Tirmizi).

b. "Two greedy men have get no satisfaction: one who got greed for learning is never satisfied with it, and one who has greed for this world is never satisfied with it" (Anas-b-Malek: Baihaqi).

From the above discussion it seems that in Islam earning knowledge is an unbounded endeavour.

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vii)   ***Education is to Learn Duties and Responsibilities.*** One of the aims of the national education of any country is the construction of the character of its youths to make them in such a manner so that they can perform their duties and responsibilities with honesty and sincerity. Prophet Muhammad (SM) said, "Learn your duty and teach men their duties" (Abu Hurairah: Tirmizi).

From the above discussions it can be said that the first aim of education is the eradication of illiteracy. Education is the means acquiring knowledge. Searching knowledge and getting education also has spiritual importance, although Islam approves knowledge of worldly affairs such as scientific and technological knowledge and those, which are related to the welfare of the society.

Education and knowledge Defined by Islamic Educaitonists.

To some educationists, Islam uses the word *'ilmun'* or 'knowledge' for the knowledge of the origin and destination, as well as personal and social duties, religious devotions and their likes and to some others in Islam the word *'ilmun'* (knowledge and wisdom) is used in general sense without any reservation.'

Zakiyyah Muhammad (1990) defined Islamic Education as "remembrance of Allah in all that one thinks, learns and does". Quoting from the Quran (112: 1-4) she argues that the remembrance of Allah in learning was the beginning of *Tawhid*. Understanding that Allah is one, is the originator of all knowledge, is the source of all things, good and that all that exists in interrelated and interdependent except

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Allah" (Muhammad: 1990, p. 27). She also emphasises the moral aspect of Islamic education. To her 'the essence of Islamic education is moral excellence for the pleasure of Allah' (p.27).

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

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

Quoting from Holy Quran (Sura Bakara: 35) Sohofi argues that, attention to the

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goal envisaged by Islam about Muslim society shows us that knowledge is not limited to particular branch rather it consists of everything. For example,

1) Islam wishes the Muslim society to be cherished independent and free from any want.

2) It wishes the Muslims to have economic and social independence.

3) It wishes themselves not to stretch their hands of need to foreigners.

4) It wants the Muslims to be superior, in all the material and spiritual aspects, to all races and nations.

From the above discussions, three aspects are clearly apparent: First, the source of knowledge is God, the creator. Second, the objective of Islamic education is to maintain justice and harmony among the people, and third, knowledge should be generated for the requirements of all walks of life in the light of direction given by Islam.

Aim of Islamic Education

There are considerable agreements also about the aim and objectives of Islamic education. Islamic view of education has been propounded by Al-Ghazali. He had visualised the aims and objectives of education in accordance with Islamic way of life. The objective of education according to him is *'Utility'*. He used wide meaning of utility, which prevails over the material and spiritual aspects. It is of individuals as well as social phenomena.

To Ghazali objectives of education are the formation, construction and completion

of manners so that man can distinguish between good and bad and abstain from evil. It will formulate the character of individual and will reform the society as well. It was this concept of betterment of the individual and society through education that was later on presented by other philosophers.

Al-Ghazali's philosophy of education is very much similar to the philosophy of Plato. He considered three aspects of human spirit i.e., knowledge, anger and lust. The objective of ethics is to create moderate and proper harmony in these three. By their mixture a good human being and better character may come into existence. The arguing power of knowledge is wisdom. Of anger is bravery and lust is benefit. The moderation in these three powers is created through education only.

To Ghazali knowledge is of two kind i.e., dogmatic and non-dogmatic. Dogmatic knowledge comes through prophets. Non-dogmatic knowledge comes from of wisdom, experience, or audition. The non-dogmatic knowledge is divided into three parts.

a) *The Desirable knowledge*. It includes those subjects who are related to worldly life such as medicine and arithmetic.

b) *The Undesirable knowledge.* It includes subjects like magic, sleight of hand, etc.

c) *The lawful or permissible knowledge*. It includes poetry, history, etc.

He (Ghazali) also made a division in dogmatic knowledge as desirable and undesirable.

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Modern education has been clearly reflected on Ghazalis education thoughts. He advocated the inclusion of both academic and religious subjects. He suggested industrial subjects, weaving, agriculture, tailoring and hair cutting, etc. for inclusion in the curriculum.

Khan (1988) argues that Islamic education should enable an individual to satisfy properly all his basic needs, Physical, mental and spiritual requirements, leading to his harmonious growth and self realisation to the highest possible degree so that he can function effectively as vicegerent of Allah on earth. He also argues that the aim of education is linked with the aim of life. Because the aim of life will determine the ideals of life which in turn will determine what type of men the society will aim at producing; the later will supply what we call the aim of education which is the instrument to achieve the end. On the other hand, the aim of life is attainment of the vicegerency of Allah on earth. Allah said, 'Your Lord said to the angels, "I will create a vicegerent on earth" (Bakarah: 30) and " It is He who made you (His) vicegerent on earth"(6: 165). Therefore, the aim of education should enable the individual to function effectively as vicegerent of Allah.

Another agreement is that this world is the place of preparation for the world here after. Prophet SM said, "This world is the place of work for the *Day of Judgement*'. If a man does not know this world and its problems properly, how can he perform his responsibility to his surrounding world or how can he build his other world on the basis's of this world. Man has to perform his duty as vicegerent of Allah and

also have to build his other world on the basis of this world. That is why it is argued that all kinds of knowledge and all branches of knowledge should be included in Islamic education (Khan: 1988).

Agreement also comes from two verses of the Holy Quran,

a. "Don't they look at the camel, how it had been created? And the Heavens how they have been held aloft? And the mountains, how they have been set up? And the earth, how it has been spread out?"(Sura Mutaffikin: 17-22)

b. "Verily in the creation of the heavens and the earth and the alternation of night and day, and the ships that sail in the sea with that which profits men, and the water that Allah sends down from the sky, then gives life therewith to the earth after its death and spread in it all (kinds) animals and in the change of the winds and in the clouds held in subservient between heaven and earth in all these are clear sign for the people who exercise their power of understanding".

From these two verses of the Holy Quran it is argued that, Islam urges man to observe, to think, to explore the mysteries of creation and to understand things well. Islamic scheme of education is holistic system. It encompasses the entire gamut of Muslim life, so all branches of learning should be included in Islamic education (Ibrahimy: 1988).

The aim of education as defined in the First World Conference (1977) was as

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

They have given this definition from an Islamic point of view. About the acceptability of this definition to a modern society, Ashraf (1985) adds, "it depends on our assessment of the society, how it regards Man and his destiny and how therefore it wants his personality to develop. Its acceptability depends also on historical and practical considerations and on the justifications that Islamic metaphysics supplies".

Al-Attas (1979) on the other hand defined the aim of Islamic Education as the creation of good and righteous men who will follow the path of Allah (God) in the true sense. Quran and Sunnah are the main basis of this path. For worldly affairs the guideline is *'Shariah'* which has been derived from the Quran and Sunnah. This is the primary source of Islamic knowledge. The secondary source is human intellect and its tools, which are in constant interaction with the physical universe. Man is free to do as he pleases but within the framework of Quran and Sunnah.

The aim of Islamic education is therefore to remain within the framework of Quran and Sunnah, following *Shariah* and earning knowledge by interacting with physical properties of the world and achieving *Adab*. However, he presents a model of Islamic education. He argues, citing from the Quran, that God has given mankind knowledge about everything. As vicegerent of God on earth, man has the responsibility or duty to earn that knowledge. This has been emphasised many times in the Quran and also directed by the prophet.

Ashraf (1989a) said man has relationship with God, man and nature. Knowledge about God-man relationship is *Fard 'ayn* and different branches of knowledge that provide two other relationships is *Fard kifayah*.[1] Because of the expansion and needs of modern civilisation, he (Ashraf: 1989a) suggested that each child should know some basic knowledge in each of the three branches of knowledge. He believes that the students need to specialise in one of these three if she or he is intellectually capable of specialisation. Otherwise students should acquire a general competence in each of the three basic branches of knowledge. These three branches are man's relationship with God that is theological knowledge, men's relationship with man that is social, and men's relationship with nature that is scientific knowledge.

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

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

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

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

Comparison between the Views of Education and Islamic Education

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

Al-Attas (1979) underscored that Islamic Education faces serious contradictions with modern secular education. This contradiction, according to him is rooted in the very philosophy of both systems of education. There cannot be any contradiction within the achieved knowledge because it is not opposed to the philosophy of Islam about one God and man as His vicegerent. Badawi (1979) examines modern scientific knowledge and the Islamic tradition can be a

complementary and not contradictory one. In Islam man is superior because of knowledge. Thus there could be no ground for conflict between science and religion. The present conflict and gap is artificial. It is possible to narrow down this gap.

To Ashraf (1989a) knowledge in all fields of human life is interrelated and integrated. The traditional system of education has kept the spiritual and theological traditions alive, but they present no alternative to the earth-centric worldview. It is necessary to know Islamic traditions of knowledge, and how all branches of it acquire *'aqli'* (intellectual) knowledge and was interrelated to reveal *'naqli'* (transmitted) knowledge. Both of those are relevant, not contradictory from the Islamic point of view. He (Ashraf) therefore suggests a methodology of scientific analysis, which is governed by the principles of *Quran*, and to know and maintain the natural law and not destroy it or torture or twist it to show our power.

From the above discussion it has been found that according to modern philosophers like Dewey the difference between modern education and Islamic education is inevitable. But Plato's theory of education is very similar to the Islamic philosophy. To the Islamic philosopher and educationist there is no difference between education and Islamic education as there is no contradiction between science and Islam. Rather they are relevant and complementary. The present gap is bridgeable. That is why Ashraf (1989a) recommended governments

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to create one unified system of education governed by the basic religious approach to life and knowledge and not to maintain two different systems as traditional and secular. The basic system should be common but there should be enough scope for specialisation in individual fields of knowledge.

Islamic education is rooted in the Quran and in the teaching of Prophet Muhammad (SM). Within a relatively short span of time after the death of the prophet, Islamic education spread all over the territory conquered by Islamic rulers. In the initial stages, during the first four centuries of *Hijrah,* Mosque based *Maktabs* (or schools) were the seats for learning (Bilgrami and Ashraf: 1985 & Szyliowicz: 1973).[2] From very elementary to the highest levels, education was given from these Mosque-based educational institutions.

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

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

education in Islam was that the teachings were to be given from the standpoint of basic Islamic source like Quran and Hadith.

This tradition continued all through the periods of Muslim rule. But changes occurred in the process of education among the Muslim people with changes of their national history. Zakiyyah Muhammad (1990) mentioned that with the process of colonisation in Muslim countries, Quranic based Islamic education began to change and over time the long rooted Islamic education was supplanted by secular and materialist education (Muhammad: 1990).

Summary and Conclusions

From the verses of the holy Quran and Hadith it is argued that, Islamic civilisation underlines the importance of knowledge and of seeking of knowledge. Adam was granted knowledge from almighty Allah. That knowledge entitled him to bring the crown of creation to receiving the obeisance of angels. The very first version of Holy Quran enshrined the reality that to read, write, and acquire knowledge was the fundamental right of men and women. It was, thus, Islam unfolded for the first time in human history the principle of universal education.

Therefore, the education that is rooted in the Quran and in the teachings of Prophet Muhammad (SM) has recommended emphatically in Islam. Seeking knowledge is regarded as Islamic duty. It is necessary and obligatory for all man and women.

There is no restriction in Islam for seeking knowledge. It is not related to a particular period. Nor it is confined to a particular place or particular teacher. It is a life long process that begins with the birth and ends with death. Muslim should not worry about the place of learning. It can be acquired from any place. With the acquisition of knowledge, teachings and dissemination has been emphasised. Providing education to children particularly is considered to be a great gift.

Searching knowledge has spiritual importance. It strengthens the power of faith and is considered to be a determining factor for superiority. Superiority of learned men is higher than the superiority of pious worshipers. Learned pious man is considered to be thousand times better than an illiterate pious man. That is why a Muslim has to acquire knowledge, and disseminate it. They can pray to Allah for the increase of knowledge.

According to the modern philosopher like Dewey the difference between modern education and Islamic education is inevitable. But Plato's theory of education is very similar to the Islamic philosophy. To the Islamic philosophers and educationists there is no difference between education and Islamic education as there is no contradiction between science and Islam. Rather they are relevant and complementary. The present gap is bridgeable. That is why Islamic scholars suggested the governments of the Muslim countries to create one unified system of education governed by the basic religious approach to life and knowledge and not

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to maintain two different systems as traditional and secular. The basic should be common but there should be enough scope for specialisation in individual fields of knowledge.

Education in the Islamic Period: From Muhammad (SM) to the end of the Fifteenth Century

Introduction

The history of Islamic education begins with the history of Islam itself. It can be evident from the fact that, the very first verses of the *Quran* was about reading and writing, which has been discussed earlier. When Prophet Muhammad (SM) established an Islamic state in Median (622AD), he started to unite the divided Arab nation, and tried His followers to educate. He encouraged them by his sayings and patronised education by his actions. He paid enough importance to the acquisition of education and knowledge. Thus in Islam education is inseparable from religion.

Following the ideals of the prophet (SM), the Muslim rulers subsequently concentrated on the development of education. As a result, the art of reading and writing as were existed to a limited extend in Arab before Islam, it increased after the advent of Islam, especially after the expansion of Muslim Empire. The Muslim conquerors spread all over the world for the acquisition of knowledge and made an extraordinary progress in almost every branches of learning. They founded a large number of institutions in the form of schools, colleges, and universities. For the advancement of learning they also established libraries. There flourished a good number of scholars in various subjects of theology (as commentary of the Holy *Quran*, traditions, theology, *fiqhs*) in the one hand and general and scientific

education (such as science, astronomy, biography, history, medicine, etc.) on the other. In fact, the Muslims founded a civilisation on the basis of the *Quran* and *Sunnah* and left behind legacies of learning which are indeed invaluable to the modern world (Karim: 1969).

In this context, Nehru (1998) said, "in ancient age when scientific method was almost absent in Egypt, China, India or Rome a bit of it was in old Greece, the Arab had the scientific spirit of inquiry". He in fact, intended to consider the Arab nation as the 'father of modern science'.

The foundation of Muslim education stands on two main pillars, the Holy *Quran* and the *Sunnah* (sayings of Prophet Muhammad SM) (discussed in chapter II). In this chapter an attempt has been made to focus on the historical development of Islamic education specifically to find out the reflection of the greatest teachings of Islam for education in the early history of the Muslim nationhood. This chapter has been organised in ten sections, such as: i) Education in the early period of Islam (up to 750 AD). ii), Contribution of Umayyad (661-750AD) in Education. iii). Education of Abbasides (750-1258AD). iv). Contribution of Fatimid Dynasty. v). Contribution of Nizamul-Mulk. vi). Education of Muslim Spain (discussed, as it was the preserver of classical learning during the Dark Age). vii). Nature of education of Islamic Age. viii). Causes of the promotion of education and learning. ix) Causes of the downfall of Islamic Education and finally x) The summary and conclusions.

1. Education in the Early Period of Islam (up to 750 AD)

Muhammad (SM) had profound love for knowledge and education, and emphasised on its dissemination to others. For the expansion of knowledge and education the prophet and the early Muslim Caliphs have taken many practical and effective steps. During the time of the Prophet Muhammad (SM), houses of some particular people and the mosques were used as the place of education. For example, the first educational institution of Islam, *'Darul-Arkam'* was in the house of Zaid Ibn Arkam (RA) in Mecca, close to the 'Safa Mountain'. Although it was a non-formal nature of educational institution, where newly converted Muslim used to come and to learn more about Islam. Muhammad (SM) used to teach them regularly.

After the 'Hizrat' when Prophet Muhammad (SM) established a Mosque, known as *'Maszid-e-Nabobi'* in Medina, which turned into a centre of learning of Islam (with other activities such as performing daily prayer). Beside this mosque, a residential institution was established called *'Suffa'* for those Muslims who came from outside Medina. For dissemination of knowledge the Prophet Muhammad (SM) used to send his *Sahabas* (companion) to different areas. Whenever people came to him for accepting Islam as their religion, he used to send educated *'Sahabas'* with them for the purpose of teaching (Nomani: 1975). The main objective of education during Muhammadan period was the teachings of Holy *Quran* and *Hadiths*.

Islam is a complete code of life. Prophet Muhammad (SM) used to discuss in the mosque about various aspect of life to teach his disciples, both religious and worldly affairs. These included *Tawhid, Risalat, Akhirat,* Prayers, Law of *Zakat,*

business, marriage and divorce, war and peace, administration, social welfare, international laws, economics and the other aspects of life. Prophet Muhammad (SM) also arranged to teach reading and writing both for children and adults. He also encouraged *Sahabas* to learn foreign languages, such as *Hibru, Suriani* and *Farsi*. For instance he asked Zaid-Ibn-Sabit to learn *Suriani* Language (Mannan: 1996).

Following the examples of Prophet Muhammad (SM), four caliphs did the same. They established mosques in different part of their empire and sent teachers, to those places. During the time, the *Quran, Hadith* and *Ilmul-Fiqh* were taught in the mosques. *Quran* was complied in its original form; *Ijma, Qias* and *Ijtihad* were initiated in this period. Finally *Fuqahas* taught Islamic Laws to the general Muslims.

With the changing circumstances of time, the horizon of knowledge and the objective of education in Islam have been changed. It can be evident from the fact that during the time of prophet (SM) and pioneer Four Caliphs (632-661AD), the life of the Muslim were centred around the teachings of the Holy *Quran*. The education of the period was centred round the reading and writing of the Holy Quran. Anyone, who could read and memorise the Holy *Quran*, was considered as an educated person (Ahmad: 1985). Even the students of *'Suffa'* were taught reading and writing of the Holy Quran (Abu Daud). During the period of Caliphate the *Quran* readers were mainly responsible for the spread of *Quranic* teachings and Traditions of Prophet among the Muslims. With the recitation of Quranic

verses, they also interpreted and commented them to the people. Hazrat 'Umar (RA) sent these *Quran* readers to all parts of the Islamic dominion with the directive that on Friday the Muslim should be instructed about the fundamentals of Islam as enunciated in the *Quran* and *Hadith*. He also introduced stipends from the state treasury for all those who could read and learn the *Quran*. This practice of giving stipends to the Quran readers continued during the Caliphs, Hazrat Uthman (RA) and Hazrat Ali (RA) (Ahmad: 1985).

Apart from religious instructions evidence of introducing subjects of other worldly affairs in the educational institutions was found. Later, establishment of subject wise institutions ware also found in the subsequent period step by step. For example,

a) During the time of the first Caliph Hazrat Abu Bakar (RA) reading and writing of *Quran*, mathematics and mounting a horse were the subjects of *maktab*. The recitation from the Holy *Quran* was given similar importance as the recitation of literature (Mannan: 1996).

b) At the time of the third Caliph Hazrat Uthamn (RA) the subjects like study of poetry, mathematics, astronomy and geography were introduced in the curriculum of educational institution with the study of essential subjects the *Quran* and the *Hadith* (Armajani: 1970).

c) Subject-wise institutions were started to establish within the different part of the empire during Hazrat Ali, the fourth Caliph of Islam. For example, school of Mecca and Medina were for the teaching of Holy Quran and Hadith and school of *Kufa* and *Basra* were for etymology, philology, linguistics and

philosophy. During his time the art of handwritings, art of recitations and cultivation (study) of poetry were also improved a lot (Armajani: 1970).

2. Contribution of Umayyad (661-750AD) in Education

During the Umayyad period, the Caliphs had established mosques and elementary schools in different parts of their empire. With the teachings of the Holy Quran, Hadith and *Fiqh*, the Umayyads laid importance to the learning of astronomy, handwriting and the deliberation of lectures during the period.

Although Umayyad period was mainly the period of conquests and the consolidation of Islamic Empire, it was also the time when the Muslim society became comparatively free to turn their attention towards other activities of their life. The Umayyads for the first time, started formalising the education system, which was mainly non-formal in nature. Once the empire was established, a system of education was also established. The schools were known as *'kuttab'* (or *Maktab* means the elementary school) with *'Muallim'* as teacher.

Common people used the mosques as schools, besides the place of worship. Separate buildings such as shops or houses were also used as elementary schools and these were known as *'Kuttab'* (Ahmad 1985). For the children of the upper classes and the nobility had private tutors of their own.

In the time of Umayyad, education began with the reading of the Holy *Quran*. The learning of the passages from the Holy *Quran* recited during the prayers was

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taught in the educational institution. The children were taught how to write also. They were also taught the elements of arithmetic, and the life stories of the prophets. The pupils had to learn from the prominent poets (Ahmad: 1985) Anyone who could read and write Arabic Language with sufficient knowledge about 'shooting an arrow' and swimming was considered as an educated person (Ahmad: 1985).

Higher level of education and research in different subjects were initiated in this period. The Umayyad (665-750AD) allowed the sciences of Hellenistic world to Syria. Christian, Sabean and Persian schools were patronised at flourish in the different parts of their empire. Most important example of patronising higher education and research by Umayyad was the *'Bayt-al-Hikma'*.

'Bayt-al-Hikma' (the House of Wisdom)

Caliph Al-Mamun founded a research and translation centre in Baghdad. This was probably the first Islamic institution for higher education and research in different subjects. Over the period, such research centres were spread out in other cities East and West. One of the major functions of these centres were the translation of the works of Galena, Plato, Aristotle, Ptolemy and Hippocrateds, and also of mathematical, astronomical, medical and pharmaceutical works. These works were patronised by the Caliphs who often made their own homes or palaces as research centres, awarded scholarships for research. Libraries and laboratories were established with these institutions to provide research and translation facilities. People from Persia, Greece, India and also from other religion as Hindu,

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Christian, Zoroaster were appointed for translation and research works. Thus, the creative works of Muslim were initiated by *Bayt-al-Hikma'* which was later developed by the Abbasides.

3. Education of Abbasides (750-1258 AD)

In the Medieval period, when scientific method and different technological knowledge were almost absent in the other parts of the world, the Arab Muslim had the scientific spirit of inquiry. It was the period of Abbasides Empire (750-1258AD), when the Muslim culture and civilisation were at its peak. Thirty-seven Caliphs (kings) ruled during the period. It was the period of economic prosperity and great intellectual awakening. Of all the periods of Muslim history, Abbasid period was the most striking and unparalleled in depth and variety of talents.

The period witnessed the intensification of the efforts towards the formalisation of education system initiated during the Umayyad times. Abbasid had a three-stage education system, a) elementary, b) secondary and c) higher education. Elementary teachers were known as *Mualim* or *Fakih,* Secondary teacher as *Muaddiran* and higher education as *professors*. While the children of the upper classes and the nobility did not attend the mosque schools, catered for the Muslim masses, they had their own home of learning and private tutors.

During this period the Muslims came under the influence of the Greek literature and philosophy and they also became acquainted with the Indian science, particularly medicine, mathematics and astronomy. In the quest of knowledge

men travelled over three continents and return home, like bees laden with honey. They impart the precious stores which they had accumulated to crowds of eager disciples, and to compile with incredible industry those works of encyclopaedic range and erudition from which modern science, in the widest sense of the world, has derived far more than is generally supposed" (Ahmad: 1985). Due to this inter-change of ideas the Arabs developed an intense passion for learning.

Main features of this period were the expansion of knowledge and wisdom that started with the translation and imitation of alien subjects. Following the Umayyad encouragement of translation works during this period, knowledge was imparted from all over the world even from outside the Muslim world. Vast number of alien subjects was translated into Arabic in this period. This wide range of translation and imitation of knowledge and wisdom during the Abbasides has facilitated the process of research in different field of knowledge and wisdom which has been accomplished during later period of Abbasides (which started from 900AD). In this period the Caliphs were comparatively weak in their power and they were fighting with each other for different purpose. This situation provides facilities for the scholars for their research (Aramjani: 1970). Although there were many religious leaders in Baghdad who protested these intellectuals for promoting secular knowledge, the sultanates under the sway of the Abbasides continued to vie each other in the promotion of higher education and also in the erection of suitable madrasahs. In those days, madrasah education used to provide teaching of both Islamic and other subjects. The young and free princes also were vied with each other about the patronisation of intellectuals. Therefore patronisation of

states rulers can be considered as the main factor of promoting education and research during the Abasides.

4. Contribution of Fatimid Dynasty

Fatimid dynasty was established in Tunisia of North Africa in 909 AD and continued till 1171 AD.[1] Best of the entire Fatimid caliph, was Al-Muizz. The contribution of Ftimid dynasty was,

a)   *Darul Hikma or 'al-Ilm' of Cairo:* It was founded in Egypt by Fatimd administration, about the same period of Abbasids. It was established between 1065-67AD. The goal of this institution was the study of theological tenets of the *'Shiite'* schools as writings of the Greek and Persian study. When the Fatimid dynasty was overthrown, the Ayyubid superseded their academies by high schools conducted on *Sunnite* principles and the wide space of the mosques were utilised for teaching purpose (Khan: 1986).

b)   *Al-Azhar of Cairo:* It was founded by Al-Muizz of Fatimid Dynasty. Jawhar the General of Al-Muizz first established a mosque in Cairo (Al-Cahir) in 972 AD. The next caliph, Al-Aziz established a library with it, which virtually transformed into a University. This was the first institution, which enjoys a wide celebrity even today. The aim of establishing such institution was (*a*) to teach *Shiite* system of Jurisprudence, and (*b*) to train *Shiite* preachers for propagation of *Shiite* doctrines amongst the Muslim (Ahamd: 1985). However, when Saladin

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[1] As a result of the reactionary activities (counteraction) of Umayyad in Tunesia of North Africa, Fatimid dynasty was established in 909 AD.

gained control over Egypt, he replaced the *Shiite* system with the *Sunnite* one (Ahmad: 1985).

From beginning, the emphasis was given on teaching of theological education although some general subjects were also taught. A secular kind of education was started since 1961 (Mannan: 1986).

5. Contribution of Nizamul-Mulk (the Vizier of Seljuq Sultan)

As a result of the weaknesses of Abbasides caliph in the middle of the eleventh century some independent reign were established. One of those was the Seljuks. They established their kingdom in Persia, Asia Minor and Syria. Nizamul-Mulk (Khawaja Hasan) was the Persian vizier of Seljuq Sultans. He worked for Seljuk Sultans (Alph Arsalan and Malik Shah) about forty years. Within this time he established many higher educational institutions. Of those Nizamiya College of Baghdad was the most famous one. He founded it in 1065-67AD.

While the Seljuks belong to orthodox group of Islam, the colleges (madrasahs) were set to secreted as a theological seminary, particularly for the study of *Shafiite* and the orthodox *Ashari* system of education with secular subjects which emphasises on the Greek and Persian learning. Curriculum of that madrasah was prepared by Nizamul-Mulk and named after himself, *'Dars-I-Nizamiya'*.

Although Nizamiya madrasah was introduced by Seljuk vizir, Abbasides caliph affiliated it. Even teachers were appointed with his consent. They were well paid

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and were highly respected in the society.

Nizamul Mulk was one of the chief architects of state-supported system of education. As result of the Muslim enlightenment during the 9the and 10th century, education became largely the function of state during the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries. He has establish a large number of madrasahs in many parts of Islamic empire such as in Baghdad, Nisapur, Harat, Belkh, Marv, Amol, Isfahan and in many other places. Nizamiyah of Baghdad was one of them. It was developed gradually into a University sufficiently endowed by Nizam to assure generous salaries of its professors, and food, living quarters, clothing, furnishing and health care for its students. The students were known as *Talib*, the full-professor as *al-ustad*, the Deputy professor as *Naib al-Tadris*, and the Assistants as *mu'id*. Nizamiya of Baghdad became a model madrasah after Nizams assassination in 1902. It is also claimed that certain details of this organisation appears to have been copied by the early Universities of Europe (Ahamd : 1985).

6. Education of Muslim Spain (8th to 15th century)

After the fall of Umayyad in the Arab region by the Abbasides one of the Umayyad prince (Abd-al-Rahman) established an empire in Spain, with Cordoba as the capital city. The Muslim ruled over the Spain about eight hundred years between the eight and fifteenth centuries and preserved classical learning during the Dark Age of the medieval Europe (8th to 15th centuries).

The contribution of Muslim Spain to the preservation of classical learning during

the Dark Age and to the first flowerings of the Renaissance has long been recognised. But the Islamic Spain was much more than a mere Hellenistic knowledge which was kept for later consumption by the emerging modern Western World. In fact, the Muslim Spain gathered and preserved the intellectual content of ancient Greek and Roman civilisation. It also interpreted and expanded upon the civilisation, and made a vital contribution of its own in so many fields of human endeavour such as in science, astronomy, mathematics, algebra (an Arabic word), law, history, medicine, pharmacology, optics, agriculture, architecture, theology and music. Ibn Rushed and Ibn Zahr like their counter parts Ibn-Sina and Al-Razi in the East contributed to the study and practice of medicine in ways from which Europe benefited for centuries after wards. (Charles: 1993).

Caliph Hakam the second (961-976 AD) was one of the Umayyad princes. He was a man of latter and patronised education. In every city of Spain there were schools and in big cities with higher educational institutions during his time. There was arrangement for free education for the general people of the country. Even within Cordoba City, there were 27 free schools run by the government. As a result, during those days there was hardly any illiterate person in Spain. It was the time when rest of the Europe was in the Dark Age and only a very few of the religious leaders and their family members were able to read and write (Rahamn: 1990).

During the time of Caliph Hakam the Second, University of Cordoba became a centre for higher education and research. It was a pioneer institution of those days and contributed to the first flowering of the Renaissance. Disciplines such as

literature, history, mathematics, astronomy, theology and science were taught in this university. Student from Italy, Germany, France and England came to join in the lecture of this university and returned home with enlighten views and helped eradicate the darkness of Europe.

For the promotion and dissemination of knowledge and education Hakam also established libraries in the country. Only the Cordoba city had 70 lending libraries of which the Central Library was famous containing 4,00,000 volumes of books, which were equivalent to all European libraries together. In this context Charles (1993) said, "it was possible because of the fact that the Muslim world acquired skills of making paper more that 400 years before the rest of non-Muslim Europe. He also said that in the tenth century Cordoba was by far the most civilised city of Europe. Many of the traits of modern Europe came from Muslim Spain. Diplomats, free trade, borders, the techniques of academic research of anthropology, etiquette, fashion, various types of medicine, hospitals, all came from this great city. Islam has helped to create modern Europe" (Charles: 1993).

7. Nature of Education of Islamic Age

The nature of education of the Islamic age has been discussed under the titles such as: *a)* type of education system, *b)* aim of education, *c)* type of educational institution *d)* position of teacher, *e)* position of women in education *f)* nature of curriculum during the Islamic rule.

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i) Type of Education System

In the early period of Islam, education was non-formal in nature. At the beginning, the Umayyad tried to give formal status to its education system. Later the Abbasides intensified this effort towards the formalisation of system. However, it was not as formal as the present days system of education.

In the early stage of Islam there was hardly any distinction between elementary and higher education. During the period of Umayyad, the formal system of two-stage education was started. These are elementary and higher education. In this system of education, the secondary stage was missing. During the Abbasides, the education system was consisted of three stages, elementary, secondary and higher education. Teachers of elementary school (*Kuttab or Maktab*) were known as *Muallim* or *Fakih*, teacher of secondary school (madrasah) as *Muaddiras* and teachers of higher education as *professors*. Education was open to all. Besides these, there was two other type of education. The palace school education instituted for princes and the Adult education.

After the completion of elementary education, the children of 15 years had to go for higher education. Girls education were limited and used to be considered unsuitable for higher education, although in a limited manner, there were some cases of getting higher education by the women.

Elementary education was self-sufficient unit, without any linkage with higher education intending to develop reading and writing capabilities and giving

essential religious instruction to the Muslim children.

ii)   Aim of Education

The aim of higher education was to develop the (possible) intellectual capacity of a selected few whose educational careers were different from those intended the elementary education.

Adult education was aiming at teaching art of reading and writing with giving instruction in *Quran* and in the faith. From this adult schools latter, 'Schools of higher learning' grew through the *halaqa* or 'circle' of pupils gathered around certain teachers.

Aim of palace school education was shaping the princess as future rulers. This included religious education but laid stress on oratory, literature, etc., and above all, on manly virtues.

iii)   Type of Educational Institutions

Historical evidences show that at the end of the Islamic age there were three kind of institutions; *maktabs* for primary level education, *madrasah* for secondary level and *Jami'a* for higher education. Usually these institutions were attached to the mosques. Beside these institutions, mosque and *majlis* or *halqas* played an important role for education of those days.

a) Mosques

Besides prayers, the mosques were the centres of learning where teachings were

offered in all branches of Islamic studies from elementary stage to the highest level. From the very beginning of the history of Islam mosques played an important role for educational purpose. During the time of Prophet Muhammad (SM) the mosques were the place for political meetings and judicial courts. Not only that the holy prophet used to discuss religious as well as secular matters with his followers in the mosque. These were the main centres of education for the Muslim society. It remained the main place for Muslim education till the establishment of madrasah

During the Umayyad period, although schools were thoroughly spreaded all over the empire, the mosques remained as places for instruction of religious as well as other matters. It is said that the great Muslim philosopher Al-Gazali used to live in minarets of a Umyyad mosque at Damascus. Even during the Abbasid period mosques were largely used for the propagation of *Mutazilites* view.

With the expansion of education and knowledge it was realised that mosques were inadequate to cope with the growing number of students as well as the expansion of knowledge. There needed residential quarters for the growing bulk of students and also separate place for higher education. Therefore beside mosques a number of madrasahs grew over the period. However, throughout the ages even today mosques have been playing an important role in the promotion of Islamic education.

b) *Maktabs*

Maktabs are the institution of primary education established with the aims to remove illiteracy and to provide basic Islamic knowledge. Apart from separate premises, private houses and shops were used as *maktabs*. In these *maktabs*, usually the holy *Quran*, the elements of arithmetic, grammar and history were taught.

c) *Majlis or Halqas*

These were institutions developed by individual scholars in response to the desire of inquisitive student for higher education in different branches of Islamic studies such as *tafsir, hadith, fiqh*, jurisprudence, literature and even nature sciences. In modern terminology these centres may be called academies or seminaries. With the progress of time higher education was also held at the mosques and private premises. During the Abbasids in the 2nd century AH there is evidence of the existence of institutions for higher education as *majlis-al-adab*.

d) *Madrasah*

It is difficult to say exactly when the educational institutions called madrasah came into existence. The fact is that the progress and diffusion of Islamic knowledge reached at such an extent that the mosques became a limited place for the purpose of education. Accommodation for a growing bulk of students was another consideration. With the expansion of education mosques were inadequate to cope with the growing number of students. These inadequacies were reasons to shift education from the mosques to other places, which were subsequently named

as madrasahs, where accommodation was made for students and teachers (Ahamd: 1985).

At the beginning, madrasahs were for the secondary level of education. Madrasah came into existence as parallel institutions for higher education by the 5th century. An advance in the development of the higher school was made by the Seljuk[2]vizir Nizam-al-Mulk in 457AH/ 1065AD. His institutions 'the *Nizamiyyah'* academies in various parts of the empire were devoted mainly to the higher theological studies. In the same period a growing tendency of freeing the madrasahs from their theological studies to various otherworldly subjects. The teaching of astronomy and medical sciences are examples (Khan: 1986).

Main features of these institutions were:

- Academic activities of all the institutions were free and informal. Their respective heads or managers, the *Mudarris, Muallim, Ustadh or Shaikh*, determined the course of studies and management policies.

- They did not hold any annual or half-yearly examination for the promotion of the students. The students were promoted on the basis of internal evaluation that is done throughout the year. There was no interference in these matters by the state nor there was a separate department of education in the administrative system of the state although the promotion of learning was considered as a duty of the state as of individual.

- While there was no separate department of education, the state instead of directly supporting the educational institutions from the state treasury, use to

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[2] As a result of the weakness of Abbsides Caliph in the middle of the eleventh century some independent reign was established. One of those was the Seljuks.

assign the income of *waqf* (endowed) estates for the maintenance of mosques, seminaries and madrashas. The rulers, high officials, and wealthy members of the society participated in the educational activities by private charity and endowments individually.

iv)   Position of Teacher

The importance of teachers in the Islamic education is notable. The position of elementary teachers in the society was not good. Most of them were considered as less educated persons with little knowledge of the world. On the other hand, the teachers associated with the madrasahs were respectable in the society. A large number of learned and creative individuals were trained in them. Throughout the Islamic age it is the individual teacher who personally gave certificate to the student after giving his full course.

v)   Position of Women in Education

Education of the women was not uncommon during the early period of Islam. They were free to move in public, went to the mosques and lectures, and even delivered lectures. There was no difference between higher and elementary education and there was no restriction of education for women. Each person was free to acquire knowledge and education. Historical evidences show that since the early period of Islam even during the Ummayyad and the early Abbasides period, Muslim women were free to receive education, and in fact, there were a good number educated women in the Muslim history. It was the period when Muslim society came in touch with Constantinople (eastern Rome) and Perisa, the *purdah* (veil) system,

seclusion of women and harem system begin within Arab Muslim society and men and women meet each other less and less socially (Nehru: 1988). As a result, when higher education was separated from the elementary level, the women were considered unsuitable for higher education.

One of the reasons was that the higher education was not available in the rural areas and because of *purdah*, Muslim women were unable to attend the higher educational institutions available only in the urban areas. On the other hand, it also can be seen that after the establishment of Dar-al-Hikma in Cairo as a research institute for advanced studies, both men and women were admitted with separated apartments allocated to them. At the end of Abbasid period there were many women who became famous for their performance. There was poet like Jubaida, wife of Harun al Rashid and writer as Buran, wife of Mamun. In those days, the women practised music and performed other social activities (Mannan: 1996).

vi)   Nature of Curriculum during the Muslim Rule

There is hardly any evidence available about the subjects taught in the Primary Education during the early Islamic age. But, referring to a series of sayings of Caliph Hazrat Omar (RA), Caliph Abdul Malik, Caliph Hajaj and Ibn-al-Tau'an Khan (1988) said that, "the subjects seems to be included into their curriculum were swimming, throwing a dart, riding a horse, recitation of verses of Quran, writing, arithmetic, etc" (Khan: 1988).

Religious sciences were of prime importance in Islamic learning in Islamic age. Therefore, the main objective of their higher education was to provide education on religious sciences. But they did not disapprove gaining of other knowledge. While education was non-formal, the *Ulama* of their institution was responsible for the development of their own sciences.

Most important features of the curriculum of Islamic age were:

a) There were hardly any linkages between the curriculum of elementary, secondary and higher level of education.

b) Curriculum was not included all the subjects those promoted in the Islamic Empire.

c) Curriculum of Islamic age, especially the curriculum of madrasah included both religious and non-religious subjects. From the very beginning of the establishment of madrasahs a respectable place was given to non-religious subjects, based on Greek thought and learning.

d) Islamic curriculum, however, differed from region to region and from country to country. For example, in Egypt and Syria where the population was predominantly of Arab Muslims, naturally in keeping with their characteristics more importance was given to the teaching of the Holy *Quran, Hadith*, and *Ismaur-Rijal* (the science of genealogies). In khurashan and Transoxiana the learned theologians had developed a great passion for the subjects like Islamic Law, Principles of Islamic law and mysticism. Iran had been the cradle of rationale learning. Iranian Muslims had a great fascination for Logic, Philosophy and Scholasticism. In *Magrib* (Muslim countries of Northern Africa

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and Spain), the subjects most sought after were literature, poetry and science of history. India was primarily influenced by the *'Ulama* of Khorasan and Transoxiana and later on by learned men and scholars of Persia. The Persian influence on Indian curriculum was so deep and penetrating that even today its hold on it is very strong *'Dars-I-Nizamiyah'* that is still being followed in modified form is most of the tradition schools in India and Pakistan is a living example of this influence (Ahamd: 1985).

8. Causes of the Promotion of Education and Learning

In the earlier period of Islam (up to Caliphate period), anyone who could read and memorise the Holy Quran was considered as an educated person. Subsequently the Muslims have become a pioneering nation in the promotion of knowledge and education in the world. Some of the Muslim contributions are fundamental and led the whole world for many centuries. Particularly in the field of medicine their contributions were remarkable. From 750 to 1100 AD they established hospitals with a system of interns and externs. They discovered causes of many organic diseases. They developed new surgical tools, they used anaesthetics, they dissected anatomy, and they used drugs, herbs and foods for medication. They calculated and angle of ecliptic, they explained refraction of light and the twilight. They grafted to produce new kinds of flowers and fruits. They discovered alcohol, nitrate of silver. They perfected the arts of metallurgy, textiles, ceramics, and the rug weaving.

The reasons for such advancement in the promotion of education and knowledge of

those days can be identified as bellow:

a) ***Acquisition of Knowledge was Free from any Restriction:*** In the previous discussion we have seen that, Prophet Muhammad (SM) emphasised on acquisition of knowledge. He approved the acquisition of knowledge even from alien country and people. Even he approved the acquisition of knowledge from non-believers. It can be evident from the conditions of the war after the victory at *Badr*. Prophet Muhammad (SM) employed several *Quriash* captives to teach' the boys of Medina to write as their ransom. Twelve boys were assigned to each prisoner who was capable of giving required education. As soon as their pupil attained the stipulated degree of progress, their teachers were set free (Nomani: 75). Ahmad (1985) explained this as the willingness of Prophet Muhammad (SM) to educate the Muslim through gaining some skills in reading and writing (Ahmad: 1985).

Following the ideals of the prophet the Muslims acquired knowledge from al over the world. Historical evidences show that wherever the Muslims went they return with the treasure of knowledge. They translate them in Arabic.

The contribution to higher learning and scholarship in Islamic education were not limited to geographical boundaries or national or religious origin. For this purpose Muslim emperors appointed non-Muslim people like Jewish, Zoroastrians and Christian scholars to nourish higher education. They were nicely paid and they enjoyed freedom of faith and action. They occupied the positions of teachers, heads of hospitals and medical academics, interpreters and creative writers. They enjoyed freedom of faith and action (Khan: 1986). This liberal attitude of Muslims

seemed to be responsible for the development of the knowledge and creative activities under the patronage of Islamic caliph of the golden age of Islamic culture and educational life. During this period theology and dogma did not undermine scholarship, rather allowed the searching knowledge.

b) ***Demand of the Age Determined the Development of Knowledge and Education in the Society of Islamic Age:*** It can be evident from the history that during the time of Prophet Muhammad (SM), Muslim society was completely dependent upon his instruction, Almost every problem was solved by His revealed knowledge. Therefore, education of his time was centred round the teaching of *Quran* and *Hadith*. But after his death, Islamic society did not remain as united as before. Very soon they started to divide into many groups as, the *Kharije, Murji, Mutajila, Jaberi, Shiiate* and the *Sunni*. Each group had their own way of thinking about Islam. Thus, the philosophical discussion that was discouraged during the early period of Islam as an alien subject, with the influence of Greek philosophy started to think Islam according to philosophical thought. Thus, *Sufisim*, the Islamic Mysticism introduced in Islam and popularly accepted by the Muslim society and had established itself within the framework of Islamic fundamentals. Vast literature was produced about *Sufis, Sufistic* doctrines and different *Sufistic* orders. In this way mysticism was also developed as a subject of study (Ahamd: 1985).

c) *Interest of the Ruler of the Country is another Factor for the Educational Progress of the Islamic Age:* One of the most important features of Islamic age was that, the rulers of the country always played

important role in the development of education. It was customary for the rulers to vie with each other about the promotion of education in their empires. They established educational institutions and patronised education by endowing properties to the institutions. Therefore, they also determined the subject of study of those institutions. We have already discussed that, how prominent institution of Muslim Empire for higher education as *Darul Hikmah, Al-Azhar* was founded in Cairo, and *Nizamiyah* College of Baghdad was to promote higher education in the field of theological teaching and also of secular subjects. However, with the changes of political situation in the individual country the objectives of those institutions have also been changed.

d) ***Religious Requirements of the Muslims:*** Religious requirement of the Muslims was one of the factors of the development of various branches of knowledge in Islam both in the field of religion and other world affairs. For example, "every mosque had to face the *Ka'aba* in Mecca. The builder of the mosque had to know the latitude and longitude of the *ka'ba* with reference to the site of his choice. This also incidentally brought in astronomy". Calculations or simple arithmetic was there, but fractions were necessary for calculating the shares of inheritance regulated under *Fiqh* (the Law of Islam). The Arabs knew Algebra during the lifetime of Prophet (SM). Geometry was required in connection with designs and measurements' (Ahmad: 1967). On the other hand, for regulating the conduct of Muslim in every spheres of life the law deduced from the four recognised sources of Islam (*Quran, Hadith, Ijma* and *Qiyas*). The study of genealogy and writing biographies of noted persons led the

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scholars to grammarians, poets, doctors of law and other leaders of thought and action brought about a desire for the study of history and its subsequent compilation (Ahamd: 1967).

e) ***Expansion of the Muslim Empire:*** Some branches of knowledge were included as a result of the expansion of the Muslim empire. For example, during the early 7th century after the death of Prophet Muhammad (SM), within a few decades (less than half a century) the Arab Muslim spread all over the world. With the expansion they came into contact with different physical landscape, people who spoke different languages and followed customs and traditions and knowledge that were altogether new to them. Understanding of these differences became essential for them. They studied physical and cultural features of the countries under their control and produced several geographical works of great importance. 'The Arab geographer felt necessity of drawing maps and within a short time became a depth cartographers. They also perfected the astrolabe, an instrument used in navigation to determine those altitudes of planets and stars' (Ahamd: 1985).

As a result of the expansion of the Islamic culture "developed into a multi-cultural system blending diverse civilisations such as Persians, Indian, Turkish, Chinese, Hebrew, Christian, Greek and Syrian. But the exposure to these diverse civilisations initiated and developed the institution of higher learning in the Islamic world""(Khan: 1988). For example, *Mutazilites* (a school of Islamic thinkers) whose rise may be traced in the year 723-48AD introduced scholastic

theology. This speculative theology was brought into touch with the Greek School of thought by the Arabic translation of Greek philosophers. Medicine was originally transplanted from India, though it was subsequently improved also by contact with translations from Greek. Alchemy had a fascination for the human mind at the time, later it formed the subsequent basis chemistry and when Jabir Ibn Hayyans interest in the subject became a model for later alchemists. Astronomy under Fazari also found its way as a subject of study and later flourished in several Muslim countries (Ahamd: 1967). Requirement of travelling from continent to continent also led the Muslims to make progress in some of the positive sciences.

f) Encouragement of Collection, Translation and Research Work: It has been discussed earlier in the early days of Islam, a large number of books were collected in the Muslim empire and were translated under the patronisation of Muslim emperor. Caliph Hakam of Spain paid greatest attention to the collection of book from all over the world. He established many libraries with his famous Cordoba Library for his collection. He also established University of Cordoba for research work. Caliph Al-Mamun of Umayyad established a research and translation centre in 830AD called *Bait al-Hikmah*. The Abbasids followed the Umayyads in encouraging translation and research works. Huge number of book from outside world was translated. Following these vast number of translation much new knowledge were invented during the Umayyads and especially the Abbasides. Over the time, such research centres were spread over to other cities. Ibn Tulun, a Fatimid Caliph organised and

founded al-Azhar at Cairo mosque in 988 AD. Calipha al-Hakim founded the Dar-al-Hikmah in Cairo as research institute for advanced studies. Both men and women were admitted with separate apartments assigned to them. It provided education on *Shiite* doctrines, medicine and astronomy. It continued till 1171 with a brief interruption in 1191AD. Later on research and higher learning spread eastward and westward. Under the new Umayyad Caliphs it spread over to several Spanish cities.

One of the most significant achievements of research centres was the transformation of Arabic language. In pre-Islamic period it was a language of poetry and melody. The works of these centres converted it into a richly renovated language capable of preserving in translations philosophical, Scientific and technological works with a facility that often surpassed in clarity the original language from which the translation was made without undermining the basic structure of the Arabic language. The translation of classical works from national and regional languages into Arabic gave their works worlds-wide status first in Islam and ultimately through them to the rest of the world (Khan: 1988).

g) ***Curriculum of Higher Educational Institutions Consists of Revealed Subjects and Rationale Sciences:*** In Islamic constitutions of higher learning the main emphasis was on the religion of Islam and the Holy Quran with a language proficiently as essential to achieve a better understanding of religions. Although religion dominated the secular knowledge there also was 'rational' science such as mathematics including algebra and trigonometry and

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geometry, astronomy, logic, philosophy, laws of inheritance, medicine, pharmacy, alchemy and natural and social subjects. But arrangement was made teaching rationale subjects such a manner as not to pose conflict with fundamental religious beliefs.

h) ***Development of Libraries***: One of the most important reasons for the educational advancement during Islamic age was the development of libraries. As the requirement of the dissemination of Islamic knowledge the Muslims of early age used to provide Islamic books in the mosques. It begins with holy *Quran* and *Hadith*. Later, with the expansion religious science, collections of books were increased. Donating books is the mosque libraries were considered as virtuous activity. Thus, gradually the libraries were expanded with their mosques and other institutions.

Several of the notable and powerful officials of the state acquired or collected books in large numbers and put them at the disposal of the learned people and sometimes even donated them for the public use. So did the semi-independent rulers and chiefs in a latter age. Some of the Muslim empires paid greatest attention towards the collection of books from all over the world. They paid attention to the collections, writings, and translation. Thus, the palace library of Egypt contained 20,000 books during Abdul-Aziz (death 996 AD). Mutansiria College had 80,000 books in 1232 AD. The palace library of Fatimid al-Hakim of Egypt is said to have had 40 rooms full of books. These libraries contained books on all subjects such as literature, specifically Islamic sciences, natural sciences,

logic, philosophy, etc.

The central library Cordoba during Caliph Hakam of Spain had 4,00,000 volumes of books. Besides central library there were 70 more libraries in Cordoba. Book from all over the world was collected for this library. He paid handsome salary to the writer, collector and translator of books and all other person related to this work.

The steady and rapid growth of official mosque libraries and semi-public libraries is a significant feature of Islamic education during the Islamic age. This system provided facilities for the scholars to acquire more and more knowledge and to promote education by producing new knowledge. With the development of libraries they also developed the knowledge of Library Science.

9. Causes of the Downfall of Islamic Education

The higher education in Islam had a downward trend with the downfall of the Umayyad, Abbasid and Fatimid Caliphs. It is a fact that Muslim did not take the advantage of the tools of scientific experiment that they had inherited and improved. They allowed these tools to be used by the Europeans who utilised them effectively after Renaissance. Thus, they had the opportunity to initiate and developed modern world of science. The cause of decline as identified by Khan (1988) are as follows; a) devastation of the crusades, b) wholesale destruction by the Mongol invaders, c) expelling of the Moors from Spain, d) rise and expansion of the Ottoman Empire, e) reduction of dynamic zest for scholarly pursuits.

Summary and Conclusions

The main objective of this chapter was to explore the nature and extent of Islamic education and teachings during the early period of Islam. It has been found that, Prophet Muhammad (SM) himself paid enough efforts to educate his people. Following him, his followers and subsequent Muslims have also paid similar attention to education. As a result, they were able to promote education and knowledge among the Muslims and raise the Arab nation to a very high cultural society. This has been achieved because;

i) The objective of education was defined on the basis of the peoples needs both spiritual and for day-to-day life. The study shows that with the changing circumstances of time the nature of education also been changed. The life of Muslim was centred round the teaching of the holy Quran, the main sources of their knowledge and education. But after the Prophet, when Muslim society started to face new problems the secular subjects related to their day to day problems were included in their education system. For example, the Umayayad focused on the conquest and consolidation of empire, shooting with an arrow and swimming was considered the essential subject of education.

ii) Expansion of the Muslim Empire throughout the world is the most important factor for the promotion of Islamic education. With the expansion of empire, the Muslim society came across the lands of different culture and society, which was unknown to them. The Muslim studied physical and cultural features of the countries under their control and produced several

important geographical works. They also gathered knowledge from the invaded countries through translation. This has facilitated the Muslim in establishing many educational institutions, translation and research centre and libraries in their empires. A large number of books from all over the world were translated, many original research works were accomplished, and new books were written. The result was the advancement of higher education and the development of educational institutions besides elementary and preparatory levels of education.

Thus, during the Abbasid period, Muslim education reached its highest peak. The Fatimid and the Seljuk also played an important role in the promotion of education and learning. The most important was the role of Seljuk vizier Nizamul Mulk, who was the Chief Architect of state supported madrasah. Although some of the religious leaders of Baghdad protested the promotion of secular learning's the Caliphs and the sultanates under the caliphs vied with each other in the promotion of higher learning and erection of madrasah. Therefore, all the efforts of promoting education were eroded with the fall of Umayyad, Abbasids and the Fatimid Empire.

iii)   Science and technology were also promoted for the religious requirement of the Muslim. For example, invention of latitude and longitudes of the holy *Ka'ba* in Mecca for building a mosque in other countries and knowing the fraction of arithmetic or calculation the shares of inheritance under the *Fiqh*, etc.

iv)   During the period science was an important subject of education but they

did not disapprove gaining of others knowledge. On the other hand, from the very beginning of madrasahs a proper place was given to secular subjects. Education begins from the mosque, started with the teaching of reading, writing and memorising of holy *Quran* with some essential religious instruction. Promoting education and learning this mosque transformed into madrasahs and university with a vast knowledge both religious and secular subjects.

v)   There were no difference between education as secular and religious. Prophet Muhammad (SM) himself used to teach and discuss with his disciples in the mosque about every aspects of life. In the subsequent period education of religion (Islamic) and education for worldly affairs were given in the same institution, when madrasah came into an existence with accommodated both religious and secular subjects with their curriculum.

vi)   Another factor was the access to education. It was open for all and available for all Muslims. Therefore, it was easy for all Muslim children to develop their talents through getting education.

vii)   There was no fixed framework for education, nor the curriculum was fixed. But for common people, at the elementary level consisted of reading and writing with some essential subjects for daily life along with Islamic subjects. Curriculum for higher education was different, usually without any linkage between the higher and elementary or preparatory level. This had hardly any impact on the promotion of education in real sense. The important feature of the curriculum was the mixture of both religious and secular subjects.

viii) Teachers or *Ulemas* were responsible for the promotion of their own knowledge. Therefore, the position of teachers associated with the madrasahs was high enough in the society. In many cases, individual teacher was more important than his institution.

ix) Acquisition of knowledge was free from any restriction. The prophet of Islam had engaged non-believer captives to teach the Muslim children. Following his ideals the Muslim of the Islamic age acquired knowledge from everywhere.

x) Muslim contribution to education and knowledge during the 8th to 15th centuries in Spain was remarkable. The important feature of the education system of the period was that they contributed to every branches of knowledge. They also established enormous libraries and collected books from all over the world.

xi) In this period there was no separate department of education, they used to assign the income of *Waqf* (endowed) estates for the maintenance of mosque, seminaries and madrasahs. But the political situation of the country always played an important role in promoting the education directly. In most cases education of the institutions were determined by the personal interest of the ruler of the country.

xii) Education of the women was not uncommon during the early periods of Islam. When Muslim society came in touch of Constantinople and Persia, the situation has been changed; higher education was separated from elementary level and women were considered unsuitable for higher education. Moreover, existence of women in higher education in later ages

can be found.

Thus, following the Prophet Muhammad (SM), Islamic education has increased many folds. This has been possible due to the inclusion of day-to-day affairs in the education system along with religious education. On the other hand, inclusion of worldly subjects like, math, medicine, logic, science and technology, social sciences, etc. gave universal legitimacy of knowledge to all people. It is, however, to be mentioned that subsequently this trend has been changed and the system of education of the Muslim turned into a duality with secular and religious education. This has resulted a division in the Muslim society by education.

History of Dualism in the Education System: The Root of Social Alienation of Madrasah Educated People

Introduction

The dual system of school and madrasah education has long been continuing in our education system. From these two systems two different classes of people are being produced. One group is the mainstream of society and the other is marginalized from it. These two different groups of people have their own identity and have two distance destinations, which will be discussed in Chapter VII. We have discussed in the previous chapters that in Islam there is no difference between religious and secular subjects. From Muhammad (SM) down to the age of later Muslim emperor every branches of existing knowledge was taught through Islamic educational institutions. As a part of Islamic Empire, Bangladesh was not an exception. Every classes of educated people of the society specially the upper class of the society (either a Hindu or a Muslim) was the produced of madrasah[1]. This Islamic system of education faced a blow at the time of British rule.

The main objective of this chapter is to identify the historical facts of introducing dual system of education in Bangladesh to create a duality in the nation with alienation of Madrasah educated people. The following pages will sketch out how

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[1] Literally meaning educational institution or school.

secular system of education grew in this country and supersede the long rooted Islamic system of education.

While investigating the facts of introducing dual system of education in Bangladesh it has been found that the dual system of education is the creation of British Government. The causes of social alienation of madrasah educated people is also rooted in its historical background.

On the basis of historical periods the education of Bangladesh (Bangladesh region) can be divided into four distinctive phases. These are a) Pre British period, b) the British period, c) the Pakistan period and d) the Bangladesh period. The division of periods was made rather arbitrary following the pattern of the system of education prevailed during each period.

Pre British Period

This period was originated in Bengal in the 9th or even before that century. It is well known that the Arab Traders had contact with Bengal through the port of Chittagong, the ancient seaport. It is evident that after the rise of Islam the Arabian Muslim traders carried with them the teachings and ideas of Islam of this country along with their commercial commodities (Karim: 1987). We do not know the accounts of the missionary activities of the Arab merchants. But it is admitted by many scholars that, 'Islamic influence penetrated the area towards the 8th century by them. Many of them were settled in Bengal who were safe under the

protection of native princes who even granted them the privilege of living under their own land. Many of them were settled in Southeast part of Bangladesh (Day: 1992).

The trade relationship also provided facilities for the *sufis,* saints and devoted Muslim missionaries to visit this part of the world. It is also evident from historical events that a large number of *sufis* and saints came to Bengal between the 8th and the 13th century to perform missionary work (Ali: 1983). They preached the Unity of Allah, Universal brotherhood of mankind, of peace, love and social justice. They established mosques and *khanqahs* for prayer, devotion and meditation and also for spreading basic Islamic learning. Those were the earliest institutions of Islamic education in Bangladesh that was established for the new converts to receive basic Islamic education including recitation of the Holy Quran, essential rules of prayer and rituals.

Proper history of Islamic Education (in Bengal region) begins with the reign of Ikhtyar Uddin Muhammad Bakhtyar Khalji. When he established Muslim rule in this area at the beginning of the 13th century (1201/ 1203), he set up a number of madrasahs. He formally and systematically introduced Islamic education in those days. This education system continued for about next six centuries (until 1765AD)[2]. Within this period, about 76 Muslim governor, kings, and *Nazims* ruled over Bengal, they were either from Afgan, Turk, Mughal, Iranian or Arab origin.

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[2] This year the British gained *Dewani* or revenue Administration of the whole of Bengal province from the central authority of Delhi.

This period is considered by many as the 'Golden Period' for Islamic education (Ali: 1983).

The Muslim period of Bengal can be identified by two distinctive phases' i.e., Sultani period (1200 –1575AD) and Mughal Period. Sultani period also can be identified as two stages as the Early Sultani period (1200-1338AD) and the Late Sultani Period (1338-1538AD). In the early sultani period Muslim emperors were able to establish their power in a very limited area of this country. This time (the early Sultani period), in most cases as the governors of Bengal ruled the country independently although they verbally acknowledged the subjugation of Delhi. The later age of Sultani period (1338-1538) was the period of freedom.

We do not know the exact accounts of educational progress of Bengal in early stage of Islamic education. However, from some of the stone inscription it was known that there were existences of some of madrasahs in Sultani Period (Karim: 1994). But it can be assumed that at the beginning of the Muslim rule Islamic education was limited among Muslim people and its progress was limited and it was promoted only for the Muslim people.

Mughal Period (1526-1757AD): The Mughal Emperors ruled over this subcontinent about two centuries. Their administration started to influence on Bengal at first during Babor, with a treaty with Nusrat Shah, the Sultan of Bengal. During the Mughal period while the Islamic education was the system of the rulers

of the country it was accepted by all kind of people of all religious faith and expanded thoroughly everywhere in the empire (Mannan: 1996).

The Mughal Rulers, with the exception of Akbar, did not show any interest in the education of the common people and did not like to send their children to the mosque schools. They felt concern only for Muslim nobility and aristocracy. Therefore, the elementary education (*Maktabs*) was left completely to private enterprise. Aristocrats, Hindu and Muslim similarly engaged learned private tutors at home for their children. On the other hand, the state was directly responsible for the higher education and some of the institutions of higher learning (Madrasah) were endowed by the state. Those were mostly restricted to the children of the higher-class only.

Another fact is that the Mughal emperor Akber had a strong belief in the unity of all religion. His greatest desire was to secularise the Indian life, and education could be one of the effective ways of this end. But he had to meet stiff opposition of the *'Ulema'* who always exercised a powerful influence both upon the masses and the nobility and who were very much critical of such step. But determined Akber fought his own way and achieved some success in making the education secular so as to induce Hindu students to attend the *Maktabs* in large number (Ahmad: 1985). He also introduced a number of reforms in the elementary education by issuing a directive to the effect. Above these during the Mughal period Muslim culture and civilisation reached the highest manifestation. In this period Islamic education was expanded so thoroughly that, according to Adams Report, 'there was an elementary

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school in Bengal and Bihar for every four hundred persons and their was on average a village school for every sixty-three children of the school age. So far higher education was concerned there were on the average about a hundred schools in each district of Bengal' (Ahmad: 1985).

Nature of Islamic Education During the Muslim Rule (1201-1707AD):
During the Muslim rule the rulers, the nobles and others were immigrants from different parts of the central Islamic lands and brought with them similar ideas and notions. That is why education system of Muslim Bengal was followed the same pattern and traditions which has been discussed earlier (in chapter III). The main features of Islamic education were, the educational needs of the community were catered by four types of institutions i.e., mosques, maktabs, seminaries and madrasahs (Ali: 1985). Of these institutions madrasahs were the higher educational institutions to provided education to produce administrator of the country. The *Ulema* (the learned men) produced of madrasha played a very significant role in the country's administration and politics throughout the Muslim rule.

The persons who were taught in the Madrasahs were not only able to perform as religious teachers and spiritual guides but also were social workers, writers, engineers, doctors, soldiers and sailors, etc. Islamic educated people (the *sayyid*, the *alim* and the *sufis*) were held in very high esteem and they belonged to the higher echelon of society (Karim: 1987). In addition to the people educated locally in Madrasahs the Muslim rulers welcomed and honoured people from outside the

region. They were given suitable employment at an appropriate place in order to expanding educational facilities (Karim: 1987). Madrasah educated people were the mainstream of society. To join the main stream educated people, even people of other religions like Hindus, also used to take education in the madrasah (Ali: 1983). In fact, madrasah educated people enjoyed the highest positions in the state during those days.

Factors related to the Expansion of Islamic Education during the pre-British Period: While investigating the factors related to the expansion of Islamic education in Bengal and in this subcontinent of pre British period (before and during the Muslim rule) the following factors have been found:

a) Religious Factor: Before establishment of Muslim rule in Bengal, the Sufis and saints who came from other Muslim world initiated Islamic Education. They established mosques and madrasahs in different parts of the country only for the sake of their missionary work. The aim was the dissemination of Islamic faith. After the establishment of Muslim rule in Bengal Muslim princes and rich men were lovers of learning and patrons of learned scholars and erection of Mosques, Madrasahs and *Khanqahs* was considered as the moral obligation and religious duties (Ali: 1983).

Another factor in the promotion of Islamic education is the establishment of mosque that is considered as a virtuous act in Islam. Therefore, not only the rulers of the country, the nobility and able personalities prefer to establish mosque. While

education was non-formal, mosque used to serve as the premises of educational institution. Therefore with the expansion of mosques gradually there expanded the Islamic education within the country.

Religious feelings also protected Islamic education of the past. We know when Mughal emperor Akber wanted to secularise the Indian life through the secularisation of education he had to face strong opposition of the *'Ulema'* (Ahmad: 1985).

b) Social Factor: Before the discovering of Muslim in Bengal the people of this region were despised, outcaste without any social status or religious rites for centuries. Learning of any kind even the recitation of holy hymns was declared a grave sin for the lower-caste people. Muslim conquest of Bengal gave a new life to those lower-castes. During the Muslim rule these oppressed condemned slaves and untouchables were raised to a position of dignity, all social barriers were removed and the doors of all educational institutions were opened for them. Therefore, within a short period a large number of people adopted Islam as their religion. This humanising process and establishment social justice was one of the most significant achievements of the Muslim rule in this country.

c) Political Factor: Political factor is one of the most important factors in the promotion of Islamic education of Muslim period. It can be evident from the fact that when Ikhtyar Udding Muhammad Bakhtyar Khalji came in this land, he

found that most of people of this country were non-Muslim. Therefore he realised that, without promoting an Islamic society it would be impossible for him to establish his administration. By this means, to crate an Islamic society he established mosques, madrasahs in different part of Bengal. To promote Islamic education he also provided facilities to Muslim *sufis* and saints to establish mosques madrsah and *khanqahs* under his patronisation (Karim: 1994). This trend continued for the subsequent period. Therefore, after the establishment of Muslim Rule in Bengal, they set up huge number of mosques and madrasahs in this area. Islamic education was widely accepted by the people, as it was the main education system of the rulers of the country.

d) Economic Factors: Economic prosperity of Muslim society was also responsible for the wide expansions of Islamic education during the Muslim rule everywhere in the world and also in Bengal. In those days it was impossible for a well-born Muslim of Bengal to become poor (Hunter: 1871). Therefore they were able to patronise Islamic education. The Rulers, *Amirs* and rich men used to make generous endowments of rent-free land for the maintenance of mosques, madrasahs and *Khanqahs*. As a result, when the British took over the country they found that one fourth of the province of Bengal was rent free estates, the income of which was devoted to the maintenance of mosques madrasah and other religious institutions (Ali: 1983). The following points indicate the prominence of economic factors:

i) ***Economic Policy in Favour Religious Education:*** During the time of Emperor Jahangir,[3] although the pattern of education remained more or less similar to the other Mughal emperor. However, he (Jahangir) issued a regulation that, when a well-to-do man or rich traveller died without any heir, his property would escheat to the crown and be utilised for building and repairing *madrasahs* and *khanqahs*, etc. As a result a large number of *madrasahs* and *khanqahs* were established during his reign (Ahmad: 1985). He also had made a provision of scholarship for madrasah student, which was able to attract a large number of students to enrol in.

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ii) ***Appropriation of Property by State or Kingdom:*** The most important cause for the expansion of Islamic educational centres like mosques, *madrasahs* and *khanqahs* during the Mughal period was a negative impact of rule. According to this rule, after the death of a noble his entire assets were appropriated by the state. Only some maintenance allowance was given to the family, which the deceased left behind. In this situation it was obvious that the noble would prefer to utilise their property to mosques or *madrasashs* rather than to be appropriated by the state. After their death, as the property utilised by the mosques they did not earn only the good will of the people, but also earned satisfaction and salvation in the hereafter (Ahmad: 1985).

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[3] Jahangir was the 4th Mughal emperor.

e) Convenience: The convenience was an important factor of the rapidly expansion of Islamic education within the country. It can be evident from the fact that because of the trade relationships between the Arab traders and those in Bengal through the port of Chittagjong, Islamic knowledge entered in Bengal area at first with their commercial commodities after the rise of Islam, which has been discussed earlier. Secondly this trade relationship also provided facilities for the *Sufis*, saints and devoted Muslim missionary workers to visit this part of the world. A large number of saints came to Bengal between the 8th and the 13th century for the purpose of missionary work and established mosques and *khanqahs* in various parts of Bengal. Finally, this establishment of Islamic education was largely expanded in the country when Akber conquered Gujrat. It was made possible for Muslim divines to travel to the Arab countries through the port of Mumbey and Surat, and have first hand knowledge about the latest developments in the field of religious sciences in those countries. (Ahmad: 1985).

f) Intellectual Efforts: Efforts of some intellectuals were one of the important factors of the promotion of education system during the Mughal Rule. Futhullah Shirazi and Mullah Nizamuddin of Sihali were famous of them. During the reign of Akber, the subjects like logic, philosophy and scholastic theology became very much favourite within the *Ulema* due to the effort of Futhullah Shirazi.

Mulalh Nizamuddin of Sihali introduced the reform curriculum in madrasah system of education, which remained almost unchanged and static, for centuries

and which was known as Dari-I-Nizamiyah.[4] During the later days of Mughals, Dars-I-Nizamiyah proved an effective system of traditional education. At these time there was hardly any difference between religious and secular learning. As a result, this *Dars* was able to produce not only theologians and divines but also men of letters, businessmen and the administrators for running the machinery of the government of the day. Undoubtedly it served the educational interests of the Muslim society very well.

G) Unitary System of Education: Finally, it was a unitary system of education. This system of education was able to produce all kind of people of upper class of the society (religious teachers and spiritual guides but also were social workers, writers, engineers, and doctors, soldiers and sailors, etc.). Therefore, Islamic educated people (the *sayyid,* the *Amir* and the *Sufis*) were held in very high esteem and that they belonged to the higher echelons of society (Karim: 1987). Madrasah educated people were the mainstream of society. To join the main stream educated people, even people of other religions also used to take education in the Mdrasah (Ali: 1983). Thus, madrasah-educated people enjoyed a highest position in the state during those days.

Debilities of Islamic Education during the Muslim Rule: Scholars considered the Muslim period was as the 'Golden Age for Islamic Education', although the main debilities were rooted during these period. For instances;

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[4] This system should not be confuse with the system propounded by Nizamul Mulk Tusi (that has been discussed in chapter two), which is still continuing in *Quami madrasahs* of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

1) Education of general masses was largely a private enterprise. While the rulers were concern about the aristocracy only, they admired the learned and educated people by providing facilities to them. But most of them hardly paid any attention to the promotion of the education of the mass people.

2) Most of the schools were without having any permanent premises. According to Adams Report, in great majority of instance, there was not schoolhouse at all. They used *Baithakkhana*, the private dwelling of the chief supporter of the school, corner of a shop, the portico of a mosque, the veranda of a house or even shade of trees. Some schools met in the open air in the dry season of the year. Teachers of those informal institutions also worked without having any permanent and lucrative salaries. Therefore, the main force behind such Islamic schools was the religious feelings of the people who are responsible for the establishing, teaching and studying there. All of them perform this as their religious duty.

3) Quality of teacher by and large was very poor. They were largely poor and ignorant. Ignorant in the sense that they were capable of giving particular lesson to the children. Besides deliberating particular lesson they virtually did not have any knowledge, which would be helpful for the promotion of education (Ahmad: 1985).

4) Those days Islamic education in most cases was not related much to the real life situation. Education was to promote moral and spiritual aspects of life not to

promote the practical life, the practical life except to the aristocrats. (Ahmad: 1985).

All these debilities were due to the disinterestedness of rulers about the education of general masses. It has been discussed before that they only were concern about the education of particular class of people that were directly related to the higher education. Nature of higher education in most of the cases was determined by the will of the rulers of the country. Therefore, it can be said that, during the Muslim rule Islamic education was established well within the nation, but its base was not so strong to become sustainable subsequently.

Because of the apathy of the rulers about the education of general masses and consequent low levels of education among the people there was hardly any relation could be traced between education and progress of life and living standard. Therefore, Islamic education failed to root deeply in the society for its development, although it was thoroughly practised. General people received education only for the sake of religion, who hardly thought of the promotion of education and development. They were satisfied with primary level of education. Therefore, it was not very difficult to replace the system of education with the change of the regime in power.

The British Period

When the British took over the administration of Bengal in 1757, traditional Islamic education in the sub-continent faced a blow. British policy throughout the next 200 years since 1757 did not patronise Islamic education; rather it systematically destroyed the backbone of the Muslim education system. As a result, the Muslims, particularly those educated in madrasah became alienated from the state administration, military forces and other social and economic processes. The followings are some of the British policies, which hit the education system of the subcontinent directly.

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

deprived of that power which they formerly possessed to endow and patronise public seminaries.

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

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

patronise the public seminaries. As a result, a large number of Islamic educated people became unemployed and remain alienated from mainstream society.

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

When the British seized political power in Bengal, one fourth of the whole province of Bengal had been rent-free *'Lakhiraj'* and *'Awqaf'* land dedicated to education and other religious and pious works. These were used for the maintenance and smooth running of Islamic religious institutions, especially for the madrasahs[5]. The rulers, *amirs* and rich men used to make generous endowments of rent free land for the maintenance of the Mosques, Madrasahs and Khanqahs (Ali: 1983). But they did not maintain the title deed seriously, neither was it fixed nor permanent (Hunter: 1871), because the oral word was enough for them (Bari: 1991). Through the Resumption Laws this occupation of land was disregarded, as were other matters. Most of the *lakhiraj* land and considerable amounts of other landed property including vast *waqf* estates of the Muslims were confiscated and taken over by the British rulers.

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[5] When the country (the present Bangladesh) passed under British rule in the latter part of eighteenth century, there were 80,000 madrasahs in Bengal, on an average one madrasah for every four hundred persons (Ali:1983)

It directly affected the Muslim education system. Most of the madrasahs had either been closed or could not run any longer and madrasah-educated people became unemployed and dependent upon the local community. According to Hunter (1871), as a result of the Resumption Laws "Hundreds of ancient families were ruined, and the educational system of the Muslims which was almost entirely maintained by rent-free grants, received its death blow. The scholastic classes of the *Muhammadans* emerge from the eighteen years (1828-46) of harrying, absolutely ruined" "There can be no doubt whatever, that from those resumptions the decay of the *Muhammadan* system of education dates" (Hunter: 1871, p.158-159).

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

The Calcutta madrasah started functioning under Maulana Mujadadin. It was the first educational institution in India under the Company's direct rule. The reasons for the establishment of the Calcutta Madrasah were:

a) ***Keeping the Traditions of the Ages:*** It was the traditions of Indian Muslim Ruler to patronise education especially, the Islamic education and the educated

person. They established many educational institutions and showed deep veneration for learning and men of learning. They specially patronised higher Islamic education. That is why the company felt the necessity to establish a madrasah to satisfy the local people by keeping the tradition of the Ages (Ali: 1999).

b) ***Application from the Muslim Community:*** As the result of the transfer of *'Dewani'* to the British the Muslims lost all their power as well as the ability to maintain their own education system to educate their children. So they applied to Warren Hastings to establish a government madrasah in Calcutta.

c) ***Producing Loyal Civil Servant:*** On the other hand, under the conditions of the transfer of Dewani the state language remained Persian and Judicial law was Islamic. On these conditions the Calcutta Madrasah was established with the aim of "promoting the study of Arabic and Persian languages and Muhammadan law with a view to producing loyal civil servants " (Maulana Akram Khan Education Commission Report: 1951, 97). However, the product of the Calcutta Madrasah was absorbed in government services. Most of them were employed as judicial officers. As a result, for years, it produced scholars, able officers and competent administrators. It also served as the fountain-head of the educational progress of the Muslims of Bengal who continued to retain for more than half a century their due share in the administration of the country (Muslim Education Advisory committee: 1934). Since the education of this

institution assured a desk in the government office, naturally it attracted a good number of Muslim students.

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

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

5. **Inauguration of the English System of Education and Substitution of Persian by English as the State Language:** The British Government of India

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

The Introduction of the English system of education resulted in the abolition of Persian as the official language in the year 1837. Therefore, all official business was to be continued either in English or in Bengali. Because of these two events the government madrasah lost its importance as a recruiting ground for public service, which could neither produce men capable of holding a position in the government, nor could it minister properly to the spiritual, social and other needs of the community. Thus, the whole community gradually became unimportant in the society and gradually alienated from all spheres of social life.

6. Apathy of the Muslim Community about English Education: It has been mentioned earlier that the educational, social and economic life of the Muslim community received a setback due to the replacement of Persian by English as the official language of the country (The Muslim Education Advisory Committee: 1931). Since the Muslims could not accept the English system and kept themselves within the limit of traditional Islamic education, they were not able to compete with general educated people and come forward to the mainstream of the society.

Therefore, the Muslim community's backwardness resulted from their apathy about accepting English Education.

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

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

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

in the Anglo-Persian department. As a result the department was closed in 1869 (Report of the Madrasah Education committee: 1938).

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

7). Encouragement of Christian Activities in the Promotion of General Education: It can be evident that the churches developed a kind of education system of Britain and other Western countries. Most of the prominent educational institutions of Europe, from universities down to the primary schools were virtually under the control of churches. Therefore, education of a child was considered as a 'spiritual matter' in their society. Even in Britain (according to the education Act 1944) the religion of the country and the morals based on it is taught in schools as an integral part of education. As a result it was able to attract the overwhelming majority of their society but failed to attract Muslim majority of Bengal, who were very much attached with their own traditional religious education.

In India, particularly in Bengal, Western education was imported by numerous Missionaries who established a number of institutions commemorating the names of Christian saints such as St. Paul, ST. Joseph, etc. These missionary educational institutions were used as the vehicles for Christian teaching and instrument for preaching Christianity among the natives. The British government assisted these institutions through recurring and non-recurring grants and many other ways. The Bible was prescribed as a textbook for teaching good English. Christian ideals and ethics were taught in the institutions indirectly through English literature (Ali: 1983).

On the other hand, educational institutions founded by the British government practically went under the control of he Hindus and turned into Hindu temples of learning. Therefore, Muslim of Bengal virtually could not accepts any of this education, which was newly introduces and divorced from Islamic instruction.

The main demand of the Muslims was to introduction of a general system of education where they fruitfully combine modern education with that of religious and their children can acquire this education without compromising the religious and cultural identity.

8. **Policy of Calcutta University about Madrasah Education:** The policy of Calcutta University was one of the causes of madrasah educated people being alienated from the mainstream of society. After the establishment of Calcutta University in 1857 all the schools and colleges of Bengal were organised round

the University. But there was no provision for the teaching of Arabic and Persian in the University and none of the madrasahs was included within Calcutta University. It was developed virtually as "a Hindu temple of learning whose influence steadily filtered through the several stages of instruction down to the primary school" (Ali: 1983, p.98).

On the other hand textbooks prescribed by the university are associated only with Hindu traditions, Hindu legends and Hindu philosophy. Some of these books sometimes misrepresent Islamic culture and civilisation, which in some cases repugnant and even revolting to Muslim sentiments. The main reason was "inadequate representation of Muslims on its controlling bodies and boards. This cannot but be highly detrimental to the best interests of Muslim education in Bengal" (Ali: 1983). The Department of Islamic Studies never opened in Calcutta University[6], although it was recommended by several committees and there was a strong demand for it from the Muslim community (Ali: 1983).

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

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[6] Calcutta University later on made some provision for the teaching of Arabic, Persian and Urdu, even Islamic history and culture. But demand for a department of Islamic studies was never fulfilled (Ali: 1983).

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9. The British Government Prefer to put Hindus in the Place of Muslims:

When the country passed under British rule the Muslims were in a superior position. This superiority was not only in stoutness of heart and strength of arm, but in power of political organisation and in the science of practical government (Hunter: 1871). During the Muslim period all sectors of government services were monopolised by Muslims, while Hindus were in a subordinate position. Even after the reforms of Akber a very few Hindus were appointed in the state offices. But after the British occupation the whole scenario became different. The Muslim became subordinate to the Hindus and to the British. (Hunter: 1871)

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

During those days, the British had no worries from the Hindus, because they were in a subordinate position. So the British wisely and confidently transferred the privileges of Muslim aristocracy to the Hindus. "For the first fifty years of the Company's rule the *Musalmans* had the lion's share of state patronage. During the

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second half century of power they tide turned at first slowly, but at a constantly accelerating pace. Then the Hindus poured into it and have since completely filled every grade of official life." "Even where it is still possible to give appointments in the old fashioned friendly way, there are very few young Muslim officials. Now one or two unpopular appointments about the Jail are the most that the former masters of India can hope for" (Hunter: 1871, p.141, 142).

Table 4.1 Services Distributed through the State Patronisation in Bengal, April 1871

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

Sources: Hunter: 1871

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

10. **Emergence of *Khariji* or *Qawmi* Madrasah:** The Calcutta Madrasah failed to satisfy the Muslim community from a different point of view. The result of this was the re-emergence of madrasah education. In various places a new kind of madrasah was established by public donations. For instance, Maulana Muhammad Qasim Nanatawi's Deobond Madrasah[7] is worth noting here. The British Government virtually failed to bring them under its control. The madrasahs did not accept any control from the public authority either. Eventually these madrasahs were named 'Khariji' i.e., 'Excluded Type'. The main aim of this madrasah was to inculcate Islamic spirit among the Muslim on

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

the lines indicated by Shah Waliullah and prepare its student to fight the British imperialism (Ahmad: 1985). The unique things of this madrasah are;

a) It enjoyed academic freedom more than that of any traditional Islamic university enjoys. This has been possible due to the fact that it has always refuse to accept any grant from government.

b) It does not charge any fee from its students. Rather lodging is provided to every student, free of charge, be he rich or poor. The students have not to send anything on textbook. It is the responsibility of the institute to provide them without charging anything.

c) Its teaching system follows the tradition of *Hanafi* School on the pattern of Shah Waliullah Dehlwi. After *Al-Azhar* it is the next most important seat of learning in the Islamic world. The degree of *Fazil* awarded by *Darul-Ulum* in Arabic Studies is recognised by several universities. Those are: a) Aligarh Muslim University, b) *Jamia Milliah Islamia,* New Delhi; c)*Al-Azhar* University, Cairo and d) *Madina* University, *Madina.*

d) The record list of its graduates from 1866-1969 bears testimony to the fact that it has always attracted a large number of student from a broad.

e) Its record shows that a large number of prominent theologians and political leaders have produced in this madrasah.

For these reasons it attracted a large number of students from Bengal, who went there for higher Islamic learning instead of Calcutta Madrasah (Ali: 1983). During that time the quality of Islamic education in the *Khariji* Madrasahs was claimed to be better than Government Madrasahs; their emergence had created a division

within Madrasah Education. This division was one step forward with regard to the alienation among madrasah educated people from the mainstream of society.

The British Government virtually failed to bring these kinds of madrasahs under its control. Because they did not accept any control for the public authority. If the *Khariji (Qawmi) Madrasahs* had been brought under the control of the government keeping their curriculum unchanged, or alternatively, if the government had launched madrasahs similar to those of *Khariji Madrasahs*, the history of madrasah education in Bengal would have been different. But it did not happen that way. The British government seem to have always been reluctant to go deeper into the problem to solve it practically. Failure to find an ultimate solution made a division among the Muslim people. This dualism finally became the main constraint on the smooth promoting of Islamic education.

11. New Scheme Madrasah: The Government, however, tried to keep the people away from the *Khariji Madrasahs*. As a result of this effort the government created the New Scheme madrasahs.

This can be seen from Archdel Arl Education Commission Report of 1907-8. The Commission suggested that "the standard of madrasah education should be raised substantially, so that the people would not go to *Deoband* and Laukhnows" (Faridi: 1986, p.53). Despite some positive recommendations from the Arl Commission the British Government failed to popularise madrasah education. However, the Government subsequently made efforts to remove problems from madrasah

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

The New Scheme Madrasah system of education opened a new horizon for Islamic education. The main attraction of this system was the combination of Islamic and general subjects and also affiliation with the University. That is why the system became so popular that in 1947 when the British handed political power to Pakistan the number of new Scheme Madrasahs in Bangladesh (the then East Pakistan) was 1074 with 85,629 students. While the number of Old Scheme Madrasah was 378 with 39,812 student. Muhammad Ishaq (1969) comments on this, "New Scheme Madrasah, a synthesis of modern and classical systems of education. Within a decade of the emergence of this new scheme, hundreds of Junior Madrasahs were founded throughout Bengal..........Muslim students in hundreds and thousands enrolled themselves in these institutions and passed out of them to receive higher education in Colleges and Universities. Thus, education came within the easy reach of the poverty-stricken Muslim nation of the then

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

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

"There could be no solution of the problem involved in the educational backwardness of the Muslim community unless the Madrasah were reformed and brought into line with the needs of modern life" (Akram Khan Education Commission Report: 1951, p.1o8). But behind this policy they played their 'divide and rule policy'. They have not included the Calcutta Madrasah under this scheme. Thus, in addition to the national education system, at the end they divide the national Islamic education system as Old Scheme, New Scheme and *Khariji or Qawmi* System (Ali: 1983). These divisions in the education system created a long-run problem for the nation and the madrasah educated people suffered most. This

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division of the madrasah education system acts as an important obstacle to bringing madrasah educated people in the mainstream of society.

Pakistan Period (1947-71 AD)

After the partition of India for that matter Bengal in 1947, the madrasah suffered a serious setback. As a result of partition a large number of Maktabs and madrasahs which were affiliated to Calcutta madrasah had gone over to East Pakistan. The madrasah, however, was reopened on 4th April 1949. Its examination board was also revived under the name 'Madeasah Education Board'. New syllabuses were prepared and Urdu was selected as the medium of instruction of madrasah education.

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

1. **Failure to Introduce an Appropriate Uniform Education System:** Pakistan's education policy was directed and controlled by westernized bureaucrats and not by eminent educationists. As the British pattern of education was followed

from Primary to University level, western secularism dominated the national ideology. Instead of aiming at a balanced development of body and mind during Pakistan rule, education practically aimed at attaining material prosperity at the cost of mental, moral and spiritual well being. This can be seen from Akram khan Education Commission Report, 1951.

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

On the question of a uniform national education system, the Maulana Akram Khan Education Commission recommended integrating the New Scheme Madrasah education with the general system. Public opinion was divided on this question, whether the madrasah should be merged with general school education or the General (school) education should be merged with the New Scheme Madrasah (Akram Khan education Commission Report: 1951, p.116). The Commission also recommended integrating the *Ibtedayee* courses of Old Scheme Madrasah with General Education. On the other hand, the commission surprisingly omitted the question of the Khariji Madrasah, which had a strong hold in the field of Islamic Education. The Khariji Madrasahs still remains 'Khariji' which means outside

government recognition. None of the committee's recommendations have so far been implemented. Therefore, no changes were observed in the arena of education in the early Pakistan period.

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

2. Integration of New Scheme Madrasah with General Education: To some educationists, merging of the New Scheme Madrasahs with general education was further escalated the alienation of madrasah educated people from the mainstream of society. Scholars in Islamic education gave evidences that the process of alienation was rather stronger in the Pakistan period than the pre Pakistan period (Field survey).

In the Reform Madrasah Curriculum, a good combination of secular subjects like English, vernacular, mathematics, History, Geography and Science, and basic Islamic subjects like Arabic, the *Quran,* Islamic Law and Theology was effective and suitable to enable people to work for national development. The standard in secular subjects was the same as in the High Schools. It was also brought into line

with the Department of Islamic Studies in Dhaka University (Maulana Akram Khan Education Commission Report: 1951).

The history of the Reform of Madrasah education is a history of bringing madrasah education into line with the general system under the University. But following the recommendation of the Education Commission Report, 1951, which was followed by the Ataur Rhman Khan Education commission Report, 1957, all these madrasahs have been integrated with General Schools and colleges since 1958. The integration was completed within one decade as shown in Table 4.2. Scholars believe that the New Scheme was abolished due perhaps to the lack of support for the Scheme within the committee. As a result of this integration the flicker of any hope for an ideal integration between traditional and modern general education has evaporated (Ishaq: 1969).

Table 4.2: Growth and Abolition of New Scheme Madrasah

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

Sources:
1. Faridi: 1985
2. (Moulana Akram Khan Commission Report) 1950-51
3. Ataur Rahman khan commission Report, 1957.

3. Apathy of the Government Towards Islamic Education: This can be seen from the action taken by the Government on the recommendation of the Education Commission Report 1951, which was in favour of Islamic education, specially of the Old Scheme Madrasah. The major aspects of the recommendations by the 1951 Commission Report (Maulana Akram Khan Commission Report) are as follows:

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

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

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

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

- In view of the fact that the Fazil and Kamil standards of Old Scheme Madrasahs are equivalent to the BA and MA standards respectively in general education. Thus, as far as islamic education is concerned, students passing the fazil and Kamil examinations should be treated as graduates in respect of their pay and prospects in in the job market.

- In order to maintain the integrity of the Old Scheme Madrasah system of education and ensure its proper functioning and development the Commission suggested establishing an Islamic University. The university, in addition to controlling the madrasahs would promote higher Islamic learning and research.

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

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

Bangladesh Period

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

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

This created dissatisfaction among many of the Muslims. The concept of secularism created confusion within the country, whether it meant anti-religion or neutrality towards religion.

Not only at home, confusion prevailed outside the country also. The Islamic countries of the world, particularly those in the Middle East, gave no support to Bangladesh because of its secular identity. Moreover, the post-independence scenario of madrasah education created confusion among those countries, as to why religious education in Bangladesh remained closed. The Middle East factor, during that time, was important because it was an important source of foreign currency. Considering this the *Awami* league government made its policy clear regarding Islamic education in the country and its policy towards other Islamic nations.

Madrasah education not only survived this time, but also got hope of reform under the endeavor of some `*Awami-league'* leaders, especially Maulana Abdur

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Rashid Tarkabagish. Efforts were made during the period of the Awami-league Government to make madrasah education modern and appropriate for contemporary society. However, although the *Awami* league government, could not implement all its policy towards madrasah education during its tenure. The situation turned in favour of madrasah educated people during the subsequent years when the Islamic connection was increased with active support from many Muslim countries. The following remarkable reforms were made from that time:

a) The medium of instruction in madrasah has changed into Bengali instead of Urdu. This was a milestone in the history of madrasah education.

b) Madrasah education has been considered equivalent to general education up to higher secondary level.

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

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

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

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

g) Recently a teacher's Training College has been established in Gazipu to train the madrasah teachers.

Due to these reforms, madrasah education got a new impetus in the systems of education in Bangladesh. As a result, madrasah education grows rapidly within the country (it will discuss in chapter 6).

Summary and Conclusions

Islamic education came to Bengal first through the Arab traders. They carried the teachings and ideals of Islam along with their commercial commodities. Following them, there came the Sufis, saints and devoted Muslim missionaries. They established mosques and *khanqahs* in various parts of Bengal conveyed the teachings of Islam gained a firm and permanent ground in this land.

Formal introduction of Islamic education in Bengal was made by Ikhtyar Uddin Muahmmad Bakthyar Khailji. This education system continues for about next six centuries and held at the highest position. During the Muslim rule, there was no division or distinction between Islamic education and general education. All kind of people was produced in the madrasah. That is why there was no contradiction between or within educated people in society. However, problem emerged when the ruler patronised only educated people, instead of the promotion of education of the general masses. The rulers were concern about the particular class of people. For this reason they virtually failed to root Islamic education firmly in the society.

Thus, education system has been changed with the change of the political power or regime.

There were some cultural, religious, social, economic and others factors which was directly or indirectly responsible for the expansion of Islamic education during those days. In this circumstances if the Muslim rulers would tried to promote the fate of the general masses' through the promotion of education the history of madrasah education would have been different.

Historical evidences available show that the present contrasting situation of general educated and madrasah educated is largely the result of British policy. At the beginning of British rule, through a series of reforms like the grant of *Dewani,* Permanent settlements and resumption laws to the *Awqaf* estates, the ground had been prepared to diversify national education by breaking the backbone of the established Islamic education. Secondly, establishment of Calcutta madrasah virtually divided Islamic education into private and government. Most of the madrasah people did not endorse the curriculum and therefore it failed to attract the majority of the Muslims. Only those who wanted to get a job and established themselves in society enrolled in the Calcutta madrasah. But the majority of the population kept themselves away from education of remained attached to the private madrasha.

After the introduction of the English system of education which was followed by the abolition of Persian and substitution of English as the state language, the Calcutta

madrasah lost its attraction as a recruiting ground of public servants and also lost its popularity. As a result, the private madrasah emerged with the support from the general public. The private madrasahs, therefore gave the highest quality of Islamic education and became popular instead of the government madrasha. As a result, Calcutta madrasah education was degraded in the field of Islamic education as well as in the field of general education. Even after the establishment of Calcutta University, it did not include any Madrasah subject, which could bring the madrasah-educated people in the mainstream of the society.

Finally apathy of the Muslim community towards general education also is a responsible factor for the alienation process. Those days they were so much attached with their own system of education that they refuse to take any kind of modern education and left behind the social progress. They even refuse to take any kind of reformation in the curriculum of Calcutta madrasah that would enable them to come forward in the mainstream of the society.

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

During the Pakistan period the process of being alienated for madrasah educated people not only continued but also widened. The Pakistani military government

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

Bangladesh have emerged as a secular state. Madrasah education therefore suffered from uncertainty in the first few years of independence. But very soon, madrasah education got some new status. As a result madrasah education not only survived but through a series of reforms many of its problems have been removed. But still there are many problems for the process of integrating the two systems. Main problem is the absence of an appropriate education policy. It was difficult to solve this kind of problem without an effective education policy.

From historical evidences it has been found that, Islamic education flourished within the country and survived for several centuries. With the changes of circumstances it has changes. But after all it survived and remains within the Muslim society either through formal or non-formal ways. So, for the greater benefit of the society in large it is necessary to remove the problems of the system

and minimise the gap between two systems. Thus, an effective education policy is necessary.

<center>Chapter V</center>

Education System of Selected Countries

Introduction

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

Any approach towards national education evolves from the needs and requirements of the society. In this context, society's religious values play an important role in shaping the education system. On the other hand, "rapid development in science and technology has accelerated inter-dependence among nations and made the globe drastically smaller. In this global society, the educational issues and problems of one country have many features in common with those of other countries beyond the national boundaries. This results form the fact that peoples' lives now have a global dimension, even educational issues, which seem peculiar to one particular country can easily be found in another country in one form or another. This awareness constitutes an important starting point for us when we

plan and conduct an educational research project" (Suzuki: 1985) It is therefore useful to review the experience of other countries in this direction.

This chapter provides cases from other countries with reasonable information to find out the position of religious education in their respective national education system, the pattern of duality in education if any. Several countries from both Muslim and non-Muslim have been studied with very limited information in this direction.

One of the studies (NIER: 1986) shows that most of the countries of Asia and the Pacific region teach positive, personal, spiritual and social values pertinent to the national ideology and development of the individual and the society. Different countries use various programmes, namely moral education/ religious education / values education with their national curriculum in the elementary and primary levels. Table 5.1 shows the pattern of religious or moral education of some selected Asian and the pacific countries.

In countries where moral education is treated as separate subject, emphasised on the inculcation of acceptable values, habits, attitudes and characteristics to create good citizen, through understanding of the responsibilities toward God, or toward country and towards the nation.

Objective of religious education differs as per different religious country. For example, the Islamic religion is a significant subject in the curriculum of schools in Bangladesh, Malaysia and Pakistan. The objectives of their religious education are,

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a) acquaintance with the meaning and significance of Islam, *b)* to develop a sense of belonging to Islam, *d)* to develop responsibility through *Quranic* knowledge, *e)* to encourage learning of Arabic to understand the Holy *Quran* and *f)* to apply the concept and principles of Islam to the total practical life situations for all times. The objectives are similar to those countries (Indonesia and Thailand) where Islam teaches as one of the religious subject.

Table 5.1 Countries Classified in Terms of Teaching Moral Education, Religious Education and Values Education.

Moral Education	Religious Education	Values education
Australia	Australia	India
China	Bangladesh	
Indonesia	Indonesia	
Japan	Japan	
Malaysia	Malaysia	
Nepal	New Zealand	
Pakistan	Pakistan	
Papua New guinea	Papua New guinea	
Philippines	Philippines	Philippines
Republic of Korea	Sri Lanka	
Thailand	Thailand	
Vietnam	Western Samoa	

Sources: NIER: 1986

In the case of Buddhism (Srilanka and Thailand) the objectives of religious education emphasises on the creation of a religious atmosphere in the school, cultivation of better faith in their religion, and to teach for practical orientation of their beliefs.

Other countries dominated by Christianity like Australia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Philippines and Western Samoa (particularly of their private church schools) the objectives of their religious education are; 1) Belief in Almighty God; 2) learning of the teachings of Christ and 3) learning the practices of Christianity.

On the other hand, India, which upholds the teachings of values in its education system, emphasises on the teaching of human values and moral ideas concerning cleanliness, truth, kindness, patriotism, obedience, justice, dignity of labour and scientific values which are similar to those in moral and ethical education (NIER: 1986).

The following are brief discussions of education system of non-Muslim and Muslim countries.

Education System of Non-Muslim Countries

Education is the strongest weapon of national development. Therefore, "we must try to make our whole education system as much dynamic as possible and capable of playing a useful role in social advancement, economic development and political progress. The same attention must therefore be paid to the educational progress in

order to achieve social, economic and political advancement" (GOB: 1975). Considering this it is necessary to get experience from other countries' example. For instance, Zimbabwe has two ministries to run the Zimbabwean education system. The Ministry of Education is responsible for early childhood education and care, primary and secondary education, while the ministry of Higher Education caters for tertiary education and training. Their education provides facilities for religious teachings from primary level.

Table 5.2 Time Allocation (hours in a week) for Religious and Moral Education in Primary and Secondary Level of Education of Zimbabwe

Subjects	Primary education		Secondary education			
	G 1-2	G 3-7	F 1-2	F 3-4	L 6	U 6
Religious and Moral education	1	2.30	3	4	8	8
Other subjects	24	30.30	-	-	-	-
Total hours	25	33	-	-	-	-

Sources: Zimbabwe: 1996

University of Zimbabwe also has subjects for theological teaching. According to 1995 statistics, out of total 12,442-university students only about 100 were student of Theology. The Republic of Macedonia located in the south of Europe and borders with the Republic of Greece, the Republic of Albania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. From the beginning to the end of her National Education System, there is no religious education in their curriculum (Macedonia: 1995). Similar policy has been

adopted by the Republic of Croatia. However, the education system of Cyprus provides compulsory religious education in their curriculum. The time (period of 40 minutes) allocated for religious education is shown in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3 Time allocations in the Weekly period of Public Primary Schools of Cyprus.

Subjects	Primary school			Secondary School
	Grade 1-2	Grade 3-4	Grade 5-7	Grade1-3
Religion	2	2	2	2
Others	26	30	34	34
Total	28	32	36	36

Sources: Cyprus: 1996

Norway, one of the European developed nations, has considerable allocation of time for religious education at the primary level. At the higher level such allocation has been gradually decreased.

Table 5.4 Allocation of Teaching Periods of Norway

Subjects	Primary stage Years 1-6	Lower secondary years 7-9
Religious Instructions	12	6
Others	126	84
Total	138	90

Sources: Norway: 1996

Education System of the Muslim Countries

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

Referring to only four Muslim countries (Turkey, Pakistan, Egypt and Sudan) Bilgrami and Ashraf (1985) noted that modern education entered into the Islamic countries either through cultural influences or political domination. While Muslims have benefited from the western technological advancement, the governments of Muslim countries patronised secular education. Traditional Islamic education on the other hand remained under private entrepreneurs, although an inadequate help was very often extended by the government to help them run these religious seminaries or theological institutes.

The Muslim world (those are the members of OIC[1]) can be divided into two groups on the basis of language i.e., The Arab states and the non-Arab states.

The Arab States: To Tibawi (1972) the ideas of modernisation and their application was the cause of fragmentation of religious education in the various

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

regions of Arab world. With reference to fourteen Arab countries (Algeria, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Saudi Arab, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Yemen and South Yemen) he gave an evolutionary picture of modern alien and western education systems within these countries. He mentioned that three types of processes have changed the national education system of these countries: a) internal education revolution, b) European missionary work and c) Western occupation. All these changes influenced Islamic education substantially. The traditional Islamic school education, which was the original public system, was changed and become virtually private schools. The traditional system was either absorbed subsequently in the modern system or remained outside. In either case their syllabus was changed to be closer to that followed in the state schools.

He (Tibawi: 1972) argues that Islamic education in the Arab countries is a shadow of the past. In the constitution of some countries it exists only on paper. But average Arab Muslims, are more strongly attached to Islamic education than Arab Nationalism. So, the education system of these countries could not serve the people's will. The content of Modern Educational system is alien to them and the quality is low if compared with western countries. On the other hand, National Islamic education does not relate much to real life situations. The teaching of Islamic education is insufficient at all stages. *Quranic* or religious studies are not more than one subject of primary and secondary school in many of the Arab countries in modern educational institutions. But at the higher level, several aspects of Islam are studied as academic disciplines in the Universities, (which is efficient).

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

Saudi Arabia: Saudi Arabia's system of education is an exception to the other Arab and Gulf States. They have an independent system of religious education with the presence of technical, agricultural, commercial and industrial education, at secondary level mentioned as Monir Morsi (1990). He argues that these two forms of education should be integrated together, as it is the case in Saudi Arabia. The kingdom of Saudi Arabia is the only country where the basic Islamic education is given side by side with modern education, under one roof (Al-Mubarak: 1984). For example, at present, Saudi Arabia provides 31 percent of the curriculum in public primary education from Islamic teachings (Table: 5.5).

Table 5.5 Time Allocation in the Weekly Study Plan of Public Primary Schools of Saudi Arabia

SUBJECTS	TIME ALLOCATION
Religion	31%
Arabic language	30%
Mathematics-sciences and social studies	39%
Total	100%

Sources: Morsi, M. M: 1990.

The table shows that one-third emphasis was given on the language, which was Arabic. General or modern subjects were found only about 39 percent of the total course effort, while 31 percent time was allocated for the religious purpose.

The Saudi Arabian education policy states that all religious studies are basic at all stages: primary, intermediate and secondary education with all its branches and that Islamic culture is a principal subject in all the years of higher education. Bahrain, whose constitution stipulates that religious education is one of the important bases in the cultivation of the citizen, however adopts this Saudi policy. The law organises the various aspects of care that ought to be given to religious education at all different stages (Morsi: 1990, p.45). Although this model suits Saudi Arabia and can possibly be replicated in the other Arab nations, it may not be possible for non-Arab Muslim countries. Non Arab Muslim countries may not

maintain 60 percent of their curriculum is under the heading of Arabic and religion.

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

Table 5.6: Time Allocation in the Weekly Study Period for Religious Subjects in Primary and Preparatory Education of Egypt, 1995-96

Subjects	Grade 1-2	Grade 3	Grade 4-6	Grade 7-9	Secondary class in a term
Religion	3	3	2	2	120
Arabic language	9	8	7	6	270
Math, science & social studies	13	14	21	22	660
Total	25	25	30	30	1050

Sources: Egypt: 1996

Table 5.6 shows the time allocation for religious and other subjects in the weekly educational plan in different levels of education in Egypt. It can be observed that at

the beginning, i.e., grade 1-3, out of 25 period, only 3 periods are allocated for religious studies. Similarly in grade 4-9 out of 30 periods are provided for religious studies. The secondary education of different category also has compulsory religious education.

But the discouraging fact is that, while general education is dominating the national education system, emphasising on that (General education) the oldest university Al-Azhar (University of traditional Islamic learning), is not affiliated to the Supreme Council for University (SCU)[3]

Education System of Bahrain: Bahrain is another example of dual system of education. Their national system of education consists of a) basic and general education and b) religious education.[4] Besides primary, intermediate and secondary education there is a number of universities and post secondary educational institutions in Bahrain providing higher education in different subjects including the religious and general secular subjects.

Table 5.7 shows the time allocation for religious and other subjects in the weekly educational plan in different levels of education in Bahrain. It can be observed that

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[3] there are 14 Universities in Egypt, 12 of which is affiliated to the Supreme Council for University. Two universities, Al-Azhar and American University in Cairo are Private Universities and not affiliated to this SCU.
[4] Both system of education has similar levels of education. Primary level lasts for six years included 6-11 years age group.
Intermediate level lasts for three years included 12-14 years age group
Secondary education consists of three years included 15-17 years age group.

from beginning, (i.e., grade 1-3 of primary level) to all the grade of secondary education has religious education.

Table 5.7: Time Allocation in the Weekly Study Plan for Religious Subjects of Basic and General Education of Bahrain

Subjects	Primary		Intermediate	Secondary		
	Grade 1-3	Grade 4-6	Grade 1-3	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3
Religion	5	8	9	10	9	11
Other subjects	25	27	26	25	26	24
Total period	30	35	35	35	35	35

Sources: Bahrain: 1996

Religious education is given in a specialised institution run by the Ministry of Education. Such education is available only for boys. The system of this type of education is the same as that of basic and general secondary education, with the same duration of study and admission age, but it emphasises on Islamic studies aiming at the preparation of man with and appropriate background in religious affairs.

At the end of the secondary level, students are awarded the 'General Secondary School Certificate (Religious Branch). Out of total 1,12,190 students only 510 was enrolled in religious schools of Bahrain (from beginning to the end of secondary level) in the year 1995-96 in one school out of total 180 (GOB: 1996, page, 74).

Syrian Arab Republic: The Arab Republic of Syria emphasises usually on general education. However, in all levels of their national education system has compulsory religious education. Not only the general education all the Syrian schools even technical and commercial stream for disable also has compulsory religious education, although the allocation of periods, in terms of hours seem to be limited. Emphasis is given on language, mathematics, science and other social science subjects.

Table 5.8 Time Allocations in the Weekly Study Plan (period) of the Syrian Arab Republic.

Subjects	Primary		Intermediate		Secondary	
	Grade 1-3	Grade 4-6	Grade 1-3	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3
Religion	2	3	2	10	2	2
Other subjects	30	29	30	25	32	30
Total period	32	32	32	35	34	32

Sources: Syria: 1996

Table 5.8 shows the periods allocated for religious and other subjects in the weekly study plan of Syrian. It can be observed that all the grade of primary, Intermediate and secondary level has compulsory religious education.

The Non-Arab States: Like the Arab states the non Arab Muslim countries have almost a similar problem with their national education system where modern

education is the dominating system and Islamic education is secondary. The following are a few examples selected Muslim countries outside the Arab territory.

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

The main feature of *Imam Khatib* schools is that the religious subjects, such as *Quran* and its interpretations, *Hadith*, Islamic Law (*Fiqh*), Islamic philosophy including Arabic and Persian accounted for over 40 percent of the curriculum, while the rest of the subjects were from science and social sciences. The graduates from *Imam Khatib* schools since 1975 could register with the various faculties of

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the universities in the areas concerned with the Arts, Social sciences, as well as the physical sciences. The number of such schools reached 72 in 1970 and the number of graduates were approximately 50,000. The numbers of both the institutions as well as the students are still on the increase. The graduates of these institutions could be teachers in secondary schools.[2] They could also be appointed by the ministry of Religious Affairs as *muftis*, preachers or *Imams* in mosques (Tug: 1985 & Bilgrami and Ashraf: 1985). This development, however, took place in parallel with a modern secular education system.

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

Unlike the other Muslim nations, where religious and modern education goes on side by side, Iran has made a tremendous effort to islamicize this modern education system. Within a few years of the revolution the curriculum of modern education was reshaped in the light of thinking in Islam. It seems that the islamization of modern education did not fulfil the demands for the traditional

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

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theological approach to Islamic education in Iran. Therefore *'Hawzeh Ilmiyeh'* exists side by side with the general education in a complementary manner.

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

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

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

Islamic Education among the Muslim Minorities: Apart from the Muslim majority nations there are a number of countries where Muslims live as minority groups. The tradition of Islamic education can be found in those countries also. India, for example, has one of the largest Muslim minority groups. About 115 million Muslims live in India. Besides India's national education, the Muslim community has their own religious educational institutions. These institutions have been continuing to function without any substantial patronage from the government. Of these, there are prominent institutions such as *Darul-Ulum Deoband; Darul-Ulum Nadwatul-'Ulum, Laknow; Mazahirul-'Ulum, Saharanpur; Darussalam, 'Umrabad* (Tamil Nadu); *Jamiah Islamiyah, Dabheel (Gujarat); Madrasah Islamiyah, Shamsulhuday, Patna; Madrasah Chasshma-I-Rahmat, Gazipur; Madrasatul Islah Sara –I-mir, Azamghrh; Madrasah Aminiyah*, Delhi is famous Islamic institutions.

Of these institutions, largest number of students enrols in *Dar-ul-Ulum Deoband*. According to the account of 1982-83 academic year total number of student enrols

in *Dar-ul-Ulum Deoband* was over 3400 (Ahmad: 1985). On the other hand *Darussalam, 'Umrabad* (tamil Nadu) madrasah is affiliated to University of Madras and gets very small government grant for its affiliated courses of studies (Ahmad: 1985).

Philippines: The Philippines is another example where Muslim minorities have their own Islamic educational institutions known as madrasah. Although the madrasahs are not recognised by the government and the subjects which are taught in the madrasahs are not credited by government-recognised bodies, the Muslim students enrol in madrasahs. The madrasah enrolment is almost as large as total enrolment of both Christians and Muslims in all public and private secondary schools throughout central Mindanao (Pandapatan: 1990). The argument we want to put forward here is that the Muslim minority group, wherever they live, stand united for their Muslim identity and religious needs of the Muslims. As a result, they set up their own educational institutions shaped according to their religious requirements.

The Crisis of Education within Muslim Nations

Most of the Muslim countries are in deep educational crisis. The priority of education, whether it is religious or general, remained in most of these countries at a lower ebb. Langgulung (1983) observes that crises in education throughout the Muslim *Ummah* originated mainly from the politicisation of education. He notes, "the politician, being almost universally unknowledgeable about the ideational

problems of the scholars in the disciplines, blunders whenever he interferes"
(Langgulung: 1983, p.21).

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

General education in most of the Muslim countries, especially the Arab countries,
is not qualitatively comparable to non-Muslim nations. The rich Arab countries,
which can afford much more investment than the poor also, suffer from a low
standard of education due to lack of proper administration and appropriate policy.
Commenting on the quality of Arab education Tibawi (1972: p.216) quotes Fakhir
Aqil: "The truth is that the standard of the pupil who completes any Arab
secondary school is below that of the pupil who completes a similar school in
Britain, France, America and Russia.....The same applies to university graduates".

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

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

However, all these issues of education in Muslim countries, as mentioned above, have also a religious dimension of explanation. Qutb (1979) in his article on "Role of Religious Education" pointed out that throughout the Muslim world modern schools are unable to hold the spirit of religion. On the other hand, religious education cannot fulfil the necessities of contemporary life. This situation is unlike earlier Muslim education where there ware no contradiction between religious and worldly education. He, therefore, argues for an integrated education system in the Muslim world.

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

He argued that the modern secular education and traditional Islamic theological education virtually produce two conflicting groups of people. Therefore, he

emphasised that they must prevent Muslim society from the invasion of alien and divisive ideas and ideologies by planning a new Muslim education system. He also suggested that in the development of an Islamic curriculum the authorities and Islamic educationist have to show how these perspectives give a balanced view of man for material advancement and spiritual progress.

Despite the contradictions between modern and traditional religious education, religious education exists not because the governments of these countries want to provide Islamic education, rather, it is the people who support Islamic education and demand it. Therefore, Islamic education continues from the will of people at private and semi-private levels. However, the governments give partial support to Islamic institutions. But Islamic education or madrasah education is conspicuously absent in the educational policy of most Muslim countries.

Summary and Conclusions

While national education system of Bangladesh is divided into two distinct system as general and madrasah education, experiences of other countries have been investigated in this chapter. Most of the countries of the world have been found that religious education were considered as one of the subjects at primary or secondary schools, even at higher education in the Universities. Experiences of Muslim countries of the world are though different.

Most of the Muslim countries have dual system of education in different models. History of this dualism is almost similar. Islamic education was the only system of education of those countries for several centuries. General secular education entered into these countries through three types of processes: a) internal education revolution, b) European missionary work and c) Western Occupation.

While the Muslims have benefited from the modern education the governments of Muslim countries patronised it so prominently that the traditional Islamic school had to change strategies and became virtually private or semi-private institutions. Some of them were absorbed into modern system or remained outside. But still a large number of average Muslims strongly attached to Islamic education. Therefore, the content of modern education system is considered inadequate to satisfy their demand where an Islamic subject teaches as one subject of primary and secondary level. But at higher level, several aspects of Islam are studied as academic disciplines in the universities.

Some of the countries have duality in their national system of education. Bahrain is one of the examples. From beginning to the university level they have dual system of education. Even in Turkey, where growth of religious institution was discouraged and even ceased because of peoples' demand have to established religious school as *'Imam Khatib School'* by Ministry of education. The graduates are able to register with various faculties of the university.

Through Islamization of modern education also failed to satisfy the people's demands of religious schools. Islamic Republic of Iran is one of the examples. Islamization of knowledge did not fulfil the demands of the traditional education. Therefore, *'Hewzeh Ilmyeh'* exists side by side with the general education in a complementary manner.

Indonesian authorities narrowed down the gap between the two contending systems by introducing general subjects in religious institution and religious subjects in modern secular institution.

Not only the Muslim countries, wherever they live even as minority group stand united for their Muslim identity and religious needs of the Muslims. As a result, they set up their own educational institutions shaped according to their religious requirements. India and Philippines are the examples.

Therefore, it can be concluded that, although dual system of education is producing two conflicting groups of people, it seems to be inevitable as in Bangladesh. Because, the people of these countries supports Islamic education and demands for it. If the governments do not provide Islamic education through separate institutions people will maintain it privately.

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Chapter VI

Bangladesh: A Profile of its Education System

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Introduction

Bangladesh is one of the least developed countries of the world. Least developed is not only in economic term, but also in terms of literacy and education. Although the absolute number of literate persons have been increased since the liberation of the country, more than half of the people of the country cannot read and write (2001). Even, those who are considered educated, the other half, a substantial number of them have dropped out from primary education. This Chapter will focus on Bangladesh with special emphasis on its dual education system. However, the following pages will sketch the overall situation of the country in terms of its geography, history and socio-economic condition to which the education system is directly or indirectly linked.

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

country's resources and hard-achieved fruits of development.

Apart from the miseries of natural disasters, Bangladesh has two important resources, fertile land and its people. About 123.15 million people (2001) crammed into its only 1,48,000 sq. kilometre area produce almost an urban density all over the country. The growth of population is also one of the highest in the world (2.17% per annum according to 1981 Census and 1.48 per annum according to 2001 Census). In terms of their distribution over the space (in 2001) most of the people (76 percent) live in the rural areas while about 24 percent live in country's 522 urban centres. The bulk of these people live in an under developed condition because of their backwardness in terms of education and economic conditions.

The recent efforts of the government to accelerate economic development, particularly to eradicate rural poverty, are encouraging but insufficient to make real headway. More than 70 percent of the rural people still live below the poverty line[1] (BBS: 1990). Per capita income in Bangladesh is also extremely low, less than $265, which is Taka 11,925 annually (BBS: 1996). The low levels of income and general poverty in the country are in fact the manifestation of several factors. First and foremost is the landlessness. Half of the households in the country do not have any cultivable land. Surplus agricultural labourers including those who are landless find difficulty in getting absorbed in any viable economic activity. The industry sector is still limited, and employs only about 9.5 percent of the total labour force (Table: 6. 1). The service sector is also limited (27.3 percent in

extended definition[2]), because of low levels of education. In fact, the present stagnation in the economy is the result of the low education level.

Table 6.1: Employed Person by Broader Economic Sector as per LFS 1995-96

Major sectors	By extended definition	
	In million	Percentage
Agriculture	34.6	63.2
Non- Agriculture	20.1	36.8
Service	*14.9*	*27.3*
Industry	*5.2*	*9.5*

Sources: BBS: 1996.

The education sector has received less than 13 percent of the development budget and less than 11 percent of Revenue budget during recent years (BANBEIS: 1998). Most of these resources are spent on hard infrastructure like building schools and colleges and on the salary of the teachers. Very little is spent on the improvement of education like equipment, modernisation, training of the teachers, etc. Poor people both in the countryside as well as in the towns have problems in reaching educational institutions. Although primary education is free and books are also supplied free of cost at the primary level very high dropout rates have been observed. This dropout is because of poverty in most cases, though other reasons are also found.

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[1]Poverty is measured if the intake of food is less than 2122 k. calorie per person per day.
[2] In an extended definition, the activities like the rearing of poultry and livestock, husking and preservation of food, etc. are considered as economic activities which are performed by the female in and out of the agriculturally based households in rural areas

Religion is one of the most important elements in the country, which influences almost all spheres of life, especially the education. The majority of people in the country are Muslim, although there are people from other religions too. The percentage of Muslim population in the country is 88.3 while those of Hindus, Buddhists and Christians are 10.5, 0.6 and 0.3 percent respectively (BBS: 1998). There is also 0.1 percent of animist and believers in the tribal faiths (BANBEIS: 2001). Many of these religious groups of people, especially the Muslims, normally prefer to educate their children through religious educational institutions. Many parents also prefer to give their children religious education at an early age. As a result religious educational institutions such as *madrasahs* and *tols* have been surviving throughout the centuries and growing day by day in the country.

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

British rule continued for the next 200 years when the region achieved a modern education system in addition to its religious dimension, although economically it

was exploited and politically subjugated. Because of this economic exploitation and political control the nation could not benefit from its modern education system. It is evident from accounts that during the period of about one-century (i.e. 1821 to 1921) there was hardly any change in the levels of education among the Indian population. More than 90 percent of the total population were found illiterate at the hand over of political power in 1947. If the modern education system introduced by the British government had been effective and popularly accepted by the people, the result would have been different. Rather, this education system helped to create a class of educated elite who actually was parasites in the society.

The third phase of history began with the birth of two nations: India and Pakistan in 1947. As a part of Pakistan, Bangladesh was under semi-colonial exploitation by the Pakistani military rulers during the period 1947 to 1971.

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

The Existing Pattern of Education

The objective of this section is to highlight the educational scenario in the country during the recent years. Bangladesh, in fact, has been trying very hard to increase the level of literacy and education. But the achievement so far has not been

encouraging. It can be seen from recent statistics that the level of literacy in the country was only about 20.2 percent in 1974. This level of literacy has gradually increased.[3](Table 6.2)

Table 6.2: Literacy Rate in different Census Year, 1961-1997.

Year	Male	Female	Total	Age of population
1961	26.0	8.6	17.0	5+
1974	27.6	12.2	20.2	5+
1981	33.8	17.5	26.0	7+
1991	38.9	25.5	32.4	7+
1998	54.6	42.5	48.7	7+

Sources:
a. BANBEIS: 1998
b. BANBEIS: 2002

Bangladesh inherited two different systems of education from the British rule. The system still continues. One of them is general secular education and the other is traditional religious education. The general secular education system has occupied the mainstream over time, while religious education maintains a narrower stream. Figure 6.0 shows the two systems of education with their detailed breakdown.

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

Figure 6.0: Education System in Bangladesh
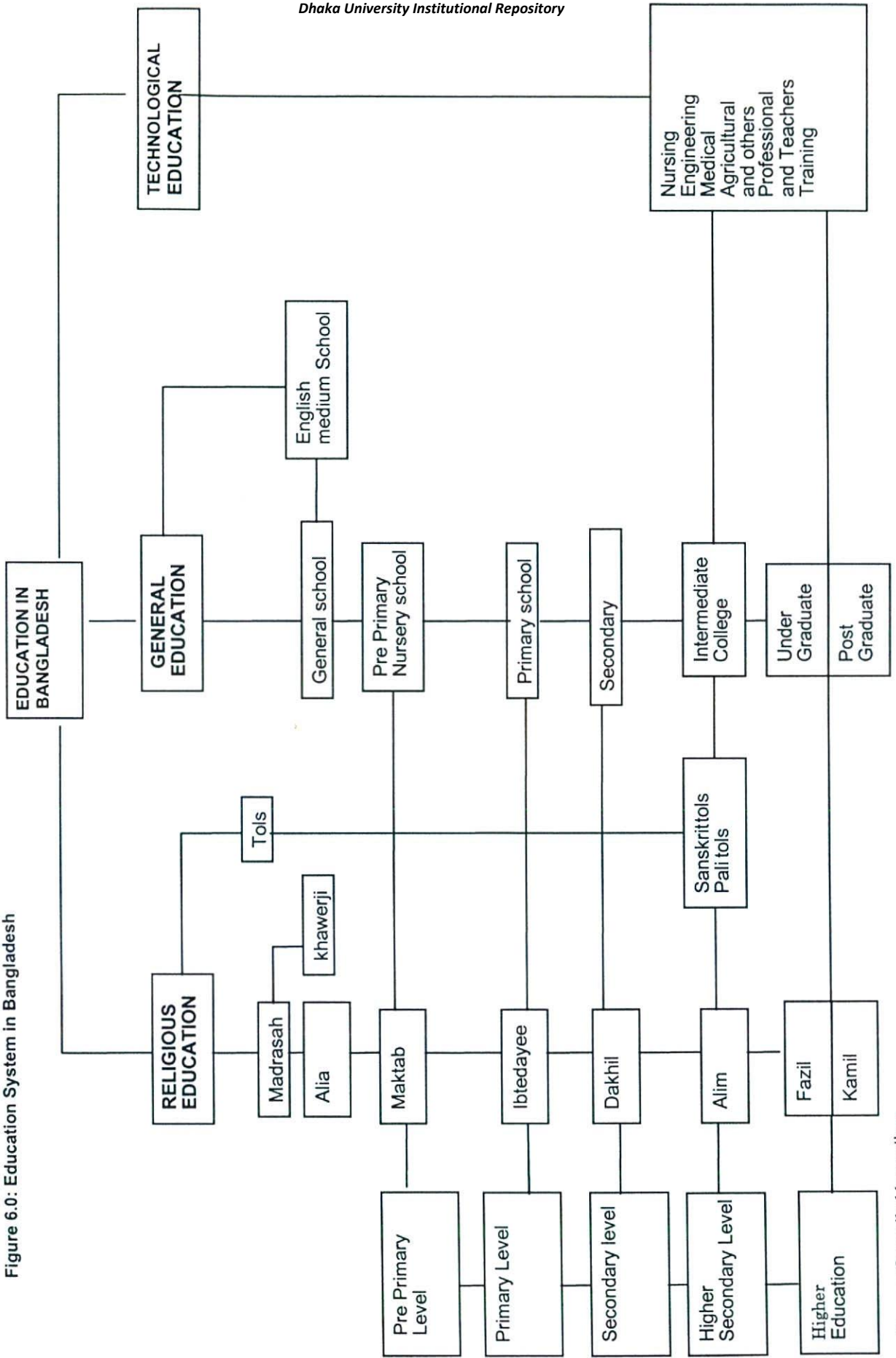
Source: Compiled by author

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Table 6.3: Comparison between Madrasah and General Education, 1997.

Item	Madrasah education Number	General education Number	Total Number
Student	28,95,317 (10%)	2,48,87,507 (90%)	2,77,82,824
Institution	17,932 (18%)	82,367 (82%)	1,00,299
Teacher	1,40,671 (23%)	4,81,243 (77%)	6,21,914

Sources: Summarised from table 6.4 and 6.7; Figure in parenthesis are percent.

Table 6.3 shows a comparative picture in terms of number of students, number of educational institutions and the number of teachers in both systems. It can be observed in the table that although 10 percent[4] of all students were enrolled in the madrasah system, the percentage share of educational institutions and teachers are relatively higher in madrasah compared with general education. This indicates the number of madrasahs and students-teacher ratio is higher in madrasah system.

General Secular Education

As the mainstream of education, general education occupies about 90 percent of the country's total enrolled students (Table 6.3). The overwhelming majority of educated people engaged both in private and public sectors come from general education. Their contribution is apparent in all respects: science, arts, history, philosophy, economics, sociology, etc. Table 6.3 provides some basic information on general education in Bangladesh in 1997. Various levels of general education in

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[4] It is notable here that in Bangladesh there is about 868 Qaumi madrasah with about 1,09,000students. If we count them the total number of madrasah students stands at

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the country are discussed below.

Primary Education: Free and universal primary education has been introduced in Bangladesh since the independence of the country (BANBEIS: 1992c). To make primary education more effective, greater importance has been attached to promoting primary education in the country. In 1990 primary education was made compulsory for all children aged between 6 and 10 years. In addition to that, the government has also been supplying textbooks for children in primary schools. In rural area government has started a programme for supplying food for education for the Primary School children since 1993-94 Financial Year (GOB: 1995).

Table 6.4: Number of General Educational Institution, their Students and Teacher, 1997

Level of Education	Institutions	Students	Teachers
Primary* (I-V)	66,797	1,72,46,117	2,72,425
Junior Secondary (VI-VIII)	3,002	6,32,211	19,309
Secondary (XI-X)	10,766	54,92,114	1,37,768
Higher Secondary (XI-XII)	901	2,55,817	15,913
Cadet College (VII-X)	10	3,005	272
Model College	2	1,137	79
BKSP	1	303	39
Degree College	768	11,13,149	27,511
Govt. University	11	67,807	4,015
Non-Govt. University	16	6,291	613
Professional College	93	69,556	3,299
Total	82,367	2,48,87,507	4,81,243

Note: *Table includes figure of primary schools and attached primary classes of high schools.

Sources: BANBEIS: 1998, b. BBS: 1999 and c. GOB: 1997

It has already been mentioned that Bangladesh is an overpopulated country with a

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11percent.

very large child population. In terms of enrolment in primary schools (as well as in the *Ibtedayee* Madrasah) the situation is not that discouraging. For example, out of 19.5 million (1,95,45,589) children aged between 6 and 10 in 1997and 18 million (1,80,31,673) were enrolled in primary school and in primary sections of different kinds of schools and madrasahs. It shows that the rate of participation is more than 92 percent (GOB: 1997). In fact, this rate would be much higher if enrolment in the *Ibtedayee Madrasah* is included.

The discouraging fact is that the rate of dropout from primary school is still very high which can be considered as a serious problem. On account of the year 1989-93 children enrolled in class I (One), 55.18 percent of them dropouts before completing class V (GOB: 1993). Even those completed primary education a substantial part of them drooped out in secondary level of education (Table 6.5). Table 6.5 shows that the drop out is higher in school compared to madrasah education. Ironically such dropout is higher among female students in the secondary level of education both school and madrasah.

Table 6.5: Drop Out Rate in Secondary Level of Education in Bangladesh, 1999

(in percent)

Level of education	Madrasah Education			School Education		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Jr. Secondary	19.7	11.1	16.1	24.5	18.4	21.3
Secondary	40.3	48.1	43.2	46.7	57.9	52.1

Sources: BANBEIS: 1999

One study shows that poverty is the main reason for such dropout (CUS: 1990). Although the government is trying to help parents by supplying textbooks and making tuition fee free. These are not enough for motivating the poor parents, who need their children's labour to increase the family income (Ali: 1996).

The other reasons for dropout are unattractive school environment and poor physical facilities, harsh treatment of the teachers, irrelevant curriculum, long distance of school from home particularly for girls, stereotyped book-oriented methods to teaching. On the other lack of craft, games, music, sports in the school, inability of parents to help children in their homework due to illiteracy and poor environmental condition at home and some of the other reasons. Any one of these factors is enough to demotivate a young child (CUS: 1990).

Despite all the facilities and encouragement from the government the overall situation of primary education in Bangladesh has been worsening. The main reasons for such discouraging situation are many. The most important of all is the allocation of resources for primary education. Although the government is spending nearly 48 percent of the total allocation for education in the Primary sector every year (BANBEIS: 1998a), the per capita spending per student stands at roughly Taka 530 per year (GOB: 1997). If the salary of the teachers and other institutional expenditure is included this figure will be remarkably low. Related to this is the teaching equipment. Because of low expenditure, modern teaching equipment cannot be made available for teaching.

Apart from primary school, there are some other arrangements also to supplement basic education. Before primary education there is also pre-primary education. There are about 2,500 privately managed pre-primary schools, located mostly in urban areas. In rural areas, there are some pre-primary schools managed by the local communities.

Pre-primary education in rural areas is dominated by *'Maqtabs'*. The *'Maqtab'* is *Masjid* based informal type of religious education centres. It gives lessons for beginners at pre-primary level. Elementary religious education along with simple *Bangla* and Arithmetic are taught in these institutions (BANBEIS: 1992c). In Bangladesh there are about 58, 124 *'maqtab'* with 8,98,000 students.

To eradicate illiteracy from the society, the Bangladesh Government has placed more emphasis on adult non-formal education along with the introduction of universal primary education. The Mass education programme has been put under the direct supervision of the ministry of education. Government officers in charge of Mass literacy have been appointed all over the country. Non-government Organisations (NGO's) form a major group working for the eradication of illiteracy from Bangladesh (Ali: 1996). At present, about 21,740 non-government voluntary organisations (NGOs) like Under Privileged Children Education Programme (UCEP), Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC), Bangladesh Rural Development Board (BRDB), etc. run institutional non-formal education and

training courses (GOB: 1997). For the welfare of physically handicapped and mentally retarded children there are a few government and non-government organisations in Bangladesh, offering education and training. Some of these NGOs are managed and financed by foreign agencies, some are sponsored partly by foreign and partly by local agencies.

Secondary and Higher Secondary Education

The total length of secondary (V-X) and Higher Secondary (XI-XII) education is seven years, beginning from class VI to XII. The age of the students ranges from eleven years to seventeen years. Secondary education has broad divisions. First, Junior Secondary which comprises three years of education, from class VI to VIII. Second, secondary education comprises two years class IX and X. This is in fact an important stage for many reasons. a) A public examination is due for all students at the end of class X. This examination is called Secondary School Certificate examination (SSC). b) In this stage students are divided into several groups on the basis of their choices, such as the humanities group, the science group and the commerce groups, etc. c) After successful completion of SSC examinations the students have options whether they will continue this education in the third level, the Higher Secondary education or go for certain other options like jobs, training etc.

The length of Higher Secondary education is two years to be spent in educational institutions called college. At the end of this two years, students have to sit

another public examination known as Higher Secondary Certificate (HSC). Higher Secondary education is a link between secondary and higher (Tertiary) education. At this stage students are divided into different groups like Science general, Science premedical, Science pre-engineering, Commerce, Humanities, Music, Home economics, etc. (NCTB: 1998).

Secondary educational institutions are categorised into four, known as a) Junior School (up to class VII), b) High Schools (up to class X), c) Higher Secondary Schools (up to class XII) and d) Colleges (class XI and above). There are about 14, 682 Secondary Schools all over the country of which more than three thousand are at Junior level, about eleven thousand providing up to Secondary level and 914 up to Higher Secondary level (table 6.4). The Directorate of Secondary and Higher education controls the high schools and colleges and the seven boards i.e., Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education (BISE) Dhaka, Rajshahi, Jessore, Comilla, Chittagaon, Barisal, and Sylhet controls its examinations.

The total number of Degree Colleges (University Colleges) in the country is about 768. Of all these about 550 have dual status i.e. they teach Higher Secondary and higher education at tertiary level. There are some institutions have dual status i.e., they provide junior secondary education to higher education i.e., class VI to post graduate level. Up to HSC level examinations are controlled by Boards, and Higher education is controlled by an affiliating University i.e., National University, Gazipur, Dhaka. In the curriculum of Secondary Education, one

subject is Religious Studies in all five classes. But at Higher Secondary level religious studies is optional. Those who opt for religious education can take up to 60 percent of their curriculum in religious studies (Islamic Studies) (NCTB: 1998).

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

Higher (Tertiary) Education

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

The present higher education system in Bangladesh seems not only to be irrelevant to societal needs; still it is also limited. At present there are 13 national Universities in the country. Among these some are specialised and offer degrees in different branches of knowledge. For example, two universities offer degrees in Engineering and Technology, one in Agriculture and one in Islamic studies. There is one affiliating university called National University. In addition to nationalised universities there are 16 privately managed universities in the country (BANBEIS: 1999). The University Act 1992 facilitate to established these universities to disseminate higher education in the country. These private universities are established with the permission of the Ministry of Education, but University Grants Commission (UGC) is responsible of monitoring their activities (Sadek: 1999). They do not get any financial aid from the Government of Bangladesh.

Apart from Universities, there are 768 colleges which offer higher degree programmes in various branches of knowledge. Some of these colleges offer Bachelor Honours and Masters degrees (54 colleges) and Master Degrees (62 colleges). Beside these, there are professional colleges of law, health, engineering, music, agriculture and technology also offer degrees in higher education (BANBEIS: 1998). Apart from Universities, some of the colleges, and also some institutes offer higher degrees like M Phil and PhD.[5]in almost every branches of knowledge.

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

Religious Education

Religious education is the most important part of our education system. Religion as a subject has been made compulsory for the people of all religions. The Muslims study Islam and the Hindus and Buddhists study their religion. The religious educational institutions are also separate for each different religion. For example, Muslim religious educational institutions are called Madrasah and those for the Hindus and the Buddhists are called Tol. Apart from all these religious institutions, religion is also taught in the general schools, colleges and universities in a very limited way. The following pages describe very briefly the pattern of religious education with focus on Muslim religion.

Madrasah: Madrasah education plays an important role for the Muslim. It is in fact a parallel system to general secular education in the country. Table 6.3 provides a comparative picture between Madrasah and general school education. It shows that 18 percent of all educational institutions are madrasah, while its share of students is 10 percent. This indicates that the number of students per educational institution in madrasah is lower than in the general school, college, etc. In terms of teachers, madrasah's share comparatively more teachers, 23 percent to teach about 10 percent students. This proportionate picture between madrasah and general schools can be explained as follows. First, madrasahs can attract fewer students than the modern schools. Madrasahs usually attract only marginal boys in the family. Second, the proportion of female students in madrasah is very low compared to schools.

Table 6.6: Proportion of Female Students in Bangladesh, 1997

Education System	Male (percent)	Female (percent)	Total (100%)
Madrasah	14,66,282 (69.5)	6,43,479 (30.5)	21,09,761
General education	41,36,290 (55)	33,57,001 (45)	74,93,291
Total	56,02,572 (58)	40,00,480(42)	96,03,052

Sources: BANBEIS: 1998

The madrasah system does not allow co-education, although a few female madrasahs have been established recently, they do not cover the whole country. Third, madrasahs are established spontaneously by religious minded people, especially by the "*Ulema*". They hardly consider the threshold population. The government usually does not prevent them because of public sentiment. As a result madrasahs grow unrestrictedly without having a sufficient number of students.

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

level (Table 6.7).

Table 6.7: Islamic and Arabic Subjects in the Curriculum 1997

Class	Group	In percent	
		Madrasah	School
I-II	NA	42	10
III-IV	NA	30	8.86
V-VIII	NA	46	8.86
IX-X	General group	60	10 compulsory
	Science group	50	
	Others	90	
XI-XII	General group	80	Optional 20-60
	Science group	40	NA
	Others	90	NA

Sources:
a) NCTB: 1998
b) NCTB: 1997
c) BMEB: 1999

The creation of *Ibtedayee madrasahs* is very recent. The Government encouraged and recognised them in order to improve literacy in the country, especially to promote the government's compulsory primary education policy. The Madrasah Education Board controls *Ibtedayee madrasahs*, like other madrasahs. The Board set its curriculum and issues concerning its recognition. Unlike General Primary School Government give only a partial financial support to these Ibtedayee Madrasah.

In Bangladesh, there were about 11,081 Ibtedayee Madrasah with about 786 thousand students and 44 thousand teachers (in 1997). Therefore, about 27 percent of the total madrasah student were found at the Ibtedayee level with corresponding 62 percent of total number of madrashs. It gives an institution student ratio of about 1:71 and teacher student ratio of 1:18, which is much better than general primary education. In the general Primary education, Institution-student Ratio is 1: 258 and teacher-student ratio is 1:63 (Table 6.8).

Table 6.8: Number of Madrasah, their Students and Teachers, 1997

Level of Education	Institution	Student	Teacher
Ibtedayee	11,081 (62%)	7,85,556 (27%)	44,058 (31%)
Dakhil	4,795 (27%)	13,58,577 (47%)	58,360 (41%)
Alim	983 (5%)	3,32,368 (11%)	17,478 (12%)
Fazil	955 (5%)	3,58,262 (12%)	17,885 (13%)
Kamil	118 (1%)	60,554 (2%)	2,890 (2%)
Total	17,932 (100%)	28,95,317 (100%)	1,40,671 (100%)

Note: Table includes Ibtedayee Madrasah and attached Ibtedayee classes of high Madrasah.

Sources:
a) GOB: 1997
b) BANBEIS: 1998
c) BBS: 1999

The Second Stage 'Dakhil': This is equivalent to Secondary Education in the general school system. It lasts for five years. At the end of the fifth year, there is a public examination held under the control of Madrasah Education Board. Between

1991-2000 about 5,80 thousand student have passed in the Dakhil examination, i.e., 58 thousand each year (Table 6.12). Those who pass Dakhil examination have been regarded as SSC passed since 1985.

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

The Fourth Stage Fazil: Like *Alim, Fazil* is also a two years course, followed by a board examination. *Fazil* is equivalent to Bachelor degree in general terms. The government in principle agrees that *Fazil* and Bachelor degree are equivalent, but in reality there is discrimination. The problem arises because the Universities do not control *Fazil* examinations. It is a pertinent question as to how a degree can be conferred without a University.

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

Fazil and Kamil degrees are not yet recognised as B.A. or M.A. degrees. Even those who have passed their degrees are not considered for admission to M.A class of Islamic studies or the Arabic department of Universities without having a

graduation degree from general education. They cannot compete with general educated graduates. Only in the field of primary schools, secondary schools and madrasah teaching are suitable for them. They get similar opportunities as general graduates or post-graduates. The reason for this discrimination is that both Fazil and Kamil degrees are awarded by the Bangladesh Madrasah Education Board (BMEB) instead of Universities.

In Bangladesh, there were about 955 Fazil and 118 Kamil Madrasah with 358 thousand and 61 thousand students respectively in 1997 (Table. 6:8).

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

Other Types of Madrasah

The Government recognised madrasahs, generally known as *Alia madrasahs*, are the mainstream of the madrasah education system. The *Alia* system in fact runs in parallel with the general secular education system (Table 6.9). Besides the Alia system there are some other kinds of madrasahs in the country, which run in parallel with Alia madrasahs. These educations are different in type and nature.

The first type is *'Maqtab'* (non-formal religious pre-primary educational institution) which has been described earlier.

Table 6.9: Madrasah Education as Parallel to the General Education.

Level of General Education	Duration of course	Level of Madrasah Education	Duration of course
Primary	5 Years	Ibtedayee	5 Years
Secondary	5 Years	Dakhil	5 Years
Higher Secondary	2Years	Alilm	2 Years
Graduate	2 Years	Fazil	2 Years
Graduate with Honours.	3-4 Years	-----	----
Post graduate	1-2 Years	Kamil	5 Years

Note: The length of graduation is two years and Masters for two years while the length of graduation with honours is for three year following one year Masters. Recently all the universities have started to offer Honours course for four years instead of three years. Even National University has taken decision to start graduation pass course for three years (instead of two) Honours course for four years from 2001-2003 Academic Year.

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

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

Unlike the Alia madrasahs, which emphases both religious and general subject of knowledge, Khariji madrasahs focus only on the religious subjects. Starting from the beginning, the khariji system altogether has 14 years of education compared to 16 years in the Alia system. In Bangladesh there are about 868 Khariji madrasahs with about 109,000 students. Any board or directorate does not control these madrasahs centrally. However, they have some informal links among themselves to consider certain things together like development of the curriculum and examinations, etc. Most of these madrasahs are residential and in many cases free boarding and lodging for the teachers and students are arranged locally. The main source of finance is community patronage. In some cases, fees from students also provide a very insignificant amount of finance.

Tol Education

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

religious institutions.

In the traditional system, there are about 260 institutions offering such courses in the country. Of these institutions 145 were Sanskrit colleges and 115 were Pali colleges with 4,138 and 762 students respectively (BBS: 1999). All these institutions are under the control of the Bangladesh Sanskrit and Pali education Board. Most of these institutions are attached to different temples, monasteries, etc. The Sanskrit institutions offer religious teachings and scriptures for the Hindus and the Pali institutions offer the same for the Buddhists.

Growth of Madrasah Education

Madrasah education has been increased significantly in the country during the post independent period. It has been observed that, during the liberation, Bangladesh inherited about 1402 madrasah with about 248 thousand students. This has been increased into 7,279 madrasahs with 31,12 thousand students in the year 2000 (Table 6.10 & 6.11). Even, although madrasah education caters mostly to male students, within four decades a significant number of female madrasahs and its student has substantially been increased (Table 6.11).

Table 6.10: Growth of Students in Madrasha Education since Liberation Period, 1971-2000

Year	Dakhil	Alim	Fazil	Kamil	Total	Growth Rate
1971	94,201 Junior		1,54,205 Senior		2,48,406	-
1974	1,17,483	56,580	1,05,163	11,965	2,91,191	5.29
1980	1,24,000	80,500	1,32,000	17,366	3,53,866	3.24
1985	3,32,566	1,23,726	1,55,333	27,301	6,38,926	11.81
1990	6,15,358	1,57,410	1,83,516	40,712	9,96,996	8.90
1995	11,50,472	2,83,816	3,43,822	58,903	18,37,013	12.22
2000	18,79,707	5,18,178	5,96,456	1,12,590	31,12,205	10.54

Sources:
a) Ali, M. E: 1999, b) BENBEIS: 1985, c) BENBEIS: 1992, d) BENBEIS: 1998, e) BENBEIS: 2002, f) BBS: 1972, g) GOB: 1978, h) GOB: 1978

Table 6.11: Growth of Madrasha and their Students Since liberation period, 1971-2000

Year	Total Madrasah	Growth Rate	Total Students	Growth Rate
1971	1,402 (8)	-	2,48,406 (5,801)	-
1974	1,325 (4)	1.88	2,91,191 (22,916)	5.29
1980	2,466 (16)	10.35	3,53,866 (24,076)	3.24
1985	3,739 (28)	8.32	6,38,926 (49,958)	11.81
1990	5,873 (...)	9.03	9,96,996 (76,953)	8.89
1995	5,977 (397)	0.35	18,37,013 (5,53,663)	12.12
1999	7,096 (692)	4.29	29,35,348 (11,63,513)	9.37

Note: Figure in parenthesis indicates the number of Female Students.

Sources:
a) Ali, M. E: 1999,b) BENBEIS: 1985, c) BENBEIS: 1992, d) BENBEIS: 1998, e) BENBEIS: 2002, f) BBS: 1972, g) GOB: 1978, h) GOB: 1978

Out put statistics of madrasah education in Bangladesh also has been observed

significant. Table 6.12 shows that during the last decade each year about one lac

student of madrasah education are passing through different public examination (Dakhil, Alim, Fazil &Kamil). It has been observed that in 1999, of the total higher educated people in the country about 15 percent were coming out of madrasah system of education (i.e., Fazil & Kamil) (Table, 6.13).

Table 6.12: Output Statistics of Madrasah Education since 1991-2000

Year	Dakhil	Alim	Fazil	Kamil
1991	29,298	14,293	7,561	5,709
1992	30,659	18,171	9,125	5,406
1993	32,296	14,965	7,215	6,045
1994	45,111	18,863	10,633	7,317
1995	46,728	19,864	9,341	6,896
1996	56.037	26,260	11,250	8,401
1997	71,367	26,685	13,344	8,345
1998	87,499	29,000	16,803	8,793
1999	97,814	33,131	15,761	9,111
2000	83,401	27,196	13,302	11,293
Total	580,210	2,28,428	1,14,335	77,316

Sources:
a)   BANBEIS: 1995, b) BANBEIS: 1998a, c) BANBEIS : 1998b, d) BANBEIS: 2000, e) Bangladesh Madrasah Education Board, Dhaka for the year 2000

But the discouraging fact is that within this time because of proper attention of the government authorities, the number of madrasah increased without any control in the country. Therefore, in practical term lots of obstacles still exist in madrasah education, which require the proper attention of the authorities.

Table 6. 13: Output Statistics of Higher Education in Bangladesh, 1999.

Item	Madrasah Education	General Education	Total
Degree Pass / Fazil	15,761	66,593	82354
Degree Hons	-------	34,659	34,659
Degree Tech.	-------	3,572	3572
Post Graduate / Kamil	9,111	37,438	46,549
M.Phil. / Ph.D.	-------	571	571
Total	24,872	142833	1,67,705
Percent	15 %	85 %	100%

Sources:

a). Bangladesh Madrasah Education Board (BMEB), Dhaka, b) BANBEIS: 1999

Education Policy and Madrasah Education

The main problem of our education remains with the absence of an effective education policy. Immediately after Liberation of Bangladesh Dr. Kudrat-I-Khuda Commission was formulated on the basis of the then political and social condition. But because of the changing circumstances of political situation of Bangladesh in 1975 it remains ineffective.

During the post 1975 period, each of the government tried to formulate an education policy but with the change of their regime the efforts did not come into a success. It is a fact that Dr. Kudrat-I-Khuda Commission report was formulated

more than two decades ago. Within this long time manything had been changed in nation and international perspective, many new issues has been created and technological advancement had overtaken the world. About 10 committee were appointed by different political parties when they took power of the government, but a with the changing circumstances all of their effort failed to be ineffective. Even, after the victory of Awami League in the election of 1995, the government again formulated and Education Commission under the leadership of Professor Shamsul Haque. The Commission adopted a series of reformation policy within the 'Education Policy, 2000. Some of the important policies in favour of Madrasah education are as under,

a) Reorganisation of madrasah education to make similarities with other system of education.

b) Like general education madrasah education should also have higher education and research facilities.

c) Introducing vocational and technical education in madrasah system of education.

d) Like general education, madrasha education also expansion physical infrastructure, necessary reforms, providing educational equipment, scholarships, and free distributions textbooks should be ensured.

e) Student evaluation system of general education must be followed in madrasah education.

f) Islamic University should have the role of supervising Curriculum, selection of texts, management of institutions, controls of examination and evaluation of

higher education of the Fazil and Kamil stage of education in madrash system.

Implication of these policies could be brought and effective and fruitful result to remove the obstacle of madrasha education to bring the madrasah educated people in the main stream of the society. But with the changing situation of political era of the country it falls in to a definite uncertain condition.

Technical and Vocational Education

In Bangladesh there are facilities for technical and vocational education in certificate, diploma and tertiary level. Courses start from 9th grade of secondary School education providing SSC and HSC course in technical education. Technical education also provide Diploma (3 years) course, which start after secondary education. Bangladesh Technical Education Board (BTEB) grants affiliation to the technical institutions. It conducts examination and award certificate to the successful candidate.

Bangladesh Institute of Technology (BIT) offers Degree (4 Years) courses in different streams of engineering courses. Similarly, the College of Textile Technology and College of leather Technology offer four-year degree courses.

Professional Education

There are training institutions and schools which offer certificates and diploma

courses at secondary and Tertiary level in professional education. For example, The National Training and Research Academy for Multilingual Shorthand (NTRAMS) offers 2years-course equivalent to HSC after SSC. Marine Academy under the Shipping Corporation of Bangladesh, Institute of Chartered Accounts, Institute of Professional Management, Institute of Bankers, Institute of Personal Management, Bangladesh Management Diploma centre (BMDC), Library Association of Bangladesh offers certificate and diploma courses in different profession. There is also Law Colleges, Dental Colleges and Nursing Colleges in the professional education.

Educational Administration

The educational administration and management in Bangladesh is run by the Ministry of Education in association with the attached departments and directorates as well as a number of autonomous bodies. For administrative purposes Bangladesh has been divided in to 6 divisions, 64 districts and 496 Thanas (1998). At each of these levels educational administrators are appointed. For the secondary level of general education there are Boards of Secondary and higher secondary education in each of the four divisions. The Ministry of Education has four departments and directorates. The Directorate of Primary education, the National Academy for primary education (NAPE), the Directorate of Secondary and Higher Education and the Directorate of Technical Education are responsible for respective education sectors.

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

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

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

Bangladesh Madrasah Education Board (BMEB) is responsible for controlling public examinations for all madrasah students in the affiliating Madrasahs. It is also responsible for producing the curriculum and Textbooks for Madrasah students.

Thus, all these government and autonomous bodies have been sharing the

administration of education. The non-governmental education is controlled and administered by non-government organisations and Boards. Apart from these a number of NGOs promote primary education in Bangladesh.

Education Finance

The government almost wholly finances Primary education; only 16 percent of primary schools are private. At the secondary level over 95 percent of the schools, colleges and most of the madrasahs are private receiving 90 percent cost of teachers and employees salary from government funds. For the other costs, the schools and colleges mostly rely on tuition fees, and the madrasahs very often rely on public donations. The universities are autonomous but receiving 85 percent of their financial needs from the government. The cost per student of annual government recurring expenditure is shown in Table 6.14.

Table 6.14 Per student Annual Government Expenditure by Type of Institution 2000

(in Taka)

Type of institution	Government (percent)	Private (percent)	Total (100 percent)
Secondary School	3288 (2.6)	940 (0.7)	4228
College	4285 (3.3)	2103 (1.6)	6398
Cadet College	56537 (44.1)	-	56537
Teachers training	17377 (13.5)	-	17377
Public University	36381 (28.4)	-	36381
Madrasah	6259 (4.9)	1146 (0.9)	7405
Total	124127 (97)	4189 (3)	128316

Sources: BANBEIS: 2002

It can be observed in Table 6.14 that per student government expenditure is higher in madrasah than in the general schools. These differences are much higher between the private sector madrasahs and schools. For example, the government spent Tk 6259 taka and 1146 taka respectively for per madrasah student in the year 2000 compared to that of Tk 3288 and 940 for student in general secondary schools and 4285 and 2103 for college student. This is due to *a)* low enrolment of students in madrasahs and *b)* in efficient and corrupt management of the madrasah system.[6] On the other hand in higher education per student recurring cost is extremely low compare to general education. Table 6.14 shows that in madrsah education while the recurring cost is 3288 tk, the recurring cost of a university student is 36,381 tk. That 2.6 percent compare to 28.4 percent.

In terms of investment on education it has been and still is far too low by any standard. In 1974 only one percent of GNP was spent for education. This has been increased to an average of 1.45 percent of GNP for the period 1981-1987 (Ali: 1996). This figure is one of the lowest in the region and falls far below the regional average of 4.4 percent of GNP (CUS: 1990).

Summary and Conclusions

Bangladesh is one of the least developed countries in the World. Since its liberation, Governments of the country have been trying to accelerate the economic and social development through the promotion of education in the country.

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

However, despite their efforts, most of the people still live in underdeveloped condition, mainly because of their poor economic condition and educational backwardness. In this chapter, efforts have been made to find out the problems and barriers of educational progress of the country. While investigating these, some of the major problems have been identified as the reasons for the failure of educational progress in the country. Briefly these are:

a) ***Poor Economic Condition:*** A small country with huge population, poverty has been identified as one of the major problems. It has been discussed in this chapter that In Bangladesh, dropout from primary school is very high which is considered as a serious problem. Even those complete primary education a substantial number of them cannot continue in the secondary level. Poverty is the main reason for such high rates of dropout, although there are some other reasons, most of them are related to the economic condition of the country. Without substantial progress in the economic condition, it will be difficult to prevent dropout from schools.

b) ***Duality in National Education System.*** It has been rooted in the country's political and historical background. Bangladesh inherited this dual system of education with discrimination between the two. From beginning to the end, national education system is divided into two distinct systems as general and madrasah education. The governments of Bangladesh tried to overcome this problem and minimise the existing gap between the two systems, but in reality gaps seem to be widening.

c) ***The Quality of Madrasah Education:*** One of the major problems of

madrasah education has been revealed in this chapter is, the quality of madrasah education, which is comparatively poor compared to the general education. Madrasah systems of education has insufficient or no scope of higher education and have hardly any trained-teacher compared with general education[7]. This system does not provide Honours courses (3 / 4years) and research facilities that that existed in general education. This problem will be more aggravated than ever in future when national university will start 3 years pass course and 4 years honours course.

d) ***Madrasah Attract fewer Students than School.*** Because of insufficient students it is difficult to provide enough educational facilities in madrasah. Although the number of madrasah students is increasing in the subsequent years, the number of institution is increasing comparatively more in number.

e) ***Discrimination in Financing on Two System of Education.*** Although government is spending more money per madrasah students compared with school students up to secondary level, In the higher level, expenditure gap is wide between madrasah and school, and thus difficult to provide good education. None of the *Ibtedayee madrasahs* is fully run by government. Unlike general education, government gives only a partial support to them although in primary level madrasah attracts a huge number of students. In higher education per student Annual Governments Expenditure is more than five times higher in general education than of madrasah education.

f) ***Religion is One of the Major Elements which Prevailing the Dual***

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[7] In Madrasah education the number trained teacher are 7.3 percent, while 43. 6 percent in

System of Education. While most of the people live in rural area where pre-primary education is dominated by religious institutions (like maqtab), most of the people prefer to initiate their childrerns' education through Islamic education. Therefore a good number of Ibtedayee madrasah existed in the country without having a proper government support. Enough government support might be help to promote the position of education of the county especially in the rural area.

g) *Post Independence Political Condition.* Due to political stagnation it seems to be difficult to provide a unified education system. Madrasahs are growing in the country unrestrictedly without having a sufficient numbers of students. But the government cannot prevent them because of public sentiment. Most of the political parties want to use the public sentiment as their asset. Hardly they have any initiative to solve the problem related to his.

h) *Administrative Discrimination of the Two System.* There are various government institutions to control general education. Besides, the universities control higher education and examination in their respective affiliated colleges. On the other hand, Bangladesh Madrasah Education Board (have only one branch) is responsible for controlling all state (Beginning to the end) of madrasah education which seems to be illogical. Even it is also responsible for producing the curriculum and textbooks for madrasah.

i) *Absence of Appropriate and Effective Education Policy:* Finally, the main

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general school.

Chapter VII

Alienation of Madrasah Educated People: The Causes and Consequences

Introduction

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

problem of our national education system is the absence of and appropriate effective education Policy. Each year a significant number of students are coming out of both system of education. Therefore, with the increasing number of educated people the problems cause by duality in education will increase. This situation demands an improvement in terms of minimising the gap between the two system of education.

Alienation of Madrasah Educated People: The Causes and Consequences

Introduction

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

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time. They also consider them responsible for all the problems in society.

Major Differences: While investigating the differences between the general and madrasah educated, apparently three major elements of differences have been found. These are Dresses, politics and Employment prospects.

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

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

Politics and the Madrasah Educated People: Bangladesh is a multiparty democratic country. At present, more than 100 political parties are working in the country. All these parties have different goals and objectives. But they also have many things in common. Most of the parties try to promote a secular ideology but some of them are doing politics in order to establish an Islamic ideology in the country. In general the madrasah-educated people give their support to those parties, which promise to establish Islamic rule in the country. On the other hand the overwhelming majority of the general educated people still supports political parties, which are not based on Islamic ideology.

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

into two blocks in most cases.

Employment Prospects and the Madrasah Educated People: Apart from dress and politics, the madrasah-educated people are alienated from public and private services, in the general administration of state machineries. Almost all sectors are overwhelmingly dominated by general school educated people. Although Madrasah students spend the same 16 years in education as general educated students for their education, they can hardly compete with the school educated. It has been found from the field survey conducted in 2002 on some selected government, semi-government, autonomous and private organisations that almost all the public and semi-public positions are occupied by school educated people. Only about 19 percent of the employees of Bangladesh Madrasah Education Board (BMEM) and 10 percent of General School teachers were educated in madrasah. On the other hand 54 percent of Madrasah teachers were madrasah education background. (Table 7.1). It is important to note that none of the first class officers have come directly from madrasah education (not even in BMEB), although the government recognises their degrees, and gives an equivalent value to their counterpart in the schools and colleges. The madrasah educated are usually not eligible to apply for most of the jobs in the public and private sector except to those in the education sector, especially in madrasahs. Therefore, those madrasah educated seeking government jobs get general education after the completion of madrasah education. Table 7.1 shows that only 21 employees out of more than 2,52,000 (employees), in different institutions were educated in both systems of education, Madrasah and school.

It is notable here that the Country's judicial laws in most cases are Islamic in nature. But none of the judges or advocates is madrasah educated, while Madrasahs are offering *Kamil* (highest) degree in *Fiqh* (Islamic law) to produce experts in Islamic law. Those *'Foqaha'* (Law expert) do their practice and use their knowledge outside the government courts, especially in the rural areas in an informal way. In the villages, where people cannot afford court expenses they very often go to *Maulanas* to solve their social or family problems.

The main government job for madrasah-educated people is teaching in schools or in madrasahs. This can be evident form Table 7.1. Out of 76116 jobs in Madrasah 54 percent occupied by madrasah educated persons while in schools, out of 1.7 million jobs only 10 percent were occupied by madrasah educated. However, these two sectors were the largest provider of employment of madrasah students. In general public services the Madrasah-educated person virtually occupies no positions at all. Even in the banking sector, madrasah students did not occupy any position. However, in some of the banks such as Islamic Bank, Al-Arafah Bank, Arab Bangladesh Bank etc. madrasah students get jobs.

The most common professions that the madrasah educated people enjoy are *Imam*, *Muajjin* or *Khatib* of Mosque.[1] Many of them do missionary work together with their own business. But it is very common in Bangladesh, for them to undertake activities such as registration of marriages, *janajah*, *Munajaat*, recitation from holy Quran, *Akika* and Islamic missionary works instead of any permanent job.

These are some of the works they usually do as the means of their livelihood.

This chapter among others finds out the causes of social alienation of madrasah-educated people. The following pages will sketch the overall reasons for this contrasting situation.

Table 7.1: Educational Institutions Where the Employees of Selected Public and Semi-public Organisations Received their Formal Education

Names of the Organisation	Academic Background			Total
	Madrasah	**School**	**Both**	
Public Service Commission(a)	-	1198 (99)	8 (0.7)	1206 (100)
Sonali Bank(b)	-	284 (100)		284 (100)
A Research Institution ©	-	56 (100)		56 (100)
National University (d)	-	92 (92)	8(8)	100 (100)
A Project (e)	-	20 (100)		20 (100)
Madrasah Education Board (f)	21 (19)	83 (76)	5(4.6)	109 (100)
Religious Madrasahs(g)	40823 (54)	35293 (46)		76116 (100)
General School(g)	16865 (10)	157032 (90)		173897 (100)
Total	57709 (23)	194058 (77)	21	251788(100)

Note: Figure in parenthesis indicates the Percentage.

Sources: Field Survey by Author in2002
   a. The figures were taken form seven Foundation Courses at Bangladesh public Administration Training Centre (PATC), Savar, Dhaka, 2001
   b. From six Foundation Course (3,5-9) in Sonali Bank Staff College, Dhaka, 2001

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[1] According to 1985 census there exists 131641 mosque in Bangladesh (BBS: 19 85)

c. On the basis of total survey on the employees of Bangladesh Institute of International Strategic Studies, (BIISS) Dhaka. 2001

d. On the basis of sample survey in National University, Gazipur, Dhaka.

e. On the basis of employment data of a project named Early Implementation Project in Bangladesh (EIP), Motijheel, Dhaka.

f. On the basis of total survey on employees of Bangladesh Madrasah Education Board (BMEB), Dhaka, 2001

g. On the basis of Table 4.1 & 4.13, BANBEIS (1999) National Education Survey (Post Primary) 1999, Dhaka: Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Information and Statistics.

Causes of Alienation

While investigating the causes of social alienation of madrasah-educated people, it has been found that they were rooted mainly in historical events through several centuries. Some systemic faults in madrasah education were found as causes of the social alienation of madrasah educated people. Various social, religious, economic and political factors were also found as the causes of social alienation of madrasah educated people. Finally the perceptual gap between the people educated both in school and madrasah is also responsible for this alienation process. These causes have been discussed below:

1. The historical causes

2. The systemic Faults

3. The social and economic causes

4. Political causes

5. Mentality of people.

The Historical Causes

Historical evidences show that during the Muslim rule Islamic education was a

unitary system of education in Bengal and also in the Sub-continent. The persons who were educated in Madrasahs were not only able to perform as religious teachers and spiritual guides but also were social workers, writers, engineers, doctors, soldiers and sailors, etc. They (the *syyid,* the *alim* and the *Sufis*) were held in very high esteem and belonged to the higher echelon of society (Karim: 1987). In addition to the people educated locally in Madrasahs the Muslim rulers welcomed and honoured people from outside the region. They were given suitable employment at appropriate places in order to expanding educational facilities (Karim: 1987). Madrasah educated people were the mainstream of society. To join the mainstream people of other religions like Hindus, also used to take education in the Mdrasah (Ali: 1983). In fact, madrasah educated people enjoyed the highest positions in the state during those days. But this trend was eroded gradually during the 200 years of British Rule.

Available historical evidences also show that the present contrasting situation of general and madrasah educated is largely the result of some historical facts. These are as follows:

1.   It is the result of the undemocratic policy of Muslim ruler. In those days, although Islamic education was widely expanded for various reasons, (discussed earlier), the rulers of the country hardly tried to promote the education of the general masses. Their main ambition was the expansion of Muslim society to strengthen their empire through Islamic education. There was hardly any relation

between the worldly affair and instruction of the madrasah education of general Masses. The education of general masses remains in great distance between the promotion of worldly affair and the achievements of religious education. While the rulers were concern of the aristocracy only, the Islamic Education virtually failed to promote the earthly (material) life of the general masses except to the aristocrats. Therefore, after the introduction of general education by the British, which benefited the worldly life of general people superseded the Islamic education. Those remain to madrasah education alienated from the mainstream of the society.

2.   Secondly, it is the result of the British policy, which has already been discussed, (in Chapter Four). At the beginning of the British rule, a series of reforms like the Grant of *Dewani, Permanent Settlements* and *Resumption Laws* of the *Awqaf* estates, the ground had been prepared to diversify the national education by breaking the backbone of the well-established Islamic education.

Through the *Dewani,* the Muslim lost those sources of emolument that enabled them to bear the expenses of the education of their children and thus were deprived of that power which they formerly possessed to endow and patronise public seminaries.

Because of the Permanent Settlement, majority of the Muslim middle class lost their proprietary rights on the land and they lost their ability to patronise Islamic

education. Through the Resumption Proceeding, the government seized all the *awqaf* properties of Muslim educational institutions and the madrasahs of Bengal had either to be closed or became unable to deliberate a high quality of education.

Because of British policy national education of Bengal was divided into many kinds. For example,

The establishment of the Calcutta Madrasah divided Islamic education into private and government. While Calcutta Madrasah did not followed the traditional curriculum of India (Dars-I-Nizami) it failed to attract the majority of the Muslims. Only those who wanted to get a job and establish them in the society, enrolled in Calcutta Madrasha. But majority of the people kept them away from government sponsored education and remained attached mainly to the private madrasahs. Besides, after the introduction of English system of education, which was followed by the abolition of Persian and substitution of English as the state language, the government madrasah lost its importance as a recruiting ground for public service, so lost its popularity. As a result the private madrasahs emerged with support from the general public and gave the highest quality for Islamic education and became popular instead of the government madrasah. As a result, Calcutta Mdrasah education was degraded in the field of Islamic education as well as in the field of general education. If the curriculum of Calcutta Madrasah could satisfy the general Muslim both in terms of the quality of religious instruction and job prospects, the result would have been different.

The policy of Calcutta University was one of the causes of madrasah-educated people being alienated from the mainstream of society. After the establishment of Calcutta University it became communal, as Hindus dominated it, and did not include the madrasha education with these as other schools and colleges. There was not any provision for teaching madrasah subjects in the university. That is why the madrasah educated were not permitted to compete with the generally educated people in the job market. . This problem still remains with madrasah education system.

Finally, the government of Bengal established another kind of madrasah to bring Islamic educated people into the mainstream of society. Although this program was successful in many respects, it could not bring any fruitful future in the field of Islamic education. Instead, it created another division within Islamic education as well as Islamic educated people. Behind this, virtually they played their Divide and Rule Policy. They have not included the Calcutta Madrasah under national education system. Rather, they divided the national Islamic education system as Old Scheme, New scheme and Khariji or Qauami System (Ali: 1983). These divisions of the madrasah education system acted as an important obstacle to bringing madrasah-educated people in the mainstream of society.

Another cause is the abolition of Muslim monopoly from administration. It has been discussed earlier (in chapter four) that, while the East India Company took

over the country from the Muslims, they were conscious about Muslim power. Therefore, they shut down all paths for the Muslim aristocracy; because they believed that their exclusion was necessary for their (British) own safety (Ali: 1983). They abolished the Muslim monopoly of the most lucrative functions in the administration, Judicial, Political or in brief Civil Employ which was essential to them for their own interest (Hunter: 1871).

The British had no worries from the Hindus, because they were in a subordinate position. So, the British wisely and confidently transferred the privileges of Muslim aristocracy to the Hindus. For the first fifty years of the company's Rule the Musalmans had the lion's share of state patronage. During the second half century they tide turned at first slowly, then the Hindus poured into it and have since completely filled every grade of official life. On the other hand, the Hindus had no reason not to welcome it, because Islamic and English education was the same for them. Rather it was advantageous for them, because the British favoured them. They found this as a great opportunity to supersede their former masters. But Muslims kept themselves away from English education. The result was that they fell far behind the Hindus. After some time some of the Muslims realised that there was nothing more to be lost by their former aristocracy. Everything had gone and now there was no way to keep them in the mainstream of society unless they started to take English education. Others remained attached to Islamic education and neglected English education and so remained alienated from the mainstream of society.

During the Pakistan period the process of being alienated of madrasah educated people not only continued but also increased. The Pakistani military Rulers failed to introduce a uniform education system for the people on the basis of an appropriate education policy. Although they integrated the New Scheme Madrasah which was the only system that promoted Islamic education and at the same time supported Islamic educated people helping them be absorbed in public sector activities. By integrating the New Scheme Madrasah, all the ways have been closed for the modern religious education. As a result, being an Islamic state, the government of Pakistan failed to introduce a sound education system based on both religious and modern ways to match the needs of society.

Bangladesh have emerged as a secular state. Madrasah education therefore suffered from uncertainty at the beginning of the first few years of independence. But very soon, madrasah education not only survived but through a series of reforms many of its problems have been removed. However, yet there are many problems in the process of integrating the two systems.

The Systemic Faults of Madrasah Education

While investigating the causes of social alienation of madrasah educated people, it has been found that there are some problems associated with madrasah education itself which are responsible for this rift between madrasah and school educated people. These problems, for the analysis in the present study, will be called

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"systemic fault" or "systemic problem". In this thesis the systemic problems have been derived mainly from secondary literature and substantiated by the case studies and interviews.

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

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

As a result, self-confident students from madrasahs do not even stand a chance in the job market. To reduce this problem Islamic University can play an important role. National Education Policy 2000 suggested that, Madrasah education at Fazil and Kamil levels, in terms of designing syllabus, controlling examination and supervision etc., might be undertaken by the Islamic University. Such a bold step may help resolve the problem to some extent.

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

Others, most of whom are educated in madrasah, argue just the reverse. According to them madrasah education is essential for the society not only for the sake of religion, but also to develop society from a moral point of view. They also think that madrasah educated people are self-sufficient and can survive on their

own without support from the government. The madrasah students, in most cases, get a job, however small it is, earlier than school students. Of course, all these jobs are in the informal social sectors.[2] They strongly argue that lack of the government's interest in the development of madrasah education comes mainly from their ignorance about religious education.

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

3. There are some general weaknesses in the higher education of the madrasah system. Firstly, most of the subjects taught in madrasah are not taught at university level. Therefore, there is no research on the development of the subjects. Secondly, there is no professional organisation of the madrasah-educated people, nor is there any professional journal brought out by the madrasah teachers. However, an arrangement has been made to train madrasah teachers on the basis of recommendation made by the National Education Policy 2000. An institute located in Gazipur, Dhaka trains madrasah teachers of various levels. But, only training is not enough. Research on individual subject is necessary for the expansion of knowledge.

4. From the point of view of professional education madrasah education has very

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

limited scope. Although the proponents of madrasah education claim that the system is self-sufficient and teaches subjects covering all aspects of life. In reality, the situation is different. One cannot become an accountant, a doctor or an engineer from a madrasah. The reason is that the subjects offered by the madrasahs are mainly religious, and not developed professionally to work for the development of the society.

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

(a). Educational equipment is one of the reasons for poor educational quality. Most of the madrasahs do not have a good science laboratory nor they do have adequate library facilities. Only 38 percent of Madrasahs have Library facilities. Majority do not have library facilities, which are considered as essential in teaching and learning process. In Bangladesh there are about 1017 madrasahs offering higher degrees such as *Fazil* and 141 madrasah offering highest *Kamil* degrees (Total 1158). Although 80 percent of *Fazil* and all *kamil* madrasah have library, but are not adequate in terms of number of books and quality of fundamental facilities and maintenance of Books (BANBEIS: 1999). Even the Dhaka *Alia Madrasah* which has a library with more than 30 thousand valuable reference books, reported to have maintained poorly.

(b) Shortage of qualified and trained teachers is another reason for poor

educational quality. In Bangladesh still training facilities for madrasah teachers are not sufficient at any level. There is hardly any teacher who has subject specialisation. These are considered essential for the progress of educational quality.

In terms of number of trained teacher in all types of education is unsatisfactory. In madrasah it is lowest of all. Only 7.3 percent of madrasah teachers are trained (BANBEIS: 1999). Recently established Madrasah Teacher Training Institute may reduce this problem

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

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

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

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

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

7. Absence of appropriate education policy is regarded as the most important factor of the educational problems of Bangladesh. To many educationists and intellectuals, the absence of an appropriate education policy is one of the causes of alienating the madrasah-educated people. Since the liberation of Bangladesh,

several education committees have been formed[3]. But because of the political uncertainty in the country none of their recommendations has been implemented, and no policy has been adopted. That is why in Bangladesh there is virtually no appropriate education policy suitable for all the changing political circumstances. Without an appropriate education policy it is not possible to solve the basic problem for madrasah education and the people educated there.

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

3. Social Causes

In the previous sections it can be observed that two different groups of educated people, one from madrasahs and the other from schools have drifted from each other historically and also as a result of systemic faults. Now, focus has been given to the socio-economic factors as to show how they produce two distinct camps in society. This kind of situation can be found not only n Bangladesh, but

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[3] At least 9 Committee including Bangladesh Education Commission, 1974, National Curriculum Committee, 1976; The Islamic university Committee, 1977; Madarasah education reconstruction

also in many other Muslim countries.

Socio-religious activities are related to religious performance that is, prayer (five times daily, *Jumua*- once in a week and *Taraweih*- one month during the month of *Ramadan*), religious teachings and numerous other activities (like death rituals, *milad,* etc.) and festivals like *Eid*, wedding ceremonies.

The other kind of socio-cultural activities like dance, music, drama or play, fair, etc. on the other hand, are very strong elements of our culture.

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

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

committee, 1989 etc.

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

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

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

While investigating the causes of social alienation of madrasah educated people some other social factors also have been found in this process. Those are a)

Religious Factors and b) Economic Factors.

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

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

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

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

4. **Political cause:** In Bangladesh, politicians are divided into three prominent

groups. First is the right leaning western capitalists' form of politics; second, left leaning socialist oriented politics; and third, is Islamic politics. The former two groups are dominated by school educated people. In the politics of Islamic Ideology the support of madrasah educated people is overwhelming.

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

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

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

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

On the other hand, to the madrasah-educated people, they are the people in society who sacrifice themselves for religion and call people to the path of religion. But, their views on this matter are different. Many of them believe that they are alienated because the mainstream of the society, which is dominated by the school educated people, is full of non-Islamic activities, and the madrasah educated

people cannot be part of that society. They also think that their educational quality is up to expectation.

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

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

Summary and Conclusions

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

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

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

Historical evidences available shows that the present contrasting situation of general educated and madrasah educated is largely the result of British policy towards undivided India. At the beginning of British rule, through a series of

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reforms like the grant of *Dewani*, Permanent Settlements and Resumption Laws to the *Awqaf* estates, the ground had been prepared to diversify national education by breaking the backbone of the well-established Islamic education. By the grant of '*Dewani*' the Muslim lost those sources of emoluments which had enabled them to bear the expenses of their children's education and thus were deprived of the power which they formerly possessed to endow and patronise public seminaries. Because of Permanent Settlement, the majority of the Muslim middle class lost their proprietary rights as well as the capability to patronise their own education system. Through Resumption Laws the government seized all the *Awqaf* properties of Muslim educational institutions and the madrasahs of Bengal had either to be closed or became unable to deliver a high quality of education.

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

Thirdly, After the introduction of the English system of education which was followed by the abolition of Persian and substitution of English as the state language, the Calcutta Madrasah lost its attraction as a recruiting ground for public servants and also lost its popularity. As a result, the private madrasahs

emerged with support from the general public. The private madrasahs, therefore, gave the highest quality of Islamic education and became popular instead of the government madrasah. As a result Calcutta Madrasah education was degraded in the field of Islamic education as well as in the field of general education.

Fourthly, after the establishment of Calcutta University, it became communal as it was dominated by Hindus and did not include the madrasah education with it. There was no provision for teaching madrasah subjects in the university. That is why the madrasah educated were not permitted to compete with the generally educated people in the job market.

Fifthly, apathy of Muslim Community also was as responsible factor for this alienation process. They did not accept any kind of reformation of curriculum of madrasahs education.

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

During the Pakistan period the process of alienation of the madrasah educated people not only continued but also increased. The Pakistani military government

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

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

Some social factors are also responsible for the alienation of madrasah educated

people. Traditionally the madrasah-educated people are dependent on donations and charity from the people and are not patronised by the government. Therefore, by performing religious duties, many of them get money from the people. The madrasah-educated people are also isolated politically, because of their overwhelming support for Islamic oriented political parties.

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

Determinants of the Student's Enrolment in Madrasah or in School

Introduction

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

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

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

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

A number of factors have been found which play an important role in the enrolment pattern. In most cases a number of factors worked together. The factors were grouped into five different categories. These are social factors, economic factors, cultural factors, institutional factors, and special circumstances.

Social Factors

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

Educational Background of the Parents: It has been observed that the parents educated in a madrasah usually send their children to a madrasah and those were educated in a school prefer schools for their children's education. Exceptions were found in circumstances, like occupation, income and sometimes location factors (to be discussed later). In the case of illiterate parents the situation is different. Since they do not have any clear idea about the future prospects of their children, others often influence them. The most important factor

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is the persons who influence them. Sometimes they themselves decide. On the other hand, those were highly educated, particularly in the school system, usually send their children to schools with a view to better future prospects.

Table 8.1: Education for Children from the Following Parental Background

a. Rural Area

Qualification of parents	Father			Mother		
	Children attending			Children attending		
	Madrasah	School	Total	Madrasah	School	Total
Illiterate	-	-	-	1	2	3
Primary and below	8	10	18	31	32	63
Below Secondary	12	11	23	16	14	30
Secondary	7	13	20	-	2	2
Higher Secondary	4	4	8	-	-	-
Graduate and above	3	8	11	-	-	-
Madrasah educated	15	4	19	2	-	2
Educated form both system	1	-	1	-	-	-
Total	50	50	100	50	50	100

b. Urban Area:

Qualification of parents	Father			Mother		
	Children attending			Children attending		
	Madrasah	School	Total	Madrasah	School	Total
Illiterate	-	-	-	-	-	-
Primary and below	3	-	3	11	-	11
Below Secondary	11	-	11	21	1	22
Secondary	3	2	5	9	6	15
Higher Secondary	2	3	5	4	14	18
Graduate and above	20	45	65	2	29	31
Madrasah educated	7	-	7	3	-	3
Educated form both system	4	-	4	-	-	-
Total	50	50	100	50	50	100

Sources: Field Survey 2001

Tables 8.1.a and 8.1.b show that the relationship between educational background of the parents and their children's enrolment either in madrasah or in schools. It can be observed from tables that, compared to the parents of madrasah students, the parents of school students are more educated. It shows that out of 76 higher educated father 53 send their children to school and 23 send their children to madrasah. On the other hand, out of 55 less educated (up to below secondary) fathers 34 send their children to madrasah and 21 send their children to school.

Respondent's mothers' educational qualifications reflect a clearer picture. It is reflected in the table (table 8.1.a and 8.1.b) that higher educated mothers prefer to send their children to school more, than to madrasah. These tables show that out of 129 below secondary level educated mothers 80 (48 in rural area and 32 in urban area) sent their child to a madrasah, while 49 (48 in rural area) of them sent their children to schools. On the other hand, out of 31 higher educated mothers 29 sent their children to school. Only two of them sent their children to madrasah.

It has also been found that madrasah educated father although prefer to sent their children to madrasah they also sent their children to both madrasah and schools (table 8.1.a and 8.1.b). On the other hand, madrasah educated mother only send their children to madrasahs only and none to school (table 8.1.a and 8.1.b).

Pattern of Family Background: Pattern of family background also is an important factor of students' enrolment either in school or in madrasah. It has

been found in Table 8.2 that those families have madrasah-educated relatives prefer to enrol their children to madrasah than of those families don't have any madrasah-educated relative. It can be evident from Table 8.2 that 72 percent of madrasah students have madrasah educated relative while only 11 percent do not have any madrasah educated relatives.

Table 8.2 Pattern of Family Preference for Madrasah and for School having Madrasah Educated Relative.

Family of students attending	Family included madrasah educated relatives						Grand total
	Yes			No			
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	
Madrasah	41	30	71	9	20	29	100
School	5	6	11	45	44	89	100
Total	46	36	82	54	64	118	200

Sources: Field survey. 2001

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

Table 8.3: Person most Influential in Making the Decision to Send the Children either in Madrasah or in School

Dominant Person	Enrol in madrasah	Enrol in school
Parents	81	100
Grand Parents	6	-
Brother/Sister	2	-
Uncle/Aunt	1	-
Fathers friend	1	-
Teacher	1	-
Other relatives	2	-
Self	6	-
Total	100	100

Sources: Field Survey, 2001

Table 8.3 shows that in the case of children's enrolment in school, parents played the decisive role in all cases, but in case of madrasah students some other persons in the family along with the parents played a dominant role in decision making. Especially the grandparents' role was found to be important.

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

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like Imam of a mosque or a teacher of a madrasah and so on can influence children to study in madrasah.

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

There are several reasons for male dominance in the madrasah system. First, Islamic rituals are performed under the leadership of men. Women cannot be an *Imam* or *Muajjin* of a mosque and they are not entitled to lead any kind of socio-religious performance.

Second, men and women mixing together has been prohibited in Islam. It has hindered the development of a co-education system among madrasahs in Bangladesh. On the other hand, there were no women's madrasah to educate women in the past. In recent years however separate madrasahs for girls are being established to remove the problem. As a result, female students in madrasahs are increasing gradually. National level statistics show that even at beginning of the last decade, males dominated madrasah education was expanding at a noteworthy rate. In the year 1989, number of male students were about 92 percent and female student were only about 8 percent (BANBEIS: 1989, p.63). On the other hand, in the year 1999 male student decreased to about 60 percent while

female students increased to 40 percent (BANBEIS: 1999, Table3.4, p.40)

Size of Household or the Number of Children in the Household: The size of the household sometimes acts as a determinant in the enrolment of children in the educational institutions. Households with more children are likely to send their children to madrasahs and some to schools. This helps the household to minimise the cost of education. It is important to note here that the expenditure in madrasah education is usually less than half that of the school system. Small households, with one or two children usually prefer to send their children to school. It has been found in the survey that the household size of the madrasah student is larger than that of the school students. (Table 8.4)

Table 8.4 Household Size of the Student

Number of household member	Madrasah Student			School Student			Grand Total
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	
3	1	-	1	-	17	17	18
4	1	4	5	1	17	18	23
5	7	7	14	6	10	16	30
6	8	15	23	18	6	24	47
7	15	8	23	19	-	19	42
8	8	8	16	1	-	1	17
9	6	7	13	4	-	4	17
10	3	-	3	1	-	1	4
11	1	1	2	-	-	-	2
Total	50	50	100	50	50	100	200

Average size of household 6.89, 5.34 and 6.12
Sources: Field Survey, 2001

Social Inhibitions / Prestige: The guardians of the students who were educated

in madrasah and were devoted workers in Islam feel ashamed if their children do not go to a madrasah. It is because the workers in Islam try to bring other children to madrasah education. If their children do not go to madrasah, they cannot solicit to bring in others. On the other hand, those who are educated in the school system, often hesitate to send their children to a madrasah. The reasons are; firstly, many people do not want to make their children *Alim* who mainly live on donations from others. Secondly, some of the madrasahs live on public donations and *zakat* from the rich. Many guardians have reservations about sending their children to madrasahs because of the fact that their children would be educated and live on the money of others. Therefore, Majority of the professional groups of the society sends their children to school while the entire *Imam* and madrasah teachers send their children to madrasah only (Table: 8.5)

Table 8.5 Main Occupation of Household Head of the Respondent Student

Occupation of Head of Household	Madrasah	School	Total
Professional i.e., doctor, engineer, journalist, soldier etc.	1	11	12
Business	32	31	63
Service	31	34	65
Agricultural	12	13	25
School teacher	14	10	24
Driver	1	-	1
Imam, Madrasah Teacher	8	-	8
Others	1	1	2
Total	100	100	200

Sources: Field survey, 2001

Economic Factors

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

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

While investigating the factors of students' enrolment in madrasah several cases have been found who enrol in madrasah only for financial reason. Their parents and guardians are unable to bear the expenses of school education. Therefore, they send them to madrasah.

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

Income Level of the Households: It was postulated that well off families send their children to school. It is because they do not face any financial constraints in paying their educational expenses. Table 8.6 shows that 42 percent of madrasah students come from households which have an income less than Tk=10,000 per month. On the other hand, a similar number of their counterparts in schools come from higher level of income, i.e., and household income around over10, 000 Taka per month. Similarly 7 percent of school student although only in urban area came from household income of over 35,000 taka per month while neither of the madrasah student came from similar income.

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

Table 8.6 Household Income of the Student

Monthly income in Taka	Madrasah Student			School Student			Grand Total
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	
Below 2500	15	3	18	5	1	6	24
2501-3500	20	4	24	15	-	15	39
3501-4500	5	3	8	11	-	11	6
4501-5500	7	7	14	14	-	14	4
5501-7500	3	1	4	3	1	4	8
7501-10,000	-	15	15	2	6	8	23
10,001-15,000	-	6	6	-	13	13	19
15,01-20,000	-	5	5	-	6	6	11
20,001-35,000	-	6	6	-	17	17	23
35,001 and over	-	-	-	-	7	7	7
Total household	50	50	100	50	50	100	200

Sources: Field survey, 2001; Taka 60 = one pound

Job Opportunity/ Employment prospects: Job opportunity is a significant factor in determining the students' enrolment in educational institutions. Although the opportunity for public sector employment is open to both school and madrasah educated, in reality the madrasah-educated people cannot compete with

the school-educated people. It is because the madrasah education is not designed to serve modern public service activities. Therefore, school educated people dominated the modern job market. The madrasah curriculum is designed to develop students as experts of Islamic religion, although they also study arts and science subjects in a limited manner but not sufficiently to compete with their counterparts in schools.

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

However, a large number of madrasah educated people are absorbed in the teaching profession, both in madrasah as well as in the school. This is in fact the only area where they show their competence.

The greatest opportunity for jobs for the madrasah-educated people are religious institutions like madrasah, maktab and mosques. According to government census there were about 1,31,641 mosques all over the country during 1983, which absorb most of the madrasah educated people (BBS: 1985). In fact, this is their absolute domain where no school-educated people can even compete.

Although the job prospects are high in this sector, their salary is very low. 91 percent of the mosques in Bangladesh have average monthly income of below five hundred taka, Only seven percent has their income ranging from taka 500–1499 and only two percent has the monthly income of taka 1500 and above. Most of the large income group mosques are located in Dhaka, Mymensing and Chittagaon. Therefore, most of the Imam of the mosque has to do other thing like teaching, cultivation, business, etc. with their main profession. Only 32,376 Imams do not do other thing. (BBS: 1985)

The main cause of low income of the Imam from mosque is that these institutions are financed by private donations. But even these are very attractive for many in the countryside for their social status and respectability in the village.

In most cases job opportunity seems to be an important factor in choosing enrolment in schools but less often in choosing madrasah. The parents of madrasah students prefer their children to be involved more in missionary works than modern jobs. The question of salary and achieving jobs seems to be not very important to them. Table 8.7 shows that most of the parents of school students (78 percent) preferred a particular profession. On the other hand, parents of madrasah students preferred missionary works including job and 39 percent of them prefer absolute religious work.

Table 8.7 Profession that the Parents like for their Children in Future

Profession	Madrasah Student			School Student		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
Religious leader, Imam, Alim & missionary work	17	22	39	-	-	-
Business	1	5	6	-	2	2
Service	18	2	20	22	11	33
Teacher	-	15	15	1	2	3
Professional work as doctor, engineer, lawyer, pilot, CA and MBA	-	3	3	3	10	13
Making good citizen	2	-	2	7	12	19
Higher education and research	1	3	4	-	8	8
Don't know	10	-	10	17	4	21
Others	1	-	1	-	1	1
Total	50	50	100	50	50	100

Sources: Field Survey, 2001

Occupation of Parents: Most of the population in Bangladesh are involved in agricultural activities and live in rural areas. At first their children go either to *maktab* or to primary schools. The families with a strong religious background continue to send their children from *maktab* to madrasah, and the others go to school. But in the urban areas there are hardly any *maktabs*. The children go first to nursery and then to primary schools. There is little chance for them to go to madrasah. But some urban parents do send their children to madrasah. Wherever they start their education, it has been found in the field survey that 54 percent student (108 out of 200) started their first education with religious

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education. Of them 41 percent are school student and 67 percent of madrasah student.

A general notion is that the children from the elite class usually go to school. Super elite even sends their children to English medium schools. But those who are at lower strata of the professions sometimes send their children to madrasah. Table 8.5 does not however show any clear picture with regard to the occupation of the father and their children's enrolment either in madrasah or in schools. It can be said that the professional groups like the doctor, engineer, journalist, soldiers' prefer to send their children mainly to school. On the other hand, those are related to religious activities send all or at least some of their children to madrasah. (Table 8.5)

The reason for not showing a clear picture in the table is probably the small number of sample. Secondly, since the study conducted on an equal number of (100) students each from school and madrasah and investigated their respective household it has not been possible to get an unbiased picture. However, it shows the occupational characteristics of the parents of the respective students.

Mothers' occupation seems to be insignificant in the students' enrolment either in school or in madrasah. More than 87 percent of the mothers of respondent students were found housewives. Of them 91 percent were madrasah students and 84 percent were school students. Therefore it can be said that usually working

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mothers prefer to enrol their children in school than madrasahs.

Table 8.8 Occupation of Mothers of the Respondent Students

Occupation of mother	Madrasah Student	School Student	Total
Physicians	-	2	2
Business	1	3	4
Service	1	5	6
Self-employed	4	-	4
School Teacher	3	6	9
House wife	91	84	175
Total	100	100	200

Sources: Field survey, 2001

Table 8.8 shows that professional mothers like professional fathers prefer to send their children usually to schools. None of them have sent their children to Madrasah.

Cultural Factors

The term culture is used here to mean the social tradition. The traditional education of Bangladesh (and in a broader sense in this region) was dominated by religion. The Hindus and the Buddhists used to receive their religious education from an institution known as tol. But the Muslims used to receive their religious education from madrasah. These institutions, in fact, used to offer a wide range of subjects other than religion. During the British period, a parallel education

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system has been introduced which is more or less secular in style. Modern subjects particularly sciences have started to become more popular since then. But religious education did not totally disappear. Since those days, ambitious people started to study modern subjects in school to get privileges and prestige. But those who opposed this intervention favoured traditional education. This legacy still continues among many of the Muslims. They think that school education is not suitable for children to develop their morality. On the other hand, Hindus favoured modern education more than the Muslims. Thus, cultural affinity is a factor, which determines students' enrolment either in madrasah or in school. The major factors are as follows:

Religion: As a strong element of culture, religion plays an important role as to what kind of education the children will receive. Muslims, although the substantial majority of their children go to modern schools, believe that their children should be brought up with Islamic values. The other religious groups also try to protect their respective religious values. But the super religious people consider the acquisition and dissemination of Islamic knowledge, learning and teaching as sacred duty of every Muslim. They prefer to enrol all their children in the madrasah. It has been found in the field survey that 75 percent of the parents of respondent madrasah student send their children to madrasah only for religious causes (Table 8.9). Their arguments were:

I.   Prophet Muhammad (SM) said, "Disseminate from me even if it is a small piece of knowledge."

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II.   One of the basic tenets of Islam is *'Dawa'* means teaching others about Islam.

The influence of *'Tablig jamat'*[2] with regard to madrasah education seems to be quite apparent these days. While investigating the cultural factors behind the choice of educational system it has been found that, many people after coming in touch with *tablig jamat* send their children to the madrasah. It seems that this is due to their religious passion. Many of them believe that their children, once educated in madrasah, will subsequently devote themselves to the religious cause and will be a continuous source of virtues, even for their parents. This notion comes from the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad (SM) that, after the death, peoples' sources of virtues will be stopped except in three cases. One of them is the dissemination of religious knowledge among the people.

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

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

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

very likely to educate their children similar to their own background.

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

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

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

The followers (*Murid*) on the other hand are often influenced by their peers

directly or indirectly to get associated with their religious institutions. Many of them ultimately send their children to the madrasah built by their peers.

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

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

The families who have many school educated persons and do not have any madrasah-educated relatives, send their children to schools. Table 8.2 shows that 11percent of the school students have madrasah educated persons in their families. On the other hand, most of the madrasah student (71 percent) has some madrasah-educated persons among their families and also have relatives (table 8.2).

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

Religious Dogma: Many students are enrolled in madrasahs, because their parents or guardians made *'mannat'* (Vow to Allah) about it. While investigating the factors of students enrolment it has been found that six parents of respondent madrasah students enrolled their children in madrasah only because this kind of vow (Table 8.9) This kind of vow is made in different situations and contexts. Some of the situations are mentioned below:

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

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

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

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madrasah; that is why their son was in the madrasah.

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

Table 8.9 Reasons for Sending Children to Maderasah or School

Reason	Madrasah Student	School Student	Total
1. Location factor	4	12	16
2. Religious factor	75	-	75
3. Family tradition	2	-	2
4. Joint curriculum	8	5	13
5. Modern curriculum	-	3	3
6. Ideal education	-	11	11
7. Career opportunity	-	49	49
8. Quality of education	-	14	14
9. Quality of institution	-	4	4
10.Mannat (Vow): a. For naughty child (1) b. For sick child (4) c. For making *alim* (1)	6	-	6
11.Unable to study in school	1	-	1
12. Poverty	1	-	1
13. Others	3	2	5
Total	100	100	200

Sources: Field survey. 2001

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Institutional Factors

Apart from social, economic and cultural factors it has been observed that institutional factors are also involved in the choice of a particular educational system. The institutional facilities are an important controlling factor for the choice of education system. The institutional facilities vary between madrasahs and schools. Generally, schools have good facilities for the students in terms of educational equipment, laboratory facilities, tiffin, transport, etc. which attracts students. Madrasahs, on the other hand, in many cases have accommodation facility, which is also a positive factor in the choice of the madrasah system. It can be mentioned here that the accommodation and food are in most cases free or highly subsidised. Due to such facilities some parents send their children to madrasahs.

The reputation of madrasah and school is also a determining factor. Parents usually try to send their children to an institution with a good reputation, irrespective of their types, such as madrasah or school. Quality of teaching and standard of education is central to such reputation. It has been found during the field survey that four parents of respondent school students determine to enrol their children in school instead of madrasah considering the fact that the quality of teaching of the school system of education (Table 8.9).

Competitiveness and changes of institution several times in the general education system are also related to the choice of education system. Sometimes the parents

think about the ability of their children, whether they would be able to cope with high competition in schools. Not only competition, in the school system students have to change institutions from primary to high school, and high school to college and then college to university. At every stage there is competition as well as other problems. Considering all these, weak students are usually sent to madrasahs where in most cases once admitted they can continue until the last stage. One student of madrasah has been found during the field survey who has enrolled in madrasah because he was unable to continue school education any more (Table 8.9).

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

Special Circumstances

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

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Location: Location is an important factor for children's enrolment in the educational institution. Parents usually prefer a closer location if other factors remain the same. If a madrasah is located within a close proximity to the home, it is likely that many of the children will go to madrasah. While investigating the factors related to the students enrolment either in school and madrasah, 16 students from both school (12) and madrasah (4) have been found who were enrolled in their institutions only because of locational factors (Table 8.9).

In case of non-availability of either madrasah or school within a close distance, the decision depends on other factors such as the economic condition of the parents. One example can be given here from one of the girl respondents. After completion of primary education she did not find any girls' high school close by. The residential girls' high schools in the towns are quite expensive. Her parents then sent her to a residential madrasah in Dhaka City where lodging is free. She indicated that she did not want to study in a madrasah, but the circumstances compelled her to go there. In another example, a guardian of a school student said that because of unavailability of a good madrasah within a closer distance he sent his child to school.

Influence of Ustad / Teacher: The influence of *ustad* (religious teacher) with regard to children's enrolment in madrasah plays an important role. This role is much stronger than the teachers in general school. It is because the *Ustads* pay a closer supervision to the children and also try to influence their parents. Generally

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the schoolteachers do not try to influence the parents to send their children to school. May be this is because they have sufficient students. But in the case of madrasah, *Ustads* make lots of effort to get more students in their institutions. One madrasah student has found during the field survey whose enrolment was mostly influenced by his teacher (Table 8.3).

Summary and Conclusions

Although there is a wide gap between two system of education, there are numbers of factors, which play an important role in the enrolment of students in both system of education. Those factors have been discussed in this chapter under broader five sections. Those are; social factors, economic factors, cultural factors, institutional factors and special circumstances.

Background of parents, pattern of family background, sex of student, size of household of student, social inhibitions has been discussed under social factor as the determinants of students enrolment either in school or madrasah. It has been found that parents educated in madrasah usually send their children in madrasah and parents educated in school prefer school education for their children. Pattern of family background also has a important influence in students enrolment either in school or madrasah. Those families have madrasah-educated relative prefer to enrol their children to madrasah. In most cases enrolment in school is decided by the parents. On the other hand, in case of enrolment in madrasah some time differs. There it influenced by *Imam*, madrasah teacher and other influential

religious persons. Traditionally male student dominated madrasah system of education. In the recent years, women students are increasing in madrasah system of education.

The size of the household also plays an important role in the enrolment of children either in school or madrasah. While investigating the factors of enrolment it has been found that household with more children prefer to send some of their children in madrasah.

Social prestige is another dominant factor. Those who work for Islam and solicit to bring other in the path of Islam feel a shamed if their children do not go to madrasah. On the other hand, many school-educated parents hesitate to send their children to madrasah because most of the madrasah-educated *alim* mainly live on donation from others and some of madrasah live on public donation and zakat from rich.

Economic determinants in the choice of school or madrasah such as income level of the household, opportunity of job, occupation of parents has been discussed under economic factors. Usually parents and guardians wants to educate their children in order to bring a prosperous life and invest huge amount of money to achieve modern education according to their ability. Those who cannot afford, look for some less expensive type of education. Even as one of the less developed country there are many people who look for free education and lodge for their children rather

than preferring their future career opportunity. In such case parents usually send their children to madrasah in consideration of less expensive education and also of bring a quick return. On the other hand, in case of the families with a strong religious background expense of education and job opportunity seems to have very insignificant for their children's enrolment in madrasah. In this case religious purpose is more important. Thus, many I*mam,* madrasah teacher enrol their children in madrasah rather than school. On the contrary parents of professional group usually prefer to enrol their children in school.

Influence of cultural factors such as religion, family tradition, and religious dogma also discussed in this chapter. Although majority of the Muslims believe that their children should be brought up with Islamic values, the super religious people consider the acquisition and dissemination of Islamic knowledge as a sacred duty of Islam. Because of this, families of strong affinity with religious education peer and their devoted *murid,* many Imams of mosques and teacher of madrasahs prefer to enrol their children only in madrasah. Besides, there are many parents who make vow to Allah to enrol children in madrasah expecting something in return of this such as birth of boy, good health of children or protection of their certain children from any unwanted facts.

There are some institutional factor and some special circumstances, which determines students enrolment either in school or madrasah also has been discussed in this chapter.

From these discussions, it has been clearly revealed that due to various social, economic, cultural, institutional and many other factors both systems of education is similarly accepted by the parents and guardians of our students. Thus, in the present condition, dual system of education seems to be inevitable. Especially, in the early stage of education when the children start their first education[3]. Therefore, for a greater benefit of the nation we have to think that how to improve our education and similarly how to minimise the gap between these two systems of education.

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[3] Although most of the educatisnists suggested to create a unified system of education (and not to maintain two different system of education as general and madrasah), where basic should be similar with enough scope for specialization in individual field of knowledge at higher education.

<div align="center">Chapter IX</div>

Implications of Dual System of Education: An Opinion Survey

Introduction

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

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

The second classification of the respondents was made on the basis of the opinion they expressed. The respondents from each educational background were further classified into two groups: hard liners and moderates. Thus, all the respondents were classified finally into four groups as illustrated in Tables 9.1[1] and 9.2. The Table 9.1 distinguishes four groups of people as indicated below:

1. Religious hard-liner

2. Religious moderate

3. Secular moderate

4. Secular hard-liner

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

The issue which has been highlighted in this chapter is related to a central

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

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

Table 9.1 Characteristics of the Respondents at National Level

Educational characteristics	Total number	Characteristics of their opinion	
		Hard-liner	Moderate
Religious	10	3	7
Secular/ general	10	3	7
Total	20	6	14

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

Table 9.2 Summary of the Opinion of the National Level Experts

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

Source: Compiled by the author from interviews.

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

The main discussions will be on the following points:

a) Necessity, utility and effectiveness of Madrasah education in the society.

b) On the question of the quality of Madrasah education.

c) The gap between the educated peoples from these two systems.

d) On the question of the integration of these two systems.

Necessity, Utility and Effectiveness of Madrasah Education

On the question of the necessity of Madrasah education in society responses were different among the respondents. The religious hard-liners thought that Madrasah education was necessary because of the fact that it gives moral education at least to some people who guide society towards religion. To them, school education, although not anti-morality, provides little moral education. The hard-liner respondents are of the opinion that religious education in madrasahs at present is not very effective due to its orientation towards modern subjects. As a result the quality of education is neither up to the mark from a religious point of view, nor fully qualified in general education. The similar opinion was given by the hard-liner secular respondents. But the difference of opinion between these two groups is that the religious hard-liner felt the necessity of religious education and secular groups did not feel any utility of this for society.

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

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

The secular moderate respondents, on the other hand, felt the necessity of religious education, although they questioned the viability of the existence of Madrasah education as a parallel system. According to them, religious education is necessary, but that does not mean that this religious education is to be received from a Madrasah. Their ultimate opinion on the effectiveness of Madrasah education is mixed. Some said that it has some utility and effectiveness. To others, its present effectiveness is very low.

From the above discussions on the opinion of respondents (on the necessity, utility and effectiveness of Madrasah education), it can be said that except for secular hard-liners, all other respondents felt the necessity for a more developed form of religious education. But opinions varied on the patterns and forms of education. The secular hard-liners, on the other hand, denied the necessity of a religious

education. On the question of utility an almost similar opinion was found. But the effectiveness of present Madrasah education is questioned by most of the respondents, although some in the moderate religious group opined that it had some effectiveness.

On the Question of Quality of Madrasah Education

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

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

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

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

Fifthly, in general education for almost every branch of knowledge there are research and the creation of new knowledge. But in the Madrasah system there is no research and there is no professional journal to disseminate new knowledge. Almost all the respondents expressed these factors in Madrasah education.

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

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

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

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

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

Some of the respondents, most of them are in moderate groups, gave evidence how political authorities in the past had made this division in the system of education. They referred to British colonial rule, when the then political authority created

this division for their own benefit. Over time, the two systems evolved in a manner that they could not appear as complementary to each other. Religion remained an isolated entity for a few people. The generally educated, on the other hand, emerged as sole agents of development and progress in society. In this connection one of the respondents said "..... The important implication of this two-education system is that it produced two conflicting groups of people. Those educated in Madrasah could not study science and those who studied in general school could not learn religion. Religion as a resource of universal prosperity, therefore, has lost impact forever."[2]

Some other respondents from moderate groups also expressed similar opinions. The separation of religion from general and science education therefore appeared detrimental for society. In their opinion, education should be based on a universal need of society where religion and science can coexist together in an integrated manner.

Other opinions can also be found. Some believe that religion, as a component in the education system should be eliminated. They argue that religion not only possesses negative elements for prosperity, but also creates a different class. In this connection, a secular hard-liner respondent indicated the implication of such class-based education in society. He said "...We have three education systems: (not two) 1. The general education, where common people receive their education. 2.

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

The English systems of education where the rich and upper class people send their children; and 3. The Madrasah education, where the children from poor families and the dull students of the rich families receive their education. Therefore, it is obvious, that this education will create a class-based society."[3]

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

On the Question of Integration

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

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

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

As mentioned earlier, the respondents unanimously underscored the need for an unified system. But, it has not been possible to get a unified opinion as to how the two systems can be integrated. Apparently different opinions have been found among the four groups of respondents. The religious hard-liner respondents emphasised an integrated education through 'Islamization' of knowledge at all levels. According to them, it is not sufficient to study just one subject in religion in the general schools, rather the whole syllabus should be reshaped from the religious point of view. This is how integration is possible. They, however, rejected the idea of bringing the two-education systems closer through modification at both ends, i.e., introducing more general subjects in the Madrasah and introducing more religious education in the schools. It seems that their model is very close to the model of post-revolutionary Iran. It has been discussed in a previous chapter that although Iran has religious educational institutions (*Hawzeh Ilmiyeh*), after the revolution the Islamic government of the country made a tremendous effort to islamicize their modern education system. Within a few years of the revolution the curriculum of modern education was reshaped in the light of

thinking in Islam. Therefore, *'Hawzeh Ilmiyeh'* exists side by side with the general education in a complementary manner (Mohsenpour: 1990).

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

The two moderate groups of respondents, i.e. moderate religious and moderate secular, also supported an integrated education system. To both these groups, the gap between the systems is very wide. Integration is not possible in a short period of time. The first approach should be to narrow down this gap in an acceptable manner and only then is the attempt at integration possible.

The minimisation of the gap between the two systems, however, remained controversial among the two moderate groups. The religious moderate people would like to see a more substantial syllabus of Islamic education up to certain level (for example, up to secondary level) in schools and expansion of general subjects in Madrasah up to a certain level. This procedure ultimately narrows down the gap between madrasahs and schools. This model is similar to the model

of Indonesia. It has been discussed in the previous chapter how the Indonesian authorities, narrowed down the gap between the two contending systems by introducing general subjects in religious institutions and religious subjects in modern secular institutions (Mansurnoor: 1990).

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

Some other moderate secular respondents gave their opinion in a different way. They shifted the responsibility onto the authority who must search for an appropriate solution through research. According to them, without research, any arbitrary integration is bound to fail. Fundamental research should be undertaken by the appropriate authority on the objectives and the process of integration, and this should be done as early as possible for the greater benefit of society.

Summary and Conclusions

In this chapter effort has been made to generate opinions at the national level from educationists and experts as to how they view the whole problem. It is clear from the discussions that the education system in Bangladesh has a deep

problem. The dualism in education, due to the parallel existence of madrasahs and general schools is one of the causes of this problem. The people who are concerned about education gave their opinion on various aspects of these problems. The analyses and discussions of this chapter demonstrate that divergence is much greater than convergence in opinions.

The religious moderate group supports reforms of Madrasah education to achieve a better and more effective religious education. The secular moderate people were concerned about the utilization of the essence of religion to enhance a good society. Their opinions hardly converged on this issue. On the other hand, the religious hard-liners were extremely conservative in their mentality and did not want to compromise at all on the question of religion. Similarly, the secular hard-liners were found to be exactly opposite to them. They ruled out any role of religious education in the society. This is probably the main reason why a reform has not been possible. In the context of the integration of these two systems one of the scholars in this field wrote: "....The main reason for failure of all attempts at reforming the education system is the basic difference between the attitude and outlook of reformists and the traditionalists. The reformists tried to secularize the whole system on the Western pattern, whereas the traditionalists have always tried to Islamicize the whole system of modern education" (Ali: 1983, p.192).

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Chapter X

Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

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Introduction

Most of the Muslim countries have dual system of education in different models. History of this dualism is almost similar. Islamic education was the predominant system of education in those countries for several centuries. General secular education entered into these countries through three types of process, a) internal education revolution, b) European missionary work and c) Western Occupation. In Bangladesh, position of duality in education is much stronger than any other countries. In the present research, this dual system of education, religious Madrasah and modern schools in Bangladesh has been studied. The study is based on both primary and secondary sources. The primary data were collected through a field survey at various levels[1].

Basis of Education and Islamic education

The dual system of education in the country evolved over a long period of about 250 years and has produced two conflicting groups of people, where one group is considered as progressive who remain in the mainstream of society and the other is alienated from them.

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[1] First, students and their parents or guardians and finally experts and educationists in national

While Islamic values are the main generating force for religious education, in this study an effort has been made to find out the Islamic approach to education. Theoretical bases of modern education have also been highlighted in this study. Thus, at the beginning of these study main bases of religious and modern education has been introduced. Referring from Holy Quran and Sunnah it has been argued in this study that seeking knowledge is regarded as Islamic duty. There is no restriction in Islam for seeking knowledge. It is not related to a particular period or particular place or time, nor to a particular teacher or a particular subject. With the acquisition of knowledge, teachings and dissemination has also been emphasised in Islam. Searching knowledge has spiritual importance. It strengthens the power of faith and is considered as a determining factor for superiority. Therefore, a Muslim has to acquire knowledge and disseminate it. It is obligatory for them.

According to modern philosophers like Dewey the difference between modern education and Islamic education is inevitable. But Plato's theory of education is very similar to the Islamic philosophy. To the Islamic philosophers and educationists there is no difference between education and Islamic education as there can not be contradiction between science and Islam. It is rather, relevant and complementary. The present gap is bridgeable. That is why Islamic scholar suggested the governments to create one unified system of education governed by the basic religious approach to life and knowledge and not to maintain two different systems as traditional and modern secular. The basic should be common

level

but there should be enough scope for specialisation in individual fields of knowledge.

Historical Development of Islamic Education

Historical development of Islamic Education and causes of its successful achievement has also been discussed in this study. It has been found that, Prophet Muhammad (SM) himself paid enough efforts to educate his people. Following him, his followers and subsequent Muslims have also paid similar attention to education. Therefore, they were able to promote education and knowledge such a manner that, within very short time the Arabs were raised into a high cultural society. The main causes of these achievements are:

i) The objective of education was defined on the basis of the peoples needs both spiritual and for day-to-day life. With the changing circumstances of time, the nature of education has also been changed. The lives of the Muslim during the prophet Muhammad (SM) were centred on the teachings of the holy Quran, and therefore, the main sources of their knowledge and education. But after the Prophet, when Muslim society started to face new problems the secular subjects related to their day to day problems were included in their education system.

ii) Expansion of the Muslim Empire throughout the world was facilitated the promotion and expansion of education among the Muslims. With the expansion of empire the Muslim society came across the lands of different culture and society, which was unknown to them. The Muslim studied physical and cultural features of the countries under their control and

produced several important geographical works. They also gathered knowledge from the invaded countries through translation. They established many educational institutions, translation and research centres and libraries in their empires. A large number of books from all over the world were translated, many original research works were accomplished, and new books were written. Thus, during the Muslim rule, especially during the Umayyad, Abbasids and the Fatimid Empire Muslim education reached its highest peak. Although some of the religious leaders of Baghdad protested the promotion of secular learning's the Caliphs and the sultanates under the caliphs vied with each other in the promotion of higher learning and erection of Madrasah.

iii) Science and technology were also promoted for the religious requirement of the Muslim. For example, invention of latitude and longitudes of the holy Ka'ba in Mecca for building a mosque in other countries and knowing the fraction of arithmetic or calculation the shares of inheritance under the Fiqh, etc.

iv) During the period, science was an important subject of education but they did not disapprove gaining of others knowledge. On the other hand, from the very beginning of Madrasahs, a proper place was given to secular subjects. Education begins from the mosque, started with the teaching of reading, writing and memorising of holy Quran with some essential religious instruction. Promoting education and learning this mosque transformed into Madrasahs and university with a vast knowledge both religious and secular

subjects.

v)   There were no difference between education as secular and religious. Prophet Muhammad (SM) himself used to teach and discuss with his disciples in the mosque about every aspects of life. In the subsequent period education of religion (Islamic) and education for worldly affairs were given in the same institution, when Madrasah came into an existence with accommodated both religious and secular subjects with their curriculum.

vi)   Another factor was the access to education. It was open for all and available for all Muslims. Therefore, it was easy for all Muslim children to develop their talents through getting education.

vii) There was no fixed framework for education, nor the curriculum was fixed. But for common people, at the elementary level consisted of reading and writing with some essential subjects for daily life along with Islamic subjects. Curriculum for higher education was different, usually without any linkage between the higher and elementary or preparatory level. This had hardly any impact on the promotion of education in real sense. The important feature of the curriculum was the mixture of both religious and secular subjects.

viii) Teachers or Ulemas were responsible for the promotion of their own knowledge. Therefore, the position of teachers associated with the Madrasahs was high enough in the society. In many cases, individual teacher was more important than his institution.

ix)   Acquisition of knowledge was free from any restriction. The prophet of Islam

had engaged non-believer captives to teach the Muslim children. Following his ideals the Muslim of the Islamic age acquired knowledge from everywhere.

x) Muslim contribution to education and knowledge during the 8th to 15th centuries in Spain was remarkable. The important feature of the education system of the period was that they contributed to every branches of knowledge. They also established libraries and collected books from all over the world. To this end, the University of Cordoba played an important role and contributed as one of the pioneers to the flowerings of the Renaissance.

xi) In this period there was no separate department of education, they used to assign the income of *Waqf* (endowed) estates for the maintenance of mosque, seminaries and Madrasah. But the political situation of the country always played an important role in promoting the education directly. In most cases education of the institutions were determined by the personal interest of the ruler of the country.

xii) Education of the women was not uncommon during the early periods of Islam. When Muslim society came in touch with Constantinople and Persia, the situation was changed; the higher education was separated from elementary level and the women were considered unsuitable for higher education. However, existence of women in higher education in later ages can be found.

Thus, following the Prophet Muhammad (SM), Islamic education has been

increased in many folds. This was possible due to the inclusion of day-to-day affairs in the education system along with religious education. On the other hand, inclusion of worldly subjects like, math, medicine, logic, science and technology, social sciences, etc. gave universal legitimacy of knowledge to all people. It is to be mentioned that subsequently this trend has been changed and the system of education of the Muslim turned into a duality with secular and religious education. This has resulted a division in the Muslim society by education.

Development of Dual Education in Bangladesh

It has been found that, Islamic education was started in Bengal first through the Arab traders. Following them, there came the Sufis, saints and devoted Muslim missionaries. They established mosque and *khanqahs* and conveyed the teachings of Islam and gained a firm and permanent ground in this Region.

During the Muslim rule, in Bengal region, there was no division or distinction between Islamic education and general education. Madrasahs were the only educational institutions. That is why there was hardly any contrast among educated people in the society. However, the promotions of education among the general masses were lacking. The authorities were concern about the education of a particular section of society. For this reason, they virtually failed to enroot Islamic education in the society. Thus, the education system has been changed with the change of the political power, and the system was never stable.

In the early days of Islamic period, political, cultural, religious, social, and economic factors were directly or indirectly responsible for the expansion of Islamic education.

Historical evidences show that the present contrasting situation of education is largely the result of British policy. At the beginning of British rule, through a series of reforms like the grant of Dewani, Permanent Settlements and Resumption Laws to the Awqaf estates, the ground had been prepared to diversify national education by breaking the backbone of the established Islamic education. Secondly, establishment of Calcutta Madrasah virtually divided Islamic education into private and government. Most of the Madrasah people did not endorse the curriculum and therefore failed to attract the majority of the Muslims. Only those who wanted to get a job and established in society enrolled in the Calcutta Madrasah. But the majority kept themselves away from education and remained attached to the private Madrasah.

After the introduction of English as state language following by the abolition of Persian the Calcutta Madrasah lost its attraction as a recruiting ground of public servants and also lost its popularity. As a result, the private Madrasahs emerged with the support from the general public. The private Madrasahs, therefore gave the highest quality of Islamic education and became popular instead of the government Madrasah. Thus, Calcutta Madrasah was degraded in the field of Islamic education as well as in the field of general education. Even after the

establishment of Calcutta University, it did not include any Madrasah subject, which could bring the Madrasah educated people in the mainstream of the society. Finally, apathy of the Muslim community towards general education is a responsible factor for such alienation process.

The Bengal government established another kind of Madrasah namely New Scheme Madrasah to bring Islamic educated people in to the mainstream of society. This program was successful in many respects, although it did not bring fruitful future in the field of Islamic education

During the Pakistan period the process of being alienated of the madrasah educated people not only continued but also increased. The Pakistani government failed to introduce a uniform education system for the people on the basis of an appropriate education policy. They integrated the New Scheme Madrasah with general education, and eventually, lost the focus on Islamic education. The New Scheme Madrasah was the only system, which promoted Islamic education and at the same time supported the Islamic educated people in getting absorbed in public sector activities. By integrating the New Scheme Madrasah, all the ways the modern religious education have been closed. As a result, the government of Pakistan failed to introduce a sound education system based on both religion and modern philosophy to match the needs of society.

Bangladesh has emerged as a secular state. Madrasah education therefore

suffered from uncertainty during the first few years after independence. But very soon, Madrasah education got some new status. As a result it has survived very well through a series of reforms. However, still there are many problems. The process of integrating the two systems is one of the main problems. It is difficult to solve this kind of problem, but not impossible. It needs an effective education policy.

Experience from other Countries

The experiences of other countries shows that most of the countries of the world have religious education as one of the subjects in primary or secondary schools, providing higher education in the Universities. The experiences of Muslim countries are however different.

Some of the countries have duality in their national system of education. Bahrain is one of the examples. From beginning to the university level it has dual system of education. Even in Turkey, where growth of religious institution was discouraged and even ceased, because of peoples' demand religious[2] schools were established.

Even, Islamization of modern education Iran failed to satisfy the peoples demand for religious school. Islamization of knowledge did not appear as an alternative to the traditional Islamic education. Therefore, *'Hewzeh Ilmyeh'* exists side by side the general education in a complementary manner in Iran. Indonesian

authorities narrowed down the gap between the two contending systems by introducing modern subjects in religious institutions and religious subjects in modern secular institutions.

Not only the Muslim countries, wherever the Muslim live even as minority group set up their own private Islamic educational institutions. India and Philippines are the examples.

Thus, it is evident that, although dual system of education is conflicting is not unique to Bangladesh. The examples of other Muslim countries also show that this dual system of education with the existence of modern secular and traditional religious education. The modern system of education is patronised by the government and has remained in a healthy condition. On the other hand, the religious education system is patronised by a section of people with partial support from the government. Development of education in the light of both the religious outlook of the people and modern needs at the same time is virtually absent in the education policies of most Muslim nations.

Education in Bangladesh

Education in Bangladesh during the recent years has been highlighted in this study. There are problems and barriers in the educational progress of the country, which constrained development and cause alienation of Madrasah educated people. Bangladesh is one of the least developed countries in the World. Since its

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of religious schools of Turkey is Imam Khatib school.

liberation, Governments of the country have been trying to accelerate the economic and social development through the promotion of education in the country. However, despite their efforts, most of the people still live in underdeveloped condition, mainly because of their poor economic condition and educational backwardness. While investigating these, some of the major problems have been identified as the reasons for the failure of educational progress in the country. Briefly these are:

i)   Poverty has been identified as one of the major problems. In Bangladesh, dropout from primary school is very high which is considered as a serious problem. Even those complete primary education a substantial number of them cannot continue in the secondary level of education. Poverty is the main reason for such high rates of dropout, although there are some other reasons, most of them are related to the economic condition of the country. Without substantial progress in the economic condition, it will be difficult to prevent dropout from schools or Madrasahs.

ii)   Duality in national education system from beginning to the end, national education system is divided into two distinct systems as general and Madrasah education. The governments of Bangladesh tried to overcome this problem and tried to minimise the existing gap between the two systems, but in reality gaps seem to be widening.

iii)   One of the major problems of Madrasah education as has been in this study, is the poor quality of Madrasah education, compared with general education. Madrasah system of education has insufficient or no scope of

higher education and have hardly any trained-teacher compared with general education[3]. There is hardly any research facilities in Madrasah system that existed in general education.

iv) Madrasahs attract fewer Students than School. Because of insufficient students it is difficult to provide enough educational facilities in Madrasah. However, the number of Madrasah students is increasing over the years, although the number of institution is increasing comparatively at a higher rate.

v) Alleged discrimination in financing of the two system of education is also a problem. Although government is spending more money per Madrasah students compared with school students up to secondary level, in the higher level, expenditure gap is wide between Madrasah and school, and thus difficult to provide good education. None of the Ibtedayee Madrasahs is fully run by government. Unlike general education, government gives only a partial support to them although in primary level Madrasah attracts a huge number of students. In higher education per student annual governments' expenditure is more than five times higher in general education compared with Madrasah education.

vi) Religion is one of the major elements, which prevailed on the dual system of education. While most of the people live in rural areas where pre-primary education is dominated by religious institutions (like *maqtab*), and most of the people prefer to initiate their children's education through Islamic

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[3] In Madrasah education the number trained teacher are 7.3 percent, while 43. 6 percent in general school.

education. Therefore, a good number of *Ibtedayee* Madrasah existed in the country without having a proper government support. Enough government support might be help to promote the position of education of the county especially in the rural areas.

vii) Madrasahs have been growing in the country unrestrictedly without having a sufficient numbers of students. But the government cannot prevent them because of public sentiment. Most of the political parties want to use the public sentiment for political gain. Hardly they have any initiative to solve the problem related to Madrasah education.

viii) Discrimination of the authorities among the two system of education created more problems. Various government institutions to control general education. The universities control higher education and examination in their respective affiliated colleges. On the other hand, only Bangladesh Madrasah Education Board (BMEB) is responsible for controlling the Madrasah education, which seems to be illogical. Even, the Board is also responsible for producing the curriculum and textbooks for Madrasah students.

ix) Finally, the main problem of our national education system is the absence of an appropriate and effective 'Education Policy'. Each year, a significant number of students are coming out from both systems of education. Therefore, with the increasing number of educated people the problems caused by duality in education will increase. This situation demands an improvement in terms of minimising the gap between the two system of

education.

Causes of Social Alienation of Madrasah Educated People in Bangladesh

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

At the third level, some social factors were found as the cause of this alienation process. Traditionally the Madrasahs are dependent on donations and charity from the people, and are not patronised by the government. Therefore, there is a

feeling among the people that the Madrasah-educated people live on charity and a large section of society disapproves of it. The Madrasah-educated people are also isolated politically, because of their overwhelming support for Islamic oriented political parties.

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

The Factors Related to the Student's Enrolment either in Madrasah or in School

The factors related to the students' choice of the system of education and its implications are important to be highlighted here. It is also necessary to indicate the gap between the two systems, its implications and possible means to minimise this gap.

The factors leading to the students' decision to enrol either in Madrasahs or in general schools are related to various social, economic, cultural and institutional aspects of society. The important determining factors were given below:

i)   Usually Madrasah educated parents and guardians prefer to enrol their children in a Madrasah, and school educated people send their children to schools. However, exceptions were also found. Parents' level of education

seems to be related to the enrolment of their children. Parents with lower educational attainments sent their children more to Madrasahs, while those with higher educational attainments usually sent all their children to general schools.

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

iii) Traditionally the male students have stronger preference for Madrasah education than female students.

iv) Households with many children prefer to enrol at least some of their children in the Madrasah and households with fewer children put emphasis on sending them to school.

v) Social inhibition also is significantly related to the students' enrolment. The household head who works in Madrasah or religious institutions is more likely to prefer to enrol their children in Madrasah and feel ashamed to send their children to school. Similarly, those who were educated and have worked in modern institutions have reservations about enrolling their children in a Madrasah because of social prestige.

vi) Perception of job opportunities was found related to the students'

enrolment. Those who prefer a career job after finishing their education usually enrol in general school. On the other hand those who want to disseminate Islamic knowledge rather than get a well-paid job prefer to enrol in Madrasah. In some cases less competitive job opportunities in religious institutions like mosque and Madrasah also attract the rural student to enrol in a Madrasah.

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

viii) Religious belief has been found significantly important for the students' choice of enrolment. The religious Muslims believe that their children should be brought up with Islamic values. But the super religious people prefer to enrol their children in the Madrasah.

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

children to study in Madrasahs.

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

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

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

National level Experts' Opinion on the Duality of Education

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

The secular hard-liners denied the necessity for religious education, while the

religious hard-liners demanded an education system based absolutely on religious belief. On the other hand, both the moderate groups of respondents felt the necessity of religious education in society with some differences in the form of education. To the religious moderate group, there is no alternative to Madrasah education to teach Islamic knowledge. On the other hand, the secular moderate group did not feel the necessity of separate institutions for religious education such as Madrasahs.

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

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

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

The opinion of the experts and educationists was again divided on the question of

how to integrate. The religious proponent group wanted an Islamization of knowledge at all levels of education as a first step towards integration. The opponent group, on the other hand, demanded an immediate merge of Madrasahs in to the general education system.

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

Conclusions

In Islam, seeking knowledge and its dissemination is regarded as religious duty. There is no restriction in Islam for seeking knowledge. It is not related to a particular period, or particular place or particular teacher. In the early period of Islam, there was no contradiction between education and Islamic education. Rather they were relevant and complementary. All type of education was given in the same compound. The present dual system of education is the result of the

foreign invention.

The governments of all the Muslim countries are benefited from the general education, and therefore, they patronised it. On the other hand, while Islamic education is rooted in the social, historical and cultural background of the country still there are many people who demand education through traditional Islamic institutions. Therefore dual system of education exists in all the Muslim country and even in those countries where Muslim people live as a community. It is notable here that the situation is so strong (aggravated) that even Islamization of knowledge also bound to be failed to fulfils the demand of separate Islamic educational institutions like Madrasah.

Bangladesh is one of the Muslim countries of the world where education system is characterised by the presence of traditional religious and modern secular education. This duality existed in Bangladesh even in more prominently than any other country. Those obtained highest degrees in the year 1999, a significant number of them (15 percent) were found to be from traditional system of education. The prevalence of this dualism in the education system has led to manifold problems. This is a paradox that, officially Islam and Islamic education have been recognised by the state policy, which is an indication of the primacy of religion in the social and political culture. But those who are educated and have developed their thinking in Islamic knowledge lead a peripheral life in society. This has been found to be a fundamental problem in the development of an

integrated educated society in the country. Generally, the school-educated people overwhelmingly dominate the educated society and for that matter the development activities in almost all spheres of life. But the people who received their education in Madrasah are alienated from other educated people and their activities centred mainly on religious teaching and rituals. The two groups of people are different not only in terms of their activities but also in their orientation thinking, behaviour and dress.

This study explores the causes and consequences of this alienation, particularly the factors that influence the parents and guardians to enrol their children either in Madrasahs or in schools.

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

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

On the question of integration or minimising the gap between the two systems, the national level experts gave their opinion. It has been found from these opinions that integration of these two contrasting groups of educated people is an absolute necessity for the society and its progress. However, the views did not converge as to how this integration would come about. The religious respondents were in favour of islamization of knowledge at all levels. On the other hand, the school-educated respondents who were moderate in their attitudes towards religion felt that society needs people who are developed morally, intellectually and scientifically. Whether they come from Madrasah or schools hardly matters. But the Madrasah, under its present conditions, is not capable of producing such people.

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

Significant Findings

i)   Seeking knowledge is an Islamic duty. It is not related to a particular period, particular place, particular teacher or particular subject. Therefore, education should be open for all and available for all Muslim man and women. There should not be any discrimination between male and female in this regard.

ii)   There is no difference between education and Islamic education; rather they are relevant and complementary. The present gap is bridgeable. Therefore, dualities in education is not necessary, it is the creation of foreign invader and result of long subjugation.

iii)   The study shows that most of the Islamic scholars suggested government of Muslim country, to create such a unified system of education, where basic should be common but enough scope for specialisation in individual field of knowledge. In the country like Bangladesh, where each student enrolment in schools or Madrasah are related to particular social, economic, cultural background, a dual system of education seems to be inevitable in the initial stage (primary and pre-primary) of education.

iv) Introduction of different sociological, scientific, technological subjects in Madrasah education (as it was in Islamic age) would be helpful to minimise the gap between two system of education.

v) From historical evidences it has been found that, political situation of the country always play an important role in the promotion of the education according to their own interest. Therefore, only a democratic government can promote an education system, which should be acceptable to the majority of the population.

vi) Educational institution should be established according to the demand and necessity of the people. Therefore it is necessary to prevent the establishment of Madrasah unrestrictedly.

vii) Government should provide similar facilities to both the system of education to maintain the similar quality of education. Therefore, expenditure on education must be similar in both the systems. Madrasah education (nationalised) should not be dependent upon charity of people.

viii) General subjects of Madrasah education and religious subject of general education must be improved to minimise the gap between two system of education.

ix) It has been found in this study that there is a strong relationship between the economic background of the family and the enrolment of student in school or Madrasah. It has also been found that a large number of students drooped out of school or Madrasah because of poverty. Therefore, education must be able to provide such kind of knowledge, which would enable a

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student to earn money after completion of education in any stage. Therefore, practical, scientific and technological subjects must be introduced in Madrasah education similar to the school system of education. Similarly scientific and technological education of school system must be improved according to maintain international standard.

x)   Finally, after searching appropriate solution through research in democratic way by a democratic government and producing an acceptable and effective education policy is necessary for the country is necessary.

Direction for Further Research

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

i)   Present study raised question about the quality of Madrasah education, which is considered as one of the major obstacle to minimise the gap between general education and Madrasah education. Therefore, a detailed investigation of the nature and appropriateness of the curriculum in Madrasah education is necessary.

ii) A separate study is necessary to evaluate the management of Madrasah education and on the system of effective control of it to promote quality of its education.

iii) A separate study is necessary to introduce and develop a high quality of modern research facilities, which would be helpful to bridge-up between the general knowledge and Islamic education.

iv) A separate study is necessary how to minimise the gap between the knowledge base of students of both system of education to lead the national education system to a unified education system.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1:

Census on the Educational Background of the Employees in Various Government, Semi-government and Non-Government Organisation.

Name of Institution/Organisation   : ....

Address   : ....

Number of Total employees   : ....

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

Permanent Address   : ....

Educational Qualification.
Tick (√) where applicable.

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

Appendix 2.1:

Student Questionnaire (General School)

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

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

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

1) Where did you started your first education?
A At home   B kindergarten   C Maqtab/Madrasah
D Mosque   E

2) From whom you took the first lesson?
A Parents   B Brother/Sister   C Uncle/ Aunt
D Other relative E

3) What was your first education? Religious or General?
4) Why have you chosen School instead of Madrasah?
5) Whose interest was more in favour of going to School?
6) Which educational institution you think to be the best, Madrasah or School? Why?
7) Could you please explain the positive and negative aspects of both Madrasah and School?
8) Which profession would you like to choose?
9) Which of the following items can you perform? Whom did you learn from and who encouraged you?

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

Appendix 2.2:

Student Questionnaire ((Religious Madrasah)

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

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

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

....

1) Where did you started your first education?
a) At home   b) kindergarten   c) Maqtab/Madrasah
d) Mosque   e)

2) From whom you took the first lesson?
a) Parents   b) Brother/Sister   c) Uncle/ Aunt
d) Other relative e)

3) What was your first education? Religious or General?

4) Why have you chosen Madrasah instead of School?

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

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

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

8) Which profession would you like to choose?

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

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

Appendix 3.1:

Questionnaire for the Parents and Guardians of Respondent School student

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

Name of the respondent ....

Relationship with the student...........................

1) Household information

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

8) Your child would undertake what profession you think in future?

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

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

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

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

If no, why?

Appendix 3.2:

Questionnaire for the Parents and Guardians of Respondent Madrasah student

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

Name of the respondent ....
Relationship with the student.............................
1) Household information

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

8) Your child would undertake what profession you think in future?

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

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

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

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

If yes, why?

If no, why?

Appendix 4:

List of Schools and Madrasahs of Respondent Students

Dhaka City		Bhola District	
Schools			
1	Ideal High School, Motijheel	1	Azahar Ali High Shool, Manika, Borhanuddin
2	Viquarunnesa School, Baily Road	2	Gafargaon High School, -Do-
3	St. Joseph High School, Muhammadpur	3	Manika High School, -Do-
4	Rupnagar High School, Mirpur	4	Khairhat High School, Joynagar, Borhanuddin
5	Rajdhani Girls High School, Mirpur	5	Guinggarhat High School, -Do-
Madrasahs			
1	Ta'mirul Millat Kamil Madrasah	1	Nuria Dakhil Madrasah, Borhanuddin
2	Zannatul Banat Madrasah	2	Sotomanika Senior Madrasah, -Do-
3	Kadamtali Isalmia Dakhil Madrasah	3	Kuralia Dakhil Madrasah, Daulatkhan
4	Misbahul-Ulum Fazil Madrasah	4	Zalilia Dakhil Madrasah, -Do-
5	Uttor Badda Islamia Kamil Madrasah	5	Maddhya Joynagar Islamia Madrasah, -Do-

Appendix 5:

Questionnaire for the Intellectuals/National Level Experts

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Appendix 6

List of Respondents at National Level

Sl	Name	Designation and Affiliation
1	Maulana Mufti Fazlul Huq Amini	Principal, Lalbag Madrasah
2	Qari Muhammad Ubaidullah	Khatib of Chawk Bajar Mosque
3	Professor Muhammad Yunus Ali Shikder	Former Principal, Madrasah-i-Alia, Dhaka
4	Hafiz Habibur Rahman	Former Principal, Tibbia Habibia College, Dhaka
5	Dr. Serajul Haque	Professor Emeritus, Department of Islamic Studies, University of Dhaka
6	Dr. A.R.M. Ali Haider	Professor, Department of Islamic Studies, University of Dhaka
7	Dr. Md. Fazlur Rahman	Chairman, Drpartment of Arabic Literature, University of Dhaka
8	Dr. Muhammad Mustafizur Rahman	Vice Chancellor, Islamic University, Kushtia
9	Mr. Anwarul Huq Khan Majlish	Former Director, BANBEIS
10	Professor M. A. Mannan	Former Chairman, Bangladesh Madrasah Education Board, Dhaka
11	Dr. Serajul Islam Chawdhury	Professor, Department of English, University of Dhaka
12	Dr. M. Shamsher Ali	Former Vice Chancellor, Bangladesh Open University, Dhaka
13	Principal Dewan Muhammad Azraf	National Professor
14	Professor K.M. Elahi	Former Pro-Vice Chancellor, National University, Dhaka
15	Mr. Lutfar Rahman	Director, Planning Scheme 4, Water Development Board, Dhaka
16	Dr. Habibur Rahman	General Manager, Sonali Bank, Head Office, Dhaka
17	Mr. Bashir Al Helal	Former Deputy Director, Bangla Academy, Dhaka
18	Dr. Iftekharuz Zaman	Executive Director, Bangladesh Freedom Foundation &Former Research Director, BIISS
19	Brig. (Rtd.) M. Abdul Hafiz	Former Director General, BIISS
20	Dr. Ahmed Sharif	Professor, Department of Bangla, University of Dhaka