

**Political Economy of
Madrassa Education in Bangladesh**
Genesis, Growth, and Impact

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**Abul Barkat
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**POLITICAL ECONOMY OF
MADRASSA EDUCATION IN BANGLADESH**
Genesis, Growth, and Impact

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Dedication

*Dedicated to all Bangladeshis
who were killed in the genocide,
during 1971*

[..... whosoever killeth a human being, for other than
manslaughter or corruption in the earth, it shall be as if
he has killed all mankind..... Qur'an 5:32]

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Abbreviations

ADP	Annual Development Plan
ARNO	<i>Arakhan Rohingya</i> National Organization
BA	Bachelor of Arts
BANBEIS	Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Information and Statistics
BBS	Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics
BCE	Before the Common Era (BC)
BEFAQ	<i>Befaqul Hadarassil Arabia</i>
BNFE	Bureau of Non-Formal Education
BNP	Bangladesh Nationalist Party
BSHSE	Board of Secondary and Higher Secondary Education
CE	Common Era (AD)
CW	City Corporation Ward
DCI	Data Collection Instrument
DCI	Direct Calorie Intake
DIA	Department of Inspection and Assessment
DPE	Directorate of Primary Education
EFA	Education for All
FFE	Food for Education
GB	Governing Body
GCE	General Certificate of Education
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education
GoB	Government of Bangladesh
GPS	Government Primary School
HH	Household
HSC	Higher Secondary Certificate
HSTTI	Higher Secondary Teachers Training Institute
IER	Institute of Education and Research, University of Dhaka
ISD	International School, Dhaka
JMB	<i>Jamatul Mujahadeen</i> , Bangladesh (Terrorist political organization in Bangladesh)
MC	Managing Committee
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party
MDG	Millennium Development Goal

MoE	Ministry of Education
MOPME	Ministry of Primary and Mass Education
MP	Members of Parliament
MPO	Monthly Pay Order
NAEM	National Academy for Education Management
NCTB	National Curriculum and Textbook Board
NFE	Non-Formal Education
NGO	Non-Government Organization
NGPS	Non-Government Primary School
NWFP	North-West Frontier Province (A province in Pakistan)
OIC	Organization of Islamic Countries
PPS	Population Proportionate to Size
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PTI	Primary Teachers'- Training Institute
PW	<i>Pourashava</i> (Municipal) Ward
RAB	Rapid Action Battalion (A battalion specially created to deal with crimes and terrorisms in Bangladesh)
RSO	<i>Rohinga</i> Solidarity Organization
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SESDC	Secondary Education and Science Development Centre
SRS	Simple Random Sampling
SVR	Sample Vital Registration
TTC	Teachers Training College
UGC	University Grant Commission
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNO	<i>Upazilla Nirbahi</i> (Executive) Officer
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VGD	Vulnerable Group Development
VGF	Vulnerable Group Feeding

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Though this book is based on empirical findings, it is also to develop a concrete, authentic, and objective understanding on the madrassa education system in Bangladesh. The authors thought it to be crucial, particularly in the recent surge of religious militancy and terrorism and the corresponding flurry of debates, questions, misconceptions, mistrusts, and concerns regarding those. These concerns echoed among the academics, researchers, educationists, politicians, bureaucrats, security analysts, and donors-development partners that raised questions on the madrassa education system.

The book largely focuses on the present status of madrassa education in Bangladesh, with some references to historical trends and future prognoses. It is an extensive, as well as intensive documentation of madrassa education. The authors exhaustively focused on the issues like: number and growth of madrassas, with historical trend; students and teachers' socio-economic background and profile; administrative and financial management; demand and supply side factors; employment opportunities for its graduates; and the future implications as a whole. A special feature of this book is that it is nationally representative and survey based on both quantitative and qualitative data and information. The process also involved secondary data collection from a number of sources, including various government departments that deal with madrassa education in Bangladesh.

It is an outcome of four years (since 2006) of extensive work, where the authors faced substantial difficulties, particularly in collecting primary data for the research, especially from the Quomi Madrassas. We would like to express our indebtedness to the madrassa authorities, including the local influential people and elites for fully cooperating with the team, in an atmosphere of mistrust and suspicion, until the end of the data collection. We also respectfully acknowledge the sincere and heartiest cooperation of the madrassa teachers, students, and members of Management Committees, for sharing their knowledge and experience, and providing invaluable suggestions to the research team.

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INTRODUCTION

PRELUDE

Owing to the recent rise of incidents of global terrorism and events like 9/11, the Madrid train bombing, and the London underground bombing, religious education, especially madrassa education, has become a concern among policy makers and a focal point of discussions among researchers and academic. Madrassa education in global hot spot countries has come under intense scrutiny by both Western countries and the vulnerable countries themselves. Madrassa education is a sensitive issue for the governments of Muslim countries that are dealing with those madrassas, which may be largely outside of the public sector control.

In Bangladesh, madrassa education has been a sensitive national issue because of religious sentiments and the existence of polarized political environment where secular and religious politics are diametrically opposed. Although reform measures were initiated through the Periodic Education Commissions, the Quomi Madrassas remained outside those reforms, as their rigid orthodoxy always resisted any recommended changes.

A rise of fundamentalism has been associated with the advent of terrorism, as most of the people arrested by law enforcement agencies were identified as madrassa graduates. Given this socio-political metamorphosis, the authors of this book thought it crucial to comprehend the madrassa education in its totality. The questions before the authors were: What do we actually understand of madrassa education? Does madrassa education directly bring about fundamentalism, intolerance, and terrorism? To what extent do socio-economic, political, and other factors contribute to the escalation of terrorism under the label of religion?

The primary objective set for the research is to explore both the present and the past of madrassa education through quantitative and qualitative data and information gathered through an extensive field survey and literature study in a Muslim majority country, Bangladesh. Such an endeavor has never been attempted in a Muslim majority country before. The purpose is to comprehend the situation of madrassa education, which may be representative of other Muslim majority countries, beyond the religious stigmas that are often attached to madrassa education and its graduates as a result of Western propaganda and reports against the madrassas.

While examining the day-to-day life of the madrassas and its education, a wide range of issues has been taken into account, including:

- The history of madrassa education in this region;
- The number of institutions, students and teachers: past, present, trend, socio-economic background of students and teachers;
- Administrative and financial management of the madrassas;
- Curricula of madrassa education, gender balance in the madrassas;
- Reason for sending children to madrassa; and
- Employment opportunities for madrassa graduates.

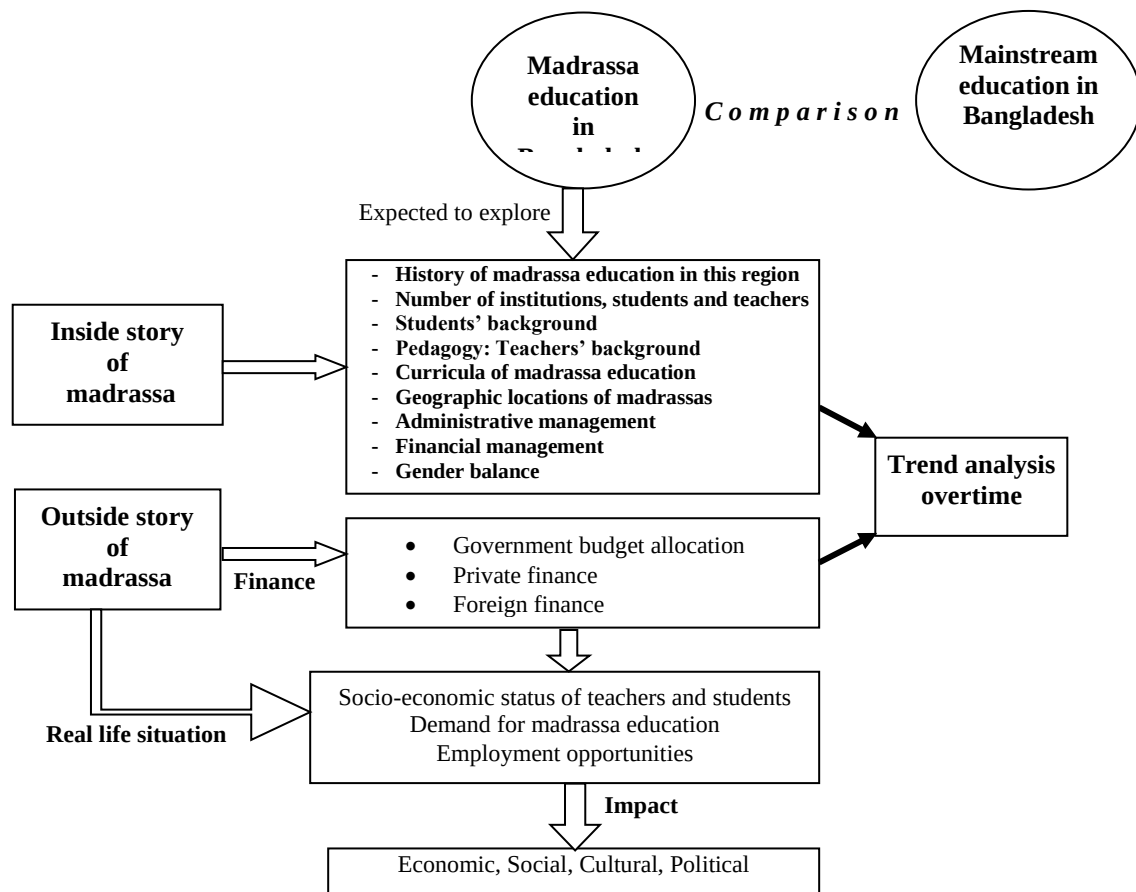
Under this endeavor, comparisons between mainstream education and madrassa education has been made where and when necessary. The strength of this research study is that being an exploratory study, it employs large scale quantitative analyses based on primary data and information.

The findings from this type of research study can be used in various ways: firstly, to create an in-depth knowledge and information base; secondly, to develop a foundation that will prompt the interest of academicians, educationists, researches, and practitioners for further research; and finally, as a document for policy makers seeking to create substantial changes in education policies.

APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

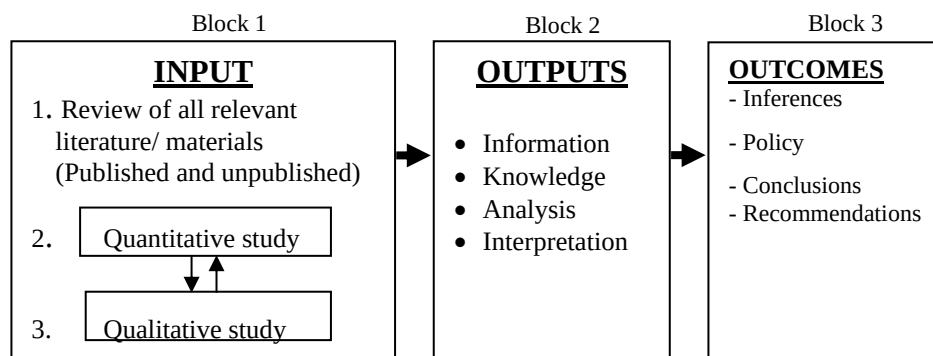
The education sector of a country is not merely an institutional set-up; rather it indicates the overall development of the whole country. The education system of any country should be harmonized with the worldwide development of knowledge; especially in an era of globalization. However, education in Bangladesh does not have a unified system rather, it has four different tracks. One is the mainstream general education (including cadet college), which is governed by the General Education Boards with curriculum set by the National Textbook Board. The next is the madrassa education that is of two types; the Aliya and the Quomi Madrassas. The Aliya Madrassas are up to the tertiary level and are governed by a Madrassa Education Board, which has a curriculum and text book wing that looks after the reading and teaching materials. The Quomi Madrassas, on the other hand, is not recognized by government and are managed and financed by the community, including individuals. Thirdly, there is English Medium education, which is offered by private educational institutions as laid out in the UK-based GCE and GCSE O- and A-level syllabuses. Finally, there is vocational education which offers diploma courses from Technical Education Board. In the absence of a harmonized educational system in Bangladesh, the four-pronged education has given birth to wide educational attainment gaps between the students educated in different systems.

Figure 1: Conceptual framework of study approach



This research study is visualized in three major information blocks, wherein the first block is expected to generate critical materials for the second block, which then will lead to the outcomes, third block of a complete study. The first block consists of the inputs that are central to the outputs, or the second block. The second block consists of information, knowledge, analysis, and interpretation. Finally, the outcome block contains inferences, possible advocacy issues, recommendations, and conclusions. The major blocks of the action-based operation research are shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Three major information blocks of the research study



The total approach and the methodology of the study are based on the logical approach of systems theory consisting of inputs, outputs, and outcomes. To complete the cycle, feedback can be expected as a result of this study. These feedbacks will come in many forms from the various stakeholders, including policy makers, politicians, academic, and researchers. The feedbacks are expected to create the basis for further research on this issue in the near future. More importantly, the study will clearly depict that there is a huge area which is unexplored. The scope exists for a series of studies to reveal that which is unexplained. This study can work as the starting point for other studies which may be of interest to the relevant knowledge bodies. This can also provide information for the media, which can help to build consciousness among the public. The study can work as a document for policy advocacy, which in the long run may have substantial impact on education and related national policy making.

SAMPLE DESIGN FOR QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE SURVEY

This study is an exploratory one using both qualitative and quantitative techniques. Data and information have been collected from both primary and secondary sources. For collection of primary data and information, using a statistically valid sampling approach, a representative sample has been determined. For estimating the total number of madrassa, madrassa students and teachers, a census was carried out in the sample areas comprising both rural and urban locations. For rural areas, the Union has been selected as the sampling unit and the Ward of *Pourashava* or City Corporation has been selected as the sampling unit for urban locations¹. The determined number of sample Union is 63 out of 4,466; for urban locations 54 Wards have been selected from *Pourashavas* out of total 2309 Wards and 27 Wards from the City Corporations out of total 253 Wards.

Table 1: Sample size

Unit of Sample	Population	Sample
Union	4466	63
<i>Pourashava</i> wards	2309	54
City Corporation wards	253	27
Number of Aliya Madrassas	9,217	60
Number of Quomi Madrassas	Officially unknown	60

Note: Total number of administrative unit like Union and *Pourashava*/City Corporation Wards were taken from Population Census - 2001, National Series, Volume - 2 Union Statistics, Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics.

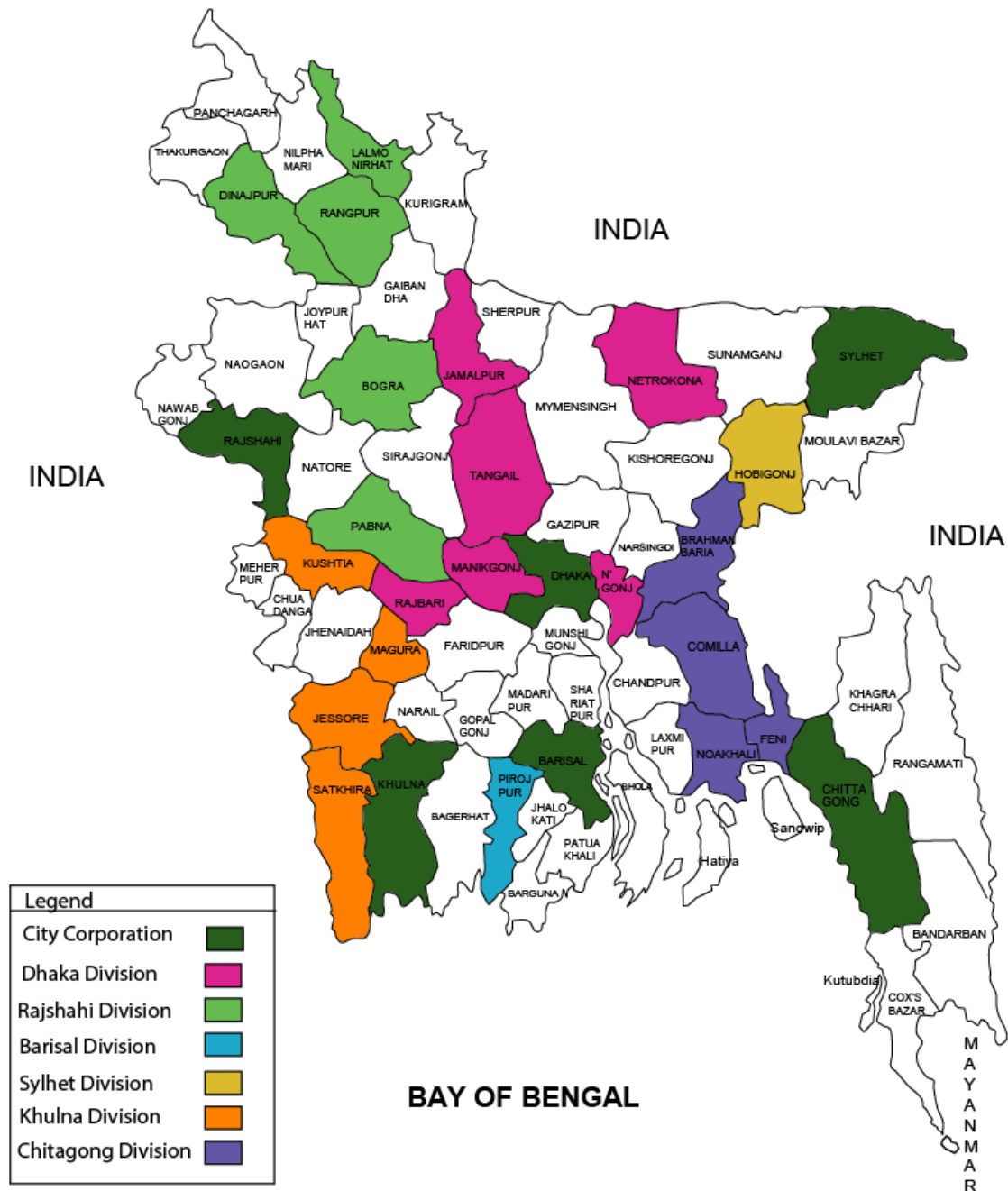
The total sample of Unions has been distributed among all the administrative division covering 25 districts using population proportionate to size (PPS) methods. Similarly, for urban sample areas *Pourashava* wards were distributed among all the administrative divisions according to PPS, which covered 28 *Pourashava* and all the City Corporations (details about the study area are given in Annex 3). In these sample unions and wards from *Pourashava* and the City Corporations, total madrassas by types (Aliya, Quomi, *Ebtedayee*, *Hafezia*, *Nourani*, *Fourqania*, and *Maktabas*), the mosques and mainstream educational institutions were considered as sample for estimating the national figures of these institutions.

¹ Note: *Pourashava*: Municipality/Municipal Corporation; Union: Lowest/administrative unit comprising a number of villages; Ward: An area or part of local government administration.

To get primary and secondary data and information about madrassa as institutions and data and information regarding madrassa students and teachers of both Aliya and Quomi Madrassa, a total of 120 madrassas were selected, as sample madrassas with equal proportion from both types. The reason for selecting equal number of Aliya and Quomi Madrassa is that sampling has been done on the basis of the total number of Aliya Madrassa which is available in BANBEIS publication and assuming that at least an equal number of Quomi Madrassa exists in Bangladesh. However, at the time of data collection 60 Aliya Madrassas and 61 Quomi Madrassas were surveyed.

A total of 10 students from each madrassa (both Aliya and Quomi) were taken as sample respondents and they were selected by using simple random sampling (SRS) procedure from at least post primary level madrassa students. Therefore, the total number of sample students is 1200. It is to be noted that data and information were collected from more than the determined number of sample students (1200) and the actual number of sample students is 1328 with equal proportion of Aliya and Quomi students.

MAP 1: Study areas in map of Bangladesh



From each sample madrassa, 2 teachers and 2 parents were selected as sample respondents. In addition, one Managing Committee member from each madrassa, and local civil society members were considered as key informants. The total number of sample respondents under these two categories (Managing Committee and local civil society member), are 99 and 74 respectively. Moreover, for in depth and detailed information regarding the madrassa education system as whole and specific madrassas, consultation meetings, in-depth interviews with relevant stakeholders (teachers, students, Managing Committee members and local civil society members, benevolent Muslims financing the madrassas) at local as well as at national level were conducted nationally.

DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS

Both quantitative and qualitative techniques were applied to collect primary as well as secondary data and/or information from various sources or respondents. For the quantitative part, a census of madrassas, mainstream educational institutions, and mosques was carried out in the study areas using a census format. Apart from the census, survey was conducted among madrassa students, teachers, and parents having madrassa going children. There were a total 13 data collection instruments (DCI) including quantitative and qualitative tools. The quantitative tools included 10 different types of DCIs consisting of interview schedules, secondary data compilation formats, and census formats.

Table 2: List of data collection instruments, respondents and sample number

Type of data collection instruments	Number of respondents/sample
DCI 1 : Interview Schedule: Students (Aliya)	664
DCI 2 : Interview Schedule: Students (Quomi)	664
DCI 3 : Interview Schedule: Parents/Guardian	256
DCI 4 : Interview Schedule: Teacher (Aliya)	128
DCI 5 : Interview Schedule: Teacher (Quomi)	128
DCI 6 : Secondary Data Compilation Format: Aliya Madrassa	60
DCI 7 : Secondary Data Compilation Format: Quomi Madrassa	61
DCI 8 : Key Informant Interview: Local Civil Society Member	74
DCI 9 : Key Informant Interview: Governing Body/Managing Committee Member	99
DCI 10 : Census form of Educational Institutions: Madrassa	Total population of sample areas (rural and urban)
DCI 11 : Census form of Educational Institutions: School/College	
DCI 12 : Census form: Mosque	
DCI 13 : Personal Information of Governing Body/Managing Committee Members	
	99

There were 3 qualitative tools, which included key informant interviews and collection of personal information from Governing Body/Managing Committee members. All the data collection instruments are presented in Annex 2.

RESEARCH IMPLEMENTATION

There is considerable information and literature available on the madrassa education system however, an in-depth analysis on its stakeholders and the key players are hard to find. To develop a deeper understanding of the madrassa education system and its various dimensions, a team of madrassa graduates and teachers (from both Aliya and Quomi Madrassa) was formed to facilitate this research study. This team helped the authors conceptualize a number of critical

issues pertaining to madrasa education and provided clarification of some of the empirical evidence. The research study was conducted in a number of phases.

The first phase included collection and review of relevant literature, data, and information. The literature reviewed included published books and articles, BANBEIS data base on madrasa education, education commission reports, unpublished research papers, documents available on websites, newspaper, published articles, essays, opinions, and reports. The historical sketch of madrasa education presented in this book is mainly based on available secondary literature. In this phase the authors visited a number of madrassas both Aliya and Quomi, located in urban and rural areas and met students, teachers, and Management Committee members to familiarize the study team with the madrasa education system. These familiarization visits also helped the authors to sharpen their research questions and finalize the research design of the study. On the basis of the literature review and experience gathered from meetings with madrasa people, the data and information collection instruments and formats were drafted, and they were finalized through repeated pretests.

In the second phase, a survey was conducted to collect all relevant data and information from the madrassas (both Aliya and Quomi) in sample areas. The collection of data and information from the madrassas was quite troublesome mainly because of lack of cooperation from the Quomi Madrassas. Most of the Quomi Madrasa authorities were reluctant to give access or provisions to the team to conduct the interviews with students or teachers and to provide information on administrative and financial management. Their reluctance to help the survey was due to a lack of trust of the objectives of the research and the researchers. Quomi Madrasa authorities believe that such research represented a conspiracy against madrasa education. Thus, the survey was interrupted a number of times in order to build a good working relationship with madrasa authorities.

Along with the survey team, the authors visited the sample areas and meet madrasa authorities and explained the objectives of the research. Representatives from local government (e.g., *Union Parishad* (Committee), *Pourashava*, and City Corporation), local political leaders, and influential community leaders helped the authors to access the madrassas. In most of the madrassas, before the data and information collection processes all the data collection instruments or formats were reviewed and checked by the respective madrasa authorities (mostly teachers). Only a few Quomi Madrassas allowed us to take interviews with the students and teachers and did not provide any information on financial issues. A small team of research assistants were trained to collect the data and information and they were deployed for a total of almost six months time.

The third phase of the study was devoted to analyzing the data and information collected. The statistical software package SPSS was used to handle the quantitative data. Qualitative information was used to substantiate and complement the quantitative research findings. The crucial research findings have been discussed among the authors in several brainstorming sessions and as the study is exploratory by nature a number of critical empirical findings were shared with knowledgeable persons associated with madrasa education for further clarification and validation of the findings as well.

ORGANIZATION OF THE BOOK

This book aims to provide a politico-economic sketch of the madrasa education system of Bangladesh. The different chapters of this book have been organized in a logical sequence to

explore the madrasa education system as a whole where both micro and macro aspects of the madrasa education system are analyzed. The book comprises a total of 15 Chapters. Chapter 1 delineates the essence and importance of the book and focuses on the key research areas addressed. Approach and methodology followed in the research is explained along with some experiences in implementation of the study. The second chapter summarizes an historical evolution of the meaning and aim of education in various civilizations. A general discussion on the education system of Bangladesh with special emphasis on madrasa education is included in Chapter 3. The subsequent two chapters; Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, discuss the concept of education in Islam and historical evolution of the madrasa education system, in the Indian sub-continent, with reference to different eras. A synopsis of different education commissions' reports addressing madrasa education since the British regime is presented in the same Chapter 5. Chapter 6 provides the estimates of total number of madrasa operating in Bangladesh, by types and by location in 2008 and it also shows the growth pattern of this institution since the 1950s. The salient features of madrasahs are also sketched here. A critical analysis of administrative and financial management of madrasa by types has been presented in Chapter 7 and Chapter 8 respectively. Analysis of administrative management also focuses on the political affiliation of madrasa Management Committee members. A macro scenario of total amount of finance per annum in madrasa education is also estimated on the basis of micro level data.

Chapter 9 deals with various issues relating to madrasa students. It provides the estimates on total number of students enrolled in madrasa education in 2008 and also provides their socio-economic background. It discusses a number of issues including students' attitudes towards the curriculum, higher studies, and understanding of rights and social issues. It presents a discussion of reported role models for madrasa students. The total estimated number and growth of madrasa teachers are discussed in Chapter 10 including teacher issues like socio-economic profile and professional career in the madrasa. Chapter 11 deals with the status and constraint of female education in the madrasa education system. A rigorous analysis on demand and supply of madrasa education in terms of reasons for sending children to madrasa, employment opportunities and the graduation of students is in Chapter 12.

Discussion of attractive features of madrasa education is presented in Chapter 13. Issues pertaining to the status of madrasa education in the modern world and current concerns about fundamentalism are discussed in Chapter 14. The last Chapter 15 provides a summary analysis in perspective, which the reader may find useful and education planner may find highly useful. Moreover, each chapter ends with 'Key Features', which intends to provide an opportunity for the reader to grasp the main contents of the chapter at a glance. Besides these, annexure provides the data tables, data collection instruments, and study areas (with names of Districts, *Upazillas*, *Unions*, and *Pourashavas*).

MEANING OF EDUCATION: HISTORICAL EXCURSION

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The word education has its origin in the Latin word *`educatum'*, itself composed of two words, *`E'* and *`Duco'*. *`E'* implies a progress from inward to outward while *`Duco'* means developing or progress. In its most literal sense, therefore, education means becoming developed or progressing from inside to outside. Education, thus, is the process of developing the inner potential abilities and powers of an individual. The term is also connected with the Latin *`educare'*, meaning a propulsion and vital force from the internal to the external aspects. This Latin term means to educate through a change brought about by practice or usage. Thus, education implies some kind of change for the betterment of the person. Although education can have a general and universal definition, in practical terms any definition should be attempted in line with the conditions existing in particular circumstances.

Education, as we understand it, means: “The act or process of acquiring knowledge, especially systematically, during childhood or adolescence” (Collins 2003). It is a means or system targeted to change people from an inert state to active creativity. As societies changes rapidly, education acts as an instrument to face the challenges of these changes. Education constantly upgrades human intellect and creativity for self-help, better judgment, democratization, and to remove social ills through positive actions.

Education, according to Rabindranath Tagore, is: “Unearthing the absolute humanity, manipulating every individual’s intense openings, bonding between individual and society, interconnecting amidst people and nature, diminishing inequality between the literate and illiterate, harmonizing one’s inner self with what is functional, expanding and cultivating knowledge-based imagination and beauty consciousness, prosperity, and totality in life through application of knowledge.”

Education is the influence of environment on behavior with a view to producing a permanent change in human habits, thoughts, and attitude. Education is a conscious deliberate process in which one personality acts upon another in order to modify the development of the other by the communication and manipulation of knowledge. Education is the process of development

of the individuality of a person so that person can make a contribution to human life according to the best of his or her capacity.

Education is also the deliberate and systematic influence exerted by the mature person upon the immature, through instructions, discipline and harmonious development of physical, intellectual, aesthetic, social and spiritual powers according to individual and social needs and directed towards the union of the educator with the creator as the final end. In a world based on science and technology, it is knowledge mediated through education that determines the level of prosperity, welfare, and security of a community. On the quality and number of individuals coming out of our schools and colleges with useful knowledge will depend on our success in the great enterprise of national reconstruction whose prime objectives are to accelerate the process of dignified life for all and to raise people's standard of living.

FORMAL AND NON-FORMAL EDUCATION

For the educational process we find three channels which are incidental, formal, and non-formal education. Formal education means the education imparted in formal institutions such as schools, colleges, and universities in a final period motivated by empowerment, and status-oriented. This system has fixed predetermined curricular concepts and content. It works within a contemporaneous social frame and can get quickly out of step with social change. It is largely institutionalized and structured.

Non-formal education enriches formal education, provides alternatives in content and form, precedes and extends beyond the formal system. There are channels of non-formal education within the formal system itself; some times the formal system utilizes the channels of non-formal education to impart basic reading and writing skills, especially for the marginalized segment of citizens left out of the mainstream or formal education system. The total educational process which a society needs must include all the channels of education. Formal and non-formal educations are not exclusive of each other. However, provisioning for formal education, in the form of "free, compulsory, uniform, mass oriented, and universal system of primary education" is a fundamental principle of state policy enshrined in the Constitution of Bangladesh (Article 17a).

Education and Society

Education can be thought of as the transmission of the values and accumulated knowledge of a society. In this sense, it is equivalent to what social scientists term socialization or enculturation. Children – whether conceived among New Guinea tribes people, the Renaissance Florentines, or the middle classes of Manhattan – are born without culture. Education is designed to guide them in learning a culture, molding their behavior, in the ways of adulthood, and directing them towards their eventual role in society. In the most primitive cultures, there is often little formal learning, little of what one would ordinarily call school or classes or teachers; instead, frequently the entire environment and all activities are viewed as school and classes, and many of the adults act as teachers. As societies grow more complex, however, the quantity of the knowledge to be passed on from one generation to the next becomes more than any one person can know; and hence there must evolve more selective and efficient means of cultural transmission. The outcome is formal education – the school and the specialist called the teacher.

As society becomes ever more complex and schools become ever more institutionalized, educational experiences become less directly related to daily life, less a matter of showing and learning in the context of the workaday world, and more abstracted from practice, more a matter of distilling, telling, and learning things out of context. This concentration of learning in a formal atmosphere allows children to learn far more of their culture than they are able to do by merely observing and imitating. As society gradually attaches more and more importance to education, it also tries to formulate the overall objectives, content, organization, and strategies of education. Literature becomes laden with advice on the rearing of the younger generation. In short, all these constitute essential routes towards developing philosophies and theories of education.

According to existentialist philosophy the ideal school system would be one that gives the widest scope for individual expressions in various ways. Since the existentialist is committed to developing choice-making action in individuals, s/he must provide an environment in which freedom is allowed for various choices. Under the existentialists there would be an emphasis on active participation or involvement in life as opposed merely to reflection on life, which may not ensure association with real life.

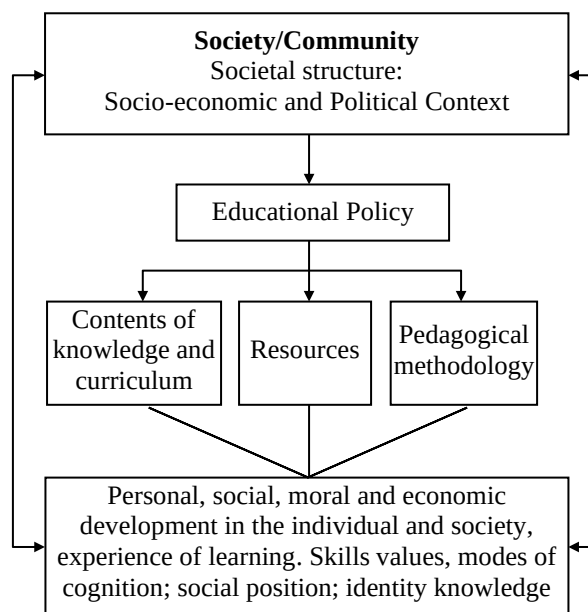
The French sociologist, Emile Durkheim, defined education as: "Education is the influence exercised by adult generations on those that are not yet ready for social life. The object of education is to stimulate and develop in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual and moral states which are demanded of him by both the political society as a whole, and by the particular milieu for which he is specifically destined" (Wynne 1947).

Thus education is the organized intelligence of a society functioning to consolidate through disciplined efforts in each successive generation in the society the values, norms and habits of thought. Organized education in the form of schooling is only the mechanism through which the more general purpose is intended to be attained. All societies have their system of education but in Durkheim's view the form of education will vary according to evolutionary phases of the particular society as per its experience.

From the standpoint of the philosophy of experimentalism, all educative experience is psychologically social. Some interactions are not experiences and some experiences may not be educative, but all educative experiences are, as a matter of fact, social. They all involve directly or indirectly not only an individual and an environment, but also the interaction of a social individual with a social environment. Desirable socialization consists in the achievement of enduring social values, whether defined in terms of abilities, knowledge, ideals, or attitudes, or in some other ways.

A society's system of education plays a central role in reproducing a given institutional order.

Figure 3: A schema for the analysis of education



Source: Williamson 1999

What is available as education in a given society is the result of socio-economic- political processes which determine the pattern of educational services and the content of what is to be taught. This indicates that the daily practice of educational institutions is geared to transmitting, reinforcing and legitimating a given taken-for-granted view of the world and that learning is a process of acquiring as personal property the concepts and values of a culture – the formulae or master symbols of legitimating that which has gives the world a particular meaning and significance.

Educational institutions consolidate habits of thought and attitudes which make clear to people what are the basic values of a society, taking into consideration the ideas of various types of people living in the society. This says something about the order behind social relationships and the relationship of the individual, or his/her group.

As a process, education is comprised of all those activities which help an individual to experience his or her social life and to communicate social customs, rules, religious beliefs, social institutions, and language to the succeeding generation. In this manner, the process of education continues from one generation to the next. By inspiring individuals to think, to evaluate and finally to act the needs of the individual and the group are satisfied and their welfare achieved. Education is a process of socialization and differentiation which promotes individual progress and social life. The process of education includes all those consequences which are brought about by learning.

Aims and Objectives of Education

One of the universally accepted objectives of education is the comprehensive development of the human personality. From the oldest to recent times in every country of the world education has aimed at developing skills and expertise in human beings so they may be able to achieve both personally and socially.

Another commonly accepted aim of education is to train the individual so that he can elevate himself usefully and profitably. Since humans live in communities, it is essential that there should be adjustment between one person and another; without it society cannot survive. Education, therefore, must ensure that human beings and society develop in such a manner that the occasions of clash and conflict are reduced to a minimum. The purpose of education is to help human beings behave in a rational way. `

The aim of education also changes with the circumstances. This change and adjustment is essential because education is the tool with which the society, and the individuals in it, can be made more efficient, satisfied, and adjusted. This can be possible only if the aims of education are changed to suit the circumstances. Education should be instrumental to bring a change of behavior of a person. The vocational need of education is indispensable ensuring quality of life. It is essential that education aim at training for dignified livelihood.

Ancient Greek philosopher Plato attempted to formulate a new basis for the moral life which gives sufficient scope for the individual while at the same time providing an ample basis for institutional life. According to him “The purpose of education is to turn the whole soul round, in order that the eye of the soul or reason may be directed to the right quarter. Education does not generate or infuse a new principle: it only guides and directs a principle already in existence”.

According to Aristotle, education is the creation of a sound mind in a sound body. It develops man’s faculty, especially his mind, so that he may be able to enjoy the contemplation of supreme truth, goodness and beauty of which perfect happiness essentially consists.

In the middle ages, the famous educationist Comenius (1592-1670) termed education as a process whereby an individual developed qualities relating to religion, knowledge and morality, and thereby established his claim to be called a human being.

According to the famous educational philosopher Madame Maria Montessori – “The child has a body which grows and a soul which develops. Such a mysterious thing should neither be marred nor stifled. Educational activities should be so planned that child’s individuality must be unfolded to the full. The school must permit the free, natural manifestation of the child, if he is to be studied in a scientific manner. The method of observation is established upon one fundamental base – the liberty of the pupils in their spontaneous manifestations, necessitates independence of action on the part of the child.”²

English philosopher Bertrand Russell in his book “On Education” attached utmost importance to education in the life of a child. He realized that patriotism, courage and morality should form the basis of education in the early life of a person.”³

According to Justice Syed Amir Ali, a renowned historian and Islamic thinker of the Indian Sub-continent, education should be a means for the discipline of the soul and the purity of the morals. Moral training is an essential corollary of education. Without training, education becomes not only useless, but harmful.

² Shushil Roy, *Principle of Education*, (Amaresh Chakrabarti, Shoma Book Agency, Calcutta, 1990)

³ Bertrand Russell, *On Education*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1945.

Rabindranath Tagore wanted boys and girls to be fearless, free and open-minded, self-reliant, full of spirit of energy and self criticism, with their roots deep in the soil of the country but reaching out to the whole world in understanding, neighborliness, co-operation and material and spiritual progress. Tagore said, “The end of all education, all training should be man-making. The end and aim of all training is to make the man grow to fit in these societal needs. Education develops in the body and soul of the pupil all the beauty and all the perfection he is capable of.”⁴ The great Indian spiritual leader and social reformer Vivekananda reflects “education is not the amount of information that is put into your brain and runs riot there undigested all your life. We must have life-building, man-making, character-making, assimilation of ideas. The end of all education, all training should be man-making. The end and aim of all training is to make the man grow”.

Allama Iqbal, the poet, philosopher and Islamic thinker said, “Education, like other things, ought to be determined by the needs of the learner. A form of education which has no direct bearing on the particular type of character which you want to develop is absolutely worthless.”⁵ Iqbal went further “The only course open to us is to approach modern knowledge with a respectful but independent attitude.”⁶

According to John Stuart Mill-the famous utilitarian philosopher “Education includes the culture which each generation purposely gives to those who are to be its successors in order to qualify them for at least keeping up, and if possible, raising improvement that has been attained”. John Dewey, the pragmatic philosopher in his famous book “Democracy and Education” says, “Education is the process of living through a continuous reconstruction of experiences. It is the development of all those capacities in the individual which will enable him to control his environment and fulfill his possibilities”⁷. According to Dewey, the problem of the educator is to engage pupils in these activities in such ways that while manual skill and technical efficiency are gained and immediate satisfaction found in the work, together with preparation for later usefulness, these things shall be subordinated to education – that is, to intellectual results and the forming of a socialized disposition.

Crisis of Education in Developing Countries

Education in developing countries is undergoing a period of deep crisis. Educational institutions are not in the position to respond adequately to the far-reaching attitudinal and value changes that are sweeping these societies. Education system have not been able to fulfill the new hopes and aspirations of the common man nor been able to produce trained manpower that can handle pressing national issues with competence and zeal. Education is tending to lose its meaning and significance because of the general loss of values and confidence in it. The potential of education as an instrument of change has not been utilized in many developing countries. Education is a mobility multiplier and social equalizer. However, some critics have

⁴ Rabindranath Tagore, *Shikha-Viswa Varati*, 1970.

⁵ Syed Abdul Walid, *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, SH Mohamad Asraf, Lahore, 1958.

⁶ Dr. Fathi Osman, *About Jihad and Hudud*, The Iqbal International Institute of Research Education and Dialogue, Lahore, 2006.

⁷ John Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1912

contended that education legitimizes inequality. The disadvantaged groups become more disadvantaged in the process.⁸

In reality, a country or nation may be considered to have achieved equality in education if the following four criteria have been achieved (Farrell 1982):⁹

- (a) Equality of access: This indicates that every child in a country should have an equal chance of entering into the educational system;
- (b) Equality of survival: This means that every child in a country should have an equal chance of staying in the educational system up to some predetermined standard;
- (c) Equality of output: Every child in a country should learn something upto a certain level;
- (d) Equality of outcome: This means that every child in a country should lead a similar life style and standard after receiving education.

The aim of education should be to achieve¹⁰:

- Good healthy demeanor, including habits, understandings, and interests.
- Good upbringing in the family, involving the development of those qualities that make the individual a worthy member of a family, both contributing to and deriving benefit from that association.
- Sound moral character, involving development, on the part of the pupils, of the sense of personal responsibility and initiative and, above all, of the principles of service and effective democracy in the society.
- Good citizenship, involving development in the individual of the qualities whereby he will play his part as a member of the neighborhood, the town, the city, the state, and the nation, and those qualities that will give him a basis for understanding international problems and issues.
- Appropriate utilization of leisure time, involving the equipment of the individual to secure from his leisure recreation of body, mind, and spirit, and the enrichment and development of his personality in the service of the society.
- Vocational training and fitness, involving equipment of the individual to secure a livelihood for himself and for those dependent on him, to maintain the right relationships with his fellow workers and society at large and, possibly, to find in a vocation in his best interest and aspiration.

From the foregoing, it appears that education is critically linked with the whole of the developmental process. It may be the development of the individual, the society or the nation at large. In all these situations the role of education is critical, crucial, and significant.

EVOLUTION OF EDUCATION PRIOR TO THE ISLAMIC ERA

⁸ AH Hommadi, *Higher Education in Third World Indian Bibliography Bureau*, 1990

⁹ RP Sinha, *Inequality in Indian Education*, Vikash Publishing House, India, 1997

¹⁰ G Max Wiago. *Philosophies of Education*, Sterling publishers Private Ltd., New Delhi 1975.

Education, in a different form, existed in primitive and early cultures. The term education, among the pre-historic and primitive cultures, can be applied in the sense of enculturation; the process of cultural transmission. The purpose of education was thus to guide children to become good members of their tribe or band and there was a marked emphasis upon training for citizenship.

Because of the variety in the countless thousands of traditional cultures, it is difficult to describe any standard or uniform characteristics of their education. Nevertheless, certain things were common within these cultures. Children actually participated in the social processes of adult activities, and their participatory learning was based on empathy, identification, and imitation. Children learned by doing and observing basic technical practices. Their teachers were no strangers but, rather their immediate community. The curriculum did not usually include practical subjects, instead it consisted of a whole set of cultural values, tribal religion, myths, philosophy, history, rituals, and other knowledge. Within this essential curriculum, religious instruction took the most prominent place.

Education in the Earliest Civilizations: Egypt, Mesopotamia, and North China

The history of civilization started in the Middle East about 3,000 BCE, whereas the North China civilization began about a millennium and a half later. The Mesopotamian and Egyptian civilizations flourished almost simultaneously during the first civilization phase (3000- 1500 BCE). Although, these civilizations differed, they shared monumental literary achievements. The need for perpetuation of these highly developed civilizations made writing and formal education indispensable.

Egyptian culture and education were preserved and controlled chiefly by the priests, powerful intellectual elite in the Egyptian theocracy. The humanities as well as practical subjects like science, medicine, mathematics, and geometry were in the hands of the priests, who taught in formal schools. Vocational skills relating to such fields as architecture, engineering, and sculpture were generally transmitted outside the context of formal schooling. Egyptians developed two types of formal schools for privileged youth under the supervision of governmental officials and priests: one for the scribes and the other for priest trainees.

As a civilization contemporary with Egyptian civilization, Mesopotamia developed education quite similar to that of its counterpart with respect to its purpose and training. Formal education was practiced and aimed to train scribes and priests. It was extended from basic reading, writing, and religion to higher learning in law, medicine, and astrology. The methods of teaching and learning were memorization, oral repetition, copying of models, and individual instruction.

In North China, the civilization which began with the emergence of the Shang Era, complex educational practices were in effect at a very early date. In fact, every important foundation of the formation of modern Chinese character was already established, to a great extent, more than 3,000 years ago.

Chinese ancient formal education was distinguished by its marked secular and moral character. Its paramount purpose was to develop a sense of moral sensitivity and duty towards people and the state. With regards to actual methods of education, ancient Chinese learned from bamboo

books and obtained moral training and practice in rituals by word of mouth and example. Rigid rote learning, which typified later Chinese education, seems to have been rather condemned. Education was regarded as the process of individual development from within.

Ancient Chinese education served the needs of a simple agricultural society with the family as the basic social organization. Paper and the writing brush had not been invented, and the “bamboo books” then recorded to be in existence were of limited use at best. Oral instruction and teaching by example were the chief methods of education. The molding of character was the primary aim of education. Ethical teaching stresses the importance of human relations and the family as the foundation of society. Filial piety, especially emphasizing respect for the elderly, was considered to be the most important virtue. It was the responsibility of the government to provide instruction so that the talented would be able to enter government service and thus perpetuate the moral and ethical foundation of society.

The New World civilizations of the Maya, Aztec, and Inca

The outstanding cultural achievements of the pre-Columbian civilizations are often compared with the Old World civilizations. The ancient Mayan calendar, which surpassed Europe’s Julian calendar in accuracy, was, for example, a great accomplishment demonstrating the extraordinary degree of knowledge of astronomy and mathematics possessed by the Maya. Equally impressive are the sophistication of Inca calendar and their highway construction, the development of Maya writing systems, the magnificent temples of the Aztec. It is unfortunate that archeological findings and written documents hardly shed sufficient light upon education among the Maya, Aztec, and the Incas. From the available documents it is evident that these pre-Columbian civilizations developed formal education for training the nobility and the priests. The major purposes of education were cultural conservation, vocational training, moral and character training, and control of cultural deviation.

Ancient India

India is the site of one of the most ancient civilizations in the world. From its earliest time, about 2nd millennium BCE, religion was the mainspring of all activities in ancient India. It was of an all-absorbing interest and embraced not only in prayer and worship but philosophy, morality, law, and government as well. Religion saturated educational ideas, too, and the study of Vedic literature was indispensable to higher castes. The stages of instruction were very well defined. During the first period, the child received elementary education at home. The beginning of secondary education and formal schooling was marked by a ritual known as *upanayan*, or thread ceremony, which was restricted to boys only and was more or less compulsory of the three higher castes; Brahmans (priests and men of learning), *Ksatriyas* (nobles and soldiers), and *Vaisyas* (agriculture and trading).

The boys would leave their fathers’ houses and enter his preceptor’s *asrama*, or home, situated amidst sylvan surroundings. The *acarya* would treat him as his own child, give him education, and not charge anything for his boarding and lodging. The pupil had to tend the sacrificial fires, do the household work of his preceptor, and look after the cattle. At this stage, the study consisted of recitation of the Vedic mantras, or “hymns,” and the auxiliary sciences --- phonetics, the rules for the performances of the sacrifices, grammar, astronomy, prosody, and etymology. The character of education, however, differed according to the needs of the caste.

The introduction of Buddhist influences: By about the end of 6th century BCE, the Vedic rituals and sacrifices had gradually developed into a highly elaborate cult that profited the priests but antagonized an increasing section of the people. Education became generally confined to the Brahmans, and the *upanayana* was being gradually discarded by the non-Brahmans. The formalism and exclusiveness of the *Brahmanic* system was largely responsible for the rise of two religious orders, Buddhism and Jainism. Neither of them recognized the authority of the Vedas, and both challenged the exclusive claims of the Brahmans to priesthood. They taught through the common language of the people and gave education to all irrespective of caste, creed, or sex. Buddhism also introduced the monastic system of education. Monasteries attached to the Buddhist temples served a double purpose of imparting education and the training of persons for priesthood. A monastery, however, educated only those who were its members. It did not admit day scholars and thus did not cater to the needs of the entire population.

In the 3rd century BCE, Buddhism received a great impetus under India's most celebrated ruler, Asoka. After his death, Buddhism evoked resistance, and a counterreformation in Hinduism began in the country. At about 1st century CE there was also a widespread lay movement among both Buddhists and Hindus. As a result of these events, Buddhist monasteries began to undertake secular as well as religious education, and there began a large growth of popular elementary education along with secondary and higher learning.

Ancient Hebrews

Like all preindustrial societies, ancient Israel first experienced a type of education that was essentially familial; that is to say, the mother taught the very young and the girls, while the father assumed the responsibility of providing moral, religious, and handicraft instruction for their growing sons.

In the beginning of the 1st millennium BCE, the Hebrew people learned to develop a different type of education, one that involved training a specialized, professional class of scribes in a then rather esoteric art called writing, borrowed from the Phoenicians. Writing was at first practical: the scribe wrote letters and drew up contracts, kept accounts, maintained records, and prepared orders. Because he could receive written orders he eventually became entrusted with their execution: hence the importance of scribes in the royal administration.

Writing found another avenue of application in Israel – in religion. And the scribe again was the agent of education. He was the man who copied the sacred Law faithfully and established the canonical text. He was the one who read the Law to himself and to the people, taught it, and translated it when Hebrew ceased to be the vernacular or “living language” (into Greek in Alexandria, into Aramaic in Palestine); he explained it, commented on it and studied its application in particular cases. The synagogue in which the community assembled became not merely a house of prayer but also a school, with a “house of the book” and a “house of instruction” corresponding roughly to elementary and secondary or advanced level of education. Girls, however, continued to be taught at home.

Ancient Greeks

The history of the Hellenic language and people goes back to the Mycenaean civilization of about 1400 – 1100 BCE. Its administration operated by a bureaucracy, and it seems to have

operated an educational system designed for the training of scribes, similar to those of the ancient civilizations of the Middle East but, continuity did not exist and it went into a period of obscurity from 11th to 8th century BCE. During this period, sons of the nobility received their education at the court of the prince in the setting of a guild companionship or warriors: the young noblemen were educated through the counsel and example of an older man to whom he had been entrusted or had entrusted himself, a senior admired and loved.

Sparta. In Sparta, the most flourishing city of the 8th and 7th centuries BCE, education was carried out to a high level of archaic refinement; but military and civic education dominated, as it was expected that the citizen-soldier be ready to fight and, if necessary, to die, for the country. After the military and aristocratic regime came into power in 550 BCE, arts and sports gave way completely to an education appropriate to a warrior caste. The education of the girls was subordinated to their future functions as mothers. Up to the age of seven, children were brought up by women, and from seven to 20, the education was entirely in the hands of the state.

Athens. Probably around the end of 7th or during 6th century BCE, unlike Sparta, Athenians renounced education oriented towards the future duties of the soldier. The evolution of Athenian education reflected the city itself, which was moving towards increasing democratization – except for slaves and the aliens.

Schools begun to appear in those early centuries run by private teachers however, there was no single institution; rather, each activity was carried out in a separate place. The elements of literacy were taught by the writing master, known as the *grammatisticks*. More advanced formal literacy, chiefly in a study of poets, playwrights, and historians, was given by the *grammatikos*. In addition, all boys had to be instructed in physical and military activities in the wrestling school. The teachers were as much preoccupied with overseeing the child's good conduct and the formation of his character as with directing his progress in the various subjects taught him.

A system of higher education open to all – to all, at any rate, who had the leisure and necessary money – emerged with the appearance of the Sophists, mostly foreign teachers who were contemporaries and adversaries of Socrates (c 470-399 BCE). The Sophists, who were professional educators, introduced a form of higher education whose commercial success attested to and was promoted by its social utility and practical efficacy. They offered simply an art of success in political life, which meant, above all, being able on every occasion to make one's point of view prevail. Two principal disciplines constituted the program: the art of logical argument, or dialectic, and the art of persuasive speaking, or rhetoric.

It was only at the beginning of the 4th century BCE, however, that the principal types of classical Greek higher education became organized on definitive lines. This was the result of the joint and rival efforts of the two great educators, the philosopher Plato (c 426 – 348/347), who opened his school, the Academy, and the orator Isocrates (436-338). One of the other great figures, Aristotle (384-322), who tutored Alexander the Great, believed that education should be controlled by the state and that it should have as a main objective the training of citizens. He systematically phased education, based on the age of the student up to young manhood when only a few superior students would continue into higher education. Aristotle's Lyceum was thus much more empirical than Plato's Academy.

Ancient Romans

Ancient Roman education was an education suitable for a rural, traditional people – instilling in youth an unquestioned respect for the customs of the ancestors. Education had a practical aspect, involving instruction in such farm management concerns as how to oversee the work of slaves and how to advise tenant farmers or one's steward. It had a legal aspect; in contrast to Athenian law, Roman justice was much more formalistic and technical and demanded much more study on the part of the citizen.

In Rome, the appearance of the first primary schools is difficult to date; but the use of writing from the 7th century BCE implies the early existence of some kind of appropriate primary instruction. The early Romans quite naturally copied the pedagogy of the Hellenistic world: the ignorance of psychology, the same strict and brutal discipline, the same analytical method characterized by slow progress – the alphabet, the syllabuses, isolated words, then short sentences and finally continuous texts. It was only between the 3rd and the end of 1st century BCE that Latin secondary education developed.

Ancient Persia

The ancient Persian Empire began when Cyrus II the Great initiated his conquests in 559 BCE, and it ended when it was overrun by the Muslims in CE 65. Three elements dominated this ancient Persian civilization: (1) a rigorous and challenging physical environment, (2) the activist and positive Zoroastrian religion and ethics, and (3) a militant, expansionist people. These elements developed in the Persians an adventurous personality mingled with intense national feelings.

In the early period (559-330 BCE), known as the Achaemenid period for the dynastic name of Cyrus and his successors, education, sustained by Zoroastrian ethics and the requirements of a military society, aimed at serving the needs of 4 social classes – priests, warriors, tillers of the soil, and merchants.

However, education was a private enterprise. Formative education was carried out in the home and continued after the age of 7 in court schools for children of upper classes. Secondary and higher education including training in law to prepare for government service, as well as medicine, arithmetic, geography, music, and astronomy. There were also military schools.

KEY FEATURES	
✓	Education, in simple terms as we understand, means: “The act or process of acquiring knowledge, especially systematically, during childhood or adolescence”.
✓	Education can be thought of as the transmission of the values and accumulated knowledge of the society. In this sense, it is equivalent to what social scientists term socialization or enculturation.
✓	From the oldest to the recent times in – every country of the world – education has aimed at developing skills and expertise of human beings that they may be able to achieve maximum adjustment, both personal and social.
✓	Education, in a different form, existed in primitive and early civilized cultures. The term education, among the pre-historic and primitive cultures, can be applied in the sense of enculturation; the process of cultural transmission.
✓	Education was also prevalent in the earliest civilizations as in: Egypt, Mesopotamia, and North China; the Maya, Aztec, and Inca; ancient India, and China; Hebrews, Greek, and other civilizations in one form or another.

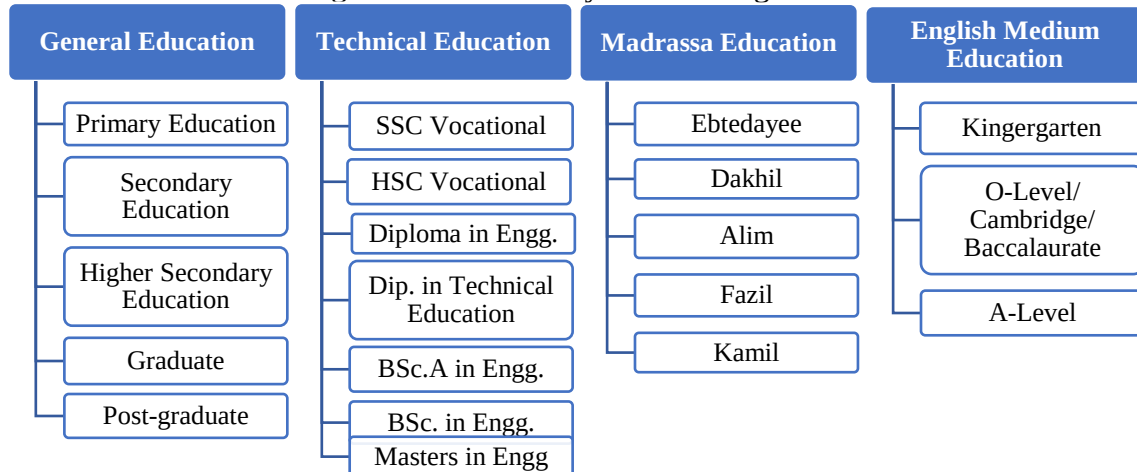
EDUCATION SYSTEM IN BANGLADESH WITH REFERENCE TO MADRASSA EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

In Bangladesh, the education system is comprised of four streams – general education, technical education, madrassa education, and English medium education. This division, in education, as a matter of fact, leads to stratification of education which develops into different levels of education for the elites and non-elites, even though it has been pondered that education should lead to an egalitarian society. In fact the prevailing education system brings about differentiation in education leading to further stratification in the society. Prior to the introduction of large scale mass education efforts, society was more egalitarian. This stratification has led to a discriminatory society based on privilege.

General education, which is the major stream in our society, is gradually losing its predominance compared to other systems of education such as technical education, Madrassa education, and English medium education. Well-to-do guardians of the society are sending their children to English medium schools starting from kindergarten to ‘O’ level and ‘A’ levels of the British GCSE. Generally, these students, after completion of their education in the country, look for further continuation of their studies abroad. Middle/lower-middle class people of the society look for education of their children in the vocational or technical education stream. Although this is a developing system of education, the quantity of such institutes is very limited resulting in enrollment in vocational education. Last, is the madrassa education where a large number of students’ study. This is primarily because such constituents are generally from moderate income group. Apart from the income, religious sentiments are a driving force for madrassa education.

Figure 4: Education System in Bangladesh



Broadly there are four streams of education in Bangladesh:

1. General Education
2. Technical Education
3. Madrassa Education
4. English Medium Education

THE GENERAL EDUCATION SYSTEM

General education has four stages: Primary Education, Secondary Education, Graduate and Post-graduate. The primary education starts with class (grade) 1 and ends with class 5, usually for five years. The five-year secondary stage starts with class 6 and ends with class 10, after which each student is required to appear in the first public exams known as Secondary School Certificate Examination. Classes 6 through 8 are called junior or lower secondary level. Primary schools offer primary education and high schools offer secondary education while colleges, intermediate colleges in particular, offer two-year higher secondary schools i.e., Higher Secondary Certificate (HSC) education. After HSC, there is either a two-year degree course or an Honors course for 3 to 4 years followed by 1 to 2 years of Masters Course. At the highest stage of university education there are arrangements for M. Phil and Ph.D. degrees.

Primary Education: The aims of primary education are to:

- Insure basic education
- Prepare students for higher studies

As mentioned before, primary education in Bangladesh consists of 5 years from grade 1 to 5. The starting age for children to enter primary education is usually 6+ years and is expected to complete grade 5 at around 11+.

Primary education in Bangladesh, under the General Education System, is the responsibility of the Ministry of Primary and Mass Education (MOPME) however, the Bureau of Non-Formal education (BNFE), under the MOPME, is responsible for providing education for the out-of-school children or illiterates through the Non-formal Education (NFE) system. Non-formal education is not an alternative to primary education; rather it is complementary and supports

the formal system of primary education. Besides purely government schools, there are many primary schools which are partially funded by government; some are run by social organizations, others by NGOs, and some by absolutely personal initiatives. All of these, however, follow the National Curricula and Textbooks under the Ministry of Education. MOPME is responsible to make policy and for overall management, while the Directorate of Primary Education (DPE) is the implementing agency.

Training facilities have been offered to primary school teachers through three types of institutes namely a) National Primary Education Academy, b) Primary Teachers Training Institute, and c) *Upazilla* (lowest administrative unit of the Government) Resource Centre. National Primary Education Academy is dedicated mainly to ensuring the quality of primary education and with this view it renders the following services:

- Imparting training to PTI superintendents and instructors
- Imparting training to Assistant *Upazilla* Education Officers, *Upazilla* Education Officers, *Zilla* (District) Education Officers and other officers and superintendents supervising activities related to primary education
- Conducting courses on public administration and management for newly appointed offices
- Supervising the academic activities of PTIs
- Conducting action research and developing training methodology
- Improving the quality of training by monitoring, follow-up, and feedback.

The responsibility of the Primary Teachers Training Institute is to provide one-year training to primary school teachers in light of modern curricula and syllabi and to confer the Certificate-in-Education to the graduating teachers.

An *Upazilla* Resource Centre has been established in every *upazilla* to extend logistic support to all programs meant for the development of primary education. The National Curriculum and Textbook Board prepare the national curriculum, syllabus, and necessary textbooks from class 1 to class 12 and distribute them all over the country.

Types and number of primary schools: During 2004, there were 10 types of primary schools in Bangladesh, which totals 82,868. Among these there are 37,671 government primary schools, 19,814 registered non-government schools, 1,699 unregistered/non-registered primary schools, 2,500 satellite schools, and 3,218 community schools.

In absolute number, between 1980 and 2004, enrollment in primary education has more than doubled from 8 million to 18 million, revealing demand for access to education and the pressure for expansion of educational facilities. In the 1980s and the 1990s, government efforts have been concentrated more on primary education, which has helped to build a comprehensive network of primary education. Secondary education, having received relatively less attention in the past, is under pressure because of the growing demand for secondary education from larger numbers of primary education completers.

The situation regarding primary level institutions, their enrollment and numbers of teachers in 2004 are shown in Table 3. It shows that there is a wide variety in primary education institutions; however, 80 percent of the enrolled students were in two types – Government Primary School (GPS) and Registered Non-government.

Table 3: Primary level institutions with enrolment, 2004

Type of Institution	Number of Institution	Teachers		Enrollment		Pupil Teacher Ratio
		Total	Female	Total	Girls	
Govt. Primary School	37,671	162,220	66,725	10,359,813	5,223,613	64:1
Regd. NGPS	19,814	77,206	21,184	4,079,119	2,034,548	53:1
Non regd. NGPS	1,699	6,612	3,145	297,249	146,124	45:1
Experimental	54	252	95	12,613	6,435	50:1
Ibtidayee Madrassa	6,723	28,119	2,972	846,092	399,947	30:1
Kindergarten	3,745	21,928	12,030	226,635	108,060	10:1
NGO (Complete)	447	1,828	1043	78,482	39,426	43:1
Community	3,218	12,641	6,920	436,122	212,316	35:1
Attached to High Madrassa	8,214	31,691	2,176	1,128,342	491,577	36:1
Attached to High School	1,283	10,438	4,521	488,833	244,821	47:1
Total	82,868	352,935	120,811	17,953,300	8,906,867	51:1

Source: (i) For primary education – DPE, 2004; (ii) Bangladesh Bureau of Education Information and Statistics, 2003; (iii) UGC, Annual Report, 2004

Non-formal education: With a view to bringing education to all children, and eradicating illiteracy from the country for those who are left out of the formal education system, the government has launched NFE program under the supervision of BNFE under MOPME. Non-formal education projects have been included in the ADP of national budget and under these projects; more than two-thirds of activities are conducted by more than 192 NGOs. So far more than 2 million children and illiterate aged people have benefited from these projects.

Secondary Education: Secondary education is the bridge between primary education and higher education i.e., graduate and post-graduate. Secondary education has three stages: junior stage consists of classes 6, 7, and 8; middle stage consists of classes 9 and 10; and higher secondary stage consists of classes 11 and 12. The highest stage of combined education of the general education system which is meant for all is class 8. General education from class 9 to 12 is divided in different groups namely Humanities, Science, Commerce, Agriculture, and Home Economics. Divisions or classifications in secondary education have been implemented to get students to choose subjects from particular group with a view to reaching particular career goals, or building a foundation for future higher studies.

Administration and Management: The administration and management of the secondary education system in Bangladesh are very complicated especially from the view point of program development and implementation, which are done by multiple authorities and organizations. However, policy-making, giving directives and overall supervision are carried out by the Ministry of Education. The departments, organizations and institutes that are engaged in providing secondary education in Bangladesh are: National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB), Board of Secondary and Higher Secondary Education (BSHSE), Department of Inspection and Assessment (DIA), Bangladesh Bureau of Education Information and Statistics (BANBEIS), Teachers Training College (TTC), Secondary Education and Science Development Centre (SESDC), Higher Secondary Teachers Training Institute (HSTTI), National Academy for Education Management (NAEM), and Institute of

Education and Research (IER). There are 17,386 secondary schools, 2,794 colleges, and 10 cadet colleges in Bangladesh.

Curriculum of General Education

Subjects taught in Secondary Schools

Science group	Humanities group	Commerce group
A. Compulsory subjects	A. Compulsory subjects	A. Compulsory subjects
1 Bangla	1 Bangla	1 Bangla
2 English	2 English	2 English
3 Mathematics	3 Mathematics	3 Mathematics
4 Religious education (Islam/Hinduism/Buddhism/Christianity)	4 Religious education (Islam/Hinduism/Buddhism/ Christianity)	4 Religious education (Islam/Hinduism/Buddhism/ Christianity)
B. Elective subject s	B. Elective subjects	B. Elective subjects
1 Physics	1 History	1 Introduction to Business
2 Chemistry	2 Geography	2 Accountancy
3 Biology or Higher Mathematics	3 Economics or Civics	3 Business entrepreneurship or commercial geography
C. Optional subjects	C. Optional subjects	C. Optional subjects
1 Higher Mathematics	1 Economics	1 Commercial geography
2 Biology	2 Civics	2 Biology
3 Agriculture	3 Agriculture	3 Agriculture
4 Home Economics	4 Home Economics	4 Home Economics
5 Geography	5 Geography	5 Geography
6 Computer studies	6 Computer studies	6 Computer studies
7 Vocational education	7 Vocational education	7 Vocational education
8 Basic trade	8 Basic trade	8 Basic trade
9 Accounting	9 Accounting	9 Business entrepreneurship
10 Arabic/Sanskrit/Pali	10 Arabic/Sanskrit/Pali	10 Arabic/Sanskrit/Pali
11 Music	11 Music	11 Music
12 Physical education and sports	12 Physical education and sports	
	13 Fine arts	
	14 Higher Bangla	
	15 Higher English	

Subjects taught in Higher Secondary Colleges

Science group	Humanities group	Commerce group
A Compulsory subjects	A Compulsory subjects	A Compulsory subjects
1 Bangla	1 Bangla	1 Bangla
2 English	2 English	2 English
B Elective subject	B Elective subject	B Elective subject
1 Physics	1 Economics	1 Introduction to Business
2 Chemistry	2 Civics	2 Accountancy
3 Biology or Mathematics	3 Sociology/social studies	3 Business entrepreneurship or commercial geography
	4 History/Islamic History	
C Optional subject	C Optional subject	C Optional subject
1 Mathematics	1 Logic	1 Commercial geography
2 Biology	2 English language and literature	2 Biology
3 Agriculture	3 Agriculture	3 Agriculture
4 Geography	4 Home Economics	4 Home Economics
5 Computer studies	5 Geography	5 Geography
6 Computer graphics and workshop practice	6 Computer studies	6 Computer studies
7 Statistics	7 Vocational education	7 Vocational education
8 Accounting	8 Basic trade	8 Basic trade
9 Arabic/Sanskrit/pali	9 Accounting	9 Business entrepreneurship
10 Psychology	10 Arabic/Sanskrit/Pali	10 Arabic/Sanskrit/Pali
11	11 Light music	11 Music
12 Sports	12 Sports	
	13 Fine arts	
	14 Statistics	
	15 Mathematics	
	16 Islamic Studies	

Science group	Humanities group	Commerce group
	17 Classical music	
	18 Bangla language and literature	

Islamic Studies group	Home Economics group
A Compulsory subjects	A Compulsory subjects
1 Bangla	1 Bangla
2 English	2 English
B Elective subjects	B Elective subjects
1 Islamic Studies	1 General science and food and nutrition
2 Islamic History and culture	2 Practical fine arts and textile and textile industry
3 Arabic	3 Household management and child rearing and family relation
C Optional subjects	C Optional subjects
1 Economics	1 Economics
2 Civics	2 Civics
3 Social welfare	3 Agriculture
4 History/Islamic History	4 Secretarial science and office management
5 Cottage Industry	5 Light music/Classical music
6 Secretarial science and office management	6 Computer studies
7 Business entrepreneurship or practical management	7 Business entrepreneurship or practical management
8 Agriculture	8 Psychology
9 Computer studies	9 Cottage industry
	10 Islamic Studies

Vocational/Technical Education: To create self-employment vocational education has been introduced in S.S.C. and H.S.C. levels in Bangladesh, where students receive specialized education in technical fields. In addition, there are 2,317 technical/vocational institutes in Bangladesh. The latest available official statistics of the number of institutions, enrollments and teaching staff at various levels are given in Table 4.

Table 4: Number of Institutions, enrollment, and teaching staff at various levels, 2003 and 2004

Level of Education	Number of Institutions	Enrollment			Teaching Staff		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1. Primary (grades 1-5)	82,868	9,046,433	8,906,867	17,953,300	232,124	120,811	352,935
2. Secondary	18,975	3,974,636	4,478,620	8,453,256	189,089	46,995	236,084
Junior High Schools (Grades 6-8)	3,982	373,942	568,927	942,869	22,816	5,531	28,347
Secondary Schools (grades 6-10/6-12)	13,404	3,429,852	3,753,641	7,183,493	142,568	35,642	178,210
Intermediate Colleges (grades 11-12)	1,579	168,407	155,757	324,164	23,442	5,775	29,217
Cadet College (grades 6-12)	10	2,435	295	2,730	263	47	310
3. Tertiary	1,361	907,435	106,946	1,014,441	47,384	11,060	58,444
Degree Colleges (grades 13-15/13-17)	1,215	712,997	41,206	754,203	32,970	8,308	41,278
Universities (grades 13-17)	73	97,249	32,870	130,119	7,207	1,376	8,583
(Public)	21	72,285	23,402	95,687	4,760	875	5,635
(Private)	52	24,964	9,468	34,432	2,447	501	2,948
4. Madrassa (grades 6-17)	8,410	934,007	911,934	1,845,941	90,687	37,210	127,897

Source: (i) For primary education – DPE, 2004; (ii) Bangladesh Bureau of Education Information and Statistics, 2003; (iii) UGC, Annual Report, 2004

The institutions imparting secondary education to most students are the non-government junior and high schools (which receive substantial government assistance and constitute 98 percent of general secondary schools), the government junior and high schools, cadet colleges,

madrassas and English medium schools. These come under the purview of the Ministry of Education, whereas primary education is the responsibility of the Ministry of Primary and Mass Education.

In 1988, there were 10,157 schools (2,267 junior and 7,890 secondary schools). The number rose to 17,386, in 2003, with the increase registered mostly for junior schools. The average annual growth rate was 3.6 percent. Enrollment in secondary education was 2.8 million in 1988, which rose to 8.1 million in 2003, indicating an annual growth rate of 7.3 percent.

The most distinctive feature of secondary enrollment in the 1990s was that girl's enrollment increased at more than double the rate for the boys. The growth in total enrollment surpassed the growth of schools and teachers. However, the quality of education at the secondary level went down.

Table 5: Percentage distribution of 11-15 year old children by schooling status, 2005

Schooling status	All (14,664)	Girls (7,340)	Boys (7,324)	Rural (11,293)	Urban (3,371)
Pre-primary	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1
Primary	24.4	23.9	24.9	25.6	17.3
Junior Secondary	32.3	35.9	28.7	31.7	35.5
Secondary	12.9	14.8	11.0	11.9	18.5
Non-graded madrassas	1.9	0.7	3.1	2.1	0.9
Out of school	28.4	24.6	32.1	28.5	27.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Education Watch Household Survey, 2005

Table 6: Percentage distribution of students by types of institutions – Rural-Urban and Sex, 2005

School type	All			Rural			Urban		
	Girls	Boys	Both	Girls	Boys	Both	Girls	Boys	Both
Dakhil Madrassa	10.7	11.5	11.0	12.0	13.3	12.5	3.9	2.4	3.2
Higher madrassa	2.8	3.7	3.2	3.1	4.2	3.6	1.4	1.7	1.5
Junior secondary	1.8	1.2	1.5	2.0	1.4	1.7	0.8	0.3	0.6
Non-govt. secondary	76.1	73.6	74.9	77.4	75.5	76.6	69.1	64.0	66.7
Government secondary	5.5	6.5	6.0	3.8	3.5	3.7	14.2	21.5	17.6
Schools & colleges	2.4	2.2	2.3	1.2	1.2	1.2	8.5	7.1	7.9
Others	0.7	1.3	1.0	0.4	1.0	0.7	2.2	2.9	2.5
N	4,422	3,751	8,173	2,178	2,735	6,013	1,144	1,016	2,160

Source: Education Watch Household Survey, 2005

It is generally agreed that poverty is an obstacle to education. Bangladesh has witnessed a modest reduction in poverty by about one percentage point a year in recent years. It came down from 58.8 percent of the population in 1991/92 to 49.8 percent in 2000 (BBS HIES, 2000). During 1999-2004, poverty had shrunk further to between 40 percent and 42 percent (MOF 2005). There are, however, the hardcore poor or 'ultra poor' who constituted between 20 percent (PRSP) and 27 percent (other sources) of the population. In absolute numbers, the size of the hardcore poor stood between 28 and 37.8 million persons, depending on the estimate accepted. By UNDP MDG poverty line measures covering the period 1990-2003, 36 percent of Bangladesh population lived on an income of less than US \$ 1 a day and 82.8 percent on US \$ 2 or less a day (UNDP 2005). Applying the ratio of primary school age population in the total population (14 percent), the number of children of primary school age in the population characterized as the extreme poor in 2004 was between 3.9 to 5.3 million. The number of children of the designated age who are never enrolled children (exclusion zone 1) in 2004 can be estimated to be 1.7 million, assuming 10 percent non-enrollment.

Distance Education: Bangladesh Open University conducts Secondary and Higher Secondary courses besides Bachelor's of Education (B. Ed.) Course under distance education program and a good number of students are earning certificates through this program which is easier and cheaper but lengthier.

English Medium Education: There has been a wide spread introduction of kindergartens and English Medium Schools in Bangladesh since the recent past. These schools follow course curricula and syllabus of University of London/Edexcel or University of Cambridge. At secondary level the examination students sit for is called O-Level and at Higher Secondary level the examination they sit for is called A-Level. These examinations are conducted by the British Council. Preparation of question papers, checking answer scripts and preparation of results all are done by the respective authority i.e., University of London/Edexcel or University of Cambridge. Registration for examination and distribution of results are done by the British Council. There are about 1,417 kindergartens and 266 English Medium schools in Bangladesh. Only one school, International School, Dhaka (ISD) in Bangladesh, follows the curriculum and syllabus of the International Baccalaureate.

Madrassa Education: The main job of Bangladesh Madrassa Education Board is to approve *ebtedayee*, *dakhil*, *alim*, *fazil* and *kamil* madrassas, as described below, and to prepare national curriculum, syllabus, and necessary textbooks for madrassa education from *ebtedayee* to *kamil* and distribute them all over the country.

Madrassa Education is divided into two Streams: Aliya and Quomi. In Bangladesh, *Dakhil* and *Alim* degrees from the Madrassa Board are recognized as equivalent to Secondary (SSC) and Higher Secondary (HSC) qualifications respectively. Students passing examinations at these stages can be admitted into mainstream colleges and universities. The madrassa students and teachers have demanded for some time that the government should recognize *Fazil* and *Kamil* Degrees as equivalent to BA and MA degrees. The BNP-led Coalition Government, at the end of its tenure in 2006, acceded to the demand of the madrassa lobby despite strong arguments to the contrary from academics and educationists. Like many issues in Bangladesh, this became highly politicized.

At the *ibtidaia* stage, there is a relatively small difference in the course curriculum between Aliya and primary education, but as a student progresses in either stream the differences grow. Even a brief look at the madrassa curriculum and books vis-à-vis mainstream education indicates that although a madrassa student studies secular subjects, the depth of the content, contact hours in class and the marks allotted in exams are significantly less for these subjects than in the mainstream. An examination of the Bangla, English, History, Geography, Social Studies and General Science textbooks for *dakhil* classes of the Madrassa Board and those published by the National Curriculum and Textbook Board shows that the depth and scope of the content in the latter were substantially greater for each grade. The fact is that the two streams cannot be compared; each stands on its own ground in respect of their academic and broader educational purposes. *Fazil* and *Kamil* are even more religion-based and cannot be regarded as comparable to mainstream degrees from universities.

Curriculum of Aliya Madrassas

Aliya Madrassa education is divided into 5 stages of a total of 16 years duration, from the primary to postgraduate level. The stages are: *Ibtidaia* (primary), *Dakhil* (middle &

secondary), *Alim* (higher secondary), *Fazil* (graduate), and *Kamil* (post-graduate). The stages are described below (Azhar 2001).

***Ibtidaia* (duration: 4-5 years):** Emphasis is put on correct recitation of the Holy *Qur'an*. Other subjects are: Basics of Islam, Arabic, Bangla, Arithmetic, and an introduction to History, Geography and General Science.

***Dakhil* (duration: 5-6 years):** In this phase too, the emphasis is on correct recitation and understanding of the *Qur'an* along with its commentaries. At this stage, the students are introduced to the Islamic Creed, Islamic Law and Jurisprudence, Arabic and a number of secular subjects.

***Alim* (duration: 2 years):** At this stage, students are streamed into two groups - Humanities and Science. Both groups have to concentrate on the *Qur'an* and *Hadith*, Islamic Law, Law of Inheritance, Arabic, and Islamic History. The Humanities group teaches Arabic and Persian in-depth and the Science group studies a number of natural science subjects.

***Fazil* (duration: 2 years):** The students are again streamed into two groups - Humanities and Science. Like *Dakhil*, here too both groups have, in addition to common religious subjects, a number of secular subjects.

***Kamil* (duration: 2 years):** This is the highest stage of Aliya Madrassa education. Here the students study only religious subjects. They specialize in different branches, such as: *Hadith*, *Tafsir* (Interpretation of the *Qur'an*), Islamic Jurisprudence, and Arabic Literature.

Quomi Madrassas: Accurate information on *Quomi* Madrassas is not available from the government sources. Most of the *Quomi* Madrassas are of Deoband (in Uttar Pradesh, India) tradition. "*Befaqul Madrassil Arabia* Bangladesh", more commonly known as the 'Quomi Madrassa Board', claims to represent the *Quomi* Madrassa in the country. In a petition to the government in 2006, the Board claimed to represent more than 15,000 madrassas with about 132,000 teachers and 1,850,000 students across the country. It is difficult to verify the claim, but evidently the *Quomi* Madrassas have grown significantly, in the last few decades, in Bangladesh.

Unlike Aliyas, the *Quomi* Madrassas depend on private donations for their operation. Sometimes the madrassas are co-located with the *mazars* (burial ground/graveyards) of local saints, where some donations would be diverted to the madrassa. Many Muslims contribute substantial amounts for the upkeep of madrassas as a part of their religious obligations. Businessmen, industrialists, and politicians often donate generously to local mosques and madrassas to earn a name for them and influence public opinion. Most *Quomi* Madrassas are on *waqf* land (donated for religious use); but some have sprung up on fallow government land, either without the knowledge of authorities, or sometimes in collusion with officials.

Private donors and organizations in the oil-rich Gulf states, notably Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, have been financing the *Quomi* Madrassas in recent years. Due to poor banking supervision and lax financial regulations, the Arab agencies, NGOs and private individuals find it easy to finance madrassas and propagate their brand of Islam in Bangladesh. There are no means to record or publish data as to the specific sources, recipients and amount of funds received to support religion-based education. The Government of Bangladesh has recently introduced tighter control on the inflow of foreign donations, banned a number of Middle Eastern NGOs

and extradited some foreign nationals for clandestine religious activities based on a few Quomi Madrassas.

Curriculum of the Quomi Madrassas

There are seven stages of learning in a Quomi Madrassa. The pre-primary section of a Quomi Madrassa is known as *Hifzul Qur'an*, or Qur'an memorizing section. Most students would spend 3-4 years memorizing the Qur'an. The students would then move to *Ibtidaia* or the primary section. By then the student are able to read and write Arabic, Urdu and Persian, although most of it would be rote learning. At this stage, the students are also taught basic Bangla, English, Mathematics, and Islamic History. About ten years of schooling would lead a student to *Mutawasita* (Secondary School Certificate) and then to *Sanubia Ulya* (Higher Secondary Certificate) standard. By then the student would have a good knowledge of the Qur'an and its interpretations and commentaries, memorized hundreds of *Hadiths* and their origins, studied Islamic Law and Jurisprudence, read Islamic philosophy, Islamic History, Logic and have studied a number of old classics in Arabic, Persian and Urdu. A very small proportion of students would move to the next higher stages of *Fazeelat* (graduate) and *Taqmeel* (post graduate) education. These students might become *muftis* and *Dawara Hadith* who could give *fatwas* or make judgments on disputes involving religious interpretations.

Brief Observation on Educational System in Bangladesh

The education system of Bangladesh is in deep crisis because of social discrimination and stagnation. Gradually the system is going beyond the purview of the government as the facilitator. Given the huge public expenditures made for education in Bangladesh, it is quite unproductive. It is creating streams of educated unemployed youths, half educated dropouts, and products of ill education that implies wastage of human and material resources. The present education systems are creating disharmony and mistrust as a result of the various streams, since each stream is very distinct from the other in terms of pedagogy, curriculum, and the social strata it serves in the society.

The deep-seated malaise in the system is in the curriculum, pedagogical methodology, behavior, educational standards of the teachers, and dilapidated infrastructural facilities. The system suffers from uneven competition among public, private, and NGO-run educational institutions. Where a quality section education should be the right of every citizen, we are seeing the mushroom growth of 'coaching' centers throughout the country, increasing the downward trend of quality education. Quality education has become affordable only to the few rich of the society, leading to social inequality and disharmony.

Bright students from affluent backgrounds, mainly the products of English medium system, are migrating from the country for better prospects and opportunities. They do not usually contribute to the country and prefer to secure their future abroad. Rather, it is the poor migrant workers from Bangladesh, who are semi-literate or illiterate, who send huge amount of remittances to the country every year. Thus the brain drain is affecting the country in two distinct ways.

Another avenue for wastage in the education system is session-jams in the public universities for strikes, long closures due to political unrests, criminalization, and rise of terrorism. The public institutions in Bangladesh (schools, colleges, and universities) are substantially subsidized by the government. However, the high cost of books, supplies, and other related expenditures are causing unbearable burden on the guardians, making education a luxury for the majority. Faulty examination system and copying among the examinees are causing leakage of question papers, misleading evaluation of students, and namesake graduates. Education institutions are highly politicized, starting from the head of the institution, teachers, and the students. The teacher and the students are being used by politicians for political ends, leading to wide unrest among the students in a large scale.

KEY FEATURES
✓ In Bangladesh, education system comprises broadly in four streams – general education, technical education, madrassa education, and English medium education. ✓ There are at present, 10 types of primary schools in Bangladesh which totals approximately 82,868. ✓ With a view to bring all children under the education, and eradicating illiteracy from the country, or those who are left out of the formal education system, the government launched Non-formal Education or NFE program ✓ Secondary education is the bridge between primary education and higher education i.e., graduation and post-graduation. Secondary education has three stages: junior stage consists of class 6, 7 and 8; middle stage consists of class 9 and 10; and higher secondary stage consists of class 11 and 12. ✓ The institutions imparting secondary education to most of the students are the non-government junior and high schools, which receive substantial government assistance and constitute 98 percent of general secondary schools. ✓ Madrassa education provides significant emphasis on religious-based subjects. ✓ Accurate information about Quomi Madrassas are not available, officially.

CONCEPT OF EDUCATION IN ISLAM

EDUCATION IN ISLAM

Islam places a high value on education, and, as the faith spread among diverse peoples, education became an important channel through which to create a universal and cohesive social order. By the middle of the 9th century AD, knowledge was divided into three categories: the Islamic sciences, the *philosophica* and the natural sciences (Greek knowledge), and the literary arts. The Islamic sciences, which emphasized the study of the Qur'an (the Islamic scripture) and the *Hadith* (the sayings and the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad) and their interpretations by leading scholars and theologians, were valued the most highly, but Greek scholarship was considered equally important albeit less virtuous.

Muslim educational activity began in the 8th century, primarily in order to disseminate the teachings of the Qur'an and the *sunnah*. The first task of this endeavor was to record the oral traditions and collect the written manuscripts. This information was systematically organized in the 2nd century AH (After Hizrat/Muslim Calendar), and in the following century sound corpus was agreed upon. This vast activity of "seeking knowledge" (*talab-al-ilim*) resulted in the creation of specifically Arab sciences of tradition, history, and literature.

Early Muslim education emphasized practical studies, such as the application of technological expertise to the development of irrigation systems, architectural innovations, textiles, iron and steel products, earthenware, and leather products; the manufacture of paper and gunpowder; the advancement of commerce; and the maintenance of merchant marines. After the 11th century, however, denominational interests dominated higher learning, and the Islamic sciences achieved preeminence. Greek knowledge was studied in private, if at all, and the literary arts diminished in significance as educational policies encouraging academic freedom and new learning were replaced by a closed system characterized by intolerance toward scientific innovations, secular subjects, and creative scholarship.

In the absence of a clear-cut and well defined objective and with a view to face the challenges confronting Muslim countries, the First World Conference on Muslim Education was held at Mecca in 1977. The conference reflected the fundamentals of Islamic education with the following endorsements by the Islamic countries regarding the aims and objectives with the changing society in mind:

- Teachings of The Holy Qur'an as first step of education.
- Experiences which are based on fundamentals of Islam as embodied in The Holy Qur'an and the *Sunnah*.
- Experiences in the form of knowledge and skills with clear understanding that these experiences are likely to be changed in the light of changes in society.
- Develop such qualities of a good man which are universally accepted by the societies which have faith in religion

The Education of Women

There has been much debate and discussion in the Western media on Muslim women's rights and education, especially after the 9/11 and the Talibanization of Afghanistan. During these discussions and debates, Muslim women are portrayed as victims of repressive regimes and of medieval Islamic laws that govern Muslim countries.

However, in Islam historically women's education has never been controversial. Several verses of the Qur'an (39:9; 35:28; 12:71) and of the *shahi hadiths* refer directly to women's rights and education. The traditions goes on further when Muhammad advised that, "He who has a slave girl, teaches her good manners, **improves her education**, then frees her from slavery, and then marries her will get a double reward (in afterlife)....". How then, do Muslim extremists ban women from education, which is a common concern for Western media propaganda and discussion of Muslim women's rights?

As mentioned before, this portrayal of Muslim women is due to the negative media coverage after 9/11 and the Taliban control of Afghanistan, the only Muslim extremist country during that time that banned women from education. The rest of the 1.4 billion people living in the Muslim nations do not have any laws that prohibit women's education. The other Muslim country that has any kind of ban on women is Saudi Arabia that bans women from driving cars (not education). However, the present day Islamic scholars question this Saudi ban by citing that Khadija, Muhammad's first wife, was a successful businesswomen and she actually had to travel on her camel for business trips! The Taliban bans on women's education or Saudi ban on driving are verdicts of their respective authorities or government, and that do not represent Qur'an's or Islamic teachings.

In view of the Prophet's command, acquiring knowledge is the duty of all Muslim men and women. According to Baladhuri, in the early days of Islam, there were only five women in Mecca who could read and write, and two more who could read only. The Prophet himself supervised the education of women once a week and gave necessary instructions to his wives for proper guidance to the women of Mecca. There were some fifteen hundred women among the narrators of traditions (*Hadiths*) of Islam. Undoubtedly, Aishah, Muhammad's last wife, ranks highest among them. No less than one thousand traditions of the Prophet were known by her alone. Hazrat Nafisah, the grand daughter of Prophet Mohammad, was a noted 8th century Islamic scholar and was so eminent that Imam Shafai (b. 150 and d. 204 A.H.), one of the greatest Islamic theologian, used to attend her teachings. Similarly, another renowned woman, Fakhrun Nisa, gave public lectures on literature in the great mosque at Baghdad and a large audience listened to her lectures. Allama Khatib-al-Baghdadi, a renowned Islamic scholar of the 9th century, studied under al-Bukhari (b. 194 and d. 256 A.H.), the greatest compiler of traditions and sayings of Muhammad, with Karimah bint Ahmad, another renowned woman

scholar during that time. In short, Muslim women are conspicuous by their presence among teachers of universities, in the circles of the learned, and among poets and writers. In some cases, the Prophet's wives were in-charge of education of women and the Prophet himself visited their classes once a week and answered their queries.

Muslim Contributions to World Civilization

Islam is both a religion and a civilization (Malcolm 2003). While some of these people and contributions are closely linked to Islam as a religion, others have more to do with the culture to which Islamic religion gave rise. Any limited list of the great contributions of a culture, people, or religion is arbitrary and reflects the prejudices and knowledge of the person (or persons) who wrote it. Therefore, any listing of the contributions will, of necessity, exclude even more significant contributions that have equal claim to attention.

Transmission of Greek Writings

Islamic interest in science gave rise to the collection of translations into Arabic of ancient works in medicine, astronomy, mathematics, and philosophy, mainly from Greek but also from Persia and India. Harun al-Rashid and al-Ma'mun (in the 8th and 9th centuries) sent emissaries to the Byzantine Empire to collect ancient Greek manuscripts for the government library, *Bayt al Hikma* (House of Wisdom), in Baghdad. Hunayn ibn Ishaq (803 – 873 CE), a Christian Arab, was the most important early translator. Much of the Greek material, which had been forgotten in Western Europe, was later reintroduced by translations made from Arabic to Latin, especially in Spain and Sicily, where the Muslims, Christians, and Jewish scholars interacted with one another.

Medical Science: At the time when healing in Europe was mainly left to God, medical care in the Islamic world was advancing rapidly. Galen's and Hippocrates' were among the first Greek texts translated into Arabic. Arabic medicine had dual purposes of preserving health and curing illness and emphasized trust between doctor and patient.

The world's first hospital was established in Baghdad at the beginning of the 9th century. Larger hospitals had schools and granted diplomas. Arabic medicine emphasized clinical observation, diagnosis, and experiment to increase knowledge and improve treatment. Al-Razi (850-925) and Ibn Sina (known as Avicenna in the West, 980-1037) are two of many famous physicians and researchers. Al-Razi's major work was *The Comprehensive Book on Medicine*, a 23-volume medical encyclopedia. He wrote the first treatise on small pox and measles, identified the existence and the cause of hay fever and did work on kidney stones. Ibn Sinha's *The Canon of Medicine* was a compendium of all existing medical and pharmaceutical knowledge. It was still used as a standard reference work in Europe in the 17th century. Ibn Sinha emphasized the importance of such factors as diet, environment, and climate.

Abu al-Qasim al-Zahrawi (936-1013) was a famous surgeon whose 30-volume manual described surgical operations and instruments. Despite religious qualms, anatomy was practiced, leading to the discovery of the pulmonary circulation of blood. Arab medical scientists also developed the fields of ophthalmology, anesthesiology, and also pharmacology.

Algebra and Mathematics: The term algebra derives from the title of al-Khwarazmi's (about 780-850 CE) *Kitab al-jabr wal-muqabal* (*The book of Compulsion and Comparison*), the first

systematic work on algebra. Al-jabr became algebra in English, and from al-Khwarizmi's name comes the term algorithm.

A number of scholars developed this field of study that reached its early culmination in the work of 'Umar al-Khayyam (1048-1123). The study of this one field of mathematics led to the advances and applications in other fields, such as trigonometry and geography, to which early and medieval Muslim scholars made major contributions. From Arabic, for example, comes the term *sine* used in trigonometry. The mathematical science has left ineffaceable traces of Muslims in its development. Al-Beruni (Abu Rayhan al-Biruni d.1048) in his book, *Qanun-i-Masudi*, used Newton's formula of interpolation for valuing the various intermediary angles of trigonometry functions from his tables which were calculated for every increase of fifteen minutes. He gave geometrical proof of interpolation formula.

Astronomy: Drawing upon the wisdom of ancient Babylon, India, and especially Greece, Arabic-speaking scientists made major contributions to astronomy, in record observations and in theory. They clearly distinguished astronomy from astrology. Arabic astronomy was driven by practical and religious concerns: better nautical navigation, determining the five daily prayer times, the date of the new moon (important for the religious calendar), and the direction to Mecca (for prayer and mosque alignment). They defined this direction as the shortest arc of the circle joining Mecca and any given place. In making these calculations, Muslim astronomers determined the latitude and longitude of many Muslim cities with great accuracy.

The second-century Ptolemaic system of the circular movement of the planets (and the sun) around the world was accepted, but significant modifications were made as Arabic scientists noted discrepancies between Ptolemy's theory and the results of their observations.

The same al-Khwarazmi who gave the world algebra wrote the first preserved book on astronomy. The early synthesis in the field was al-Biruni's (973-1048) *al-Qanun al-Masudi*. Many of the names of the stars come from Abd al Rahman al-Sufi's *Book on the Constellations* (1009), from which they passed into Latin and then English. Arabic gives English technical terms such as *nadir*, *azimuth*, and *zenith*. Ibn al-Haytham (known to the West as Alhazan, 965-1040) determined that the Milky Way was composed of many faint stars, far from the earth.

Perhaps the world's first astronomical observatory was at Maragha (13th century) in northwest Iran under the direction of Nasir al-Din al-Tusi. While the telescope hadn't yet been invented, Arab scientists made major improvements to other instruments, such as *astrolabe*, the basic portable instrument for observing the location of heavenly bodies. Many astrolabes are exquisite works of artistic beauty.

Engineering and Technology: Islamic advances in engineering and technology are evident in archaeological remains, historical records, and still-standing structures. Engineers did not normally write about their work, but two books record devices that were primarily for amusement and the same technology was used for real world applications: switches, conical valves (including float valves), siphons, gears, crankshafts, and more. The *Book of Ingenious Devices* by the three Banu Musa brothers in the 9th century Baghdad describes 100 clever mechanical devices, including gas masks for the use in polluted mines. Al-Jazari's *The Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices* (1206) gives diagrams explaining materials, construction, and operations of 50 devices, including clocks, vessels, measuring vessels, fountains, and water-raising machines.

The most important real-world use was to increase agricultural production. A variety of water-raising devices made large-scale irrigation possible. Water wheels also powered mills used for grinding grain and other manufacturing functions; crop-rotation, grafting, cross-breeding of plants, and the introduction of new crops increased food production. Manuals gave advice to farmers on soil types, what to plant, when to plant, and when to harvest.

Engineering skills were also used in shipbuilding, mining, paper, textile production, and metalworking. Preserved manuals provide explicit information on fortification, siege machinery, and weapon construction. Ships on the Tigris and Euphrates rivers in the 10th century were floating water-wheel-driven mills for large scale grinding of grain. Engineering skills were also applied to dam construction and irrigation channels, including long distance channels.

Philosophy: Muslim philosophers dealt with all problems regarding life, mind, and action. In spite of their Islamic intellectual background, they considered the personality of Muhammad to be a social and intellectual leader. Nasir al-Din al-Tusi's work on Euclid, in the 13th century, was printed in Rome in 1594, and John Wallis introduced it to the University of Oxford about the middle of the 17th century. It was Tusi's effort to improve the parallel postulate of Euclid that is believed to have furnished a basis in Europe for solution of the problem of space. Within the confines of Islam, Muslim philosophers dealt with the problem of divine justice and human responsibility in the seventh century. A group of early theologians were reported to be engaged in the discussion of free will and predetermination (Hai 1964).

A separate stream of philosophical thoughts emerged regarding the attributes of God (Allah) on the one hand and the justice of God on the other. Known as the *Mutazilites*, they continued with this line of thought and made assertions on the freedom of man on the one hand and the justice of God on the other. Although they were guided by the principles of the Holy Qur'an, their general tendency was to put arguments on strictly ethical and rational grounds in support of their positions. From the time of al-Ah'ari, prior to Al-Ghazali, the Arabs assimilated the fundamentals of Hellenism, and Greek culture caused a vigorous philosophical renaissance represented by Abu Nasar al Farabi (d. 950) and Abu-Ali al Husayn Ibn-Sina (980-1037).

The first outstanding Islamic philosopher, known as the "philosopher of the Arabs", al-Kindi (d. c. 870) flourished in Iraq under the caliphs, al-Mamun (b. 813 and d. 833) and al-Mutacim (b. 833 and d. 842). He concerned himself not only with those philosophical questions that had been treated by the Aristotelians and Neo-Platonists of Alexandria but also with such miscellaneous subjects as astrology, medicine, Indian arithmetic, and logogriphs. He is known to have written more than 270 works (mostly in short treatises), a considerable number of which are extant, and some in Latin translations. Another great Muslim philosopher, al-Farabi (b. 878 and d. 950), also known as Abu Naser al-Farabi (L. Alfarabius) was a preeminent thinker and was regarded in the Arab world as the greatest philosophical authority after Aristotle.

The great Islamic thinker Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (d. 505 A.H. /1111 C.E.) attracted much attention in both the Islamic world and the West. His autobiographical work, *Al-Munqidh min ad-dalal* is widely known to Western readers. He studied law, theology and possibly philosophy in Nishapur, and attended the court to Nizam al-Mulk, and then by dint of his merit and personality he became professor in the Nizamiyya College in Baghdad in the year 1091. Al-Ghazali wrote a large number of books as many as seventy, large and small, on theology, ethics, logic, philosophy and many other subjects. His two books, *Ihya ul-Ulum ad-Din* in Arabic and *Kimiyya-i-Sa'dat* in Persian, are still respected in intellectual circles. The book

Ihya, is regarded as an authoritative work on the literature of Islam, and it is said among theological scholars that if other literary works on Islam are lost and only *Ihya* survives, there will be very little loss to Islam. He emphasized methods and techniques and suggested that an ideal teacher should have full command over his subject (Rahman 1997).

Ibn Sina was also a great philosopher, besides being a renowned physician and a scientist, whose knowledge extended over a wide range of subjects. Of his large number of books, *Ash-Shifa*, an Encyclopedia of Physics, Metaphysics and Mathematics, is the most prominent. Centuries have elapsed but the book remains relevant and important.

Like the Greeks before them, the Muslims dominated the scientific and intellectual world for about 400 years starting from the 8th century. Such progress, in the intellectual and scientific fields was in a period when Europe fell into the dark ages and can be definitely linked to Muslim education in the Middle East, without which the efflux would have been impossible. It is not clear what was inside the system of education that created successive scholars of such magnitude however, it is clear that the environment that was developed and nurtured by those scholars and the system continued for about 400 years.

Looking back at the Greeks before the Muslims, from Socrates to Alexander (the Great), including host of other renowned scholars in between, whose contribution during the period was the development of a modern education system that was distinctively different from the enculturation education of ancient cultures. The continuation of such system that stopped for 1,000 years or so and failed to create or develop anywhere a culture or environment of intellectual, scientific aspirations, or perseverance suddenly emerged in another different culture, the Muslim education.

When suddenly a process or system of developing successive scholars and intellectuals comes to a sudden end can only be explained through further in depth research. Given the information at hand on this issue, we may have to turn to the history of the changes in those periods to fully understand the cessation. However, it can be assumed that like the Greeks, the Muslim Education entered into a period of ‘dialectic’ abyss from which the Greek education, some 2,300 years back, and the Muslim education, some 800 years back, could never recover!

Islamic Education in Perspective

Education without religion is to the Muslim mind an anomaly (Patrick Hughes 1885). In all the books of traditions there are sections specially devoted to the consideration of knowledge, but only so far as it relates to the *Knowledge of Allah*, and of Allah’s book The Qur’an (*Shahi al-Bukhari, Babu al-Ilm*). The people who read the “Book of Allah” are, according to the sayings of Muhammad, described as “assembling together in mosques, with light and comfort descending upon them, the grace of Allah covering them, and the angels of Allah encompassing them round about.” The chief aim and object of education in Islam is, therefore, to obtain knowledge of the religion of Muhammad, and anything beyond this is considered superfluous, and even dangerous. Among the Muslim religious leaders there have always been two classes ---those who affect the ascetic and strictly life of mortification, such as the Sufi mystics and the Fakirs; and those who, by a careful study of the Qur’an, the Traditions, and the numerous works on divinity, have attained to a higher reputation for scholarship, and are known in Turkey as the ‘*Ulema*’, or “learned,” and in India, as *Maulawis (Maulavis)*.

Among Muslims generally, knowledge of science and various branches of secular learning is considered dangerous to the faith, and it is discouraged by the religious, although some assert that Muhammad has encouraged learning of all kinds in the Qur'an, by the following verse, *Surah 2: 272*: --- "He giveth wisdom to whom He will, and He to whom wisdom is given hath had much good given him."

Islamic education as we see today has its class of students of divinity and they are not established for the purpose of general education, but for the training of students of divinity who will in time become *Imams* of Mosques. Some of the *maulavis* are men held in great reputation as Arabic scholars, but they are, as a rule very deficient in general knowledge and information. Whether we look to India, or Persia, or Egypt, or Turkey, the attitude of the Muslims is undoubtedly one in direct antagonism to the spread of secular education. Therefore, what started, in the earliest Islamic era, simply as a means to be able to read and propagate the Qur'an's messages for the well being of humanity and understand and appreciate the wider universe and creation has eventually become a very narrow focused, impractical, and a tool for spreading religious dogma, intolerance, and sometimes violence.

The change to a secular and traditional education happened during and after the Middle Ages. With the advent of successive orthodox and fundamentalist kings and head of the states in the respective countries, the state started backing orthodox and fundamental Qur'anic education and *hadiths* in those institutions. They felt that their power were more secure with the conservative and strict enforcement of *sharia* or Islamic laws and as a means to subjugate citizens who, with a non-secular and rational education, can be a threat to their kingship. After colonization of the Muslim countries and Muslim subjects by the Western powers, after the Middle Ages, Islamic education further shut themselves what they thought was to preserve their tradition from intrusion of the infidels. Thus, the orthodox tradition Islamic education passed on from generation to generation without any changes though scanty efforts were made to change it to become compatible to a modern education system.

KEY FEATURES

- ✓ Islam places a high value on education, and, as the faith spread among diverse peoples, education became an important channel through which to create a universal and cohesive social order.
- ✓ Early Muslim education emphasized practical studies, such the development of irrigation systems, architectural innovations, textiles, iron and steel products, earthenware, and leather products; the manufacture of paper and gunpowder; the advancement of commerce; and the maintenance of merchant marine.
- ✓ In Islam, historically, women's education has never been controversial. In several verses of the Qur'an and the *Hadiths* refer directly to the women's rights and education.
- ✓ Islamic interest in science gave rise to the collection of translation into Arabic of ancient works in medicine, astronomy, mathematics, and philosophy, mainly from Greek but also from Persia and India.
- ✓ Islamic scholars and thinkers of the Indo-Pak sub-continent brought about an intellectual awakening in philosophical and sociological thoughts and movements.
- ✓ In terms of new knowledge, the Muslim scholars – before and after middle ages – contributed significantly. However, with the passage of time, due mainly to successive orthodox-fundamentalist kings – head of relevant states who wanted to subjugate citizens at any cost and by all means, the once enlightened and scholarly tradition of knowledge-building regressed in to dogmatic conservatism.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF MADRASSA EDUCATION AND REFORM MEASURES IN INDIAN SUB-CONTINENT

Though over the last 200 years, madrassas were intended to create Islamic scholars and religious functionaries in the Indian sub-continent, a handful of them suddenly made a u-turn in its objective in the last few decades. As a result, madrassas in the sub-continent were termed as factories of terrorism, fundamentalists, and breeding violence.

ORGANIZATION OF MUSLIM EDUCATION

The system of education in the Muslim world was un-integrated and un-differentiated. Learning took place in a variety of institutions, among them the *halqah*, or study circle; the *maktab* (*kuttab*), or elementary school; the palace schools; bookshops and literary salons; and the various types of colleges, the *meshed*, the *masjid*, and the madrassa. All the schools taught essentially the same subjects.

The simplest type of early Muslim education was offered in the mosques, where the scholars who had congregated to discuss the Qur'an began, before long, to teach the religious sciences to interested adults. As the mosques increased in numbers, especially under the caliphs, so did the students who were interested to learn. By the 14th century, Baghdad alone had 12,000 mosques and most of them had attached schools. Some of the mosques in Baghdad, Isfahan, Mashhad, Ghom, Damascus, Cairo, and the Alhambra (Granada), became centers of learning for students all over the Muslim world. Each mosque usually contained several study circles (*halqah*), so named because the teacher was, as a rule, seated on the dais or cushion with the pupils gathered in a semicircle before him. The more advanced a student, the closer he was seated to the teacher. The Mosque circles varied in approach, course content, size, the quality of teaching, but the method of instruction usually emphasized lectures and memorization. Teachers were, as a rule, looked upon as masters of scholarship, and their lectures were meticulously recorded in notebooks. Students often made long journeys to join a circle of great teacher. Some circles, especially those in which the *Hadiths* was studied, were so large that it was necessary for assistants to repeat the lecture so that every student could hear and record it.

Elementary schools (*maktab*, or *kuttab*), in which pupils learned to read and write, date to the pre-Islamic period in the Arab world. After the advent of Islam, these schools developed into centers for instruction in elementary Islamic subjects. Students were expected to memorize the Qur'an as perfectly as possible. Some schools also included in their curriculum the study of poetry, elementary arithmetic, penmanship, ethics (manners), and elementary grammar. *Maktab*s were quite common in almost every town or village in the Middle East, Africa, Sicily, and Spain.

As fundamental to Muslim education as were the circle schools, the *maktab*s, and the palace schools, they embodied definite educational limitations. Their curricula were limited; they could not always attract well-trained teachers; physical facilities were not always conducive to a congenial educational environment; and conflicts between religious and secular aims in these schools were almost irreconcilable. Most importantly these schools could not meet the growing need for trained personnel or provide sufficient educational opportunities to those who wished to continue their studies. These pressures led to the creation of a new type of school, the *madrassa*, which became the crown glory of the medieval Muslim education. The *madrassa* was an outgrowth of the *masjid*, a type of Mosque College dating to the 8th century. The differences between the two institutions are still being studied, but most scholars believe that the *masjid* was also a place of worship and that, unlike the *madrassa*; its endowment supported only the faculty and not the students as well.

Madrassa as an Institution for Education

Madrassa is an Arabic word for any type of school, secular or religious (of any religion). It is variously transliterated as ***madrassah***, ***madarasaa***, ***medresa***, ***madraza***, etc. This word is also present as a loanword with the same innocuous meaning in many Arabic-influenced languages such as Urdu, Hindi, Persian, Turkish, Kurdish, Indonesian, Malay, and Bosnian. In the Arabic language, the word *madrassa* implies no sense other than that which the word *school* represents in the English language, such as private, public, or parochial school, as well as for any primary or secondary school whether Muslim, non-Muslim or secular. Unlike the understanding of the word *school* in British English, the word *madrassa* is like the term *school* in American English, in that it can refer to a university-level or post-graduate school. The correct Arabic word for university, however, is *jamaat*. The Hebrew cognate *midrasha* also connotes the meaning of a place of learning.

Madrassas did not exist in the early period of Islam. Their formation can probably be traced to the early Islamic custom of meeting in mosques to discuss religious issues. At this early stage, people seeking religious knowledge tended to gather around certain more knowledgeable Muslims; these informal teachers later became known as the *shaykhs*; and these *shaykhs* began to hold regular religious education sessions called *mujalis*.

Established in 859, Jami'at al-Qarawiyyin (located in Al-Qarawiyyin Mosque) in the city of Fes (Fez), is considered the oldest *madrassa* in the Muslim world. It is founded by Fatima Al-Fihri, the daughter of a wealthy merchant named Mohammed Al-Fihri.

During the late Abbasid period, the Seljuk vizier Nizam al-Mulk created the first major official academic institution known in history as the *Madrassa Nizamiyyah*, based on the informal *majalis* (sessions of the *shaykhs*). Al-Mulk, who would later be murdered by the Assassins

(*Hashshashin*), created a system of state Madrassas (in his time they were called, the Nizamiyyahs, named after him) in various Abbasid cities at the end of the 11th century.

During the rule of the Fatimid¹¹ and Mamluk dynasties and their successor states in the medieval Middle East, many of the ruling elite founded madrasa through a religious endowment known as the *waqf*. Not only was the madrasa a potent symbol of status, but it was an effective means of transmitting wealth and status to the descendants. Especially during the Mamluk period, when only former slaves could assume power, the sons of the ruling Mamluk elite were unable to inherit. Guaranteed positions within the new madrasahs thus allowed them to maintain status. Madrasahs built during this period include the Mosque-Madrasa of Sultan Hassan in Cairo.

The first universities in the modern sense, namely institutions of higher education and research, which issue academic degrees at all levels (bachelor, master, and doctorate), were medieval madrasahs known as *Jami'ah* founded in the 9th century. The University of Al Karaouine in Fez, Morocco is thus recognized by the Guinness Book of World records as the oldest degree granting university in the world with its founding in 859 by the princess Fatima al-Fihri. Al-Azhar University, founded in Cairo, Egypt in 975 was a *Jami'ah* ("university" in Arabic) which offered a variety of post graduate degrees (*ijazah*), and had individual faculties for a theological seminary, Islamic law and Islamic jurisprudence, Arabic grammar, Islamic astronomy, early Islamic philosophy and logic in Islamic philosophy. The first universities in Europe were influenced in many ways by the madrasahs in Islamic Spain and the Emirate of Sicily at that time and in the Middle East during the Crusades.

Even though a majority of the madrasahs during the subsequent centuries would remain the centers of Islamic learning, as mentioned before, a large number of them produced renowned scholars and philosophers who contributed to earthly or secular knowledge too. *Ijtihad* – independent reasoning was a special feature of these madrasahs. This is especially true for madrasahs in Spain where the Muslims ruled for almost 800 years and which is usually referred to as the Golden Age of both Islamic and Jewish advancement in science, technology, and philosophy. It was in Andalusia Spain that Islam is said to have given birth to a number of scholars who combined spiritual knowledge with earthly knowledge and contributed to the preservation of Greek and European knowledge, which was at the verge of becoming extinct.

At the same time, as Islam spread further east, the *Sufi* orders of the Muslim faith were establishing madrasahs in the Indian Sub-Continent and Central Asia. In these *Sufi* madrasahs grammar, poetry, literature, logic, mathematics, and other disciplines of Islam and general knowledge were taught. As most of knowledge about Islam was either recorded in Arabic and Persian, the madrasahs in the Indian Sub-Continent became places for learning Arabic and Persian. Every student aspiring to reach the highest level of the madrasa education had to learn these two languages irrespective of mother tongue of the student. The most renowned

¹¹ Jonathan Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992)

poets of India at the time were borrowing from the *Sufi* traditions of Persia and Central Asia, composing their poems in Persian. These days of learning and scholarship in madrassas would not last.

After the defeat of the Muslim empires one by one at the hands of the crusaders and political rivalries among the Muslim leaders, Muslim learning and scholarship went into a state of decay, from which it did not recover. The defeat and the humiliation faced by the Muslims in terms of both the loss of material wealth and power and spiritual integrity, resulted in the Muslim *ulema* (literally meaning the scholar) of the later days to shun any pursuit of worldly knowledge and go back to the basics. In other words, they closed the door to *Ijtehad*—independent reasoning. Going back to the basics, for this cadre of Muslim scholars meant following these trends and gaining that level of spirituality due to which earlier Muslims were able to acquire great power and wealth.

At the time of the European renaissance, the Muslim education structure was beginning a decline. There was depression, lamentation, and nostalgia for the lost glorious days. In such a state, Muslim *ulemas* slowly gained power by becoming the spiritual advisors and deliverers of whatever was left of the educational and political systems. These murky times in the Muslim history had a profound impact on the function and philosophy of the madrassas all over Muslim world. Many abandoned the pursuit of rational sciences and focused exclusively on the teachings of Islam as found in the Qur'an. *Ulemas* used verses from the Qur'an to rationalize their stance that earthly or rational knowledge either should not be taught in madrassas or should only be studied in the light of Qur'an, which for them had all the answers.

The last nail into the coffin of advanced learning in Islamic schools came with European colonial powers taking over whatever was left in Muslim lands. With colonialism came a new modern system of education that sought to replace the role of madrassas in any development. In the new schools, only the elite were invited to obtain admission, so that they could be used to run the machinery of colonialism. This resulted in a dichotomy of education systems—secular education for the elite and religious education for the poor. The new Western powers also brought the idea of the separation of state and religion, which for the Muslim leaders was synonymous with heresy. The new system of governance did not require legitimization through religion and this was seen by Islamic scholars as a direct threat to the established code of conduct for Muslim rulers and for their own power. They were not happy with these changes.

Madrasa Education in the Indian Sub-Continent

Muslim education came in two distinct waves of contact with Indians. One wave of contact was through Muslim, especially Arab, traders with India, where a large population of Arabs reached the shores of India and settled down. Though trade with Arabs dates back centuries before the advent of Islam in the Arab peninsula, Islam can be traced back in Malabar, near the present port of Mumbai (Bombay) as early as the time of Muhammad. The Arab traders were the carriers of the new religion in India and the first mosque in Malabar dates back to 629 when Muhammad was still alive.

The second wave of Muslim education can be linked to the successive Muslim conquests of India from the 11th to the 17th century by the Turks, Afghans, and the Mughals (Mongols). Like the Arab traders before them, the invaders settled in certain areas of India and soon mosques

were built primarily for prayers and for education in Qur'an and *hadiths*. Eventually, with the increasing demand for Muslim education came the *maktabs* and the *madrassas*.

When the invading Muslim soldiers first entered Sind (now in Pakistan), the common soldiers and the commanders were not only fighters, they were also teachers and preachers of Islam. Within a short period of time, Debal, Mansura, and Multan became important centers of Islamic education and centers for learning. Though most of the educational centers were housed in the mosques, *maktabs* (of the secondary stage) could be found in Debal where *hadiths* and *tafsir* were included in the studies. Later, the study of *fiqh* (jurisprudence) was included in the syllabus after *madrassas* were built for Muslim education.

Early Turks (1000-1206): *Sultan Masud, Mahmud Ghaznavi's* son and successor, built magnificent public buildings including *maktabs* and *madrassas*. The real foundation of Turkish rule in India was laid by Muhammad Ghori (*Sultan Shahab-ud-din of Ghor*) during 1191-1192. After the Ghori conquest, the seat of political authority shifted from Lahore to Delhi and gradually, by the middle of the thirteenth century, Delhi became a centre of Muslim learning of the East. The pattern of education which reached its zenith during the *Saljuk* and *Ghaznavid* rule was adopted by the Ghori rulers and spread all over the country from Delhi. Muhammad Ghori established several *madrassas* at Ajmer, the first of their kind in India. The study of *fiqh* was developed in India during Muhammad Ghori's reign.

The Ilbarites (1206-1290): Qutb-ud-din Aibak, who was the first of the Ilbarite Sultans of Delhi, built a number of mosques in various parts of his dominion. These became centers of both religious and secular learning. His successor, Iltutmish, was the first to establish a *madrassa* in Delhi, which he named *Madrassa-i-Muizzi* after Shahab-ud-din Muhammad Ghori. A *madrassa* of the same name was also founded at Badaun, which became yet another centre of Muslim culture in northern India. Sultan Nasir-ud-din Masud was himself a scholar and during the twenty years of his rule, he found ample opportunities for advancing education. His court was a regular rendezvous of literary geniuses. A *madrassa* seems to have existed even at Jalandhar, in Punjab. It was perhaps considered a convenient place being mid-way between Lahore and Delhi. Prayers for Id-uz-Zuha were offered here by Balban and the followers of Ulugh Khan-e-Azam on their way back to Delhi after a successful campaign. Balban also founded a *madrassa* and named it *Nasiriya* after his master. Under Balban, many men of letters thrown out of their homes by the Mongol invasion found shelter in Delhi. The *Firuziya* *Madrassa* of Uchh, the *Muizziya* and *Nasiriya* *madrassas* of Delhi, and *Muizziya* *Madrassa* of Badaun were among the most famous educational institutions under the Ilbarites. Several other *madrassas* modeled after these also seem to have been established all over the Sultanate. The syllabus comprised *Hadiths*, *tafsir*, Arabic literature grammar, Islamic law, Islamic theology, mysticism, logic, astronomy, and Greek philosophy. The medium of instructions was Arabic.

The Khaljis (1290-1320): There were as many as forty-five scholars of arts and sciences who worked as teachers in the *madrassas* in the different parts of the Sultanate while Delhi under Allauddin Khalji was the rendezvous of the most learned and erudite personages. Among them was Amir Khusrau, who wrote as many as 99 books on various subjects: Amir Hassan; the Saadi of Hindustan; and Shams-ul-Mulk, the minister of Ala-ud-din Khalji, a consummate scholar of high caliber who had the honor of being the teacher of several learned dignitaries of the regime. There are reports of nearly one thousand *madrassas* in Delhi during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq. The teachers were paid from the government treasury. Education was universal and even a good number of slave girls had memorized The Holy Qur'an, many

of them becoming scholars. Subsequently mathematics and natural sciences were also taught along with religious subjects.

In the Madrasa of Firuz Shah, masters of many subjects used to lecture on theology and explain to students of *fiqh* and the commentaries on the Qur'an along with all the time-honored traditions. Both students and the professors used to reside in the madrasa, providing facilities for constant communion among the students themselves as well as between the teachers and the pupil. The madrasa not only emphasized secular studies, but also looked after the spiritual well-being of the students. Firuz Shah thus not only repaired and reconstructed old madrasahs, which were in decay, but also built many new ones. Religious training and pursuit of the Muslim faith were essentials of the academic life of the residents of these madrasahs. During Tughlaq rule, much stress was laid on the study of the *fiqh* along with the study of *Hadiths* and *tafsir*. Though many madrasahs were established throughout the Tughlaq Empire by the rulers and the Amirs, often as adjuncts to mosques, they served only a small section of the people.

The Saiyids and Lodis (1414-1526): During the rule of the Lodi dynasty, many madrasahs for girls were also established. The girls too memorized the Holy Qur'an. A considerable part of the syllabi was devoted to specialized theological studies in: (a) exegeses of the Holy *Qur'an*, namely *tafsir* literature; (b) the science of the Prophetic traditions namely *Hadiths* literature with *Usul-ul-Hadiths*; and (c) each of the four schools of Islamic law; *Hanafi*, *Shafii*, *Maliki*, and *Hanbali* namely *fiqh* literature and *Usul-ul-Fiqh*.

Sultan Mahmud Shah founded a madrasa in the Deccan in 1378, to provide education to orphans. He established *maktabs* and madrasahs in several other cities of his dominion, such as Gulbarga, Bidar, Qandhar, Ellichpur, Daulatabad, and provided substantial endowments for their maintenance. The famous madrasa in Bidar, known after his own name as Madrasa-i-Mahmud Gawan, was also built by him two years before his death. It had a mosque attached to it to impart religious education along with secular learning. It was even equipped with a library that contained 3,000 volumes.

Adil Shah, the founder of the kingdom of Bijapur, was an educated person and a patron of literature. His reign was noted for its patronage to Islamic learning and a rich library containing a rare collection of manuscripts on Islamic studies. Teaching on Islamic sciences was organized in Asar Sharif, a famous mosque at Bijapur. He founded another madrasa in Bijapur under Amir Fath-ullah Shirazi. Ismail Adil Shah, the successor of Adil, kept up the reputation of his house with his literary pursuits and proficiency in the fine arts.

King Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah built the Chahar Minar and opened a madrasa in it. He also built several other madrasa and public seminaries, all of which were properly equipped. Learned men were appointed and received liberal remunerations for their services. Apart from the bigger madrasa in southern India, there were *maktabs* attached to the houses of the teachers. Ibn Battuta, the famous traveler, who visited his kingdom, writes that 'there were as many as twenty-three madrasahs for boys and thirteen for girls in his capital'.

Sultan Ibrahim (1402-1440): During the reign of Sultan Ibrahim, Jaunpur became famous as an important centre of education, to which many scholars assembled from far and near for higher education. Allah-dad Jaunpur, Zahir Dilawari, Qazi Shahab-ud-din Daulatabadi, Ali Ahmad, Maulana Hasan Bakhshi and Nur-ul-Haq were the famous scholars of that centre. About the middle of the fifteenth century, Bibi Raji, (the wife of Mahmud, son of Sultan Ibrahim) built Jami Mosque, a madrasa and a monastery. She also awarded stipends to students

and teachers and patronized education and learning. Princes and Amirs visited the different madrassas of Jaunpur and donated funds. This system continued till the last quarter of the eighteenth century, when Jaunpur fell to the British.

Sultan Mahmud Khalji (1445 - 1475): Sultan Mahmud Khalji was a great promoter of learning and literature. During his long rule, for over thirty years, he encouraged learned men to such an extent that Malwa became an important resort of literary men. He had founded a madrassa in Sarangpur, where special arrangements were made for teaching arts and crafts to women. According to Ferishta, women were provided education and skills training. This confirms that girls belonging to the higher and middle class families had sufficient opportunities for acquiring proficiency in general learning and crafts. Alexander Hamilton, who visited India, writes that only in Thatta, there were four hundred schools for different subjects and art and craft. This was true of every city, every region and every period of Muslim history.

Madrassa Education under the Great Mughals (1526-1857)

The Mughal rulers who followed the earlier Muslim rulers – Turks and Afghans – showed a comparatively greater interest in education. The public works department of the time, which continued through the reign of the succeeding Mughal emperors, was entrusted, among other duties, the building of *maktabs* and madrassas. Babar also established a madrassa in the locality of Aziz-ullah in Jaunpur. During his reign from 1526-30 A.D, Amir Rahim Dad established a madrassa at Gwalior.

A madrassa, Madrasat-uz Zainiyya, was built by Humayun in Delhi, opposite to Agra on the banks of the Yamuna, in which scholar Sheikh Husain was a teacher. Another great madrassa, connected with Sheikh Farid ud-di bin-Masud, was founded by Masud-din bin Nur-ud-din. The famous Humayun's Tomb, in the vicinity of New Delhi, was at one time used as a place of instruction.

Sher Shah (1540-1556): Sher Shah, the founder of the Sur dynasty, who deposed Humayun and ruled for four years, did much for the promotion of education in his dominions notwithstanding the short duration of his reign. Sher Shah Suri visited monasteries and madrassas and associated with learned doctors and Sheikhs for self-improvement. One such educational institution, that he opened, was the Sher Shahi Madrassa at Narnaul. It was located in one of the biggest buildings in the city.

Akbar, the Great (1556-1605): Akbar's reign marks a new epoch for the *maktabs* and madrassas when the education system got a fillip. The monarch was sincerely eager to further the education for both Hindus and the Muslims alike and they were encouraged to study in the same *maktabs* and madrassas. During his reign, Akbar also introduced changes in the modes of study and in the curriculum. Akbar introduced various methods of teaching and learning to improve the existing system of madrassa education. He was in favor of similar educational facilities for both the communities. During Akbar's reign, not only the curriculum of madrassas was reformed, large scale steps were taken to set up infrastructures for the benefit and spread of education.

The curriculum of madrassa during Akbar's reign included – ethics, arithmetic, agriculture, geometry, astronomy, household matters, and rules of government, medicine, logic, science and history. To accustom the Muslim students on Hinduism – the students were required to

study Sanskrit including grammar, *Niyai Bedanta* and *Patanjali*. Changes in the curriculum in madrassa education were meant to bring about an enlightened education system in keeping with the requirements of the time. All the subjects were compulsory for all students.

Abul Fazal, a courtier of the emperor and his historian, set up a madrassa at Fatehpur Sikri named Madrassa-e-Abul Fazal. Teachers and scholars were brought from Sheraj for the large number of madrassa in the sub-continent. The success of these measures gave Abul Fazl, ample reason to feel proud of the fact that seminaries were famous in India, though all civilized nations had schools to educate their youth.

Akbar's systematic and deliberate policy of protecting Hindu learning is evident from the generous provisions he made for educating Hindu youths in their own culture in the madrassas, along with Muslim boys. In addition, he initiated discussions in the *Ibadat Khana* (a place for prayer/worship) with orthodox Hindu scholars, published translations of Hindu classics and scriptures, exhibiting his profound appreciation of the value of Hindu culture and his zeal for its propagation. State patronage bestowed on distinguished Hindus for their proficiency in the fine arts such as music and painting, further confirms his policy of protecting Hindu learning.

Jahangir (1605-1627); Shah Jahan (1628-1658); Aurangzeb (1658-1707): During the reign of Jahangir, the education policy of his father was followed and the number of madrassas increased for further improvement of the educational system. Jahangir repaired and reconstructed dilapidated *maktabs* and madrassas. He increased the number of educational institutions in his empire by continually giving employment for building fortifications and palaces, madrassas, and mosques.

Shahjahan repaired the ruined madrassa named Dar-ul-Baqā and also appointed a few distinguished learned men as teachers. Maulana Muhammad Sadr-ud-din Khan Bahadur, the Chief Justice of Delhi, was appointed as the head of the institution. Two other madrassas were founded, one by his wife Fatehpur Begum and another by Akbarabadi Begum. Emperor Sahjahan's daughter, Jahanara took steps to set up a madrassa exclusively meant for educations of girls in Fathpur Sikri.

The system of education followed by Aurangzeb was humanistic in which history, geography, and languages of the surrounding nations, their forms of government, manners and customs were given emphasis. Aurangzeb emphasized religious elements in vocational education. Probably political expediency was the reason for emphasizing religious elements in education during this period. He sincerely tried to foster the education of Muslim youths and appointed and supported teachers in different parts of his empire for the purpose. Stipends were also given to students in proportion to their progress in education. He issued orders to Makramat Khan, the *Diwan* of Gujarat, and to other *Diwans* in his dominions, to give pecuniary help from the state treasury.

Box 1: Chronology of Madrassa Development in Indian Sub-continent	
<u>Year</u>	<u>Rulers</u>
1000-1206 AD	Turks
1206-1290 AD	Ilbarites
1290-1320 AD	Khaljis
1414-1526 AD	Saiyds Lodis
1526-1857 AD	Mughals
1857-1947 AD	British

Madrassas in Bengal (Currently Bangladesh and West Bengal of India)

Ikhtiyar bin Bakhtyar Khalji, an obscure adventurer of the Ghurid army, during the Turkish Rule in India, extended his kingdom up to the town of Nadia in 1197, the capital of the Sena Kings of Bengal. After consolidating his conquest he set up a new city called Rangpura, which was studded with various *maktabs* and madrassas. Similarly, Hesam-ud-din Husain Khalji who had conquered the small territory of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din I, (1212-1227) made Lakhnauti (Gour) in Malda district of West Bengal his capital. Scholars, artists and saints thronged here to enjoy royal patronage and as a result, a number of madrassas sprang up.

A magnificent madrasa was set up in Bagha in the present district of Rajshahi during the reign of Sultan Nasrat Shah (during 1519-1531). According to the report of Edward Adam in 1835, 48 students of Persian studies enjoyed residential facilities there including the costs of their clothes and books. The medium of instruction was Arabic and Persian. Starting from the alphabet; study of the Holy Qur'an and Persian literature were taught. The famous Abul Fazal works were also included in the syllabus, *Monshaheb*, *Tashrif* were also taught. Besides, *Qur'an*, *Hadiths* and *fiqua* including different issues were taught in this madrasa. According to Dr. M A Rahim, a renowned scholar, *ulamas*, *Sufis*, and saints set up madrassas for facilitating education among the people of Bengal.

Husain Shah and Nusrat Shah were patrons of both Hindu and Muslim literature. They founded *maktabs* and madrassas in their kingdom and offered plenty of endowments for their maintenance. Husain Shah had also founded a madrasa as a memorial to the famous saint Qutb-ul-Alam. The ruins of a quadrangular building on the north bank of the Sagar Dighi (a reservoir) in Gour are said to have been the remains of Belbari Madrasa probably built by Husain Shah. In his *Khurshid-i-Jahan-Nama*, Ilahi Bakhsh-ul-Husaini mentions a madrasa in Ghurashahid (in Gour) in the neighborhood of the residence of Ghulam Husain, the well-known author of the *Riyaz-ul-Salatin*.

Shaista Khan, the uncle of Aurangzeb, built a mosque and a madrasa on the banks of a river in Dhaka during his tenure as governorship there (1664-80). It has now become part of a hospital's premises. Another mosque with a madrasa was built by Muhammad Azim or Azimush Shah in Azimpur (Dhaka). This mosque was a two storied building, with its upper floor used as madrasa.

Maulana Hamid-ud-din Bengali, a disciple of Sheikh Ahmad Serhindi, had a monastery in Bardhawan, in West Bengal, India. With the passage of time, the curriculum of the Mangalkot Madrasa gradually deteriorated. The entire stock of the literary material (comprising 704 volumes – 450 published and 244 manuscripts) was sent to the Madrasa Aliya library in Calcutta in 1928, later to be shifted to the Madrasa Aliya in Dhaka, where they are kept under 'Mangalkot section'. The Katra Madrasa of Murshidabad, also in West Bengal, speaks of the glorious history of madrassas built by Murshid Quli Khan, who also built many *maktabs* and madrassas in the town.

Salient Features of Madrasa Education in Bengal during Sultan and Mughal Period

During the Muslim rule all the educational institutions, known as madrasa, were under private management and control. There were no such institutions, which could be termed as public

schools and colleges. Education from the lowest to the highest level – from primary to college and university levels – was absolutely free and no tuition or fee was imposed on any student. Educational institutions of all types and grades were generally known as madrassas but primary schools were called *maktabs*. There were special types of madrassas for teaching recitation of the Holy Qur'an. These types of madrassas of *Qir'atul Qur'an* and *Hifzul Qur'an* were locally known as *Furqania* Madrassas and *Hafezia* Madrassas respectively.

Most of the madrassas in Bengal were residential with provisions for free board and lodging for the students and the teachers. Meritorious students were sometimes granted special stipends and were also given monetary grants. Every village chief and the rich maintained the madrassas for their own children and the benefit of their poor neighbors. During Muslim rule, there was not a single *qasba* or village in Bengal, where a self-supporting madrassa did not exist to meet the educational requirements and social needs of the common people in respect of their religion and culture. These educational institutions were an integral part of the community and existed as the fountain-head of inspiration and guidance for the growth of the intellectual, moral, spiritual, and cultural life of the society.

Numerous famous madrassas in Bengal were also set up for higher studies, namely at Gaur, Pandua, Darsbari, Rangpur, Rajshahi, Chittagong, Murshidabad, Dhaka, Sylhet, Sonargaon and other places where reputed *ulamas* like Muhaddithun, Fuqaha, and learned scholars taught different subjects of religious and speculative sciences. Students from distant parts of the sub-continent and even from outside India came to these places of higher education for studying under these great professors. When the country went under British rule, in the eighteenth century, there were 80,000 madrassas in Bengal, on an average one madrassa for every four hundred persons, functioning efficiently, maintaining high standard of teaching and offering a high degree of intellectual training with large funds for their maintenance and smooth functioning.

During Muslim rule, educational institutions were generally attached to the mosques as well as to the *khanqahs*. Sometimes, separate houses and buildings were also built absolutely for education. The madrassa attached to a mosque or housed in a separate building imparted education from primary to university level and produced learned scholars, theologians, judges, administrators, technicians, physicians, and professional people. These educational institutions or madrassas catered for the social, intellectual, cultural, and as well as religious needs of the country.

Maktab madrassa (primary school) attached to a mosque was open to both boys and girls. It is not known whether separate madrassas existed absolutely for girls. Girls of elite and noble families received higher education, probably, through private tutors. The madrassas attached to the *khanqahs*, laid great emphasis on the study of the Qur'an, *sunnah*, *fiqh*, *akhlaq* (habits and manners), and *tasawwuf* (doctrines of the Sufis). The main object of these educational seminaries was to develop the moral and spiritual qualities of the students through theoretical teaching and hard practical work.

Previously the *mullahs* taught children how to prepare for prayer. They felt that if one has to learn about the basic principles of Islam, knowledge of *Qur'an* and *Hadiths* is indispensable. From the earlier times, *Qur'an* and *Hadiths* used to be included in the curriculum. *Fiqh* was also included in the madrassa syllabus. If any student was interested in of fine arts, they were sent to a teacher with relevant expertise. Arabic, Persian and Bengali (language of Bengal) used to be taught in the primary stage. According to one Chinese diplomat, Mahasan, who was visiting Bengal, Bengali was the language of general masses, Persian was the court language,

and Arabic was the language for religious pursuits. After primary education, this curriculum was good for secondary level education, and while used at the primary levels, it gave more emphasis in terms of comprehension and analytical exposure. The syllabus included at this level a critical explanation of Qur'an and *Hadiths*. Apart from this, general science, logic, arithmetic, geometry, chemistry, medicine, astronomy, history and other relevant subjects were taught at the secondary level of madrasa education.

Madrasa Education in the British Period (1757-1947)

The madrasa system of education received a serious set back with the advent of the British East India Company assuming power in India. The British rulers suspected that these institutions were playing a prominent role in keeping the movement of Muslim separatism alive in India. It was thought that without government or company endowments or support, the *maktabs* and madrassas would disappear on their own. A few *maktabs* and madrassas, however, survived and some new ones were set up during the early British period, most of which continue to function in India even today.

The crucial period of decline of the Muslims in Bengal began from the year 1757. The political administration of the country was virtually ceased by the British East India Company after the Battle of Plassey (in West Bengal). In the beginning of their rule, the British East India Company adopted a negative attitude towards the education of Muslims and the old educational institutions were totally neglected. According to the Treaty of 1765, the official language of the courts continued to be Persian and fiscal and judicial administration was carried on in accordance with Muslim Law; realizing the need for educational institutions, which would promote the study of Arabic and Persian languages and produce officers, judges, and assessors for the Courts of Justice.

Establishment of Madrasa-i-Aliya, Calcutta* – West Bengal (1781)

In 1776, Shah Oliullah and Mullah Mazduddin appealed to Lord Warren Hastings, the then Governor General of India, to set up an institution for the education of Muslim boys. In 1780, Lord Hastings gave permission to set up a modern madrasa at Shialdah in Calcutta, with all expenses to be borne by the government. This was the first madrasa set up by British government and a source for manpower required for the legislative and executive machineries of the government. The primary purpose for establishing the Aliya Madrasa was to create a liaison with the Muslim population who appeared to be averse to British association after the end of Muslim rule in India.

The syllabus of Aliya Madrasa included science, mathematics, language, *fiqh* (law), *kalam*, and *tafsir*. In 1791, the syllabus of the madrasa was further reformed by including subjects like natural philosophy, logic, anthropology, law, astronomy, geometry, grammar, arithmetic, and theology. However, the Muslims were always suspicious about the British interest in madrasa education. Due to the change of *Lakheraj* property (donated land free of revenue for religious and educational purpose) into government property in 1793, about 1,00,000 primary madrassas were forced to close down. The new levy of tax on government lands, even used for religious purposes or education, was mainly the reason for such a massive closure of primary madrassas. It was a serious blow to madrasa education for Muslims in Bengal.

* Now Kolkata

On July 15, 1824, the madrassa was shifted to its present premises in Rafi Ahmed Kidwai Road, Central Calcutta. The teaching of medical sciences was introduced for the first time in the college by John Tylor in 1827 till the opening of the Calcutta Medical College in 1836. In 1854, the Persian department was opened where the usual high school subjects were taught. Later a specialized course in *Hadiths* and *tafsir* started. For more than a century and half it spread Islamic learning and promoted the studies of Arabic, Persian and Urdu in the country.

Over two centuries, the Calcutta Madrassa has seen great ups and downs and frequent changes in its curriculum. Prior to partition of Pakistan in 1947, a new curriculum was introduced in the Islamic schools of Bengal which prepared students for the high madrassa and Islamic Intermediate, equivalent to the Matriculation and Intermediate Examinations of Calcutta University. There was provision for subjects like English language, mother-tongue, geography, Islamic History, Arabic literature, and theology, making the students eligible for admission to the Bachelor of Arts (BA) classes. This was distinctly different from the old pattern of Junior and Senior Courses, under which instruction was given in Islamic law, Arabic language and literature, grammar syntax, and logic.

In 1826, at this instance of Lord William Bentic, English course was introduced in Aliya Madrassa. In 1835, Lord Bentic assessed in a report that madrassa education was of little utility to the government and suggested closure of Aliya Madrassa. Because of the firm determination of its principal, Aliya Madrassa was not closed.

In 1837, the British introduced English as the official language in the Indian Empire. The Muslim elites in Bengal not only rejected the introduction of English in the madrassas, but they also opposed the study of Bangla on the argument that it was not the language of the middle and upper class Muslims (Sattar 1980: 135).

The Calcutta Madrassa, after 166 years of service was shifted to Dhaka, with library, furniture and office records on September, 1947, and was renamed the “Madrassa-i-Aliya, Dacca”. In 1949, the two storied building of the Dofferin Hostel then attached to the Muslim High School, was made available for holding the classes of the madrassa, but its library remained in some rooms of the Islamic Intermediate College in a very deplorable condition. In 1961, the madrassa, with its hostel and library, was shifted to its own buildings at Bakshi Bazar, Dacca. The foundation stone was laid down by the then Chief Minister of East Pakistan, Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan, on March 11, 1958, and for which an amount of Rs.3,000,000 was sanctioned. From 1947 to 1961, the authorities of the Madrassa-i-Alya had to struggle hard for the existence of the madrassa in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, when they were treated as refugees from India.

Establishment of Deoband Madrassa

As an aftermath of the *Sepoy* Mutiny in 1857, the British demolished many madrassas and madrassa education had a severe set back. After the failure of the mutiny in 1857, Muslims of India were divided in their opinion on how to uplift the down-trodden Muslim community. The Muslim community in the sub-continent realized that they could not depend on the government for their religious education; so, they decided to have their own schools so their youth would know their religion. The traditional *ulemas*, led by Maulana Qasim Nanutabi and Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi, rejected everything western, and established a madrassa in 1863 known as “*Darul Ulum Deoband*” in Deoband, a small town in Uttar Pradesh in India. Darul Ulum Deoband Madrasa was setup in Delhi by Maulana Abul Kashem Nanutubi in 1866. Based on

the Deoband model of madrassa, many madrassas sprang up over India. Initially, the study of Qur'an, Persian language, and mathematics were taught in the Deoband Madrassa.

A network of *Darul Ulum* Deoband affiliated madrassas was planned all over north India. However, only two additional madrassas were established; one in 1865 at Saharanpur and the other in 1878 at Moradabad respectively. *Darul Ulum* facilitated inculcation of Islamic spirit among Muslims, on the lines indicated by Shah Wali-Ullah, and encouraged the students to fight British imperialism.

The madrassa movement through *Darul Ulum*, played an important role against British rule apart from spreading Islamic education. This institution tried to wipe out narrow and negative feelings among Muslims. Deoband became a movement which turned out to be a severe blow to the growth of British imperialism in the sub-continent. In the beginning, the duration of study in Deoband was nine years, but in 1869, it was reduced to six years, on the recommendations of the Syllabus Committee. In 1880, Deoband surprised everyone by excluding philosophy from its syllabus. This was done at the instance of Maulana Rashid Ahmed Gangohi, who was very much opposed to the teaching of philosophy in the madrassas, as he thought that it would confuse the students and weaken their faith. However, after some time philosophy was re-introduced in Deoband. It is really surprising that this madrassa which was so devoted to Greek thought and learning was opposed to the study of English, which opened a window to a new world of knowledge and science that was emerging in those days. The subjects for the eight year course were as follows: (1) Literature, (2) Grammar, (3) Rhetoric, (4) Logic, (5) Philosophy, (6) Mathematics, (7) Islamic Law, (8) Principles of Islamic Law, (9) Medicine, (10) Traditions, (11) Principles of Traditions, (12) Inheritance, (13) Dialectics, (14) *Tafsir* or Commentary on the Qur'an; and (15) Scholastics.

A large number of scholars, writers, historians, and poets were graduated following the *Darul Ulum* Madrassa movement. Students of this institution possessed a progressive outlook, modern ideas and patriotic zeal for doing good for the country. In a period of 100 years, about 1,00,000 students graduated from this institution, and made a wholesome impact on national social growth, graduates of this institution started various government organizations meant for social development.

Aligarh Muslim University: The question of reform of madrassa system of education came up for consideration at various phases since its introduction. Sir Syed Ahmed advocated English and western education and established Muslim Anglo-Oriental College in 1875, later to become Aligarh Muslim University, in Aligarh, and Aligarh became synonymous with Islamic modernism. With the changing contemporary social, political and educational environment many new institutions for Muslim learning, such as, Aligarh Muslim University also came up in 1920. The courses conducted at these departments of Aligarh University for all practical purposes represent the madrassas in a new form with some secular subjects. The modern institutions including some government sponsored madrassas were established on Muslim demand, to cope with the changing situation as well as to maintain the existing system.

During the nineteenth century some changes were made in the curriculum of the madrassa on the recommendations of the various Committees which were set up at different times during the century. Teaching of English language was first introduced in the Calcutta Madrassa in the year 1826. The first English class which was established in the Calcutta Madrassa in 1826 was re-organized as an English School in 1829. Around 1833, the Committee of the madrassa tried

to make attendance at the English class compulsory and even increased the value of the stipends from Rs. 2 to Rs.5 a month; however, it failed to advance students' interest in the subject.

At the same time, specific attempts were made to reform the courses of madrasa education and also to attract Muslims to British secular systems of education in the Indian sub-continent. Definite effort was made to frame a comprehensive scheme of education acceptable to all classes of people or to evolve a comprehensive system in combination with traditional and modern systems of education which would meet the requirements of the Muslim society and would be academically sound. During the twentieth century, serious efforts were made to reform the madrasa system with a view to bringing it in line with the needs, demands and aspirations of modern life. During the first quarter of the twentieth century various commissions and committees were formed by the Government from time to time for the reform of madrasa and advancement of Muslim education.

COMMITTEES AND COMMISSIONS TOWARDS MADRASSA REFORMS

During 1906-1947 various committees were appointed by the British Government and Muslim leaders of the sub-continent and organized important educational conferences for the progress of Muslim education and improvement of madrasa education. In 1907, the Government of West Bengal appointed a committee under Mr. Earle to consider the whole problem of Muslim education in Bengal and he held a series of conferences of Muslim Leaders of West and East Bengal in 1907-08. The Title (Masters) degree was conferred only in the Calcutta Madrasa on *Hadiths* and *tafsir* in the year 1909, although the recommendation was also to have courses in Literature, Law, Logic and Philosophy. The leading members of the East Bengal advocated with much vigor for modernization of the whole madrasa course and introduction of English as an integral part of the madrasa course, but their proposal was opposed by a narrow majority.

Box 2: Chronology of Commissions/Committees for madrasa reforms	
Year	Committees/Commissions/etc.
1906	Mohammedan Education Conference
1912	Nathan Committee
1915	Calcutta Madrasa Curriculum Review Committee
1931	<i>Momin</i> Committee
1938	<i>Moula Baksh</i> Committee
1946-51	East Bengal (now Bangladesh) Education Reforms Commission
1957	East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) Education Reforms Commission
1963-64	The Islamic Arabic University Commission
1969	The New Education Policy
1972	<i>Qudrat-i-Khuda</i> Education Commission
1977	The Islamic University Scheme Committee
2003	<i>Moniruzzaman</i> Commission

Mohammedan Educational Conference 1906: Prior to the partition of Bengal by the British, attention of the Muslim leaders in India like Nawab Sir Salimullah, Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Choudhury, Nawab Shamsul Huda and other notable Muslim educationists were drawn to the importance of the madrasa system and its possibilities to solve the problem of education and progress of the Muslim community. The Provincial Mohammedan Educational Conference of East Bengal (now Bangladesh) and Assam was held at Dacca in 1906 and adopted a resolution for the reform of the madrasa education. After discussions with leading *ulemas* and educationists of the sub-continent and visiting famous centers of oriental studies in Europe,

Shamsul Ulama Abu Nasr Muhammad Waheed prepared a comprehensive scheme for a national system of Muslim education from primary to higher stages extending over 18 years. The scheme, in fact, was a serious attempt for striking a balance between the traditional madrassa system and modern secular system of education. The scheme was considered by some a revolution in the system of madrassa education in the sub-continent ambitiously, aiming at a Muslim university. The scheme was submitted to the Government of East Bengal and Assam in August 1910 for their consideration.

Nathan Committee 1912: The British Government in India announced the establishment of a residential university at Dacca and suggested the inclusion of a ‘Faculty’ of Islamic Studies as an integral part of the higher education system. The Government of Bengal appointed a committee in May 1912 with Sir Robert Nathan as President, to frame a scheme for the proposed university at Dhaka. The Committee recommended that the ‘Department of Islamic Studies’ should form an integral part of the Dacca University, the subjects being Arabic language and literature, the various branches of Islamic learning and English. Moreover, the original scheme of the reformed madrassa course which was prepared. This comprehensive reform of madrassa scheme received approval of the reputed ‘*Ulemas*’ of the sub-continent as well as the support of the leading *Anjuman*s of the province. The authorities considered the scheme to be too ambitious and not practical.

The courses of study as finally adopted and approved by the Government comprised instructions in the *Qur’an*, Urdu, Bengali, Arithmetic, Geography, History, English, Arabic, Drawing, Hand work and Drill for junior six classes. For the senior four classes, attention was concentrated on Arabic, English and Mathematics. The reformed madrassa course came into force during 1915-16. It was introduced into four Government madrassas of Dacca, Chittagong, Hooghly, Rajshahi, As the reformed madrassa course was designed to lead up to the Department of Islamic Studies of Dhaka University, it was necessary to setup Islamic Intermediate Colleges in order to teach intermediate course, which is a link between the high madrassa course and the curriculum of the Department of Islamic Studies. The Government, therefore, in 1918 sanctioned the opening of intermediate classes from July 1919 in line with the recommendations by the Dhaka University Committee.

The reformed system of madrassa education has now largely met the long felt need of the Muslim community. The aim of the reformed madrassa system was, however, not to turn out merely religious savants but to produce cultured men who may hold their own in various spheres of activity and become useful members of the society.

Committee for Reviewing Calcutta Madrassa Curriculum: A committee was appointed in February 1915 to revise the curriculum of the Calcutta madrassa and to make suggestion for its improvement. The recommendations were of very general nature. The committee, inter *Aliya*, made recommendations with regard to the course of studies, the medium of instruction, the introduction of Bengali as an optional subject in junior classes and the study of *unani* system of medicine. It also recommended the introduction of logic in the Title (*Kamil*) classes. As regards to the learning of languages, it was recommended that (a) Urdu should be compulsory in the junior class but optional in the senior classes, (b) English and Persian should be optional both in the junior and senior classes, and that (c) Bengali should be optional in the junior classes. But the Government ultimately did not accept the recommendation that a study of the *unani* system of medicine (course in *Tibbi*) should be included in the madrassa curriculum. They also decided that the title course in “Arabic Literature and History” and “Logic and Philosophy”, for the time being, should be omitted from the curriculum. With these

modifications they approved the revised courses generally and sanctioned its introduction from the session 1928-29. As regards to the examinations, the Government accepted the committee recommendation that there should be three public examinations, one at the end of the senior second year class (*Alim* examination), one, at the end of the senior fourth year class (*Fazil* examination), and the last, at the end of the Title second year class (*Kamil* examination).

Momin Committee 1931: The Muslim Education Advisory Committee (Momin Committee) of 1931-34 considered the retention of both the old scheme and the New Scheme madrassas necessary for the educational advancement of the Muslims and for the improvement of the standard of teaching suggested certain modifications in the curriculum of these two systems; that the standard in English, vernacular and mathematics in the Junior and Senior stages of the reformed madrasa be the same as in the general English schools.

Moula Bakhsh Committee 1938: The Madrasa Education (Moula *Bakhsh*) Committee of 1938-41 was appointed by the Government of Bengal on the 27th July 1938 “to investigate into the problems and improving madrasa education in the province and to make recommendations on the matter. The Committee submitted its report in 1941. The *Moula Bakhsh* Committee in their comprehensive report made sixty eight recommendations for improvement of both the Old and the New Scheme madrassas in all aspects. Besides the recommendation for the establishment of University of Islamic education, the Committee strongly recommended for the establishment of training institutions for madrasa teachers.

In September 1938, the committee prepared a questionnaire on madrasa education and circulated it. Out of 168 completed questionnaire received, 46.4% agreed for the retention of the old scheme madrassas and asked for the closure of all the reformed scheme madrassas; 8.9% were in favor of keeping both the types with suitable changes in syllabi; and 2.4 to 3% were of the opinion that both types of madrassas should be closed down and new ones be opened on new patterns.

East Bengal Education System Reconstruction Committee 1946-1951: The Government of Bengal after the end of the Second World War, and on the eve of partition, appointed the Madrasa Syllabus Committee on 4th July 1946, with the then Minister of Education as Chairman “to draw up revised syllabus of madrassas, for both Old and Reformed”. In consultation with various interests and incorporating various reforms demanded from time to time, the Committee framed two new syllabi, one for the Old Scheme Madrassas and the other for the Reformed Madrassas. The new syllabi thus framed were referred to the Dacca University and the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Dhaka, which were directly concerned with the Reformed Madrasa education. During 1949, the Government of East Bengal setup “East Bengal Educational System Reconstruction Committee”,

The Committee recommended that the reformed (High) madrasa system of education be integrated with the general secondary education by providing in the latter, special Islamic subjects as an alternative group along with essential secular subjects common to all the groups for secondary schools. The Reformed Madrasa (High Madrasa and Islamic Intermediate College) system of education should be integrated with the general education system with effect from 1958 and old Scheme Madrasa up to the primary stage should be integrated with the general system of education and ‘*Ibtidai*’ classes should be abolished forthwith. The Madrasa-i-Alya, Dacca, may be developed into an institution for imparting the best type of higher Islamic education as available in Egypt and other modern Islamic countries, including adequate facilities for research. It appears that none of the above mentioned recommendations

of the commission has been implemented, excepting the abolition of the Reformed Madrassa System.

Madrassa Education in Pakistan 1947-71: The Government of East Pakistan established a Madrassa Education Board in 1947 to regulate the course of studies and conduct terminal examinations. By 1957, there were 726 *Aliya* Madrassas in the then East Pakistan (Sattar, 1980). At the time of the Liberation of Bangladesh in 1971, there were about a thousand madrassas in the country. However, since the early 1980s, there was sharp growth of madrassas in Bangladesh, faster than the growth of mainstream educational institutions (Barkat 2007). By 2003, there were nearly 13,000 *Aliya* Madrassas in Bangladesh (GoB, 2003).

East Pakistan Educational Reforms Commission 1957: On the 3rd January 1957 Government of East Pakistan appointed this Commission to advise them on the re-organization and re-construction of the entire system of education in East Pakistan, with Chief Minister Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan as Chairman. The Commission made an attempt to recast the existing diverse systems into a unified national system.

The Commission observed that it was one-sided so far it aimed at preparing all its students for a specialized study of Islam and that this deficiency is to be remedied by including in its curriculum certain useful modern subjects. This was a move in the right direction, and it was hoped that this tendency would be progressively maintained through the revision of the syllabuses of madrassas and Darul Ulooms from time to time, to include subjects other than religion as per importance that they deserved in practical life, and made full use of modern thought in the understanding and interpretation of Islam.

The Islamic Arabic University Commission 1963-64: In response to a pressing demand for the improvement of madrassa education and for the establishment of a university of Islamic learning and research, the Government of East Pakistan on 31st May 1963 appointed a Commission with Dr. S. M. Hossain, former Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University, as its Chairman.

The Commission submitted its momentous report on the 27th September 1964, but no positive actions were ever taken based on this report.

The New Education Policy 1969: The Government of Pakistan, after considering the detailed reports of the number of study groups which were set up previously for the purpose, announced in July 1969 its 'New Education Policy'. The New Education Policy formulated under Air Marshal M. Nur Khan, the then in charge of Ministry of Education, aimed at orientation of education to the national objectives, opportunities for equal education, arresting the declining standards and correcting the growing imbalance between the various types of education. The two distinct systems of education operating at separate extremes, the religious schools and the modern schools, might be coordinated by making *Islamiyat* a compulsory subject up to grade 10 and optional thereafter, including introducing mathematics and science subjects in the madrassa curriculum. The New policy accorded a high priority to Islamic research in the universities and to progressively incorporate the results of such research into the normal curriculum of university faculties of law, politics, economics, and other social sciences.

Qudrat-i-Khuda Education Commission 1972: The Government of Bangladesh on the 26th July 1972 set up an Education Commission with Dr. Mohammad Qudrat-i-Khuda, a renowned educationist, as its Chairman. The main task of the Commission was to prepare a

comprehensive scheme for new educational pattern suitable for the changed economic and social conditions of the country taking into account the four basic principles of the state – democracy, nationalism, socialism, and secularism. The Commission submitted its final comprehensive report on the 30th May 1974. As regards to the madrassa education it was recommended that after compulsory primary education of 8 years duration, a student might elect ‘religious course’ under vocational education of 3 years. At the next stage, there would be 3 years degree course and then 2 years’ post-graduate course. This ‘religious course’ should automatically replace the existing madrassa course and become an integral part of the national system of education.

According to Bangladesh Education Commission (*Qudrat-i-Khuda* Commission) of 1974, the main defect of the madrassa system was that it was almost one-sided and aimed at providing special instruction on Islam for all the students. The Commission expressed their unanimity with the suggestion made by the “Bangladesh Islamic Education Reform Society” for the modification of the madrassa curriculum and syllabus and concluded saying: “We hope, the madrassa education, after such reform, will get itself established as an integral part of our national system of education and be animated with new life-blood”. Necessary modifications were made in the prevalent curriculum and syllabus of the madrassas from *Ibtidai* (primary) to *Fazil* (higher secondary), in respect of general course but degree standard in respect of Islamic course classes. Mother-tongue was made medium of instruction upto *Fazil* level and Arabic in the *Kamil* level. Essential secular subjects such as History, Geography, Mathematics, General Science, Civics, Elementary Economics, English etc., were made compulsory up to *Dakhil* level (secondary stage of madrassa). Students desiring to attain high proficiency in Islamic and Arabic learning would take up the traditional general course as modified, but those who desired to pursue Science, Engineering or Medical Courses would have to select appropriate science course from the first grade.

The Islamic University Scheme Committee 1977: President Ziaur Rahman (then the Chief Martial Law Administrator) declared on the first December 1976 that the Government had already decided to set up soon an Islamic University in the country to impart Islamic education together with modern education consistent with the national aim and requirements of the present age. The Government accordingly appointed a seven member committee with Professor M. Abdul Bari (then Chairman, Department of Islamic History, Rajshahi University) as its chairman on the 27th January 1977, to prepare a detailed scheme for the establishment of the proposed Islamic University. The aim of the university should be to turn out graduates who are well-versed in Islamic education and at the same time were trained in modern subjects so as to be able to play their role as useful citizens in a modern society. It would thus serve as a bridge between Islamic studies viewed from a classical point, on the one hand, and the modern subjects in arts and science, on the other.

There were two education Commission/Committee set up in the later part of the 20th century (*Mofiz* Commission 1988 and *Shamsul Huq* Committee 1997) on the reform of education in Bangladesh. No reform was however, suggested by them on Madrassa education in the country.

As per recommendation of the Islamic University Scheme Committee 1977, an Islamic University was set up in November 1979 in Kushtia. The university has five faculties: i) Theology and Islamic studies, ii) Humanities and Social Science, iii) Law and Sharia, iv) Business Administration, and v) Applied Science and Technology. An Institute of Islamic Education and Research was also set up in the Islamic University. Curriculum of the university

is presented in the annexure. The university has nearly 1000 students with 217 teachers. Degrees of *Kamil* and *Alim* of the Aliya Madrassas are being awarded by the Islamic University.

In 1978, the *Dakhil* (9th- 10th) and *Alim* (11th-12th) classes were divided into two streams, namely, Humanities and Science. As mentioned earlier, the courses were declared equivalent to SSC and HSC, and the students could shift to the mainstream education after these public examinations. It became a routine in Bangladesh to set up an Education Commission by a new regime soon after assuming power, but the Commission reports were never fully acted upon.

Moniruzzaman Commission 2003: The last commission to make recommendations on Madrassa education was the *Moniruzzaman* Commission in 2003. The recommendations reflected the increasing influence of the Madrassa lobby. This Commission was silent on Quomi Madrassas.

KEY FEATURES	
✓	The system of education in the Muslim world was un-integrated and un-differentiated. All the schools taught essentially the same subjects.
✓	The simplest type of early Muslim education was offered in the mosques, where the scholars who had congregated to discuss the Qur'an began, before long, to teach the religious sciences to interested adults.
✓	Madrassa is an Arabic word for any type of school, secular or religious (of any religion). It is variously transliterated as <i>madrasah</i> , <i>madarasaa</i> , <i>medresa</i> , <i>madraza</i> , etc.
✓	Established in 859, Jami'at al-Qarawiyyin (located in Al-Qarawiyyin Mosque) in the city of Fes (Fez), is considered the oldest madrassa in the Muslim world.
✓	Even though a majority of the madrassas during the subsequent centuries would remain the centers of Islamic learning, a large number of them produced renowned scholars and philosophers who contributed to earthly or secular knowledge
✓	As Islam spread further east, the <i>Sufi</i> orders of the Muslim faith were establishing madrassas in the Indian Sub-Continent and Central Asia.
✓	After the defeat of the Muslim at the hands of the crusaders and due to political rivalries among the Muslim leaders, Muslim learning and scholarship went into a state of decay, from which it did not recover.
✓	Altogether 12 committees and commissions were formed for improvement of education for the Muslims in Indian Sub-continent from 1906 to 2003.
✓	The scheme originated through the Mohammedan Educational Conference 1906, in fact, was a serious attempt for striking a balance between traditional madrassa system and modern secular system of education. The government of Bengal on 31 st July 1914 approved the scheme for the re-organization and reform of madrassas in Bengal.
✓	<i>Qudrat-e-Khuda</i> Commission (1974) made serious attempts towards reforming the madrassa education in terms of curriculum, syllabus, and integration with national education system.
✓	Most commissions were either silent about or by-passed the issue of Quomi Madrassa.

MADRASSA: NUMBER, GROWTH, AND SALIENT FEATURES

One of the most ancient education systems that still exist in the Indian sub-continent (and also the world) is the madrassa. As institutions, this system is still growing, can be found in the remotest of places, and is a powerful social institution. Apart from its religious identity, it has a social identity as most of madrassas, whether Aliya or Quomi, have been founded with strong support from their respective communities. Therefore, madrassas can be found scattered everywhere with a large number of students. However, madrassa education, particularly the madrassas in Pakistan, and few other Muslim countries including Bangladesh, came into media focus after the rapidly changing context of global events like 9/11, the war in Afghanistan and Iraq, and the terrorist activities by so-called religion-based organizations.

This chapter is intended to focus on the estimated number of madrassas, their growth, timing of growth, and some salient features like physical infrastructure, enrollment, completion rate, and facilities available in the madrassas.

TOTAL MADRASSAS IN BANGLADESH

What is the total number of madrassas in Bangladesh? No one knows, and official data is not available. Therefore, in order to estimate the total number of madrassas, by types, operating in Bangladesh, a census was carried out in rural and urban sample locations (Unions, *Pourshavas*, and City Corporations) to specify all types of madrassas currently providing education. In this census, information like year of establishment, type of madrassa, highest class (grade) taught, number of students, and number of teachers was collected. In addition, census on mosques and mainstream general educational institution was also carried out in the survey areas. For the sake of clarity, various types of elementary level madrassas like *forqania*, *hafezia*, and *maktab* (*nourani* madrassas) were determined as Quomi Madrassas and *Ebtedayee* Madrassas as Aliya Madrassa. The methodology used to estimate the total number of Madrassa in Bangladesh is presented in Box 3.

Box 3: Estimation methodology of total number of madrassas in Bangladesh

To collect the statistically representative data on madrassas, a census was carried out in 63 unions, out of 4466, covering 27 districts of all the divisions to capture the state of rural areas. To get the urban estimation, a census was carried out in 81 *Pourashava* wards, covering 22 *Pourashava* and in 27 City Corporation wards, out of 253, covering all the city corporations. Appropriate sampling technique was used to ensure the representativeness of the data to extrapolate the national level estimation. The total numbers of madrassas have been estimated for 2008. In the first step, the average number of madrassas per union, *Pourashava*, wards, and city corporation's wards have been calculated.

Average number of madrassas per union, $\bar{X} = \frac{\sum x_i}{n}$

Where, $\sum x_i$ = Total number of madrassa in 'i'th union

n = Total number of sample union

Average number of madrassas per *Pourashava* Ward, $\bar{Y} = \frac{\sum Y_i}{n}$

Where, $\sum Y_i$ = Total number of madrassas in 'i'th *Pourashava* Ward

n = Total number of sample *Pourashava* Ward

Average madrassas per city corporation ward, $\bar{Z} = \frac{\sum Z_i}{n}$

Where, $\sum Z_i$ = Total number of madrassas in 'i'th city corporation ward

n = Total number of sample city corporation wards

In the second step, the total numbers of rural and urban madrassas have been calculated.

Total number of rural madrassas,

M_R = Average number of madrassa/union * Total number of unions in Bangladesh

Total number of madrassas in all *Pourashava* ward,

M_P = Average number of madrassa/*Pourashava* ward * Total number of *Pourashava* Ward

Similarly, total number of madrassas in all city corporation ward,

M_C = Average number of madrassa/city corporation ward * Total number of city corporation ward

Total number of madrassas in all *Pourashava* wards and city corporations ward are calculated separately and then added together to get the total number of urban madrassas.

So, Total number of urban madrassas, $M_U = M_P + M_C$

Eventually, the sum total of rural and urban madrassas will give the total of madrassas in Bangladesh.

Total number of madrassas in Bangladesh = Total number of rural madrassas, M_R + Total number of urban madrassas, M_U .

It is to note that numbers of madrassas are calculated by two broad types of madrassas; Aliya and Quomi. *Ebtedayee* madrassa is included in Aliya Madrassa and Quomi Madrassa includes *Hafezia*, *Forqania* and *Maktab* (*Nourani* madrassa). Definition of urban and rural has been taken from the Census of Population, 2001, Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics. The total number of union, *Pourashava* ward and city corporation ward has been taken from Bangladesh Statistical Pocket Book, 2007 (Detail about sampling and methodology is presented in Chapter 1). In addition, estimation of total number of mosques and mainstream general educational institutions has also been done following the same methodology that was adopted for the madrassa.

***Pourashava*: Municipality**

According to the census (2008) carried out by the authors in both the rural and urban sample areas, it was estimated that in an average union, there are 2.9 Aliya Madrassas and 7.6 Quomi Madrassas (Table 7). There was an average of 0.58 Aliya Madrassa and 1.93 Quomi Madrassas in a *Pourashava* Ward (PW), while in the City Corporation Wards (CW); there are about 1 Aliya Madrassa (0.9) and 4.8 Quomi Madrassas. Extrapolation of data on the basis of sample estimates for rural and urban areas of Bangladesh shows the total number of madrassa (in 2008) [Table 7].

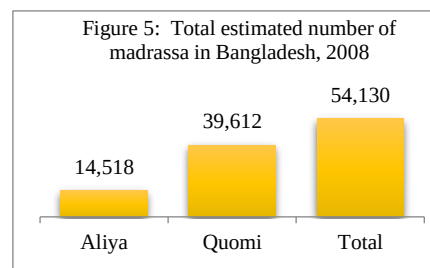
Table 7: Total madrassas in Bangladesh, 2008

Type of madrassa	Madrassa /union	Total unions	Total rural madrassas	Madrassa /PW*	Total PW*s	Total madrassas in a Pourashava	Madrassa /CW**	Total CW**	Total madrassas in City Corporation	Total urban madrassas	Total madrassas in Bangladesh
Aliya	2.9	4466	12951	0.58	2309	1339	0.9	253	228	1567	14,518
Quomi	7.6	4466	33942	1.93	2309	4456	4.8	253	1214	5670	39,612
Total			46893			5795			1442	7237	54,130

*PW= Paourashava Ward, **CW= City Corporation Ward

Note: Total number of Union, Pourashava Ward and City Corporation ward has been taken from the data available in the Population Census 2001.

Extrapolated estimates based on census data show that there were 54,130 madrassas in Bangladesh in 2008, of which 14,518 were Aliya and 39,612 were Quomi Madrassas (Figure 5). The Quomi Madrassas occupied an amazing 73 percent of the total madrassas. [Detail calculation of total madrassas in Bangladesh (2008) is given in Annex Tables 1-8]



In contrast to Aliya Madrassas, the numbers of Quomi Madrassas are almost three times (2.7) higher. There are various statistics regarding the total number of Quomi Madrassas and the number of varies considerably by sources, which also raises the question of authenticity of those information; and the range of Quomi Madrassas fluctuate from a high at 66,300 to a low at 5,230 depending on the source¹². It is to note that all types of primary level madrassas, like *hafezia*, *maktabs* or *forqania maktab*, and *nourani* madrassas are included as Quomi Madrassas in our estimation.

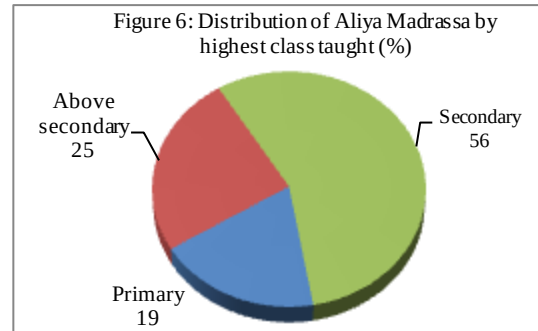
Comparing it with BANBEIS data on the total Aliya Madrassas, it was found that the survey finding on the total number of Aliya Madrassa (14,518) is slightly lower than the data provided by BANBEIS i.e., government data (15,927). BANBEIS figures on madrassa include all types of Aliya Madrassa like *Ebtedayee* Madrassa (primary Aliya Madrassa), *Dakhil*, *Alim*, *Fazil* and *Kamil* Madrassas. A plausible reason behind the difference, between these two estimates, is that a large number of *Ebtedayee* Madrassa was not found operating and therefore, those were not included during the census conducted by the authors.

After the estimation work done and before publishing the data, authors held meetings with the leaders of Quomi community. When asked about the reasons of such high number (39,612) of Quomi Madrassas in Bangladesh, the leaders of Quomi community refuted such figure saying that it was exaggerated. However, when the authors pointed out that there are 12,399 primary levels (*hafezia*, *maktabs*, *forqania maktab*, *nourani*), which is outside the purview of the Quomi Madrassa system, the leaders agreed. These primary level madrassas are located in courtyards,

¹²According to the documents submitted to the Prime Minister's Office of Bangladesh in 2006, by the Quomi Madrassa leaders, the total number of Quomi Madrassa was 15,530, and according to Director General of BEFAQ it was less than 10,000. They also pointed that there are approximately 4,000 Quomi Madrassa operating outside the Quomi Madrassa Board. In the opinion of Maulana Abdur Rob Yusofi, leader of Quomi Madrassa based political party, Khelafate Majlish, the number of Quomi Madrassa in Bangladesh was 14,000. The Quomi Madrassa Education Board, Dhaka submitted recommendations to the Education Commission in 1997, where it was found that the number of Quomi Madrassa was 66,300 including the *Forqania* Maktab (60,000). Muhammad Shahidul Bari (2006) conducted his PhD on 'Quomi Madrassa Education System of Bangladesh; A Survey' from Islami University, Kushtia and according to his estimation, the number of Quomi Madrassa was 10,000. The World Bank Report (2009), "Secondary School Madrassas in Bangladesh: Incidences, Quality, and Implications for Reform," claims that there were 5,230 Quomi Madrassas in Bangladesh. Based on the first ever survey conducted by the BANBEIS (2008) there were 5,230 Quomi Madrassas in Bangladesh.

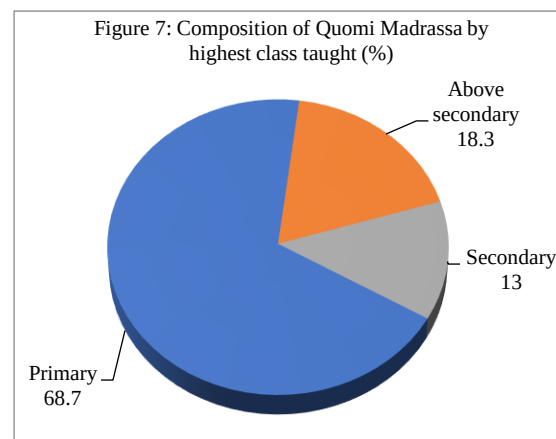
allocated or designated rooms provided by the landlord or house owner in a community for memorizing the Qur'an.

Categorization of the madrassas, by highest grade, would be enough to provide further clarification regarding the authenticity of the data based on the census. In the Aliya Madrassas, the highest degree, '*Kamil*' can be completed after 16 years of schooling and the other three academic degrees like *Dakhil* after 10 years, *Alim* 12 years, and *Fazil* 14 years. In the primary Aliya Madrassas, there were 2,758 madrassas, which constituted about one-fifth of the total Aliya Madrassas. More than half of the Aliya Madrassas, 8,130 to be precise, were secondary level *Dakhil* Madrassas, and the number of above secondary level madrassa i.e., *Alim*, *Fazil* and *Kamil* Madrassas was 3,630, which constituted 25 percent of total Aliya Madrassas in Bangladesh (Figure 6). As high as 8,130 *Dakhil* Madrassas were found in the estimates, made by the authors, compared to BANBEIS's 6,685, which may be explained by the time gap of 3 years as the BANBEIS data that referred to 2005, and the authors' estimate was done for 2008.



Classifying Quomi Madrassas by the highest class taught, it is complicated not because there isn't any unitary grading structure followed by all the Quomi Madrassas. In general, they follow subject based grading system rather than yearly grading system. Moreover, the curriculum, for a specific class, is not same across all Quomi Madrassas. There are variations, in the number of years required for graduation, to complete the highest degree for example; the degree of '*Daurah*' *Hadiths* (the highest degree) can take 5 to 15 years, depending on the madrassa¹³. However, BEFAQ proposed a 16 year education, focusing on a combination of religious and modern education, based on grading, that would be comparable to the mainstream general education¹⁴.

After discussions with relevant teachers and through visiting a number of Quomi Madrassas across the country, it was found that the primary level Quomi Madrassas refer to all types of *maktabs* (*forqania*, *nourani*), *hafezia*, and other madrassas where '*mijan*' (elementary level Arabic linguistics) is taught. In the secondary level madrassas, there are classes based on *Nahov* to *Shar-e-Jami* (*advanced Arabic linguistics*). The classes *Shar-e-Bikaya* to *Hidaya* (jurisprudence) are considered as higher secondary madrassas. The subjects like '*Mishkat*' and '*Jalalyeen*' (lessons on the Qur'an and

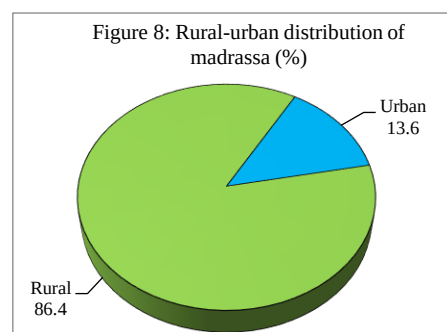


¹³ This dissimilarity of syllabus and years of graduation has been pointed out to the Quomi Madrassa leaders, with highest priority revealed in the discussion session with madrassa teachers. Articles and news focusing on this issue has been published in a newspaper (The *Dainik Destiny*, August 26, 2007).

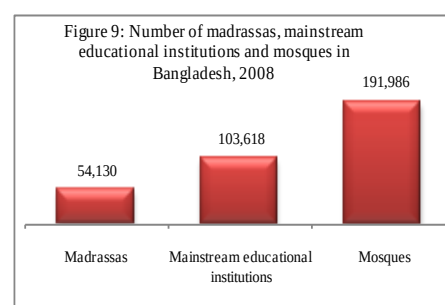
¹⁴ A detail syllabus was prepared, published, and circulated by BEFAQ in 1997. It was found that the syllabus was not followed by most of the Quomi Madrassas.

hadiths) are taught at the graduate levels and the highest degree is known as *Daurah-e-Hadiths* (lesson on six prominent books on *Hadiths*). The grades *Mishkat* and *Jalalyeen* (graduate levels) of Quomi Madrassas are equivalent to *Fazil* degree and *Daurah-e-Hadiths* to *Kamil* degree of Aliya Madrassas. In addition, some Quomi Madrassas offer a further 1 to 2 years of specialized education, after completion of the highest (*Daurah-e-Hadiths*) degree. In the Quomi Madrassa system, primary levels constituted 69 percent, i.e., 27,213 out of the total of 39,612 Quomi Madrassas, followed by the above secondary levels (18.3% i.e., 7,249), and 5,150 (13%) was secondary level madrassas (Figure 7).

On the issue of the areas where the madrassas are located (rural-urban, irrespective of Aliya or Quomi Madrassas), 86.4 percent madrassas are located in the rural and rest in the urban areas (Figure 8). The result of a statistical analysis (proportion test) also supports this rural-urban percentage distribution of madrassas, at 5 percent level of significance, where calculated Z value is 168.228. It confirms the proposition that the establishment of madrassas is somehow related to under development. The rural-urban location of madrassas follows, almost, a similar pattern, where 89 percent Aliya Madrassas and 85.6 percent Quomi Madrassas are located in the rural areas of Bangladesh (Annex Table 8).



For a more in-depth understanding of the number of madrassas, it would be worthwhile to compare it with the number of mainstream education (general) institutions. Furthermore, the number of mosques is also important here for comparison, since there are quite a number of mosques providing religious education similar to the madrassas. According to the survey conducted by the authors, there are 103,618 mainstream educational institutions (schools, colleges, and universities) and 191,986 mosques in Bangladesh (2008). However, BANBEIS data (2005) indicates that there are 102,047 various types of mainstream educational institutions. In addition, the number of mosques (*Zooma* and *Waqtia*) in Bangladesh was found (in 2008) to be 191,986 (Figure 9). As religious institutions, there is a close relationship between a madrassa and mosque, and it was identified that various types of madrassas were attached with almost 48 percent of the mosques. This is true for both urban (49%) and rural (47%) areas.

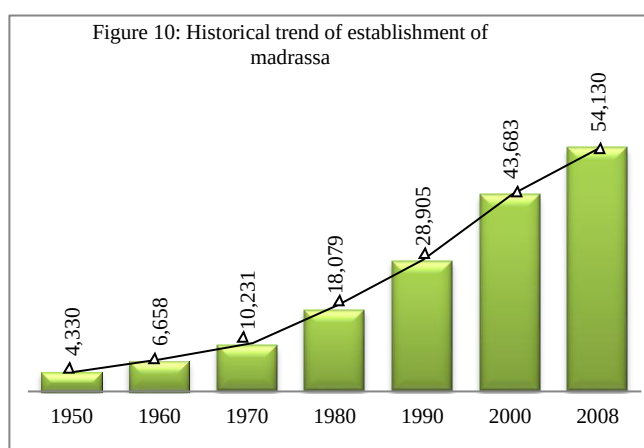


GROWTH OF MADRASSA EDUCATION IN BANGLADESH

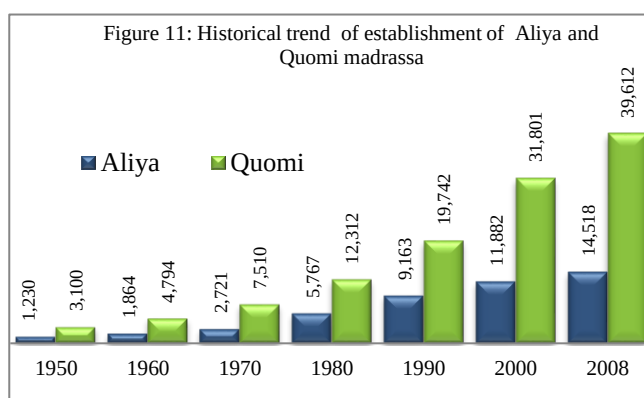
As mentioned earlier, the promotion of madrassa education by the muslim rulers was sidelined with the advent of British control over India. Though madrassa education received some support from the British; with the loss of power in India, the Muslims felt that the essence of Islamic education (through madrassas) was somehow lost. As a result, the Quomi Madrassa was introduced by the Muslim scholars, of orthodox Deobond, in India with a view to save the Islamic heritage, knowledge, and education.

After the partition of India in 1947 the madrassa education received a fresh shot into its arm and madrassa education entered a new phase of development through state patronization, especially in the independent West and East (Bangladesh) Pakistan.

In the next 60 years (1950-2008), of what was then East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), the number of madrassas rapidly increased from 4,330 in 1950 to 54,130 in 2008. It increased by more than 12 times within about 60 years. This increase is relatively higher for Quomi Madrassa (13 times) compared to Aliya Madrassa (11 times). From 1950 to 1970, the number of madrassas increased to 10,231, and after that almost 10,000 new madrassas were founded in every ten year, especially during 1991-2000, where a maximum number of 15,000 new madrassas were built (Figure 10).



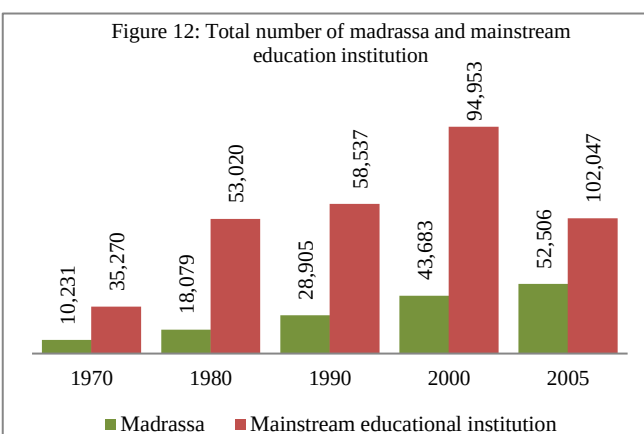
Another interesting finding is that the Quomi Madrassas increased rapidly in comparison to Aliya Madrassas (Figure 11). The number of Quomi Madrassas is almost three times more than the Aliya Madrassas. After independence in 1971, particularly the Quomi Madrassas increased rapidly (Figure 11), and in fact establishment of new Quomi Madrassas contributed significantly to the rise in the number of total madrassas in Bangladesh (Figures 10 and 11). It is to be mentioned that trend on the establishment of madrassas was ascertained based on the findings of the sample survey. The methodology for estimating the historical trend in the establishment of madrassas can be seen in Box 4 below.



Box 4: Methodology for estimating historical trend of madrassa establishment

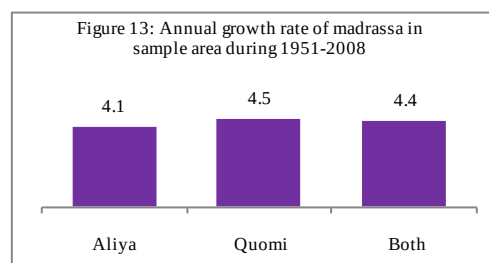
From all the madrassas located in the census areas, data on years of establishment was collected. As per the collected data, distribution of madrassa by years of establishment, by particular period of time, was estimated. Subsequently, distribution of years of establishment was applied for the extrapolated number of madrassas at national level, for the year 2008.

The expansion of madrassas is less, compared to the mainstream schools throughout the entire period under review (Figure 12). The estimate based on BANBEIS data on mainstream educational institutions like primary, secondary schools, and colleges shows that, in 2005, a total of 100,000 schools and colleges were there, while the number of madrassas were over 50,000 in 2008. It is to note that, for unavailability of data on mainstream educational institutions for the years earlier to 1970, analogy is drawn for 1970. It is evident

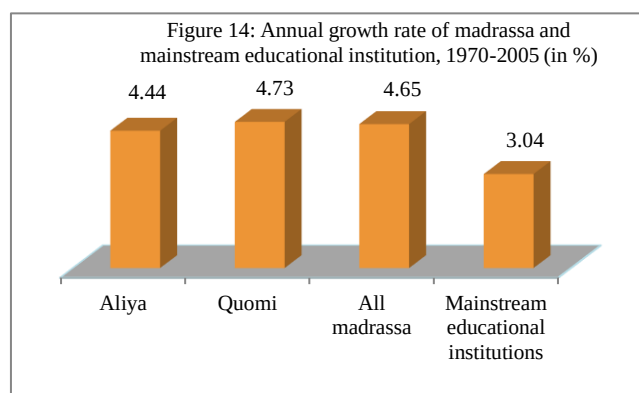


that in the early 1970s (just after independence), the gap between the number of madrassas and mainstream institutions is small, however, as the decades progressed, the gap became wider, particularly during the 1980s and 1990s. During these two decades, the number of mainstream institutions jumped dramatically compared to that of the madrassas. There were over 30,000 more mainstream institutions than the madrassas. The gap increased to over 50,000 by 2000 (Figure 12). However, the primary level schools constituted the lion share of total number of educational institutions (Annex Tables 10 and 46). The limitation of comparing mainstream education institutions with madrassa is that that data on mainstream institutions, provided by BANBEIS, is actual (enumerated) and the data on madrassa is extrapolated on the basis of the current census made by the authors.

To get an idea about the growth of madrassas, data was collected on the year of establishment in the sample areas through a census. It was estimated that madrassas have registered a considerable high annual growth of 4.4 percent during the last 60 years (1951-2008). Considering the types of madrassa i.e., Aliya and Quomi, the annual growth for Quomi Madrassas was 4.5 percent and it was 4.1 percent for Aliya Madrassas (Figure 13).



While comparing the annual growth rate of madrassas and mainstream institutions, it showed that during 1970 -2005, madrassas grew at a faster rate (4.65%) in contrast to mainstream institutions (3.04%), including primary and secondary schools, and colleges (Annex Table 46). The annual growth rate of the Quomi Madrassas, is the highest among all the institutions i.e., Aliya, Quomi Madrassa, and mainstream institutions (Figure 14). The limitation of this estimate is that the annual growth rate of mainstream institutions has been calculated for all types (primary and secondary schools, and colleges) collectively and it included a very high growth rate of primary schools in the mainstream system.



The annual growth rate of madrassas, since 1951, show an unpredictable and erratic rise and fall, where in the 1960s there was an abnormal (16.21%) high growth rate with an abrupt fall during the next couple of years. In the early years after independence in 1971, madrassa grew annually at a rate of about 1 percent. After 1975, there was again a sharp rise in the growth of madrassas with 7 to 11 percent, which continued until 1980 and subsequently it went down and reached to 3.66 percent in 1982. The annual growth rate was 5.06 percent in 1985, and after that there

Box 5: Methodology for growth rate calculation

Data on years of establishment for madrassa is collected to estimate growth rate of madrassa in sample areas. In estimation of growth rate 1950 is considered as the base year as it would carry the trend of colonial era. Basically, the growth rate has been calculated on annual basis. Annual growth rate has also been calculated by decades and for five year periods. The growth rate shows change in number per unit of time. The growth rate for madrassa has been calculated by following standard growth rate formula as follows;

$$\text{Growth rate of madrassas, } r = \frac{\ln(p_t / p_0)}{t}$$

Where

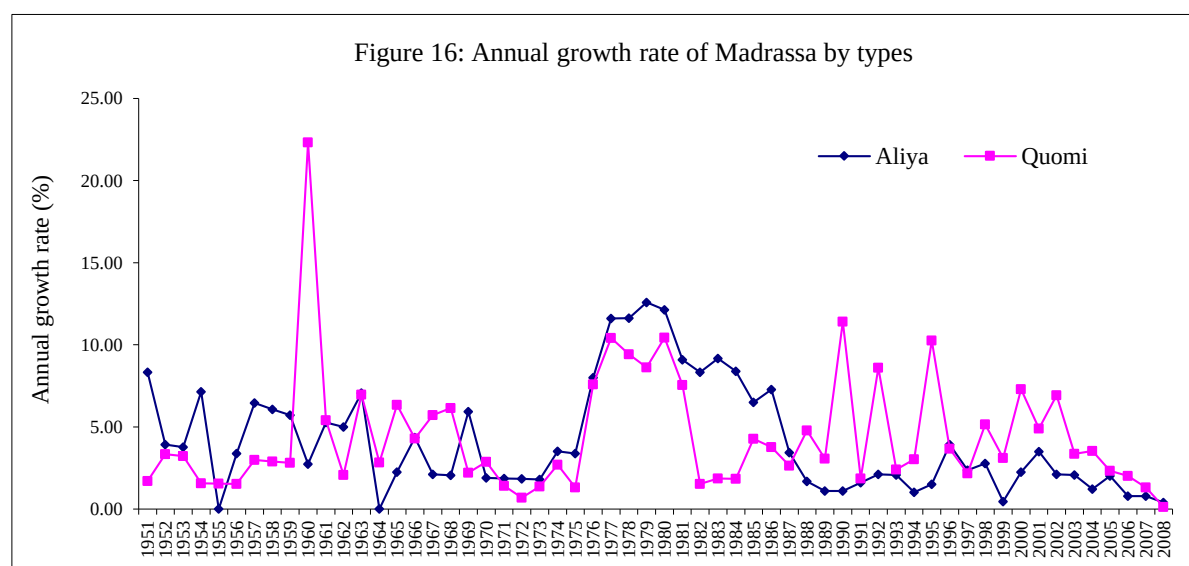
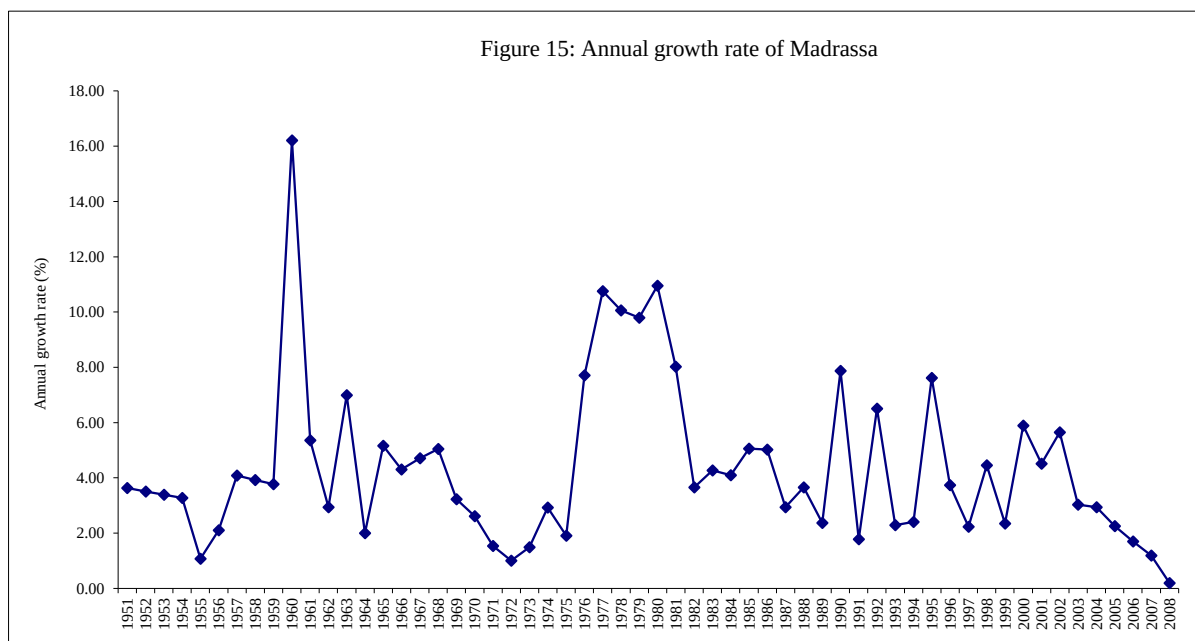
P_t = Number of current year madrassa

P_0 = Number of base year madrassa

t = Time (year)

were regular ups and downs in the annual growth rates. Eventually, as shown in Figure 15, after 2002, it steadily went downwards.

Aliya and Quomi Madrassas generally followed a similar pattern of growth during the years in question. In the earlier years, annual growth rate of Aliya Madrassas was higher than that of Quomi Madrassas, and this trend remained unchanged until 1987. After this, the growth rate kept on decreasing, and it was lower compared to Quomi Madrassas. The rate for Quomi Madrassas was higher until 2008 and it eventually went down (Figures 15 and 16).



Analyzing the annual growth rates by decades show that the highest annual growth rate of madrassas was 6.3 percent during 1971-1980, followed by 4.8 percent during 1961-1970. Madrassas grew at a rate of above 4 percent for the next two decades, from 1980 throughout to 2000. Since 2000, the annual growth rate was decreasing and in 2001-2008, it was 2.4 percent (Table 8). However, the growth was different for Aliya and Quomi Madrassas; during 1971-

80, the highest annual growth rate was recorded for Aliya Madrassas (7.4%), which was higher than Quomi Madrassas (5.8%).

In the following decades, the annual growth rate of Aliya Madrassas was also higher (5.2%) than that of Quomi Madrassa (3.9%). After 1980-1990, the growth rate for Aliya Madrassas was going down and for Quomi Madrassas, it was going up and this trend continued up to 2002. The growth of Quomi Madrassa was 5.1 percent during 1991-2000 and it went down to 2.8 percent in the period of 2001-2008. Similarly, for Aliya Madrassas, it decreased to 1.3 percent during 2001-2008, from 2.1 percent in 1991-2000 (Table 8).

Table 8: Annual growth rate of madrassa by types and by decades (in sample areas)

Year (group)	Aliya	Madrassa Quomi	Both
Annual growth rates by decades			
1951-1960	4.4	4.7	4.6
1961-1970	4.5	4.9	4.8
1971-1980	7.4	5.8	6.3
1981-1990	5.2	3.9	4.3
1991-2000	2.1	5.1	4.2
2001-2008	1.3	2.8	2.4
Annual growth rates by five years interval			
1971-1975	2.6	1.5	1.8
1976-1980	12.0	9.7	10.4
1981-1985	8.1	2.4	4.3
1986-1990	1.8	5.5	4.2
1991-1995	1.7	6.1	4.7
1996-2000	2.0	4.4	3.7
2001-2005	1.9	4.0	3.5
Annual growth rates from 1951 to 2008 and 1970-2005			
1951-2008	4.1	4.5	4.4
1970-2005	4.4	4.7	4.7

Splitting the annual growth rate by five-year periods, it was revealed that the highest annual growth rate for madrassas was about 10.4 percent during 1976-80, with a difference between Aliya (12.0%) and Quomi (9.7%) Madrassa (after this period, madrassas have been growing at an annual rate of 3% to 4%). Up to 1985, the growth of Aliya Madrassas was higher than that of Quomi Madrassas and since 1985, the rate for Quomi Madrassas was increasing and the growth registered a higher rate (Table 8). It was observed that since 1986, the growth of Quomi Madrassas has always been above 4 percent (ranging from 4%-6%) while Aliya Madrassa grew at 1 percent-2 percent.

The growth of madrassas can be explained through a number of facts; the changes in state policy or change in political regime, establishment of religious political parties, incentives and encouragement for madrassa education, and so forth. This growth is closely linked to the military rules, which is evident from the high growth rates during the army rules of President Ayub Khan (1958-1969), President Ziaur Rahman (1976-1981), and President H. M. Ershad (1982-1990).

The high growth rate during 1976-80 can best be explained by the fact that secularism was replaced from the Constitution of Bangladesh after the killing of the Father of the Nation, *Bangabundhu* Sheikh Mujibur Rahman¹⁵ in 1975. Subsequently, religion based politics was permitted, which worked as a crucial factor behind such a high expansion of madrasa education¹⁶. Eventually many religious political parties were in the open and new parties were also formed, whose roots were strongly embedded in madrasas and its education¹⁷. Finally, the declaration of Islam, as state religion, was the final nail to move away from secularism only to reintroduce and revitalize religious politics and associated education¹⁸.

The establishment of Aliya Madrasa Education Board in 1979 also gave fresh impetus to establishing new madrasas, which is evident from the trend of its growth. Therefore, nourishment of religion based education was encouraged and supported through government mechanisms. To get moral support from religious people or religion based political parties, in the years 1985-1987; the government declared and recognized the *Dakhil* and *Alim* degrees of Aliya Madrasas as equivalent to SSC and HSC degrees respectively of the mainstream education¹⁹.

¹⁵ The original 1972 Constitution (Article 8) declared secularism as one of the four fundamental principles of the state policy. However, later the Proclamations (Amended) Order, 1977 (Proclamations Order No. I of 1977) replaced secularism with “Absolute trust and faith in the Almighty Allah shall be the basis of all actions”; the new clause stated:

“8. Fundamental principles: (1) The principles of absolute trust and faith in the Almighty Allah, nationalism, democracy and socialism meaning economic and social justice, together with the principles derived from them as set out in this Part, shall constitute the fundamental principles of state policy.

(1A) Absolute trust and faith in the Almighty Allah shall be the basis of all actions.

(2) The principles set out in this Part shall be fundamental to the governance of Bangladesh, shall be applied by the State in the making of laws, shall be a guide to the interpretation of the Constitution and of the other laws of Bangladesh, and shall form the basis of the work of the State and of its citizens, but shall not be judicially enforceable.”

‘BISMILLAH-AR-RAHMAN-AR-RAHIM’ (In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful) was inserted in the Constitution by the Proclamations (Amendment) Order, 1977 (Proclamation Order No. I of 1977) in the constitution

¹⁶ The principle of secularism which had provided (in Article 12) for the elimination of communalism in all its forms as well as elimination of the abuse of religion for political purposes, and elimination of any discrimination against, or persecution of, persons practicing a particular religion was subsequently been deleted from the Constitution. Hence, currently after Article 11 in the Constitution, the next Article is Article 13. Article 12 of the original Constitution has been deleted, but not replaced by a new Article. Article 12 was omitted and Fourth Schedule to the Constitution was amended (GOB, 23 April 1977)

¹⁷ For detail see Kabir M (2006) “Politics and Development of Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh”

¹⁸ According to the 1972 Constitution there was no provision for State Religion as the Constitution recognized Bangladesh as a secular state (Article 2). In the 8th Amendment (passed on 7 June 1988) a new clause (Article 2A) was inserted in the previous Article which says, “[2A. The state religion-*The state religion of the Republic is Islam, but other religions may be practised in peace and harmony in the Republic.*” With this Amendment Act (Act XXX of 1988) Islam was declared as the state religion.

¹⁹ Detail information is collected from the web site of Ministry of Education, GoB.

After 1985, Quomi Madrassas were growing at a higher rate than Aliya Madrassas that eventually resulted in two outcomes. First, when Aliya Madrassa degrees received recognition and efforts to bringing it at par with the mainstream education, many madrassa leaders doubted if pure religious education was at all possible in the Aliya system. This resulted in establishing more Quomi Madrassas. Secondly, a number of Quomi Madrassa teachers and students, who participated in Afghanistan war in the 1980s against USSR, finally returned to Bangladesh and establish new Quomi Madrassas with renewed religious vigor. Many Islamic thinkers further points out that the economic boost in Islamic world also give impetus to establishing new religious institutions. As an eventual consequence of high growth of Quomi Madrassas, some religious political parties have been established under the direct sponsorship and partnership of the Quomi Madrassa leaders²⁰.

Equally important is the fact that most of the famous '*ulamas*' in Bangladesh usually preaches Islam in big public gathering around the country throughout the year, especially during the winter season. In these religious gatherings, they also collect money and encourages the followers to donate money for the sake of Islam. These visits by *ulamas* in the countryside contributed significantly to a high growth of Quomi Madrassas. There are quiet a number of such *ulamas* who founded more than hundreds of madrassas across the country. Moreover, the graduates of Quomi Madrassas were employed mostly in religious institutions like mosques and madrassas, and therefore, madrassa graduates were encouraged to open a new madrassa or join there as a teacher. The limited scope of Quomi graduates to find a meaningful employment also induces establishment of new Quomi Madrassas for employment²¹.

Since 2001, the growth of both types of madrassas, is decreasing and was 0.2 percent in 2008. This declining trend of growth can be attributed to madrassas in absolute terms, which can be denoted as "saturation phenomenon". Some madrassa leaders argue that the number of madrassa is huge, which is evident by the fact that in Bangladesh there are 9,214 Aliya Madrassas and 12,399 secondary and above level Quomi Madrassas. They pointed out that any one can easily find a madrassa in any rural and urban areas, and it is also remarkable that in most of the madrassas, a considerable number of students are from outside the community or locality that is, sufficient students from the localities have dried up for many madrassas. They also reported that as the madrassas were managed by the community and financing comes from the benevolent Muslims, they neither support nor can finance too many madrassas in a particularly locality.

Madrassa-population ratio shows that in 1970 there was one madrassa for 7,467 people which went down to 2,721 by 2005. On the other hand, mainstream educational institution-population ratio shows that during 1970, there was one school for 2,166 people that also came down to 1,358 by 2005. It indicates that the number of institutes for both the education system have increased during the last 35 years. Moreover, the pace of founding new madrassas was higher compared to its counterpart mainstream institutions. It was also noticed that madrassa-

²⁰There are a number of political parties based on Quomi Madrassa namely *Islami Shashantantra Andolon*, *Khelafat Majlish*, and *Islami Oikkyo Zote*.

²¹ Discussion with Quomi Madrassa teachers, management committee members and local elites reveals that *Islami Mahfil* contributes most to encourage pious people of Bangladesh to donate land and cash money to establish madrassas. A new madrassa is primarily operated and managed by a very dedicated madrassa graduated young *ulama* who is most of the cases born in that respective locality or were employed in the local mosque.

population ratio reduced to about 64 percent while mainstream educational institution-population ratio reduced by about 37.5 percent (Table 9). The high tempo of new madrassas, compared to mainstream institutions, implies that the mainstream educational institutions was not growing at a required pace, which may have led to the rapid growth of madrassa education.

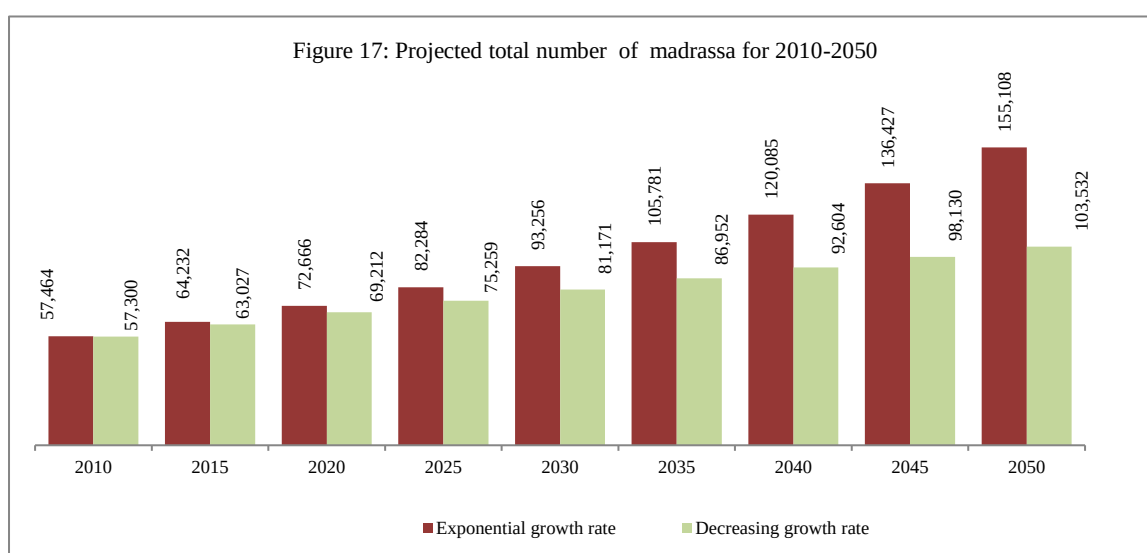
Table 9: Madrassa-population and mainstream educational institution-population ratio

Number of population and educational institutions	Year 1970	Year 2005
Total population	76,398,000	138,600,000
Total madrassas	10,231	50,931
Total mainstream educational institutions	35,270	102,047
Madrassa-population ratio	1:7467	1:2721
Mainstream educational institution-Population ratio	1:2166	1:1358

Note: The total number of population was taken from Population Census, 2001 and Statistical Pocket Book, 2007 and the total population for 1974 was considered for the year 1970, because of unavailability of data prior to that year. The data on total number of madrassas is extrapolated data from census conducted in sample areas by authors, but the data on total number of mainstream educational institutions are data compiled by BANBEIS, which is more authentic and accurate. The estimates shown in the above table have been done to get an idea about the growth of madrassa education as compared to that of mainstream education.

Projected Number of Total Madrassas, 2010-2050

Projection of total number of madrassas, in consideration of exponential growth rate, revealed that by the next 40 years (2050) the total number of madrassa will reach 155,108, which is about three times higher than the present 54,130 (2008). On the other hand, the projected number of total madrassa will be 103,532 when decreasing growth rate is taken in to consideration (Figure 17). It implies that for the year 2050, the maximum number of total madrassa would be ranging between 103,532 and 155,108.



Similar calculation was done separately for Aliya and Quomi Madrassa for the period between 2010 and 2050. The projection shows that the maximum number of Aliya madrassa would be 24,043 and 22,751 respectively following the two separate growth scenario; exponential and decreasing. For Quomi Madrassas, the projected total number in the year 2050 would be either 131,066 or 81,052 following the similar growth pattern (Table 10).

Box 6: Methodology for projection of total number of madrassa

Projection is an extrapolation of historical data into the future. Two methods; Exponential Growth Rate and Decreasing Growth Rate have been used for projecting the total number of madrassa here. For both methods, data of 2001-2008 is used to estimate growth rate where the year 2001 is considered as initial year. In case of projection for the year 2050, the year 2008 is considered as the base year. The formula for getting projected population by using exponential growth rate method is as follows:

$$P_f = P_b e^{rt}$$

Where,

P_f = Future population
 P_b = Base year population (start of projection)
 r = Annual growth rate
 $t = t_f - t_b$ = Number of years projected into the future
 t_f = Future year (end of projection)
 t_b = Base year (start of projection)
 t_o = Initial year

Decreasing growth is assumed to asymptotically approach a saturation population, that is, the maximum population predicted for the geographic area of interest. Saturation population has been estimated using exponential growth rate method where the annual growth rate of 1951-2008 year is used. The formula for getting projected population by using decreasing growth rate method is as follows:

$$P_f = S - (S - P_b) e^{-Kt}$$

Where,

P_f = Future population
 P_b = Base year population (start of projection)
 S = Saturation population
 $K = -\ln [(S - P_b) / (S - P_o)] / (t_b - t_o)$
 $t = t_f - t_b$ = Number of years projected into the future.

Table 10: Projected growth of Aliya and Quomi Madrassas: 2010-2050

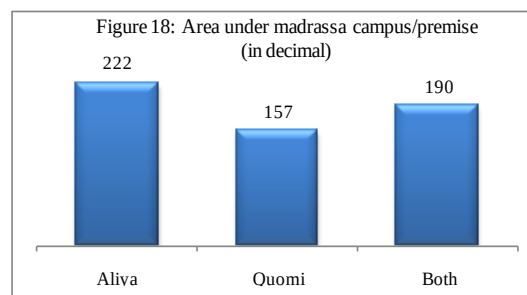
Year	Aliya Madrassa		Quomi Madrassa		Both	
	Exponential growth	Decreasing growth	Exponential growth	Decreasing growth	Exponential growth	Decreasing growth
2010	14,700	14,759	42,764	42,541	57,464	57,300
2015	15,042	15,305	49,190	47,722	64,232	63,027
2020	16,084	16,429	56,582	52,783	72,666	69,212
2025	17,199	17,533	65,085	57,726	82,284	75,259
2030	18,390	18,616	74,866	62,556	93,256	81,171
2035	19,665	19,679	86,116	67,273	105,781	86,952
2040	21,027	20,722	99,057	71,882	120,085	92,604
2045	22,485	21,746	113,943	76,384	136,427	98,130
2050	24,043	22,751	131,065	80,782	155,108	103,532

The number of madrassas from 2010 to 2050 is projected using the growth rate of the last decade (2001-2008) which is 2.4 percent. Exponential growth rate method is used for projecting population in the future (in general). When the growth rate is going down over time, decreasing growth rate method is used. As the growth rate of madrassa started falling down since the last decade, the decreasing growth rate was used here also.

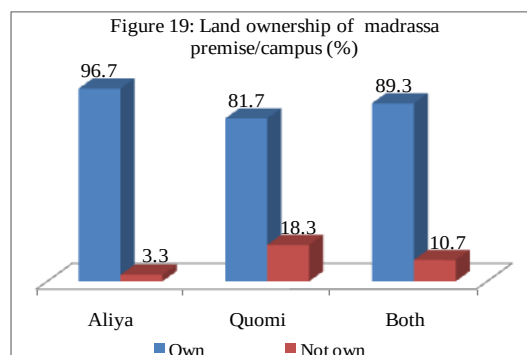
SALIENT FEATURES OF MADRASSAS

The status of physical infrastructure of madrassas has been assessed through a number of indicators like the amount of land owned or occupied by madrassas, ownership of land, nature of construction of madrassa buildings, number of buildings and rooms, and the constructed space in madrassa buildings. In addition, discussions on some features of madrassas, like provision of orphanage or facilities for poor students, library facility, and enrollment and graduation rate was also made. It should be mentioned that an in-depth data and information (both qualitative and quantitative) regarding both Aliya and Quomi Madrassas were collected using a separate secondary data collection format developed by the authors (detail data collection instruments are in Annex 2).

It was found that the average area of madrassa premise or campus is about 2 acres (190 decimal) with Aliya Madrassa premise or campus 2.2 acres and about 1.6 acre for Quomi Madrassas (Figure 18). However, statistical test (mean test at 5% significance level) shows insignificant difference between Aliya and Quomi Madrassa in terms of average area.



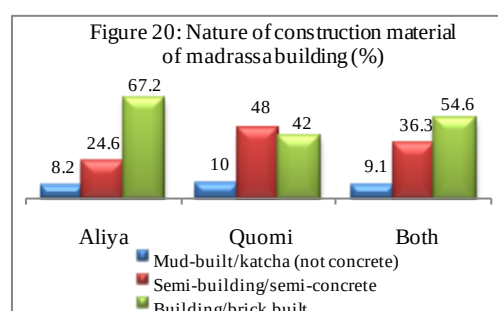
The ownership of madrassas and campuses showed that almost all the madrassas (89%) have their own land title of the premises and campuses. Ownership pattern also revealed that about 97 percent Aliya Madrassa have their own land, while for the Quomi Madrassa, it was about 82 percent (Figure 19). Proportion test has been done to test the difference of land ownership for Aliya and Quomi Madrassa, and the result concludes that Aliya Madrassas, generally, have more land (in ownership) than Quomi Madrassas (calculated Z value is 34.01).



Without land ownership means that the madrassa in question has no official land registration documents. Further investigation pointed out that most of the lands came from private donations; only a small part of the total land was purchased, as reported by the madrassa authorities. It is worth mentioning that, the amount of land under madrassa premises and campus are only confined to the main buildings and the open space adjacent to the madrassa building. It did not include all the land owned by the madrassas beyond its vicinity.

Construction and Buildings

The nature of construction of madrassa building was assessed through three types of (constructed) buildings, which are mud-built/*katcha* (not concrete), semi-*pucca* (semi concrete building) and brick-built and or buildings. In terms of the construction, more than half of the madrassa (54.6%) are brick built (Aliya 67.2% and Quomi 42%). Semi *pucca* building i.e., the building having brick-built or concrete and C.I sheets used for walls or roofs was found in 36 percent of madrassas with a remarkable difference between Aliya (24.6%) and Quomi Madrassa (48%). A small number of madrassa buildings were found to be mud-built (9%) with a slight variation between Aliya and Quomi Madrassa (Figure 20).



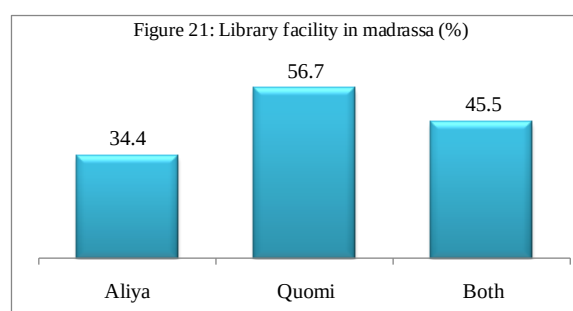
Estimates also showed that there is an average of 3 separate buildings in the madrassas; in Aliya Madrassas it was 3.3 and in Quomi Madrassas the same was 2.8 (Box 7). Within these buildings, there were an average of 5.4 rooms; Aliya Madrassa 6.7 and Quomi Madrassa 4.4. The size of the

Box 7: Madrassa building: salient features			
	Aliya	Quomi	Both
Number of building per madrassa	3.3	2.8	3.1
Number of rooms per madrassa	6.7	4.4	5.4
Amount of floor space (sq. feet)	12,489	7,495	10,013

main madrassa buildings, which was used for academic and official purposes, was 10,013 sq. feet on an average in terms of amount of floor space. It was found that the Quomi Madrassa floor space is lower (7,495 sq. feet) compared to that of Aliya Madrassa (12,489 sq. feet). Among the surveyed madrassas, most of them (46%), irrespective of Aliya and Quomi, have a two storied building followed by single storied building (29.7%). Three storied building has been found in only 15 percent of both the madrassas. A relatively more Quomi Madrassas have four, and above, storied building compared to its counterpart, Aliya Madrassas. The distinct feature of Quomi Madrassa is its residential facility. Almost all the students were living in the madrassa building and or accommodation facilities provided by the madrassas.

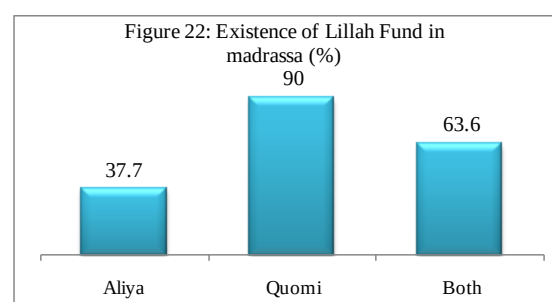
Library

Library was found in almost half of the madrassas (45%) with a variation between Aliya (34%) and Quomi (57%) [Figure 21]. A proportion test was used to examine the difference between the availability of library facilities in Aliya and Quomi Madrassas, and the result showed strong evidence that Quomi Madrassas have more library facility than Aliya Madrassa (calculated Z value is -47.874). In

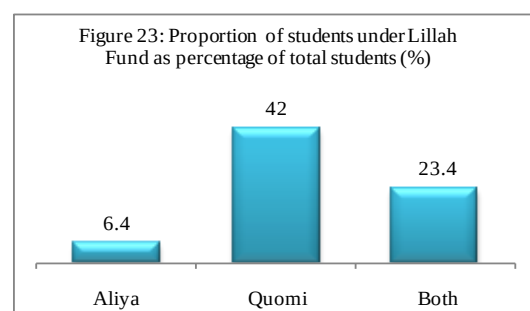


Quomi Madrassas, it was found that, in most cases, nearly all of the academic books were provided by the madrassa authority, because most of the students were from poor family and academic books, mostly in Arabic or Urdu, are expensive. The bulk of the books available in the library were mostly and purely religious books, i.e., especially on *Qur'an* and *hadiths* (32% in Aliya and 80% in Quomi Madrassa) and a few on Arabic, Persian, and Urdu literature (12%). Books on travelogue and autobiography of famous Muslim heroes and scholars were also found in the shelves (detail in Annex Table 37). Books on other subjects, like science and economics, were found mostly in the Aliya Madrassas (42%) compared to Quomi Madrassas (2%).

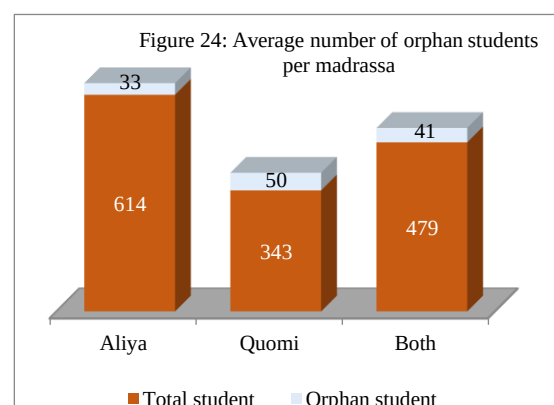
Some of the poor, orphan, and physically challenged children study in the madrassas. For such students, the madrassa provides food, lodging, and bears the cost of tuitions. *Lillah Fund* is a major source for financing such students and it is managed by the madrassas from the wealthy Muslims contributions or donations, mostly as *zakats* and *sadqas*. About 64 percent madrassas manage *Lillah Fund* to help the poor students and it was also identified that almost all the Quomi Madrassas (90%) and 38 percent of the Aliya Madrassas have this fund (Figure 22). In addition, proportion test shows sufficient evidence in favor of Quomi Madrassa (at 5% level of significance where, calculated Z value is -1.65).



The role of *Lillah Fund* is crucial for the poor and vulnerable madrassa students. *Lillah Fund* is also important in another sense where through this charity; the community shows its sense of ownership by collecting and managing the fund. Very often, Quomi Madrassa leaders claim that they are providing education for the poorest segment of the society and their roots are very strong, as all the madrassas are managed and financed by the community people. Estimates on the total number of students covered by *Lillah Fund* confirm that about 42 percent Quomi Madrassa and 6.4 percent in Aliya Madrassa students are studying under this assistantship or stipend (Figure 23). In Aliya Madrassas, contribution of *Lillah Fund* is shrinking as these madrassas are getting close to mainstream education system and, more importantly, are receiving financial assistances from the government.



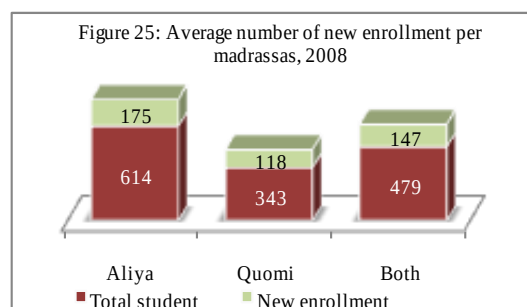
The Quomi Madrassas have access for the orphans and disabled children, thus providing an essential community service. Estimates reveal that there are 41 orphan students, in an average, with a difference between Aliya (33) and Quomi Madrassa (50). Mean test shows that there are more orphan students in Quomi Madrassa than in Aliya Madrassa at 10 percent level of significance, where calculated t value is -1.479. In Bangladesh, a common feature of privately managed orphanages is that it is commonly attached with madrassas, especially *Hafezia* and *Maktab* or *Nourani* Madrassas. It is also remarkable that in naming such madrassas, the very word ‘orphanage’ is clearly marked, indicating that a large number of orphan students are supported by the madrassa. This is a unique feature of a number of Quomi Madrassas. The proportion of such orphan students to total students is about 15 percent per Quomi Madrassa and about 5.5 percent per Aliya Madrassas.



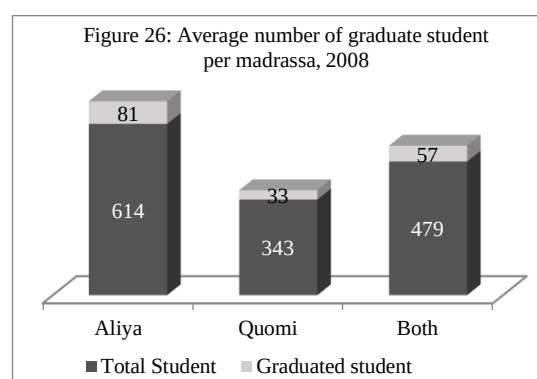
It is also a fact that, physically challenged students (with any type of disability) are also catered by the madrassas, in spite of the fact that most of them may not be having specialized teachers for caring such children. Considering disability by any term: visual, hearing, verbal, physical, mental and multiple, explores that more than 1 (1.5) student can be found in any madrassa, with a variation between Aliya (2.1) and Quomi Madrassa (0.7) [Annex Tables 42 and 43]. In reality however, there are no documents on number of such students enrolled in the madrassas. Therefore, the data and information on the students’ provided by the madrassa authorities are approximates. The students that were reported by the madrassas were found to be mainly visual and physically challenged children. Discussion with madrassa teachers, regarding the number of those students, pointed out that such students are generally few in number, especially in the Quomi Madrassas (Figure 25), than the findings suggests.

NEW ENROLMENTS AND GRADUATES

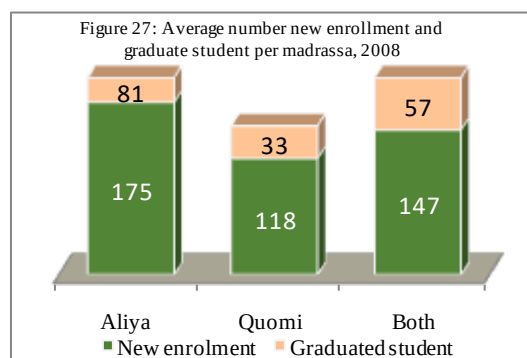
The estimates on new enrollment (2008) showed that in Aliya Madrassas, there were 175 new students out of 614, and the same was 118 (out of 343) in Quomi Madrassas (Figure 25). Result of mean test shows that number of new enrollments in Aliya Madrassa is higher than that of Quomi Madrassa (calculated t value is 2.68). This new enrollment was an average about 31 percent, of the total student enrolled in a madrassa, which is 28.5 percent and 34 percent in Aliya and Quomi Madrassas respectively.



On the other hand, in an Aliya Madrassa, an average of 81 students completed their education in 2008, while in a Quomi Madrassa it was 33 (Figure 26). The graduation rate was found low in Quomi Madrassas compared to that of Aliya Madrassas (Figure 27). Statistical test (mean test) also provided strong evidence that the number of graduate from Aliya Madrassa is higher than that from Quomi Madrassa (calculated t value is 4.282).



It was also remarkable to identify that the rate of new enrollment was higher than the completion rate in both types of madrassas. It is to be noted that, completion of education does not mean completion of highest degree; rather it implies the completion of highest grade from that particular madrassa. Comparison between enrollment rate and graduation rate in madrassa education system identified that graduated student is 39 percent of new enrolled in 2008. In Aliya Madrassas, the graduate student was 49 percent, of total new enrollment, and the same is 28 percent in Quomi Madrassas (Figure 27).



KEY FEATURES

- ✓ In 2008, there were 54,130 madrassas in Bangladesh with 14,518 Aliya Madrassas and 39,612 Quomi Madrassas
- ✓ A 86.4 percent madrassas are located in the rural areas and rest in the urban areas
- ✓ In 2008, there were 103,618 institutions (schools, colleges and universities) under the mainstream education system and 191,986 mosques in Bangladesh
- ✓ Number of madrassas rapidly increased from 4,330 in 1950 to 54,130 in 2008, where Quomi constitutes about three (3) times more than the Aliya Madrassas
- ✓ Numbers of mainstream schools (general education) were about twice that of the madrassas upto 2005
- ✓ The annual growth rate of madrassas, between 1951 to 2008, were 4.4 percent
- ✓ Madrassas grew at a rate of 4.65 percent, while mainstream schools at 3.04 percent during 1970 to 2005
- ✓ The growth in number of madrassa is closely linked to the military rules of President Ayub Khan (1958-1969), President Ziaur Rahman (1976-1981), and President H. M. Ershad (1982-1990)
- ✓ Madrassa-population ratio in 1970 was 1:7,467, which reduced to 1:2,721 by 2005. During the same period, mainstream educational institution-population ratio was 1:2,166, which also came down to 1:1,358 by 2005
- ✓ More than half of the madrassas have concrete buildings, over 36 percent semi-concrete (tin roof and or walls), and a little over 9 percent are mud built
- ✓ A 45.5 percent madrassas have library facilities. Quomi Madrassas (56.7%) have more library facility than the Aliya Madrassas (34.4%)
- ✓ A 42 percent of the Quomi Madrassas have fund for the extremely poor children (*Lillah Fund*), while only 6.4 percent of the Aliya Madrassas have such funds

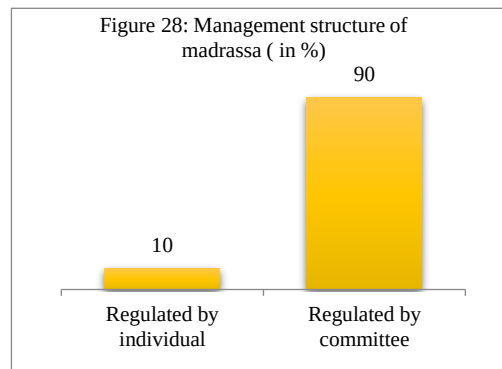
ADMINISTRATIVE MANAGEMENT OF MADRASSAS

To understand how madrassas are managed, it is important to look into the Managing Committees or Governing Bodies of the madrassas. During this study, the team looked into the managing committees, composition of members, their educational qualification, (madrassa) teachers' view of the committee members, management guideline policies (written or unwritten), and their political affiliation (if any). The terms Management Committee, Managing Committee, and Governing Body are used in this study interchangeably, because, these three terms are used by the respective madrassas teachers and officials.

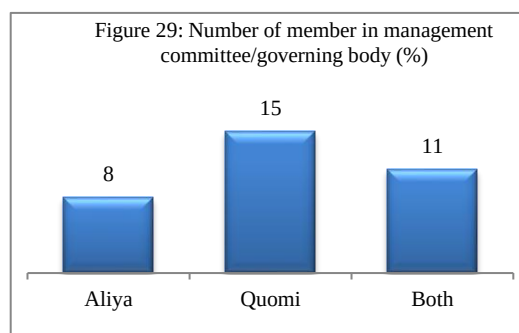
ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE: COMMITTEE, COMPOSITION, SATISFACTION, AND PROFILE

The government Madrassa Board made it mandatory for Aliya Madrassas to have a Management Committee so, the question on having a Managing Committee was skipped during this study. The study reveals that by and large, Quomi Madrassas were regulated by Management Committees too. Rather than under individual management, 90 percent of the Quomi Madrassas under study had Management Committees whereas; only 10 percent of the Quomi Madrassas are under individual management (Figure 28). It is interesting to observe that in spite of not

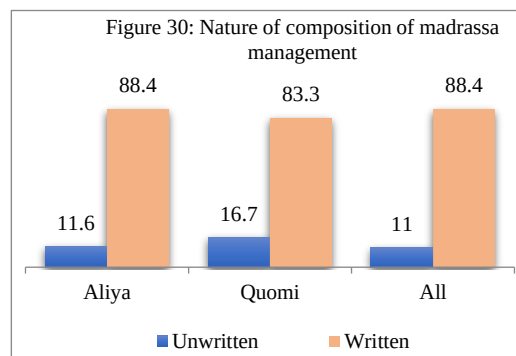
having any form of a guiding or controlling authority at the national level, most of these Quomi Madrassas have opted to manage their affairs through a committee rather than by individuals.



On an average, the Management Committees of Aliya Madrassa consist of eight members and in case of Quomi Madrassas the average was 15. The average for the two systems of madrassas is 11 members in the Management Committees or Governing Bodies. Since Quomi Madrassas are not controlled by the government Madrassa Board, they have the liberty to select or elect the committee members and decide its composition.

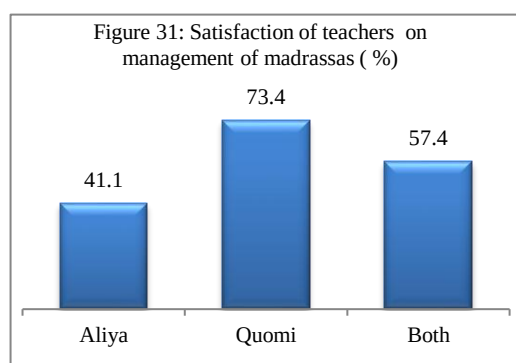


The study identified that 93 percent of Aliya Madrassas and 83 percent of Quomi Madrassas have written documents and guidelines on management. It appears that the administrative system base of madrasa management is organized, definite, and specific (Figure 30).



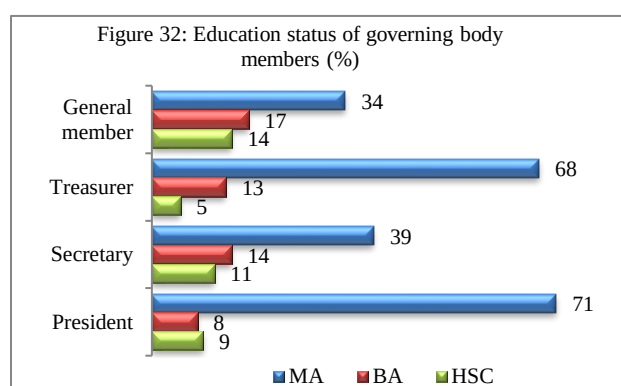
It was reported that 41 percent of Aliya Madrasa teachers and 73 percent of Quomi teachers are satisfied on the management of their madrasahs committees. This may indicate a higher extent of dependency of Quomi teachers on their management committees for receiving facilities and for their job security. In case of Aliya, the situation is different as rules and regulations of their jobs and facilities are not directly framed by their management committees. As such their dependency on committee is less and they can differ with such committees if they feel so (Figure 31).

Among the Quomi Madrasa apparently, there is a considerable level of satisfaction on the Management Committees, but about one-third teachers expressed their dissatisfaction. This dissatisfaction on the management is evident in their administrative and financial matters. There is an authoritarian practice and most of the decisions are taken by the influential member(s) of the committee, especially those involved in fund raising for the madrasa and hence are powerful in the committee.

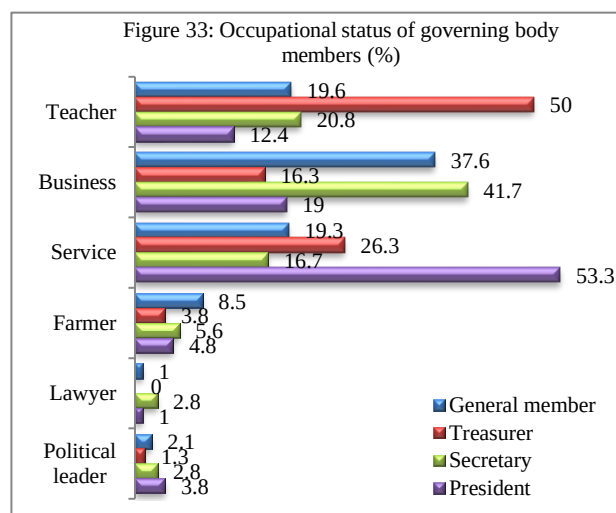


Dissatisfaction with the madrasa managing committees is mostly with teachers' appointments, creation of post for teaching staff, salary of teachers and staff, decision on promotion and incentive packages for teachers, accountability-transparency of fund management, and political involvement of madrasa (for details see Chapter 8 on Financial Management of Madrasah).

To understand the social and economic status of the governing body members or Management Committees, data and information on educational status and their occupation was collected. Educational profile of the members shows that an overwhelming majority of the members are highly educated. As regards to the education background of the Management Committees members, 71 percent of the Presidents, 39 percent of the Secretaries, and 68 percent of the Treasurers have post-graduate degrees. Amongst the general members of the Management Committees, 34 percent are post-graduates (Figure 32).



Analyzing the occupation of the Management Committee Presidents reveals that 53 percent of them are service-holders, 19 percent businessmen, and 12 percent teachers. Among the Vice-Presidents, 42 percent are businessmen, 21 percent teachers, and 17 percent service holders (Figure 33). Among the Secretaries, 50 percent are teachers, 26 percent service holders, and 16 percent belong to business community. It is a clear indication that the top position holders in the committees belong to fairly respectable sections in the society.



POLITICAL AFFILIATION OF MADRASSA MANAGEMENT

Political affiliation of the members of madrasa governing bodies or management committees was ascertained on three categories that is, individual members are: (1) member of a political party, or known to be a member, or claims to be a member (referred to as ‘member’); (2) non-member, but more or less participate in political activities of a political party; (3) supporters or sympathizers (Box 8). Political affiliations were analyzed for members of madrasa Management Committees in general, not by the position held in the committee and not by the type of madrasa. One of the key findings to note that about 91 percent members of the Madrasa Management Committees or Governing Bodies are affiliated with political parties – directly or indirectly.

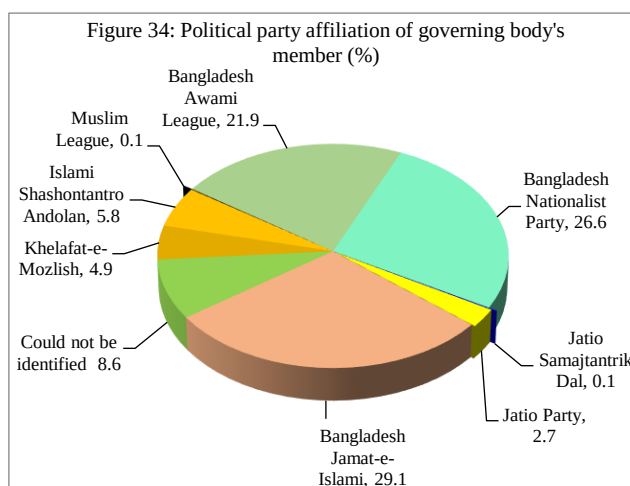
Box 8: Defining of “Political Affiliation”

Identifying political affiliation of an individual in the context of Bangladesh is complicated. However, political affiliation of the members of Madrasa Governing Bodies or Management Committees has been ascertained in the accompanying study using three following categories that individual member belong to:

1. Direct member of political party or known to be as a member or a declared member (in analysis referred to as “member”).
2. Non-member but more or less actively participates in political activities of a political party (this includes those who do not regularly participate in meetings and events organized by the party).
3. Supporter or sympathizer (this includes those who do not belong to the categories 1 and 2 however, they are informed and know the political developments or activities of the party and forms opinion. This opinion is based on a variety of ways, including personal and social interactions, or may be based on a person’s background, attitude, behavior, and lifestyle.)

It is to note that the political affiliation is identified by reporting of knowledgeable persons in the community, such as civil society members, member of political parties, activist, and social workers. It should be noted that, even after rigorous checks and cross-checks, it was not possible to ascertain political affiliation of 8.6 percent of the Managing Committee members (see Annex Table 52.A).

To understand the political affiliation of the Managing Committee/Governing Body members, all three categories are merged to denote “party affiliation”. The party affiliation shows that 29 percent of the madrassa management committee members are politically affiliated with Bangladesh Jamat-e-Islami followed by Bangladesh Nationalist Party (25%). It was revealed that more than half of the members are affiliated with these two political parties who are ideologically very close having political alliance. The dominance of Bangladesh Jamat-e-Islami and Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) as madrassa Management Committee members is understandable because the former one is an old political party, which was established on the basis of political Islam and patronizes madrassa education for obvious reasons. The later reintroduced religion based politics in Bangladesh. The founder of the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), who was also the former President of Bangladesh, approved the religion based politics in Bangladesh and abolished secularism from the Constitution. The establishment of Madrassa Education Board for Aliya Madrassa was also done by them. About 22 percent of madrassa Management Committee members were found affiliated with Bangladesh Awami League. As a political party, the Bangladesh Awami League has introduced and patronizes secular politics.

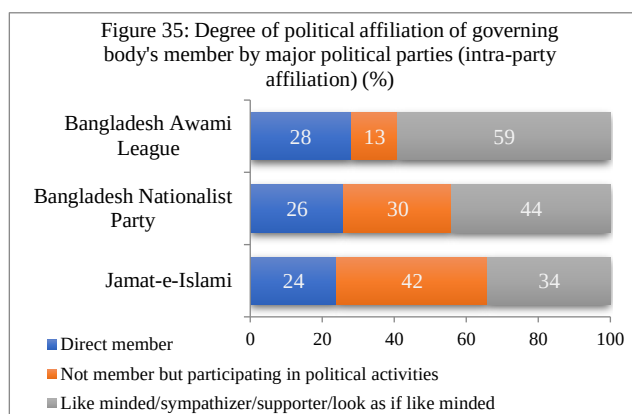


Islami Shashontantro Andolan and Khelafat-e-Mojlish, the two conservative Islamic political party established by the *Ulama* of Quomi Madrassas were found to have political party affiliation among about 11 percent Management Committee members. A total of 2.7 percent members are affiliated with Jatiyo Party. A small number of members were found as politically affiliated with Jatiyo Samaj Tantrik Dal (0.2%) and Muslim League (0.1%).

Despite the diversity in the political party affiliations of the madrassa Management Committee members, it is clear that most of the members are affiliated with religion based political parties in some form or another. If we categorize members into groups, we clearly see two distinct and diametrically opposite political groups on board: The religion based and secular political parties. The first group; religion based political party includes, Bangladesh Jamat-e-Islami, Islami Shashontantro Andolan, Khelafat-e-Mojlish, Muslim League, Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), and Jatiyo Party. On the hand, Bangladesh Awami League and Jatiyo Samaj Tantrik Dal are secular political parties. Political affiliation, according to such categorization, show that a predominant majority of the madrassa Management Committee members (70%) are affiliated with religion based political parties and 22 percent members are affiliated with secular political parties. It is to be noted that political affiliation of about 9 percent of the members of Madrassa Management Committee could not be identified.

Desegregation of political affiliation of Management Committee members with a particular political party by the level of participation in the political activities reveal that in the case of Jamat-e-Islam 24 percent of them are direct members, 42 percent are non-members but participate in the political activities of Jamat-e-Islami, and 34 percent are sympathizers or supporters of the party (Figure 35). Among the members affiliated with the politics of BNP, it was found that 26

percent are direct members, 30 percent are non members but participate in political activities, and 44 percent are sympathizers. Among the members affiliated with the Bangladesh Awami League politics, 28 percent are direct members of Awami League, 13 percent are not members but participate in their political activities, and 59 percent are supporters (Figure 35).

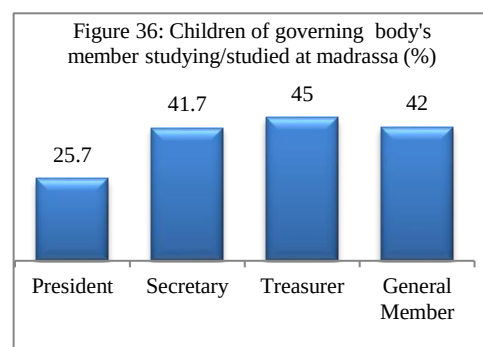


Affiliation with political parties by magnitude of participation indicates that a total of 23.3 percent of madrassa Management Committee members are “member of a particular political party,” while 27.6 percent and 40.1 percent members are “non-member, but more or less actively participate in political activities of specific political party” and “supporters or sympathizers” respectively (Annex Table 52A). Jamat-e-Islami’s appears to have the highest in respect of political affiliation. The next was BNP, in respect of membership in the governing bodies of madrassas, and Awami League was the third in this respect. Apart from this, 5.8 percent of the members of governing bodies or management committees belong to Islami Shasantantra Andolan, 4.9 percent belong to Khilafat-e-Majlish and 2.7 percent to Jatiya Party. The total picture shows that most of the members belong to political parties based on religion. Since BNP and Jamat-e-Islami have strong and common Islamic ideological roots, it is obvious that a staggering about 56 percent, of the committee members, is from BNP and Jamat-e-Islami.

A common charge against the madrassas is its involvement into politics and militant activities. The reason of such involvement into political and militant activities may stem from the management committees who are heavily involved in religious based politics of the country. Since, the majority of the management committee members are somehow involved in religious based politics, it is only a matter of time that these students would be the target of recruitment for political Islam no matter how strongly the students feel that they should not get involved in party politics (for details, see Chapters 13 and 14).

The underlying causes of involvement of political elements in management of madrassas appear to be two-fold. First, it seems that political persons find it as their status symbol to be a part in Management Committees of educational institutions; thus facilitating their access and influence, not to mention that it also increases their acceptability as a religious patron in the society. Secondly, they can and often use their position to influence the teachers and students to become followers of their political ideologies and affiliations.

Besides the socio-economic and political profile of madrassa management committee members, an attempt was undertaken to know the status of their children's education and it is revealed that a total of 26 percent of the Presidents, 42 percent of the Secretaries, and 45 percent of the treasurers send their children to madrassas (Figure 36). This clarifies that most of the top position holders send their children elsewhere for education other than to madrassas. This signifies that they have been associated with the madrassa and put effort on its expansion and nourishment probably to increase their social acceptance and prestige rather than solely on religious grounds. Crucially, they do not have sufficient confidence in madrassa education.



The above situation calls for review of the whole system, especially the administrative and management of the madrassas. Educationists, academicians, and committed social workers with the capacity of management skills should be inducted in such committees to make it more effective and instrumental vehicles for imparting a balanced education.

KEY FEATURES

- ✓ It is mandatory for every Aliya Madrassas to have Management Committees. While 90 percent of Quomi Madrassas have such a committee, the rest 10 percent are managed by individuals
- ✓ The Management Committees for Aliya and Quomi Madrassas consists of an average of 8 and 15 members respectively
- ✓ A 93 percent of Aliya and 83 percent Quomi Madrassas have written management policies
- ✓ In the Managing Committees, 71 percent of the Presidents, 39 percent of the Secretaries, and 68 percent of the Treasurers have post-graduation degrees
- ✓ Among those Presidents, 53 percent are service holders, 19 percent businessmen, and 12 percent teachers
- ✓ Almost all the members (91%) of madrassa Managing Committee participate in the politics in Bangladesh, either actively or through support. About 56 percent of the members of the Managing Committee are members of Jamat-e-Islami and Bangladesh Nationalist Party. This implies potential possibility of politicization of madrassa education in Bangladesh.
- ✓ A 74 percent of Presidents, 58 percent Secretaries, and 55 percent Treasurers of the Madrassa Management Committee (or Governing Body) do not send their children to madrassas implying they are fully aware about low utility and low market demand of madrassa graduates.

FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT OF MADRASSAS

PRELUDE

There are two distinct types of financial management structures that govern the Aliya and Quomi Madrassas. While Aliya Madrassas demonstrate a formal structure, managed, and regulated by a Board, Quomi Madrassas have informal financial structure without any regulatory mechanism or framework. The formal financial system, found in Aliya Madrassas is managed and regulated by the government through the Directorate of Secondary and Higher Education and the Aliya Madrassa Education Board. The financial strength of Aliya Madrassas is to the government allocations and, that is why, its financial structure improved over the years. In addition to government allocations, though there are provisions for Aliya Madrassas to receive individual donations, it has reduced over the years.

On the other hand, a distinguishing feature of Quomi Madrassa finances is that these madrassas are funded mainly from private donors, from its inception, and they are not dependent on government financial assistances²². Their reluctance towards government funds is why it is often called as *Kharizi* Madrassas²³. The process of fund collection and its utilization are managed by the respective madrassa authorities. There are no strict rules, regulations, and guidelines for fund collection. This *laissez faire* financial management of Quomi Madrassas came under intense media focus after a few Quomi Madrassa were found having militant and terrorist links.

This chapter deals with the financial management part of madrassas. The financial part is expected to clarify the expenditure pattern, sources of funding or income, contribution from the students, and fund management of the madrassas. This analysis on the finance of madrassas only focuses on the secondary level, and above, in Aliya and Quomi Madrassas. The administrative management concerns mainly with the structure and composition of Managing Committees of the madrassas (discussed in the previous Chapter).

²² At present Quomi Madrassa leaders are trying to get government recognition only. They think that they do not need government funding as they are capable to manage the finances.

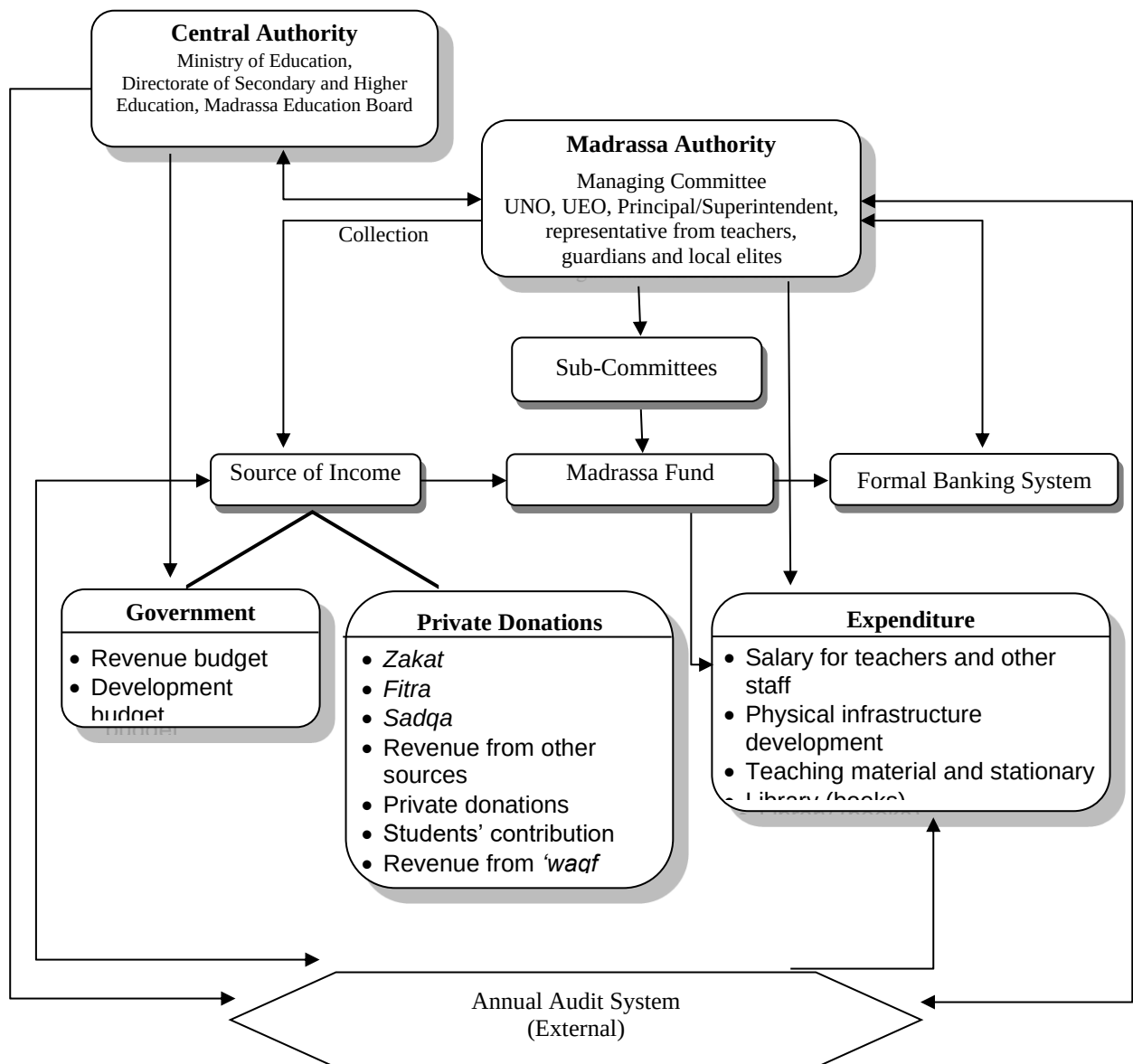
²³ The word *Kharizi* means alienations from mainstream or operated beyond the control of government. This term emerged during the British regime after the 1857 revolution with a view to save Islam and produce religious scholar 'Ulamas' to continue the realm of knowledge of Qur'an and *Hadiths* in the Indian sub-continent.

FINANCIAL STRUCTURE OF ALIYA MADRASSA

As Aliya and Quomi Madrassas are distinct from each other in many ways, discussions on financial management and structure are done separately on the basis of available information, documents, literature, and more importantly on the basis of the frequent discussions and visits with madrassa teachers and Management Committee members of both Aliya and Quomi Madrassas.

Aliya Madrassas have a well structured and regulated financial system in place. They are operated and managed through government regulated management structure where representatives from government, madrassa teachers, guardians, local elites, and head of the madrassa (principal/superintendent) constitute the Management Committee. The *Upazilla* Nirbahi Officer (UNO) is the President, by default, and the head of the madrassa who is the Secretary of the Managing Committee. A representative from *Upazilla* Education Office is the member of this Managing Committee. The head of the madrassa is usually the treasurer of the madrassa (Figure 37). The government regulates and monitors the whole financial mechanism of the madrassas through a central authority, which includes Ministry of Education (MoE), Directorate of Secondary and Higher Education, and Madrassa Education Board. The Ministry of Education is the supreme decision making authority of all Aliya Madrassas. On behalf of the ministry, Directorate of Secondary and Higher Education and Madrassa Education Board work as regulatory body. The Managing Committee can form various sub-committees in accordance with the regulations and each sub-committee is headed by a Managing Committee member. All issues related to the expenditures always have to be approved by the Managing Committee and only after approval from the relevant education office; the Aliya Madrassas can spend. The local education and UNO offices always monitor the development activities of the respective madrassas. All funds to the madrassas have to go through the formal banking system and all the transactions are also made through those banks only. Money from the bank can only be withdrawn by joint signatures of head of the madrassa and any one of either the Vice-President or one of committee members.

Figure 37: Financial management of Aliya Madrassas



Outside the (Aliya) madrassa authority, there is an external monitoring system in place to ensure the transparency of the financial system. The Directorate of Secondary and Higher Education appoints an external firm to audit the financial management of the respective madrassas and it submits an audit report to the Directorate of Secondary and Higher Education, Madrassa Education Board, and madrassa authority. This is done to deter any financial irregularities, and if there are any irregularities identified by the auditors, the authority can take necessary actions, which can be punitive.

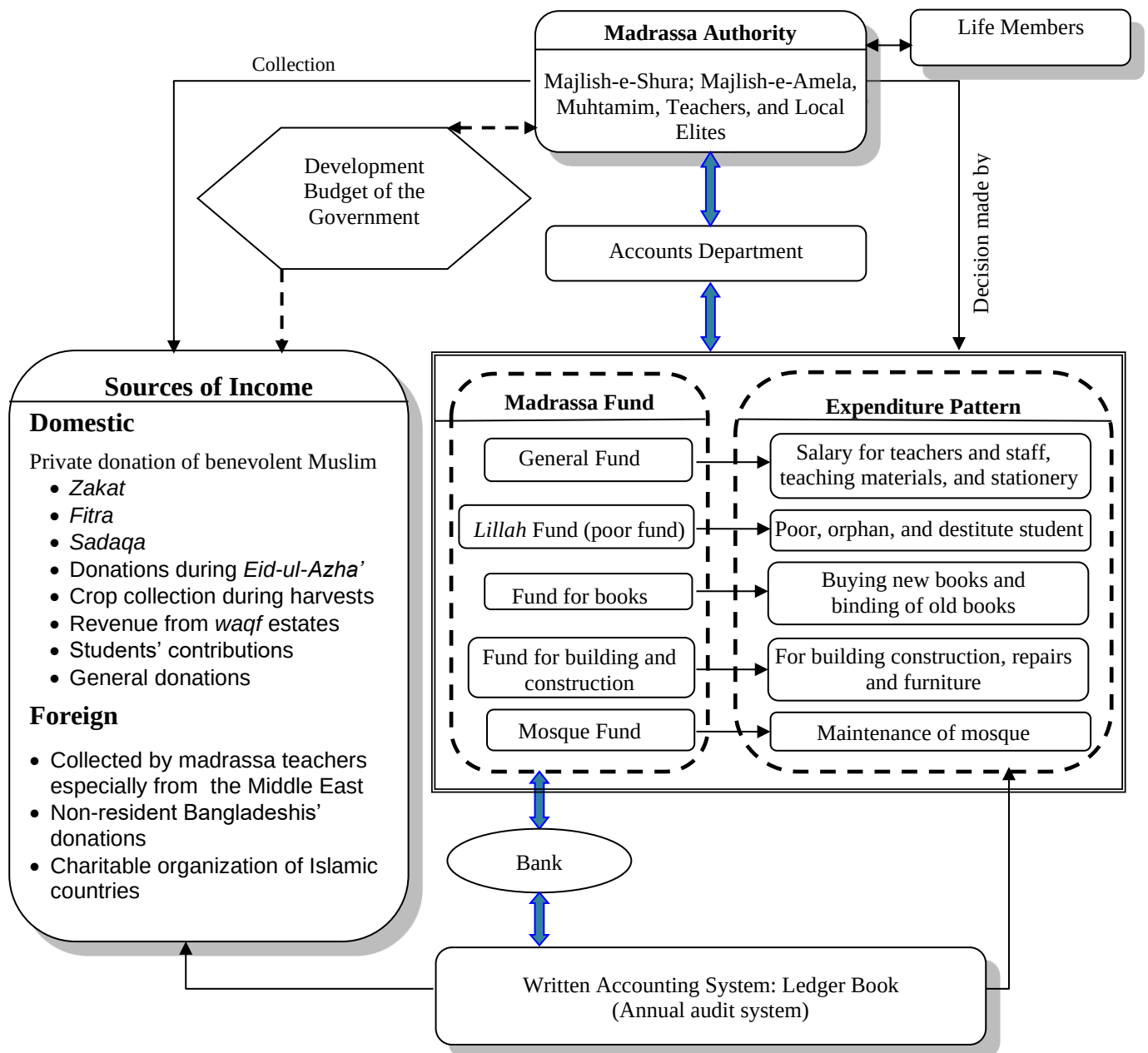
Aliya Madrassas receive financial allocations from both the revenue and development budgets of the government. Besides the government allocations, the madrassas are authorized to receive donations from individuals in the form of (religious) charity from benevolent Muslims. There is also a *lillah* fund for madrassas to provide accommodation and food for the poor, vulnerable, and orphan students. The members of the Managing Committee, teachers, and students all volunteer in collecting donations. A part of finance also comes from students through admission and registration, examination, and other fees.

The total fund of the madrassas is spend mainly on salaries for teachers and other staffs, developing physical infrastructure, buying furniture, teaching materials, and stationeries. Madrassas that are approved to receive “Monthly Payment Order (MPO)”, the salary of the teachers and staff are deposited in a designated bank account. The Managing Committee is responsible to disburse the salary and other financial benefits of the teachers and staff, including is those who are not in the government MPO.

FINANCIAL STRUCTURE OF QUOMI MADRASSAS

Basically Quomi Madrassas are different from other education institutions for its financial independence from government regulations and are dependent on private donations and charities. Moreover, ‘free of cost education’ is one of its critical features. The community appreciates its contribution towards education of the poors and destitutes where there are no government run schools with secular education. Every Quomi Madrassa has a Managing Committee, known as “*Majlish-e-Shura*” and also has a small Executive Committee, to deal with financial matters, called “*Majlish-e-Amela*” consisting of a few members. The head of the madrassa, teachers, and local elites are the members of its Managing Committee. The President of the Managing Committee and the head of the madrassa (*Muhtamim*) are the key persons on financial matters. However, all the decisions are made by the Executive Committee on these matters however; it has to be ratified by the Managing Committee. This committee is also responsible for collecting donations to run the madrassa and, that is why, the persons representing this committee are considered powerful; or usually selected from the powerful elites of the community.

Figure 38: Financial management in Quomi Madrassas



Note: The above figure and the analyses on the financial management of Quomi Madrassa were prepared after rigorous discussions with madrassa teachers, documents provided by madrassa authorities, and literature reviews.

Besides the Managing Committees, there is a body of a large number of ‘Life Members’, where the preferable number of such body is 313. It has been reported that 313 life members is fixed in remembrance of the first battle of Islam known as “The Battle of *Badar*”, where 313 Muslim soldiers who fought against the *Quraish* (tribe) of Mecca. The life members are the patrons and regularly contribute to the madrassa. It was also found that, a minimum amount of money has to be donated annually by the members and should be strictly religious.

The sources of finance in madrassas can be divided into two: domestic and foreign sources. Under these two broad categories there are government funds and private donations. Apart from the government sources that come mainly from the budget allocations the donations from benevolent Muslims come in the form of *zakat*, *fitra*, *sadqa*. Also donations during holy *Eid-ul-Azha*, income from *waqf* estates or properties, crops or fruits produced in the lands, and

students’ fees and living costs are its main sources of madrassa income. Private donations are collected by the madrassa people and they provide a receipt for the donations (Box 9).

Box 9: A Donation receipt form of a Quomi Madrassa

المدرسة القاسمية بيت الاحسان، قومي مدرسة و شيشوسدن
شيميه، رنينغر، نوغان، بنغلاديش
আল-মাদরাসাতুল কাসেমিয়া বায়তুল ইহসান, কাওমী মাদ্রাসা ও শিশু সদন
সাং-সিমবা, পোষ্ট ও উপজেলা- রাণীনগর, জেলা-নওগাঁ।
Al-MADRASHATUL QUASEMIYA BAYTUL AHSAN QAUMI MADRASHA & SHISU SADON
VILL-SHIMBA, P.O. & UPZILLA RANINAGAR, DIST. NAOGAON.

কম্বিক নং/5801 বহি নং তারিখ/Date/20.09.09
নাম/Name: চক্‌লক এনয়েট ডয়লার নর, নাগাওন
ঠিকানা/Address: চক্‌লক এনয়েট ডয়লার নর, নাগাওন
বাবাদ/Donation: 500/-
পরিমাণ/Amount: Five hundred only
কথায়/In words: 500/-

মহতামিম/Principal: المدبر সি.ক. المحصل
Receipt form of a Quomi Madrassa, which is used against financial donations from individual. This was collected by one of the authors during an interview with one of the madrassa management committee members.

The foreign sources include the donations from non-resident Bangladeshis, living in different countries of the Europe, in the Middle East, and the rich Muslim of the Middle Eastern countries. During the holy month of Ramadan and the Hajj, a good number of *ulamas*, who are closely associated with madrassas, visit the Middle East and other countries, especially the United Kingdom. They meet expatriate Bangladeshis and rich Muslims and appeal for funding madrassas and mosques. Though these visits to foreign countries are open secret, most madrassa authorities are tight lipped regarding the funding and its sources.

There are five types of funds in the madrassas. The general fund, *lillah* (poor) fund, fund for books, fund for construction or development of building and mosques (if there is a madrassa attached to the mosque). The money for general fund comes from various sources of contributions from the community, regular contributions from individuals, income from students in the form of admission, tuition, and other type of fees or contributions, income from *waqf* property like land, shops, or houses. The monies from this fund are used for a number of purposes like salary (for teachers and other staff), rent, utility bills, purchase of teaching materials and stationeries, dearness allowances, communication and conveyances, and others. The other name of *lillah* fund is ‘*Goraba* fund’ and this fund can be used only for poor students and is not be used for other purposes. *Lillah* funds come from *zakat*, *fitra*, *mannat*, and the donations are specifically for the poor students. The existence of a mosque in the madrassa premise (or vice-e-versa) is common, and in many places, these mosques are built and managed under the control of the madrassa authority. In these cases, the madrassa authority also allocates a portion of the fund for maintenance of the mosque and mostly it comes from the community. Donations from the individuals and community are also collected in special times of necessity for the madrassa or mosque.

It is argued that Quomi Madrassas do not receive any financial assistance from the government directly, but a number of madrassas receive financial assistances from development budget through local government representatives and the Members of Parliament (MP) of that area. There is a provision of block grants in the national budget under Annual Development Plan (ADP) that is spent through local government and Members of Parliament (MP). It was found that the MPs allocate funds for developing infrastructure of these madrassas. This financial assistance is either in cash or in kind (food for example).

It was observed that private donations mostly come from the sources like *zakat*, *fitra*, *sadaqa* and *mannat* and it can only be used for poor, orphans, and destitute students. It is a strict religious code that only the poor are entitled for this fund. It was astonishing to unearth that in reality, when madrassas desperately need money, for other emergency purposes, the authority spends and they have evolved an ingenious way. For this, the madrassa authority gives a certain amount from this fund to some eligible students (poor) in a condition that the student have to immediately refund or return this money (as donation back to the madrassa, in the form of *hadiya* (gift). The madrassa can then use this money for the emergency or urgent purpose.

Though there is no formal regulatory authority to look into the financial system of Quomi Madrassa, the Managing Committee forms a separate committee to audit the whole financial transactions to ensure transparency. But in large madrassas, professional audit firms are appointed to check the regularity of financial transactions. Appointment of professional audit firms is done to maintain a minimum level of accountability and transparency, for the community and donors. Usually, a booklet on annual income and expenditure is prepared by the madrassa, which contains the audit report. This booklet is purposefully distributed to attract new students as well as donations (Box 10).

In all Quomi Madrassas, a separate section deals with accounts where an accountant maintains all incomes and expenditure in a ledger book. It was also ascertained that most of the madrassas keep formal bank accounts for safe and formal transactions.

Box 10: Booklet on annual income and expenditure

ইসলাম নগর আনওয়ারুল উলুম মাদ্রাসা (কৃষ্ণপুর)

তারিখ: ৪ রাহিগা, মহাদেবপুর, নওগাঁ।
একশ (মাতাজীহাটের পশ্চিমে ১ কিলোমিটার)

বার্ষিক রিপোর্ট

২০০৮ ইং সালের সেপ্টেম্বর হইতে
২০০৯ ইং সালের আগস্ট পর্যন্ত
আয় ব্যয়ের রিপোর্ট

প্রকাশনাঃ—
অত্র মাদ্রাসার উর্দ্ধতন কমিটির পক্ষে
(মোঃ রইছ উদ্দিন মন্ডল)
সেক্রেটারী অত্র মাদ্রাসা।

ইসলাম নগর আনওয়ারুল উলুম মাদ্রাসা (কৃষ্ণপুর)

তারিখ: ৪ রাহিগা, মহাদেবপুর, নওগাঁ
এর পক্ষ হইতে ধর্মপ্রাণ মুসলমান ভাইদের প্রতি

আকুল আবেদন

বোনাদারনে ইসলাম,
আজ্ঞাশাসনু আইনুমান। অত্র মাদ্রাসাটি মরহুম আলহাজ্ব হযরত
মাওঃ কলিফুল্লাহ সাহেব (রাঃ) প্রতিষ্ঠাতা, এছাড়াও অন্যান্য
বুজুর্গানে বীদেব তত্ত্ব দৃষ্টির উপর ভিত্তি করে একশানা বীদে
প্রতিষ্ঠান স্থাপিত হয়ে বুজুর্গানে বীদেব পরামর্শ অনুযায়ী এ
যাবত বীদেব খেদমত করিয়া আসিতেছে। আত্মাধীনহমতে ও
আপনাদের নেক দোওয়ার বরকতে বর্তমানে ১১ জন ব্রাহ্মণ
প্রাথমিক ও মোলাজিমিন দ্বারা মোজব সহ প্রায় ৩৫০ জন
ছাত্র/ছাত্রী বাংলা ১ম শ্রেণী হইতে ৭ম শ্রেণী পর্যন্ত এবং
নূরগী কাদনা হইতে জামাতে পাঠম পর্যন্ত শিক্ষা নেওয়া
হইতেছে এবং তন্মধ্যে ৮০ থেকে ৯০জন গরীব ছাত্রকে
মাদ্রাসার পক্ষ হইতে খাদ্য, পড়া ও প্রয়োজনীয় গুণম
পত্রের ব্যবস্থা করা হয়। কিন্তু বর্তমানে মাদ্রাসার খরচগুলি
মেসে ও ওয়ালা প্রাচীরের খুবই প্রয়োজন, এছাড়া বর্তমানে ৮১
কিট নতুন একটি বিল্ডিং এর নির্মাণ কাজ চলিতেছে। যাহাতে
প্রায় ৮,০০,০০০/- টাকা প্রয়োজন।

অতএব, ধর্মপ্রাণ মুসলমান ভাইদের খেদমতে
আরম্ভ করছি যে, প্রতি বৎসরের ন্যায় একবার আপনাদের
মৌসুমী চাঁদা, জাকাত, ফেরা ও কোরবানীর চান্দা হইতে
এই বীদেব মাদ্রাসার জন্য দান করতঃ হৃদকায় জারিয়ার
হাওয়ায় হাসিল করিবেন।

নিবেদক
কমিটির পক্ষে
মোঃ রইছ উদ্দিন মন্ডল
সেক্রেটারী অত্র মাদ্রাসা।

আয়/ব্যয়ের বার্ষিক রিপোর্ট

লিঙ্গার ফান্ডের জমা

১। যাকাত/ফেরা আদায়	৯৩,৭০৪/-
২। কুরবানীর চান্দা বিক্রয় আদায়	২৮,৫৫৫/-
৩। প্রতিম খানার দিল উল্লোহান	১,১৮,০০০/-
৪। মাদ্রাস, কাফেরা ব্যবস	২,২০০/-
মোট-	২,৪২,৫৫৯/-

লিঙ্গার ফান্ডের খরচ

১। চাল ভর	১,১৭,৪১০/-
২। বেজি বাজার	৫৯,৭০১/-
৩। বিদ্যুৎ বিল	৯,২৪৩/-
৪। বাকস ফেরা আদায়ী খরচ	৫,৯৮০/-
৫। প্রতিম বিল উল্লোহান, ভানবির, চাকা যাকাত/ফেরা প্রায়ঃ বিক্রি খরচ-	২৩,৭২০/-
৬। গরীব ছাত্রের খাবার ও চান্দা দান	৩,১৪০/-
মোট-	২,২৪,৫৯৪/-

সাধারণ ফান্ডের আয়

১। আদায় আদায়ী খান বিক্রয়	৬০,৯২৬/-
২। ২০০৮ইং সনের জমাকৃত ইরি খান বিক্রয়	৬৮,৭৫০/-
৩। ২০০৯ইং সনের ইরি খান বিক্রয়	১,০১,২৫৮/-
৪। জমির খান বাবদ নাসদ টাকা	৮৯,৩৪৪/-
৫। নাসদ থেকে টাকা আদায়	৮১,৯৭৫/-
৬। পুরুর ইজারা বাবদ টাকা	৯,০০০/-
৭। ইটিপি পরিদপ পক্ষে সিনেট বাবদ	৩,৫০০/-
৮। ছাত্র বাবদ মরহুম ইউসুফ নিজামির দান	৯৫,০০০/-
৯। মহল্লা জোবাইলার বাবদ সিনেটের ছন্দ দান	২০,০০০/-
১০। বৎসরীক ছাত্রের মোট আয়	১৫,৮৪০/-
মোট-	৫,৪৫,৫৯৪/-

সাধারণ ফান্ডের খরচ

১। ছাত্র ও স্টাফের বাবদ খরচ	২,৬৫,৯৪০/-
২। ওয়ালাপদের বেতন পরিশোধ	২,৪৯,৬০০/-
৩। ছাত্রদের মোট খরচ	৪৪,৬৭৯/-
৪। আদায় ইরি আদায়ী খরচ	৯,৭২৪/-
৫। মিটিং, টিউবওয়েলের সেসেভার ও অ্যান্ডার খরচ কুল	১৭,৮৭৭/-
মোট-	৫,৮৭,৮২০/-

উত্তর ফান্ডের মোট

সাধারণ ফান্ডের মোট আয়	৫,৪৫,৫৯৪/-
লিঙ্গার ফান্ডের মোট আয়	২,৪২,৫৫৯/-
মোট-	৭,৮৮,০৫২/-

সাধারণ ফান্ডের মোট ব্যয়

সাধারণ ফান্ডের মোট ব্যয়	৫,৮৭,৮২০/-
লিঙ্গার ফান্ডের মোট ব্যয়	২,৪৪,৫৯৪/-
মোট-	৮,৩২,৪১৪/-

উত্তর ফান্ডের সর্বমোট ব্যয়

উত্তর ফান্ডের সর্বমোট আয়	৭,৮৮,০৫২/-
অতিরিক্ত ব্যয়	২৪,৬৩৮/-

ANNUAL EXPENDITURES OF MADRASAS

Data and information were collected on expenditures, of madrasa by types, for a full financial year (July 2007-June 2008 or July 2006-June 2007), from both Aliya and Quomi Madrassas located in rural and urban areas. Documents on annual expenditures were taken into account to ensure the authenticity of data and information. We consider it to be the best approximation of the income and expenditure of those madrassas. It is further to be kept in mind that the data on annual expenditure and income were collected from the post primary level madrassas.

In both Aliya and Quomi Madrassas, the heads of expenditures are almost similar. This suggests that despite the differences between these two types of madrassas, it spends on similar heads or items that are essential for running a madrasa. The most common heads of expenditures are: *Salaries; purchase of books, stationeries construction and repairing of building; expenditures on exams; cost of accommodation and food for students and teachers; utility bills; loan repayments (if any); clothes for the poor students; entertainment costs for official purposes; and travel and dearness allowances (TA/DA) for official visits.* Expenditures related to accommodation, food, and clothing for students were reported by a small number of Aliya Madrassas, because of few residential facilities for students (11%) and shortage of *lillah* fund (37.7%). On the contrary, in Quomi Madrassas, the least expenditures are made on items like clothing and accommodations for students, loan repayments, and travel and dearness allowances (Annex Table 56).

Though the total amount of expenditure for a madrasa varies, from one to the other, estimates show that an average Aliya Madrasa spends Tk. 2.3 million annually, which is Tk. 2.0 million for a Quomi Madrasa (Table 11). The following expenditure was made during 2007-08.

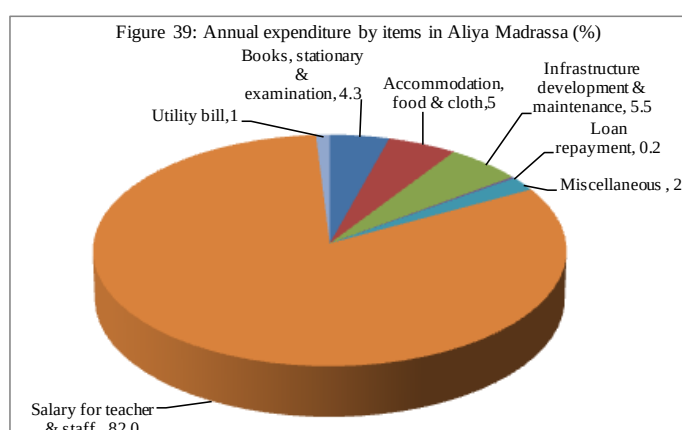
Table 11: Annual expenditure of the sample madrassas (by items in taka)

Heads of expenditures	Amount of expenditure (Tk.)	
	Aliya Madrasa	Quomi Madrasa
Salaries for teachers and staffs	1,927,925	535,034
Purchasing of books	17,547	22,856
Examination expenses	63,822	16,038
Stationeries	21,276	11,003
Clothing/ dresses	2,448	85478
Foods	96,908	542,568
Accommodations	18,942	106,767
Infrastructure development and maintenance	129,360	171,892
Utility bills (electricity, gas, and telephone)	19,871	88,144
Loan repayments	5,138	63,571
Official entertainments	10,799	24,754
TA/DA	16,260	9,339
Miscellaneous	19,356	329,151
Total expenditure	2,349,650	2,006,593
Maximum expenditure	38,557,000	19,410,808
Minimum expenditure	43,042	108,000
Total number of students/madrasa	614	344
Per capita expenditure	3,827	5,833

The required amount to meet the expenditure for a madrasa is however, usually much higher than the amount expended in a year. The authorities of Aliya and Quomi Madrassas informed us that to run a madrasa smoothly, generally more funds are needed. The range of annual expenditure in the sample Aliya Madrasa shows that the highest annual expenditure was Tk. 38.55 million and the lowest was Tk. 43,000.

For the sample Quomi Madrassas, the highest and the lowest annual expenditures were Tk.19.4 million and Tk. 108,000 respectively (Table 11). It is important to note here that, the estimates on annual expenditure per madrasa do not represent an average for every year; rather the estimate was made for the years 2006-07 and 2007-2008.

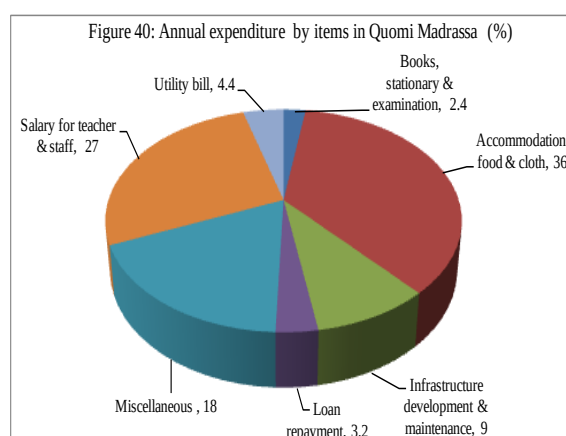
The findings show that the highest amount of money was spent for the salary of the teachers and other staff in Aliya Madrassas (82%) whereas, the highest amount of expenditure was made for accommodation, food, and clothing (36%) in Quomi Madrassas. The highest expenditure on above items in Quomi Madrassas implies that such types of madrassas are more pro-poor or attractive for the poor. The second highest head of expenditure in Aliya Madrasa is infrastructure development and maintenance (5.5%) followed by accommodation and food



(5%). In Quomi Madrassas, salary for teacher and staff occupies the second highest position (27%). A 4.3 percent was spent for purchasing books, stationeries, and for examinations in Aliya Madrassas. The expenditure for infrastructure development and maintenance is about 9 percent of the total expenditure, followed by purchase of books and stationeries (2.4%) in Quomi Madrassas. In Aliya Madrassas, a small amount of money is used for utility bill (1%) and loan repayment (0.2%) while, about 4.4 percent and 3.2 percent of the total expenditure was made for utility bills and loan repayments by Quomi Madrassas.

Therefore, it can be said that the highest amount of expenditure in Aliya Madrassa was made for salaries (82%), which is significantly higher compared to that of Quomi Madrassas (27%). It also implies that expenditure for students is higher in Quomi Madrassas when it was identified that about 40 percent of total expenditure was made for students and, it proves that Quomi Madrassas are more focused on students, especially the poor.

The salaries for teachers and other staff are of three different types: basic salary, gross salary, and take home salary. The basic salary is only the salary and gross salary includes the salary and some other admissible benefits like house rent, medical allowances, transport allowances and others. Take home salary refers to the amount which is paid to the employee after any deductible amounts like tax, provident fund, and others. While collecting data and information on salaries, it was found that in Aliya Madrassas, there is a pay scale as per the national pay scale that was fixed by the government. From the Aliya Madrassas, information on *take home salary* could not be collected because of their unwillingness to disclose the amount.



In the Quomi Madrassas, there is no uniform pay structure and it does not distinguish between basic and gross salaries. According to most of the Quomi Madrassa authorities, *take home salary* is 'the' salary, as there are no provisions for basic and gross salaries. The amount of salary of Quomi Madrassa teachers and staffs are determined by the Managing Committee. The madrassa authorities have all the discretionary power and the salary necessarily does not depend on the state of finances of the respective madrassa. Discussions with Quomi Madrassa teachers indicate that there is some dissatisfaction over their salary, mostly in the large madrassas.

The designations of teachers in Aliya Madrassas were found according to the salary structures as per the Directorate of Secondary and Higher Education structure. The designations of teachers of Quomi Madrassas were not comparable with any designation from the formal (madrassa) teaching cadre. In Aliya Madrassas, the designated positions of the teachers are: Principal, Vice-Principal, Superintendent, Assistant Superintendent, Assistant Professor, Lecturer, Assistant Teacher, Junior Teacher, Assistant *Maulavi* and others (Table 12). The head of the Alim, Fazil, and Kamil madrassas are known as Principal. For Dakhil Madrassas, the Superintendent is the head of the madrassa. Along with the teaching staff, there are also provisions for Assistant Librarian, clerks, and other support staffs.

On the other hand, the highest position for a teacher in Quomi Madrassa is known as *Muhtamim*, or the head of the madrassa. Under the *Muhtamim*, there are senior teachers (known as senior *Mufti*, *Muhaddis*, and *Mufassir*) and assistant teachers (junior *Mufti*, *Muhaddis*, *Mufassir* and *Hafiz*). There is also a position, *Nazim-e-Talimat*, responsible for planning, management, and supervision of the academic affairs of the madrassa and is recognized as one of the most significant teachers in the madrassa. Moreover, there is a Deputy *Muhtamim* (*Nayeb-e- Muhtamims*) in the Quomi Madrassas.

The salary structures of Aliya Madrassa teachers and other staffs show that there is no significant difference between basic and gross salary of madrassa teachers and staffs (Table 12). This is because that almost all Aliya Madrassas are non-government and most of them are receiving salary subvention under the MPO. Under MPO, teachers and staffs are getting their basic salary with a small allocation for housing and medical allowances. On the other hand, the madrassas that are not under the MPO, there is always a possibility that the gross salary is lower than the basic salary that is determined by the government. The second feature of the salary structure is that the salary for the head of the madrassas increases with the highest class taught of the madrassa and provision of teachers in different designation varies with the level of madrassa (i.e., there is no provision of Associate Professor or Assistant Professor in *Alim* Madrassa).

Since not all the Aliya Madrassas are included in the MPO, the basic salary structure was calculated to determine the real picture of the teacher and staff salaries. Against this backdrop, data were collected on the gross salaries from sample Aliya Madrassas, and on the basis of the data, the average gross salaries were determined. The calculations show that the amount of gross salary per month for Aliya teachers ranges from Tk. 2,893 to Tk. 15,145.

The highest gross salary per month was Tk. 15,145 for the Principal of *Kamil* Madrassas and the lowest, Tk.2,893, for class IV employees. The Principal of *Fazil* and *Alim* Madrassas received Tk.12,894 and Tk. 10,663 per month as gross salary respectively. In the *Alim* and above *Alim*, level madrassas (higher secondary), Lecturers and Assistant Professors, received Tk. 7,149 and Tk. 10,569 as gross salary per month respectively. The gross salary for the head of *Dakhil* Madrassas (Superintendent) is Tk. 6,489 per month, which is lower than their basic salary (Tk. 6,800) that was determined by the government. The Assistant Teachers of *Dakhil* Madrassas, who constitutes the largest part of teachers, draw Tk. 4,914. The lowest salary (Tk. 3,647) for a teacher is only for Junior *Maulavis* and Junior Teachers.

Table 12: Salary structure of Aliya Madrassa teacher (monthly)

Designation	Basic salary (Tk)	Gross salary (Tk)
Principal (<i>Kamil</i> Madrassa)	15,000	15,145
Vice-Principal (<i>Kamil</i> Madrassa)	13,750	12,114
Principal (<i>Fazil</i> Madrassa)	13,750	12,894
Vice-Principal (<i>Fazil</i> Madrassa)	11,000	11,941
Principal (<i>Alim</i> Madrassa)	9,000	10,663
Vice-Principal (<i>Alim</i> Madrassa)	6,800	10,126
Assistant Professor	11,000	10,569
Lecturer	6,800	7,149
Superintendent (<i>Dakhil</i> Madrassa)	6,800	6,489
Assistant Superintendent	5,100	5,354
Assistant Teacher	5,100	4,914
Assistant <i>Maulavi</i>	4,100	4,091
Junior <i>Maulavi</i>	3,000	3,647
Junior Teacher	3,000	3,647
Assistant Librarian	5,100	-
Class III Employee	3,000	3,530
Class IV Employee	2,400	2,893

Note: Information regarding basic salary structure for non-government Aliya Madrassas was provided by the Directorate of Secondary and Higher Education, Ministry of Education as per the national pay scale 2005. Government madrassas (only three) is excluded in the analyses of salary structure. The amount of gross salary has been calculated on the basis of data collected on gross salary from the sample Aliya Madrassas.

It was discovered that there is no uniform and consistent salary package or structure for the Quomi Madrassa teachers and staffs. Rather, there is a wide range of salaries for the teachers and staffs and the maximum and minimum amount of salary given for them varied significantly (Table 13). The amount as minimum salaries, for different positions, showed that the teachers and staffs are paid a negligible amount, suggesting that they may really be teaching as volunteers. Findings also show that the highest amount of salary per month is Tk. 18,000 and the lowest salary is Tk. 500 in Quomi Madrassas.

Table 13: Salary structure of Quomi Madrassa teachers and staffs

Designation	Take home salary (Tk.)		
	Maximum	Minimum	Average
Muhtamim of <i>Daorah</i> madrassa (<i>Kamil</i> Madrassa)	18,000	2,000	8,500
Deputy Muhtamim of <i>Daorah</i> madrassa (<i>Kamil</i> Madrassa)	15,000	1,800	6,011
Muhtamim of <i>Fazilat</i> (<i>Mishkat</i>) madrassa (<i>Fazil</i> Madrassa)	10,000	6,000	7,667
Deputy Muhtamim of <i>Fazilat</i> (<i>Meshkat</i>) madrassa (<i>Fazil</i> Madrassa)	4,500	4,200	4,400
Muhtamim of Shar-e- Bikaya madrassa (<i>Alim</i> Madrassa)	6,100	2,000	4,533
Deputy Muhtamim of Shar-e- Bikaya madrassa (<i>Alim</i> Madrassa)	5,000	3,700	4,325
Muhtamim of Shar-e- Jami madrassa (<i>Dakhil</i> Madrassa)	6,000	2,200	3,643
Deputy Muhtamim of Shar-e- Jami madrassa (<i>Dakhil</i> Madrassa)	5,000	2,300	3,500
Senior teacher	16,000	400	3,799
Teacher	8,000	200	3,052

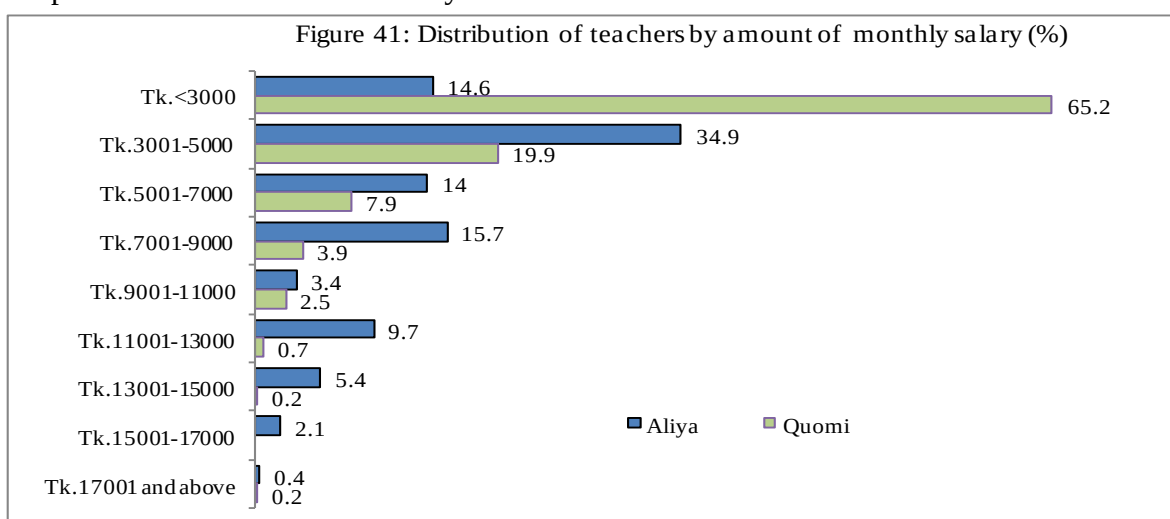
Teacher (General)	7,000	1,000	2,668
Office clerk	5,000	1,300	2,018
Office attendant	3,100	500	1,732
Cook	2,700	500	1,708

Note: *Muhtamim* refers to the head or of the madrassa

The average salary per month ranges from Tk. 1,708 to Tk. 8,500 for Quomi Madrassa teachers and other staffs. The average salary was Tk. 8,500 for *Muhtamim* of *Daorah* madrassas where the maximum salary was Tk. 18,000 and the minimum salary, Tk. 2,000. It was revealed that higher the level of the madrassa the higher is the salary of the head of that madrassa (Table 13). The Senior Teachers (teaching for more than 10 years) received Tk. 3,799 per month with a range varying from Tk. 400 to Tk. 16,000. Normally, an average teacher at the entry level draws Tk. 3,052 per month, where the maximum and minimum salaries ranges between Tk.8,000 and Tk. 200. Teachers who are teaching general subjects like Bangla, English, and Mathematics get Tk. 2,668 per month. An office clerk (mainly accountants) and attendants receive Tk. 2,018 and Tk. 1,732 per month (on an average) respectively. As Quomi Madrassas have residential facilities for its students, a cook was found receiving Tk. 1,708 an average per month.

Discussions with madrassa teachers confirmed that the amount of salary they received was inadequate to maintain a decent family life. However, they are involved in madrassa teaching, they admitted, because a good amount of money came from other religious functions and rituals. For instance, a good number of madrassa teachers were serving as *imams* or *khatibs* in the mosques and received honorariums. In addition, some teachers worked as private tutors for the children. Furthermore, they also have other sources of income from agriculture, business, and rents (details in Chapter 10)

When we compared the salaries of the teachers and other staffs of Aliya and Quomi Madrassas, it was noticed that the teachers and staffs of Quomi Madrassas are receiving a low pay (Tables 12 and 13). For example, the head of a Quomi Madrassa was receiving almost half the salary compared to that of head of the Aliya Madrassa.



Further comparison of salaries of Aliya and Quomi teachers also shows that more than two-third (65%) of Quomi Madrassa and 15 percent of Aliya Madrassa teachers were getting less than Tk. 3,000 per month. A large number of the Aliya Madrassa (35%) and 20 percent of Quomi Madrassa teachers received salaries ranging from Tk. 3001 to Tk. 5,000. It is remarkable that more than 40 percent of the Aliya Madrassa teachers received a monthly salary of Tk. 5,001 to Tk. 13,000 per month, while only 15 percent of Quomi Madrassa teachers

received the same amount. About 8 percent teachers from Aliya Madrassa received more than Tk. 13,000, whereas a very poor number (0.4%) of Quomi Madrassa teachers were in that bracket. As mentioned before, a large number of Aliya Madrassas have been receiving relatively high salary because of the subvention from the government through the provision of Monthly Payment Order (MPO).

However, Quomi Madrassas have been spending more on students, which is evident in the *per capita* expenditure for students. The per capita expenditure for madrasa students (annual expenditure), in an average Aliya Madrasa student, was Tk. 3,827 (2007-08) and for Quomi Madrasa student it was Tk. 5,833, which is almost 50 percent higher than the per capita expenditure in Aliya Madrasa (Figure 42 and Table 14). A considerable number of poor students were studying in Quomi Madrassas and students were provided accommodation, food, clothing and all educational expenses (see, Table 11). In addition, students of Quomi Madrasa have to pay little fees for admission and exams. Students who cannot pay exam fees are very often waived by the madrasa authority; however, a part of Quomi Madrasa students, coming from non-poor socio-economic background, were paying for their study and living. Moreover, students having excellent results got free food from the madrasa.

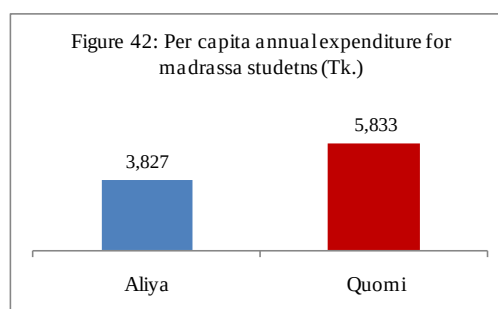


Table 14: Total annual expenditure in Madrasa, 2008

Type of madrasa	Total number of madrasas	Annual expenditure/ madrasa (Tk.)	Total expenditure in madrasas (Tk.)
Aliya (above primary level)	11,347	2.3 million	26.1 billion
Quomi (above primary level)	10,695	2.0 million	21.3 billion
Aliya including Ebtedayee Madrasa	3,200	0.175 million	0.56 billion
Quomi including maktab, hafezia, forqania and nourani madrasa	28,917	0.125 million	3.6 billion
Total			51.56 billion

Note: For above primary level Aliya and Quomi Madrassas, the calculation on annual expenditure has been made on the basis of data collected on expenditure of madrassas during the survey. But, calculations of the annual expenditure for primary level Aliya and Quomi Madrassas have been estimated on the basis of information from the madrasa teachers.

Estimates show that in madrasa education, the total annual expenditure in the year 2008 (for the financial year 2007-2008) was Tk. 51.56 billion (US \$ 758 million; exchange rate of 2008, US \$ 1 = Bd.Taka 68). The annual expenditure for Aliya Madrassas (including primary level *Ebtedayee* madrasa) was 26.6 billion which constitutes about 52 percent of total annual expenditure. On the other hand, at the same time about Tk. 25 billion was spent by Quomi Madrassas. In order to understand the real situation of both income and expenditure of the madrassas, especially the Quomi Madrassas – a caveat must be added that we have no idea about the ‘unseen’ sources and items.

Annual Revenue of Madrasa

Amount of total income and the sources of funding madrassas especially, the Quomi Madrasa is still unexplored. Therefore, data and information on annual income, by sources, was imperative for an inquiry for both Aliya and Quomi Madrassas. It was estimated that total annual income, for an average Aliya Madrasa is Tk. 2.9 million and for Quomi Madrasa, Tk.1.6 million during 2008 (financial year 2007-08) (Table 15).

Table 15: Annual income of an average madrassa by source, 2008

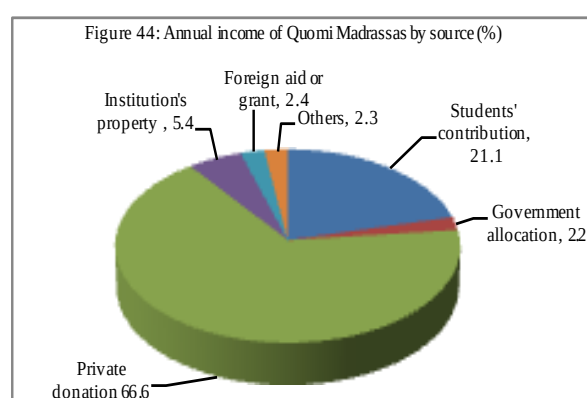
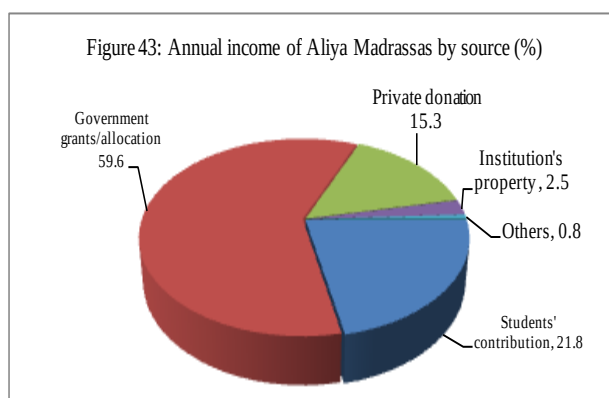
Sources of income	Annual income of madrassas (Tk.)	
	Aliya	Quomi
Tuition fees	471,524	153,994
Admission , examination, and others fees	159,105	184,767
Government grants/allocation	1,729,428	35,945
Private donations (normal)	335,581	526,674
Private donations (<i>zakat/fitra/sadaqa/mannat/Eid</i>)	107,518	462,941
Income from <i>waqf</i> property (crops, rent)	74,455	54,836
Foreign sources	-	38,291
Others	21,775	149,047
Total annual income	2,899,386	1,606,494
Maximum annual income	54,418,000	17,934,999
Minimum annual income	40,746	60,000

A huge variation was found in the annual incomes by madrassas. The maximum amount of income was Tk.54.4 million for an Aliya Madrassa and Tk.17.9 million for a Quomi Madrassa, whereas the minimum amount of annual income for Aliya and Quomi Madrassa are around Tk.40,000 and 60,000 respectively. It was revealed that the financial status of Aliya Madrassa is better, which is evident from the higher annual income compared to the amount of expenditure and it also implies its financial strength. In some/many cases this may not be true due to above stated caveat of ‘unseen’ sources.

A contrasting situation, in terms of financial strength, was detected in Quomi Madrassas where the annual income is less than the annual expenditure. Discussions with the Management Committees confirmed that some of the madrassas actually run on deficit financing. They further added that in such cases they appeal to the community and interested faithful for support. Since finances from the out sources are sporadic, the teachers’ salaries and support to the students also became irregular. In this case, the community usually comes forward in the form of food, which cannot be accounted as income as it comes in the form of kinds. While this is true to a large extent, remains, who and how is the question ‘deficit financing’ addressed in real life situation?

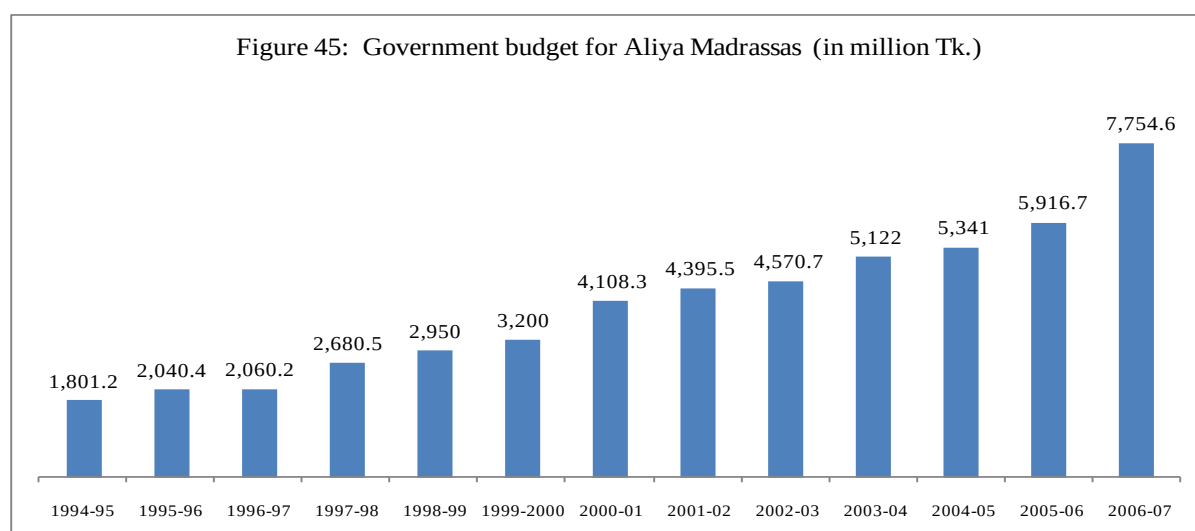
The major source of finance for the madrassas was two; domestic and foreign. In Aliya Madrassas, only domestic source of income was identified, while in Quomi Madrassas, both type of sources exist. As reported, the domestic sources of income are more than the foreign source of finance in Quomi Madrassas.

In Aliya Madrassas, government allocation accounted for about 60 percent of total income followed by students’ contribution (about 22%) in the form of tuition, admission, and examination fees. It was also found that, private donations contribute a sizeable amount (15%) for Aliya Madrassas. But, in Quomi Madrassas, private donations are the major source (about 67%) of income followed by students’ contribution (21%). It was also identified that both Aliya and Quomi Madrassas have income from the property of madrassa in the form of rents or from growing crops. It is a common feature that a number of Muslims make a will, of a portion of their property (mainly land), for madrassas and mosques and is known as ‘*waqf*’ property.



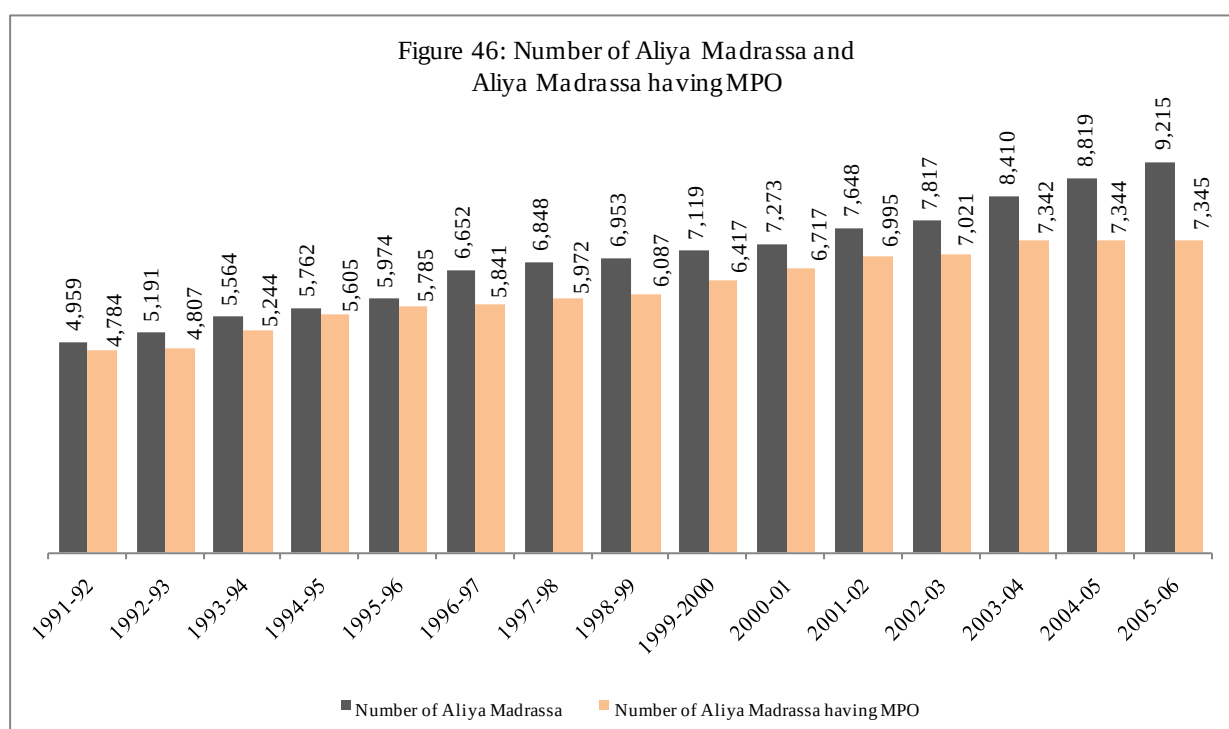
The existence of foreign sources of income has been found in Quomi Madrassas only. Estimates based on the reporting of the relevant madrassa authorities show that about 2.5 percent of total annual income of Quomi Madrassas were from the foreign sources. The madrassa teachers and members of Management Committees explained that a group of madrassa teachers usually visit foreign countries, where a good number of Bangladeshis live. Especially during the holy month of Ramadan and the Hajj, the objective is to collect donations for their madrassas. In addition, some famous *ulamas* in Bangladesh also receive donations through their relationships and connections with the rich and influential of some Middle Eastern countries. Furthermore, some charitable organizations managed by some foreign Muslim nationals or organizations are also providing financial assistances for the development of religious education. The most disturbing aspect of private foreign aid or grants is that there are no proper and transparent accounts of the amount of money collected and spent. Most of the time, these funds come in the form of cash, gold, or by *hundi* (unofficial channels of money exchanges or transactions).

The amount of funds from foreign sources was reported by the madrassa authority according to their accounts. Further inquiry into this issue through discussions with informed madrassa people (teachers and Management Committee Members) informed that the reported amount was under-stated. They also remarked that the average amount of foreign funds in Quomi Madrassas can be misleading because; a few madrassas were receiving sizable assistances from abroad. The findings revealed that about 17 percent of the Quomi Madrassas received undisclosed amount of foreign donations. It was also detected that a few renowned *ulamas*, from Bangladesh, were regularly collecting money from foreign sources and distributing among some madrassas.



Estimates based on the primary data on income of madrassas reveal that the bulk share of total annual income of Aliya Madrassa came from the government (about 60%). It can also be verified from the government budget allocation that there is a gradual increase in government budgets (both from the revenue and development budget) since the early 1990s. During 1994-95, the total revenue and development budget for madrassa education was Tk.1, 800 million which increased almost four times to Tk. 7,754 million for the year 2006-07 and there is a consistent trend of increase irrespective of political regimes. It is interesting to find that the government budget for madrassas increased sharply during the election year, which implies a strong political patronization for madrassa education to win the votes of the faithful Muslims (Figure 45). The government allocation for madrassa education increased from Tk.2,060 million in 1996-97 to Tk. 4,108 in 2000-01, which is more than double compared to the base year. This is also true that from 2001-02 to 2006-07, the government budget for madrassas increased to Tk. 7,754 million in 2006-07 from Tk. 4,395 million in 2001-02.

The government patronization of madrassa education was also manifested through increasing the number of Aliya Madrassas receiving salary subvention from the government in the form of Monthly Payment Order (MPO). Most of the Aliya Madrassas were receiving salary subvention from the government (Figure 46).



The numbers of madrassas under MPO facilities are increasing along with the number of madrassas. It was found that in the year 1991-92, the total number of Aliya Madrassas, with MPO facility, were 4,784, which were 95 percent of total Aliya Madrassas (4,959). The gap between number of MPO madrassas and total madrassas increased during the years 1996-97, 1997-98, and 1998-99. Afterwards, this trend and the gap between the number of MPO madrassa and total madrassa continued and during 2005-06, the number of MPO madrassas was 7,345; 80 percent of total madrassa for that year. Though the gap increased somewhat, one should not be misled by the relative comparison because in absolute terms the number of MPO madrassas has been increasing since 1991-92. It was found that MPO madrassas increased to 7,345 in 2005-06 from 4,784 in 1991-92. Along with this enhanced number of MPO madrassas, the amount of salary subvention also increased to Tk. 7,680 million in the year 2006-07 from

Tk. 2,063 million in 1996-97 (Annex Table 62). [The government allocations on madrasa education, in terms of budgetary provision and number of MPO madrasa, are based on the data published by BANBEIS].

From the above findings, it appears that the expansion of Aliya Madrassas was directly patronized by the government directly through its financial support. On the other hand, Quomi Madrassas are operated and financially managed by the respective madrasa in association with local community. The flow of financial source for these madrassas was private donations, usually collected by the madrassas themselves. Quomi Madrasa authorities are reluctant to receive government funds because they report that there is corruption within the process of receiving government allocations and they are worried that this may lead to the Quomi Madrassas being regulated by the government.

Moreover, foreign sources of finance were also reported by a small number of madrassas. However, the amount of funds received from the foreign sources could not be ascertained mainly due to the reason that most of the madrasa authorities were reluctant to disclose such “sensitive information”. Lack of any control mechanism on the income and expenditure of the Quomi Madrassas is of great concern to the public and the government. In absence of such control, the chance of falling in the wrong hands for executing other objectives remains. This has been identified in a number of madrassas, recently.

To be very frank, lack of transparency and accountability has not only been the problem of madrasa especially Quomi Madrasa, but also privately owned educational institutions like Kindergartens, English Medium schools and other mainstream private school, college and universities which are not free of such accusations. Therefore, it is imperative for policy makers to address the issue in a holistic manner.

KEY FEATURES

- ✓ In 2008, the estimated total annual expenditure for the madrassa education in Bangladesh was Tk. 51.56 billion with Tk. 26.6 billion for Aliya and Tk. 24.9 billion for Quomi
- ✓ Aliya Madrassas have a well structured and regulated financial system in place, while Quomi Madrassas do not have a unified and regulated financial structure and system
- ✓ The source of finance in madrassas can be divided into two: domestic and foreign sources. Under these two broad categories there are government funds and private donations
- ✓ Though the Quomi Madrassas do not receive funds from the government directly, it receives financial assistances from the local government representatives and the Member of Parliament (MP) allocations
- ✓ An Aliya Madrassa spends an average of Taka 2.3 million and Quomi about Taka 2.0 million annually
- ✓ When 82 percent of the Aliya Madrassa budget is spent on salaries, only 27 percent of Quomi budget is spent on salaries for their teachers and other staffs
- ✓ The maximum and minimum salary for Aliya was found to be Taka 15,245 and Tk. 2,893 respectively. The same for Quomi was Taka 18,000 and Tk. 500 respectively
- ✓ In 2008, the average expenditure for an Aliya Madrassa student was Taka 3,827, while Taka 5,835 was spent for a Quomi student
- ✓ Annual average income of a Aliya Madrassa is about Tk. 2.9 million and Tk.1.6 million for a Quomi Madrassa
- ✓ In Aliya Madrassas, government allocation accounted for about 60 percent of total income
- ✓ The government budget for Aliya Madrassas was about Taka 7.8 billion in 2006-07
- ✓ An 80 percent Aliya Madrassas received Monthly Payment Order (MPO) from the government.
- ✓ The issue of ‘unseen’ sources of income and “deficit financing” are serious, especially for some Quomi Madrassas.

MADRASSA TEACHERS: NUMBER, GROWTH, AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE

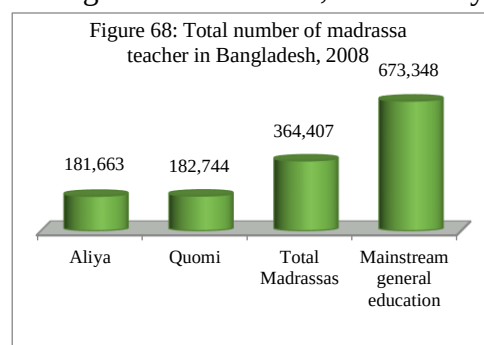
MADRASSA TEACHER

Madrassa teachers are not like teachers of any other school, because their role is not limited to teaching (Qur'an and *Hadiths*) only. Rather students consider them as 'gurus': not only the teachers of the Holy Qur'an and *Hadiths* but, more importantly their guide to the spiritual world of the ultimate, The Almighty Allah. As '*ulamas*' are recognized in Islam as the successors of Islamic knowledge, they are the teachers who convey and spread the knowledge in Qur'an and *Hadiths* among the faithful. The roles of a madrassa teacher are diverse as they are teachers, guardians, custodians, and preachers, and that is why the relationship between the teachers, and students of madrassas and with society, is rather multifaceted.

However, the following part of this chapter is intended to deal with a more straight forward (for easy) understanding of the teachers' statistics, than an intricate domain where a more composite teacher–student relationship, unfortunately, are lodged into a more in-depth evaluation.

Total Number of Teachers

On the basis of the data collected on number of teachers employed in different types of madrassas, located in both the rural and urban sample areas, it was estimated that there are 364,407 teachers in the madrassas across Bangladesh during 2008. Of which, in the Aliya Madrassas, 181,663 teachers were employed and in Quomi Madrassas there were 182,744 teachers (Figure 68). A significant number of teachers were employed in the madrassas can only be understood when the total teachers were compared with those employed in the mainstream general education in Bangladesh. As per the BANBEIS data, a total of 673,348 teachers were employed in various types of primary and secondary schools, and colleges²⁴. The



²⁴ Authors' estimate is based on BANBEIS data 2005

total number of madrassa teachers was estimated as 364,407, which is more than half of the total teachers employed in mainstream education system. It should be noted that the estimates of total teachers, employed in mainstream education, was done for the year 2005 as was the most updated data available from BANBEIS during this study.

It was also found that, a total of 12 teachers were employed in a rural Aliya Madrassa, whereas in the urban Aliya Madrassa the number was 15. On the other hand, in Quomi Madrassas located in rural and urban areas, the average number of teachers was 4 and 6 respectively. For both the types of madrassas, in terms of number, more teachers are employed in urban madrassas compared to rural madrassas (Table 22).

Though the total number of teachers employed are higher in Quomi Madrassas than those in Aliya Madrassas, the micro analysis show that an average of 5 teachers were employed in the Quomi Madrassas and 13 in Aliya Madrassas, regardless of rural or urban areas. A relatively small number of Quomi Madrassa teachers were at the primary level where there were, at the most, only 2 teachers, of non-formal type, and were managed by the community.

Table 22: Total number of madrassa teachers in Bangladesh, 2008

Type of Madrassas	Average number of teacher	Rural Total number of madrassas	Total number of teachers	Average number of teacher	Urban Total number of madrassas	Total number of teachers	National Grand Total number of teacher
Aliya	12.2	12,951	158,002	15.1	1,567	23,661	181,663
Quomi	4.32	33,942	146,629	6.27	5,760	36,115	182,744
Both			304,631			59,776	364,407

One plausible reason for a higher number of teachers in individual Aliya Madrassas is that Aliya Madrassas are more organized in terms of administrative structure as the system is recognized, funded, and regulated by the government Madrassa Education Board (detail analyses can be seen in Chapters 7 and 8). The finding of this study is that the number of Aliya Madrassa teachers stands at 185,158, which is almost close to the data from BANBEIS²⁵. The difference between the two estimates – this estimate and BANBEIS study is that the BANBEIS survey was done in 2005, which is three years prior to this survey. One thing should be made that the number of teachers in this study did not account their position in respective madrassas but, only the number of teachers employed at the time of this survey.

²⁵ According to BANBEIS data (2005), a total of 180,038 teachers were employed in various types of madrassas including *Ebtadayee*, *Dakhil*, *Alim*, *Fazil* and *Kamil* Madrassas. The total number of madrassa teacher in Aliya system is calculated by the authors on the basis of data from BANBEIS.

Box 14: Methodology for retrieving total number of madrassa teachers (2008)

A census was carried out in both Aliya and Quomi Madrassas, of the sample areas, located in both rural and urban areas to estimate the total number of teachers employed in the year 2008. The result of the census provides an average number of teachers in each madrassa by location. Sample areas such as union for rural areas and ward for *Pourashava* and City Corporations were selected in a scientific manner by applying appropriate statistical formula to ensure the national representativeness. On the outset of the estimation, it is to note that, various types of elementary madrassas like *Maktab*, *Hafezia* and *Forqania* has been categorized as Quomi Madrassa and *Ebtedayee* Madrassa has been considered as Aliya Madrassa. The average number of teachers in each Madrassa, by types, was calculated for rural and urban areas separately by using the following formula;

Average number of rural Aliya Madrassa teachers:

$$\bar{X}_{RA} = \frac{\sum X_i}{n} \quad \text{Where, } X_i = \text{Number of teachers in rural Aliya Madrassas in the census area}$$

$n = \text{Total number of rural Aliya Madrassas in the census area}$

Average number of rural Quomi Madrassa teachers:

$$\bar{X}_{RQ} = \frac{\sum X_j}{m} \quad \text{Where, } X_j = \text{Number of teachers in rural Quomi Madrassas in the census area}$$

$m = \text{Total number of rural Quomi Madrassas in the census area}$

Similarly,

Average number of urban Aliya Madrassa teachers:

$$\bar{Y}_{UA} = \frac{\sum Y_i}{n} \quad \text{Where, } Y_i = \text{Number of teachers in urban Aliya Madrassas in the census area}$$

$n = \text{Total number of urban Aliya Madrassas in the census area}$

Average number of Urban Quomi Madrassa teachers:

$$\bar{Y}_{UQ} = \frac{\sum Y_j}{m} \quad \text{Where, } Y_j = \text{Number of teachers in urban Quomi Madrassas in the census area}$$

$m = \text{Total number of urban Quomi Madrassas in the census area}$

In the following step, to get the total number of rural teachers; average number of teachers by type of madrassa is simply multiplied by the total number of rural madrassa by types in Bangladesh separately and added together. The calculation procedure is as follows;

$$\text{Total number of rural madrassa teachers, } MT_R = [(\bar{X}_{RA} * N_{RA}) + (\bar{X}_{RQ} * N_{RQ})]$$

where, $\bar{X}_{RA}$ = Average number of teachers per Aliya Madrassa in rural areas

N_{RA} = Total number of Aliya Madrassas in rural Bangladesh

$\bar{X}_{RQ}$ = Average number of teachers per Quomi Madrassa in rural areas

N_{RQ} = Total number of Quomi Madrassas in rural Bangladesh

Similarly,

$$\text{Total number of urban madrassa teacher, } MT_U = [(\bar{Y}_{UA} * N_{UA}) + (\bar{Y}_{UQ} * N_{UQ})]$$

where,

$\bar{Y}_{UA}$ = Average number of teacher per Aliya Madrassa in urban areas

N_{UA} = Total number of Aliya Madrassas in urban Bangladesh

$\bar{Y}_{UQ}$ = Average number of teacher per Quomi Madrassa in urban areas

N_{UQ} = Total number of Quomi Madrassas in urban Bangladesh

In the final step, total number of rural and urban madrassa teachers was calculated by types of madrassas, is added to reach the national estimate of the total number of madrassa teachers in Bangladesh during 2008. Thus, the total number of madrassa teachers in Bangladesh in the year 2008, $MT = MT_R + MT_U$.

There is a huge gender disparity in the teachers employed, or work in the madrassas, which is consistent with the history of the madrassa education. In the Aliya Madrassas, the ratio of male-female teacher is 93:7, which conforms (more or less) with BANBEIS data (2005). On the other hand, in Quomi Madrassas, the gender disparity in teachers' is equally deplorable with a male-female ratio of 94:6. The gender disparity in teachers' employment also proves a high male domination in the madrassa education in Bangladesh. It is worth mentioning that there is, in fact, no provision of coeducation in Quomi Madrassas and therefore, female teachers are generally not considered for employment in Quomi Madrassas. However, there are some Quomi Madrassas, only for the females, where considerable female teachers are employed along with few male teachers.

Box 15: Male-female ratio of madrassa teachers
Male-female ratio in Aliya Madrassas = 93:7
Male-female ratio in Quomi Madrassas = 94:6

Teacher-Student Ratio

In Aliya Madrassas, the bulk of the teachers (50%) are teaching at the secondary level followed by the post secondary level madrassas (43%). Only 7 percent teachers are employed in the primary level Aliya Madrassas. On the other hand, in the Quomi Madrassas, more than 30 percent of the teachers are employed at the primary level and 34 percent employed at the secondary level. It is remarkable that a considerably large number of teachers, i.e., 35 percent, are employed at above the secondary level Quomi Madrassas. Though the number of the secondary level Quomi Madrassas are relatively less (14.5%) however, in terms of the percentage of teachers employed there is higher (Table 23).

Teacher-student ratio, being regarded as an indicator of quality education, is satisfactory at 1:27, regardless of the level of education. Within the Aliya system, in the primary level of madrassas i.e., *Ebtedayee* Madrassas, the teacher-student ratio was 1:34 while the same was 1:27 and 1:22 in secondary and post secondary level madrassas respectively. Compared to the Aliya Madrassas, the teacher-student ratio was relatively poor in the Quomi Madrassas. In primary or elementary level Quomi Madrassas, the teacher student ratio was 1:60, which is almost double than that of the (primary) Aliya Madrassas (1:32). However, the status of teacher-student ratio was better (more favourable) in both secondary (1:15) and post-secondary (1:14) level Quomi Madrassas.

Table 23: Teacher-student ratio in madrassas, 2008

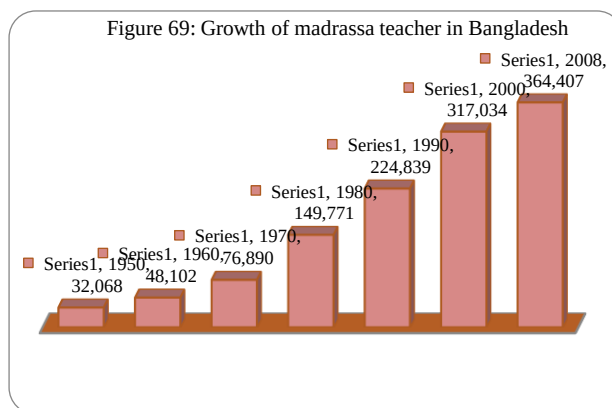
Number of teachers and students	Madrassa			Mainstream general education
	Aliya	Quomi	Total	
Number of Teachers				
Primary	12,716	56,651	69,367	344,789
Secondary	90,832	62,133	152,965	238,158
Post secondary	78,115	63,960	142,075	90,401
Total number of teachers	181,663	182,744	364,407	673,348
Number of Students				
Primary	430,528	3,437,217	3,867,745	16,225,658
Secondary	2,459,504	928,836	3,388,340	7,398,552
Post Secondary	1,690,050	881,607	2,571,657	1,367,246
Total number of students	4,580,082	5,247,660	9,827,742	24,991,456
Teacher-Student Ratio				
	Aliya	Quomi	Both	
Primary	1:34	1:61	1:56	1:47
Secondary	1:27	1:15	1:22	1:31
Post Secondary	1:22	1:14	1:18	1:15
All	1:25	1:29	1:27	1:37

In the mainstream (general) primary education, the teacher-student ratio was 1:47, while at primary level madrassas; the same was 1:56. In the mainstream secondary institutions, the teacher-student ratio of 1:31, which is worse-off compared to madrassas with 1:27 for the Aliya Madrassas and 1:15 for Quomi Madrassas. The teacher-student ratio was more favorable in the post secondary level mainstream education (1:15) as compared to the madrassa education (1:18). Though, the teacher-student ratio was better or favorable in the madrassa education, the crucial issue of their professional competency remains questionable.

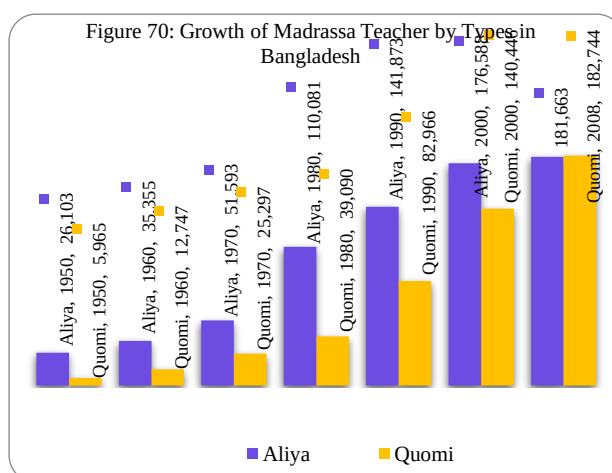
Growth of Madrassa Teachers

After partition of India and independence from the British colonial rule, during the early days of Pakistan, madrassa education started a new journey with 32,068 teachers in East Pakistan (currently Bangladesh), which, in next 60 years time, by the year 2008, increased more than 11 times to a staggering 364,407. It is interesting to observe that until 1970, the total number of madrassa teachers increased at a gradual pace but, after 1970 it doubled from 76,890 to 149,771 by 1980. It was also found that

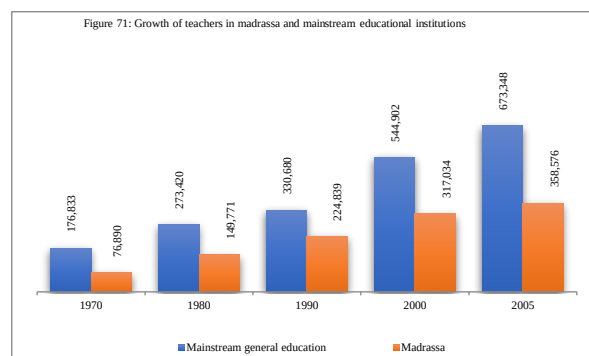
since 1980, the rate of increase in total number of madrassas resulted in the increase of the number of teachers (compare data in Figure 10 with those in Figure 69).



The growth of Quomi Madrassa teachers is the major contributor to this rapid increase. Since 1950, it is evident that number of Aliya Madrassa teacher was higher than the Quomi Madrassa teachers, up to year 2000. However, after year 2000 the number of Quomi Madrassa teachers exceeded the Aliya Madrassa teachers. The total number of teachers in Quomi Madrassa increased by about 31 times, while for Aliya Madrassa it was 7 times for the period between 1950 and 2008. There was also a sharp rise (more than double) in Aliya Madrassa teachers during 1970's (shown in the Figure 70 as 1980) and corresponding increase (almost double) for the Quomi Madrassa teachers during the 1970's and the 1980s (Figure 70). In 2008, for the first time in history, the number of Quomi Madrassa teachers exceeded the number of teachers in Aliya Madrassa.



In comparison with the mainstream general education²⁶, almost half of the teachers were employed in madrassa education and trend of such difference is almost same throughout the period of 1970-2005. However, in the year 1990, it was identified that the gap between the number of teachers in mainstream education (330,680) and madrassa education (224,839) reduced significantly (Figure 71).



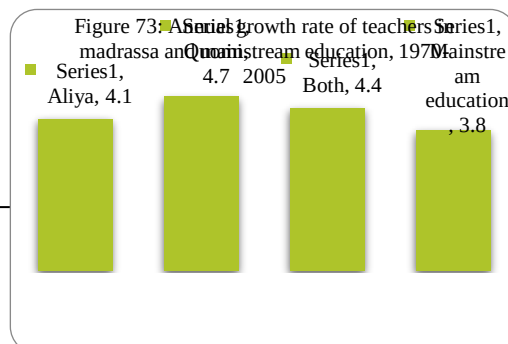
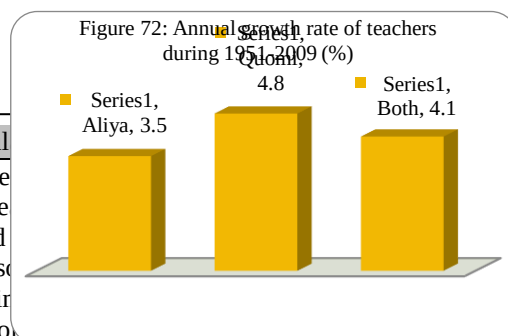
The total number of madrassa teachers is increasing, but the rate of increase varied from year to year and by Aliya and Quomi Madrassas. This rate was

Box 16: Methodology for growth rate calculation

Data on the number of teachers employed in Madrassa, by type to estimate growth rate of madrassa teachers in the sample are year 1950 was taken as the base year as it would bear the trend been calculated on annual basis. The annual growth rate has also periods. The growth rate shows change in number per unit of time been calculated by following standard growth rate formula as follows:

$$\text{Growth rate of madrassa teacher, } r = \frac{\ln(p_t / p_0)}{t}$$

Where
 P_t = Number of current year teacher
 P_0 = Number of base year teacher
 t = Time (year)



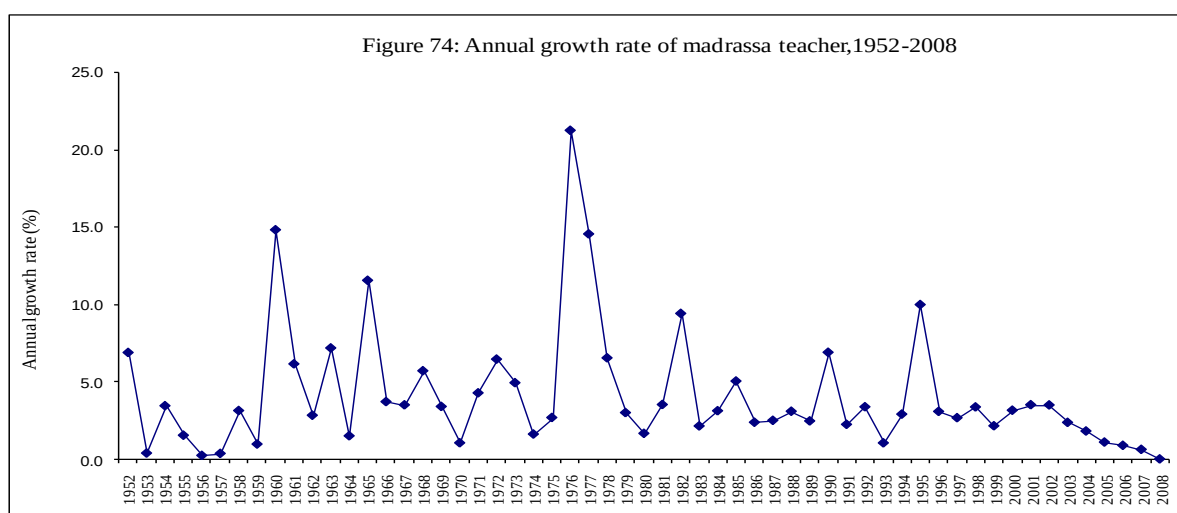
calculated for 58 years, from 1951 to 2008 (Figure 72); the madrassa teachers registered an annual growth rate of 4.1 percent where Quomi teachers (4.8%) grew at a faster pace than that of Aliya (3.5%). A comparison of the annual growth rate of teachers between madrassa and mainstream education – for the period 1970-2005 – revealed that the madrassa teachers grew annually at a rate of 4.4 percent, which for the mainstream education is less at 3.8 percent (Figure 73). During this period the annual growth rate for Quomi Madrassa teachers was the highest (4.7%). In spite of this high annual growth rate of madrassa teachers, the gap between the total number of teachers in mainstream general education and madrassa education has been almost same throughout the periods (Figure 71).

A close scrutiny of the growth in the number of madrassa teachers for the period of 1950-2008, by decades, show that the highest annual growth rate (7%) occurred during 1971-1980 with 7.9 percent for Aliya and 5.8 percent for Quomi teachers (Table 24). If we further dissect this decade (1971-1980) into two parts (1971-1975 and 1976-1980), we see not only two distinct political regimes but also two different growth rates. The growth rate of the teachers during the

²⁶ The periodical estimates on the total number of teachers employed in mainstream education, including primary and secondary schools and colleges, is done by the authors on the basis of BANBEIS data (2005).

first half (1971-1975) was found 4 percent as compared to a high at 6.4 percent for the second half, 1976-80.

Table 24: Annual growth rate of madrassa teachers by period in sample areas (%)



Year group	Aliya Madrassa	Quomi Madrassa	Both
Annual growth rate by decades			
1951-1960	2.73	4.84	3.54
1961-1970	3.13	6.19	4.50
1971-1980	7.89	5.82	6.97
1981-1990	3.91	4.42	4.13
1991-2000	1.98	5.31	3.54
2001-2008	0.63	2.26	1.49
Annual growth rate by five years			
1971-1975	4.34	3.46	3.93
1976-1980	7.75	4.76	6.44
1981-1985	5.60	3.99	4.94
1986-1990	2.67	5.24	3.75
1991-1995	1.83	7.30	4.34
1996-2000	2.05	3.66	2.85
2001-2005	0.96	3.35	2.21
Annual growth rate			
1951-2008	3.54	4.80	4.11
1970-2005	4.11	4.69	4.40

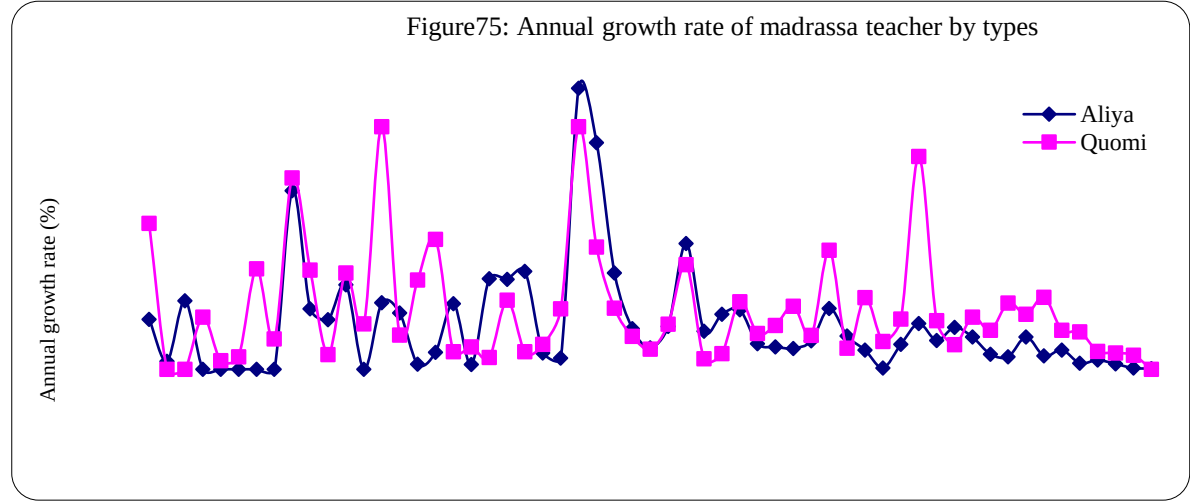
Since the 1980s, the growth rate of Quomi Madrassa teachers was consistently higher than that of Aliya Madrassas. During 2001-2008, however, the growth rate of both types of madrassas was declining (Table 24). This relatively low growth rate followed by a relatively high growth may be explained through ‘saturated growth’ phenomenon.

The annual growth rate, by single year, for about last 60 years (1951-2008) show fluctuating paths, where in some years, the annual growth rate reached double digits (Figures 74, 75 and Annex Table 87).

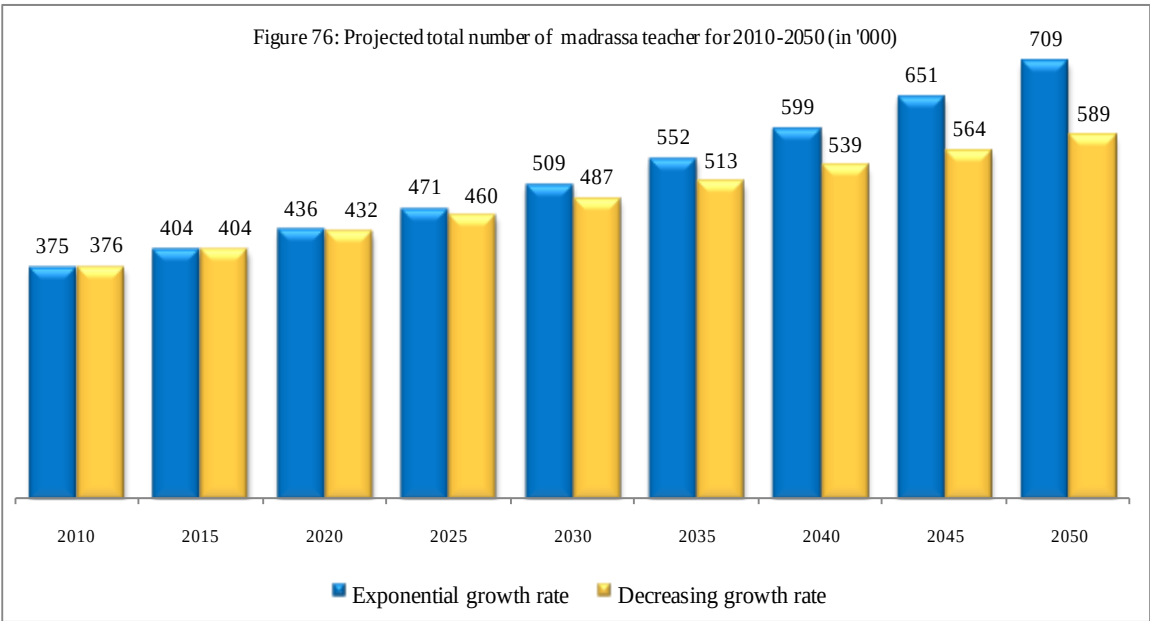
The highest annual growth rate of madrassa teachers was 21 percent in 1976 (year after the brutal killing of the Father of the Nation) and the highest growth rate was observed in the Aliya Madrassas (22.6%). Prior to the independence of Bangladesh, in former East Pakistan, the highest growth 15 percent was observed in 1960. Since the 1980s, the number of madrassa teachers was growing consistently above the rate of 2 percent, until 2000. After this, the growth rate started decreasing and it reached to almost zero in 2008. It is also evident that during 1976-

1984, the number of Aliya Madrassa teachers grew at a higher rate as compared to that of Quomi teachers (Figure 75). In the subsequent period, growth of Aliya Madrassa teachers did not exceed the same for Quomi teachers, which is consistent with the growth of madrassas in general, including the students (Chapters 6 and 9).

Projected Total Number of Madrassa Teachers, 2010-2050



Teachers are the one of the prime stakeholders of the madrassa education system, which commensurate with the growing number of madrassas and students. The projection for total number of teacher up to the year 2050 shows that it would reach at 708,836 by 2050, which is almost 100 percent higher from the current total madrassa teachers (364,407 in 2008) when exponential growth rate is considered. On the other hand, using the decreasing growth rate for projection of the total number of teachers, it provides other estimate where it is expected to reach 588,906 by 2050 (Figure 76). So, it indicates that within 2050, the total number of teachers in madrassa is projected to be between 588,906 and 708,836.



Similarly, both methods (exponential and decreasing growth rate) were used for projecting the number of Aliya and Quomi madrassa teachers, from 2010 to 2050. The estimation result shows that the total number of teachers in the Aliya Madrassa would be 236,690 and 206,815 in 2050

while applying the exponential and decreasing growth rates respectively. When the same projection method was applied for Aliya Madrassas, the number of teachers in Quomi Madrassa is expected to be 472,145 and 382,091, respectively (Table 25).

Table 25: Projected number of Aliya and Quomi Madrassa Teachers for 2010-2050

Year	Aliya Madrassa		Quomi Madrassa		Total	
	Exponential growth	Decreasing growth	Exponential growth	Decreasing growth	Exponential growth	Decreasing growth
2010	183,966	182,887	191,194	193,089	375,160	375,976
2015	189,854	185,936	214,066	218,559	403,920	404,495
2020	195,929	188,968	239,676	243,479	435,605	432,447
2025	202,199	191,984	268,348	267,860	470,548	459,844
2030	208,670	194,983	300,451	291,715	509,121	486,698
2035	215,348	197,965	336,395	315,055	551,743	513,020
2040	222,239	200,931	376,639	337,890	598,878	538,821
2045	229,351	203,881	421,697	360,232	651,048	564,113
2050	236,690	206,815	472,145	382,091	708,836	588,906

Generally exponential growth rate method is used for projecting future population and when the growth rate is going down by the year, the decreasing growth rate method is used. As the growth rate of madrassa already started falling down, from the last decade, decreasing growth rate was used. While using the exponential growth rate for projecting the number of madrassa teachers, the growth rate of last decade (2001-2008) was used.

Box 17: Method for projection of total number of madrassa teacher

Projection is an extrapolation of historical data into the future. Two methods; Exponential Growth Rate and Decreasing Growth Rate have been used for projecting the total number of madrassa teacher here. For both methods, data of 2001-2008 is used to estimate growth rate where the year 2001 is considered as initial year. In case of projection for the year 2050, the year 2008 is considered as the base year. The formula for getting projected population by using exponential growth rate method is as follows:

$$P_f = P_b e^{rt}$$

Where,

P_f = Future population

P_b = Base year population (start of projection)

r = Annual growth rate

$t = t_f - t_b$ = Number of years projected into the future

t_f = Future year (end of projection)

t_b = Base year (start of projection)

t_0 = Initial year

Decreasing growth is assumed to asymptotically approach a saturation population, that is, the maximum population predicted for the geographic area of interest. Saturation population has been estimated using exponential growth rate method where the annual growth rate of 1951-2008 year is used. The formula for getting projected population by using decreasing growth rate method is as follows:

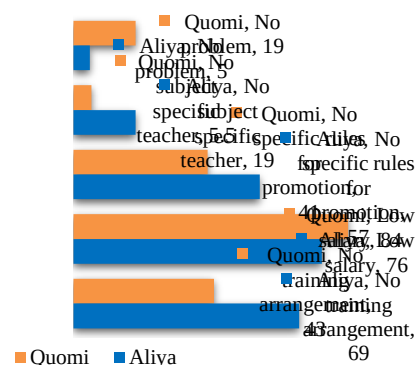
$$P_f = S - (S - P_b) e^{-Kt}$$

Career of Madrassa Teachers

In the accompanying survey, data were collected on the various dimensions of career of madrassa teachers. An Aliya Madrassa teacher generally teaches for an average of 15 years, whereas for a Quomi Madrassa teacher, the average is 10 years. In their career, madrassa teachers encounter many problems related to their profession or career and socio-economic issues. Some of the problems reported by the madrassa teachers are “*low salary; no training; no specific rules for promotion; and no subject specific teachers*”. The gravity and depth of these problems vary according to the type of madrassas and also from one madrassa to the other. The most reported problem is low salary in both the Aliya and Quomi Madrassas (76% and 84% respectively). Madrassa teachers expressed high dissatisfaction about their salary and benefits. In comparison to the Aliya Madrassas, ‘poor financial benefits’ was reported by more Quomi Madrassa teachers. The problem is much more immense because the Quomi Madrassas cannot maintain a standard salary structure, as their funding depends upon the donations (*zakat, sadkas*, endowments) they receive, which is usually low and wavering. Moreover, benefits are dependent on the financial strength of each Quomi Madrassa which, in turn, certainly rests on the amount received as charity.

In the Aliya Madrassas, teachers, from various positions or designations, usually receive a monthly gross salary ranging between Tk. 4,600 and Tk. 11,000, which is somewhat compatible to the salary structure of mainstream (government) school teachers. However, in the Quomi Madrassas, teachers’ monthly gross salary range were low as Tk.1,450 to Tk.4,500, which is not only far lower than the Aliya Madrassa teachers, but also far too low to maintain a basic standard of living (Chapter 8). The second most serious problem reported regarding professional development of madrassa teachers was that there were no scope for any training as such, for both Aliya (69%) and Quomi Madrassa teachers (43%). It is remarkable that, there is no training arrangement for professional development of the Quomi Madrassa teachers. For Aliya Madrassa teachers however, there is a newly established training institute where a few of them mainly for the secondary level (Dakhil) madrassas may undergo training (Figure 77).

Figure 77: Professional problem reported by teachers (%)



In addition, lack of rules for promotion, as incentives was reported by quiet a large percentage of madrassa teachers. It was revealed that more than half of the Aliya Madrassa teachers (57%) pointed that there are no specific rules for promotion and 41 percent of the Quomi Madrassa teachers reported the same. During discussions with Aliya Madrassa teachers, it was

Box 18: Lack of promotion of Quomi Madrassa teachers leads to start new madrassas

After successful graduation as a madrassa student one may join a madrassa as teacher and once appointed s/he gains experience as a teacher. After gaining experience, teachers usually open or establish a new madrassa where he would be the key person. This is because, there is a little provision of any promotion to be the head of the madrassa as usually the son of the head of that madrassa is expected to be the future head. However, it is also reported that the scope, prospect, and possibility of establishing new madrassas have recently become limited as there is a glut of madrassas in most of the communities.

Source: Key informant interview with madrassa teachers

identified that, there is a guideline for promotion however; it is not followed in most of the cases. In case of Quomi Madrassa teachers, rules for promotion are rarely there or are followed.

The shortage in subject specific teachers is reported by a relatively few of Aliya Madrassa teachers (19%) and the same problem was also found low (5.5%) in Quomi Madrassas. In addition, some teachers from Aliya (5%) and Quomi (19%) expressed their satisfaction over their professional life and reported that there was no professional problem for them.

Socio-economic Status

Typically, communities are used to envisaging madrassa teachers as respectable persons who teach Islamic subjects and preach religion, religious values, and carries out religious functions and rituals in the community. They are considered as religious leaders and almost everybody respects them however, their income from teaching and from occasional religious functions and rituals are meager.

Given this situation, an attempt was made to sketch the socio-economic status of the madrassa teachers. In addition, their view about their children's education was also explored, which is expected to exhibit how they view about their children's future. To avoid any misunderstanding about the Aliya Madrassa teachers, it should be kept in mind that a good portion of the Aliya Madrassa teachers received education from the mainstream (modern) education and they were teaching non-religious subjects like English, mathematics, and science. Therefore, their decision regarding their children's education is expected to be different from the teachers who graduated from the madrassas. Among the Aliya Madrassa teachers, a large number of their children are attending the mainstream schools. The teachers reported that in the Quomi Madrassas, the number of teachers coming from mainstream education system was very negligible.

Traditionally, the madrassa teachers have to spend a significant portion of their time with their students and therefore, the teachers usually reside in and around the madrassa premises. During this review, it was identified that 20 percent of madrassa teachers lived in the madrassa premises with 6 percent in Aliya and 35 percent in Quomi. After the government recognition of Aliya Madrassas and establishing a Madrassa Education Board in 1977, the Aliya Madrassas operates like any other school. The teachers come to school, teach, and for the most, leave after school time. It was identified that there are hardly a few residential Aliya Madrassas where both the teachers and students can have residential facilities (Chapter 12).

Box19: Calculation of annual net income

Data was collected on household income for a financial year (July 2007-June 2008) from both Aliya and Quomi Madrassa teachers. A total of twenty two different types of income sources were used to collect data on income. The income sources were: salary from madrassa, from Mosque, from marriage registration/*kazi*; private tuition, crop/agriculture, livestock, poultry, nursery, vegetable garden, fruits, and fishery; rent: agricultural instrument, rent: house/shop, petty business; vehicle: van, rickshaw, boat, motor cycle, bicycle; cottage industry, remittances, retirement benefits, social safety net (vulnerable group development, vulnerable group feeding, and old age allowances), gifts and other sources. Primarily data on gross income, cost incurred to earn the gross income were collected, and afterwards the net income was calculated by subtracting "cost incurred to earn" from 'gross income' by sources.

$$\text{Net income} = \text{Gross income} - \text{Cost incurred to earn gross income}$$

According to the standard formula, net income is less or equals the gross income and net income is synonymous to disposable income.

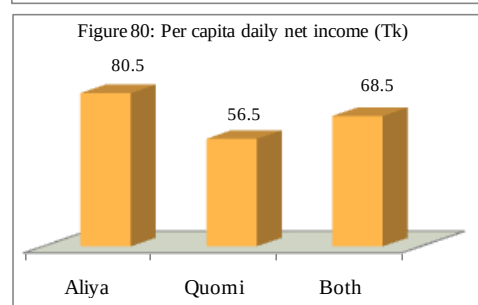
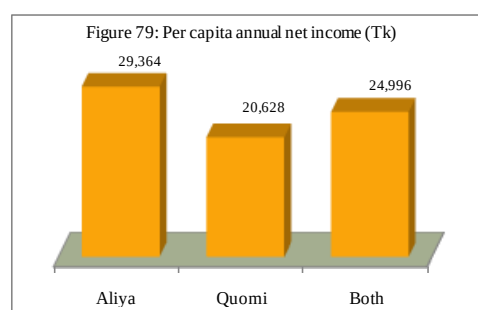
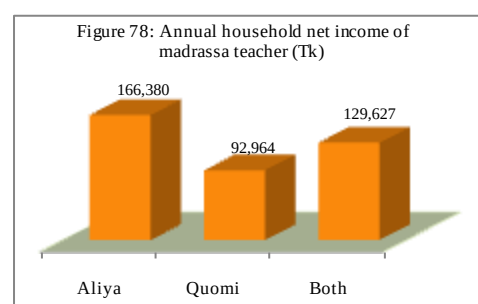
On the contrary, in the Quomi Madrassas, it is a norm that the teachers spend most of their day and night with their students teaching, caring, and protecting them. In most of the Quomi Madrassas, there is no separate place or class room as such for exclusive use (for education or living); rather students of a certain class have a room that serves both as their classroom and accommodation. One, or more than one teacher, also stays in that room and acts as their custodian. Survey findings and discussions with the Quomi Madrassa teachers confirm that financial constraints are one of the prime reasons for them to reside in the madrassa premises, without their family of course. They also reported that, in most of the urban Quomi Madrassas where the cost of renting a house outside is abnormally high, it is obvious that they choose to live in the madrassa.

The economic status of madrassa teachers is assessed through two major indicators; (i) the household annual net income, and (ii) the poverty status. The household income is considered as one of the best proxy indicators to assess a host of socio-economic status, like propensity to spend and/or save the level of poverty, status, etc.

Researchers are generally quite cautious in interpreting the income data as many of the empirical studies frequently suffer from limitations due to understatement of income by households, memory recall problems (due to non-documented income and seasonal variations in income), and so forth. The current study used the same method used during the Household Income Expenditure Survey conducted by Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics. Assessment of the economic status, in terms of household annual net income, depicts a gloomy picture where estimates show that the madrassa teachers' annual household net income is Tk. 129,627 (US\$ 1,885).

In Aliya Madrassas, as shown in Figure 78, the teachers average household earning is Tk. 166,380 (US\$ 2,418) per annum as net income whereas, the annual net income of household of Quomi Madrassa teacher was Tk. 92,964 (US\$ 1,351), which is 28 percent less than that of Aliya Madrassa teachers. Statistical test (mean test) also provides strong evidence in favor of Aliya Madrassa i.e., the household annual net income of the teachers of Aliya Madrassa was higher than that of the teachers of Quomi Madrassa (calculated t-value is 6.302). If we consider the number of household members, in estimating per capita annual income, the situation becomes gloomier with per capita annual income Tk. 29,364 (US\$ 427) for Aliya teachers' and Tk. 20,628 (US\$ 300) for Quomi teachers' (Figure 79). The mean test for per capita annual net income also reveals that per capita income is higher among the teachers of Aliya Madrassa as compared to the teachers of Quomi Madrassa (calculated t-value is 3.550).

Further calculations show that the per capita daily net income for an Aliya Madrassa teacher's household was about Tk. 81 (US\$ 1.2) and the same about Tk. 57 (US\$ 0.82) for Quomi Madrassa teachers. The per



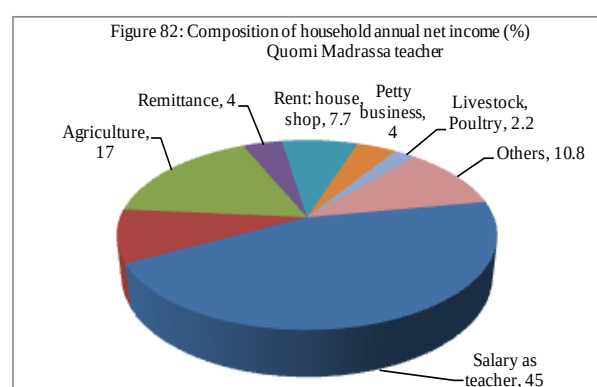
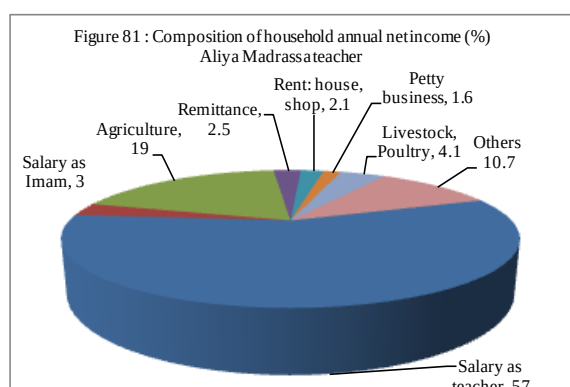
capita income of madrassa teachers' household was relatively low because of the large household size. The average household of an Aliya Madrassa teacher was 6.1 and 5.4 persons for Quomi Madrassa teachers, while the national average household size was 4.8 (Population Census of Bangladesh 2001). The level of annual household (net) income of the Madrassa teachers indicates deplorable situation, and it is moreso for the Quomi teacher's household.

Table 26: Madrassa teachers' average household annual net income by source (in Taka)

Source	Madrassa Teacher's Household		
	Aliya	Quomi	Both
Salary (teacher): madrassa	94,501	42,226	68,364
Salary (Imam): mosque	4,918	8,213	6,565
Salary: marriage register/Kazi	610	469	539
Private tuition/tutoring	7,763	460	4,111
Crop/agriculture	32,250	16,082	24,167
Livestock	5,648	1,678	3,664
Poultry	1,224	408	816
Nursery	131	937	534
Vegetable gardening	320	384	353
Fruits	629	376	502
Fisheries	150	816	482
Renting: agricultural instruments	-	563	281
Renting: house/shops	3,532	7,200	5,366
Petty businesses	2,737	3,703	3,221
Vehicles: van, rickshaw, boat, motor cycle, bicycle	-	140	71
Cottage industries	19	24	22
Remittances	3,703	3,516	3,610
Retirement benefits	2,026	244	1,134
Social safety net (VGD,VGF, old age allowances)	35	-	18
Gifts	581	2,222	1,399
Others	5,611	3,310	4,460
Total annual net income (Tk.)	166,382	92,970	129,676
Total annual net income (US\$)	2,418	1,351	1885
Total per capita annual net income (Tk.)	29,364	20,628	24,996
Total per capita annual net income (US\$)	427	300	363
Total per capita daily net income (Tk.)	80.5	56.5	68.5
Total per capita daily net income (US\$)	1.2	0.82	1.0
N	128	128	256

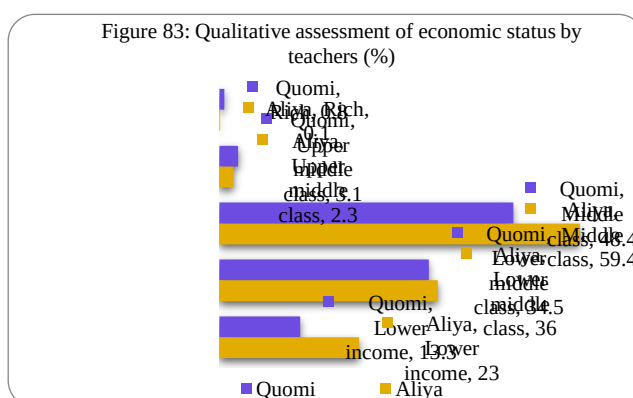
It should be kept in mind that, we are talking about household annual net income, not just personal income or gross income of a teacher. The annual net income is synonymous with the disposable income which means the amount of income that can be spent for various purposes.

The composition of annual net income shows that income from teaching in the madrassa was the major contributor with more than 50 percent of annual total net income. For Aliya Madrassa teachers, salary from madrassa contributed 57 percent of total net income, while it was 45

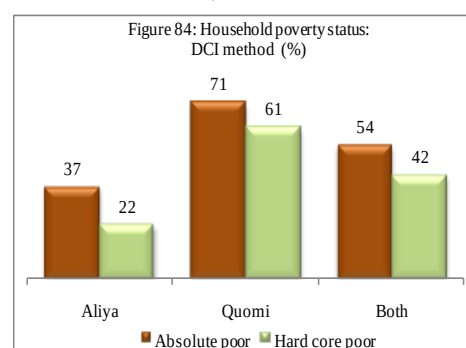


percent for Quomi Madrassa teachers. In addition to teaching in madrassas, a few of them work as ‘Imam’ in Mosques and from this, the Aliya Madrassa teachers earn 3 percent and Quomi Madrassa teachers about 9 percent of their annual total net income. Income from agriculture contributes a good portion of Aliya (19%) and Quomi (17%) teachers. A good amount from rent of houses and shops (about 8%) and petty businesses (4%) are other sources of earning for Quomi Madrassa teachers and such sources contribute negligible amount for Aliya Madrassa teachers. About 4 percent of total net income comes from remittance in case of Quomi Madrassa teacher, which is about 2.5 percent for Aliya Madrassa teachers (Figures 81 and 82).

Apart from the quantitative estimates of the economic status of madrassa teachers’ households, a qualitative assessment was also done. A five level Likert scale was used to assess the economic status. The scales are: ‘low income’, ‘lower middle class’, ‘middle class’, ‘upper middle class’, and ‘rich’. As per the qualitative assessment made by the teachers themselves, about 60 percent of Aliya Madrassa teachers fall in the “middle class” income group and 36 percent assessed themselves as “lower middle class”. About 5 percent of Aliya Madrassa teacher referred themselves as member of “low income” and “upper middle class” group in equal proportion. On the other hand, in Quomi Madrassas, almost half of the teachers (48.4%) considered themselves in the ‘middle class’ income group, followed by “lower middle class” (34.5%) and this pattern of economic status assessment was almost similar to that of Aliya Madrassa teachers. More than one-tenth (13%) of Quomi Madrassa teachers recognized themselves as “poor”, and only a few teachers (0.8%) considered themselves as “rich”.

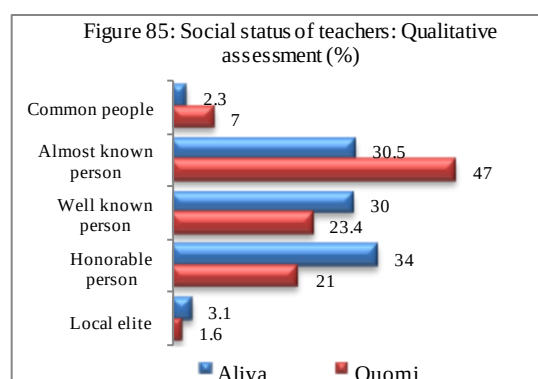


The poverty status is estimated in a number of ways where Direct Calorie Intake (DCI) method is regarded as one of the best methods because of its simplicity (to understand), transparency in the estimation process, and for easy comparability. Under this method, data collected from the households on food consumption (quantities) by items were converted to calorie by multiplying each food item consumed by that household by its corresponding calorie content. The conversion factor derived by the Institute of Nutrition and Food Science, Dhaka University, was used. A household with a per capita calorie intake of less than 2,122 kilo calorie per day was considered as “*absolute poor*”, while a household with a per capita calorie intake of less than 1,805 kilo calorie per day was considered as “*hard core poor*”. According to “Direct Calorie Intake (DCI) Method”, a total of 54 percent madrassa teachers (household) were living below absolute poverty line (below 2,122 k.cal/person/day) and about 42 percent below the hardcore poverty line (below 1805 k.cal/person/day). Comparing the poverty status, between Aliya and Quomi Madrassa teachers, reveal that the incidence of poverty is more acute among the Quomi Madrassa teacher’s households by any definition of poverty. As per definition of absolute poverty line (below 2,122 k.cal/ person/day), 37 percent of Aliya Madrassa teachers were poor, while almost two time higher Quomi Madrassa teachers (71%) were identified as poor (Figure 84). Accountings for the

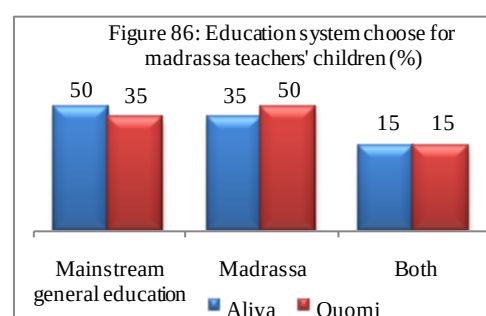


teachers, who fall under the category of ‘hardcore poverty’, show a deplorable poverty scenario where 61 percent of Quomi Madrassa teachers and 22 percent Aliya Madrassa teacher are identified as ‘hardcore poor’. Proportion test was used to test the poverty status of madrassa teachers and the result showed that compared to the Aliya Madrassa teachers, more Quomi Madrassa teachers were living under absolute poverty line (calculated Z value is -5.886) as well as under hardcore poverty line (calculated Z value is -6.926).

Besides the economic and poverty status of madrassa teachers, qualitative self assessment on their social status was done. It is identified that madrassa teachers are socially in a better position as compared to their economic status. A five point Likert scale was used to assess the social status and the scales are: “*common people*”, “*almost known person*”, “*well known person*”, “*honorable person*”, and “*local elite*”. About 35 percent Aliya Madrassa teachers assessed themselves as “honorable person” (respected by the community) in the society followed by equal percentage of teacher (30% each) as “almost known person” and “well known person”. A small section of Aliya Madrassa teachers considered themselves as “common people” (2.3%) and “local elite” (3%). In case of Quomi Madrassa teachers, a remarkable large number of teachers (47%) reported that they are living the society as “almost known person”. About 24 percent of them assessed themselves as “well known persons” and almost the same number of teachers (21%) recognized themselves as “honorable persons” in the community. Like Aliya Madrassas, a very small section of Quomi Madrassa teachers assessed themselves as “common people” (7%) and “local elites” (1.6%).



The lives of madrassa teachers can not be explained in simple terms. There are full of diverse and contrasting elements as, in the one hand, they are poor, and on the other hand socially respected. As most of the madrassa students and teachers are found poor or economically disadvantaged, they are the breeding ground of further poverty. In this regard, the madrassa teachers were asked about their children’s education, and it is found that half of the Aliya Madrassa teachers were sending their children to the mainstream schools and the same is true for 35 percent of Quomi Madrassa teachers. Sending children to madrassas are observed among 35 percent of Aliya Madrassa and 50 percent of Quomi Madrassa teachers. Sending children to both types of educational institutions i.e., mainstream schools and madrassas was also found among 15 percent teachers of both Aliya and Quomi Madrassas. Further discussions with both types of madrassa teachers reveal that most of the teachers who send their children to mainstream schools argued that sending children to such institution does not mean that their children are deprived of religious education. They receive religious education from their parents at home.

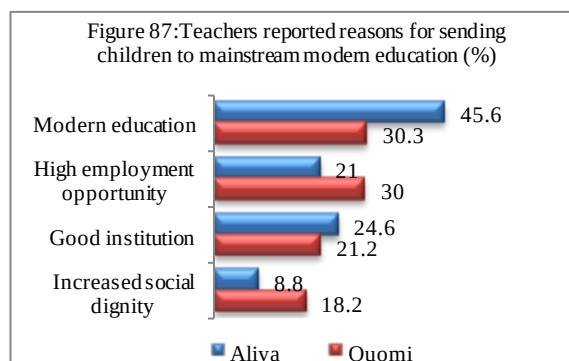


Further discussions with both types of madrassa teachers reveal that most of the teachers who send their children to mainstream schools argued that sending children to such institution does not mean that their children are deprived of religious education. They receive religious education from their parents at home.

Reports from madrassa teachers identified four distinct reasons for sending children to mainstream schools: high employment opportunities, exposure to a modern education, quality education, and enhanced social prestige. Modernity, in terms of scientific reasoning and capacity to serve the demand of the society, was the main reason reported by the madrassa

teachers (40%), with a difference between Aliya (45.6%) and Quomi Madrassa (30%). High employment opportunity (24.4%) was another reason for sending their children to mainstream schools and this reason was reported more by the Quomi teachers (30%) compared to Aliya teachers (21%). It is understandable for Quomi Madrassa students, as employment opportunities are relatively low compared to Aliya students.

The existence of a quality education institution in the mainstream schools was also pointed out (23.3%) by madrassa teachers without much variation between Aliya and Quomi Madrassas. Good quality institutions refer to those having good facilities in terms of learning, quality teachers, and strong financial and administrative systems. Sending children to mainstream schools is recognized by the society for prestige and is also reported by the madrassa teachers (12.2%). This factor was identified more among Quomi (18.2%) than by the Aliya teachers (8.8%).



KEY FEATURES

- ✓ The total number of madrassa teachers in 2008 is estimated to be 364,407
- ✓ In 1948, there were 32,068 madrassa teachers in Bangladesh (erstwhile East Pakistan). By 2008, it increased 11 times reaching 364,407 with Aliya having 181,663 and Quomi 182,744 teachers
- ✓ The annual growth rate of number of teachers, from 1951 to 2008, was 1.8 percent. The highest annual growth rate of madrassa teachers was 9.2 percent during 1976
- ✓ In the Aliya Madrassas, the ratio of male-female teacher is 93:7 and in the Quomi Madrassas, it is 94:6
- ✓ In the mainstream (general) primary education, the teacher-student ratio was found 1:47, while in primary level madrassas, the same is 1:56.
- ✓ Madrassa teachers reported that 'low salary' is a major problem in both Aliya (76%) and Quomi (84%) madrassas
- ✓ In the Aliya Madrassa, teachers usually get a monthly gross salary of Tk. 4,600 to Tk. 11,000 but, in the Quomi Madrassas, teachers get as low as Tk. 1,450 to Tk. 4,500 as monthly gross salary
- ✓ A 20 percent of madrassa teachers lived in the madrassa premises
- ✓ Household annual net income of Madrassa teachers' is Tk. 129,672 (US\$ 1,885). For Quomi Madrassa teachers, this income is 28 percent less than that of Aliya Madrassa teachers
- ✓ About 50 percent of the teachers' household income come from teaching in the madrassa
- ✓ A 54 percent madrassa teacher's household fall below "absolute poverty" line and 42 percent below "hard core poverty" line. The incidence of household poverty is more acute among Quomi madrassa teachers than that among Aliya madrassa teachers.
- ✓ Around 50 percent of the Aliya Madrassa teachers and 35 percent of Quomi Madrassa teachers are sending their children not to madrassas but to mainstream schools.

FEMALE EDUCATION IN THE MADRASSAS

STATUS OF WOMEN IN ISLAM

In the ages when no country, no system, no community gave women any rights, in societies where the birth of a baby girl was regarded as a curse, where women were considered an item of moveable property, Islam treated women as individuals. Long ago Islam gave women rights that modern nations have conceded grudgingly and only under pressure.

Since the Holy Qur'an places great emphasis on human dignity and freedom, it is conceivable that it would tolerate much less advocate, any form of discrimination based on race, color or gender. In fact, because of its protective attitude toward all downtrodden, the Qur'an appears to be weighted in many ways in favor of women. In terms of human rights, the Qur'an makes no distinction between men and women. The only criterion by which a person is to be judged is piety (*taqwa*), which means to "to desist from wrong-doing."

On coming of age, a woman under Islamic law is vested in all the rights which belong to her as an independent human being. She is entitled to a share in the inheritance of her parents. No one – not even her father – can force her to marry against her expressed consent. A woman does not cease to be an individual after marriage. Muslim marriage is a civil act. Rights of the husband over the person of his wife are restricted by law and do not extend to her property, her dowry, or her earnings. The marriage contract is drawn at the behest of the woman and she can add to it such conditions as she deems necessary to safeguard her interests, and they are legally binding on her husband.

Though Islam permits divorce, it is looked upon as a "necessary evil." In the case of a divorce, the wife retains all that the husband had bestowed on her in marriage and is entitled to alimony. A woman can seek a separation, though in this case she has to forgo the dowry that her husband conferred on her.

Polygamy was the natural consequence of the decimation of men in tribal wars, leaving scores of women without any support whatsoever. As such, it was permitted in Islam in a restricted form. However, there were conditions attached to it: "*If you cannot treat them equitably, marry only one*" (Qur'an 4:2). For the crimes of adultery and fornication, the same harsh punishment is prescribed for both men and women, found guilty. Women enjoy

equally the right to education. “*Education is obligatory on both Muslim men and women, even if they have to go to China to seek it,*” is a popular saying of the Prophet.

In early Islam when many Muslims had to migrate, women left their homes and took the road to Medina alone. They were present on the battlefield looking after the wounded and even took part in the fighting. Among the first martyrs for Islam was a woman, Sumiyya.

The egalitarian message of Islam and its insistence on the spiritual equality of men and women, however, were eroded as Muslim societies suffered moral and material decline. The process of transition from empire to monarchy and to diverse forms of authoritarianism, coupled with the contaminating influence of ancient civilizations, which came under the sway of Islam, led to the revival of the patriarchal tradition with its accent on male domination.

Female Education and the Muslim World

From around 750 (CE), during the Abbasid Caliphate, women “became renowned for their intelligence.” In particular, many well known women were trained from childhood in music, dancing, and poetry. Among them, Tawaddud, “a slave girl who said to have been bought at great cost by Harun al-Rashid, because she passed her examinations by the most eminent scholars in astronomy, medicine, law, philosophy, music, history, Arabic grammar, literature, theology, and chess.” Moreover, Shudha was known as “the scholar” or the “the pride of women” during the twelfth century in Baghdad.

Women also played an important role in the foundation of many Islamic institutions, such as Fatima al-Fihri’s founding of the University of Al Karaouine in 859. This continued through to the Ayyubid dynasty in the 12th and 13th centuries when 160 mosques and madrassas were established in Damascus, 26 of which were funded by women through the *waqf* (charitable trust) system. Half of all the royal patrons for these institutions were women.

According to the Sunni scholar Ibn Asakir, in the 12th century, there were opportunities for female education in the medieval Islamic world, writing that women could study, earn *ijazahs* (academic degrees), and qualify for scholars and teachers. Ibn Asakir had himself studied under 80 different female teachers in his time. Female education in the Islamic world was inspired by Muhammad’s wives: Khadijah, a successful businesswoman, and Aisha a renowned *Hadiths* scholar and military leader. According to a *Hadiths* attributed to Muhammad, he praised the women of Medina because of their desire for (religious) knowledge.

While it was not common for women to enroll as students in formal classes, it was common for them to attend informal lectures and study sessions at mosques, madrassas, and other public places. While there were no legal restrictions on female education, some men did not approve of this practice.

The developments of madrassas in the present day South Asia are bearers of the remarkable revival that Islamic education witnessed in colonial India during the late 19th century. This renewal began in particular earnestness with the establishment of the Dar-ul-Uloom Madrasa at Deoband in 1867. Women were not put off this revivalist project in formal religious education, although on the level of informal religious education, they were taken into serious considerations by some *ulema* who sought to promote individual piety, to re-Islamize household rituals and daily cultural practices, and to facilitate individual knowledge and observance of Qur’an and *Hadiths*-based religious injunctions as opposed to folk customs.

Segregation of Females in Islamic Education

With this rich gender sensitive background, how is it that Islamic education became segregated? This question was explained by Dr. Azyumardi, an historian, whose research piece “The network of Islamic teachers in Indonesia and the Middle East” concludes that there was no difference between males and females, within the education system, at the time of the Prophet. Only from the time when Islamic doctrines began to be formulated by Islamic teachers, perhaps first with studies of the *Hadiths*, *tafsir*, *kalam*, and *fiqh*, was there a trend for females to be segregated. Because of this, in the second century of the Islamic calendar, women who wanted an education studied with their father or with an Islamic teacher that had been agreed upon by their parents with assurance of separation from males.

Dr. Azyumardi explained: if we look at resources i.e., *fiqh* doctrines, concerning males and females, the doctrines were formulated quite ordered by experts in *fiqh*. So at that time, limitations about the rights and obligations between males and females were formulated. Following this, the Muslim community became divided. Because of this, if we look at education institutions in the Middle East, especially after the rise of the orthodox Sunni Muslims, we see the rise of schools for males only like the Nizhamiyah School in Baghdad.

Female Education in the Madrassas in South Asia and Bangladesh

The historical neglect of female formal religious education continues to shape the sphere of women’s religious scholarships in present-day South Asia, even though some changes are under way in the margins. The neglect of female religious education in South Asia (and possibly elsewhere) is evident today not only in the abysmal gaps between the number of male and female madrasa students and traditional religious scholars but also in the dearth of scholarship on women’s madrassas in South Asia. Thus, for instance, neither of the two most comprehensive, recent, and otherwise illuminating and timely scholarly articles on the madrassas in South Asia mentions female madrasa students even in passing (Ahmad and Sikand 2004).

However, sociopolitical changes began to sweep across the Muslim world during the 19th and 20th centuries with the establishment of British colonialism, and the Dar-ul-Uloom Madrasa at Deoband that was established in 1865. This remains the largest traditional madrasa in South Asia till this day. In the absence of Muslim rulers as patrons of madrasa education, and concerned with the threat that colonialism and intensifying Christian missionary work in the region posed to the production, sustenance, and enhancement of Islamic knowledge and sensibilities, *ulamas* began to establish small and large madrassas which increasingly turned to the ranks of ordinary *ajlaf* Muslims, with whom *ulamas* and madrassas had had little contact until then. The ordinary Muslim came to symbolize the survival and well-being of Islam and to serve as the repository of Islamic knowledge and moral reform. In the wake of these changes, Muslim girls did not remain untouched by such reforms for too long. However, it would not be till the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century that Muslim girls began to gain access to higher education. At least, this was the case in former Bengal.

The eminent lady who played the greatest role in mobilizing for formal and higher education for women in Bengal specifically, was Begum Rokeya Sakhawat Hussein, who against numerous personal, familial, cultural, and financial odds, established an Urdu-medium school for girls in Calcutta in the year 1911; by then Urdu had come to dominate the elite Muslim

culture in Bengal, to be gradually replaced by Bengali in later decades. Named the “Sakhawat Memorial Girls’ School,” this school opened at 13 Waliulla Lane in a tiny classroom, with only 8 girls in attendance. In 1917, it became a Middle English school. Begum Rokeya added a class every year till her school became a high school in 1931 (Amin and Brill 1996).

While this was the first stable beginning of modern education among Muslim girls in this region, there were other and even earlier efforts in various parts of Bengal and in certain parts of India to make modern education accessible to girls. Thus, for instance, a primary school for girls from strictly *purdah* observing families were founded in 1873 in Comilla by another pioneering Bengali woman, Nawab Faizunnessa Chaudhurani who herself had received a good education at home in Urdu, Bengali, Sanskrit, and Persian. This school became a Junior High School (till the 8th grade) in 1889 and a regular High School in 1931. It operates today as Nawab Faizunnessa High School for Girls (Amin 1996). In 1897, on the request of Nawab Shamsi Jahan Firdaus Mahal of Murshidabad, and Lady Mckenzie, the wife of the governor of Calcutta, the Muslim Girls’ Madrassa was inaugurated in Calcutta. Begum Firdaus Mahal funded the construction of the building. She also provided a monthly grant of Rs. 150 while Nawab Ahsanullah of Dhaka contributed Rs. 1000. In 1898, 46 girls enrolled in the madrassa (Amin 1996).

The first formal school for girls in Dhaka, Eden Female School, was established in June 1878. This was the first government secondary school for girls in the region and remained thus for many years. A college section was introduced in 1926, making the Eden Girls’ School and College the first institute for higher secondary education for women in East Bengal (Amin 1996).

There was no effort in the area of Bengal to create opportunities for women to obtain higher religious education. Women traditionally received some basic Islamic education at home. In certain *ashraf* or upper aristocratic families, the quality of Islamic education that girls received at home could be quite remarkable and as high as the quality of the education received by the boys in those families. In many middle and upper class families, a girl would be introduced to the Qur’an at the age of 5 through a lesson in Arabic letters taught by female tutors from modest backgrounds called “*ustadnis*.” These female tutors would also teach some Persian, Urdu, some basic accounting skills, a little sewing and embroidery, and later Bengali and English as well (Amin 1996). Once women began to attend non-religious public schools, they began to be instructed in subjects such as mathematics, history, and geography, but some basic religious instruction continues to this present day in the form of the course “*Islamiyat*,” which is a compulsory course for Muslims in state schools in Bangladesh. However, a Muslim woman did not have any opportunity to become an Alim (religious scholar) through education at an elite madrassa (a religious seminary with 16 years of coursework and training).

Only during the last 2-3 decades did the *ulama* finally open the doors of formal, elite madrassas to women. Separate women’s madrassa, both of the *Kamil*/Aliya variety (that is the madrassas which follow the government approved course curriculum of a few modern subjects and a revised form of the Dars Nizami syllabus) and the Quomi variety (which follow the Deoband and most traditional/standard *Dars Nizami*) have been established. However, as far as traditional Islamic courses are concerned, the courses are essentially the same in both the *Kamil*/Aliya and Quomi systems of religious education.

In Bangladesh, a relatively large number of female students are studying in madrassas across the country however; their number is much less than those of the male students and the number of female teachers are negligible including the support staff (known as 3rd and 4th grade staff) in these madrassas.

According to BANBEIS Report (1999), the total number of madrassa students was 2,935,348, among which 1,163,513 were females (about 40%). Female students in the *Dakhil*, *Alim*, *Fazil*, and *Kamil* levels constitute 46 percent, 37 percent, 27 percent and 13 percent respectively. The total number of teachers is 100,800 among which, 2,773 (about 3%) were females, and female teachers in the *Dakhil*, *Alim*, *Fazil*, and *Kamil* levels constitute 3 percent, 3 percent, 2 percent and 1 percent respectively. The total Class 3 and Class 4 employees in madrassas were 7,393 and 16,346 respectively, and female employees, in both categories, was only 4 percent (BANBEIS 1999).

Generally, in the madrassas in Bangladesh, both in coeducation and female education schools is discouraged because these are seen as a source of problem for young men and women in particular, and the society in general. As a result, we see a very dismal picture of girls' enrollment rate at the secondary level madrassas with around 9 percent (Table 27).

Table 27: Girls enrolment rate at secondary level madrassas

Year	Secondary Age Population (11-15 Yrs.)		Enrolment (Grade 6-10)		Gross Enrolment Rate (%)
	Total	Female	Total	Female	Female
2001	18,317,747	9,075,955	1,587,361	791,648	8.72
2002	18,263,183	9,054,537	1,619,486	828,854	9.15
2003	17,980,817	8,916,032	1,664,635	864,687	9.70
2004	17,148,640	8,108,582	1,583,578	786,876	9.70
2005	17,341,882	8,199,956	1,597,668	796,016	9.71

Note: Secondary age population has been calculated from SVR estimate of BBS

Though the figure in Table 27 indicates a low percentage of female students in the madrassas, the number of female madrassa students were increasing; but, the percentage of increase is very insignificant indeed; less than 1 percent over the five years since 2001.

Aiming for Higher Education

How do the female madrassa students in Bangladesh fare in aiming towards higher education?

Female students from the Aliya Madrassas have a strong desire for higher education. Some of the female students interviewed openly expressed their willingness to complete higher education and get access to information technology. As a matter of fact, two girls passed their *Alim* degree exams from one of the Aliya Madrassa in Chittagong, were studying computer science in Islamic University, and were also working full-time for a multi-national company. In some of the other Aliya Madrassas, the environment for girls' education is somewhat better; male teachers give lessons to the girls as usual and the girls are at ease. A group of women teachers from another Aliya Madrassa expressed the need of empowerment of women through education, employment, and participation in community work.

Table 28, from the study, reveals some interesting findings regarding madrassa student's aspiration for higher studies. Irrespective of Aliya or Quomi, male students were more

aspired for higher education than their counterpart female students. Secondly, irrespective of male-female, students of Aliya are more interested in higher education than those from Quomi. Third, while most (96%) of the female students of the Aliya Madrassas have plans for higher studies, only half (53%) of the females from the Quomi Madrassas took interest. This is a clear indication that a female student of Aliya, compared to Quomi, had aspiration towards higher studies. Here, one can easily assume the interplay of various factors that contribute to such a positive attitude of the girls towards higher education in the Aliya Madrassas.

Table 28: Students reported having plan of higher studies (in %)

Plan of higher studies	Aliya			Quomi		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
Have plan	98.4	96.3	97.4	79.7	53.2	77.3
N	369	295	664	602	62	664

There are also some interesting findings on the level of education (institutions) the students (both Aliya and Quomi) want to complete as a part of higher studies (Table 29). Here again, the Aliya Madrassa students fare better (64.6%) than their Quomi counterparts who were hobbling at a paltry 6.6 percent. However, the most unusual part is that more female students (71.9%) wanted to complete the university level than the boys (58.8%) from the Aliya Madrassas, though the boys (7.1%) were slightly more than the girls (1.6%) in the Quomi Madrassas.

Table 29: Students reported institutions for higher studies (in %)

Name of Institution	Aliya			Quomi			All		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
Quomi Madrassa	-	-	-	1.8	11.3	2.7	1.1	2.0	1.4
College	11.4	20.0	15.2	1.2	1.6	1.2	5.0	16.8	8.2
University	58.8	71.9	64.6	7.1	1.6	6.6	26.8	59.7	35.6

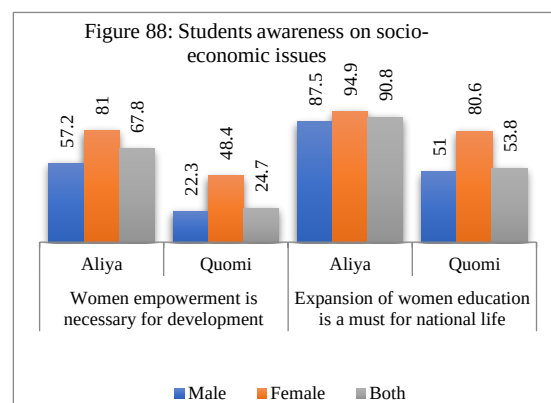
Furthermore, 20 percent of the girls would like to complete at least college level (grade 12) than the boys (11.4%) of the Aliya Madrassas. Here again, the girls of Quomi Madrassas who would like to complete college is only 1.6 percent. Therefore, it is highly likely that if aspiration comes true, then more girls from the Aliya Madrassas would not only complete higher or university level of education than their counterpart girls from a Quomi background, but also it is more likely that these girls will complete higher education proportionately more than the boys of either the Aliya or the Quomi Madrassas.

Expansion of female education (for development) and women's empowerment seems to evade and affect the Quomi students, and more importantly, responses from the female students are indeed encouraging from both the Aliya and Quomi students.

View of Madrassa Students on Women Empowerment and Education

How do the madrassa students view 'women empowerment' (as necessary condition for development) and 'women education' (must for national development)? On the issue of 'women's empowerment is necessary for development', 57 percent of male students of Aliya Madrassas replied positively. It is interesting to note that the response of the female madrassa students (Aliya) has been much higher at 81 percent compared to the male students. It is also remarkable that 48 percent of female students of Quomi Madrassa feel this

empowerment is indispensable for development. Taking into account both male and female students in the Aliya Madrassas, positive response is around 68 percent whereas, in Quomi Madrassas, only 25 percent are in favor of such empowerment. On the other hand, almost 95 percent of the female students of Aliya Madrassas agree that “expansion of women education is indispensable for national development”. However, corresponding figure for Quomi Madrassas was much lower at 54 percent (Figure 88).



The findings provide clear indication that less emphasis is placed on female education and women’s empowerment in Quomi as compared to that in Aliya Madrassas. While it is indeed assuring that 81 percent of female students of Quomi Madrassas agreed that female education is essential for national development, in spite of the fact that Quomi Madrassas, by and large, do not place proper emphasis on female education and women’s empowerment. A 95 percent of Aliya female students agreed with the statement that expansion of women education is a must for national life.

Female Education: Quomi Madrassas

An inquiry into the views of some Quomi Madrassas for women revealed that according to them the prime objective of educating women is to make her the perfect caretaker of the home, ideal mother for the children, and an obedient wife. Women’s economic role, empowerment, decision making, and developing personal identity are generally ignored in the Quomi Madrassa education.

In most of the Quomi Madrassas, the expectation of girl students is limited to education up to secondary level without any guideline for a career. During a visit to a female Quomi madrassa, there was a prominent writing on the wall, above the gate, warning:

“Women are things to be kept hidden. If they go outside, ‘*satan*’ will create problems”.

In the first instance, women were defined as ‘things’, violating the Islamic teaching, traditions, not to mention their rights. The doors of the class rooms were locked; girls of the age of six to nine were taught recitation of Qur’an under strict veil in a confined and closed room. The little girls were in strict *purdah* although there was no male in the class room. These madrassas do not ensure an educational environment that is conducive for the development of girls. In some of the Aliya and Quomi Madrassas, female students received lessons from behind a curtain. It was a barrier for an easy communication between the teacher and the pupils, giving no opportunity for feedback to and from the students. Cases of gender-based violence were also reported from these types of madrassas.

Box 20: Physical torture on a female student

In February 21, 2008, Maimuna Akhter, aged 15, a student of Grade 9 in Boxgonja Islami Senior Madrassa of Nangolkot Upazila, in the District of Noakhali, along with a few friends went to *Shahid Minar* (monument for martyrs of language movement) near her school. On seeing her, the office assistant of the madrassa beat her severely. On information, the madrassa governing body verified the incident and promised to take action against the assistant. The office assistant's reply: because the girl came to school premises on a holiday, I beat her!

Source: *Daily Prothom Alo*, 24 February, 2008

Box 21: Daughter of Madrassa Teacher reads in English Medium School

A young daughter of a Superintendent of a madrassa was found to be a student of an English medium school. It seemed the girl was very close to her father, who enrolled her in a kindergarten for a better future.

A few more cases of children of madrassa teachers were found to be students of kindergarten and general schools apparently in expectation of better future. This indicates that affordability and prospects in life boons for general education, even in madrassa education-oriented families. Poverty seems to be a major cause for the guardians to send their children to madrassas as parents reported that they cannot afford the expenditures of general education. In many madrassas, foods are free, which is an incentive for sending their girl children to madrassas.

Status of Women in Female Madrassas: Constraints

The role of female madrassas seems to be keeping women away from modern and progressive education. In particular, what education is provided to women, especially in the Quomi Madrassas is not clear to anyone – not even the people of the community. These madrassas have allegedly been established to provide and spread religious education only.

A story published by a reporter in the *Daily Sangbad*, while visiting a female Quomi Madrassa, who saw 19 essential rules, written on a blackboard, to be followed by the female students. These include:

- *Women must not laugh, shout, or call anyone in a loud voice*
- *They must not talk to males other than their fathers and brothers*
- *They must not watch television or listen to a radio*
- *They must not go to the market or to any other formal occasions*
- *Grown up girls must not formally greet any male with a 'salam'*

According to a *huzoor* (commonly referred to the teacher, master in Arabic and the Qur'an, in the madrassas) of a madrassa, girls should definitely be punished if they do not follow these rules. He thinks that girls who study too much become women of loose morals. Allah, according to the *huzoor*, created women only for serving males therefore; they should be kept within strict control.

The Female Madrassa Movement in Bangladesh, published by the Islamic Foundation, describes behaviors that must be memorized and followed by students of the female madrassas. Several behavioral norms for the female madrassa students, as decreed in that book are:

1. Going out alone should be absolutely banned.
2. Using any kind of make-up is prohibited in the madrassa.
3. They must wear long *kameez* (tops) and dresses in accordance with the *sharia* and must always have a large *orna* (large scarves draped in front of their body).
4. They should avoid open roads as much as possible while coming to madrassa and other religious gatherings. If a female student meets a man on the road in the village, she should move to the side of the road with her face turned away. She should remain so until he passed her.
5. There should be no conversation – with each other – while walking.
6. Apart from the topics included in the curriculum of the madrassa or the *majlish*, female students should not speak of other issues with the teacher.

The madrassas instill the idea that it is a great sin for females to receive “anti-Islamic” or modern education. They begin to strongly believe this and that value is eventually passed on to their children. The intense repression by these sorts of behavioral tenets is forced upon the female students, who can never develop a positive attitude in building their future.

Box 22: Views on women by a madrassa patron

“Woman is like gold jewelry, she must be guarded carefully with observance of the *purdah*.. Like gold, if women are not guarded carefully, then they might be stolen or robbed. That is why women must be kept behind the veil” – as expressed by Maulana Alimul Huq. His remarks clearly reflect the viewpoint of madrassa educated and madrassa patrons regarding women, which is out of tune and context social reality.

Source: Mujib Mehdi: Madrassa education: An Observation; Bangladesh Nari Progati Sangha, 2006

KEY FEATURES

- ✓ Islam treats women as individuals. Long ago Islam gave women rights that modern nations have conceded grudgingly and only under pressure
- ✓ From around 750 (CE), during the Abbasid Caliphate, women “became renowned for their intelligence”
- ✓ Women also played an important role in the foundation of many Islamic institutions, such as Fatima al- Fihri’s founding of the University of Al Karaoumine in 859
- ✓ The neglect of female religious education in South Asia (and possibly elsewhere) is evident today not only in the abysmal gaps between the number of male and female madrassa students and traditional religious scholars, but also in the dearth of scholarship on women’s madrassas in South Asia
- ✓ In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century Muslim girls began to gain access to higher education. At least, this was the case in former Bengal
- ✓ Only during the last 2-3 decades did the *ulama* finally open the doors of formal, elite madrassas to women
- ✓ According to BANBEIS Report (1999), the total number of madrassa students was 2,935,348, among which 1,163,513 were females (about 40%)
- ✓ Female students from the Aliya Madrassas have a strong desire for higher education; 96 percent of the female students of the Aliya Madrassas and 53 percent females from the Quomi Madrassas have plans for higher studies
- ✓ The most unusual finding of this study is that more female students (72%) want to complete the university level than the boys (59%) from the Aliya Madrassas
- ✓ Among the females, 81 percent of the Aliya and 48 percent of Quomi Madrassa students view ‘women empowerment’ as essential condition for development
- ✓ Women’s economic role, empowerment, decision making, and developing personal identity are generally ignored in the Quomi Madrassa education

CURRENT CONCERNS IN MADRASSA EDUCATION AND FUNDAMENTALISM

MADRASSA EDUCATION IN A CHANGING WORLD

Though madrasa education can be traced back to thousands of years of traditional education in the Islamic world, over the last few decades some of these institutions have changed their original intent. The present danger is that some of these schools have built extremely close ties with radical militant groups and play a critical role in sustaining terrorist networks thus endangering the stability of both Muslim countries and the West. It is a matter of concern that in some countries madrassas are increasing in number higher than that of the schools under the public education system, diminishing not only political stability, but also the economic prospects of those countries.

There has been a relative boom of madrassas since the 1980s, particularly in Bangladesh and Pakistan, and the boom in both these countries can be linked to a surge of Islamization by the military autocratic governments in these countries namely Zia-ul-Huq in Pakistan and Zia-ur-Rahman in Bangladesh. In the absence of a strong political commitment by these governments towards expanding the general public education system, they increased their national budgets for madrassas and allowed and sought funds from charities across the Gulf countries, especially Saudi Arabia, for the madrassas throughout the country.

Like Pakistan, there is no state supervision of the Quomi Madrassas in Bangladesh, and it is up to the individual schools to decide what to teach and preach. Many provide only religious subjects to their students, focusing on rote memorization of Arabic texts to the exclusion of basic skills for obtaining a meaningful job in the market. They are ignorant to the existence of other advanced cultures, and promote the view that 'democracy' is un-Islamic as it is the preferred system in the West.

As in Pakistan, this boom of madrasa education can be basically attributed to the failing political system in Bangladesh. From endemic corruption and debt burdens built over the last two to three decades, the government education system has come to the brink of failure. While the Constitution of Bangladesh promises all children an education, in reality it does not provide this. Bangladesh spends a meager amount of its gross national output on public

education. Government run schools are generally considered to be in a state of decay with a lack of qualified teachers, books, electricity, running water, and even in some cases, the roof. There are a significant number of ghost schools, which only exist as budget line items for corrupt bureaucrats to draw money from. Many administrators receive their jobs through political connections and the teachers frequently threaten strikes for their pay. While the government statistics show that a literacy rate of 63 percent, the civil society watch group research findings suggests about 40 percent.

The rich elite in Bangladesh respond to this government apathy for quality public education by sending their own children to an expanded number of private (mostly English Medium) schools, which are considered to be far superior. However, the poor cannot afford these private schools or the scanty mainstream public schools, both in the rural and urban areas, which is where the madrassas step in as filler. With no better option, the poor parents send their children to the madrassas, where they receive at least some education. Some madrassas provide food and clothes and have residential facilities, further increasing their enticement.

Thus, the madrassas become immensely popular by targeting the growing lower echelon of society – the excluded and the disadvantaged – whom the Bangladesh government fails to provide proper access to mainstream education. Therefore, ultimately the key issue to be resolved is to devise most appropriate strategy to simultaneously negotiate rising religiosity in Bangladesh – a difficult practical issue to resolve because one breeds the other (Barkat 2006).

Background and Rise of the Concept of Fundamentalism

Fundamentalism is strict adherence to the fundamental principles of any set of beliefs. In Christianity, especially among certain Protestant sects, the beliefs that every word of the Bible is divinely inspired and therefore, it is true. In Islam, fundamentalism is a movement favoring strict observance of the teachings of the Qur'an and Islamic Law.

The term “**Fundamentalist**” is one of the most controversial religious terms therefore; it is imperative how this term is used in different contexts.

- Within academic circles the term is generally used in a precise manner. For example, Karen Armstrong defines fundamentalist movements as “*embattled forms of spirituality, which have emerged as a response to a perceived crisis*” – namely the fear that modernity will erode or even eradicate their faith and morality. That concern is shared by fundamentalist Christians, Jews, Muslims, Sikhs, and others.
- Within Christianity, Judaism, Islam and other faiths, the media generally use the term to refer to the most conservative wing of the religion. For example, fundamentalist Christianity is often described as the most conservative wing of Evangelicalism.
- However, sometimes the term is used as a general-purpose “snarl” word which is intended to denigrate a religious group, implying that they are intolerant or prone to violence.

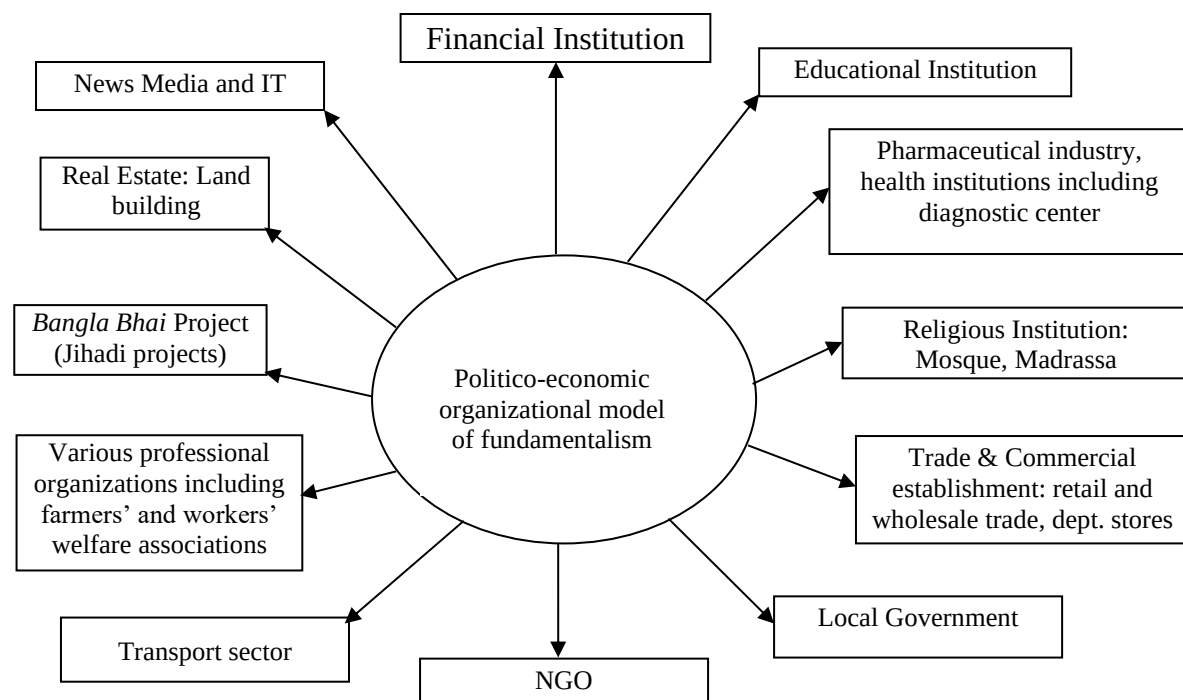
Barkat has defined religious fundamentalism (as shown in Box 24) with multifaceted features and came up with the concepts of *economics of fundamentalism* (Barkat 2005). *Economics of fundamentalism* can be viewed as a concentrated expression of religion-based communal politics aimed at capturing the state power using religion as pretext. It runs contrary to secular approach to people, smothering and decimating the free, unfettered outlook. It has launched a vicious onslaught on the spirit of secularism that was embedded in

Box 24: Objective meaning of fundamentalism

Religious *fundamentalism* is a form of militant piety in religion. Fundamentalism is an embattled faith. It is beleaguered tradition defended in the traditional way – by reference to ritual truth – in a globalizing world that asks for reasons. Fundamentalism is evident in both great monotheisms (Christianity, Islam, Judaism) and in other religions (Buddhism, Hinduism, even in Confucianism etc). The Muslim and Jewish fundamentalisms are not much concerned with doctrine, which is an essentially Christian preoccupation. 'Fundamentalisms' all follow a certain pattern – they are embattled forms of spirituality, which have emerged as a response to a perceived crisis. They are engaged in a conflict with enemies whose secularist policies and beliefs seem inimical to religion itself. Fundamentalists do not regard this battle as a conventional political struggle, but experience it as a cosmic war between the forces of good and evil. They fear annihilation, and try to fortify their beleaguered identity by means of a selective retrieval of certain doctrines and practices of the past. To avoid contamination, they often withdraw from mainstream society to create a counterculture, yet fundamentalists are not impractical dreamers. They have absorbed the pragmatic rationalism of modernity, and, under the guidance of charismatic leaders, they refine these "fundamentals" so as to create an ideology that provides the faithful with a plan of action. Fundamentalists – by turning the *mythos* of their religion into *logos* and by transforming their complex mythology into a streamlined ideology – cultivate theologies of rage, resentment, and revenge. Fundamentalism is a refusal of dialogue in a world whose peace and continuity depend on it (Barkat 2006).

the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh in 1972 following the Liberation War-1971. The act of satisfying people's hopes and aspirations turned out to be a fiasco. At the same time, erosion of a secular democratic mind-set also cropped up. Both these two factors, besides encouraging the growth of fundamentalism and its economic agents and interests, have given birth to the institutions that turned favorable to their expanded reproduction. Consequently, the *economics of fundamentalism* came in to being. The politico-economic organizational model of such religious fundamentalism in Bangladesh is shown in Figure 105.

Figure 105: The politico-economic organizational model of religious fundamentalism in Bangladesh



Source: Barkat 2006

The rise of socialism in the first half of the last century and its disintegration during the end of the century; economic crisis in the developed capitalist world; the aggressive attitude of imperialism and polarization of the world, and the rise of unjust globalization – all contributed to the growth of religion-based fundamentalism in the world (Barkat 2006). Imperialism has played a major part in the speedy rise of fundamentalism in some parts of the world. In this connection Barkat wrote clearly “Both external and internal elements of fundamentalism give rise to parochialism against religious liberalism. On the one hand, the crisis of dollar economics²⁷, the sharp growth of petro dollar in the world economy and its volatility, the attack of Soviet Union on Afghanistan, the barbarian 9/11 and subsequent over-reaction by the name of “attack on terrorism”, doubt and mistrust in people carrying Muslim name in the developed world, the war against Iraq²⁸ – the second largest reservoir of oil in the world and occupation of the country, the spread of alien culture through electronic media in the name of globalization, on the other hand, large scale distress-destitution-deprivation of our people amidst politico-economic criminalization and increasing helplessness of common person in daily life – all these created a space for and played an immense role in the spread of intolerance and hatred using religion. These were the key opportunities, which have created the increasing demand for growth of religion-based communal politics. The consequent emergence of *economics of fundamentalism* can be seen as a supply side response to that demand” (Barkat 2006).

Basic Beliefs of Religious Fundamentalists

For religious fundamentalists, sacred scripture is considered the authentic and authoritative word of their religion’s god or gods. This does not necessarily require that all portions of scripture be interpreted literally rather than allegorically or metaphorically. Fundamentalist beliefs depend on the twin doctrines that their god or gods articulated their will clearly to prophets, and that followers also have an accurate and reliable record of that revelation.

Since a religion’s scripture is considered the word of the god or god’s, fundamentalists believe that no person is right to change it or disagree with it. Within that thought, there are many differences between different fundamentalists. For example, many Christian

²⁷ Crisis of dollar economics has many dimensions. Dollarization of economy has led Latin America, South-East Asia, and many developing countries of South Asia to crisis situation (Stiglitz 2002). In this regard special mention may be made that United States is the most powerful but highly indebted country of the world. Imports of United States are a few times larger than its exports. To make up the gap, US economy has to depend to a large extent on foreign lenders. Current account deficit of United States is on average US \$ 500 billion a year. In this process, indebtedness of USA stands at \$2 trillion at present, which is more than 20% of their GDP. At present US economy has to repay on average \$200 billion with a rate of interest of 3% per annum. If the indebtedness continues at the present rate indebtedness of USA in the year 2010 will stand at 65% of its GDP. Without new taxes imposed on US citizens, the budget deficit of USA will go on increasing.

³⁰ War, in most cases, is a profitable business. It is to note that, USA spends more on military expenditure (\$375 billion per year) than rest of the world combined together. Economist Nordhaus may make rigorous exercise and say that USA may suffer a loss of \$200 billion to \$3,000 billion in Iraq war. In fact, this loss is not a real loss. Milton Friedman has put up a long list and stated that the war will benefit the world and world economy will boom. Lots of armaments are being sold. The business for reconstruction of Postwar Iraq has got momentum. Generally after a major war, business on arms and ammunitions goes on robust way in the third world. This is also taking place and if nowhere else this is taking place in countries with kingship in “good autocratic country”. This may be kept in mind, that most of the imperialist countries are energy dependent and energy security of those countries constitute a key determinant of long-run development. The best routes of oil geography are oil of the middle Asia, oil route of Afghanistan, oil of Iraq etc. ‘War for Oil’ is central to US strategy in Iraq. Iraq has the second largest oil reserves in the world, and Iraqi oil is very easily accessible and cheap. “If you control Iraq, you are in a very strong position to determine the price and production levels (not too high, not too low) to undermine OPEC, and to throw your weight around throughout the world. This has nothing in particular to do with access to the oil for import into the United States. It’s about control of the oil... In the Middle East, the United States wants control”. (Chomsky 2005 : 5-7).

fundamentalists believe in free will, that every person is able to make their own choices, but with consequence. The appeal of this point of view is its simplicity: every person can do what they like, as much as they are able, but their god or gods will bring those who disobey without repentance (“turning away from the sin”) to justice. This is made clear by the commands of Jesus in the New Testament concerning any kind of revenge (“Vengeance is Mine, sayeth the Lord” for one). The Judaist belief is similar, but they do not believe that it is wrong to take vengeance. The fundamentalist insistence on strict observation of religious laws may lead to an accusation of legalism in addition to exclusiveness in the interpretation of metaphysical beliefs.

Fundamentalism in Christianity

In Christianity, the term fundamentalism is normally used to refer to the conservative part of the evangelical Christianity, which is itself the most conservative wing of Protestant Christianity. Fundamentalist Christians typically believe that the Bible is *inspired by God* and is *inerrant*. They reject modern analysis of the Bible as a historical document written by authors who were attempting to promote their own evolving spiritual beliefs. Rather, they view the Bible as the Word of God, internally consistent, and free of error. The term “Fundamentalist” derives from a 1909 publication “*The Fundamentals: A testimony to the truth*” which proposed five required Christian beliefs for those opposed to the Modernist movement.

Fundamentalism in Islam

The term *Fundamentalism* has been extensively misused by the media to refer to the terrorists who happen to be Muslims, or who are anti-American Muslims. This is not accurate. Fundamentalist Islam is simply the conservative wing of Islam, just as fundamentalist Christianity is the conservative wing of Christianity. The vast majority of Muslim fundamentalists are pious individuals who strictly follow the teachings of Muhammad, promote regular attendance at mosques, and promote the reading the Qur’an. Many promote the concept of theocratic government, in which *sharia* becomes the law of the state. Most probably view the West as secular, ungodly, decadent, and obsessed with sex.

Most Middle Eastern terrorists are probably fundamentalist Muslims, but they share a little with their fellow fundamentalists. They represent an extremist, radical wing of fundamentalist Islam, which is composed of people who believe that the Islamic state must be imposed on the people from above, using violent actions if necessary. This movement is fueled by social, religious, and economic stressors in many Muslim countries: lack of democracy, autocratic, unelected political leaders; millions of Palestinian refugees, extreme wealth for a minority, and often extreme poverty for most of the public; poor human rights records; high unemployment. Perhaps the greatest stressor of all is the Israeli-Palestinian conflict which has lasted over five decades. It is fuelling much of the anger, instability, unrest distrust, hostility, and feelings of victimization in the region. The US is viewed as favoring and supporting Israel. They have given over three billion dollars a year in military and economic aid to Israel. The lack of a peace settlement, the continuing expansion of Jewish settlements in occupied lands, the status of the *Dome of the Rock* at the Temple Mount in Jerusalem – the third most sacred spot of Islam – and the status of the Muslim section of the city of Jerusalem are major flash points. Although the US has come to the assistance of oppressed Muslims as in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kuwait, anti-American feelings are running high because of the invasion of Iraq.

Controversy over the Use of the Term

The Associated Press' *AP Stylebook* recommends that the term fundamentalist not be used for any group that does not apply the term to itself. Many scholars, however, use the term in the broad descriptive sense to refer to various groups in various religious traditions, and the five-volume study *The Fundamentalism Project* by Martin Marty *et al*, from the University of Chicago takes this approach. The popular discussions, the term fundamentalist is frequently used improperly to refer to a broad range of conservative, orthodox, or militant religious movements.

Christian fundamentalists, who generally consider the term to be pejorative when used to refer to them, often object to the placement of themselves and Islamist groups into a single category given that the fundamentals of Christianity are different than the fundamentals of Islam. They feel that characteristics based on the new definition are wrongly projected back into Christian fundamentalists by their critics.

Many Muslim protests the use of the term when referring to Islamist groups, and object to being placed in the same category as Christian fundamentalists, whom they see as theologically incomplete. Unlike Christian fundamentalist groups, Islamist groups do not use the term fundamentalist to refer to themselves. *Shia* groups which are often considered fundamentalist in the western world generally are not described that way in the Islamic world.

PRESENT CONCERNS OF MADRASSAS EDUCATION

There are three primary concerns over the current trend of expansion of the madrasa system of education in Bangladesh. The first breeding violence, deals with the dangerous potential of a fraction of the schools while the next two challenging the state and damaging economic prospects, convey broader, long term concerns with the government's retreat from the public sphere and the resulting implications.

Breeding Violence

The primary worry with the explosion of madrasa system is not with the schools in general, but with the implications for the radical section of them. A minor fraction of these schools are affiliated with extremist religious/political groups, who have co-opted them for their own ends. These schools teach a distorted view of Islam. Hatred is permissible, in the name of 'jihad' (Arabic meaning is to strive or to struggle) is mistranslated into so-called 'holy war' (*Harbun Mukadasatu* in Arabic) by the terrorists, and murdering innocent civilians including other Muslims men, women, and children are allowed. Though banned (*haram*) in the *Qur'an*, martyrdom through suicide attacks is considered praise worthy. Some of these radical religious schools also include weapons and physical training in their regimen, as well as weekly lessons on political speechmaking (where anti-democracy rhetoric is memorized). The students are uneducated, young, depended on the schools, and cut off from contact with their parents for years at a time, and thus highly susceptible to being programmed towards violence.

These schools have become the new breeding ground for radical Islamic militants, where the next generation is trained and groomed. Their graduating classes also form an integral recruiting pool for transnational terrorists and conflict networks. Government and local

authorities turn a blind eye to such radicalized schools, presumably for the politicians' local needs and demands. Rather than acting as religious centers for cooperation, the leaders of these various schools issue edicts and *fatwas* against the state and the government rule of democratic law, giving an imprimatur to violence.

Students from a few of these madrassas also raise the level of violence elsewhere. They are sent abroad (Afghanistan, Kashmir, Myanmar, etc.,) to serve the conflicts abroad and other wars decided by the leader as a part of so-called jihad or holy war. Their influence at both the strategic and tactical levels in these wars should not be understated.

Challenging the State

In a broader sense, though, the general boom in the madrassa system indicates a decay in governance that may ultimately affect regional stability. The madrassa expanded with the retreat of the government to provide education (for all) i.e., the religious schools are filling a void in the area of social services, through the ever expanding Islamic NGOs, where the government has failed. The parallel is found in other essential areas such as clean water, health care, and other services all of which many of the radical groups that sponsor madrassas now also provide to new constituents. In essence, the secular welfare state has been privatized to those with a dangerous agenda of their own.

This role reversal between the public sphere and private radical groups is worrisome in two regards. Extremists tend to thrive in an environment where the state has retreated and has no program of improvement. Their message gains traction and appeal that it would otherwise not. A moderate populace normally might not be sympathetic to radical voices, but, at a loss in times of distress, will listen to their message. Through offering free education and aid disbursement through schools (Islamic NGOs acting as providers), compared to the limited contact most have with sub-par government institutions, the leaders of these organizations gain both a respective audience and evidence of their own superior credentials to lead.

Damaging Economic Prospects

The over-expansion of the madrassa system also has negative implications for Bangladesh's long-term economic development. Despite going to school for eight years, the graduates of most madrassas, especially the *Quomi*, have no acquaintance with subjects like economics, science, or computing. While this was not a concern when the schools were filling their intended purpose of training religious scholars and leaders, such restricted education is not optimal for the general populace. Most madrassa students, consequently, graduate from school outside the mainstream of the 21st century.

In a sense, the system is a pyramid scheme. That is, the schools produce a stream of unemployed young men, wholly dependent on the support of others. They have skills only to be imams or assistants at mosques, despite the fact that there are not enough jobs in these areas for them. Either more madrassas must open, thus expanding the problem, or the young men are sentenced to perpetual unemployment, or even worse. Many of these madrassa unsurprisingly encourage students who can not find jobs to fulfill their spiritual obligations instead by joining radicalized conflict groups. This feeds back into the risk that the system presents to local and global stability.

As the madrassas have grown in number and taken the primary role in the education system of Bangladesh, the results do not bode well for the country's future economy, which is already struggling. A greater percentage of its young men, what should be the most productive part of its population, are both functionally and economically illiterate. This means that the local and foreign investment is stymied. A pointed comparison is made of the Indian education system's focus on vocational skills, citing this as a rationale for directing hi-tech jobs and capital just across the border. As Bangladesh attempts to match its neighbor and uplifts itself from debt burdens, an increasingly unskilled labor force is a liability.

The general result is that the madrassa system's dominance in general education hurts its own believers. The idea that a course of study exclusively focused on religion is the only way in Islam is a misreading of both accepted teachings and history. More than 40 years ago, South Asia's most important Islamist, Maulana Abul Ala Maudidi, warned against that focuses solely on religion at the exclusion of outside knowledge. "Those who choose the theological branch of learning generally keep themselves ignorant... of secular subjects, thereby remaining incapable of giving any lead to the people". However, for the sake of political Islam, this message was largely ignored by the Islamic political parties in the sub-continent, especially the JI, and favored orthodox approach. Equally, Islam's historic rise to power came at a time when Muslim scholars were on the cutting edge of international economics, education, and science. Thus, if the madrassas leave millions unequipped for the new century, Bangladesh will be sentenced to stay behind by its own system of education.

Box 25: Mufti Abdul Hannan: A Madrassa Product

Mufti Abdul Hannan, leader of Harkatul Jihad gave a statement in the court of Dhaka Mahanagar (city) Magistrate under section 164 to the effect that he was involved in planning, designing, and execution of bomb attacks on *Udichi* and *Chhayano* cultural functions in 2001. In his statement, he gave an account of his educational background. He received his early education in Gawhardanga Madrassa in Gopalganj (a top *Quomi* Madrassa in the district) in 1975. After that, he had been a student of Sharshina Aliya Madrassa for sometime. Then he continued his education in *Deoband* Madrassa in India (famous *Quomi* Madrassa in the sub-continent). While he was pursuing his education on *Dawra Hadiths* in Deoband, he got his MA (Masters) degree in Islamic Studies from Aligarh University (in India) in 1987.

In 1987, he returned back to Bangladesh and then went to Pakistan for pursuing his education. He got himself admitted in Jamiya Yusuf Bin Nuria Madrassa, New Town Karachi for the study of *Qur'an*, *Hadiths* and *fikh* in 1988. While studying in a madrassa in Karachi for three years, he went to Afghanistan on *Ramadan* vacation to receive military training for 15 days.

At that time, war broke out in Khost town in Paktia province in Afghanistan. On being requested to join the freedom fighters, he decided to join them with a volunteer force of one thousand on 1st of Ramadhan. On 15 Ramadhan, he was injured in the encounter in Jatan Kella in Khost town. He was given treatment in Kuwait Al-Helal Hospital at Peshawar. In the battlefield, he met Maulana Obaidullah (of Comilla), Hashem (of Chittagong), Maulana Abu Musa (of Comilla), Salahuddin (of Chittagong) and many other people. He was given medical treatment in that Hospital for 10 months before his return to the Madrassa. Two months after that, he returned to Karachi and after completion of his education, he returned to Bangladesh in 1993.

Afghan war was over by 1989, meanwhile, a number of fighters from Bangladesh formed an Islami organization, Harkatul Jihad Al Islami, Bangladesh by name in 1989-90. Shaheed Abdur Rahman Faruqui was the founder of this organization. He received martyrdom in Afghanistan.

Mufti Abdul Hannan worked as a teacher in the Madrassa at his village home. Later on he set up Ghagra Bazar Kotalipara Ideal Cadet Madrassa at Kotalipara, Gopalganj.

In 1994, Mufti Shafiqur Rahman, Mufti Abdul Hai, Maulana Abdur Rouf, Maulana Syedur Rahman and other leaders of Harkatul Jihad met in a meeting at Gauhardanga Madrassa. Mufti Abdul Hannan also attended the meeting on invitation. He was inspired by them to join Harkatul Jihad. He was appointed Publicity Secretary of the Upazila Committee. After this, he started to work in his upazila area, Syedun Noor Sylhet was the Amir of 2/3 upazilas including his native upazila. The objective of the organization was to fight after receiving training at home for any persecuted Muslim outside the country. It is estimated that 200,000 people received training from various *Quomi* Madrassa, Schools, Colleges and Universities.

In 1995, Mufti Abdul Hannan set up Khurshedia Female Madrassa in Jessore Town. After one year, he returned to his own village and again started teaching in the cadet Madrassa. In the same year, he established an NGO, Al Faruq Islami Foundation. Then he started visiting the Dhaka Office of Harkatul Jihad at Taltala, Khilgaon and attended various meetings. 'Jago Mujahid' was the newspaper of their organization. In those sessions, verses (ayat) from Holy *Qur'an* and *Hadiths* were discussed and the participants used to be inspired to join Jihad. Meanwhile they sent Jihadi fighters on behalf of their organization to RSO (Rohinga Solidarity Organization) and ARNO (Arakhan Rohingya National Organization).

In 1999, to stop the un-Islamic cultural activities in the country (in their opinion), bomb attack was made on *Udichi* cultural functions in Jessore. It was also decided to attack on Awami League as they were against fatwa's.

Source: *The Daily Prothom Ali*, February 06, 2007.

NB: Mufti Shafiqul Islam, a central leader of Harkatul Jihad, Bangladesh, in a press release denied their involvement in the bomb attacks on *Udichi* and Awami League meeting. He further alleged that Mufti Hannan was expelled from Harkatul Jihad in 1998 and Mufti Hannan set up separate organization also named Harkatul Jihad.

On 25 February, 2008, Darul Ulum organized an all India Anti terrorist activities. More than four thousand Islamic thinkers and scholars, from all over India attended the conference, organized at Deoband in Uttar Pradesh. The theme of the conference was that real Islam never supports terrorism.

Source: *The Daily Prothom Alo*, March 08, 2008.

Madrassa Education and Terrorism

Some of the *Quomi* Madrassa Boards, on a regular basis, instruct the madrassas under their supervision not to get involved in politics. But, in spite of their verbal and written instructions, patrons of madrassa and leader of Islamic organizations violate such instructions and compel the students to participate in political activities. They also deliver provocative speeches to the students. One *Quomi* Madrassa Board published a rule of conduct for *Quomi* Madrassa in 2003. According to the sub-section 3a of the rule of conduct 'Teachers and

employees have no right to do any political activity within the madrassa campus”. However, many Quomi Madrassas violate this rule and engage in party politics. This further transpires that main office of one-wing of *Islami Oikko Jote* is situated within campus of *Jamiya Qur’ania Arabiya* of Quomi Madrassa in Lalbagh, Dhaka. Mufti Md. Faizullah, organizer of Oikko Jote claimed that they have been using the madrassa space on rental basis. *Jamia Rahmania* Madrassa in Mohammadpur, Dhaka is a centre for *Khelafat Majlish*. Shaikhul Hadis is the Chairman of this madrassa. It is further alleged that members of *Harkatul Jihad* used to take training on physical exercise in this campus. It is also reported that the students and teachers of *Babus-Salam Madrassa* near Dhaka Airport participate in political activities. It is further reported that students and teachers of the same madrassa under the leadership of Mufti Nur Hossain, attacked the houses of the *Ahmedia* community with sticks under the banner of the Khat-me-Nabuyat. The report also indicates that Bangladesh Islami Chhatra Majlish conduct political activities in Quomi Madrassa, schools and colleges in the country.²⁹ Apart from Quomi, involvement in politics by Aliya Madrassa is evident from a Research Report conducted by Malcolm Mercer. The report indicates that a section of Aliya Madrassa students has political affiliation with Jamat-e-Islami, Bangladesh and BNP. The report asserts that a section of Quomi Madrassa students has also political affiliation with *Islami Oikyojote*, BNP, Jatiyo Party and Awami League.³⁰

In a recent article published in ‘The Daily Star’ one author expressed his grave concern about using madrassa for militant activities. He suggested necessary steps for application of legal measures against these growing militant activities. He stated that they are happy that some black money owners, corrupt politicians, NGOs, and foreign countries are sending money to keep them fed, clothed and armed. All they have to do is brainwash poor village boys in the name of religion so that they go and blow-up people. At the same time, investigators should also look into all types of activities going on inside the madrassas in the country. Most of these places, especially in the remote areas, are nothing but recruitment and training centers for future militants. A raid in these institutes any time of the day would reveal numerous booklets on how to prepare bombs and how to organize jihad; CDs on training; cassettes containing Urdu and Bengali speeches of militant leaders of the subcontinent; and last, but not least, choppers (*chapati*) with very long blades that have nothing to do with religious education. In order to check the growth of militancy in Bangladesh, existing laws have to be applied forcefully; new laws have to be created; madrassa education has to be modified with the inclusion of English language proficiency courses, vocational training and computer skill training courses. A special body has to be created to monitor every activity taken by the madrassa authorities.³¹

Dr. Mohammad Abdur Rashid, Professor of Political Science, Bangladesh Open University, in an article published in Daily Prothom Alo, April 8, 2007 said, “Religious education and educational institution, for that matter the madrassas should be brought under modern education and lifestyle. The matter is very important in view of the fact that apparently those who led and misguided madrassas, work as breeding ground of terrorism. Even if terrorism is related with poverty, it is not basic reason for terrorism; rather terrorists use the poverty for form for quote this purpose. Unless terrorism is attacked, womenfolk cannot be involved in the drive for removing poverty, because terrorists maintain a conservative attitude towards

²⁹ Prothom Alo, June 03, 2007

³⁰ Malcolm Mercer, Madrassas in Bangladesh and Pakistan: Bogyman or Blessing, 3rd Annual Colloquium of the Welsh Network of Development Researchers, Gregynog, Wales, January 25-26, 2006.

³¹ Shahnoor Wahid “Sense and Insensibility, Religion in the hands of imbeciles”, *The Daily Star*, April 03, 2008.

women folk. I want to repeat, by reforming madrassas, we have to take it to such a position so that madrassa educated young people do not look for employment only as Imam of mosque and seek for job by setting up madrassa again. Therefore, modernization of their education system should be ensured so that they can acquire the quality to be employed in professional and specialized jobs”.

The socio-economic context of madrassa education reform is important so that practice of intolerance, fanaticism and *Wahabism* may not influence innocent students. Islamic education cannot be synonymous with terrorism. An open dialogue between NGOs, intellectuals, think tanks, Islamic thinkers, civil society, and teachers of Islamic University can bring a solution including reforming the curriculum and political affiliation which lead to terrorism. Rise of fanaticism leads to a toxic atmosphere which is fatal to the healthy spirit of Islam. A certain quarter of unscrupulous politicians are trying to exploit the young students by leading them to terrorism which is disrespectful of Islam.

Box 26: Madrassa People in Remand

Members of Ehsar of JMB Moulana Abdus Sattar and Moulana Shah Alam arrested by RAB-12 on 13, April 2007 were sent to remand for 4 days in Islampur Police Station of Jamalpur district. On interrogation, important information on terrorist activities was gathered by the Police. A force of RAB-12 arrested the terrorists in Dhakkhin Chinaduli, an inaccessible Char on the river Jamuna in Islampur upazilla. Both of these terrorists are respectively Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent of a Madrassa in Islampur under Jamalpur district.

Source: The Daily Ittefaq 16, April 2007

A great deal has been written in the west on madrassas in the wake of the 9/11 tragedy and the US war on terrorism. Reports on television and numerous articles in the Western media suggest that the madrassas in Pakistan have become a hotbed of Islamic terrorism and the breeding ground of terrorism. They have been variously described as “dens of terror,” “jihad universities,” “jihad factories,” and, as the then Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee described them, “factories of terror.” In general perception, madrassas have become synonymous with terrorism and terrorist training camps. Many journalists and commentators have suggested that these madrassas teach “jihadi literature” in their course of studies and that the entire curriculum is intended to produce “holy warriors.” It is suggested by many Western scholars that there is an inherent relationship between what is taught in the madrassas on the one hand and religious extremism, Talibanism, militancy, anti-Americanism, and even terrorism, on the other. It is also argued that madrassa students, through their reading of religious texts, become “soldiers of God” and engage in militant activities against those they consider enemies of Islam. Let us critically examine these assertions.

First, if the madrassa education is the only or the main cause of Islamic militancy, radicalism, and anti-Americanism, why did these tendencies not manifest themselves before the 1990s? The curriculum of the madrassa has remained the same for about 150 years. Second, those who suggest an inherent relationship between the madrassa curriculum and Islamic militancy and describe madrassas as “jihad factories” are probably unaware of the fact that this curriculum is the most pacifists in its orientation. Its approach to Islam is ultra-conservative, literalist, legalist, and sectarian, but definitely not revolutionary, radical, or militant. It is interesting to note that in the standard syllabus on the study of *hadiths*, chapters on jihad in all the six standard collections of the Prophetic tradition are not discussed at all. During the study of *fiqh* (jurisprudence) texts, the entire time is spent on “problems of menstruation,”

laws relating to marriage and divorce, and other hairsplitting rather than on political or jihadi issues.

There is absolutely nothing in the madrassa curriculum that can be deemed as promoting or encouraging militancy, not to mention terrorism. Islamic extremism or militancy is not caused by the madrassa curriculum *per se*. Radicalism that we see in some madrassas, both in Pakistan and in Bangladesh, today is an extraneous phenomenon brought into madrassas by some international and some domestic political actors who want to use the religious capital and manpower of these madrassas for their own objectives. This takes place in a time when “state fails to ensure welfare to the people”, when “poverty and inequality rise”, and when “Muslim populated countries become target of War against terrorism” (Barkat 2006). Therefore, Islamic militancy has roots – both internal and external (Barkat 2005).

An overwhelming majority of madrassas in Bangladesh – as in India and Pakistan – are engaged in traditional Islamic studies and are not involved in any militant activities, or even sectarian strife. In fact, most of them shy away from politics in order to concentrate on their primary mission. It was only after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 that some of the madrassas on the northern and southern border areas of Pakistan – which always had a majority of their students from Afghanistan – came to be associated with the Afghan jihad movement against the Soviet Union. One also has to remember that there were five million Afghan refugees in hundreds of refugee camps in the NWFP and Baluchistan. It is estimated that 40 percent of them were school-age children, many of them orphans. These madrassas provided them with free food, shelter, and basic skills of how to read and write, along with some Islamic education. Most of the madrassas associated with militancy and terrorism after the mid-1990s were established in the 1980s. What was established for a particular purpose for fighting against the Soviets were in fact military training camps where some religious education was also imparted, obviously to strengthen the spirit of jihad against the Soviets. The point is that they were not the institutions originally conceived as madrassas that later turned in to anti terrorist training camps; they were from the very inception, conceived as military training camps responding to the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan and were given a cover of a madrassa to legitimize their operations and to solicit funds from all over the Muslim world. This is one side of the story. But the other side of the story, of course, is when “state fails in providing basic necessities to her citizens”, when poverty and inequality rises; when “ugly richness of the few displays, when “democracy fails” – frustration among mass people increases, and religious politics and associated ideological institutions become more acceptable.

The story of these madrassas is thus integrally linked with the story of Afghan jihad of the 1980s and the cold war that created the political conditions of this jihad. Therefore, the answer to the questions being asked these days in the media and in scholarly and policy circles – Who established these madrassas? Why were they created? Who provided generously with funds? And more importantly, who revived the so far dormant tradition of jihad as an armed struggle against the infidels?—lies not in Kabul or Islamabad, or Peshawar or Riyadh, but most likely in Langley, Virginia.

As we all know, after the Afghan jihad was over, the “facilities” created for the Afghan jihadis in these madrassas came handy for the jihad in Kashmir. For some warriors coming back to Bangladesh, they decided to create climate for a violent movement for political Islam, for a *sharia* based Islamic state and most, if not all the actors for these movement, had some connection to the Afghan jihad.

As the following Boxes 27 through 31 indicates the link between some madrassas and terrorism and the subsequent link with mainstream political party or parties. These linkages not only strongly suggest the connection of a few madrassas to extremism and terrorism, but crucially the political legitimacy, funding for terrorist activities, and expansion of Islamist terrorist groups across the country.

Box 27: Terrorism : Rise of Banglabhai

JMB operations chief Siddiqui Islam alias Bangla Bhai of Karnipara village in Gabtoli upazila of Bogra, was actively involved in the politics of Islami Chhatra Shibir, a student wing of Jamaat-e-Islami, for a long time. He was found guilty and hanged in 2007 for his involvement in terrorist activities. Also known as Azizur Rahman and Omar Ali alias Litu, he taught at the Shibir-run Retina Coaching Centre in Bogra town and another Shibir-run coaching centre in Dhaka. Bangla Bhai was arrested in Bagerhat on August 17, 2002 in an attempt-to-murder case but was released after three months as his name was not included in the charge sheet. A rice trader, Bangla Bhai came in contact with JMB chief Abdur Rahman through his past involvement with Islamist organisations. The JMB chief sent Bangla Bhai to Afghanistan where he mastered operating different kinds of firearms and making bombs.

Although the JMB men killed 22 people in Rajshahi and Naogaon including a former army person, Bangla Bhai was not accused in any of the cases filed in connection with the murders. The militant linchpin spent two years at a mosque and *Madrassa* at Jhautala under Khulshi Police Station in Chittagong before emerging as Bangla Bhai. Sources said during his two-year assignment in the port city, Bangla Bhai spread militant network in the entire greater Chittagong region, especially in the three hill districts and Cox's Bazar, and established militant training centres. For his contribution to the expansion of Ahle *Hadiths* and militant networks in the region, the JMB chief brought Bangla Bhai back to Bagmara in 2004 and promoted him as operations commander of JMB to root out leftist extremists in Rajshahi region.

In Chittagong, Bangla Bhai used to supervise militants' training at different centres and brainwashed fresh recruits of the Darul *Hadiths* Salafia *Madrassa*. The JMB chief visited the *Madrassa* several times to monitor the activities. According to detective police sources a large number of militants used to gather there every Friday to review their activities. Bangla Bhai also supervised militant training centres in Sitakunda and Hathazari.

Source: The Daily Star, March 31, 2007

Box 28: Training of Terrorism in Madrassa

Alytul Islamia Nurul Ulum Madrassa is situated in a remote village of Jibantala, 10 Kilometer away from Valuka Upazila. In 2nd August 2006, members of Rapid Action Battalion (RAB) arrested 26 Terrorists while they were receiving training on militant activities. The organizer of the training programme was Mr. Nuruddin Haider alias Nuru Munshi, founder of the Madrassa. He donated the land for the Madrassa. After keeping them under observation for 3 days, the law enforcing authorities nabbed 26 terrorists who were alleged to be involved in Jamatul Mujahadeen, Bangladesh (JMB).

Source: The Daily Prothom Alo, April 3, 2007

Box 29: Terrorists in Valuka, Mymensingh

On 2nd April 2007, a special Police party of Gaffargaon Circle arrested 4 terrorists including a woman from Habirbari Jibantala Al Jamiatul Islami Nurul Ulum Qaumi Madrassa in Valuka upazilla. Mymensingh Police seized Jihadi books, religious sentiment arousing leaflets, mobile phones, gloves, receipt book for raising subscriptions from the guest house of the *Madrassa* and the house of Moulana Abdur Rouf, husband of the arrested woman terrorist.

According to the Police, after the arrest of a few terrorists from that Madrassa, the situation was quiet for sometime. After a few days, the terrorists got reorganized under the patronage of Nurul Haider alias Nuru, founder (2006) of the Madrassa and started their activities. Police took the above steps at the renewed activities of the terrorists. It may be mentioned that on 2nd August 2006, Moulana Abdur Rouf, a terrorist was arrested by RAB from that Madrassa. It may also be mentioned that the woman terrorist arrested as mentioned above is the wife of Maulana Abdur Rouf.

Source: The Daily Ittefaq April 3, 2007

Box 30: Confession of Shaikh Abdur Rahman

After completion of the judicial process, the top six JMB leaders including Shaikh Abdur Rahman and Siddiqui Islam Bangla Bhai were executed on 27th March 2007 on charges of terrorist activities throughout Bangladesh. Before execution, Shaikh Abdur Rahman gave a statement to the cell of combined forces. In the confession he said, "My name is Shaikh Abdur Rahman. I was born on 7 January 1959 at Khalifapara in Jamalpur District. By birth, I am a follower of Ahle Hadis philosophy. My father, late Moulana Abdullah Ibne Fazal was a famous ulema and orator. In 1963, at the age of four, I was admitted into Kamal Khan Hat Senior Madrassa. I passed Dakhil, Alim and Fazil examinations from there. In 1979, I was at first admitted into Kamil class in Katlasen Aliya Madrassa, Mymensingh. After a few days, I got a transfer to Sultangonj Islamia Madrassa, Rajshahi. The Madrassa was affiliated with Madina University in Saudi Arabia. Every year, quite a few students used to be sent to Madina University on scholarship. For getting the advantage of studying in Madina University, I got my transfer to Islamia Madrassa, Rajshahi and in 1980, I went to Madina University on scholarship. I studied there upto 1985 and obtained the Lisance degree (related to basic principles of Islam and Publicity). On returning to Jamalpur in 1986, I obtained the Kamil degree from Aramnagar Aliya Madrassa in Sarisabari".

Source: The Daily Prothom Alo, August 17, 2007

Box 31: Link between mainstream Islamist Party and religious extremists: Source of funding

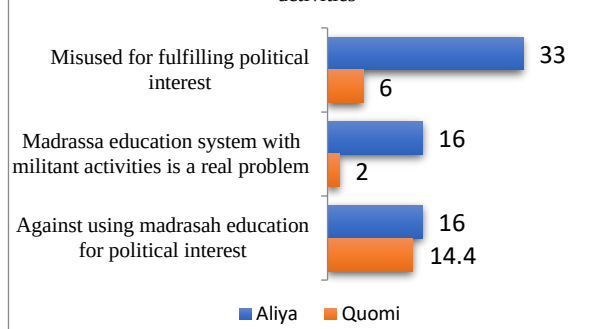
The most recent country-wide horrible serial bomb blasts by Jama'atul-Mujahideen Bangladesh, JMB (on 17th August 2005, around 500 bombs were blasted within 30 minutes time between 9:00-9:30 AM targeting the offices of the Deputy Commissioners and Collectorate and Court buildings) prompted some experts to delink the connection between the bombers-organizations (e.g., officially banned JMB or JMJB) and the mainstream "Islamic" political party in Bangladesh. This disconnect is neither established, nor it can be established. To the contrary, connections and links are more probable. This is because of the following: not only the armed Jihadis but also the mainstream open "Islamic" party have declared common vision to "Capture State Power"; the party chief openly declared that "Islamic rule will be established soon" and "Wait and see.... Get ready for directive"; the mainstream open "Islami" party has not yet denounced the bombing activities and bombing organizations by name; almost all the militant activists and leaders of JMB arrested were the members of Jamaat-e-Islami or their student front, and financial transactions related to organizing the bomb attack have been made through their Bank accounts; and in almost all the cases, the mainstream Islamist party has lobbied for the release of arrested militants using their administrative support and government machinery, and in most cases they achieved the lobby-target, but where they failed, they announced that the arrested militant had been expelled from the party earlier. Such news is frequently published in all the prominent Daily News papers in Bangladesh; the most recent being published in Prothom Alo, 21 September 2005, titled "Five JMP leaders arrested in Chittagong were involved with Jamat Politics; Tk. 160,000 was transacted through Islami Bank"; the *Daily Star*, 31 August 2005 "34 Islamic NGOs get over Tk.200 Cr. (US \$ 33 million) from donors a year"; the *Daily Star*, 22 September 2005 "Jamaat link to militants becomes evident"; the *Daily Ittefaq*, 26 September 2005 "Over 1000 militants have been released, and 40% of them belong to Jamaat-e-Islami"; the *Daily Star*, 5 December 2005 "Just days before the November 29 carnage on two court premises, the government gave consent to release a fund of about US \$ 333,333 (Bd.Tk.20 million) to the Bangladeshi branch of a Kuwaiti NGO, Revival Islamic Heritage Society (RIHS), which is at the top of the list of suspected donors to Islamic militants in the country".

Source: Barkat 2006

The Study Findings

During the study, madrassa teachers, parents of madrassa students, religious scholars and distinguished persons of the community expressed their concern on labeling madrassa education to terrorism and violence. Amongst the Aliya Madrassa teachers, 33 percent and 6 percent of Quomi teachers felt that madrassa education system is being misused for fulfilling political interest by vested interest groups. Similarly, religious scholars and responsible persons of the community expressed their concerns about this situation. Sixteen percent (16%) of Aliya Madrassa teachers and 2 percent of Quomi Madrassa teachers report that "to relate Madrassa education system with militant activities is a real problem". Sixteen percent of the Aliya Madrassa students, 16 percent and around 14 percent of Quomi Madrassa students agree that madrassa education should not be misused to fulfill political interests (Figure 106).

Figure 106: Using Madrassas education for militant activities



KEY FEATURES

- ✓ Madrassa education can be traced back to thousand years of traditional education in the Islamic world, but over the last few decades some of these institutions have changed their original intent
- ✓ There has been a relative boom of madrassas since the 1980s, particularly in Bangladesh and Pakistan, and the boom in both these countries can be linked to a surge of Islamization by the military autocratic governments in these countries
- ✓ Madrassas become immensely popular by targeting the growing lower class echelon of the society – the excluded and the disadvantaged – whom the government failed to provide proper access to mainstream education
- ✓ It is important to devise most appropriate strategy to simultaneously negotiate rising religiosity associated with rising inequality and poverty
- ✓ Fundamentalism can be termed as strict adherence to the fundamental principles of any set of beliefs. In Christianity, the term fundamentalism is normally used to refer to the conservative part of the evangelical Christianity, which is itself the most conservative wing of Protestant Christianity
- ✓ The term *Fundamentalism* has been extensively misused by the media to refer to the terrorists who happen to be Muslims, or who are anti-American Muslims
- ✓ There are three primary concerns over the current trend of expansion of the madrassa system of education in Bangladesh: Breeding violence; Challenging the state; and Damaging economic prospects
- ✓ Most of the madrassas that are associated with militancy and terrorism, after the mid 1990s were established in the 1980s. This was purposefully established to fight the Soviets and in fact these were military training camps with
- ✓ Radicalism as we might find in some of the madrassas today is an extraneous phenomenon brought by some international and some domestic political actors who wanted to use the religious capital and the madrassa manpower for their own objectives. On the other hand, rising poverty and increasing inequality and failure of state in providing basic necessities to citizens – all have created fertile ground for the rise of religion-based terrorism, in which madrassas have been conveniently used.
- ✓ Some religious education, obviously to strengthen the spirit of jihad against the Soviets
- ✓ A 33 percent of Aliya and 6 percent of Quomi Madrassa teachers are concerned about misusing the madrassas for political interests by vested groups.

IN PERSPECTIVE AND EPILOGUE

Then what stories the madrassas have, particularly in Bangladesh, to tell?

Well, first and foremost, Islam places a high value on education and, as the faith spread among diverse peoples, education became an important channel through which to create a universal and cohesive social order. Early Muslim education emphasized practical studies, such as the development of irrigation systems, architectural innovations, textiles, iron and steel products, earthenware, and leather products, manufacture of paper and gunpowder, advancement of commerce, and maintenance of merchant marines. All these show a real quest for education aimed at knowledge-based development.

Later, Islamic interest in science gave rise to the collection and translation into Arabic of ancient works in medicine, astronomy, mathematics, and philosophy, mainly from the Greeks, but also from Persia and India. Islamic scholars and thinkers in the Indo-Pak sub-continent brought about an intellectual awakening in philosophical and sociological thought and movements and pondered over their true significance.

In its infancy, the system of education in the Muslim world was un-integrated and un-differentiated. Learning took place in a variety of institutions, among them the *halqah*, or study circle; the *maktab* (*kuttab*), or elementary school; the palace schools; bookshops and literary salons; and the various types of colleges, the *meshed*, the *masjid*, and the *madrassa*. All the schools taught essentially the same subjects. However, the simplest type of early Muslim education was offered in the mosques, where the scholars who had congregated to discuss the *Qur'an* began, before long, to teach the religious sciences to interested adults.

The very word 'Madrassa' is an Arabic word for any type of school, secular or religious (of any religion). It is variously transliterated as ***madrassa***, ***madrasah***, ***madarasaa***, ***medresa***, ***madraza***, etc. Established in 859, Jami'at al-Qarawiyyin (located in Al-Qarawiyyin Mosque) in the city of Fes (Fez), is considered the oldest *madrassa* in the Muslim world. It was founded by Fatima Al-Fihri, the daughter of a wealthy merchant named Mohammed Al-Fihri. Even though a majority of the *madrassas* during the subsequent centuries would remain the centers of Islamic learning, a large number of them produced renowned scholars and philosophers who contributed to earthly or secular knowledge. *Ijtihad* – independent reasoning – was a special feature of these *madrassas*.

As Islam spread further east, the *Sufi* orders of the Muslim faith were establishing madrassas in the Indian Sub-Continent and Central Asia. In these *Sufi* madrassas grammar, poetry, literature, logic, mathematics, and other disciplines of Islam and general knowledge were taught. Later, after the defeat of the Muslim empires one by one at the hands of the crusaders, and political rivalries among the Muslim leaders, Muslim learning and scholarship went into a state of decay, from which it did not recover.

These murky times in the Muslim history had profound impact on the function and philosophy of the madrassas all over the Muslim world. Many abandoned the pursuit of rational sciences and focused exclusively on the teachings of Islam as found in the *Qur'an*. The last nail into the coffin of advanced learning in Islamic schools came with the European colonial powers taking over whatever was left in the Muslim lands.

In the Indian sub-continent, Ikhtiyar bin Bakhtyar Khalji, an obscure adventurer of the Ghurid army, during the Turkish Rule in India, extended his kingdom up to the town of Nadia in 1197, the capital of the Sena Kings of Bengal. After consolidating his conquest he set up a new city called Rangpura, which was studded with various *maktabs* and madrassas. Much later, the traditional *ulemas*, led by Maulana Qasim Nanutabi and Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi, rejected everything western and established a madrassa in 1863 known as “*Darul Ulum Deoband*” in Deoband, a small town in Uttar Pradesh in India.

Regarding the question of madrassa reforms, there have been various attempts to reform the madrassa curriculum for its improvement. During the nineteenth century, specific attempts were made to reform the courses of madrassa education and also to attract the Muslims to British secular system of education in the Indian sub-continent. But, no definite effort was made to frame a comprehensive scheme of education acceptable to all classes of people or to evolve a comprehensive system, in combination with traditional and modern systems of education, which would meet the requirements of the Muslim society and would also be academically sound as the prevalent university education.

Thereafter, since 1906, twelve specific commissions and committees were formed for the improvement of madrassas till 2003. The plan, in fact, was a serious attempt for striking a balance between traditional madrassa system and modern secular system of education. To put it according to the objective of government of Bengal (in 31st July 1914) was to produce “cultured Muslims fit to enter one or other careers open to educated men and to play their part in the various activities which go to make up the public life of modern India”. The intention of all the education reform committees and commissions, henceforth, more or less remained the same.

The Story of Madrassas in Bangladesh

There is no official figure about the total number of madrassas in Bangladesh. According to our estimates, in 2008, there were 54,130 madrassas in Bangladesh with 14,518 Aliya Madrassas and 39,612 Quomi Madrassas. About 87 percent madrassas are located in the rural areas and the rest in the urban areas implying disproportionately higher concentration of madrassas in the rural areas. During the same time, there were 103,618 institutions under the mainstream education system (schools, colleges and universities) and 191,986 mosques in Bangladesh (as per authors' survey).

The number of madrassas rapidly increased from 4,330 in 1950 to 54,130 in 2008, where Quomi constitutes about three (3) times more than the Aliya Madrassas. The mainstream schools (general education) are about twice that of the madrassas (upto 2005). The annual growth rate of madrassas, between 1951 and 2008, were 4.4 percent. Madrassas grew annually at a rate of 4.65 percent while mainstream schools at 3.04 percent during 1970 to 2005. The growth in number of madrassas is positively co-related with the military rules of President Ayub Khan (1958-1969), President Ziaur Rahman (1976-1981), and President H. M. Ershad (1982-1990).

On the other hand, madrassa-population ratio in 1970 was 1:7,467, which changed to 1:2,721 by 2005 implying more madrassa for less population, over the time. The comparison of above two ratios show that during last about three decades (between 1970 and 2005) while madrassa-population ratio went down to 2.74 times the non-madrassa – population went down to only 1.6 times. This is a clear indication about relative more emphasis on madrassas as compared to mainstream educational institutions. During the same period, mainstream educational institution-population ratio was 1:2,166, which changed to 1:1,358 by 2005.

More than half of the madrassas have concrete buildings, over 36 percent semi-concrete (tin roof and or walls), and a little over 9 percent are mud built. There is an average of 3.1 building, 5.4 rooms for each building, and over 10,000 square feet of floor space for each madrassa. Out of the 45.5 percent of the madrassas having library facilities, more percentages of Quomi Madrassas (56.7%) have this facility than the Aliya Madrassas (34.4%).

A 42 percent of the Quomi Madrassas have fund for the extremely poor children (*Lillah Fund*), while only 6.4 percent of the Aliya Madrassas have such funds. Finally, a little over 30 percent of the total students enroll into each madrassa, while about 12 percent graduates every year.

It is mandatory for every Aliya Madrassas to have a Management Committee. However, while 90 percent of Quomi Madrassas have such a committee, the rest 10 percent are managed by individuals. The Management Committees for Aliya and Quomi Madrassas consists of an average of 8 and 15 members respectively. About 93 percent of Aliya and 83 percent Quomi Madrassas have written management policies. In the Managing Committees, 71 percent of the Presidents, 39 percent of the Secretaries, and 68 percent of the Treasurers have post-graduation degrees. Among those Presidents, 53 percent are service holders, 19 percent businessmen, and 12 percent teachers are among those Secretaries. Almost all the members of madrassa Managing Committee participate in the politics, either actively or through support. The 74 percent of Presidents, 58 percent Secretaries, and 55 percent Treasurers do not send their children to madrassas; they send their children to the mainstream educational institutions.

Aliya Madrassas have a well structured and regulated financial system in place, while Quomi Madrassas do not have a unified and regulated financial structure and system. The source of finance in madrassas can be divided into two: domestic and foreign sources. Under these two

broad categories there are government funds and private donations. Though the Quomi Madrassas do not receive funds from the government directly, in addition to other sources, it receives financial assistances from the local government representatives and the Member of Parliament (MP) allocations. To run madrassa, an average Aliya Madrassa spends Taka 2.3 million and Quomi about Taka 2.0 million annually. When 82 percent of the Aliya Madrassa budget is spent on salaries, only 27 percent of Quomi budget is spent on salaries of their teachers and other staffs.

The maximum and minimum staff salary for Aliya was reported to be Taka 15,245 and Tk. 2,893 respectively. The same for Quomi was Taka 18,000 and Tk. 500 respectively. In 2008, the estimated average expenditure for an Aliya Madrassa student was Taka 3,827, while Taka 5,835 was spent for a Quomi student. In 2008, the estimated total annual expenditure for the madrassa education in Bangladesh was Tk. 51.56 billion with Tk. 26.6 billion for Aliya and Tk. 24.9 billion for Quomi.

The annual average income of an Aliya Madrassa is about Tk. 2.9 million and Tk. 1.6 million for a Quomi Madrassa. In Aliya Madrassas, government allocation accounted for about 60 percent of total income followed by students' fees of 22 percent; in Quomi Madrassas, private donations are the major source (about 67%) of income followed by students' contribution, 21 percent. The government budget for Aliya Madrassas was about Taka 7.8 billion in 2006-07. As per the BANBEIS source out of a total of 9,215 Aliya Madrassas, 7,345 (80%) receive Monthly Payment Order (MPO) from the government.

Almost every third student of Bangladesh is a Madrassa student. About 10 million students were enrolled in the madrassa education in 2008 with 4.6 million in Aliya and 5.2 million in Quomi madrassas. In the rural areas, average number of students in Aliya Madrassa is 309, whereas for Quomi Madrassa it is only 130. In the urban areas, the average is 369 for Aliya Madrassa and 145 for Quomi Madrassa.

In Aliya Madrassas, the highest percentage of students (54%) were enrolled at the secondary level, namely the *Dakhil* madrassas and about 10 percent students in primary level called *Ebtedayee* madrassas. A considerable number of students (37%) were enrolled at the above secondary level, the *Alim*, *Fazil* and *Kamil* madrassas. On the other hand, in Quomi Madrassa, most of the students were enrolled in primary level madrassas (65%). Among them, the largest percentage (86%) of students was enrolled in the madrassas situated in the rural areas, while 14 percent students were enrolled in the urban madrassas. About two-third (63%) students were non-residential, and around one-third (37%) were residing in the madrassa or its allocated and managed places.

In the 1950s, there were about one million students with almost equal numbers in Aliya and Quomi Madrassas. It increased to almost 10 million by 2008, which is ten times higher than in the 1950s! This is important to note that while during 1950-2005 the number of madrassa students has increased 10-times the overall population has increased only 3 times!

Around 86 percent household members of madrassa students have formal education; more than 50 percent of their parents had education from the mainstream general education system, while 26 percent parents had a madrassa education. About 45 percent of their household members are either students or housewives; meaning that a little over half of them do not have any earnings.

Our research finding suggests that both the Quomi and Aliya Madrassa students (males and females) prefer to study *Hadiths* (64.6%). However, Aliya and Quomi students vary significantly on *tafsir*, their next choice; 65.5 percent of the Quomi and only 35.7 percent of their Aliya students choose it. In Bangladesh at least, the number of general (secular) subjects that are offered for the Aliya students are twice that of religious ones. Aliya students take more interest in studying general subjects than their Quomi counterparts. Aliya Madrassa students showed considerable more interest in general (secular) subjects like Bangla, English, and Mathematics than their Quomi fellows.

Interest in reading newspapers is highest (25.2%) among Aliya Madrassa students and though this ranks second highest (18.1%) amidst the Quomi students. Reading biographies of great people is the next domain of their enthusiasm and more than double (54.4%) Quomi Madrassa students take interest than the Aliya Madrassa students (19.4%). As high as 97.4 percent Aliya and 77.3 percent Madrassa students have plans for higher studies. Most madrassa students have a strong standpoint on Constitutional obligations (rights) that the state should insure.

The total number of madrassa teachers in 2008 is estimated to be 364,407. In 1948, there were 32,068 madrassa teachers in Bangladesh (erstwhile East Pakistan). By 2008, it increased 11 times reaching 364,407, with Aliya having 181,663 and Quomi 182,744 teachers. The annual growth rate of teachers, from 1951 to 2008, was 1.8%. The highest annual growth rate of madrassa teachers was 9.2% during 1976. In the Aliya Madrassas, the ratio of male-female teacher is 93:7 and in the Quomi Madrassas, it is 94:6. In Aliya Madrassas, 50 percent teachers are in secondary level, 43 percent in post secondary level, and only 7 percent in the primary level. In the Quomi Madrassas, more than 30 percent of the teachers are employed at the primary level and 34 percent in secondary level madrassas.

In the mainstream (general) primary education, the teacher-student ratio was found 1:47, while in primary level madrassas, the same is 1:56. Madrassa teachers reported that 'low salary' is a major concern in both Aliya (76%) and Quomi (84%) madrassas. In the Aliya Madrassa, teachers usually get a monthly gross salary of Tk. 4,600 to Tk. 11,000 but, in the Quomi Madrassas, teachers get as low as Tk. 1,450 to Tk. 4,500 as monthly gross salary. About 20 percent of madrassa teachers live in the madrassa premises. The household annual net income of madrassa teachers' is Tk. 129,672 (US\$ 1,885); for Quomi Madrassa teachers, this income is 28 percent less than that of Aliya Madrassa teachers. The annual net income shows that 50 percent of the teachers' household incomes come from teaching in the madrassa.

According to the food intake method (DCI, direct calorie intake), about 54 percent of madrassa teachers' household fall below the *absolute poverty* line and 42 percent below *hard core poverty* line. The incidence of household poverty is more acute among Quomi Madrassa teachers than that among Aliya Madrassa teachers.

About 50 percent of the Aliya Madrassa teachers and 35 percent of Quomi Madrassa teachers do not send their children to the madrassas, rather they send their children to mainstream schools.

Female Education

Islam treats women as individuals. Long ago Islam gave women rights that modern nations have conceded grudgingly and only under pressure. From around 750 (CE), during the Abbasid Caliphate, women "became renowned for their intelligence". Women also played an important

role in the foundation of many Islamic institutions, such as Fatima al- Fihri's founding of the University of Al Karaoumine in 859.

The neglect of female religious education in South Asia (and possibly elsewhere) is evident today not only in the abysmal gaps between the number of male and female madrassa students and traditional religious scholars, but also in the dearth of scholarship on women's madrassas in South Asia. In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century Muslim girls began to gain access to higher education. At least, this was the case in former Bengal. Only during the last 2-3 decades did the *ulama* finally open the doors of formal, elite madrassas to women.

According to BANBEIS Report (1999), the total number of madrassa students was 2,935,348, of which 1,163,513 were females (about 40%).

Female students from the Aliya Madrassas have a strong desire for higher education; 96 percent of the female students of the Aliya Madrassas and 53 percent females from the Quomi Madrassas have plans for higher studies. The most unusual finding of this study is that more female students (71.9%) want to complete the university level than the boys (58.8%) from the Aliya Madrassas.

Among the females, 81 percent of the Aliya and 48 percent of Quomi Madrassa students view 'women empowerment' as essential condition for development. Women's economic role, empowerment, decision making, and developing personal identity are generally ignored in the Quomi Madrassa education.

Demand for Madrassa Education

About 63 percent parents send their children to madrassas for religious; 37 percent for economic; and 27 percent for educational reasons. More than two-thirds of the parents, particularly poor parents (77%), reported that they cannot afford to send their children to mainstream education because of high educational expenses. About half of the total parents believe that there is similar job opportunity for the graduates from mainstream and madrassa education.

More than half of the parents believe that in madrassas, their children can get both religious and modern education. According to the madrassa teachers, about 97 percent of madrassa graduates are teaching in madrassas. On the other hand, according to the Quomi Madrassa teachers, the reason for this high demand of Quomi graduates, in religious services, is for its intense academic focus on religious subjects. About two-third teachers reported that a large number of madrassa graduates are also working as marriage registers (*Kazi*), and traditionally this service is filled by madrassa graduates.

The parents informed that they would like to see their children mostly teaching in a madrassa (67%) followed by government services (44.5%). Madrassa students' prefer to teach in a madrassa (38.6%), especially Quomi students (56.6%). A 29 percent of Quomi students informed that madrassa education is very much helpful to get employment, whereas only 14 percent of the Aliya students reported the same.

Outputs - Supply

Estimates show that for the year 2007 or 2008, the number of total madrassa graduates – the supply side – was 694,977 with 277,324 in Aliya and 417,653 in Quomi. Estimates based on teachers'-parents' reporting, every year about 94,000 graduates (13% of total graduates) are

employed, while the same is only 13,005 (1.9% of total graduates) according to the authors' estimate.

A *conservative estimate* (considering only effective demand) regarding annual excess supply shows that the number of excess supply is 601,850 as per teachers and parents reporting, while the same is 681,972, as estimated by the authors. As per *liberal estimates* the total number of excess supply of madrassa graduates would be ranging between 445,480 (teachers-parents reporting) and 525,602 (authors' estimates) annually. Therefore, the estimated unemployment rate of madrassa graduates would be about 76 percent.

The prime demand of all the madrassa students (70%) irrespective of Aliya and Quomi, is *giving equivalence of degrees of madrassa to the degrees of mainstream education*. The Quomi students have two separate, but strong demands that are not associated with Aliya Madrassas, which are *provisioning of government recognition (96%)* and *establishing combined education board (74%)*.

About 76 percent of madrassa students identified that there is a limited scope for madrassa students to join government services. A 96 percent of the Quomi students (both males and females) admitted that government approval of Quomi Madrassas would have increased their prospects of employment.

Among the major interventions that the madrassa students suggested are nationalization of all madrassas and introduction of vocational education; 98 percent of the Quomi teachers are in favor of government approval of Quomi Madrassas.

Shortage of skilled teachers was reported by 57.8 percent of madrassa teachers. Madrassa teachers suggested strongly that madrassa education should be brought under the general education and introduce vocational education. The Governing Body members of madrassas identified the lack of qualified teachers, government apathy, less access to female students, and the rise of fanatics in the madrassas as major problems.

Significant Profile

An overwhelming majority of Quomi Madrassa students (82%) come from poor families of rural areas and small towns. Madrassa education remains one of the surest paths of social mobility for the lower level occupational groups in the rural areas. A 60 percent of Aliya and 70 percent of Quomi students consider that madrassa education would be an easy way for them to the heaven after their death. Around 45 percent of Aliya and 35 percent of Quomi Madrassa students are of the opinion that madrassa education helps build good character. A 42 percent of Aliya and 49 percent of Quomi students feel that good educational environment prevails in the madrassas.

Aliya students have two-fold more entertainment facilities than their Quomi counterparts. A 27.6 percent of Quomi students expressed that entertainment does not mean much to them. Only a few students from both the madrassas do voluntary social work. In some places madrassas step in by opening orphanages in remote areas and poor communities due to lack of government orphanage facilities. About 15 percent of the Quomi madrassas have orphanages facilities.

A 55 percent of the Aliya Madrassa students think that the Quomi Madrassa students cannot meet the demand of the society and 52 percent think that Quomi Madrassas do not have a modern curriculum. Conversely, over 82 percent of Quomi Madrassa students think that Aliya

Madrassas do not follow Islamic customs and more than half of the students' opinion is that the Aliya Madrassa students gives less importance to *Qur'an* and *hadiths*.

A sizeable portion of the madrassa students' prime objective, "going to paradise" probably evolves from their spiritual desire; however, their choice of a role model or personality indicates otherwise. More than two-thirds of the madrassa (both Aliya and Quomi) students' ideal or favorite personalities are the current religious political leaders or personalities in Bangladesh. However, less than one-third are the (non-religious) political personalities, social reformers, educationist, poets like Kazi Nazrul Islam and Tagore, and Nobel Laureate like Professor Yunus of Grameen Bank.

These can be interpreted as their 'choice' rather than their 'liking' for the religious leaders or personalities. The overwhelming choice of political personalities by the madrassa students is somewhat contradictory when these students do not support political involvement of madrassa students. Therefore, there is no reason to think that the madrassa students are apolitical, either when it comes to choosing ideal personality (role model) or, may be, selecting which political party they would support or side in the future.

The civil society opined that Aliya Madrassas are relatively less conservative, teach modern subjects, and both the girls and boys can sit together in the same classroom. On the other hand, Quomi Madrassa students, they said, are highly conservative, teach subjects those are hundreds of years old, and girls and boys have to attend separate classrooms.

Quomi Madrassa students opined that Aliya Madrassa students are politically motivated and are deviated from real Islamic education. Aliya Madrassa students, on the other hand, opined that Quomi Madrassa education is ineffective for employment, do not learn *Bangla*, and are prone to be used for terrorism.

More than half of the madrassa students came from *poor* and *lower middle class* households. Another major portion (44%) of the students belonged to the *middle class* and a small number came from *upper middle class* and *rich* households. About two-thirds of household with madrassa students were '*absolute poor*'. One-third of the total households are *hard core* or *extreme poor* with a difference of 8 percentage points between urban and rural areas. Therefore, poor are disproportionately highly concentrated in madrassas. This, in turn, implies that it is absolutely necessary to devise appropriate means and ways to simultaneously negotiate the issue of rising religiosity associated with rising inequality and denial of poor people's access to mainstream public sector education.

Assessment made by Aliya and the Quomi Madrassa students (about themselves) reveal that the social status of more than 40 percent can be categorized as '*little known person*', followed by '*well known person*' (25.4 %). '*Common people*' was reported by 17 percent students and about 13.4 percent recognized their parents as '*respected person*'. The least, 1.2 percent students admitted that their parents are '*local elites*'.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

There has been a relative boom of madrassas since the 1980s, particularly in Bangladesh and Pakistan, and the boom in both these countries can be linked to a surge of Islamization by the military autocratic governments in these countries and used by Western powers for their geo-political interests. Thus, the madrassas become immensely popular by targeting the growing

lower class echelon of the society, the excluded and the disadvantaged whom the governments failed to provide proper access to mainstream education.

In Bangladesh, the rise of non-secular governments and the sudden disproportionate surge of the Quomi Madrassas happened concurrently after mid 1970s. In August 1975, a bloody military putsch assassinated the secular founder and the head of the state, Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Subsequently, a series of non-secular moves, including adding *Bismillaahir Rahmaanir-Rahim* (in the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful) at the beginning of the Constitution, declaring Islam as the state religion, and withdrawing ban on religious political parties, later encouraged religious fundamentalism through newly established political parties like JMB, JMJB, HuJi, etc.

After the well synchronized and simultaneous 500 bomb blasts, in 2005, across Bangladesh by JMB, all those apprehended invariably had madrassa education and, at one point of their political life, were the members of the mainstream religious political party Jamat-e-Islami (JI) or its student wing, *Shibir* (Barkat 2006). In addition, most of their leaders had direct links to the Afghan war in the 1980s, or inspired by the fact that war based on religious faith can defeat any global superpower.

A combination of non-secular political governments, in Bangladesh after the mid 1970s, and the Afghan war in the 1980s had a lasting effect on some Quomi Madrassas. In some of them, the police found armed training materials in the campuses during raids. Furthermore, the abundance of graduates became handy, and with no meaningful jobs in the market, few of them were easy pickings for those political parties to build effective home grown terrorist networks. The problem is, when these ‘some or few’ madrassa graduates can be organized for sinister purposes, it becomes deadly and can destabilize democracy, as the recent events in Pakistan points out.

A great deal has been written on madrassas in the West in the wake of 9/11 tragedy and the US war on terrorism. Reports in the Western television and numerous articles in the West suggested that the madrassas in Pakistan (and elsewhere) have become a hotbed of Islamic terrorism and the breeding ground of terrorism. They have been variously described as “dens of terror,” “*jihad* universities,” “*jihad* factories,” and, as the then Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee described them, “factories of terror.” In general perception, madrassas have become synonymous with terrorism and terrorist training camps. Many journalists and commentators have suggested that these madrassas teach “*jihadi* literature” in their course of studies and that the entire curriculum is intended to produce “holy warriors.” It is also suggested by many Western scholars that there is an inherent relationship between what is taught in the madrassas, on the one hand, and religious extremism, *Talibanism*, militancy, anti-Americanism, and even terrorism, on the other. It is also argued that madrassa students, through their reading of religious texts, become “soldiers of God” and engage in militant activities against those they consider enemies of Islam. Let us critically examine these assertions.

First, if the madrassa education is the only or the main cause of Islamic militancy, radicalism, and anti-Americanism, why did these tendencies not manifest themselves before the 1990s? The curriculum of the madrassa has remained the same for about 150 years. Second, those who suggest an inherent relationship between the madrassa curriculum and Islamic militancy and describe madrassas as “*jihad* factories” are probably unaware of the fact that this curriculum is the most pacifists in its orientation. Its approach to Islam is ultra-conservative, literalist, legalist, and sectarian, but definitely not revolutionary, radical, or militant. It is interesting to

note that in the standard syllabus on the study of *hadits*, chapters on *jihad* in all the six standard collections of the Prophetic tradition are not discussed at all. During the study of *fiqh* (jurisprudence) texts also, the entire time is spent on “problems of menstruation,” laws relating to marriage and divorce, and other hairsplitting rather than on political or *jihadi* issues.

There is absolutely nothing in the madrassa curriculum that can be deemed as promoting or encouraging militancy, not to mention terrorism. Radicalism that we see in some madrassas, both in Pakistan and in Bangladesh, today is an extraneous phenomenon brought into madrassas by some international and some domestic political actors who wanted to use the religious capital and manpower of these madrassas for their own objectives. And this takes place in a time when “state fails to ensure welfare to the people”, when “government fails to provide access to education to most poor and marginalised population”, “when “poverty and inequality rise”, and when “Muslim populated countries become target of war against terrorism” (Barkat 2006). Therefore, Islamic militancy has roots □ both internal and external.

An overwhelming majority of madrassas in Bangladesh □ as in India and Pakistan □ are engaged in traditional Islamic studies and are NOT involved in any militant activities, or even sectarian strife. In fact, most of them shy away from politics in order to concentrate on their primary mission. It was only after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 that some of the madrassas on the northern and southern border areas of Pakistan □ which always had a majority of their students from Afghanistan □ came to be associated with the Afghan *jihad* movement against the Soviet Union. One also has to remember that there were five million Afghan refugees in hundreds of refugee camps in the NWFP and Baluchistan. It is estimated that 40 percent of them were school-age children, many of them orphans. These madrassas provided them with free food, shelter, and basic skills of how to read and write, along with some Islamic education. It is worth raising the issue here that Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, but who were the real actors behind the rise of Afghan *Jihadis* and Talebanism.

Most of the madrassas associated with militancy and terrorism after the mid-1990s were established in the 1980s. But, what was established for a particular purpose for fighting against the Soviets were in fact military training camps where some religious education was also imparted, obviously to strengthen the spirit of *jihad* against the Soviets. The point is that they were not the institutions originally conceived as madrassas that later turned in to anti terrorist training camps; they were from the very inception, conceived as military training camps and were given a cover of a madrassa to religiously legitimize their operations as to solicit funds from all over the Muslim world.

The story of these madrassas is thus integrally linked with the story of Afghan *jihad* of the 1980s and the cold war that created the political conditions of this *jihad*. The rising poverty and inequality in the society has been an accelerator in the process. Therefore, the answer to the questions being asked these days in the media, and in scholarly and policy circles □ who established these madrassas? Why were they created? Who provided generously with funds? And more importantly, who revived the so far dormant tradition of *jihad* as an armed struggle against the infidels? □ lies not in Kabul, or Islamabad, or Peshawar, or Riyadh, but in Langley, Virginia.

As we all know, after the Afghan *jihad* was over, the “facilities” created for the Afghan *jihad* in these madrassas came handy for the *jihad* in Kashmir. For some warriors coming back to Bangladesh, there were climate for a violent movement for political Islam for a *sharia* based Islamic state and most, if not all the actors for these movement, had some connection to the Afghan *jihad*.

POSTSCRIPT

While this book was being edited and final preparations made to send it to the publisher, the Final Draft of the National Education Policy (NEP), 2009, as put forward by the Ministry of Education, was approved by the Parliament. This policy document, henceforth, is the guidelines and strategies for the development of education in Bangladesh. This document is expected to deal with most, if not all, the issues that are crucial to education in Bangladesh.

The NEP 2009 strongly expresses, among others, to change the madrassa education in Bangladesh and has a separate chapter that deals with the necessary changes to be made. These sweeping changes would help to modernize the limping and out-of-date madrassa education system. While addressing the core issues of madrassa education, in order to bring it at par with the mainstream education, ‘madrassa education’ is used mainly to refer to Aliya Madrassas only. The crucial changes that are required for Quomi Madrassas are missing and in only one of the policy refer to Quomi Madrassas. The policy points out that all the Quomi Madrassas should be registered with the government that is, with the Ministry of Education.

This is indeed a bold step, in a sensitive political culture, regarding religious education prevailing in the country and the mistrust and closed door approach of the Quomi Madrassas. But, bringing the Quomi Madrassas into the mainstream and making the education meaningful, both in terms of its utility and religious needs are not addressed in NEP 2009.

As a result, some 5.2 million Quomi students (which are 15 percent of all students in Bangladesh) would remain completely out of the mainstream education. Significantly, when they graduate from the system, they will be desperately short of any meaningful skills for their livelihood, and would mostly end up as *imams* and *muazzins*, in the mosques and doing other religious functions and ceremonies for the community. More so, about 80 percent of the Quomi graduates end up with unemployment. The policy document clearly specifies the ‘Vocational and Technical’ education needs and strategies for the mainstream eighth graders, for both the general and (Aliya) madrassa education. Though the expansion of such education is reflected in the document, the Quomi eighth graders will not qualify, as NEP 2009 failed to provide any strategic direction for them. However, the policy document justifies and quotes the Constitution of Bangladesh on several occasions, while referring to a unified education and education for all. It also speaks about meaningful education in several of its policy outlines in different sections.

Notwithstanding, leaving 5.2 million children of Bangladesh without any worthwhile future can not be labeled as mainstreaming education, unified education, or education for all. Without policy guidelines in the NEP 2009 for the Quomi Madrassa students therefore, would desperately fall short of addressing the very Constitutional obligation it wants to fulfill.

SURVEY BASED DATA TABLES

Table 1: Number of various types of madrassa in sample location

Type of madrassa	Union	Pourashava/Ward	City Corporation/Ward
Aliya madrassa	182	47	25
Quomi madrassa	104	45	59
Hafizia madrassa	181	75	46
Moktab/Forqania/Nourani	192	36	24
Total	659	203	154
N	63	54	27

Table 2: Average number of madrassa per sample union

Type of madrassa	Number of madrassa	Number of madrassa (%)
Aliya	2.9	28
Quomi	1.7	16
Hafizia	2.9	27
Moktab/Forqania/Nourani	3.0	29
Quomi All	7.6	72
All madrassa	10.5	100

Table 3: Average number of madrassa per Pourashava ward

Type of madrassa	Average number of madrassa	Number of madrassa (%)
Aliya	0.58	23
Quomi	0.56	22
Hafizia	0.93	37
Moktab/Forqania/Nourani	0.44	18
Quomi All	1.93	77
All madrassa	2.51	100

Table 4: Average number of madrassa per City Corporation ward

Type of madrassa	Average number of madrassa	Number of madrassa (%)
Aliya	0.9	16
Quomi	2.2	38
Hafizia	1.7	30
Moktab/Forqania/Nourani	0.9	16
Quomi All	4.8	84
All madrassa	5.7	100

Table 5: Total number of rural madrassa in Bangladesh: 2008

Type of madrassa	Madrassa per union	Total no. of Union	Total madrassa
Aliya	2.9	4466	12951
Quomi	7.6	4466	33942
Total		46893	

Table 6: Total number of madrassa in Pourashava: 2008

Type of madrassa	madrassa per Pourashava Ward (PW)	Total no. of PW	Total madrassa
Aliya	0.58	2309	1339
Quomi	1.93	2309	4456
Total		5795	

Table 7: Total number of madrassa in City Corporation: 2008

Type of madrassa	madrassa per City Corporation Ward (CW)	Total no. of CW	Total madrassa
Aliya	0.9	253	228
Quomi	4.8	253	1214
Total			1442

Table 8: Total number of madrassa in Bangladesh: 2008

Type of madrassa	Rural	Urban	National
Aliya	12951	1567	14518
Quomi	33942	5670	39612
Total	46893	7237	54130

Table 9: Total number of madrassa, mainstream educational institution, and mosque in Bangladesh: 2008

Category	Rural	Urban	National
Madrassa	46893	7237	54130
Mainstream educational institution	85748	17870	103618
Mosque	169350	22636	191986

Table 10: Distribution of madrassa by highest class taught in rural areas (%)

Highest class	Type of madrassa		
	Aliya	Quomi	Both
No class	3.8	66.2	49.0
Class V	18.1	7.8	10.6
Class VIII	3.8	4.8	4.6
Class X	53.8	6.7	19.7
Class XII	8.8	1.3	3.3
Class XIV	8.8	0.6	2.9
Class XVI	2.7	12.6	9.9

Table 11: Distribution of madrassa by highest class taught in urban areas (%)

Highest class	Type of madrassa		
	Aliya	Quomi	Both
No class	1.4	49.8	40.1
Class V	11.1	10.2	10.4
Class VIII	11.1	4.2	5.6
Class X	41.7	11.2	17.4
Class XII	8.3	3.2	4.2
Class XIV	9.7	1.1	2.8
Class XVI	16.7	20.4	19.6

Table 12: Distribution of madrassa by highest class taught in Bangladesh (%)

Highest class	Type of madrassa		
	Aliya	Quomi	Both
No class	3.1	60.1	45.9
Class I-V	16.1	8.7	10.5
Class VIII	5.9	4.6	4.9
Class X	50.4	8.4	18.9
Class XII	8.7	2.0	3.6
Class XIV	9.1	0.8	2.9
Class XVI+	6.7	15.5	13.3

Table 13: Distribution of madrassa by highest class taught by area (%)

Highest class	Rural	Urban	National
No class	49.0	40.1	45.9
Class I-V	10.6	10.4	10.5
Class VIII	4.6	5.6	4.9
Class X	19.7	17.4	18.9
Class XII	3.3	4.2	3.6
Class XIV	2.9	2.8	2.9
Class XVI+	9.9	19.6	13.3

Table 14: Number and annual growth rate of madrassa in sample areas by types, 1950-2008

Year	Total number of madrassa			Annual growth rate (%)		
	Aliya	Quomi	Both	Aliya	Quomi	Both
1950	23	58	81	-	-	-
1951	25	59	84	8.34	1.71	3.64
1952	26	61	87	3.92	3.33	3.51
1953	27	63	90	3.77	3.23	3.39
1954	29	64	93	7.15	1.57	3.28
1955	29	65	94	0.00	1.55	1.07
1956	30	66	96	3.39	1.53	2.11
1957	32	68	100	6.45	2.99	4.08
1958	34	70	104	6.06	2.90	3.92
1959	36	72	108	5.72	2.82	3.77
1960	37	90	127	2.74	22.31	16.21
1961	39	95	134	5.26	5.41	5.37
1962	41	97	138	5.00	2.08	2.94
1963	44	104	148	7.06	6.97	7.00
1964	44	107	151	0.00	2.84	2.01
1965	45	114	159	2.25	6.34	5.16
1966	47	119	166	4.35	4.29	4.31
1967	48	126	174	2.11	5.72	4.71

Year	Total number of madrassa			Annual growth rate (%)		
	Aliya	Quomi	Both	Aliya	Quomi	Both
1968	49	134	183	2.06	6.16	5.04
1969	52	137	189	5.94	2.21	3.23
1970	53	141	194	1.90	2.88	2.61
1971	54	143	197	1.87	1.41	1.53
1972	55	144	199	1.83	0.70	1.01
1973	56	146	202	1.80	1.38	1.50
1974	58	150	208	3.51	2.70	2.93
1975	60	152	212	3.39	1.32	1.90
1976	65	164	229	8.00	7.60	7.71
1977	73	182	255	11.61	10.41	10.75
1978	82	200	282	11.63	9.43	10.06
1979	93	218	311	12.59	8.62	9.79
1980	105	242	347	12.14	10.44	10.95
1981	115	261	376	9.10	7.56	8.03
1982	125	265	390	8.34	1.52	3.66
1983	137	270	407	9.17	1.87	4.27
1984	149	275	424	8.40	1.83	4.09
1985	159	287	446	6.50	4.27	5.06
1986	171	298	469	7.28	3.76	5.03
1987	177	306	483	3.45	2.65	2.94
1988	180	321	501	1.68	4.79	3.66
1989	182	331	513	1.10	3.07	2.37
1990	184	371	555	1.09	11.41	7.87
1991	187	378	565	1.62	1.87	1.79
1992	191	412	603	2.12	8.61	6.51
1993	195	422	617	2.07	2.40	2.30
1994	197	435	632	1.02	3.03	2.40
1995	200	482	682	1.51	10.26	7.61
1996	208	500	708	3.92	3.67	3.74
1997	213	511	724	2.38	2.18	2.23
1998	219	538	757	2.78	5.15	4.46
1999	220	555	775	0.46	3.11	2.35
2000	225	597	822	2.25	7.29	5.89
2001	233	627	860	3.49	4.90	4.52
2002	238	672	910	2.12	6.93	5.65
2003	243	695	938	2.08	3.37	3.03
2004	246	720	966	1.23	3.53	2.94
2005	251	737	988	2.01	2.33	2.25
2006	253	752	1005	0.79	2.01	1.71
2007	255	762	1017	0.79	1.32	1.19
2008	256	763	1019	0.39	0.13	0.20

Table 15: Number of mainstream educational institution by types of in sample areas

Type of Institution	Union	Pourashava Ward	City Corporation Ward
Kindergarten	112	109	106
Primary	793	163	149
Lower Secondary	22	17	29
Secondary	220	113	99
College	49	47	41
University college	10	14	12
English medium school	-	4	43
Total	1206	467	479
N	63	54	27

Table 16: Average number of mainstream educational institution per union and ward

Type of Institution	Union	Pourashava Ward	City Corporation Ward
Kindergarten	1.8	1.3	3.9
Primary	12.6	2.0	5.5
Lower Secondary	0.3	0.2	1.1
Secondary	3.5	1.4	3.7
College	0.8	0.6	1.5
University college	0.2	0.2	0.4
English medium school	-	0.1	1.6
Total	19.1	5.8	17.7
N	63	54	27

Table 17: Total number of mainstream educational institution in rural Bangladesh: 2008

Type of Institution	Average number of mainstream educational institution per union	Total number of Union	Total number of mainstream educational institution
Kindergarten	1.8	4466	8039
Primary	12.6	4466	56272
Lower Secondary	0.3	4466	1340
Secondary	3.5	4466	15631
College	0.8	4466	3573
University college	0.2	4466	893
Total	19.2	4466	85748

Table 18: Total number of mainstream educational institution in Pourashava: 2008

Type of Institution	Average number of mainstream educational institution per ward	Total number of Pourashava Ward	Total number of mainstream educational institution
Kindergarten	1.3	2309	3002
Primary	2.0	2309	4618
Lower Secondary	0.2	2309	462
Secondary	1.4	2309	3233
College	0.6	2309	1385
University college	0.2	2309	462
English medium school	0.1	2309	231
Total	5.8	2309	13392

Table 19: Total number of mainstream educational institution in City Corporation: 2008

Type of Institution	Mainstream educational institution per City Corporation ward	Total number of City Corporation Ward	Total number of mainstream educational institution
Kindergarten	3.9	253	986.7
Primary	5.5	253	1391.5
Lower Secondary	1.1	253	278.3
Secondary	3.7	253	936.1
College	1.5	253	379.5
University college	0.4	253	101.2
English medium school	1.6	253	404.8
Total	17.7	253	4,478.1

Table 20: Total number of mainstream educational institution in Bangladesh: 2008

Type of Institution	Rural	Urban	National
Kindergarten	8039	3989	12028
Primary	56272	6009	62281
Lower secondary	1340	740	2080
Secondary	15631	4169	19800
College	3573	1764	5337
University college	893	563	1456
English medium school	-	636	636
Total	85748	17870	103618

Table 21: Total number of mosque in sample areas by types

Type of Mosque	Union	Pourashava Ward	City Corporation Ward
Zoom'a	2261	539	687
Waqtia	125	15	11
Prayer place other than Zoom'a, and Waqtia	1		18
Total	2387	554	716
N	63	54	27

Table 22: Average number of mosque per Union and Ward by types

Type of Mosque	Union	Pourashava Ward	City Corporation Ward
Zoom'a	35.9	6.7	25.4
Waqtia	2.0	0.2	0.4
Prayer place other than Zoom'a, and Waqtia	0.0	0.0	0.7
Total	37.9	6.9	26.5
N	63	54	27

Table 23: Total number of mosque in rural Bangladesh: 2008

Type of Mosque	Mosque per	Total Union	Total number of
Zoom'a	35.9	4466	160329
Waqtia	2.0	4466	8932
Prayer place other than Zoom'a, and Waqtia	0.02	4466	89
Total	37.9	4466	169261

Table 24: Total number of mosque in Pourashava: 2008

Type of Mosque	Mosque per Pourashava ward	Total Poarashave ward	Total number of mosque
Zoom'a	35.9	2309	15470
Waqtia	2.0	2309	462
Total	37.9	2309	15932

Table 25: Total number of mosque in City Corporation: 2008

Type of Mosque	Mosque per City Corporation ward	Total City Corporation ward	Total number of mosque
Zoom'a	35.9	253	6426
Waqtia	2.0	253	101
Prayer place other than Zoom'a, and Waqtia	0.02	253	177

Total	37.9	253	6704
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Table 26: Total number of mosque in Bangladesh: 2008

Type of Institution	Rural	Urban	National
Zoom'a	160329	21896	182225
Waqtia	8932	568	9495
Prayer place other than Zoom'a, and Waqtia	89	177	266
Total	169350	22636	191986

Table 27: Number of mosque with madrassa/maktab in sample areas

Type of mosque	Sample areas			Total
	Union	Pourashava Ward	City Corporation Ward	
Zoom'a	1106	289	308	1703
Waqtia	22	5	8	35
Prayer place other than Zooma, and Waqtia			8	8
Total	1128	294	324	1746
N	63	54	27	

Table 28: Area distribution of madrassa campus/premise (decimal)

Indicator	Aliya	Madrassa Quomi	Both
Maximum	1865	2700	2700
Minimum	12	1	1
Average	222	156.7	189.6

Table 29: Ownership pattern of land where madrassa is situated (in %)

Indicator	Aliya	Madrassa Quomi	Both
Own	96.7	81.7	89.3
Not own	3.3	18.3	10.7

Table 30: Amount of land by type of ownership where madrassa is situated (in decimal)

Indicator	Aliya	Madrassa Quomi	Both
Own	227.4	185.0	208.1
Not own	62.5	31.0	35.8
N	61	60	121

Table 31: Nature of madrassa building (%)

Indicator	Aliya	Madrassa Quomi	Both
Earthen / <i>Katcha</i>	8.2	10.0	9.1
Semi building/ <i>semi pucca</i>	24.6	48.0	36.3
Building/ brick built	67.2	42.0	54.6

Table 32: Number of buildings in madrassa

Indicator	Aliya	Madrassa Quomi	Both
Maximum	18	12	18
Minimum	1	0	0
Average	3.3	2.8	3.1

Table 33: Average number of rooms in madrassa building

Indicator	Aliya	Madrassa Quomi	Both
Maximum	40	13	40
Minimum	1	1	1
Average	6.7	4.1	5.4

Table 34: Average number of floors in madrassa building

Indicator	Aliya	Madrassa Quomi	Both
Maximum	5	6	6
Minimum	1	1	1
Average	1.9	2.3	2.1

Table 35: Amount of floor space in madrassa building (in sq. foot)

Indicator	Aliya	Madrassa Quomi	Both
Maximum	48148	35000	48148
Minimum	317	183	183
Average	12489.4	7494.5	10012.6

Table 36: Average number of books per madrassa library

Indicator	Aliya	Madrassa Quomi	Both
Number of books	452.2	1167.0	806.6
N	61	60	121

Table 37: Average number of books by subject in madrassa library

Indicator	Aliya	Madrassa Quomi
Religious	144.0	907.7
Literature	17.4	75.3
Travelogue	34.1	11.4
Autobiography	28.7	44.1
Science	20.0	12.0
History	38.0	43.8
Economics	170.1	8.8
Other	0	28.4
Total	452.3	1131.5
N	61	60

Table 38: Yearly new enrollment in madrassa

Indicator	Aliya	Madrassa Quomi	Both
Maximum	720	400	720
Minimum	23	10	10
Average	175.3	118.2	147.0
N	61	60	121

Table 39: Number of students completed education per year

Indicator	Aliya	Madrassa Quomi	Both
Maximum	360	250	360
Minimum	3	5	3
Average	80.5	32.8	56.9
N	61	60	121

Table 40: Number of orphan student (boy) in madrassa

Indicator	Aliya	Madrassa Quomi	Both
Maximum	300	250	300
Minimum	0	0	0
Average	28.2	47.1	37.6
N	61	60	121

Table 41: Number of orphan student (girl) in madrassa

Indicator	Aliya	Madrassa Quomi	Both
Maximum	75	40	75
Minimum	0	0	0
Average	5.0	2.5	3.7
N	61	60	121

Table 42: Number of disable student (boy) in madrassa

Indicator	Aliya	Madrassa Quomi	Both
Maximum	26	10	26
Minimum	0	0	0
Average	2.1	0.7	1.4
N	61	60	121

Table 43: Number of disable student (girl) in madrassa

Indicator	Aliya	Madrassa Quomi	Both
Maximum	3	1	3
Minimum	0	0	0
Average	0.2	0.0	0.1
N	61	60	121

Table 44: Presence of *Lillah Fund* in madrassa (%)

Indicator	Aliya	Madrassa Quomi	Both
Presence of <i>Lillah Fund</i>	37.7	90.0	63.6
N	61	60	121

Table 45: Average number of students under *Lillah Fund*

Indicator	Aliya	Madrassa Quomi	Both
Maximum	200	700	700
Minimum	0	5	0
Average	38.7	142.6	111.6
N	23	54	77

Table 46: Total number of mainstream educational institutions in Bangladesh: 1970-2005

Year	Primary School	Secondary School	Colleges	Total mainstream educational institution
1970	29,082	5,794	394	35,270
1975	39,914	8,020	611	48,545
1980	43,936	8,485	599	53,020
1985	44,220	9,444	608	54,272
1990	47,241	10,448	848	58,537
1995	62,654	12,012	1,274	75,940
2000	76,806	15,720	2,427	94,953
2005	80,397	18,500	3,150	102,047

Table 47: Historical trend of madrassa by years of establishment: 1950 - 2008

Year	Aliya	Quomi	Total
1950	1,230	3,100	4,330
1960	1,864	4,794	6,658
1970	2,721	7,510	10,231
1980	5,767	12,312	18,079
1990	9,163	19,742	28,905
2000	11,882	31,801	43,685
2005	13,284	39,222	52,506
2008	14,518	39,612	54,130

Table 48: Management Committee structure of madrassa

Indicator	Aliya	Madrassa Quomi	Both
Regulated by person	xxxx	10.0	5.0
Regulated by committee	xxxx	90.0	44.6
N	xxxx	60	121

Table 49: Number of member in management committee/governing body

Indicator	Aliya	Madrassa Quomi	Both
Maximum	14	40	40
Minimum	2	1	1
Average	7.9	15.4	11.4
N	61	55	116

Table 50: Reported nature/forms of constitution for madrassa management

Indicator	<i>Aliya</i>	Madrassa <i>Quomi</i>	Both
Written	93.4	83.3	88.4
Unwritten	6.6	16.7	11.6
N	61	60	121

Table 51: Teachers reported satisfaction on management of madrassa (in %)

Indicator	<i>Aliya</i>	<i>Quomi</i>	Both
Satisfied	41.4	73.4	57.4
N	128	128	256

Table 52.A: Political affiliation of governing body's member: All member

[percent of total respondents: 961]

Political party	Type of affiliation				All
	Member	Not Member but participating in political activities	Supporters or Sympathizers	Not identified*	
Bangladesh Awami League	6.2	2.9	12.7		21.9
Bangladesh Nationalist Party	7.1	7.9	11.7		26.6
Jatiyo Party	1.2	0.2	1.2		2.7
Bangladesh Jamat-e- Islami	6.9	12.3	10.0		29.1
Khelafate Mozlish	0.6	2.3	2.0		4.9
Islami Shashontantaro					
Andolan	1.0	1.9	2.9		5.8
JSD	0.2				0.2
Muslim League		0.1			0.1
Not identified				8.6	8.6
Total	23.2	27.6	40.5	8.6	100.0
N	224	265	389	83	961

*Not identified includes 83 respondents with 16 President (MC), 4 Vice President, 5 Secretary, and 58 Members of MC/GB.

Table 52.B: Political affiliation of governing body's member whose affiliation was identified

[percent of total respondents: 878]

Political party	Type of affiliation			All
	Member	Not Member but participating in political activities	Supporters or Sympathizers	
Bangladesh Awami League	6.8	3.2	13.9	23.9
Bangladesh Nationalist Party	7.7	8.7	12.8	29.2
Jatiyo Party	1.4	0.2	1.4	3.0
Bangladesh Jamat-e- Islami	7.5	13.4	10.9	31.9
Khelafate Mozlish	0.7	2.5	2.2	5.4
Islami Shashontantaro Andolan	1.1	2.1	3.2	6.4
JSD	0.2			0.2
Muslim League		0.1		0.1
Total	25.4	30.2	44.4	100.0
N	224	265	389	878

Table 52.C: Political affiliation of governing body's member (all member): Intra-category

Political party	Type of affiliation				
	Member	Not Member but participating in political activities	Supporters or Sympathizers	Not identified*	All
Bangladesh Awami League	26.8	10.6	31.4		21.9
Bangladesh Nationalist Party	30.4	28.7	28.8		26.6
Jatiyo Party	5.4	0.8	3.1		2.7
Bangladesh Jamat-e- Islami	29.5	44.5	24.7		29.1
Khelafate Mozlish	2.7	8.3	4.9		4.9
Islami Shashontantaro Andolan	4.5	6.8	7.2		5.8
JSD	0.9				0.2
Muslim League		0.4			0.1
Not identified				100.0	8.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	224	265	389	83	961

*Not identified includes 83 respondents with 16 President (MC), 4 Vice President, 5 Secretary, and 58 Members of MC/GB.

Table 52.D: Political affiliation of governing body's member whose affiliation was identified: Intra-category

Political party	Type of affiliation			
	Member	Not Member but participating in political activities	Supporters or Sympathizers	All
Bangladesh Awami League	26.8	10.6	31.4	23.9
Bangladesh Nationalist Party	30.4	28.7	28.8	29.2
Jatiyo Party	5.4	0.8	3.1	3.0
Bangladesh Jamat-e- Islami	29.5	44.5	24.7	31.9
Khelafate Mozlish	2.7	8.3	4.9	5.4
Islami Shashontantaro Andolan	4.5	6.8	7.2	6.4
JSD	0.9			0.2
Muslim League		0.4		0.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	224	265	389	878

Table 53: Educational status of governing body's member

Degree passed	Type of membership			
	President	Secretary	Treasurer	General member
Below Primary				1.0
Primary	1.9	4.2	1.3	4.5
Below SSC	2.9	15.3	3.8	13.5
SSC	7.6	16.7	10.0	16.8
HSC	8.6	11.1	5.0	13.6
BA	7.6	13.9	12.5	16.6
MA	71.4	38.9	67.5	33.9
N	105	72	80	704

Table 54: Occupational status of governing body's member

Occupation	Type of membership			
	President	Assistant President	Secretary	General member
Service	53.3	16.7	26.3	19.3
Retired Person	3.8	5.6		5.8
Business	19.0	41.7	16.3	37.6
Journalist	1.0		1.3	1.1
Political Leader	3.8	2.8	1.3	2.1
Teacher	12.4	20.8	50.0	19.6
Doctor	1.0		1.3	3.8
Farmer	4.8	5.6	3.8	8.5
Contractor		1.4		0.1
Social Service		2.8		0.9
Lawyer	1.0	2.8		1.0
N	105	72	80	704

Table 55: Children studying/ studied at madrassa

Indicator	Type of membership			
	President	Secretary	Treasurer	General member
Children studying/ studied at madrassa	25.7	41.7	45.0	42.0
N	105	72	80	704

Table 56: Item of annual expenditure reported by madrassa (%)

Item of expenditure	Madrassa	
	Aliya	Quomi
Salary of teacher/staff	95.1	90.0
Purchase of books	83.6	71.7
Examination	90.2	53.3
Paper/Pen/Pencil and others	90.2	75.0
Uniform/Dress	11.5	23.3
Food	19.7	60.0
Hostel	29.5	43.3
Infrastructure development	73.8	66.7
Telephone and electricity bill	86.9	81.7
Loan repayment	32.8	43.3
Entertainment	86.9	61.7
TA/DA	80.3	51.7
Others	50.8	45.0

Table 57: Source of income reported by madrassa (%)

Source of income	Madrassa	
	Aliya	Quomi
Tuition fee	80.3	75.0
Admission fee	80.3	65.0
Examination fee	88.5	73.3
Certificate fee	60.7	41.7
Personal donation	72.1	46.7
Government grant/donation	85.2	55.0
Grants provided by private trustee/Waqf	9.8	20.0
Jakat/Fitra/Sadka/Mannat	29.5	38.3
Leather of slaughtered animal during Holy Eid-ul-Azha	18.0	90.0
Crops income from land property	59.0	60.0
Rent from property of madrassa	37.7	31.7
Foreign aid	6.6	16.7

Table 58: Annual income of madrassa by source (Tk.)

Source of income	Madrassa	
	Aliya	Quomi
Tuition fee	471,524	153,994
Admission fee	83,889	45,802
Examination fee	61,171	25,061
Certificate fee	14,045	113,904
Personal donation	332,005	449,161
Government grant/donation	1,729,428	35,945
Grants provided by private trustee/Waqf	3,576	77,513
Jakat/Fitra/Sadka/Mannat	81,439	374,379
Leather of slaughtered animal during Holy Eid-ul-Azha	26,079	88,562
Crops income from land property	26,620	41,566
Rent from property of madrassa	47,835	13,270
Foreign aid	1,283	38,291
Others	20,492	149,047
Annual Income	2,899,386	1,606,494
Minimum	40,746	60,000
Maximum	54,418,000	17,934,999

Table 59: Annual expenditure of madrassa by items (Tk.)

Source	Aliya	Quomi
Salary of teacher/staff	1927,925	535,034
Purchase of books	17,547	22,856
Examination	63,822	16,038
Paper/Pen/Pencil and others	21,276	11,003
Uniform/Dress	2,448	85,478
Food	96,908	542,568
Hostel	18,942	106,767
Infrastructure development	129,360	171,892
Telephone and electricity bill	19,871	88,144
Loan repayment	5,138	63,571
Entertainment	10,799	24,754
TA/DA	16,260	9,339
Others	19,356	329,151
Total annual expenditure (last year)	2,349,650	2,006,593
Minimum	43,042	108,000
Maximum	38,557,000	19,410,808

Table 60: Distribution of teachers by amount salary (%)

Amount of salary	Type of Madrassa	
	Aliya	Quomi
Tk.<3000	14.6	65.2
Tk.3001-5000	34.9	19.9
Tk.5001-7000	14.0	7.9
Tk.7001-9000	15.7	3.9
Tk.9001-11000	3.4	2.5
Tk.11001-13000	9.7	0.7
Tk.13001-15000	5.4	0.2
Tk.15001-17000	2.1	
Tk.17001-19000	-	0.2
Tk.19000 and above	0.4	

Table 61: Increasing government allocation to Madrassa education (in million Tk.)

Financial Year	Budget (Revenue and development)
1994-95	1801.2
1995-96	2040.4
1996-97	2060.2
1997-98	2680.5
1998-99	2950
1999-2000	-
2000-01	4108.3
2001-02	4395.5
2002-03	4570.7
2003-04	5122
2004-05	5341.5
2005-06	5916.7
2006-07	7754.6

Source: BANBEIS

Table 62: Government expenditure on teacher's salary in Aliya madrassas (in million Tk.)

Financial Year	Aliya Madrassa teachers
1996-97	2,062.8
1997-98	2,685.8
1998-99	3,290.1
1999-2000	3,473.3
2000-01	4067.9
2001-02	4,347.80
2002-03	4,554.2
2003-04	5,098.2
2004-05	5,877.8
2005-06	7,679.8

Source: BANBEIS

Table 63: Number of non-government madrassa and number of madrassa having MPO

Year	Number of madrassa	Number of madrassa having MPO
1991-92	4,959	4,784
1992-93	5,191	4,807
1993-94	5,564	5,244
1994-95	5,762	5,605
1995-96	5,974	5,785
1996-97	6,652	5,841
1997-98	6,848	5,972
1998-99	6,953	6,087
1999-2000	7,119	6,417
2000-01	7,273	6,717
2001-02	7,648	6,995
2002-03	7,817	7,021
2003-04	8,410	7,342
2004-05	8,819	7,344
2005-06	9,215	7,345

Source: BANBEIS

Table 64: Students reported having plan for higher studies (in %)

Issues	Aliya			Qoumi			All		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
Having plan for higher studies	98.4	96.3	97.4	79.7	53.2	77.3	86.8	88.8	87.3
N	369	395	664	602	62	664	971	357	1328

Table 65: Students' awareness on socio-economic issues

Issues/Rights	(% reported)								
	Male	Aliya Fe-male	Both	Male	Qoumi Fe-male	Both	Male	All Fe-male	Both
Ensuring food to its citizen is constitutional obligation of the state	87.8	89.2	88.4	83.1	85.5	83.3	84.9	88.5	85.8
Ensuring cloth to its citizen is constitutional obligation of the state	83.5	85.8	84.5	80.4	87.1	81.0	81.6	86.0	82.8
Ensuring housing facility to its citizen is constitutional obligation of the state	81.3	85.1	83.0	79.9	85.5	80.4	80.4	85.2	81.7
Ensuring education to its citizen is constitutional obligation of the state	90.8	88.1	89.6	79.1	83.9	79.5	83.5	87.4	84.6
Ensuring good health to its citizen is constitutional obligation of the state	84.6	83.7	84.2	83.4	75.8	82.7	83.8	82.4	83.4
Peoples should have access to free medicine and treatment in government hospitals	90.0	89.2	89.6	89.0	79.0	88.1	89.4	87.4	88.9
Doctors should be accountable to people	83.2	85.1	84.0	86.0	80.6	85.5	85.0	84.3	84.8
Government is bound to be accountable to people	85.4	81.0	83.4	85.7	66.1	83.9	85.6	78.4	83.7
Voting is right of every citizen	95.9	97.3	96.5	89.7	87.1	89.5	92.1	95.5	93.0
Poor people have right on khas land and water bodies	84.3	80.0	82.4	85.5	61.3	83.3	85.1	76.8	82.8
Government gives subsidy in agriculture	69.9	45.1	58.9	61.8	58.1	61.4	64.9	47.3	60.2
Government should determine minimum wage	78.6	72.9	76.1	74.9	59.7	73.5	76.3	70.6	74.8
There is disparity in education between rural and urban	88.3	92.2	90.1	83.4	72.6	82.4	85.3	88.8	86.2
Government is responsible for price hike of books, khata, and other educational materials	76.2	75.6	75.9	75.6	71.0	75.2	75.8	74.8	75.5
Child marriage is a social problem	93.2	95.6	94.3	81.6	82.3	81.6	86.0	93.3	88.0
Violence against women is a social problem	96.5	96.3	96.4	81.9	82.3	81.9	87.4	93.8	89.2
Dowry is a curse	96.5	95.9	96.2	80.2	80.6	80.3	86.4	93.3	88.3
Legal age at marriage for male is 21	85.4	85.1	85.2	61.5	61.3	61.4	70.5	81.0	73.3
Legal age at marriage for female is 18	89.7	91.2	90.4	66.4	74.2	67.2	75.3	88.2	78.8
Throwing acid is a criminal offence	79.9	70.5	75.8	59.8	77.4	61.4	67.5	71.7	68.6
Women and children trafficking is a criminal offence	78.6	67.8	73.8	54.8	71.0	56.3	63.9	68.3	65.1
Women empowerment is necessary for development	57.2	81.0	67.8	22.3	48.4	24.7	35.5	75.4	46.2
Expansion of women education is a must for national life	87.5	94.9	90.8	51.0	80.6	53.8	64.9	92.4	72.3
Respect other religion is a great virtue	88.1	92.9	90.2	71.9	80.6	72.7	78.1	90.8	81.5
Religious values is necessary for personal/family/social/ national life	93.5	91.5	92.6	74.9	72.6	74.7	82.0	88.2	83.7
21st February is International Mother Language Day	80.8	71.2	76.5	57.5	53.2	57.1	66.3	68.1	66.8
26 th March is our Independence Day	76.4	64.7	71.2	59.0	56.5	58.7	65.6	63.3	65.0
16 th December is our victory Day	81.8	69.2	76.2	57.8	50.0	57.1	66.9	65.8	66.6
UN, COMMONWEALTH, and OIC etc. are international organization	66.4	34.9	52.4	39.2	29.0	38.3	49.5	33.9	45.3
N	369	295	664	602	62	664	971	357	1328

Table 66: Average number of students in sample madrassa by types in rural areas: 2008

Type of madrassa	Average number of student per madrassa
Aliya	309
Quomi	217
Hafezia	119
Maktab	105
All Quomi	130

Table 67: Average number of students in sample madrassa by types in urban areas: 2008

Type of madrassa	Average number of student per madrassa
Aliya	369
Quomi	211
Hafezia	115
Maktab	88
All Quomi	190

Table 68: Male-female distribution of madrassa student by types and location (%)

Type of madrassa	Rural		Urban		National	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Aliya	63.8	36.2	75.4	24.6	71.1	28.9
Quomi	92.5	7.5	90.4	9.6	90.9	9.1
Both	71.4	28.6	81.4	18.6	78.1	21.9

Table 69: Residence status of madrassa students (%)

Type of madrassa	Residential	Non residential
Aliya	11	89
Quomi	85	15
Both	37	63

Table 70: Number of students in various level of madrassa by types (%)

Type of madrassa	Aliya	Quomi	Both
Primary	9.4	65.5	40.6
Secondary	53.7	17.7	33.7
Above secondary	36.9	16.8	25.7
Total	100	100	100
N	254	762	1016

Table 71: Historical trend of total madrassa students by years (in'000)

Year	Type of madrassa		Total
	Aliya	Quomi	
1950	687	394	1081
1960	981	624	1605
1970	1498	1150	2648
1980	2925	2170	5095
1990	4508	3500	8008
2000	4543	3800	8343
2005	4563	5080	9643
2008	4580	5247	9827

Table 72: Number and annual growth rate of madrassa students during 1950-2008 in sample areas

Year	Total number of students			Annual growth rate of students (%)		
	Aliya	Quomi	Both	Aliya	Quomi	Both
1950	8989	9436	18425	-	-	-
1951	9499	9736	19235	5.5	3.1	4.3
1952	10199	10386	20585	7.1	6.5	6.8
1953	10374	10388	20762	1.7	0.0	0.9
1954	11424	10390	21814	9.6	0.0	4.9
1955	11427	10960	22387	0.0	5.3	2.6
1956	11430	11020	22450	0.0	0.5	0.3
1957	11433	11201	22634	0.0	1.6	0.8
1958	11436	11891	23327	0.0	6.0	3.0
1959	11439	12116	23555	0.0	1.9	1.0
1960	12924	14261	27185	12.2	16.3	14.3
1961	13649	14778	28427	5.5	3.6	4.5
1962	14249	14958	29207	4.3	1.2	2.7
1963	15174	15923	31097	6.3	6.3	6.3
1964	15178	16373	31551	0.0	2.8	1.4
1965	15878	17960	33838	4.5	9.3	7.0
1966	16868	18540	35408	6.0	3.2	4.5
1967	16968	19666	36634	0.6	5.9	3.4
1968	17218	21344	38562	1.5	8.2	5.1
1969	18514	21679	40193	7.3	1.6	4.1
1970	18614	22279	40893	0.5	2.7	1.7
1971	19214	22409	41623	3.2	0.6	1.8
1972	20508	23068	43576	6.5	2.9	4.6
1973	20876	23482	44358	1.8	1.8	1.8
1974	21711	25112	46823	3.9	6.7	5.4
1975	22788	25768	48556	4.8	2.6	3.6
1976	24840	27190	52030	8.6	5.4	6.9
1977	28397	30851	59248	13.4	12.6	13.0
1978	31061	34278	65339	9.0	10.5	9.8
1979	34996	36802	71798	11.9	7.1	9.4
1980	39597	39775	79372	12.4	7.8	10.0
1981	43054	42822	85877	8.4	7.4	7.9
1982	45893	44141	90034	6.4	3.0	4.7
1983	51398	44732	96130	11.3	1.3	6.6
1984	55623	45469	101092	7.9	1.6	5.0
1985	59371	47098	106469	1.3	3.5	2.3
1986	63464	48403	111867	10.3	2.7	6.9
1987	65197	50085	115282	4.3	3.4	3.9
1988	66299	52275	118573	1.7	4.3	2.8
1989	67581	53792	121373	3.4	2.9	3.2
1990	67619	59383	127002	0.1	9.9	4.5
1991	67992	60273	128265	0.5	1.5	1.0
1992	69558	63439	132997	0.8	5.1	2.8
1993	70714	64699	135413	1.6	2.0	1.8
1994	71099	66194	137293	0.5	2.3	1.4
1995	72580	72585	145165	2.1	9.2	5.6
1996	72665	74742	147407	1.5	2.9	2.2
1997	74175	75691	149866	0.7	1.3	1.0
1998	75310	79048	154358	1.5	4.3	3.0
1999	76610	81133	157743	1.7	2.6	2.2
2000	77805	83495	161300	1.5	2.9	2.2
2001	78797	88320	167117	1.3	5.6	3.5
2002	79996	94187	174183	1.5	6.4	4.1
2003	80471	96448	176919	0.6	2.4	1.6
2004	81271	99176	180447	1.0	2.8	2.0
2005	82106	101961	184067	1.0	2.8	2.0
2006	82426	102111	184537	0.4	0.1	0.3
2007	82666	103244	185910	0.3	1.1	0.7
2008	82866	104250	187116	0.2	1.0	0.6

Table 73: Total number of student in mainstream general education

Year	Type of institution			Total
	Primary school	Secondary school	College	
1970	5,250,819	1,352,700	300,047	6,903,566
1975	8,349,834	1,964,152	306,825	10,620,811
1980	8,219,313	2,405,057	333,580	10,957,950
1985	8,920,292	2,583,311	496,239	11,999,842
1990	12,051,172	2,993,730	824,112	15,869,014
1995	17,133,186	5,115,461	1,273,228	23,521,875
2000	17,667,985	7,646,885	1,725,601	27,040,471
2005	16,225,658	7,398,552	1,367,246	24,991,456

Source: BANBEIS

Table 74: Students reported perception about economic status of madrassa students' household (%)

Scale of economic status	Type of madrassa		
	Aliya	Quomi	Both
Poor/ Low income	38.0	43.8	40.9
Lower Middle class	29.4	28.0	28.7
Middle class	30.4	27.3	28.8
Upper middle class	1.4	0.5	0.9
Rich	0.9	0.5	0.7
N	664	664	1328

Table 75: Students reported perception about economic status of their own household (%)

Scale of economic status	Type of madrassa		
	Aliya	Quomi	Both
Poor/ Low income	17.9	18.5	18.2
Lower Middle class	30.3	34.9	32.6
Middle class	46.7	41.4	44.1
Upper middle class	4.5	4.2	4.4
Rich	0.6	0.9	0.8
N	664	664	1328

Table 76: Students reported perception about social status of their own parents (%)

Scale of social status	Type of madrassa		
	Aliya	Quomi	Both
Common people	13.7	19.9	16.8
Almost known person	39.2	47.1	43.1
Well known person	31.0	19.9	25.5
Known as honorable person	15.1	11.7	13.4
Local elite	1.1	1.4	1.2
N	664	664	1328

Table 77: Students reported educational background of their parents (%)

Indicator	Aliya	Quomi	Both
Educating from general education	54.5	50.5	52.5
Educating from madrassa	22.7	28.9	25.8
Both	11.1	14.6	12.9
No education	11.6	6.0	8.8
N	664	664	1328

Table 78: Educational status of madrassa students' household members (%)

Years of schooling	Household member
Msc/MA/Mcom	2.3
Bsc/BA/Bcom	5.6
HSC	11.9
SSC	17.6
Class VI-IX	25.1
Primary	9.9
Below primary	13.6
Adult literacy	0.2
No education	13.8
N	1367

Table 79: Occupation of madrassa students' household member (%)

Type of occupation	Household member
Farmer/Agriculture	4.9
Household head/Housewife	21.5
Agri labor	0.1
Non agri labor	1.8
Salaried job	6.7
Mason	0.3
Rickshaw/van puller	0.1
Shopkeeper	1.0
Petty trader	1.6
Middle/Large business	2.9
Tailor	0.2
Driver	0.2
Handicraft/Cottage industry	0.2
Village doctor	0.1
Homeopath doctor	0.2
Imam	0.1
Retired officer	0.3
Student	44.8
Child	6.4
Teacher	2.6
Principal/Head master (Madrassa)	0.6
Madrassa Teacher	0.6
Professor	0.5
Other	0.2
No occupation	1.9
N	1367

Table 80: Type of institution where Madrassa students' household members study/ studied (%)

Institution	Household member
Primary/Secondary school	37.4
College	8.2
University	2.5
Aliya Madrassa	28.7
Kowmi Madrassa	8.6
Hafezia Madrassa	0.7
Others	0.1
No institution	13.8
N	1367

Table 81: Average household size

Indicators	Average number of members
Household size	6.3
N	256

Table 82: Poverty status of household with madrassa student (%)

Poverty Status	Household member		
	Rural	Urban	National
Absolute poverty (below 2122 K.cal)	55	63	60
Hard core poverty (below 1805 K.cal)	25	33	30
N	114	142	256

Table 83: Poverty status in Bangladesh (DCI method)

Poverty status	Rural	Urban	National
Absolute poverty (below 2122 K.cal)	39.5	43.2	40.4
Hard core poverty (below 1805 K.cal)	17.9	24.4	19.5

Source: HIES-2005

Table 84: Parents reported initiator for admission of their children in Madrassa (%)

Type of initiator	Rural	Urban	Both
Father	29.8	26.1	27.7
Mother	2.6	4.9	3.9
Both the parent	64.0	66.9	65.6
Relatives	2.6	0.7	1.6
Religious person	-	1.4	0.8
Other	0.9		0.4
N	114	142	256

Table 85: Average number of teachers in madrassa by types in rural areas: 2008

Type of madrassa	Average number of teachers per madrassa
Aliya	12.2
Quomi	10
Hafezia	4
Maktab	2
All Quomi	4.32
N	659

Table 86: Average number of teachers in madrassa by types in urban areas: 2008

Type of madrassa	Average number of teachers per madrassa
Aliya	15.1
Qoumi	12
Hafizia	4
Maktab	2
All Quomi	6.27
N	357

Table 87: Number and growth rate of teacher in sample areas by type of madrassa (%), 1951 – 2008

Year	Total number of teacher			Annual growth rate		
	Aliya	Quomi	Both	Aliya	Quomi	Both
1951	438	249	687	-	-	-
1952	456	280	736	4.0	11.7	6.9
1953	459	280	739	0.7	0.0	0.4
1954	485	280	765	5.5	0.0	3.5
1955	485	292	777	0.0	4.2	1.6
1956	485	294	779	0.0	0.7	0.3
1957	485	297	782	0.0	1.0	0.4
1958	485	322	807	0.0	8.1	3.1
1959	485	330	815	0.0	2.5	1.0
1960	560	385	945	14.4	15.4	14.8
1961	588	417	1005	4.9	8.0	6.2
1962	612	422	1034	4.0	1.2	2.8
1963	655	456	1111	6.8	7.7	7.2
1964	655	473	1128	0.0	3.7	1.5
1965	691	575	1266	5.4	19.5	11.5
1966	723	591	1314	4.5	2.7	3.7
1967	726	635	1361	0.4	7.2	3.5
1968	736	705	1441	1.4	10.5	5.7
1969	776	715	1491	5.3	1.4	3.4
1970	779	728	1507	0.4	1.8	1.1
1971	838	735	1573	7.3	1.0	4.3
1972	901	777	1678	7.2	5.6	6.5
1973	975	788	1763	7.9	1.4	4.9
1974	988	804	1792	1.3	2.0	1.6
1975	997	844	1841	0.9	4.9	2.7
1976	1250	1026	2276	22.6	19.5	21.2
1977	1500	1132	2632	18.2	9.8	14.5
1978	1621	1189	2810	7.8	4.9	6.5
1979	1675	1221	2896	3.3	2.7	3.0
1980	1704	1241	2945	1.7	1.6	1.7
1981	1764	1287	3051	3.5	3.6	3.5
1982	1952	1400	3352	10.1	8.4	9.4
1983	2013	1412	3425	3.1	0.9	2.2
1984	2104	1430	3534	4.4	1.3	3.1
1985	2207	1510	3717	4.8	5.4	5.0
1986	2253	1554	3807	2.1	2.9	2.4
1987	2294	1610	3904	1.8	3.5	2.5
1988	2333	1694	4027	1.7	5.1	3.1
1989	2387	1741	4128	2.3	2.7	2.5
1990	2507	1916	4423	4.9	9.6	6.9
1991	2575	1949	4524	2.7	1.7	2.3
1992	2615	2065	4680	1.5	5.8	3.4
1993	2618	2112	4730	0.1	2.3	1.1
1994	2671	2199	4870	2.0	4.0	2.9
1995	2771	2610	5381	3.7	17.1	10.0
1996	2836	2714	5550	2.3	3.9	3.1
1997	2933	2768	5701	3.4	2.0	2.7
1998	3010	2887	5897	2.6	4.2	3.4
1999	3047	2979	6026	1.2	3.1	2.2
2000	3078	3142	6220	1.0	5.3	3.2
2001	3159	3284	6443	2.6	4.4	3.5
2002	3193	3480	6673	1.1	5.8	3.5
2003	3243	3591	6834	1.6	3.1	2.4
2004	3259	3701	6960	0.5	3.0	1.8
2005	3283	3755	7038	0.7	1.4	1.1
2006	3297	3805	7102	0.4	1.3	0.9
2007	3300	3848	7148	0.1	1.1	0.6
2008	3302	3848	7150	0.1	0.0	0.0

Table 88: Distribution of household member (%)

Number of HH member	Aliya	Madrassa Quomi	Both
Average	6.1	5.4	5.8
N	128	128	256

Table 89: Distribution of son and daughter

Number of son and daughter	Aliya		Madrassa Quomi		Both	
	Son	Daughter	Son	Daughter	Son	Daughter
Average	1.1	1.1	1.1	0.8	1.1	1.0
N	128	128	128	128	256	256

Table 90: Teachers reported living with family (%)

Indicators	Aliya	Madrassa Quomi	Both
Living with family	94.5	64.8	79.7
N	128	128	256

Table 91: Poverty status of HH member (%)

Amount of Calorie	Aliya	Madrassa Quomi	Both
Below 1805	21.9	60.9	41.4
Below 2122	36.7	71.1	53.9
N	128	128	256

Table 92: Teachers reported perception about their economic status (%)

Indicator	Aliya	Madrassa Quomi	Both
Poor/Low income	2.3	13.3	7.8
Lower Middle class	35.9	34.4	35.2
Middle class	59.4	48.4	53.9
Upper middle class	2.3	3.1	2.7
Rich		0.8	0.4
N	128	128	256

Table 93: Teachers reported perception about their social status (%)

Indicator	Aliya	Madrassa Quomi	Both
Common people	2.3	7.0	4.7
Almost known person	30.5	46.9	38.7
Well known person	29.7	23.4	26.6
Known as honorable person	34.4	21.1	27.7
Local elite	3.1	1.6	2.3
N	128	128	256

Table 94: Teachers reported duration of teaching service (%)

Indicator	Aliya	Madrassa Quomi	Both
Average	14.9	10.1	12.5
N	128	128	256

Table 95: Teachers reported occupational problem (%)

Problem	Aliya	Madrassa Quomi	Both
No training arrangement	69.5	43.0	56.3
No specific rules for promotion	57.0	41.4	49.2
Low level of salary	75.8	83.6	79.7
No subject specific teacher	18.8	5.5	12.1
No problem	4.7	18.8	11.7
N	128	128	256

Table 96: Teachers reported education system in which their children studied (%)

Indicator	Aliya	Madrassa Quomi	Both
General education	50	35	43.2
Madrassa education	35	50	42
Both	15	15	14.8
N	114	94	208

Table 97: Teachers reported reasons behind admitting children in general education (%)

Indicator	Aliya	Madrassa Quomi	Both
Modern education system	45.6	30.3	40
Ample opportunity of employment	21.1	30.3	24.4
Existence of quality institutions	24.6	21.2	23.3
High social dignity	8.8	18.2	12.2
N	57	33	90

Table 98: Total number of teachers in mainstream educational institutions in Bangladesh, 1970 – 2005

Year	Primary School	Secondary School	Colleges	Total mainstream educational institution
1970	117,275	52,051	7,507	176,833
1975	164,719	79,342	13,859	257,920
1980	174,161	88,351	10,908	273,420
1985	183,638	92,241	13,013	288,892
1990	189,508	122,896	18,276	330,680
1995	264,376	140,050	34,878	439,304
2000	309,341	174,146	61,415	544,902
2005	344,789	238,158	90,401	673,348

Table 99: Historical trend of total number madrassa teachers by years, 1950 – 2008

Year	Aliya	Quomi	Total
1950	26,103	5,965	32,068
1960	35,355	12,747	48,102
1970	51,593	25,297	76,890
1980	110,681	39,090	149,771
1990	141,873	82,966	224,839
2000	176,588	140,446	317,034
2005	180,364	178,212	358,576
2008	181,663	182,744	364,407

Table 100: Role model/ideal personality (in Bangladesh) as reported by madrassa students (%)

Ideal Personality/Role model	Aliya	Quomi	Both
Delwar Hossain Syedi	16.3	2.3	9.3
Matiur Rahman Nizami	3.6	0.5	2.0
Golam Azam	1.8	0.2	1.0
Shikhul Hadis Azizul Haque	2.3	17.6	9.9
Maolana Fazlul Haque Amini	1.1	7.2	4.1
Maolana Fazlul Karim	1.7	5.4	3.5
Maolana Ahmed Shafi	0.0	6.5	3.2
Maolana Samsul Haque Faridpuri	0.0	5.7	2.9
Hafezi Huzur	0.3	3.2	1.7
Maolana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani	2.1	0.5	1.3
Maolana Nurul Islam Ulipuri	0.2	2.4	1.3
Charmonai Pir	0.0	2.4	1.2
Maolana Rahul Amin	0.6	1.7	1.1
Maolana Obaidul Hoque	1.4	0.9	1.1
Maolana Asraf Ali	0.0	2.0	1.0
Kazi Nazrul Islam	19.0	1.5	10.2
Dr. Fakhruddin Ahmad	6.9	1.4	4.1
Begum Rokeya	5.0	0.2	2.6
Sher-e-Bangla AK Fazlul Hoque	3.6	0.6	2.1
Ziaur Rahman	3.2	0.9	2.0
Sheikh Mujibur Rahman	3.2	0.5	1.8
Dr. Muhammad Shahidullah	1.8	0.5	1.1
Dr. Muhammad Yunus	1.8	0.5	1.1
Khaleda Zia	2.1	0.2	1.1
Rabindra Nath Tagore	2.0	0.0	1.0
Maolana Sayed Rezaul Karim	0.0	2.0	1.0
Dr. Abdul Bari	0.0	1.8	0.9
Sultana Razia	0.2	1.5	0.8
Maolana Nurul Islam	0.0	1.4	0.7
Maolana Asadullah Al Galib	0.0	1.4	0.7
Maolana Abul Kalam Azad	0.0	1.4	0.7
Maolana Mahmudul Hasan	0.0	1.4	0.7
Maolana Matiur Rahman Kasemi	0.0	1.2	0.6
General Moin-U-Ahmad	0.9	0.3	0.6
Mufti Abdul Malek	0.0	1.1	0.5
Maolana Abdul Latif	0.0	0.9	0.5
Maolana Abul Bahar	0.0	0.9	0.5
Maolana Nuruddin Gahorpuri	0.0	0.9	0.5
Maolana Babar	0.9	0.0	0.5
Dr. Iazuddin Ahmed	0.9	0.0	0.5
Hazi Shariatullah	0.5	0.3	0.4
Maolana Tarek Monuar	0.0	0.8	0.4
Mufti Numan	0.0	0.8	0.4
Maolana Rafiqul Islam	0.0	0.8	0.4

Ideal Personality/Role model	Aliya	Quomi	Both
Dr. Rezaul Islam	0.0	0.6	0.3
Mufti Abdur Rahman	0.0	0.6	0.3
Kabi Jasimuddin	0.6	0.0	0.3
Maolana Abul Bashar	0.2	0.5	0.3
Maolana Emran Rahamn	0.0	0.5	0.2
Allama Kanurul Islam Ulipuri	0.0	0.5	0.2
Mufti Abul Sayeed	0.0	0.5	0.2
Maolana Tuffazel Haque	0.0	0.5	0.2
Iswar Chandra Bidya Sagar	0.5	0.0	0.2
Maolana Abdul Salam	0.5	0.0	0.2
Maolana Ahshanul Haq	0.5	0.0	0.2
Maolana Sirajul Islam	0.0	0.3	0.2
Maolana Muhammadullah Hafizi	0.0	0.3	0.2
Mufti Abu Doud	0.0	0.3	0.2
Hajrat Maolana Gieas Uddin	0.0	0.3	0.2
Shaikh Amin Uddin	0.0	0.3	0.2
Maolana Abdul Gani	0.0	0.3	0.2
Maolana Imran Hosen	0.0	0.3	0.2
Maolana Tarikul Islam	0.0	0.3	0.2
Maolana MA Aziz	0.0	0.3	0.2
Maolana Imdadul Haque	0.0	0.3	0.2
Maolana Mufti Zakaria	0.0	0.3	0.2
Maolana Zubayer	0.0	0.3	0.2
Michael Modhusudan Dutta	0.3	0.0	0.2
Maolana Sobhan	0.3	0.0	0.2
Zillur Rahman	0.3	0.0	0.2
Dr. Asadullah Galib	0.3	0.0	0.2
Hazi Muhammad Muhosin	0.3	0.0	0.2
Maolana Humayun Ahmed	0.3	0.0	0.2
Moulana Muhibullha	0.3	0.0	0.2
Kabi Al Mahmud	0.3	0.0	0.2
Hussain Muhammad Ershad	0.3	0.0	0.2
Maolana Sufi Saheb	0.3	0.0	0.2
Allama Sayed Nazrul Islam	0.3	0.0	0.2
Qari Ramzan Ali	0.3	0.0	0.2
Md. Azizul Islam	0.2	0.0	0.1
Maolana Jalal Uddin	0.2	0.0	0.1
Maolana GM Jubayer	0.2	0.0	0.1
Maolana Faruq Ahmed	0.2	0.0	0.1
Prinsipal Ibrahim Khan	0.2	0.0	0.1
Maolana Mafiz Uddin	0.2	0.0	0.1
Maolana Abu Sayed	0.2	0.0	0.1
Maolana Firoz Ahmed	0.2	0.0	0.1
Maolana Al Mahmud	0.2	0.0	0.1
Dr. Samsher Ali	0.2	0.0	0.1
Gazi Alal Fakir	0.2	0.0	0.1
Mr. Alam	0.2	0.0	0.1
Maolana Amir Hosain	0.2	0.0	0.1
Sarder Abdus Salam	0.2	0.0	0.1
S Wajed Ali	0.2	0.0	0.1
Beer Srestha Hamidur Rahman	0.2	0.0	0.1
Maolana Sarowar Saiyedi	0.2	0.0	0.1
Maolana Mahfuzur Rahman	0.2	0.0	0.1
Maolana Oaresul Rahman	0.2	0.0	0.1
Sarsina Pir Shaheb	0.2	0.0	0.1
Salem al-din	0.2	0.0	0.1
Maolana Habibur Rahman	0.2	0.0	0.1
Maolana Azizur Rahman	0.2	0.0	0.1
Maolana Abul Kasem Nuri	0.2	0.0	0.1

Ideal Personality/Role model	Aliya	Quomi	Both
Maolana Mahmud Ahmed	0.2	0.0	0.1
Prinsipal Ibrahim Khan	0.2	0.0	0.1
Maolana Abdul Latif	0.2	0.0	0.1
Maolana Abdul Hai	0.2	0.0	0.1
Maolana Sattar Molla	0.2	0.0	0.1
Maolana Tofayel Hosam	0.2	0.0	0.1
Moulana Rafiqul Islam	0.2	0.0	0.1
Maolana Rabiul Islam	0.2	0.0	0.1
Prof. Mofizur Rahman	0.2	0.0	0.1
Syed Nazrul Islam	0.2	0.0	0.1
Sayed Nishab Ali	0.2	0.0	0.1
Sayed Abul Ala Maududi	0.2	0.0	0.1
Mohammad Ali	0.2	0.0	0.1
Maolana Andes Ali	0.2	0.0	0.1
Maolana Dwin Islam	0.2	0.0	0.1
Maolana Yasin	0.2	0.0	0.1
Zahirul Islam	0.2	0.0	0.1
Maolana Aman Ali	0.2	0.0	0.1
Maolana Asadullah Al Galib	0.2	0.0	0.1
Sasunnahar	0.2	0.0	0.1
Moulana Obidul Haq	0.2	0.0	0.1
Dr. Zafar Imam	0.2	0.0	0.1
Abul Kalam Azad	0.2	0.0	0.1
Maolana MA Matin	0.2	0.0	0.1
Dr. Ahammad Piara Bagdadi	0.2	0.0	0.1
Asaduzzaman	0.2	0.0	0.1
Dr. Badruduza Chowdhury	0.2	0.0	0.1
Maolana Abul Hasan	0.2	0.0	0.1
Maolana Abdur Rahim	0.2	0.0	0.1
Maolana Abdul Hasan	0.2	0.0	0.1
Mufti Ruhul Amin	0.2	0.0	0.1
Barristar Moenul Hosen	0.2	0.0	0.1
Beer Motiur Rahman	0.2	0.0	0.1
Maolana Rezaul Karim	0.2	0.0	0.1
Saheed Titumir	0.2	0.0	0.1
Kabi Faruk Ahammed	0.2	0.0	0.1
Begum Sufia Kamal	0.2	0.0	0.1
Kabi Al Mahmud	0.0	0.2	0.1
Dr. Moynuddin Ahmad	0.0	0.2	0.1
Maolana Abdul Ahad	0.0	0.2	0.1
Maolana Shawkat Ali	0.0	0.2	0.1
Maolana Sadare Mohtamim	0.0	0.2	0.1
Maolana Mahmudul Haque	0.0	0.2	0.1
Khan Jahan Ali	0.0	0.2	0.1
Allama Zamir Uddin	0.0	0.2	0.1
Maolana Sultan Ahmed Nanpuri	0.0	0.2	0.1
Maolana Ferdous	0.0	0.2	0.1
Maolana Rafi Shaheb	0.0	0.2	0.1
Mufti Hafizur Rahman	0.0	0.2	0.1
Maolana Harunur Rasid	0.0	0.2	0.1
Maolana Yusuf Ali	0.0	0.2	0.1
Mufti Ibrahim	0.0	0.2	0.1
Maolana Mahamud Ullaha	0.0	0.2	0.1
Sheikh Sadi	0.0	0.2	0.1
Sheikh Tazul Islam	0.0	0.2	0.1
Maolana Akbar Ali	0.0	0.2	0.1
Maolana Alim Uddin	0.0	0.2	0.1
Maolana Anisul Haque	0.0	0.2	0.1
Maolana Hosain	0.0	0.2	0.1

Ideal Personality/Role model	Aliya	Quomi	Both
Maolana Abu Taher	0.0	0.2	0.1
Mufti Sahidullha	0.0	0.2	0.1
Mufti Aminul Haque	0.0	0.2	0.1
Kabi Shamsur Rahman	0.0	0.2	0.1
Maolana Habibullah Belali	0.0	0.2	0.1
Maolana Nur Hosain	0.0	0.2	0.1
Mufti Monzurul Haq	0.0	0.2	0.1
Maolana Yusuf Nizami	0.0	0.2	0.1
Maolana Arsad Ali	0.0	0.2	0.1
Maulana Habibullah	0.0	0.2	0.1
Moulana Towab	0.0	0.2	0.1
Mufti Hafizur	0.0	0.2	0.1
Mainul Hadis	0.0	0.2	0.1
Mufti Abdul Awal	0.0	0.2	0.1
Maolana Rulhul Kuddus	0.0	0.2	0.1
Shafiqul Islam	0.0	0.2	0.1
Justice Ruhul Amin	0.0	0.2	0.1
Abul Ala Maududi	0.0	0.2	0.1
No response	2.1	5.9	4.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	664	664	1328

Table 101: Students awareness on socio-economic issues

Attractive features	Aliya			Quomi			All		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
Women empowerment is necessary for development	57.2	81.0	67.8	22.3	48.4	24.7	35.5	75.4	46.2
Expansion of women education is a must for national life	87.5	94.9	90.8	51.0	80.6	53.8	64.9	92.4	72.3

Table 102: Students reported problems of the institution where they study

Problem	Aliya			Quomi			All		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
Small number of teachers	46.9	51.5	48.9	34.2	32.3	34.0	39.0	48.2	41.5
Lack of subject wise teacher	61.5	61.0	61.3	39.9	59.7	41.7	48.1	60.8	51.5
No department of science	42.3	44.1	43.1	86.7	71.0	85.2	69.8	48.7	64.2
No science laboratory	74.5	81.0	77.4	87.2	46.8	83.4	82.4	75.1	80.4
No canteen	85.9	92.9	89.0	82.6	41.9	78.8	83.8	84.0	83.9
No arrangement for Tiffin	84.3	86.4	85.2	14.1	29.0	15.5	40.8	76.5	50.4
No hostel arrangement	31.4	52.2	40.7	13.3	11.3	13.1	20.2	45.1	26.9
No hygienic environment	17.1	6.1	12.2	20.3	16.1	19.9	19.1	7.8	16.0
No library	13.8	11.5	12.8				5.3	9.5	6.4
N	369	295	664	602	62	664	971	357	1328

Table 103: Problems of Madrassa education system as identified by teacher

Indicators	Madrassa		
	Aliya	Qoumi	All
No government approval	-	97.7	48.8
Limited scope to join govt. services	70.3	82.0	76.2
Shortage of skilled teachers	60.2	55.5	57.8
Curriculum is not improved	58.6	65.6	62.1
No relation between education and employment	46.9	65.6	56.3
No arrangement for vocational training	58.6	25.0	41.8
No financial allocation from government	11.7	15.6	13.7
Inadequate physical infrastructure	46.9	23.4	35.2
Madrassa does not have own income source	19.5	10.9	15.2
Using Madrassa education system to fulfill political interest	32.8	6.3	19.5
Neglecting Madrassa education system from socio-economic and	3.1	7.0	5.1
Relating Madrassa education system with militant fundamentalism	16.4	1.6	9.0
No co curricular activities	23.4	1.6	12.5
Institutional classification is not clearly visible	-	1.6	0.8
N	128	128	256

Table 104: Students reported attractive features of Madrassa education

Attractive features	[Multiple responses]								
	Aliya			Qoumi			All		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
Good educational environment	41.5	43.4	42.3	51.7	17.7	48.5	47.8	38.9	45.4
Disciplined life	61.5	57.3	59.6	69.4	64.5	69.0	66.4	58.5	64.3
Good food and accommodation facilities	10.0	5.4	8.0	28.2	25.8	28.0	21.3	9.0	18.0
Warm relation between student-teacher	27.1	29.5	28.2	22.8	3.2	20.9	24.4	24.9	24.5
Easy way to go to heaven	56.6	57.3	56.9	58.5	79.0	60.4	57.8	61.1	58.7
Builds person with good character	45.0	45.4	45.2	33.2	46.8	34.5	37.7	45.7	39.8
Route to become ideal person	27.9	27.5	27.7	15.9	11.3	15.5	20.5	24.6	21.6
Provide full knowledge about Islam	18.7	18.6	18.7	11.5	12.9	11.6	14.2	17.6	15.1
Intensive practice of <i>Qur'an-Hadiths</i>	8.9	11.5	10.1	5.0	12.9	5.7	6.5	11.8	7.9
Liberal education system	0.5		0.3	0.2		0.2	0.3	0.0	0.2
N	369	295	664	602	62	664	971	357	1328

Table 105: Percentage, social contribution

Indicator	Madrassa	
	Aliya (All)	Quomi (All)
Operation of relief activities	31.1	15.0
Funeral activities	11.5	15.0
Socio-economic activities	4.9	
Motivate people to go to disaster shelter	16.4	5.0
Canal digging	4.9	-
Building bamboo bridge	1.6	3.3
Help marriage of the poor girl	3.3	1.7
Distribution of medicine with free of cost	1.6	18.3
Arrange public toilet	4.9	10.0
Motivation of cleanliness	3.3	3.3
Different of development work	4.9	6.7
Carrying patients to hospital	1.6	1.7
Arrange marriage to poor and orphan girls	-	1.7
Treatment with nominal fee	-	1.7
Homeopath treatment	-	3.3
No contribution	42.6	31.7
N	61	60

DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS

The data collection instruments (DCIs) given in this annex were used to collect data/information for this study. Bengali versions of these DCIs have been used to collect information from field survey. The idea of attaching the data collection instruments in this book is to convey the core information, key respondents and institutions, different discussed topics about the study to the readers. Another utility of adding the data collection instruments in this book is to provide relevant information for those who want to work on similar study.

The data collection instruments are:

- DCI 1 : Interview Schedule: Students (Aliya)
- DCI 2 : Interview Schedule: Students (Quomi)
- DCI 3 : Interview Schedule: Parents/Guardian
- DCI 4 : Interview Schedule: Teacher (Aliya)
- DCI 5 : Interview Schedule: Teacher (Quomi)
- DCI 6 : Secondary Data Compilation Format: Aliya Madrassa
- DCI 7 : Secondary Data Compilation Format: Quomi Madrassa
- DCI 8 : Key Informant Interview: Local Civil Society Member
- DCI 9 : Governing body's/Managing Committee's Member
- DCI 10 : Census form of Educational Institutions: Madrassa
- DCI 11 : Census form of Educational Institutions: School/College
- DCI 12 : Census form: Mosque
- DCI 13 : Personal Information of Governing Body's Managing Committee Members of Madrassa

Madrassa Education System in Bangladesh: Impact on Community Interview Schedule: Students (Aliya)

Purpose of the Study: To gain knowledge about the Madrassa Education System of Bangladesh from a very disillusionated point of view and propose recommendations to develop the system.		
Instructions for Field Investigators: Follow the ethical issues of data collection. Give polite salutation to the respondent. Explain the purpose of the study to the respondent. Give emphasis on the purpose that the views or opinion of the respondent would only be used to improve the existing Madrassa education system of the country. Also give the respondent a brief idea on the issues to be discussed in the interview and its tentative duration.		
General Information of the Respondent		
Name of the Respondent: Father's Name: Mother's Name: Guardian's Name: Age of the Respondent: Class:		
Permanent Residence of Respondent: Rural =1, Urban =2 Name of the Madrassa: Address: Village/Hamlet/House No.: Location of the Madrassa: Rural =1, Urban =2 Union/Ward/Road No.: Upazila: District:		
Name of the Research Investigator: Name of the Research Supervisor: Name of the Quality Control Officer:		
101. Subject(s) in the curriculum you prefer to study most (maximum 3 options) Arabic Literature=1, Philosophy/Logic=2, Fikah=3, Tafseer=4, <i>Hadiths</i> =5, Bangla=6, English=7, Mathematics=8, History=9, Islamic History=10, Science=11, Geography=12, Economics=13, Sociology=14, Civics/Political Science=15, Others (Please Specify).....		
102. Extracurricular subject that you prefer to study most (any one of the options) Story=1, Novel=2, Poem=3, Drama=4, Newspaper/Magazine=5, Travels=6, Biographies=7, Others (Please Specify).....		
103. Do you have any plan to go for Higher Studies? Yes=1, No=2, (if 'No' then go to Q 105)		
104. Where do you wish to go for Higher Studies? Quomi Madrassa=1, College=2, University=3, Foreign Madrassa (India, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Egypt)=4, Foreign University=5		
105. Information on annual expenditure to study at Madrassa (last one year)		
	Heads of Expenditure	Amount of Expenditure (Taka)
	1. Admission Fee	
	2. Texts Books/Guides	
	3. Khata, pens, pencils	
	4. Tuition Fee	
	5. Uniform	
	6. Food	
	7. Hostel/Dormitory	
	8. Communication/commute	
	9. Examination Fee	
	10. Private Tuition Fee	
	11. Others	
106. Expenditures that Madrassa bears for you (more than one answer possible)		

Food=1, Books=2, Khata/pens/pencils=3, Uniform=4, Hostel/Dormitory=5, Treatment/Medical=6, Education Stipend=7, Does not Know=9	
107. Information on Problems related to Madrassa Education System (Read the answers out, more than one answer possible)	
	Problems
	Limited Scope to enter Public Services=1
	Lack of Qualified Teachers=2
	Obsolete Curriculum=3
	No Education-Employment Link=4
	No scope of Vocational Education=5
	No financial grant from the Government=6
	Lack of adequate infrastructures=7
	No own income source of Madrassa=8
	Madrassa education neglected from both Socioeconomic and political grounds=9
	No co-curricular activities=10
	No good opportunity to study Science=11
	No Commerce Group=12
108. Problems with the Madrassa you are studying (Read the answers out, more than one answer possible)	
	Problems
	Inadequate number of Teachers=1
	Lack of Specialized Teachers=2
	No Science Department=3
	No Laboratory for Science Education=4
	No Canteen=5
	No system of Tiffin=5
	No Residential Arrangements=6
	No Hygienic Environment=7
	No Library=8
109. What steps you think need to be taken to solve the problems? (Read the answers out, more than one answer possible)	
	Possible Means to solve Problems
	Nationalization of Madrassa Education=1
	Giving Equal recognition of Madrassa Education with the General Education=2
	Arranging Vocational Education=3
	Developing Training for Teachers =4
	Updating the Syllabus=5
	Infrastructural Development of Madrassas=6
	Financial Donation by the Government =7
	Not allowing to use this education to serve political purposes =8
	Giving opportunities to enter the Public Service=9
	Facilitating Science Education=10
	Launching Commerce Departments=11
110. Which profession(s) do you intend to choose in the professional life? (more than one answer possible)	
Khatib=1, Imaam=2, Muajjin=3, Madrassa Teacher=4, Kazi=5, Public Service=6, Private Service=7, Service in Islamic Shariah Banks=8, Journalism=9, Service in Defense/Police Department=10, Business=11, School Teacher=12, College Teacher=13, Engineer=14, Doctor=15, Preacher/Muballig=16, Going abroad for job=17, Others (Please Specify).....	
110 A.	If only one option to be selected, please chose from the above.....(use code)
111. How far Madrassa Education is helpful to get a desired job?	
Not at all helpful=1, Fairly Helpful=2, Helpful=3, Very much Helpful=4, Essentially Helpful=5	
112. Who, according to you, is an ideal person in Bangladesh?	
113. How far Madrassa Education is helpful for you to follow your ideal person?	
Not at all Helpful=1, Fairly Helpful=2, Helpful=3, Very much Helpful=4, Essentially Helpful=5	
114. Are you taught in the class according to the Syllabus? Yes=1, No=2	
115. Media(um) of Education at your Madrassa (More than one option possible):	
Bangla=1, English=2, Arabic=3, Urdu=4, Persian=5.	
115A. Main medium of Education (any one of the potions):	

Bangla=1, English=2, Arabic=3, Urdu=4, Persian=5.			
115B. Which medium you prefer most (any one of the options): Bangla=1, English=2, Arabic=3, Urdu=4, Persian=5.			
116. Information on the opportunities of Sports, Recreation and Cultural Activities at your Madrassa (Please read the answers out. More than one answer possible)			
Sports=1, Cultural activities=2, Picnic=3, Physical Exercise=4, Debating=5, Quiz=6, Instance Speech =7, Others=9, No Opportunity=11			
117. What is the opportunity of Professional Employment compare to the demand?			
Very Limited=1, Fairly Limited=2, Limited=3, Opportunities available=4, Enough Opportunities available=5			
118. If the answer of Q 117 comes 1, 2 or 3, then what steps should be taken? (Please read the answers out. More than one answer possible)			
Modernization of the Syllabus=1, Creating more Employment Opportunities=2, Nationalization of Madrassa Education=3, Creating scope of Vocational Education=4, Combining Madrassa education with the Mainstream General Education=5, Make equivalent of Madrassa Education with Mainstream General Education=6			
119. Do you read Newspapers? Yes=1, No=2			
120. Do you think that Students should participate in Political activities? Yes=1, No=2			
121. Economic differentiation between the poor and the rich exists in the society; Which segment of them, you think, mostly comes to study at Madrassas? (Please read out the answer codes)			
Poor/Low income Group=1, Lower Middle Class=2, Middle Class=3, Upper Middle Class=4, Rich=5			
122. Which particular economic class do your parents belong to? (Please read out the answer codes)			
Poor/Low income Group=1, Lower Middle Class=2, Middle Class=3, Upper Middle Class=4, Rich=5			
123. What is the social status (level in the society) of your parents according to you? (Please read out the answers)			
Very Simple=1, Fairly known in the Community=2, Well-known in the Community=3, Known as Honorable persons in the Community=4, Known as Prestigious/influential in the Community=5			
124. What is the Educational background of your parents (or guardian)?			
Mainstream General Education=1, Madrassa Education=2, Both=3, Illiterate=4			
125. Why did not you study at Quomi Madrassa? (More than one answer possible)			
Does not fulfill the demand of the country=1, Only jobs like imam/Muajjin are available=2, More emphasis on Arabic and Persian=3, No Modern Syllabus=4, High Education cost=5, No Quomi Madrassa in the Locality=6, Others (Please specify).....			
126. Your Evaluation about Madrassa Teachers (in one sentence)			
127. Which areas of Madrassa Education seem attractive to you? (Please read out the answers. More than one answer possible)			
Environment of Madrassa Education is attractive=1, Disciplined Life=2, Good arrangement of food and Accommodation=3, Good Student-Teacher attachment=4, Ways to the Heaven would be easier=5, Could become a person with good moral Character=6, Growing as an ideal person=7, Gaining complete knowledge about Islam=8, More adequate opportunities to study the Holy <i>Qur'an</i> and <i>Hadiths</i> =9, Liberal Education System=10			
128. Which area is the most attractive? (anyone, Use codes) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10			
129 Information on Socio-economic Consciousness (Now I shall discuss with you on some socio-economic issues, Please mention the issues you are aware of or those you support)			
	Issues	Yes=1	No=2
1	It is constitutional obligation of the state to solve food scarcity problem of its population	1	2
2	It is constitutional obligation of the state to solve clothing problem of its population	1	2
3	It is constitutional obligation of the state to solve housing problem of its population	1	2
4	It is constitutional obligation of the state to ensure education for its population	1	2
5	It is constitutional obligation of the state to ensure good health for its population	1	2
6	Medical treatment and medicine should be free of cost at the government hospitals	1	2
7	Doctors should be accountable to the citizens	1	2
8	There should be accountability for the Local Government bodies to the citizens	1	2
9	Casting vote is a right for all citizens	1	2
10	Poor people have right over <i>khas</i> lands/wet lands	1	2
11	Government provide subsidy in agriculture sector	1	2
12	The Government should fix the minimum wage rate for day laborers	1	2
13	There are disparities between the education system of rural and urban areas	1	2

14	The government is responsible for high price of education materials	1	2
15	Child marriage is a social problem	1	2
16	Violence against women is a social illness	1	2
17	Dowry is a curse	1	2
18	Legal age of a man to marry	1	2
19	Legal age of a woman to marry	1	2
20	Acid Throwing is a criminal offence	1	2
21	Trafficking of women and children is a criminal offence	1	2
22	Empowerment of women is necessary for development	1	2
23	Spreading of Female Education is essential in National Life	1	2
24	Tolerance to other Religions is a great virtue	1	2
25	Religious norms and values are necessary in our personal/family/social and national life	1	2
26	International Mother Language Day	1	2
27	Our Independence Day	1	2
28	Our Victory Day	1	2
29	UN, Commonwealth, OIC, SAARC, etc. International Organizations	1	2

Madrassa Education System in Bangladesh: Impact on Community

Interview Schedule: Students (Quomi)

Purpose of the Study: To gain knowledge about the Madrassa Education System of Bangladesh from a very disillusionated point of view and propose recommendations to develop the system.		
Instructions for Field Investigators: Follow the ethical issues of data collection. Give polite salutation to the respondent. Explain the purpose of the study to the respondent. Give emphasis on the purpose that the views or opinion of the respondent would only be used to improve the existing Madrassa education system of the country. Also give the respondent a brief idea on the issues to be discussed in the interview and its tentative duration.		
General Information of the Respondent		
Name of the Respondent: Father's Name: Mother's Name: Guardian's Name: Age of the Respondent: Class:		
Permanent Residence of Respondent: Rural =1, Urban =2 Name of the Madrassa: Address: Village/Hamlet/House No.: Location of the Madrassa: Rural =1, Urban =2 Union/Ward/Road No.: Upazila: District:		
Name of the Research Investigator: Name of the Research Supervisor: Name of the Quality Control Officer:		
101. Subject(s) in the curriculum you prefer to study most (maximum 3 options) Arabic Literature=1, Philosophy/Logic=2, <i>Fikah</i> =3, <i>Tafseer</i> =4, <i>Hadiths</i> =5, Bangla=6, English=7, Mathematics=8, History=9, Islamic History=10, Science=11, Geography=12, Economics=13, Sociology=14, Civics/Political Science=15, Others (Please Specify).....		
102. Extracurricular subject that you prefer to study most (any one of the options) Story=1, Novel=2, Poem=3, Drama=4, Newspaper/Magazine=5, Travels=6, Biographies=7, Others (Please Specify).....		
103. Do you have any plan to go for Higher Studies? Yes=1, No=2, (if 'No' then go to Q 105)		
104. Where do you wish to go for Higher Studies? Aliya Madrassa=1, College=2, University=3, Foreign Madrassa (India, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Egypt)=4, Foreign University=5		
105. Information on annual expenditure to study at Madrassa (last one year)		
	Heads of Expenditure	Amount of Expenditure (Taka)
	12. Admission Fee	
	13. Texts Books/Guides	
	14. Note Book/Khata, pens, pencils	
	15. Tuition Fee	
	16. Uniform	
	17. Food	
	18. Hostel/Dormitory	
	19. Communication/commute	

	20. Examination Fee	
	21. Private Tuition Fee	
	22. Others	
106. Expenditures that Madrassa bears for you (more than one answer possible)		
Food=1, Books=2, Khata/pens/pencils=3, Uniform=4, Hostel/Dormitory=5, Treatment/Medical=6, Education Stipend=7, Does not Know=9		
107. Information on Problems related to Madrassa Education System (Read the answers out, more than one answer possible)		
	Problems	
	No Government Recognition=1	
	Limited Scope to enter Public Services=2	
	Lack of Qualified Teachers=3	
	Obsolete Curriculum=4	
	No Education-Employment Link=5	
	No scope of Vocational Education=6	
	No financial grant from the Government=7	
	Lack of adequate infrastructures=8	
	No own income source of Madrassa=9	
	Madrassa education is neglected from both Socioeconomic and political grounds=10	
	The various types of Madrassas cannot be recognized easily =11	
	No Class equivalence among different types of Madrassa=12	
	No scope of co-curricular activities=13	
	No Science Group=14	
	No Commerce Group=15	
108. Problems with the Madrassa you are studying (Read the answers out, more than one answer possible)		
	Problems	
	Inadequate number of Teachers=1	
	Lack of Specialized/subject-wise Teachers=2	
	No Laboratory for studying Science =3	
	No Canteen=4	
	No system of Tiffin=5	
	No Residential Arrangements=6	
	No Hygienic Environment=7	
	No Library=8	
109. What steps you think need to be taken to solve the problems? (Read the answers out, more than one answer possible)		
	Possible Means to solve Problems	
	Nationalization of Madrassa Education=1	
	Giving recognition of Quomi Madrassa Education by the Government=2	
	Giving Equal recognition with the General Education=3	
	Arranging Vocational Education=4	
	Arranging Training for Teachers =5	
	Updating the Syllabus=6	
	Establishing a Combined Education Board=7	
	Infrastructural Development of Madrassas=8	
	Financial Donation by the Government =9	
	Not allowing to use this education to serve political purposes =10	
	Giving opportunities to enter the Public Service=11	
	Facilitating Science Education=12	
	Launching Commerce Departments=13	
110. Which profession(s) do you intend to chose in the professional life? (more than one answer possible)		
Khatib=1, Imaam=2, Muajjin=3, Madrassa Teacher=4, Kazi=5, Public Service=6, Private Service=7, Service in Islamic Shariah Banks=8, Journalism=9, Service in Defense/Police Department=10, Business=11, School Teacher=12, College Teacher=13, Engineer=14, Doctor=15, Preacher/Muballig=16, Going abroad for job=17, Others (Please Specify).....		
110A.	If only one option to be selected, please chose from the above.....(use code)	
111. How far Madrassa Education is helpful to get a desired job?		
Not at all helpful=1, Fairly Helpful=2, Helpful=3, Very much Helpful=4, Essentially Helpful=5		

112. Who, according to you, is an ideal person in Bangladesh?
113. How far Madrsa Education is helpful for you to follow your ideal person? Not at all Helpful=1, Fairly Helpful=2, Helpful=3, Very much Helpful=4, Essentially Helpful=5
114. Do you have any fixed Syllabus? Yes=1, No=2
115. Are you taught in the class according to the Syllabus? Yes=1, No=2
116. Media(um) of Education at your Madrassa (More than one option possible): Bangla=1, English=2, Arabic=3, Urdu=4, Persian=5.
116A. Main medium of Education (any one of the options): Bangla=1, English=2, Arabic=3, Urdu=4, Persian=5.
116B. Which medium you prefer most (any one of the options): Bangla=1, English=2, Arabic=3, Urdu=4, Persian=5.
117. Information on the opportunities of Sports, Recreation and Cultural Activities at your Madrassa (Please read the answers out. More than one answer possible) Sports=1, Cultural activities=2, Picnic=3, Physical Exercise=4, Debating=5, Quiz=6, Instant Speech=7, Others=9, No Opportunity=11
118. What is the opportunity of Professional Employment compare to the demand? Very Limited=1, Fairly Limited=2, Limited=3, Opportunities available=4, Enough Opportunities available=5
119. If the answer of Q 118 comes 1, 2 or 3, then what steps should be taken? (Please read the answers out. More than one answer possible) Modernization of the Syllabus=1, Creating more Employment Opportunities=2, Nationalization of Madrassa Education=3, Creating scope of Vocational Education=4, Combining Madrassa education with the Mainstream General Education=5, make equivalent of Madrassa Education with Mainstream General Education=6
120. Do you read Newspapers? Yes=1, No=2
121. Do you think that Students should participate in Political activities? Yes=1, No=2
122. Economic differentiation between the poor and the rich exists in the society; Which segment of them, you think, mostly come to study at Madrassas? (Please read out the answer codes) Poor/Low income Group=1, Lower Middle Class=2, Middle Class=3, Upper Middle Class=4, Rich=5
123. Which particular economic class do your parents belong to? (Please read out the answer codes) Poor/Low income Group=1, Lower Middle Class=2, Middle Class=3, Upper Middle Class=4, Rich=5
124. What is the social status (level in the society) of your parents according to you? (Please read out the answers) Very Simple=1, Fairly known in the Community=2, Well-known in the Community=3, Known as Honorable persons in the Community=4, Known as very Prestigious/influential in the Community=5
125. What is the Educational background of your parents (or guardian)? Mainstream General Education=1, Madrassa Education=2, Both=3, Illiterate=4
126. Why did not you study at <i>Aliya</i> Madrassa? (More than one answer possible) <i>Aliya</i> Madrassas do not obey the Islamic rules accordingly=1, Students do not say the prayer in jamat regularly=2, They do not keep beard=3, Less emphasis on the <i>Qur'an</i> and <i>Hadiths</i> in the syllabus=4, Relatively expensive Education=5, No <i>Aliya</i> Madrsa in the Locality=6, Others (Please specify).....
127. Your Evaluation about Madrassa Teachers (in one sentence)
128. Which areas of Madrassa Education seem attractive to you? (Please read out the answers. More than one answer possible) Environment of Madrassa Education is attractive=1, Disciplined Life=2, Good arrangement of food and Accommodation=3, Good Student-Teacher attachment=4, Ways to the Heaven would be easier=5, Achieving a good moral Character=6, Growing as an ideal person=7, Gaining complete knowledge about Islam=8, More adequate opportunities to study the Holy <i>Qur'an</i> and <i>Hadiths</i> =9, Liberal Education System=10

129.	Which area is the most attractive? (anyone, Use codes) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10									
130.	Information on Socio-economic Consciousness. (Now I shall discuss with you some socio-economic issues; Please mention the issues you are aware of or those you support)									
	Issues							Yes=1	No=2	
1	It is constitutional obligation of the state to solve food scarcity problem of its population							1	2	
2	It is constitutional obligation of the state to solve clothing problem of its population							1	2	
3	It is constitutional obligation of the state to solve housing problem of its population							1	2	
4	It is constitutional obligation of the state to ensure education for its population							1	2	
5	It is constitutional obligation of the state to ensure good health for its population							1	2	
6	Medical treatment and medicine should be free of cost at the government hospitals							1	2	
7	Doctors should be accountable to the citizens							1	2	
8	There should be accountability for the Local Government bodies to the citizens							1	2	
9	Casting vote is a right for all citizens							1	2	
10	Poor people have right over <i>khas</i> lands/wet lands							1	2	
11	Government provide subsidy in agriculture sector							1	2	
12	The Government should fix the minimum wage rate for day laborers							1	2	
13	There are disparities between the education system of rural and urban areas							1	2	
14	The government is responsible for high price of education materials							1	2	
15	Child marriage is a social problem							1	2	
16	Violence against women is a social illness							1	2	
17	Dowry is a curse							1	2	
18	Legal age of a man to marry							1	2	
19	Legal age of a woman to marry							1	2	
20	Acid Throwing is a criminal offence							1	2	
21	Trafficking of women and children is a criminal offence							1	2	
22	Empowerment of women is necessary for development							1	2	
23	Spreading of Female Education is essential in National Life							1	2	
24	Tolerance to other Religions is a great virtue							1	2	
25	Religious norms and values are necessary in our personal/family/social and national life							1	2	
26	International Mother Language Day							1	2	
27	Our Independence Day							1	2	
28	Our Victory Day							1	2	
29	UN, Commonwealth, OIC, SAARC, etc. International Organizations							1	2	

Madrassa Education System in Bangladesh: Impact on Community

Interview Schedule: Parents/Guardian

Purpose of the Study: To gain knowledge about the Madrassa Education System of Bangladesh from a very disillusionated point of view and propose recommendations to develop the system.	
Instructions for Field Investigators: Follow the ethical issues of data collection. Give polite salutation to the respondent. Explain the purpose of the study to the respondent. Give emphasis on the purpose that the views or opinion of the respondent would only be used to improve the existing Madrassa education system of the country. Also give the respondent a brief idea on the issues to be discussed in the interview and its tentative duration.	
General Information of the Respondent	
Name of the Respondent:	
Father/Husband's Name:	Mother's Name:
Residential status of Respondent:	Rural =1, Urban =2
Address: Village/Hamlet/House No.:	
Union/Ward/Road No.:	
Upazila:	District:
Relationship of the Respondent with the Madrassa Student(s)	
Son=1, Daughter=2, Both son & daughter=3, Other close relative=4,	
Name and Address of the Madrassa your son/daughter/dependent(s) studying: -----	
Where is the Madrassa Located?	Village=1, Town=2
Distance of the Madrassa from your residence: -----Kilometer	
Name of the Research Investigator:	
Name of the Research Supervisor:	
Name of the Quality Control Officer:	

Household Information of the Respondent:

101. Please provide us the following information of your Household (HH)*

Sl.#	Name [Start from the Head of HH and go in a descending order (senior to junior)]	Age (in full years)	Sex Male=1 Female=2	** Marital Status	Education (Duration of schooling, in years) Θ	Education (Types of Institution) Δ	Main Occupation ◇
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
01.							
02.							
03.							
04.							
05.							
06.							
07.							
08.							
09.							
10.							
11.							

* Household Member: who eat together under a common cooking arrangement, sleeps in the same dwelling at least 1 night in six months (son/daughter). Guests will not be included here.

** Marital Status: Married=1, Unmarried=2, Widow=3, Separated/abandoned=4, Divorced=5

Education Status Code: Use code 23 for Adult Literate, NGO education (No class)=24, Completely illiterate=00

Education Institution code: Primary/Secondary School=01, College=02, University=03, Aliya Madrassa=04, Quomi Madrassa=05, Hafejia Madrassa=06, Does not attend school=07, Others (Please Specify).....

Occupation Code: Farmer/Agriculture=01, Housemistress /Housewife=02, Agriculture Laborer=03, Non-agriculture Laborer (industry, shop, etc.)=04, Salaried job=05, Mason=06, Carpenter=07, Rickshaw/van puller=08, Shopkeeper=14, Petty Businessman=15, Mid/Large Businessman=16, Tailor=17, Umbrella Repairer=18, Driver=19, Handicraft/Cottage Industry=20, Poultry=21, Domestic Animal Husbandry=22, Village Doctor=23, Homeopath Doctor=24, Imaam=25, Muajjin=26, Retired employee=27, Student=28, Children=29, MBBS Doctor=30, Engineer=31, Teacher=32, Madrassa Pricipal/Head Master=33, Thatcher=34, Layer=35, Judge=36, Politician=37, Madrassa Teacher=38, Professor=39, Other (Please Specify).....

102. Food Consumption: Last one Week (representative week of the Household)

Food Items	Unit	Amount Consumed
1. Rice	gm	
2. Wheat/Flour	gm	
3. <i>Muri</i>	gm	
4. Fish	gm	
5. Meat	gm	
6. Egg	number	
7. Milk	liter	
8. <i>Dal</i> (Pulse)	gm	
9. Onion, Garlic, Ginger	gm	
10. Vegetables	gm	
11. Potato	gm	
12. Edible Oil	liter	
13. Spices (Cinnamon, Cardamom)	gm	
14. Fruits	gm	
15. Salt	gm	
16. Sugar	gm	
17. <i>Gur</i>	gm	

103. Who took the decision to send your son/daughter/dependent to study in a Madrassa?

Father=1, Mother=2, Both parents=3, Relatives=4, Neighbor=5, Religious Leader=6, Other (please specify)...

104. Parents/guardians may have many different causes behind the interest of sending their children to Madrassas instead of sending them to mainstream general education. What were the particular causes in the case of your child (ren)/dependent(s) that led you to send them to Madrassa? Some possible causes are mentioned here; Please identify the ones that go with your decision.

	Causes (Please read the answers out. More than one answer possible)	Yes=1	No=2
1.	To gain complete Knowledge of Islam	1	2
2.	Flourish the Islamic Culture	1	2
3.	Other education systems do not inspire to follow the Islamic rules	1	2
4.	Education cost of the other systems is high	1	2
5.	Hard education system in School & Colleges	1	2
6.	Relatively easy to mange a job after Madrassa Education	1	2
7.	Even Mainstream or other systems do not guarantee employment	1	2
8.	Madrassa Education will somehow manage a job	1	2
9.	Madrassa educated could as well get jobs that the general educated get	1	2
10.	I could not study in Madrassa; That is why I sent my child to study there	1	2
11.	It would be easier to go to the Heaven in the afterlife	1	2
12.	Both religious and general education is possible in the Madrassa	1	2
13.	There is no primary/high school or college in the locality	1	2
14.	Mental/Physical incapability of Child	1	2
15.	Child is orphan	1	2
16.	Many children in the family; one or two should be sent to Madrassa for religious education	1	2
17.	There is now scope/provision of Higher general education after completing Madrassa	1	2
18.	Muslims are oppressed all over the world. Being inspired to protest this oppression and thus to protect Islam.	1	2

105. How many children from your family are studying at Madrassas?				
106. What is your annul education expense on your Madrassa going child? If more than one child, mention detail expense of the child you need to spend most.				
	Heads of Expenditure	Applicable Yes=1 No=2		Amount (Taka)
	Admission Fee	1	2	
	Books	1	2	
	Note Book/Khata, Pens,Pencils	1	2	
	Tuition Fee	1	2	
	Uniform/Borka(yashmak/Veil)/Panjabi/Pajamas	1	2	
	Food/Tiffin	1	2	
	Hostel/Dormitory	1	2	
	Examination Fee	1	2	
	Private Tuition Fee	1	2	
	Communication/Commute	1	2	
	Others	1	2	
107. In what profession you expect your child (ren) would be engage in the future?				
Khatib=1, Imam=2, Moazzin=3, Madrassa Teacher=4, Kazi=5, Public Service=6, Private Service=7, Service in Islamic Shariah Banks=8, Journalism=9, Service in Defense/Police Department=10, Business=11, School Teacher=12, College Teacher=13, Engineer=14, Doctor=15, Preacher/Muballig=16, Going abroad for job=17, Others (Please Specify).....				
108. According to you:				
(a) Percentage of Madrassa passed students who do not get their desired jobs.....%				
(b) Percentage of Madrassa passed students who remain Unemployed.....%				
109. The commonly held view is that Madrassa Education is not Livelihood/Living oriented and it does not fulfill the need of the time. According to you what should be the right way to get rid of this situation?				
110. A number of students are getting involved in militia activities nowadays and it is taking us towards an uncertain future. What is your opinion about this?				

Madrassa Education System in Bangladesh: Impact on Community

Interview Schedule: Teacher (Aliya)

Purpose of the Study: To gain knowledge about the Madrassa Education System of Bangladesh from a very disillusionated point of view and propose recommendations to develop the system.

Instructions for Field Investigators: Follow the ethical issues of data collection. Give polite salutation to the respondent. Explain the purpose of the study to the respondent. Give emphasis on the purpose that the views or opinion of the respondent would only be used to improve the existing Madrassa education system of the country. Also give the respondent a brief idea on the issues to be discussed in the interview and its tentative duration.

General Information of the Respondent

Name of the Respondent:

Father/Husband's Name:

Mother's Name:

Experience of Teaching (in year):

Designation:

Name of the Madrassa:

Address: Village/Hamlet/House No.:

Union/Ward/Road No.:

Upazila:

District:

Name of the Research Investigator:

Name of the Research Supervisor:

Name of the Quality Control Officer:

101. Food Consumption: Last one Week (representative week of the Household)

Food Items	Unit	Amount Consumed
1. Rice	gm	
2. Wheat/Flour	gm	
3. <i>Muri</i>	gm	
4. Fish	gm	
5. Meat	gm	
6. Egg	number	
7. Milk	liter	
8. <i>Dal</i> (Pulse)	gm	
9. Onion, Garlic, Ginger	gm	
10. Vegetables	gm	
11. Potato	gm	
12. Edible Oil	liter	
13. Spices (Cinnamon, Cardamom)	gm	
14. Fruits	gm	
15. Salt	gm	
16. Sugar	gm	
17. <i>Gur</i>	gm	

102.	Information on the net Income of the Household (Monthly):			
	Sl. No.	Source of Income	Applicable Yes=1 No=2	Amount (Taka)
	1.	Salary: Teachers	1 2	
	2.	Salary: Imam	1 2	
	3.	Salary: Moazzin	1 2	
	4.	Salary: Kazi	1 2	
	5.	Private Tuition	1 2	
	6.	Income from Agriculture Lands	1 2	
	7.	Domestic Animals/Cattle	1 2	
	8.	Poultry	1 2	
	9.	Nursery	1 2	
	10.	Vegetable Garden	1 2	
	11.	Fruits/Vegetables	1 2	
	12.	Shrimp/Fisheries	1 2	
	13.	Agriculture Machineries	1 2	
	14.	Rent (House/shop)	1 2	
	15.	Small Business	1 2	
	16.	Vehicles: Rickshaw van, Rickshaw, Boat, Motor Cycle, Cycle	1 2	
	17.	Cottage Industry	1 2	
	18.	Other Industry/Workshop	1 2	
	19.	Remittance/ Money from Abroad	1 2	
	20.	Pension/Gratuity	1 2	
	21.	Social Security Aid: VGD,VGF, Old age Allowance	1 2	
	22.	Gift/Hadia	1 2	
	23.	Others	1 2	
103.	Number of members in your Household:			
104.	Number of Children in your family: Boy Girl.....			
105.	Which particular economic class do you belong to? (Please read out the answer codes)			
	Poor/Low income Group=1, Lower Middle Class=2, Middle Class=3, Upper Middle Class=4, Rich=5			
106.	What, according to you, is your position in the society (level in the society)? (Please read out the answers)			
	Very Simple=1, Fairly known in the Community=2, Well-known in the Community=3, Known as Honorable persons in the Community=4, Known as very Prestigious/influential in the Community=5			
107.	Where do your children study? General Education=1 Madrassa Education=2 Both=3			
107A.	Reasons for giving General Education: Modern Education System=1, More job opportunities=2, Good quality of the Institutions=3, Relatively high social status=4			
108.	Do you stay with your family? Yes=1, No=2			
109.	Problems with the Profession (Please read out the answers. More than one answer possible)			
	No training facilities=1, No formal rules and regulations for Promotion=2, Low salary and other benefits=3, No specialized/subject wise teacher=4, No such problems=5			
110.	Medium of Education (Could be more than one): Bangla=1, English=2, Arabic=3, Urdu=4, Persian=5.			
110A.	Main medium of Education (any one of the options): Bangla=1, English=2, Arabic=3, Urdu=4, Persian=5.			
110B.	Which medium you prefer most? (any one of the options): Bangla=1, English=2, Arabic=3, Urdu=4, Persian=5.			
111.	Information on the Problems of Madrassa Education (Read the answers out. More than one answer possible)			
	Problems			
	Limited Scope to enter Public Services=1			
	Lack of Qualified Teachers=2			
	Obsolete Curriculum=3			
	No Education-Employment Link=4			

	No scope of Vocational Education=5
	No financial grant from the Government=6
	Lack of adequate infrastructures=7
	No own income source of Madrassa=8
	Madrassa education is often neglected from both Socioeconomic and political grounds=9
	No co-curricular activities=10
	No good opportunity to study Science=11
	No Commerce Group=12
112.	What steps you think need to be taken to solve the problems? (Read the answers out, more than one answer possible)
	Possible Means to solve Problems
	Nationalization of Madrassa Education=1
	Giving Equal recognition of Madrassa Education with the General Education=2
	Arranging Vocational Education=3
	Developing Training for Teachers =4
	Updating the Syllabus=5
	Infrastructural Development of Madrassas=6
	Financial Donation by the Government =7
	Not allowing to use this education to serve political purposes =8
	Giving opportunities to enter the Public Service=9
	Facilitating Science Education=10
	Launching Commerce Departments=11
113.	What type of profession(s) do you expect your students will get after completing their education? (more than one answer possible)
	Khatib=1, Imaam=2, Muajjin=3, Madrassa Teacher=4, Kazi=5, Public Service=6, Private Service=7, Service in Islamic Shariah Banks=8, Journalism=9, Service in Defense/Police Department=10, Business=11, School Teacher=12, College Teacher=13, Engineer=14, Doctor=15, Preacher/Muballig=16, Going abroad for job=17, Others (Please Specify).....
114.	According to you: (a) Percentage of Madrassa graduates who do not get their desired jobs% (b) Percentage of Madrassa graduates who remain unemployed.....%
115.	Are you satisfied with the overall management of your Madrassa? Yes=1, No=2
116.	Madrassa Education system in Bangladesh is divided into two major streams: Aliya and Quomi; the impact of this division is also evident in the society. What is your opinion about this?
117.	What changes could be made in the present Madrassa education syllabus without penetrating into its Islamic knowledge gaining motto? What modern and appropriate subjects would be possible to include in the syllabus?
118.	Please give us your opinion about the financial benefits that you get as a Madrassa teacher.

Interview Schedule: Teacher (Quomi)

Purpose of the Study: To gain knowledge about the Madrassa Education System of Bangladesh from a very disillusionated point of view and propose recommendations to develop the system.	
Instructions for Field Investigators: Follow the ethical issues of data collection. Give polite salutation to the respondent. Explain the purpose of the study to the respondent. Give emphasis on the purpose that the views or opinion of the respondent would only be used to improve the existing Madrassa education system of the country. Also give the respondent a brief idea on the issues to be discussed in the interview and its tentative duration.	
General Information of the Respondent	
Name of the Respondent:	
Father/Husband's Name:	
Mother's Name:	
Experience of Teaching (in year):	
Designation:	
Name of the Madrassa:	
Address: Village/Hamlet/House No.:	
Union/Ward/Road No.:	
Upazila:	District:
Name of the Research Investigator:	
Name of the Research Supervisor:	
Name of the Quality Control Officer:	

101. Food Consumption: Last one Week (representative week of the Household)

Food Items	Unit	Amount Consumed
1. Rice	gm	
2. Wheat/Flour	gm	
3. <i>Muri</i>	gm	
4. Fish	gm	
5. Meat	gm	
6. Egg	number	
7. Milk	liter	
8. <i>Dal</i> (Pulse)	gm	
9. Onion, Garlic, Ginger	gm	
10. Vegetables	gm	
11. Potato	gm	
12. Edible Oil	liter	
13. Spices (Cinnamon, Cardamom)	gm	
14. Fruits	gm	
15. Salt	gm	
16. Sugar	gm	
17. <i>Gur</i>	gm	

102.	Information on the net Income of the Household (Monthly):			
	Sl. No.	Source of Income	Applicable Yes=1 No=2	Amount (Taka)
	1.	Salary: Teachers	1 2	
	2.	Salary: Imam	1 2	
	3.	Salary: Moazzin	1 2	
	4.	Salary: Kazi	1 2	
	5.	Private Tuition	1 2	
	6.	Income from Agriculture Lands	1 2	
	7.	Domestic Animals/Cattle	1 2	
	8.	Poultry	1 2	
	9.	Nursery	1 2	
	10.	Vegetable Garden	1 2	
	11.	Fruits/Vegetables	1 2	
	12.	Shrimp/Fisheries	1 2	
	13.	Agriculture Machineries	1 2	
	14.	Rent (House/shop)	1 2	
	15.	Small Business/enterprise	1 2	
	16.	Vehicles: Rickshaw-van, Rickshaw, Boat, Motor Cycle, Cycle	1 2	
	17.	Cottage Industry	1 2	
	18.	Other Industry/Workshop	1 2	
	19.	Remittance/ Money from Abroad	1 2	
	20.	Pension/Gratuity	1 2	
	21.	Social Security Aid: (VGD,VGF, Old age allowance)	1 2	
	22.	Gift/Hadia	1 2	
	23.	Others	1 2	
103.	Number of members in your Household:			
104.	Number of Children in your family: Boy..... Girl.....			
105.	Which particular economic class do you belong to? (Please read out the answer codes)			
Poor/Low income Group=1, Lower Middle Class=2, Middle Class=3, Upper Middle Class=4, Rich=5				
106.	What, according to you, is your position in the society (level in the society)? (Please read out the answers)			
Very Simple=1, Fairly known in the Community=2, Well-known in the Community=3, Known as Honorable persons in the Community=4, Known as very Prestigious/influential in the Community=5				
107.	Where do your children study? General Education=1 Madrassa Education=2 Both=3			
107A.	Reasons for giving General Education: Modern Education System=1, More job opportunities=2, Good quality of the Institutions=3, Relatively high social status=4			
108.	Do you stay with your family? Yes=1, No=2			
109.	Problems with the Profession (Please read out the answers. More than one answer possible)			
No training facilities=1, No formal rules and regulations for Promotion=2, Low salary and other benefits=3, No specialized/subject wise teacher=4, No such problems=5				
110.	Medium of Education (Could be more than one): Bangla=1, English=2, Arabic=3, Urdu=4, Persian=5.			
110A.	Main medium of Education (any one of the options): Bangla=1, English=2, Arabic=3, Urdu=4, Persian=5.			
110B.	Which medium you prefer most? (any one of the options): Bangla=1, English=2, Arabic=3, Urdu=4, Persian=5.			
111.	Information on the Problems of Madrassa Education (Read the answers out. More than one answer possible)			
	Problems			
	No Government recognition=1			
	Limited Scope to enter Public Services=2			

	Lack of Qualified Teachers=3
	Obsolete Curriculum=4
	No Education-Employment Link=5
	No scope of Vocational Education=5
	No combined Education Board=6
	No scope of Vocational Education=7
	No financial grant from the Government=8
	Lack of adequate infrastructures=9
	No own income source of Madrassa=10
	Madrassa education is often neglected both from Socioeconomic and political grounds=11
	No co-curricular activities=12
	No Science Department=13
	No Commerce Group=14
112.	What steps you think need to be taken to solve the problems? (Read the answers out, more than one answer possible)
	Possible Means to solve Problems:
	Nationalization of Madrassa Education=1
	Government recognition of Quomi Madrassa Education=2
	Giving Equal recognition of Madrassa Education with the General Education=3
	Arranging Vocational Education=4
	Arranging Training for Teachers =5
	Updating the Syllabus=6
	Establishing Combined Education Board=7
	Infrastructural Development of Madrassas=8
	Financial Donation by the Government =9
	Not allowing to use this education to serve political purposes =10
	Giving opportunities to enter the Public Service=11
	Facilitating Science Education=12
	Launching Commerce Departments=13
113.	What type of profession(s) do you expect your students will get after completing their education? (more than one answer possible)
	Khatib=1, Imaam=2, Muajjin=3, Madrassa Teacher=4, Kazi=5, Public Service=6, Private Service=7, Service in Islamic Shariah Banks=8, Journalism=9, Service in Defense/Police Department=10, Business=11, School Teacher=12, College Teacher=13, Engineer=14, Doctor=15, Preacher/Muballig=16, Going abroad for job=17, Others (Please Specify).....
114.	According to you: (a) Percentage of Madrassa graduates who do not get their desired jobs% (b) Percentage of Madrassa graduates who remain unemployed.....%
115.	Are you satisfied with the overall management of your Madrassa? Yes=1, No=2
116.	Madrassa Education system in Bangladesh is divided into two major streams: Aliyah and Quomi; the impact of this division is also evident in the society. What is your opinion about this?
117.	What changes could be made in the present Madrassa education syllabus without penetrating into its Islamic knowledge gaining motto? What modern and appropriate subjects would be possible to include in the syllabus?
118.	Please give us your opinion about the financial benefits that you get as a Madrassa teacher.
119.	Quomi Madrassa Students need to learn more than one language; Please give us your opinion about this.

Madrassa Education System in Bangladesh: Impact on Community

Madrassa Survey form (Aliya)

Purpose of the Study: To gain knowledge about the Madrassa Education System of Bangladesh from a very disillusionated point of view and propose recommendations to develop the system.															
Instructions for Field Investigators: Follow the ethical issues of data collection. Give polite salutation to the respondent. Explain the purpose of the study to the respondent. Give emphasis on the purpose that the views or opinion of the respondent would only be used to improve the existing Madrassa education system of the country. Also give the respondent a brief idea on the issues to be discussed in the interview and its tentative duration.															
General Information of the Madrassa															
Name of the Institution:		Union/Road No:													
Address: Village/Hamlet/House No.:		Upazila:													
Year of Establishment:		District:													
Taught up to what Class:															
Location of the Madrassa:		Rural =1,	Urban =2												
Name of the Research Investigator:															
Name of the Research Supervisor:															
Name of the Quality Control Officer:															
Information on Madrassa															
01.	Total Land Area (Madara premise): Decimals														
02.	Ownership of Land: Own=1, Not Own=2														
03.	House type of Madrassa: Mud-built=1, Semi brick-built/Mixed=2, Brick-built=3														
04.	Number of Rooms:, Number of Brick-built Buildings:, Number of Floors:....., Total area of Floors: SFt.														
05.	Total number of Students: <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse; margin-top: 5px;"> <tr> <th style="width: 25%;">Students</th> <th style="width: 25%;">Number</th> <th style="width: 25%;">Residential</th> <th style="width: 25%;">Non-Residential</th> </tr> <tr> <td>Male</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Female</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </table>			Students	Number	Residential	Non-Residential	Male				Female			
Students	Number	Residential	Non-Residential												
Male															
Female															
06.	Average number of new students enrolled/admitted every year:														
07.	Average number of students pass out every year:														
08.	Total number of Teachers:, Male:....., Female:.....														
09.	Number of Teachers who stay at the Madrassa:														
10.	Total number of staff/Officials:, Male:....., Female:.....														
11.	Total number of orphan students: Male:....., Female:.....														
12.	Total number of physically handicapped Students: Male:....., Female:.....														

13.	Annual income: (Last Year/200.....)			
	Income Sources		Amount (Taka)	
	Tuition Fees of Students			
	Admission Fees			
	Money from Examination Fees			
	Personal Donation			
	Government Grants			
	Non-Government Aid (NGO, Trust, etc.)			
	Jakat/Fitra/Sadkah/Manat			
	Money from selling Animal Skins donated during Eid Festival			
	Income from Madrassa's own resources: Crops			
	Income from Madrassa's own resources: rents			
	Foreign Aid/ Donation/Subsidy			
	Others (Please specify).....			
14.	Annual Expenditure: (Last Year /200.....)			
	Heads of Expenditure		Amount (Taka)	
	Salary of Teachers/Staff			
	Buying Books			
	Examination Expenses			
	Khata(Note Book)/pens/pencils and other education materials			
	Uniform/Cloths			
	Food			
	Hostel/Dormitory			
	Infrastructural Development			
	Telephone and Electricity Bill			
	Debt Repayment			
	Entertainment			
	TA/DA			
	Others			
15.	Provision of Auditing: Yes=1, No=2			
5A.	Is audit conducted regularly every year? Yes=1, No=2			
16.	Number of Managing Committee Members:			
17.	Is there any formal and written Management Policy? Yes=1, No=2			
18.	Total number of books at the Library:			
	Subjects	Language	Number	
	Religion			
	Literature			
	Travels			
	Biography			
	Science			
	History			
	Economics			
	Others			
19.	Is there any <i>Lillah</i> (poor) Fund? Yes=1, No=2 [if "No" skip to Q 21]			
20.	Number of Students under <i>Lillah</i> Fund:			
21.	How much money is taken from a residential student for accommodation and food?Taka			
22.	Description of Tuition Fees in different classes			
	Class	Monthly Tuition Fee (Taka)	Class	Monthly Tuition Fee (Taka)
	Class One		Class Nine	
	Class two		Class Ten	
	Class Three		Alim 1 st Year	
	Class Four		Alim 2 nd Year	
	Class Five		Fazil 1 st Year	

	Class Six		Fazil 2 nd Year	
	Class Seven		Kamil 1 st Year	
	Class Eight		Kamil 2 nd Year	
23.	Description of Salary of Teachers/Staff (according to hierarchy of posts):			
	Designation	Monthly Basic Salary (Taka)	Monthly Total Salary (Taka)	Received Monthly Salary
	Principal/Headmaster			
	Vice-Principal/Asst. Headmaster			
	Associate Professor			
	Assistant Professor			
	Lecturer			
	Senior Teacher			
	Assistant Teacher			
	Part-time Teacher			
	General Teacher			
	Junior Teacher			
	Officer			
	Clark			
	4 th Class Employee			
	Cook/Chef			
24.	Salary payment status of Teachers/Staff: Up-to-date=1, Due/arrears (more than 3 months)=2			
25.	Give description of Socioeconomic contributions (if any) made by the Madrassa (pond-canal digging/ making bridge, bamboo-bridge/ arranging Funeral rites/ Relief work/Disaster shelter centre, etc.):			
26.	Please give us a profile of individuals who were students of your Madrassa and are now engaged in positions of serving the state and its communities, persons with leadership qualities and well-established in the society and well-known/ famous peoples (if known):			

Madrassa Survey form (Quomi)

Purpose of the Study: To gain knowledge about the Madrassa Education System of Bangladesh from a very disillusionated point of view and propose recommendations to develop the system.															
Instructions for Field Investigators: Follow the ethical issues of data collection. Give polite salutation to the respondent. Explain the purpose of the study to the respondent. Give emphasis on the purpose that the views or opinion of the respondent would only be used to improve the existing Madrassa education system of the country. Also give the respondent a brief idea on the issues to be discussed in the interview and its tentative duration.															
General Information of the Madrassa															
Name of the Institution: _____															
Address: Village/Hamlet/House No.: _____		Union/Road No: _____													
Upazila: _____		District: _____													
Year of Establishment: _____															
Education Board:															
Taught up to what Class:															
Location of the Madrassa: _____		Rural =1, Urban =2													
Name of the Research Investigator: _____															
Name of the Research Supervisor: _____															
Name of the Quality Control Officer: _____															
Information on Madrassa															
01.	Total Land Area (Madrassa premise): Decimals														
02.	Ownership of Land: Own=1, Not Own=2														
03.	House type of Madrassa: Mud-built=1, Semi brick-built/Mixed=2, Brick-built=3														
04.	Number of Rooms/Houses:, Number of Brick-built Buildings:, Number of Floors:....., Total area of Floors: Sft.														
05.	Total number of Students: <table border="1" style="border-collapse: collapse; width: 60%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 25%;">Students</td> <td style="width: 25%;">Number</td> <td style="width: 25%;">Residential</td> <td style="width: 25%;">Non-Residential</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Male</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Female</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </table>			Students	Number	Residential	Non-Residential	Male				Female			
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11.	Total number of orphan students: Male:....., Female:.....														
12.	Total number of physically handicapped Students: Male:..... Female:.....														

13.	Annual income: (Last Year/200.....)		
	Income Sources		Amount (Taka)
	Tuition Fees of Students		
	Admission Fees		
	Money from Examination Fees		
	Personal Donation		
	Government Grants		
	Non-Government Aid (NGO, Trust, etc.)		
	Jakat/Fitra/Sadkah/Manat		
	Money from selling Animal Skins donated during Eid Festival		
	Income from Madrassa's own resources: Crops		
	Income from Madrassa's own resources: rents		
	Foreign Aid/ Donation/Subsidy		
	Others (Please specify).....		
14.	Annual Expenditure: (Last Year /200.....)		
	Heads of Expenditure		Amount (Taka)
	Salary of Teachers/Staff		
	Buying Books		
	Examination Expenses		
	Khata(Note Book)/pens/pencils and other education materials		
	Uniform/Cloths		
	Food		
	Hostel/Dormitory		
	Infrastructural Development		
	Telephone and Electricity Bill		
	Debt Repayment		
	Entertainment		
	TA/DA		
	Others		
15.	Provision of Auditing: Yes=1, No=2		
15A.	Is audit conducted regularly (every year)? Yes=1, No=2		
16.	Management system of the Madrassa: Private management=1, Committee management=2		
17.	Number of Managing Committee Members:		
18.	Is there any formal and written Management Policy? Yes=1, No=2		
19.	Total number of books at the Library:		
	Subjects	Language	Number
	Religion		
	Literature		
	Travels		
	Biography		
	Science		
	History		
	Economics		
	Others		
20.	Is there any <i>Lillah</i> (poor) Fund? Yes=1, No=2 [if "No" skip to Q 22]		
21.	Number of Students under <i>Lillah</i> Fund:		
22.	How much money is taken from a residential student for accommodation and food?		
	Taka		
			Taka

23.	Description of Tuition Fees in different classes			
	Class	Monthly Tuition Fee (Taka)	Class	Monthly Tuition Fee (Taka)
	Class One		Sanubia Al Ammah-1 st Year (Kafia)	
	Class two		Sanubia Al Ammah-2 nd Year (Sharhe Jami)	
	Class Three		Sanubia Al Ulya-1 st Year (Sharhe Bekaya)	
	Class Four		Sanubia Al Ulya-2 nd Year (Hidaya)	
	Class Five		Marhalatul Fajeelat 1 st Year (Jalalain)	
	Class Six		Marhalatul Fajeelat 2 nd Year (Mishqaat)	
	Class Seven		Daoraye <i>Hadiths</i> 1 st Year	
	Class Eight		Daoraye <i>Hadiths</i> 2 nd Year	
24.	Description of Salary of Teachers/Staff (according to hierarchy of posts):			
	Designation	Monthly Basic Salary (Taka)	Monthly Total Salary (Taka)	Received Monthly Salary
	Principal/Headmaster			
	Vice-Principal/Asst. Headmaster			
	Senior Teacher			
	Assistant Teacher			
	Part-time Teacher			
	General Teacher			
	Junior Teacher			
	Officer			
	Clark			
	4 th Class Employee			
	Cook/Chef			
25.	Salary payment status of Teachers/Staff: Up-to-date=1, Due/arrears (more than 3 months)=2			
26.	Give description of Socioeconomic contributions (if any) made by the Madrassa (pond-canal digging/making bridge, bamboo-bridge/arranging funeral rites/relief work/disaster shelter centre, etc.)			
27.	Please give us a profile of individuals who were students of your Madrassa and are now engaged in positions of serving the state and its communities, persons with leadership qualities and well-established in the society and well-known/ famous peoples (if known):			

Madrassa Education System in Bangladesh: Impact on Community

Interview Schedule: Honorable Community Members

Purpose of the Study: To gain knowledge about the Madrassa Education System of Bangladesh from a very disillusionated point of view and propose recommendations to develop the system.	
Instructions for Field Investigators: Follow the ethical issues of data collection. Give polite salutation to the respondent. Explain the purpose of the study to the respondent. Give emphasis on the purpose that the views or opinion of the respondent would only be used to improve the existing Madrassa education system of the country. Also give the respondent a brief idea on the issues to be discussed in the interview and its tentative duration.	
General Information of the Respondent	
Name of the Respondent:	Profession:
Institution he works with:	Designation:
Address: Village/Hamlet/House No.:	
Union / Ward / Road No.:	District:
Upazila:	District:
Name of the Interviewer:	Date:
01. What is your opinion about the major causes of spreading Madrassa education in Bangladesh?	
02. Do have any idea about the difference between Aliya and Quomi Madrassa education? Please give your opinion about the integration of these two education system.	
03. What is your opinion about introducing a Single Stream Education System, i.e., reformation of the education systems of the country through integrating the existing General, English-medium and Madrassa education systems? How would the implementation of such a reformation be possible?	
04. Please provide your assessment about the socioeconomic status of Madrassa educated people.	
05. Nowadays pupils from upper class families are also coming to study at Madrassas. How do you evaluate this trend?	

Madrassa Education System in Bangladesh: Impact on Community

Interview Schedule for Governing Body/ Management Committee Members

Purpose of the Study: To gain knowledge about the Madrassa Education System of Bangladesh from a very disillusionated point of view and propose recommendations to develop the system.	
Instructions for Field Investigators: Follow the ethical issues of data collection. Give polite salutation to the respondent. Explain the purpose of the study to the respondent. Give emphasis on the purpose that the views or opinion of the respondent would only be used to improve the existing Madrassa education system of the country. Also give the respondent a brief idea on the issues to be discussed in the interview and its tentative duration.	
General Information of the Respondent	
Name:	Profession:
Designation in the Management Committee :	
Duration/Validity of membership in the Governing Body:	
Age:	
Educational Qualification:	
Name of the Madrassa:	
Type of Madrassa:	
Address: Village/Hamlet/House No.:	
Union/Ward/Road No.:	
Upazila:	District:
Name of the Interviewer:	Date:
01. Please provide us an overall picture of the Management System (Admission procedure, Teacher recruitment and Promotion, Students' accommodation and food management, etc.) of your Madrassa.	
02. How is the Financial Management system of the Madrassa regulated? (Sources of finance, types of expenditure, fund controlling, etc.)	
03. Please explain the nature of formation of the Governing Body? (Selection/election procedure, duration/validity, etc.)	
04. What are the major problems you face in governing the Madrassa? How could these problems be solved?	

DCI-10

Census form of Educational Institutions: Madrassa and Moktob

Union/Municipality/City Corporation:

Upazila:

District:

Division:

Total Upazilas in the District:

Total Unions in the Upazila:

Sl. No.	Name of madrassa/ moktob	Address (village, hamlet)	Establishment date	Type of madrassa/ moktob1	Taught up to what class	Under which education board 2	Total no. of students	Total no. of teachers	No. of teachers to go in retirement this year

1 Aliya Madrassa=1, Quomi Madrassa=2, Hafizia Madrassa=3, Moktob=4,

2 Aliya Madrassa Board=1, Quomi Madrassa Board=2

DCI-11

Census form of Educational Institutions: School/College

Union/Municipality/City Corporation:

Upazila:

District:

Division:

Total Upazilas in the District:

Total Unions in the Upazila:

Sl. No.	Name of school/ college	Address (village, hamlet)	Establishment date	Type of institution1	Taught up to what class	Under which education board 2

1 Kindergarten=1, Primary School=2, Junior Secondary High School=3, Secondary High School=4, College=5, University College=6, English Medium School=7

2 Dhaka=1, Chittagong=2, Rajshahi=3, Jessore=4, Comilla=5, Sylhet=6, Barisal=7

Census form: Mosque

Union/Municipality/City Corporation:

Upazila

District:

Division:

Total Upazilas in the District:

Total Unions in the Upazila:

Sl. No.	Name of mosque	Address (village, hamlet)	Establishment date	Type of mosque ¹	Mic Yes=1, No=2	Madrassa Yes=1, No=2	Total no. of students	Taught up to what class	No. of people involved with different tasks of the Mosque	No. of people to go in retirement this year
					1 2	1 2				
					1 2	1 2				
					1 2	1 2				
					1 2	1 2				
					1 2	1 2				
					1 2	1 2				
					1 2	1 2				
					1 2	1 2				
					1 2	1 2				
					1 2	1 2				
					1 2	1 2				
					1 2	1 2				
					1 2	1 2				
					1 2	1 2				
					1 2	1 2				

¹ Jumua Mosque=1, Waqtia (only 5 time prayers' mosque) =2, Place for prayers other than Jumua and Waqtia prayers=3

Personal Information of the Management Committee Members of Madrassa

Name of Madrassa:

Union/Ward:

Upazila:

District:

Division:

Sl. No.	Name of Management Committee Member	Designation	Educational Qualification	Occupation	Any child of the member is/was in the Madrassa Yes=1, No=2	*Affiliation with Political Parties (Use Codes)	Nature of Affiliation Member=1 Non-member but takes part in the organizational activity=2 Seems to support which particular party=3
						1 2	1 2 3
						1 2	1 2 3
						1 2	1 2 3
						1 2	1 2 3
						1 2	1 2 3
						1 2	1 2 3
						1 2	1 2 3
						1 2	1 2 3
						1 2	1 2 3
						1 2	1 2 3
						1 2	1 2 3
						1 2	1 2 3

* Codes for Political Parties: Bangladesh Awami League=1, Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) =2, Jatio Party=3, Jamayet-E-Islami Bangladesh=4, Khelafat Majlish=5, Islami Shashantantra Andolon=6, Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) =7, Jatio Samajtantrik Dal (Jasad) =8, Bangladesh Communist Party=9, Workers Party=10, Muslim League=11, Gonoforum=12, Bangladesh Samajtantrik Dal=13

STUDY AREA

Both qualitative and quantitative information has been collected through the primary data collection procedures from all over the country. In rural area, data has been collected from union level. A total of 63 representative unions (out of 4466) have been selected from rural area for the survey. Similarly for urban area data has been collected from the wards of the Pourashava and the City Corporation. The total number of sample wards (81) has been selected from 28 Pourashava and all the City Corporation.

Study Area– Rural			
Division	Name of District	Name of Upazila	Name of Union
Barisal	Barisal	Gouranadi	Chandshi
	Pirojpur	Sadar Pirojpur	Sankar Pasha
		Nazirpur	Nazirpur
		Nazirpur	Shakhari kathi
Chittagong	Brahmanbaria	Akhaura	Dakkin Anandapur
	Comilla	Daudkandi	Sandalpur
		Chandina	Madhaya
		Daudkandi	Goalmay
	Feni	Dagon Bhuya	Ramnagar
		Dagon Bhuya	Dagon Bhuya
		Shagol Naya	Mohamya
		Shagol Naya	Phathan Nagar
	Noakhali	Sadar/Begumganj	Durgapur
		Sunaimuri	Naterssar
		Sunaimuri	Bazra
		Sadar/Begumganj	Narottampur
Dhaka	Dhaka	Savar	Tetul Jhora
		Dhamrai	Shombag
		Nawbabganj	Kolagopa
		Nawbabganj	Barah
	Manikganj	Manikganj Sadar	Zagir
		Manikganj Sadar	Dighi
		Shaturia	Saturia
		Shaturia	Baliati
	Narayangamj	Sonargaon	Jampur
		Aray Hazar	Satgram
		Aray Hazar	Sadasadi
	Nettrokona	Barohatta	Barohatta
	Rajbari	Baliakandi	Nababpur
		Sonargaon	Sadipur
	Tangail	Kalihati	Alengga

Khulna	Jessore	Jessore Sadar	Ramnagar
	Khulna	Biral	Biral
	Kushtia	Mirpur	Poradah
		Mirpur	Chatiyan
		Kushtia Sadar	Ziarakhi
		Kushtia Sadar	Mnwhordia
	Magura	Shalikha	Arpara
		Shalikha	Satakhali
Satkhira	Tala	Surulia	
Rajshahi	Bogra	Dhupchachia	Dhupchchia
		Gabtali	Gabtali
	Dinajpur	Dinajpur Sadar	Awliapur
		Dinajpur Sadar	Askorpur
		Biral	Rani Pukur
		Fulbari	Kazihal
		Fulbari	Elubari
	Lalmonirhat	Aditmari	Bhadail
		Lalmonirhat Sadar	Kulagate
		Aditmari	Velabari
	Pabna	Shathia	Dhopadah
		Pabna/Sadar	Hemayetpur
	Rajshahi	Putia	Putia
		Chargate	Nimpara
	Rangpur	Pirganj	Pirganj
		Pirganj	Raipur
		Rangpur Sadar	Tapodhan
Rangpur Sadar		Pasuram	
Sylhet	Hobigonj	Hobiganj Sadar	Gopaya
		Shayestaganj	Nurpur
		Sylhet	Dakkin Surma
	Dakkin Surma		Mollargaon
	Sylhet		Khadim Para
Study Area – Urban (Pourashava)			
Division	Name of District	Name of Pourashava	Number of ward
Barisal	Barisal	Gournadi	
Chittagong	Brahmanbaria	Akhaura	
		Kasba	9
	Chittagong	Hathazari	
	Comilla	Comill Sadar	6
		Doudkandi	
	Feni	Chhagalnaiya	3
		Porsuram	
Noakhali	Noakhali Sadar		
Dhaka	Dhaka	Savar	3
	Jamalpur	Jamalpur Sadar	3
		Melandaha	
	Manikganj	Manikganj Sadar	
	Netrokona	Netrokona Sadar	3
	Rajbari	Rajbari Sadar	3
Tangail	Tangail Sadar	3	
Khulna	Jessore	Jessore Sadar	3
	Kushtia	Kushtia Sadar	3
		Mirpur	
Rajshahi	Bogra	Dupchachia	3
		Gabtali	3
	Dinajpur	Dinajpur Sadar	
	Lalmonirhat	Lalmonirhat Sadar	
	Pabna	Pabna Sadar	3

	Rangpur	Pirganj	
		Rangpur Sadar	
Sylhet	Habiganj	Habiganj Sadar	3
		Sayestaganj	3
Study Area – Urban (City Corporation)			
Name of City Corporation		Number of ward	
Barisal City Corporation		4	
Chittagong City Corporation		3	
Dhaka City Corporation		8	
Khulna City Corporation		4	
Rajshahi City Corporation		4	
Sylhet City Corporation		4	

G L O S S A R Y

Akhlaq	:	Natures, dispositions, habits, manners
Alim	:	Higher secondary madrassa
Dakhil	:	Mid & secondary level madrassa
Ebtedayee/Ibtidia	:	Primary level of madrassa
Fatwa	:	a formal legal opinion or decision of a religious scholar on a matter of Islamic law
Fazil	:	Graduate madrassa
Fiqh	:	Islamic jurisprudence. The study and application of the body of sacred Muslim law
Fitra	:	A certain amount of money, usually fixed by the government, by the wealthy to be paid to the poor, against each family member
Hadith/Hadis	:	Sayings and deeds of the Prophet Muhammad (SM)
Hadiya	:	Gift or value
Hafez-e-Qur'an	:	One who has committed the whole of the Qur'an to memory
Imam	:	Literally meaning leader
Islamiyat	:	The study of Islam
Jamaat	:	Congregation
Jihad	:	An Arabic word literally meaning to strife and to struggle. The word is used in the English dictionary as 'holy war' by the Muslims, Islamists, or by so-called Muslim terrorists
Kalam	:	A word, speech, scholastic theology, or a substance of discourse
Kamil	:	Post graduate madrassa
Khanqah	:	The seat of the saint
Khatib	:	The person giving sermon in Muslim religious congregations, especially in Fridays and Eid congregations
Lillah	:	Free of cost; from the contributions from the faithful
Maktab	:	Primary level madrassa
Mannat	:	A sacrifice or deed
Masjid/masjed	:	Mosque
Maulavi	:	A learned person in Islam
Mazar	:	Burial ground/graveyards of religious saints

<i>Milad</i>	:	Islamic religious ceremony prominent, especially among the South-Asian Muslims
<i>Molla/Mullah</i>	:	Religious scholars (Medieval Sunni ' <i>ulema</i> ', having leadership roles in 'Shiite' sect
<i>Muazzins</i>	:	One who calls or summons for prayer in the mosque
<i>Mufti</i>	:	An assistant to a <i>quazi</i> or judge
<i>Nirbahi</i>	:	Executive
<i>Pir</i>	:	Saint or a Sufi leader
<i>Purdah</i>	:	Curtain or veil
<i>Sadqa/Saadaqa</i>	:	Almsgiving
<i>Sharia</i>	:	The law, including both the teachings of the Qur'an and the traditional sayings of Muhammad (SM)
<i>Shia</i>	:	A sect in Islam
<i>Sufi</i>	:	Muslims practicing mystical principles
<i>Sunnah</i>	:	A path or way; manner of life
<i>Surah</i>	:	A row or series of verses from the <i>Qur'an</i>
<i>Tafsir</i>	:	Interpretation of the <i>Qur'an</i>
<i>Talab-al-ilim</i>	:	Seeking knowledge
<i>Ulama/Ulema</i>	:	One who knows; learned; scholar
<i>Upazila/Upazilla</i>	:	Lowest administrative unit of government administration in Bangladesh
<i>Wahabi</i>	:	A sect of Muslim revivalists
<i>Waqf</i>	:	Charitable trust (donated for religious use)
<i>Zakat</i>	:	A portion of the property bestowed in alms

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To be Written

(For Jacket/Inside Cover)

An in-depth politico-economic research into the madrassa education in Bangladesh has never been tried. What we have is a few and scanty studies that are inadequate to ensure informed policy guidelines for the madrassas; yet this are crucial for human capital formation.

This book provides a politico-economic sketch of the madrassa education system within the broader canvas of education system. An attempt has been made to uncover the essence of the core components of madrassa system in Bangladesh. These include critical issues like: growth of madrassas including students and teachers by type, overtime; curriculum; political affiliation of madrassa Management Committee members; financing; and status and constraint of female education. Furthermore, a rigorous analysis on demand and supply of madrassa education in terms of reasons for sending children to madrassa, employment opportunities, madrassa education in the modern world and current concerns about fundamentalism, and so forth, are part of this endeavor. In addition, a substantial portion of this book provides an analysis in to the rise of Muslim scholarships and genesis of madrassa system, which sets the stage for understanding the madrassa education system in a historical continuum.

This book, based primarily on empirical analysis, reveals many thought provoking outcomes. Notable ones are : Every third student in Bangladesh is a madrassa student and so is the case with teachers implying a major imbalance in education system; students from economically insolvent and poor families are disproportionately highly concentrated in madrassas implying failure of State in ensuring poor people's access to mainstream public education; growth in madrassas (both number and students) is positively correlated with the presence of military-autocratic regime (from 1947 to 2008) implying lack of democracy distorts education system; unemployment rate of madrassa graduates is high at 75 per cent implying wastage of national resources as well as creation of fertile ground for religion-based politics and associated extremism; estimated annual (2008) expenditures to run madrassas in Bangladesh would be about US \$ 775 million. Finally, it is argued that State, in congruence with the Constitution, shall ensure poor people's unhindered access to mainstream education system; Government shall think seriously about Madrassa reform with much emphasis on Quomi system to expedite the process of human development and human capital formation necessary for establishing a secular, progressive, liberal democratic welfare state.

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