

**Religious Instructions and Secular Education: A Comparative Study of Select
Madrasas in Bihar**

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the work embodied in the present dissertation entitled '**Religious Instructions and Secular Education: A Comparative Study of Select Madrasas in Bihar**' is carried out under the supervision of **Dr. R. Thirunavukkarasu**, Department of Sociology, for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology from University of Hyderabad, is an original work of mine and to the best of my knowledge no part of this dissertation has been submitted for the award of any research degree or diploma at any University. I also declare that this is a bonafide research work which is free from plagiarism. I hereby agree that my thesis can be deposited in Shodhganga/INFLIBNET.

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A. Published in the following publication:

1. 2018. “Ideological De-Construction of Madrassas Education in Bihar”, *ACADEMIC VIEWS & REVIEWS* (An International Journal of Education, Research & Innovation), VOL. 8 (No. III), October – December. A Refereed, Multidisciplinary, International Journal, ISSN No. : 2249-7242, New Delhi.
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Chapter 1

Madrasa and Madrasa Education in India: Historicity and Contemporaneity

1.0: Introduction

Madrasas are the organized centres of education where knowledge is disseminated. The term **Madrasa** is derived from Arabic language which means a place where knowledge is imparted like schools, college and university.¹ Thus, in the Arab world Madrasa is perceived as all sorts of schools that also include schools providing modern education and traditional Islamic education. However, in the South Asian sub-continent the understanding of madrasa is restricted to the institutions providing only religious education or imparting Islamic knowledge confined to teaching of ***Quran and Hadith*** (Noor et. al., 2008).² During the period of Muslim rule in India, educational institutions were called as Madrasas and not divided in the lines of religious education. Madrasas used to be the centre for both scientific and religious education. During the British era, centres of modern education were established. A clear demarcation was established between religious and non-religious education. Several Madrasas were established in India aiming at

¹ “The term madrasa derives from the Arabic root darasa, which means ‘to study,’ and is related to the term for lesson, dars. Technically, a madrasa is an institution where lessons are imparted or, in other words, a school. In the Arabic-speaking world, the term applies to all sorts of schools, including both those that teach only the traditional Islamic subjects as well as those that are completely secularised and have no provision for religious education. In much of the non-Arabic speaking parts of Asia, however, the word is generally understood in a more restricted sense – as a school geared essentially to providing students with what is understood as Islamic education, although the ways in which this is conceived and its scope are widely divergent”.

² Noor, F. A., van Bruinessen, M., & Sikand, Y. (2008). *The madrasa in Asia: Political activism and transnational linkages* (p. 304). Amsterdam University Press.

providing only Islamic education. States also patronized Madrasas and funded them. The state funded Madrasas are known as Alia Madrasa.

Gradually, Madrasa education became less popular among Muslim community. As per the report of Sachar Committee on the economic situation of Muslims in India, only 4% of the total Muslim children enrolled for education are going in Madrasas. Moreover, these Madrasas are providing education to those children whose parents and guardians are not able to bear the economic burden of modern education. Thus, majority of children admitted Madrasas belong to the marginalized section of Muslim community. This choice is obvious because these institutions provide all other necessities apart from education such as free boarding and lodging along with dresses without charging any fees. All these facilities are managed through philanthropic support from the community itself. Another reason is that the parents of these poor children believe that after studying in these religious institutions their children would have promising future because they are likely to become **Hafiz, Alim, Mufti and Qaari**. Subsequently they would become a good source of their bread and butter for their future.³ Apart from this there is also a view that getting religious education will make them more obedient to a law of God and all their action will be according to the will of God and for God.⁴

There is a wider discourse on the relevance of Madrasas in Indian society in social sciences. The discourses cover both merits and demerits of the Madrasa education system (Zaman, 1999).⁵

³ Those students who memorise Quran are called Hafiz. Those Hafiz equipped with recitation techniques of Quran are called Qari. The students of Madrasas who passed Alimiat called Alims and passed Ifta called Mufti. Alim is simple graduate, Mufti is expert in jurisprudence.

⁴ Jafri. Tanweer, 'Modernization of Indian Madrasas',

http://www.irfi.org/articles/articles_1301_1350/modernization_of_indian_madarsas.htm

⁵ Zaman, M. Q. (1999). Religious education and the rhetoric of reform: The madrasa in British India and Pakistan. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 41(2), 294-323.

Those who supported Madrasa education believed that Madrasas played a key role of spreading Islamic education to the ordinary mass as well as to the elite with an objective to create knowledge based Islamic society (ibid.). These Madrasas are considered as instrumental in sustaining, preserving, promoting and transmitting the Islamic tradition over the generations. Moreover, Madrasas are also centres of social service, where knowledge of humanism and universal brotherhood is imparted and human values are taught. They are the nucleus of the cultural and educational life of Muslims (Hefner and Zaman, 2010).⁶

According to the **Sachar Committee report** “Madarsas, through which the Community ensures that its future generations acquire knowledge of Islam, have become a symbol of Muslim identity in India. Often they are looked upon with suspicion by the wider society, despite the fact that they are involved in providing religious education to the Muslim community”. On the other hand, those who support modern education believe that Madrasas need to be streamlined as centres of modern education (Zaman, 1999).⁷ The critics also believed that orthodox education system of Madrasas has repercussions on Indian society. Many students of Madrasas were implicated in terrorism, an alarming situation for Muslim society (Noor et.al, 2008).⁸ As the Sachar Committee report says “labeling of Madrasas as a den for terrorists is extremely worrisome for the Muslim community. Even though there has been no evidence to suggest that Madrasas are producing terrorists they are constantly under scrutiny. This exercise, even as it is insulting to the Community, has a detrimental and traumatic impact on the children studying in the Madrasas. It has been pointed out that the existence of Madrasas (though not as a substitute for regular schools) is

⁶ Hefner, R. W., & Zaman, M. Q. (Eds.). (2010). *Schooling Islam: The culture and politics of modern Muslim education*. Princeton University Press.

⁷ Zaman, M. Q. (1999). Religious education and the rhetoric of reform: The madrasa in British India and Pakistan. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 41(2), 294-323.

⁸ Noor, F. A., van Bruinessen, M., & Sikand, Y. (2008). *The madrasa in Asia: Political activism and transnational linkages* (p. 304). Amsterdam University Press.

necessary for Muslims as, apart from providing basic education, they serve as an important instrument of identity maintenance for the Community. Many a time Madrasas are the only educational option available to Muslim children, especially in areas where no schools have reached the Muslim masses. Very often children go to the Madrasas not out of choice but due to non-availability and inaccessibility of other schools, and a near absence of education in their mother tongue. Madrasas, where they operate are rendering useful service as far as literacy is concerned. However, there is an urgent need to recognize that a very small percentage of Muslim children actually attend Madrasa education”.

Apart from the above discourses and challenges faced by Madrasas, there is also socio-economic relevance of Madrasas. Madrasas are catering the economically backward class. In this context, the current study deals with the socio-economic impact and relevance of Madrasas the study is confined to understand the socio-economic aspects of Madrasa education under Bihar Madrasa Board. This chapter presents a brief outline of conceptual framework and objective of the study. It also discusses the evolution of Madrasas in India and its state in Bihar. The next section of this chapter deals with the conceptual framework. Thereafter, the objective and the methodology used to do this study are discussed. In the next section of this chapter, evolution and debates on Nisaab of Madrasa education is discussed. The discussion on historical evolution and current state of Madrasas is presented in the next section and this chapter gives an outline of chapters of the thesis.

1.1: Conceptual Framework

The study focuses on social inclusion of those educated in Madrasas. It also discusses the impact of modernization and mainstreaming the Madrasas in Bihar in particular modernization of

state funded Madrasas i.e. Alia Madrasas. In other words, the study focuses on the fact that how Madrasas play role in minimizing the process of exclusion of its students from mainstream job markets. Social exclusion relates to the alienation of certain people within a society. It is often connected to a person's social class, educational status, living standards, etc. and how these might affect access to various opportunities. It also applies to some degree to people with a disability, to minorities, rural women, and to the elderly. The problem of social exclusion is usually tied to that of equal opportunity, and those socially excluded are often marginalized. Social inclusion, in contrast to social exclusion, is affirmative action to change the circumstances and habits that lead to (or have led to) social exclusion. Social inclusion is, in fact, a mutually beneficial state for both the community and the individual. When people rely upon each other and the success of their interactions, that responsibility and interdependence creates a commitment to the social processes in a community (UNDESA, 2009).⁹

Further, bringing Madrasa education into the mainstream educational system through reforms can also help in social inclusion of Muslims. Upadhyay (2003) argues that whether Madrasa education has led to the decline of educational or economic position of Indian Muslims in present environment is a debatable issue.¹⁰ He however, concluded that Islam-centric teaching of Madrasas is not friendly to the job market in the contemporary world. These aspects of Madrasa education was widely discussed during British era as well. In this context, government funded Madrasas were established. These Madrasas are later adopted by the various state Madrasa board. In this research, I confined my studies on government funded Madrasas and its role in Muslim society. The objective of the study is to understand that whether these Madrasas are playing a role

⁹ Summit on social inclusion, visit, <https://www.un.org/development/desa/socialperspectiveondevelopment/issues/social-integration.html>

¹⁰ Upadhyay, R. (2003). Madrasa Education in India—Is it to Sustain Medieval Attitude among Muslims. *South Asia Analysis Group Follow*, 4-5.

in bringing its students into mainstream education and job market or not. The idea behind choosing Madrasas under Bihar Madrasa Education Board is the limited literature available on this in social sciences. To do this research, I selected four Madrasas from Darbhanga, Kishanganj and Patna districts of Bihar.

1.2: Objectives of Study

- To understand basic epistemological philosophy of the education imparted in the Madrasas of Bihar (Deobandi Madrasa).
- To study the differences in the academics outlook of the above three category of Madrasas.
- To study and assert the life activities of the students of madrasa while they are students.
- To examine the orientation of the students towards perusing of Higher Education.
- To examine the overall impact on the livelihood of Madrasas Students.

1.3: Methodology

The study uses both primary and secondary data for research.

- Secondary data was taken from Government Reports, Project Reports submitted to Ministries, Sachar Committee Recommendations, NGO brochures, Office Records of the Madrasas in Patna (Madrasa Shamsul Hoda), Darbhang, (Madrasa Qasimul Uloom Husania) Kishan Ganj, (Madrasa Anjuman Islamia Kishan Ganj) Books, Journals, Magazines, Newspapers and related Web Sites.
- Primary data was collected from respondents in the form of interviews/schedules (as the case may be). The respondents for the study would include a) senior and influential Community people (Sample Size: 100), b) Madarsa students from 3 Madarsas (Sample

Size: 30 x 3 = 90 to 100), and, c) Teachers teaching in the Madarsas (Sample Size: 6 x 3 = 18). 10 Boys + 5 Girls & (2 Vastania + Fauqania).

1.4: Discourses on Nisaab (Syllabus)

There are two types of Madrasas in the country as per the Nisaab they follow viz. 1) Nizamia and 2) Alia. Nizamia Madrasas are ‘traditional’ Madrasas that follow the Nisaab called the Darse-e-Nizami. The Dars-i-Nizami is a curriculum that was prepared in 18th century India by a scholar called Mulla Nizamuddin, who died in 1748. The Dars-i-Nizami derives its name from him. On the other hand, Alia Madrasas are ‘modern’ Madrasas and are relatively less in number- perhaps just a fifth of the total. Alia Madrasas follow syllabus approved by the government that include both traditional Islamic education and also modern education like Maths, Science and Social Sciences.

Traditional Madrasas that include institutions like Dar-ul-Uloom, Deoband, Jamiat-ul-Islah, the Jamiat-ul-Falah and the Nadwat-ul-Ulema, all in Uttar Pradesh, and several madrasas in southern India, as well as Madrasas belonging to different sects like ‘Deobandi’, ‘Ahl-e Hadith’ and ‘Ahle Sunnat Wal Jamaa’t’. These Madrasas follow the Dars-i-Nizami. Some of these Madrasas have introduced ‘modern’ subjects, and some even combine the regular ‘secular’ syllabus along with ‘religious’ studies.¹¹

Generally people think that Madrasas impart education on pure theology and they do not teach secular subjects. Madrasas are repeatedly blamed to be centres of dogmatism, orthodoxy and intolerance. These are construed mainly in the cases of Nizamia Madrasas. However, Madrasas

¹¹Interview of Maulana Dr Waris Mazhari of MANUU Hyderabad on Indian Madrasas, August 28, 2014 in Article by Victor Edwin, Community.Scoop

like Dar-ul-Uloom in Deoband, Nadwat-ul-Ulema in Lucknow etc. also teach subjects such as Languages, Logic, History, Elocution, Philosophy, Scholasticism, Geography, Metaphysics, Arithmetic, Biography, Anthropology, Civics, Rhetoric, Philology, Calligraphy and all sciences. These subjects are also taught in modern institutions. The only difference is that in Madrasas these subjects are taught in Urdu and Arabic which are known as the language of Muslims. In this context, *Dars-i-Nizamia* plays a vital role in maintaining socio-cultural identity of Muslims in the country. In fact, had there been no Madrasas, the very identity of Muslims in India would have been in doubt.¹² In addition, Madrasas like *Dar-ul- Uloom Deoband* introduced the teachings of Sanskrit language dating back to more than a hundred year. In today's world those who support the concepts of Madrasa and those who oppose it, need to get a satisfactory answer to it. This is discussed in later in this chapter.

Dars-i-Nizami has deficiencies too. The students after passing out from these Madrasas are mainly working as **Imams** and **Muazzins**. Therefore, Dars-i-Nizami is unable to bring students of Madrasas into mainstream socio-economic activities. There are several Nizamia Madrasas recognized by government at both central and state level. These Madrasas also teach sectarian ideologies.

Alam (2008) focuses on contemporary Madrasa education and discusses that the Nizamia system is narrowly sectarian. They are catering to various denominational identities with Islam.¹³ The training that students of these Madrasas receive leaves them simply unaware of the complexities and demands of the outside world, including the changing conditions and concerns

¹²Curriculum of Indian madrasas: need for reform, The Milli Gazette, Vol.6, No.04, MG122, 16-28 February 2005

¹³ Alam, A. (2008). The enemy within: madrasa and Muslim identity in North India. *Modern Asian Studies*, 605-627.

of the society specially women (Sikand, 2010).¹⁴ In contemporary India, nature and orientation of Madrasa education have largely remained theocentric. Considering the need to modernize the Madrasa education, Engineer (2010) argues that the existing institutions of Madrasas can be modernized and used as dynamic vehicles for spreading modern education.¹⁵

There are deficiencies in the entire madrasa system (i.e both Nizamia and Alia) and the sooner these are looked into and adapted to the changed situation, the better it would be for the Muslim community. Some of the problems include: absence of a centralized agency to exercise control on all Madrasas; some madrasas follow their own designated syllabus which is a hindrance for smooth functioning and standardising of quality education; all small Madrasas should be affiliated to one university and should adopt its syllabus; there is a lack of modern teaching methodology in about all big madrasas; it is felt that there is an absence of the ability to cope with the challenges of modern world in its alumni; there is lack of research etc. Thus, this proposed study pertaining to the performance of Madrasas, focuses on their condition and as to how they can help in creating a socially inclusive society.

Dars-i- Alia, in contemporary period, adopted modernisation of Madrasas as the government funds flowed into these institutions. It adopted both traditional and modern Nisaab (Syllabus). The government also supported this system. In Bihar, government has already recognized the degrees and certificates of Madrasas under Madrasa Education Board, Patna. At times, students of Alia Madrasa in Bihar performed well and got government jobs. The Alumni of Madrasa Islamia Shmas-ul-Hoda, Patna include teachers, academicians and bureaucrats, etc. However, today Madrasas funded by the government of Bihar under Madrasa Education Board are

¹⁴ Sikand, Y. (2010). Deoband's Fatwas on Women. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 15-17.

¹⁵ Engineer, A. A. (2010). Secularism in India—A Minority Perspective. In *State and Secularism: Perspectives From Asia* (pp. 169-183).

facing several challenges encompassing provision of quality education and reducing number of drop outs. Another challenge that the Alia Madrasas are facing is the alignment of its purpose as per the objective of Nizamia Madrasas. In most cases, purpose of these Madrasas is almost akin to the purposes of Nizamia Madrasa.

It is quite apparent that the purpose of these religious institutions is to safeguard the religion of Islam. Their very essences therefore in contemporary situation are to teach ***Quran*** as well other Islamic teachings as per ***Nisaab***. Today, there are Madrasas which also adopted modern syllabus (Sikand, 2007).¹⁶ Some Ulemas are also considering the need of time to modernize Madrasas in order to bring their graduates in the inclusion process of Indian socio-economic and cultural ambit.

1.5: Stages of the Evolution of Madrasa Education in India

Muslim rulers of India paved the way for its initial pattern and development of Madrasa Education in India. They were initially established in the region of Sindh and Multan by the elites of the Muslim community. Subsequently with the passage of time, it spread to the whole of the northern region.

From late 12th century, a rise in the number of Madrasas took place while all of its establishment were under the supervision of Muslim rulers of that time. The Mughal ruler Babar himself established and classified various departments concerning the administration. He also promoted Madrasas during 1526- 1530. In the later Mughal era, Jahangir and Aurangzeb granted huge area of lands (Jagir) towards the establishment and betterment of the Madrasas as well as they even financially upgraded it from all aspects including the scholarships granted to students

¹⁶ Sikand, Y. (2007). Reforming the Indian Madrassas: Contemporary Muslim Voices, *INSANIA*, 12: 3, 420-453.

(Rezavi, 2007). These aspects and attempts lasted until the end of the 18th century.¹⁷ The last Mughal ruler Bahadur Shah Zafar supported and endorsed Madrasa by giving state patronage to various educational establishments in Delhi. During Muslims period more than thousand Madrasas were established and were thoroughly funded by the state authorities. The day to day needs of the rulers and the community at large relating to their religious, cultural, administrative and social needs were duly fulfilled and satisfied by the great scholars and other religious leaders produced by the Madrasas. These Madrasas had no concern with politics but the patronage of rulers provided them with an indirect role to play in the establishment of state and its legal authorities. Madrasas also played a major role in making of state policy as well. In addition to religious norms and culture, these institutions also prepared students to qualify as administrators and policy makers where it gave them a video role which was played in the society. Therefore the Madrasas played important roles in socio-economic affairs of the people.

The British era overwhelmingly changed the structure of Indian education system of which Madrasas were integral part. As a result, leaders or Ulemas of Muslim community felt alienated and established Madrasas for imparting Islamic education to Muslims. This was the stage when Madrasas adopted a different root and did not accept state interventions.

In contrast, to get penetrated in Indian society, in particular Muslim society, British government established Madrasas to not only impart modern education to Muslims but also to get education from them in order to resolve issues of Muslims within the framework of Islamic tradition. Thus, the two types of syllabus were emerged viz. Niazmia and Alia-discussed earlier in this chapter.

¹⁷ Rezavi, S. A. N. (2007, January). The organization of education in Mughal India. In *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* (Vol. 68, pp. 389-397). Indian History Congress.

In 1947, India not only got independence but also petitioned on religious grounds. The enmity between communities owing to partition of the country still continued to hamper the smooth functioning of Madrasas in the country. State funded Madrasas are continued to be affected by State interventions whereas Madrasas not funded by state considered themselves independent of any state interventions. As a result, modernisation of Dars-i-Nizami did not happen. It increased the conflict between state and Madrasas resulting in neglect of those Madrasas funded by state by the government also. After the emergence of extremism in India and the world, Madrasas are targeted by the government as well as other non-government agencies. This is the period of crisis in Madrasa education system. Thus, the evolutionary stages are categorised as stage of patronisation, stage of centre of learning, stage of challenges and stage of crisis.

1.5.1: Stage of Patronization: The Sultans or Muslim rulers patronized Ulemas in order to legitimize their rule in the country (Sikand, 2005).¹⁸ This practice was prevalent in other parts of the Muslim world at that time and even today it assumes great importance for ruling class in several countries. Muslim rulers who conquered any land or acquire political power through force after the end ***Khilafat-e-Rashida*** was legalized by the existing Ulemas or religious scholars of that time rather the ordinary people themselves. It is obvious that once the ruler won the political power he could sustain his power only when it was legitimized by legal means. Ulemas were experts on Sharia and Fiq. Therefore, they became legal means for rulers to legitimize their rule. This is one of the major reasons that Ulemas become so powerful in the Muslim world. Ulemas gave Fatwa and interpret Sharia which suited the rulers. In return the rulers endowed them vast properties including land. They used these lands as a place for imparting education later turned into institution

¹⁸ Sikand, Y. (2005). The Indian madrassahs and the agenda of reform. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 25(2), 219-248.

known as Madrasas (Zaman, 2010).¹⁹ In this way, the Ulemas enjoyed close relations with the state authority and most Muslim rulers kept up the precedence of ruling by the Sharia for the ordinary public on the advice of these Ulemas. However, hardly any Muslim rulers in India run their administration on purely Sharia. That is why many of these rulers are remembered for having openly violated the Sharia themselves. Such incidences were often overlooked by the state Ulemas (Welch and Crane, 1983).²⁰ The Ulemas who were associated with the judicial court acted as catalysts to provide legitimacy to such act of the rulers even if they openly violate the Sharia (Sikand, 2005).²¹ In return the ruler lavished them with landed estates and high post in the bureaucracy. As a result the close relationship between them paved the way for corruption which proved fatal to the existing kingdom in a future. This patronization stage continued in India till the consolidation of British rule.

Such status of the Ulemas flourished because of their strong hold on Islamic jurisprudence like fiq, Quran and Hadiths. Gradually, the Ulemas became guardian and front line custodian of Islamic values and culture compelling them to give foremost emphasis on the teaching and educating people about religious scripture and other theology. It was a kind of obsession towards religious teaching because they saw it a sole and the most powerful tool to keep their power and status intact. Thus, the religious institution which were administered and controlled by Ulemas proved to be the source of knowledge and education in the medieval period of India.

1.5.2: Stage of Learning and Ideological Construction: Since the Muslim ruler was committed to uphold the Sharia, with a view to maintain the supremacy of Islam in the sub-continent, they

¹⁹ Zaman, M. Q. (2010). *The ulama in contemporary Islam: custodians of change* (Vol. 38). Princeton University Press.s

²⁰ Welch, A., & Crane, H. (1983). The Tughluqs: master builders of the Delhi sultanate. *Muqarnas*, 123-166.

²¹ Sikand, Y. (2005). The Indian madrassahs and the agenda of reform. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 25(2), 219-248.

facilitated the provision of such education to consolidate their power. For this purpose, the educational administration of the Madrasas were administered by powerful Ulemas and also accommodated other basic education in their curriculum. This was done in necessity for the strengthening of the empire and its security. In this process, Madrasas also introduced science and defense related courses in its curriculum.

As it is evident that during the region of Sultan Sikander Lodi of Delhi, two brothers from Multan Shaik Abdullah and Shaik Azizulla, introduced new books in the Madrasas on various rational sciences such as Logic, Mathematics, Literature and Philosophy (Sikand, 2005). These subjects were considered essential for aspiring civil servants. At the end of the 17th century an Iranian Shia scholar Mir Fatehullah Shirazi joined Akbar's Court who was scholar of rational science. He launched books on ethics, the natural science, astronomy, physiognomy, mathematics and medicine. The teachings of these rational sciences in educational institution reflect the behavior and ideology of educational administration. The administrative attitude of Madrasas was pragmatic and progressive at that time. This was acknowledged by Shirazi through his significant inventions, like portable cannon, instrument for cleaning gun barrels and a self-driver corn mill. This is the reason that the rational science received considerable importance by Akbar but it simultaneously made Sunni Ulema unhappy.

The Sunni Ulemas resisted the domination of rational science in curriculum of Madrasas. These Ulemas were of the view that the ideological dimension of Fatehullah Shirazi as per the Islamic jurisprudence. Shirazi's administration of Madrasa was perceived as a clear deviation from the original objective of Madrasa education. Another reason of this opposition by the influential section of the Ulemas was Akbar's policies towards religion. They viewed them un-Islamic. Moreover, they thought that community at large was drifting away from fundamental practices

and teachings of Islam. They also thought that there was a need to return back to the path of the Prophet as laid down in the Quran and Hadiths. Among the most well-known Ulema who led the opposition to Akbar's policies was a Nakshbandi Sufi, popularly known as Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (1564-1625). He urged Muslims to follow strictly the prophetic model and strongly combated what he saw as severe influences of Hindu and Shia practices and beliefs among his fellow Sunnis (Sikand, 2005).²²

The tussle of ideological construction of educational administration continued till the end of the Mughal rule in India and it is still continuing in different forms. Aurangzeb became the Sultan of Mughl Empire who had a different mindset. He was a champion of Sharia. He was strongly influenced by the *Hanafi* jurisprudence. Aurangzeb preserved Fatwas issued by the Mufties. During his time a very strong curriculum emerged in Madrasa education system. Aurangzeb offered a mansion as a reward to Mullah Qutbuddin (a mansion belongs to European merchant and known as *Firangi Mahal*).

Firangi Mahal established itself into leading Centre of Islamic learning under the administration of Qutbuddin's third Son Mullah Nizamuddin. He was credited for preparing syllabus of Madrasas. And because of this, a very famous concept emerged in the historical landmark of madrasas education that is Dars-i-Nizami. It continues to be a basic structure of educational administration in almost all Madrasas in South Asia. Interestingly, the Dars-i-Nizami was heavily biased in favour of rational science because of Nizamuddin's own training in the tradition of Mir Fatehulah Shirazi (Khan, 2015).²³ Subjects like logic, philosophy and mathematics

²² Sikand, Y. (2005). *Bastions of the believers: Madrasas and Islamic education in India*. Penguin Books India.

²³ Khan, I. (2015). Trends in Muslim Education in India: An Analysis of the Intellectual Traditions of Madrasah Farangi Mahal, Lucknow, and Madrasah Rahimiyah, Delhi. *Journal of Asian Civilizations*, 38(1).

occupied an important place. The continuance dominance of rational science in the Madrasas education system, even at the time of Aurangzeb, led to the opposition of this by another noted scholar name Shah Waliullah. He advocated for transmitted science and along with it the teaching of Sahi Hadith which was almost unknown at that time to the people. He is considered by all Sunnies as pioneer of Islamic reform who insisted that the gate of *Ijtihad* had never been closed and that to meet changing demand, fiq had to be dynamic. He was not totally opposed to Sufism but lay emphasis on direct approach to Quran and Hadith for guidance. He was critical of some of the practices of Sufism but not entirely discarded them.

It seems to be clear that this stage of Madrasa education marked by different experiment through different political development. Intra community differences also surfaced during this stage-putting a severe impact on the Madrasas and the Ulemas. But one thing appears to be significant that in all those years Madrasa become Centre for learning. All kind of education and knowledge were imparted here, that's why during the reign of Akbar even Hindu and others enrolled themselves to integrate them in the mainstream life i.e. socio-economic activities of the people job market. It could be said that Madrasas were equivalent to modern academic institutions.

1.5.3: Stage of Challenges: The end of 18th century saw a gradual decline of Mughal Empire and new power took over the realm of affairs in different part of India. Different regional power particularly Non-Muslims like Jats, Sikhs and Marathas were dominating in different part of the so called Mughal Empire. Along with it, the British East India Company was emerging as a colonizer and took control over Bengal during latter half of the 18th century. For the Ulemas who were enjoying the patronage of the Mughal court felt threatened with this development. They saw the power slipping in the hand of Non-Muslims, therefore, the Ulemas were no more regarded as

the sole guarantor of the supremacy of the Islam through the Muslim rulers. Another reason for this was that the most of the Ulemas were from **Ashraf**, and therefore, they deliberately ignored the Islamization of **Ajlaf** were from socially backward class and most of them were converted local Muslims. Due to this attitude of Ashraf Ulemas the ordinary Muslims did not regard them as their custodian and they did not see any change for themselves with change in power structure (Khan, 1956, Falahi,, 2007 and Anwar 2005).²⁴ This development led to the activism of Ulemas in which they propagated that, this situation is the result of ignorance towards the religious text and **Sunna** of the Prophet (Kamal, 2019).²⁵ They emphasized that it is not enough to be called Muslim by name but rather one should discard all Non-Muslim practices and follow the true path of Quran ad hadith (Falahi, 2007). Finally during this stage, the Ulemas claimed that they were the sole representative of the Muslim Community.

During this period the Ulemas emerged as crusaders to revive the Islamic empire in the country. Their objective shifted from spreading all kind of education in the religious seminaries to prepare people politically to confront British rule. During these activities Intra-Muslim dispute emerged because many dominant scholars simply gave their call to abandon all traditional practices such as practices relating to **Sufi Islam** (Jackson, 2013).²⁶ They advocated following strict interpretation of Quran and Hadith. This was also a result of anti-colonial movement in Saudi Arabia known as *Wahhabi* Movement under the leadership of Abdul Wahhab. Indian Ulemas were also influenced by this movement. As a result of this, sectarian propaganda and teaching became

²⁴ Falahi, M. A . (2007), Hindustan men Zaat Paat aur Musalman, Al Qazi, New Delhi, Anwar, A (2005), Masawat ki Jung, Indian Social Institute, New Delhi

Khan, Y. H. (1956). The educational system in medieval India. *Islamic culture*, 30(2).

²⁵ Kamal, A. (2019), Farooqi Sahab ke Liye Manto, Tahree number 2, Istefsaar, 20-21, Jaipur

²⁶ Jackson, W. K. (2013). A Subcontinent's Sunni Schism: The Deobandi-Barelvi Rivalry and the Creation of Modern South Asia., Dissertation, Syracuse University, available at https://surface.syr.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1101&context=hst_etd

centre stage of Madrasa education. Ideological deconstruction of educational administration in India was the major debate at that time. Leading Islamic scholars like *Shah Ismaiel Shaheed* and *Shah Abdul Aziz* advocated this ideology of strict interpretation of Quran and Hadith. On the other hand, followers of Ahmad Raza Khan Bareilvi emphasised on Sufi Islam. Some of the followers of *Ismaiel Shaheed* created *Ahl-i-Hadith* tradition and some of his followers created new seminary in Deoband to be known as Deobandis at later stage. The seminary at Deoband is popularly known as Dar-ul-Uloom. Ulemas and founders of this institution were considered as flexible and more pragmatic against those belonged to Ahl-i-Hadith. Both the schools were influenced by the thought of *Shah Waliullah Dehlavi*.

Another setback which the Madrasa education got during this period was downsizing of financial support. The British as soon as took control of Bengal administration, introduced land revenue system known as Zamindari system. This system systematically affected the funding of Madrasas (Ara, 2004).²⁷ The British also introduced their own system of education in India. Therefore, Madrasas faced dual crisis of funding as well as parallel institutions by the government. Thus, for Madrasas it became a challenge to identify what to teach and how to facilitate education. So the challenges were from many front, to the education administration of Madrasa like challenge from political upheaval, ideological clashes among Ulema, methodological critics and moreover economic and financial support from the state was total withdrawn

1.5.4: Stage of Crisis: This stage was marked by reaction among the Ulemas who were in no way ready to accept the uncritical adoption of Western Education. Due to this Dar-ul-Uloom in particular put focus on traditional subject but at the same time it absorbed some of the features from the modern institution like division of students in classes, attendance register and written

²⁷ Ara, A. (2004). Madrasas and Making of Muslim Identity in India. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 34-38.

examination²⁸. The aim was to integrate the fundamental and ever transforming world of modern knowledge. The institution was founded with the realization that the change was the essential ingredient for the success of Muslims in modern India (Ara, 2004).²⁹ But this success should not come at the cost of the dilution of the traditional knowledge rather the affirmation of the dynamic nature of the faith (ibid).

This stage was considered to be the stage of crisis because the Madrasas and the Ulemas faced serious containment from government prior to independence and thereafter. During the suppression of 1857 revolt thousands of the Ulemas were massacred and martyred. The Ulemas at large realized that the Muslim no longer in India could expel the British with arm struggle but had to counter them intellectually. The crisis was mainly ideological because on the one hand the Ulemas were desperate to adopt pure Islamic teaching in their Madrasas in order to resist the Western liberal values and on the other hand they had to encounter the addiction of western life style having bases of pure materialism. They were had to counter and had to give answer to the significant development happening in the society i.e. material comfort and pleasure. The West was able to achieve this owing to scientific development industrial revolution. The Ulemas of the view that materialism of the West was self-destructive and therefore, the Madrasas should focus predominantly on the religious education. This outcome was actually a kind of intellectual defeat on the part of the Ulemas as posed by science and literature. In fact on the basis of their belief that God will bring to an end to this Civilization because of their anti-God approach and bankruptcy in

²⁸ David Emmanuel Singh, The Independent Madrasa of India: Darul-uloom- deoband and Nadvat-ul-Ulema Lucknow

²⁹ Ara, A. (2004). Madrasas and Making of Muslim Identity in India. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 34-38.

spiritual and other human values. The stage of crisis had intellectual as well as ideological dimension. This still continues to haunt even today and is issue of debate among Islamic scholars.

1.6: The State and Madrasas in India

After the downfall of Mughal Empire, Madrasas faced both financial and administrative challenges. The British rule instituted a system of administration affecting education system in the country and changed its entire profile. The education system introduced by the British was in accordance with their own culture and understanding while considering all other social and cultural aspects to be inferior and subordinate to their system. Thus, they not only came with new administration but also started to dominate socio-cultural lives of Indian people. Therefore, the British came up with the syllabus of educational institutions having characteristics of 'religious neutrality'. These included government schools, colleges and universities. Religious teaching was excluded from the syllabus.

Owing to the involvement of Ulemas in the revolt of 1857, Madrasas came under the surveillance and scrutiny from the colonial power. In fact, scrutiny of Madrasas was the result of its identification as the hub planning against the British rather as a religious institution. It is widely believed that the religious scholars engaged the Muslim masses in the fight for Indian Independence. Many Muslim scholars came out with the idea of re-establishing Madrasas and elucidated its importance in order to restore the lost glory of the Islamic era. At the start of its rule, the British were unaware of the culture and civilization of the Hindus and the Muslims and aimed at changing their mindset through education. One of the important methods of understanding the mindset of these two communities was learning through their religious preachers like the Hindu Pandits and the Muslim Qazis.

With the objectives to learn the mindset of Muslims, **Warren Hastings**, the then Governor General, established the Calcutta Madrasa College, known as Madrasa Alia in 1781 for the study of not only Mohammadan Law but also for the study of other Sciences (Bandyopadhyay, 2002).³⁰ Later, when the British gained a foothold in the Indian subcontinent, they made English a compulsory subject and also made the language a compulsory feature in the Courts of Law in India. They also emphasized the importance of Christian missionaries and encouraged them wholeheartedly. The importance of the Madrasa system automatically reduced and eventually started to lose its credibility and relevance. The East India Company in 1828 passed orders directing the authorities to acquire all the Waqf property of Madrasas. Lord Harding in the year 1844 passed orders to the government institutions for not accepting the students from Arabic and Persian Madrasas as their employees (Ali, 1971).³¹ The jobs of Qazis at that time were undertaken by the government which also came under its purview. The Qazis were replaced by the British judges having English legal acumen. In this context, the students of Madrasas also lost their jobs as British establishment started their journey in the Indian system.

The patrons of the Madrasas started to lose their social, economic, political and financial powers leading to a major negative impact on them. A fear was conceived due to the actions of the British on the Madrasas. Therefore, the Ulemas came out with various techniques as their responses against British suppression in order to protect the existence of Madrasas and religious identity of Muslims. The Ulemas started to establish new Madrasas in huge numbers in order to counter the aggressive policy in the Northern India especially in the state of Uttar Pradesh. This movement was led by the Ashraf reflecting the fact that they tried to regain the lost glory through

³⁰ Bandyopadhyay, D. (2002). Madrasa education and the condition of Indian Muslims. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 1481-1484

³¹ Ali, S. M. (1971). MUSLIM EDUCATION IN BENGAL 1837-1937. *Islamic Studies*, 10(3), 181-199.

these Madrasas. They also tried to gain social and political power through establishing Madrasas (Bandhopadhya, 2002).

The little surviving relationship between the Madrasas and the state became worse when the Ulemas involved in establishing new and large number of Madrasas collided and vehemently opposed the idea of introduction of Western education in India (Zaman, 1999).³² This hostility brought almost a complete end and broke the last thread of connection between the State and Madrasas. As Sikand (2002) notes that when the physical jihad (war) against the British failed then it got substituted with "educational jihad" by the Ulemas.³³ The new educational jihad aimed at isolating itself from the modern worldly education and affairs of the world (Duniyavi Taleem). The Ulemas only promoted and allowed religious education (Deeni Taleem) in order to preserve Islamic culture. However, this process actually ended all the means of acquiring modern knowledge to the Madrasa students causing exclusionary process of its students from job market.

Among the newly established Madrasas Dar-ul-Uloom, Deoband was one of them with the aim and objectives confined to religious education gained popularity among masses.³⁴ It was

³² Zaman, M. Q. (1999). Religious education and the rhetoric of reform: The Madrasa in British India and Pakistan. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 41(2), 294-323.

³³ Sikand, Y. (2002). *The origins and development of the Tablighi jama'at: (1920-2000); a cross-country comparative study*. Orient Longman.

³⁴ The Principles of Darul Uloom Deoband as highlighte by M. A. Ansari in his paper Modern Education in Madrsas: A Perspective from Darul Uloom Deoband, are:

- To teach the Holy Qur'an, the Qur'anic exegesis, the Hadith, the Islamic beliefs and their dialectical interpretation, and all the necessary and useful allied subjects;
- To provide complete Islamic information to the Muslims; and to render service to Islam through spiritual instruction, guidance and preaching.
- To give training in Islamic actions and morals and to infuse the Islamic spirit in the lives of the students.
- To preach and disseminate Islam and to preserve and defend the religion; to propagate Islam through writing and speech; and to cultivate in the Muslims, through education and preaching the morals, actions and sentiments as those of "the best of decades" (Khayr al-qurun) and the pious ancestors.
- To keep off and avoid the influences of the government and to maintain the freedom of thought and knowledge.

established in the year 1866 in the state of Uttar Pradesh. Later on, Madarsat-ul-Uloom or Mohammadan Anglo Oriental College in Aligarh (now known as Aligarh Muslim University) was established in 1875³⁵ and Nadwat-ul-Ulema, Lucknow was established in 1892. Anglo Mohamedan College introduced new features of modern education with a blend of English culture. The Nadwat-ul-Ulema adopted a path that bridged the gap between Mohamedan College and Dar-ul-Uloom. Considering Islam to be an eternal religion, new pattern of syllabus and curriculum got introduced in these institutions in the realm of Aqli Uloom (rational sciences). Thus, Madrasas chose modern means of education and adopted indirect means of new ways of teachings enabling the community to receive modern education (Sikand 2002).³⁶

The newly established Madrasas rejected support granted by the state whether it be in terms of financial support or political support because they feared that this would not only affect their system but also perceived a serious interference that could damage its whole and sole essence of education. Thus, this led to the complete breakdown and end of that relationship between the state and the Madrasas. Now the Madrasas establishment started to look towards the Muslim community for its funding and running of daily expenditures. Even today, majority of the Madrasas are funded by the community itself. These Madrasas are run based on Nizamia curriculum.

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- To establish Arabic schools at different places for the dissemination of the religious sciences and to affiliate them to the Dar al-Uloom.

³⁵In 1877, Sir Syed founded the Muhammadan Anglo Oriental College in Aligarh and patterned the college after Oxford and Cambridge universities that he had visited on a trip to England. His objective was to build a college in tune with the British education system but without compromising its Islamic values. Sir Syed's son, Syed Mahmood, who was an alumnus of Cambridge prepared a proposal for an independent university to the "Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College Fund Committee" upon his return from England in 1872. This proposal was adopted and subsequently modified. Syed Mahmood continued to work along with his father in founding the college (Available at AMU website, <https://www.amu.ac.in/amuhistory.jsp>)

³⁶ Sikand, Y. (2002). Islamic Perspectives on Liberation and Dialogue in Contemporary India. *Studies in Interreligious Dialogue*, 12(1), 75-97.

In the contemporary times, Madrasas in India are facing challenges at various levels. Madrasas are being attacked from both state and media. Therefore, its social, financial and moral position is precarious. On the financial front, funding of Madrasas is not only blocked by the state itself but foreign funding is also hampered by states in one or the other ways. Their clear aim and objective is to confine the Muslims inside their boundaries so that they cannot progress and witness advancement in the Modern world along with preserving its identity and culture. Therefore, it becomes important for Ulemas to decide as to whether they want to tweak the existing pattern of these Madrasas as per the need of modern education or to continue with the old orthodox ideas.

This aforementioned question appears to be very pertinent. It is again reaching at a balanced position between state interference and modern needs. India is home to both small and large Madrasas. These can be used as learning centres for spreading education among poor section of Muslim society. When one looks at the enormous number of Madrasas in India, one realizes that there is a dire need to train its students not only to serve in mosques and Madrasas but also in the modern job markets. At the same time, the government must pay attention to Madrasas with the objective to support it financially. These Madrasas are economically cost effective for education. Expenditures incurred on its graduates and post-graduates are very low when compared with other modern educational institution. This is also true that majority of graduates and post graduates from Madrasas are employed in mosques and Madrasas. These places are not paying well. It is therefore, a challenge before the community itself. As of now, mosques and Madrasas are funded by Muslim community by way of offering ***Zakat and Fitra***.

After independence, education among Muslims was hampered both by the state's policy and also by the attitudes of the Ulemas towards modern education. As a result, their condition

became worse as compared to any other community. This is also a fact that the community is not facing extreme poverty. However, illiteracy is high amongst Muslims. Therefore, special attention is needed to spread education among children. To this end, the community needs to make Madrasas financially independent or self-reliant.

In recent years, Madrasas have used the latest technology and innovative methods albeit limited to teaching Islamic studies. The degrees provided by these madarsas and religious institutions are not recognized by the mainstream colleges and universities. Although there are some exceptions like Aligarh Muslim University, Jamia Milia Islamia, Hamdard University and recently Jawahar Lal Nehru University have accepted and recognized the madarsa degrees but that also has been done up to a limited scope where only students of Arabic and Islamic studies are permitted to take admission while the rest still suffer from the non-recognition of degrees.

1.7: Masaliks and Issues of Social Inclusion

The curriculum used in Madrasas reflects their respective ideology and the school of thought. Madrasas turned into a centre to propagate the sectarian jurisprudence and ideology. These Madrasas play a critical role in creating an ambience for ***Maslaks and Taqleed of Maslaks***. Moreover, Madrasas do not follow a common set of standard for their education system. The curriculum or the texts or the number of years spent in order to achieve a degree vary from Madrasa to Madrasa or centre to centre or Maslaks to Maslaks.

The differences of sects and variations in Muslim school of thoughts have led to negative remarks and damage to the students in terms of gaining knowledge (Ahmed, 1990, Khan et al, 2003). Naheed (2007) expressed sorrow where the students due to these unending differences are divided among themselves. This has also blocked their ways of reading books of one Madrasa

which cannot be taught in the other Madrasa. This is making their students conservative and also widening the differences. The updation of the syllabus, curriculum and the pedagogy has in recent times become a much debated issue not only inside the Madrasa system but also outside its arena. Therefore, many religious educationists and scholars have supported the idea of modernising the curriculum through the help of the state and its authorities where even more rational advancement procedure could be brought into these Institutes which will eventually upgrade its students' career and their prospects. The sectarian way of teaching is not only promoting exclusion of students of Madrasas but also compelling them to adopt orthodox methods. This has also affected education of Muslim girls.

1.8: Coverage of the Study

There are several studies undertaken on the issue of Madrasa education in India covering states like Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Assam and Bihar. States like West Bengal, Assm and Bihar have high concentration of Muslim population. In Bihar, both government funded and Nizamia Madrasas are functioning. Bihar Madrasa Education Board is an important institution regulating Madrasa education in Bihar funded by the government of Bihar. Government has undertaken several affirmative action programmes for modernising these Madrasas. Moreover, degrees obtained from these Madrasas are recognised for government jobs. Looking at the importance of Madrasa education in Bihar, the current study is an attempt to undertake research on the issue of social inclusion of the students of Madrasas mainly functioning under Bihar Madrasa Education Board. As we know that these Madrasas under the board are operating on the basis of modernised curriculum. The mainstream curriculum has the potential to forward advancement at the community level through education and government support. The present study provides a detailed

debates on both Alia and Nizamia system. However, the research is limited to Madrasas affiliated to state government's education board.

In order to carry out the study, a Madrasa from Kishanganj was chosen. Kishanganj is one of the Muslim dominated districts in India. Other two Madrasas are from Darbhanga districts. These two Madrasas were established soon after the independence and imparted education in Muslim dominated areas. Madrasa Shams-ul-Hoda Islamia, Patna was also chosen for the study. It is the oldest Madrasa established and recognised by the government of Bihar. Most importantly, alumni of Madrasa Shams-ul-Hoda Islamia, Patna were able to reach several academic and administrative posts. The current study also carried out primary survey of students and teachers of these Madrasas.

1.9: Justification of the Selection of the Problem

Madrasa education is a matter of debate among not only academicians but also among politicians. The question of mainstreaming Madrasa education and its students is the policy matter of both state and central governments. In recent years, governments have taken some harsh steps by removing government funding to Madrasas. In Assam, all the Madrasas under Madrasa Education Board of the State of Assam were planned to be converted into schools by the government. These steps are challenging for the Muslim community. Madrasa board was established to facilitate both religious and modern education to Muslim community. But the steps like those of the government of Assam has the potential to deprive Muslims of such opportunities. Under such circumstances, it is essential to undertake study on government funded Madrasa education and the process of social inclusion of the stakeholders of such Madrasas. In the context of Bihar, there is scarcely any research done earlier. In fact, academic debates are lacking on

account of Madrasa Board and its performance. There must be an open discussion over how these Madrasas are fulfilling the expectations of the Muslim community. This justifies the selection of the topic of my research.

1.10: Chapters

Chapter 01 deals with the historical evolution of Madarsa education in India with special reference to Bihar. It also brings out the contemporary relevance of Madarsa education and debates on it. **Chapter 02** provides a brief review of literature and identification of research gaps on the debates on Madarsa education in social sciences. It also presents discussions on the state led modernization and control on Madarsa education in the country. This literature review suggested that limited research has been undertaken on the state of madarsa education in Bihar. **Chapter 03** attempts an overview of the state of Madarsa education under Bihar Madarsa education board, Patna. It presents the discourse on state intervention and formation of modernized syllabus for Madarsas financed by the government of Bihar. **Chapter 04** presents a brief introduction of methodology adopted for fields study and reasons behind selection of the identified institutions and stakeholders. The chapter also highlights the major findings of the field study. **Chapter 05** deals with the conclusion of the entire study and some recommendations.

1.11: Contributions

The advent and establishment of madrassa in India has led to the bigger role which the nation has played at a universal level. India has not only made its mark abroad but a huge numbers of people have been hired from all over the world from madrasa background in order to fill specific vacancies which no other branch of study anywhere in the world has been able to accomplish. The concept of madrasa education has opened a way for the poorest of poor class where a person who

can't eat properly can easily enrol in a madrasa where she will not only get food to eat but will also get proper basic education. Such huge 'opportunities' have been provided by these madrasas which have fulfilled the dreams of a people who lived barely to stitch the body and soul together.

On this basis, the proposed study would help in understanding the role of Madarsa education as a means of making a socially-inclusive society both for the boys and girls. It will help in getting acquainted with the performance of Madarsas in Darbhanga district of Bihar and in identifying the problems and limitations associated with the Madarsa education system. The study will also help in understanding the nuances of the curriculum, quality of teaching, participation of girls/women and their educational and socio-economic upliftment and the employability or higher education opportunities for the graduates.

1.12: Delimitations and Conclusion

The chapter provides an introduction to the objective of the study and also a brief outline of Madrasa education and its historical development. The chapter also highlights the brief outline of the thesis. It also brings out the limitation and contribution of the study in social sciences. The limitation of the study is that it includes only those Madrasas for field survey which are funded by the government and regulated under the aegis of Bihar Madrasa Education Board, Patna. There is a need for coverage of those Madrasas not funded by the government to understand the system holistically.

Chapter 2

Madrasa Education: Debate on Early Concerns and Contemporary Challenges

2.0: Introduction

Doing research needs extensive review of literature. In this context, the ongoing research must take advantage of the knowledge base of the already completed research on a given research objective. Essentially, any ongoing research needs bases of work done earlier. In other words, research is impossible to be taken in isolation. Being bereft of ideas expressed by other researchers may lead to problematic conclusions. Therefore, a careful review of literature is essential for doing research. Hanson.et.al (2005) points out that review of literature belongs to the careful analysis of existing ideas expressed as research papers, books and documents.³⁷ These careful analyses are presented in summarized form in order to understand the method and main findings of the literature being reviewed.

Review of literature provides a base structure for the ongoing study. Therefore, review of literature precedes any analytical works planned for conducting the proposed research. Literature review is an important step towards finding the relevance of a research on any topic. It helps in identifying gaps in existing literature and motivating to fill the identified gaps. Thus, the present chapter of the thesis discusses those literature and their aspects in order to identify specific gaps that the present thesis tries to address.

With the objective to understand the basic research problem of the current study, review of literature is undertaken. Research papers, books, articles and journals were reviewed on the

³⁷ Hanson, W. E., Creswell, J. W., Clark, V. L. P., Petska, K. S., & Creswell, J. D. (2005). Mixed methods research designs in counseling psychology. *Journal of counseling psychology*, 52(2), 224.

subject. Existing literature both in English and Urdu languages were reviewed. In addition, the review of literature is also done for both nationally and internationally accomplished research on Madrasa education. The review is presented in chronological order. However, I presented the review literature in terms of debates and discourses available on various subjects. The review of literature in the area is discussed under the following headings:

- Debates on Madrasas and its Historicity
- Legal Status and Resources
- The Post-Independence Agenda of the State
- Madrasas and Society
- Madrasa, Modernisation and State

2.1: Debates on Madrasa Education and its Historicity

Madrasa education is an important aspect of academic debate. Scholars in academia have discussed the sociological, political and economic aspects of Madrasa education in India and in the world. Several scholars have discussed the historical development of Madrasa in India. John (1929) conducted an early study of the historical development of Madrasas in Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, Baghdad and other areas after the period of the 5th and 6th century.³⁸ The study brings out the early Islamic nature and characteristics of Madrasa education with comprehensive analysis of Islamic learning. It derives that the early Madrasa system was associated with Islamic learning and worship. Therefore, in the beginning, mosques were the centre of Islamic learning. In other words,

³⁸ Johs, P (1929) "Some Aspects of History of the Madrasa", Islamic Culture, Vol.3, No.4,(ed.)Shahid Ali Abbasi, The Academic and Cultural Publications Charitable Trust, Tilak Road, Hyderabad, 1929, pp. 525-537.

Mosques are still working as Madrasas (Maqtabas) and trace their lineage in the early Islamic learning centres.

Sikand (2004) argues that in the beginning Madrasas were of large scale and sponsored by the state.³⁹ The paper also argues that historically, smaller Madrasas existed during Seljuq rule in Baghdad but the government played a critical role in establishing Madrasas with the objectives to train experts in Islamic Law and Jurisprudence. These Madrasas produced Muftis, Ulemas and Qazis and also administrators for the government. In the case of India, Muslims rulers also established Madrasas and provided grants to them. During British rule, Madrasas faced grave threats. From this point, Indian Madrasas system was divided into two systems of education i.e. Nizamia Madrasas with no government interventions and the Aliah Madrasas with government interventions. The paper discusses the movement of Darul-Uloom Deoband and creation of Nadwatul Ulema after the revolt of 1857. The paper also highlights the issue of Madrasa reforms and argues that there are two groups of Ulemas; one who do not like to reform Madrasa education and the other group who want reforms to be followed in Madrasas.⁴⁰

Zaman (1999) discussed the historical development in Madrasa education during British era in both India and Pakistan.⁴¹ He also highlighted the debate over reforms in Madrasa education. The paper also establishes the colonial legacies of reforms on the post-independence education system of Madrasas. It is important to note that there is a considerable impact of colonial strategies

³⁹Sikand, Y. (2004). Reforming the Indian madrassas: contemporary Muslim voices. *Religious Radicalism and Security in South Asia, Honolulu: Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies* http://www.apcss.Org/text/text_research.htm *Islamic Economics: A Survey of the Literature*, 93.

⁴⁰ ibid

⁴¹Zaman, M. Q. (1999). Religious education and the rhetoric of reform: The madrasa in British India and Pakistan. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 41(2), 294-323.

on the Indian education system including Madrasa education.⁴² One of the important factors of developing structural reform in the Madrasa system was to get influence from those who were in the political establishment (Riaz, 2011). In the early period of development of Madrasa education, the impact of political establishment can be traced easily. However, establishment of Madrasas in India during the colonial period was also a distinct process. In fact, Madrasas were able to define their curriculum in a way they wanted to be. This distinction is also evident in early movements of Madrasas like Dar-ul-Uloom, Deoband.

Metcalf (1978) states that the founder of Dar-ul-Uloom, Deoband, “emulated the British bureaucratic style for educational institutions instead of the informal familial pattern of schools then prevalent in India”.⁴³ Besides, these founders were able to distinguish themselves by inculcating principles for the Madrasa. There were eight fundamental principles identified by Maulana Qasim Nanautwi, one of the founders and participants in the mutiny of 1857 and also a resident of Meerut from where Ulemas participated in the mutiny. The Principles as highlighted by Metcalf (1978) are;

“The councilors of the madrasa should always keep in mind its well-being. There should be no rigidity of views, and for this reason it is important that they never hesitate to express an

⁴²In the first half of the 19th century, British utilitarians like J. S. Mill extensively advocated state funding for useful education. James Mill argued that “the great and should not have been to teach Hindoo learning, or Mahomedan learning, but useful learning. ... In professing, on the other hand, to establish Seminaries for the purpose of teaching mere Hindoo, or mere Mahomedan literature, you bound yourself to teach a great deal of what was frivolous, not a little of what was purely mischievous, and a small remainder indeed in which utility was in any way concerned.” James Mill, Revenue Department dispatch, February 18, 1824, Bengal, E/4/710,-para. 83.

⁴³Metcalf, B. (1978). The madrasa at Deoband: A model for religious education in modern India. *Modern Asian Studies*, 12(1), 111-134.

opinion and those listeners hear it with an open mind. So ... if we understand another's idea [to be better], even if it is against us, we will accept it wholly. For this same reason it is necessary that the **Mohtamim**⁴⁴ always seek advice from councillors, whether those who are the permanent councilors of the madrasa or others who possess wisdom and understanding and are well-wishers of the school.... Let no individual be unhappy if on a certain occasion he is not asked for advice ... If, however, the **Mohtamim** asks no one, all the councilors should object. It is essential that the teachers of the madrasa be in accord and, unlike the worldly Ulema, not be selfish and intolerant of others. Instructions should be that already agreed on, or later agreed on by consultation

The last principle was particularly significant, asking the teachers to forego individual inclinations in the interest of a common program.”

With the above principles adopted by Dar-ul-Uloom and structure defined by the founders of Darul-Uloom, the Madrasa became an important benchmark for Madrasas that came later into existence.

Reetz (2008) while presenting debates on principle, on which large seminaries were founded, highlighted that British rulers considered the Islamic scholars disloyal and suspected them as potential threat to the establishment.⁴⁵ In the wake of such a situation, the Islamic scholars also had fears about modern education. Thus, large seminaries like Darul Uloom Deoband were established based on the principle of imparting religious education to the Muslims in India. But soon after new leaders of Darul Uloom like Ubaidullah Sindhi, Mahmudul Hasan and Hussain Ahmad Madani took charge and openly challenged British rule. Soon after their views, several

⁴⁴ Mohtamim are generally principal of Madrasa

⁴⁵Reetz, D (2008), The Dar al-Uloom of Deoband after the Split in 1982, in Noor, F. A., van Bruinessen, M., & Sikand, Y. (2008). *The madrasa in Asia: Political activism and transnational linkages*, edited by Noor et. al, Amsterdam University Press.

Ulemas from other Madrasas took part. Increase in political intervention of Madrasas in British India was evident from movements like the Khilafat Movement.

It is also a fact that Madrasas were developed as part of the education system. Reetz (2008) also argued about the ideological foundations of Madrasas. He summarised that there were seven principles on which Madrasas were based. These principles are;

1. Sharia i.e. conformity with Islamic law
2. Suluk- i- Batin or self-purification
3. Sunnat or conformity to the principles that guided the Prophet and his companions
4. Hanfi Maslak or Conformity with Hanafi jurisprudence
5. Hanafi Fiqh or Conformity with Hanfi theologians
6. Munikirat or removal of unlawful things
7. Adherence to the founders of Madrasas in the case of Deoband, Muhammad Qasim and Rashid Gangohi.

Impacts of these bases are widely seen in the country. Small Madrasas were founded in the name of the founders of the large seminaries like Darul Uloom, Ashraful Uloom, Madrasa Rahmania, etc. During the early period of Islamic education, Madrasas were a formal system of education. It contained almost all the streams of education covering Hikmat, Jurisprudence, Astronomy, Mathematics and Sciences. The fall of Baghdad was also in a sense the fall of Islamic Education system. New political establishment of Baghdad dismantled the existing institutions.

Madrasa education in India during the Sultanate period was attached to Khanqahs and Mosques. Welch (1996) exclusively discusses a sultanate era Madrasa in Hauz Khas in Delhi.⁴⁶

⁴⁶Welch, A. (1996). A Medieval Center of Learning in India: The Hauz Khas Madrasa in Delhi. *Muqarnas*, 13, 165-190.

The Madrasa was considered as the school of higher learning. The Madrasa was built during the Sultanate period and one of the most famous and early Madrasa was this one. The paper takes insight to the architectural beauty of the Madrasa and points out that it consisted of both class rooms and living rooms indicating that the Madrasa was developed with the objective to provide both lodging and fooding. The subjects which were taught at the Madrasa included rhetoric, calligraphy, mathematics, astronomy, medicine, grammar, Islamic law and jurisprudence, and the Quran. This study suggests that there were some systematic roots of Madrasa Education in India having legacies of scholarships as far as from educational institutions of Baghdad.

Ara (2004) discussed that during the medieval era Madrasa education did not follow a single formalised system or structure.⁴⁷ The study points out that private Madrasas were established by different experts including Sufies, Ulemas and Umaras in either their Khanqahs or Mosques or at private homes. Thus, early Madrasas were run from homes and seminaries at free of cost for pupils run by donations from people. Maktabas were also established. In fact, Maktabas were an essential feature of Khanqahs and Mosques (Ara, 2004). The paper also discusses the historical context of establishing Madrasas in India and continues to establish that Akbar, the Mughal Emperor was the first Emperor to have a separate department of Education. The curriculum at that time was designed in order to attract elite Hindus students as well. The study however, does not include details of the syllabus at the time of Akbar. The paper further discusses that how Madrasas are branded in Modern India and indentified as the sources that shape muslim identity in the country.

Shah Waliullah, an 18th century Islamic Scholar and reformer, was instrumental in restructuring the Madrasa education during the pre-colonial period. Riaz (2011) presented a detailed

⁴⁷Ara, A. (2004). Madrasas and Making of Muslim Identity in India. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 34-38.

discussion on pre-colonial Madrasa education and traces the history of Madrasas in South Asia from the 12th century to early 20th century or pre-independence years.⁴⁸ The paper also makes a case that during the pre-colonial era rulers including Mughals provided patronage to educational institutions. One of the important institutions in the early Mughal era was Firangi Mahal. The institution was established prior to Shah Waliullah's birth. The institution was established during the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb. Since the land was owned by French or Europeans, it was called Firangi Mahal. The Firangi Mahall was donated to the Family of Mulla Qutb ud din Sihlawi. At the Firangi Mahal, members of that family organized Madrasas at their home. The Madrasa was later institutionalized by Mullah Nizamuddin Sihlawi and the syllabus they followed was called Dars-i-Nizami. This syllabus was heavily influenced by Shah Waliullah's reforms and movement. Riaz (2011) does not introduce the syllabus followed by Shah Waliullah. This is presented for better understanding of the Madrasa system. In Juz-ul-Latif, Shah Waliullah outlined the syllabus for his Madrasa in the following order

1. Grammar: Kifaya and Sharh-e-Jami
2. Mantiq: Sharh (commentary on) Shamsiya, Sharh-e-Matali
3. Philosophy: Sharh (commentary on) Hidayat-ul-Hikmat
4. Kalam: (scholasticism): commentary on Sharh-e-Aqaid Nasafi along with notes and comments of Khayat, Sharh-e-Mawaqif
5. Fiqh (Islamic Jurisprudence): Sharh Wiqaya, Hidayat (complete)
6. Usool-e-Fiqh (principles of Islamic Jurisprudence): Hisami and parts of Tauzih Wa Talwih
Tauzeeh Al Talweeh

⁴⁸Riaz, A. (2011). Madrassah education in pre-colonial and colonial South Asia. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 46(1), 69-86.

7. Balaghat (Rhetoric): Mukhtasar, Mutawwal
8. Haiat and Hisab (Astronomy and Mathematics): several short treatises
9. Tibb (Medicine): Maujizul Qanoon (abridgment of Ibn Sina's Qanoon)
10. Hadis (Tradition): Mishkat ul Masabih (complete), Sahih Al Bukhari (a portion)
11. Tafsir: Madarik, Baizawi
12. Tasawwuf Wa Suluk (Mysticism): Awarif, Treatises of Naqshbandiya school, commentary on Rubaiyat-e-Jami, introduction to the commentary on Lama'at, introduction to Naqdun Nusus.

Mullah Nizamuddin was a contemporary of Shah Waliullah. He introduced the syllabus for Dars-i-Nizamiyah with the introduction of a new structure and system of knowledge, making addition to what was prescribed by Shah Waliullah. The syllabus of Dars-i-Nizami is introduced as;

1. Sarf: Mizan, Munsha'ab, Sarf-e-Mir, Panj Ganj, Zubdah, Fusul-e-Akbari, Shafia
2. Nahv: Nahv Mir, Sharh-e-Miata Amil, Hidayatun Nahv, Kafiya, Sharh-e-Jami
3. Mantiq: Sughra, Kubra, Isaghoji, Tahzib, Sharh-e-Tahzib, Qutbi along with Mir, Sallamul Uloom.
4. Hikmat: Maibazi, Sadra, Shams-e-Bazigha
5. Riyazi: Khulasat-al-Hisab, Tahreer-e-Aqlidas, Maqala-e-Ula, Tashrih-al-Aflak, Risala-e-Qaushajiya, Sharh-e-Qaushajiya, Sharh-e-Chaghmani (first chapter)
6. Balaghat: Mukhtasar-al-Ma'ani, Mutawwal up to 'Ma Ana Quito'
7. Fiqh: Sharh-e-Wiqaya Awwalain, Hidayat Akhirain
8. Usool-e-Fiqh: Noor-al-Anwar, Tauzih Talwih, Musallamus Subut (the portion dealing with 'Mabadi Kalamiya')

9. Kalam: Sharh-e-Aqaid Nasafi, Sharh-e-Aqaid Jalali, Mir Zahid, Sharh-al-e-Muwaqif
10. Tafsir: Jalalain, Baizawi
11. Hadis: Mishkat ul Masabih

2.2: Legal Status and Resources

The Madrasas are basically registered under the law of The Societies Registration Act 1860, government of India. Alternatively, some have been registered under the Waqf laws while some have even been established under the state laws or some specific legal clauses of the stated Acts. A large number of such Madrasas are neither registered under any laws nor any Acts or Waqfs and these non-registered Madrasas are running locally either under some families or are working under the aegis of the contribution from the local people. One such registration is needed where the Madrasas who aim to acquire funds or any contribution from foreign accounts must register and enroll themselves with the Home Ministry of the Government of India under the provisions of Foreign Currency Regulation Act (FCRA). The legal provisions laid down under these aforementioned Acts of the central government or the state government makes a compulsory feature where they verify the credentials of these entities irrespective of the fact whether they belong to any religion, caste or creed whereas no political influence can neither exempt it from such obligations of verification of their credentials or character. The process of establishment of these Madrasas under the concerned laws is time-consuming and can sometimes be very long or highly delayed. Thus, almost all the Madrasas of India have to go through these lacuna or delayed process of ways in performing its functions which sometimes includes extraneous efforts to complete its establishment procedure even through legal means. Also the Madrasas which aim to seek government funds or get a regular backup must be duly registered under these Acts in order to properly establish themselves.

The Madrasas running in almost all parts of the country basically run on self-funded schemes, or the zakat (charity) coming from Muslim community, or the **Charm-e-Qurbani**⁴⁹ (selling of skins of animals) schemes making it clear that they struggle a lot in keeping these institutions running. The person who collects this charity is often termed as a **Safeer** who normally after the authenticity from various organizations conduct the affairs of collection of this charity money in order to safeguard the financial assistance in a proper and authentic ways.

Taylor (2018) gives an account of techniques and forms of raising funds from the community for Madrasas in India.⁵⁰ One of the effective techniques of fundraising is collecting donations from people in markets in the big cities like Lucknow, Delhi, Hyderabad and Mumbai. This is called **Chanda** or donations. These donations are of three types, Zakat, Khairat and Imdad. For each type of donation, the **Safeer** gives a slip or receipt to donors. The research paper focuses on different aspects of **Chanda** collection Madrasas based on field visits.⁵¹ Accordingly, raising funds hugely depends on the individual outreach and trust of Safeers. The donors are normally keen to know about Madrasas and their respective location before giving any donation.

The organizations who normally verify and certify these **Safeer** are groups like Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Hind, Raabta-e-Madarise, Imarat-e-Shariah etc. While very few Madrasas in India have their own land or property through which they are able to generate certain income. The Madrasa administrations run their respective Institutions on these funds. There are also few Madrasas who

⁴⁹ Skin of animal sacrificed during Eid- ul-Zoha

⁵⁰Taylor, C. B. (2018). Receipts and other forms of Islamic charity: accounting for piety in modern North India. *Modern Asian Studies*, 52(1), 266.

⁵¹ For detailed analysis of the techniques of raising funds in Madrasas refer Taylor, C. B. (2018). Receipts and other forms of Islamic charity: accounting for piety in modern North India. *Modern Asian Studies*, 52(1), 266.

regularly receive funds from foreign lands such as the Middle Eastern countries and run their set up and ideology through them. In the year 2001 a statement was issued by the Union Minister of State for the Home Ministry where it was duly stated that about Indian Madrasas were receiving around 1000 million (U.S. Dollars) annually which is more than 40,000 million rupees annually through the Foreign Currency Regulation Act.

Nair (2009) discussed the relationship between the state and Madrasa.⁵² The document argued that the state government has allocated funds for their proper running. Several State Boards have been constituted in states like Bihar, Assam, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh etc for the functioning of Madrasas, yet these Madrasas are very few in number. Whereas the Institutions like Dar-ul-Uloom, Deoband, Nadwat-ul-Ulema Lucknow etc since 1947 have repeatedly denied accepting the aid of the government on all fronts due to the very basic reason for in order to avoid any external interference which would ultimately cast many shadows of doubts as regarding it's upholding of integrity and standard. The paper also argued that several large Madrasas repeatedly tried to get access and support from the state and central authorities of the government but many times failed in their attempt to do so (Nair, 2009).⁵³ One of the factors for this was the undue red tape or excessive bureaucratic formalities or demands (ibid.). The annual budget of these Madrasas range up to a good amount from hundred thousand to tens and millions of Rupees, suppose Dar-ul-Uloom Deoband and Jamia Salafia Banaras range about an expenditure which is about 15 million rupees and 30 million rupees per year (ibid.).

Therefore, it can be very well concluded that the leading Madrasas (established in the Indian sub-continent during the British era and also those established in India after independence)

⁵² Nair,P.(2009).The State and madrasas in India. Available at http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/1567/1/Nair_Madrasas_India.pdf

⁵³ Nair, P. (2009). The State and madrasas in India. Available at http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/1567/1/Nair_Madrasas_India.pdf

felt threatened due to external interference whether it be from the side of the then British government or today from the side of the government. There are also non-government organisations constantly trying to undermine the independence and education status of Madrasas. This was widely discussed by Noor et.al (2008) in their edited book '*Madrasa in Asia: Political Activism and Transnational Linkages*'.⁵⁴ Although it's true that after the Independence of India these Madrasas on a very huge level have lost their credibility due to the absence of loss of curriculum regarding the mainstream courses as well as English. Winkelman (2005) also discussed that this happened owing to undermining the importance of education among girls in Indian Muslim society.⁵⁵ Till date Ulemas are fighting hard to restore the image of Madrasa and relevance in contemporary society where on the other hand their condition and status as an Institution belonging to the minority and the debates of such sort have seem to be intensified.

2.3: The Post-Independence Agenda of the State

Bano (2011) highlighted the agenda of the state and its impact on Madrasas for all of South Asia both during the British era and during the period after the end of British rule.⁵⁶ The paper argues that the relationship between the state and the Madrasas has suffered a major setback since the British era. Even today, their interaction has grown very formal and is based on objective of some or the other type where at some point the state has interfered only in order to upgrade or revise the curriculum of those institutions which remained either behind the mainstream courses and on the other hand in order to support it with whatever would apparently be possible. In this

⁵⁴ Noor, F. A., van Bruinessen, M., & Sikand, Y. (2008). *The madrasa in Asia: Political activism and transnational linkages* (p. 304). Amsterdam University Press.

⁵⁵ Winkelmann, M. J. (2005). *From behind the curtain: a study of a girls' Madrasa in India* (p. 176). Amsterdam University Press.

⁵⁶ Bano, M. (2011). Co-Producing with FBOs: lessons from state–madrasa engagement in the Middle East and South Asia. *Third World Quarterly*, 32(7), 1273-1289.

context, the research concluded that reforms of these Madrasas have not been possible due to the orthodox culmination of teachers. Another important aspect is that the Madrasa administration did not expect any important outcome of the reforms.

Today the Madrasas have even been caught up in debates like that of security and terrorism which has somewhere or the other led to various reforms and major changes as well as has been under strict surveillance by the state due to these reasons (Sikand, 2005).⁵⁷

2.3.1: Constitutional Provisions: Securing the Existence and Propagation of Madrasas

Nair (2009) brings out a detailed debate on the relationship between state and Madrasas.⁵⁸ Accordingly, the Madrasas established on the norms of minority character or Institution relied on various promises and the guarantees provided by the Constitution of India. So far education is concerned, the state has adopted the British feature of the educational system keeping religion and the affairs of the state separate from each other with various distinctive features of their own. Thus, making religion an integral part but a private affair of one's life. Although several attempts were and are still being made either to dilute the feature or to totally terminate the social and secular fabric of the nation and to lead it in either ways which till date have failed due to the reason of the guarantees provided by the Constitution of India. Metcalf (2007) presents a wider debate on this.⁵⁹ The research argues that how Indian Muslims are presented as Proto-Pakistani resulting in the defaming of their religious institutions. This research extends both socio-economic, cultural and political factors causing the relationship between states and Madrasas.

⁵⁷ Sikand, Y. (2005). *Bastions of the believers: Madrasas and Islamic education in India*. Penguin Books India.

⁵⁸ Nair, P. (2009). The State and madrasas in India. Working paper Available at http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/1567/1/Nair_Madrasas_India.pdf

⁵⁹ Metcalf, B. (2007). Madrasas and minorities in secular India. *Schooling Islam: The culture and politics of modern Muslim education*, 87-106.

Metcalf (2007) also discussed the right to establish Madrasas and perform religious activities as per the constitution of India.⁶⁰ Constitution of India guarantees the minority equality before the law and equality in terms of opportunity for employment which is defined under the column of 'fundamental rights' where any sort of discrimination based on religion, race, caste, gender or place of birth is strictly prohibited.

Sumendra and Saibabu (2014) present a debate on the fundamental rights of Indian citizens as provided in the constitution.⁶¹ It is noted that a list of various fundamental rights are specified and stated with the guarantee of the right to freedom of religion which is mentioned from Article 25 to 28 as well as Cultural and Educational rights stated from Article 29 to 30. These Articles of the Constitution of India guarantees a person or any such group to freely practice and propagate any religion and to manage any religious affairs as per their wish under the purview of law. These Articles further guarantee its citizens to establish and administer their minority Institutions, thus protecting their overall interest.

Therefore when Article 28 states that "no religious instructions shall be provided in any educational institution wholly maintained out of state funds ...", Clause (2) of the same article further states that " ... Nothing in clause (1) shall apply to an educational institution which is administered by the state but has been established under any endowment or trust which requires that religious instructions shall be imparted in such Institution."

While guaranteeing the Constitution of India further states that any person who attends such minority or any educational institution which has been recognized by the state authorities and which also receives the funds provided by the state shall never be forced to take part or even

⁶⁰ Metcalf, B. (2007). Madrasas and minorities in secular India. *Schooling Islam: The culture and politics of modern Muslim education*, 87-106.

⁶¹ Saumendra, D., & Saibabu, N. (2014). Indian Constitution: An Analysis of the Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles. *Indian Constitution: An Analysis of the Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles*, 2350-1472.

passively support or participate in any such religious practice or instructions until and unless he/she gives an express permission to do so and in the case of minors permission should be taken from the guardians and so on (Smith, 2015).⁶² As it can be seen above that Article 29 and Article 30 talks about the linguistic as well as religious minorities to establish and run their own educational institutions. Thus, Article 29 states that "Any section of citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same" whereas Article 30 states that "All minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice (Smith, 2015).⁶³ The state shall not in granting aid to educational institutions discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on religion or language (Lijphart, 1996).⁶⁴

Further, there are discussions presented on various amendments in the constitution having potential to impact religious institutions (Lijphart, 1996, Smith, 2015 and Nair, 2009). Various amendments took place in the Constitution of India out of which one of the amendments which took place in the year 1956 and which was the so called Seventh Amendment of Article 350 (a) and (b), where provision and facility for communication and instruction at the primary level for a student was supposed to be given in the mother tongue of the pupils and at the same time the language of Urdu gained legitimacy as a medium of instruction and a special officer for linguistic minorities were also supposed to be appointed. In the year 1978 the 44th amendment of the Constitution took place where any land which belonged to any minority educational institution in the event of its acquisition the " ... amount fixed by or determined under such law for the

⁶² Smith, D. E. (2015). *India as a secular state* (Vol. 2231). Princeton University Press.

⁶³ Smith, D. E. (2015). *India as a secular state* (Vol. 2231). Princeton University Press.

⁶⁴ Lijphart, A. (1996). The puzzle of Indian democracy: A consociational interpretation. *American political science review*, 258-268.

acquisition of such property is such as would not restrict or abrogate the right guaranteed ..." where the matter would concern itself with any of the issues regarding the establishment and management of such Institutions.

Aleaz (2015) also highlights how the government has taken affirmative action to strengthen the Madrasa education system in the particular context of West Bengal.⁶⁵ The government in several and in its various attempts have tried to execute and make the constitutional mandates operational where the rights of minorities have been promised and defined and for which the government both at state and central level established various commissions and started specific programmes focused on the betterment of Muslim community and the Madrasas as a whole. There are many researches dealing with government initiatives for minority institutions and education (Misra et. al., 2007).⁶⁶ The report highlights the importance of the earlier commissions' setup by the government and also outlines the issue of constitutional provision and minority issues. One such commission set up in the year 1978 was the National minority's commission which was supposed to take care of the rights of the minorities, and subsequently this was given statutory and legal status in 1992. The United Progressive Alliance in 2004 under the scheme of National common minimum program (NCMP) established and constituted a "National Commission for Minority Educational Institutions" through an Act of the parliament. Under the aegis of this aforementioned Act of the Parliament any minority Institution can duly with all such required formalities could apply for obtaining affiliations from recognized universities while also the procedure was relaxed and made easy for the minority Institutions to obtain no objection certificate in order to get any minority educational institution established. Any dispute in relation to the

⁶⁵ Aleaz, B. (2005). Madrasa education, state and community consciousness: Muslims in West Bengal. *Economic and political weekly*, 555-564.

⁶⁶ Misra, R., Mahmood, T., Wilson, A., Singh, M., & Das, A. (2007). Report of the national commission for religious and linguistic minorities. *Ministry of Minority Affairs, Government of India, New Delhi*.

minority status and its characteristics could also be solved and the dispute can be resolved under the same Act and its procedural relevant provisions. For the very first time in the annals of history the Article 30 Clause 1 of the Constitution of India seemed to have been effectively implemented and several madrasas as well as the entire educational minority Institutions saw a ray of hope where they could seek affiliation among and with the mainstream universities and colleges. Recently a matter was challenged in the Allahabad High Court with regard to the issue and case of Aligarh Muslim University where the court held that the relevance and determination of the status of any educational minority Institution solely depends on the decision of the court of law thus challenging the effectiveness and gravity of Article 30 (1) and brought it under jeopardy. As a matter of fact, various provisions of Article 30 Clause 1 have been challenged under many law courts by various other communities like the Christian minority etc. (Misra et. al., 2007).⁶⁷

In spite of these shortcomings or hindrances, the Constitutional provisions have duly been implemented and the book has emerged as a guardian of not only the madrasas but as a saving clause to all such educational institutions. Thus it can easily be concluded with these studies that the teachers and scholars of Madrasas and other minority Institutions consider the provisions of the noble constitution of India as their source of strength where they are guaranteed safety and free propagation of their religious teachings under legal purview. The Constitution of India emerged as a promise and an unfailing mandate to the people of the nation where they are not only guaranteed to be treated equally but also with equity no matter to which religion or sect they belong while it also guarded them from the harms of various external factors which could have challenged the

⁶⁷ Misra, R., Mahmood, T., Wilson, A., Singh, M., & Das, A. (2007). Report of the national commission for religious and linguistic minorities. *Ministry of Minority Affairs, Government of India, New Delhi*.

balance of the equitable society. Thus secularism was found to be an indispensable pillar of the Constitution where the rights and freedom of all religions could be taken care of (Metcalf, 2007).⁶⁸

After presenting a detailed discussion on the pre-colonial education system of Madrasas in India, Riaz (2011) presents a detailed analysis of the state of Madrasa education during the British Period. It gives an insight on the development of the Dars-i-Nizami and Dars-i-Aliyah system.⁶⁹ The historical insight of the paper is important for understanding the progress of the Madrasa system in India. The paper introduces the fact that how colonial masters influenced the establishment of new Madrasas and adopted a new structure of syllabus. Aliya Madrasa was established in 1780 in Calcutta which adopted Nizamia syllabus i.e. Dars-i-Nizami adopted by Firangi Mahal. The objective of this Madrasa was to enable Muslim population to get part of British Administration. In this process, four other Madrasas were established at Hugli in 1871 and at Dhaka, Chittagong and Rajshahi in 1873. These Madrasas were also funded by the government. Number of government Madrasas thus increased. There was a major change in the curriculum of these Madrasas which earlier adopted the Nizamia system. New curriculum included English as a mandatory subject and also mathematics, geography, history and physical education as part of the new reforms in Madrasas supported and funded by the British Government. Gradually, Madrasa Aliya developed its own curriculum and accepted reforms of the British Government. This system of curriculum is known as Dars-i-Nizamia. Several State Governments in India including West Bengal, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh follow this system and financially support Madrasas that follow Dars-i-Aliyah. However, Riaz (2011) has not discussed in detail about the Aliyah system of Madrasa

⁶⁸ Metcalf, B. (2007). Madrasas and minorities in secular India. *Schooling Islam: The culture and politics of modern Muslim education*, 87-106.

⁶⁹ Riaz, A. (2011). Madrassah education in pre-colonial and colonial South Asia. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 46(1), 69-86.

education which was developed during the British period and continued thereafter during post-independence India.⁷⁰

Alam (2003) brings out more insight on the two systems of education and the sociological perspective of pursuing different kinds of institutions namely Dars-i-Aliya and Dars-i-Nizami.⁷¹ The study clearly depicts that Dars-i-Nizami follows a system where state intervention is nil. For this, the purpose is to resist state intrusions in the pursuits of religious education. It also presents a debate over the reasons and causes of non-intervention of the state in the Nizamia system of Madrasa education. On account of state intervention, Sikand (2008) gives an insight and mechanism of government interventions. The research points out that the government interventions have two aspects.⁷² The first one is to reform Madrasa education and the second aspect is to regulate Madrasas. Increasing regulation is related to security concerns in India.

Nair (2009) presents extensive research on Madrasas in India.⁷³ The research has presented an extensive analysis of the role of the state in assisting and reforming Madrasa education in the country. It argues that the relationship between the state and Madrasas in the country is shaped by many factors which include factors like constitutional, political and educational. Examples of two states were presented with different political environments namely Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. In the case of UP, Madrasas are targeted owing to the political interests of the governments.

⁷⁰ Riaz, A. (2011). Madrassah education in pre-colonial and colonial South Asia. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 46(1), 69-86.

⁷¹ Alam, A. (2003). Understanding Madrasas. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 2123-2126.

⁷² Sikand, Y. (2008). Voices for Reform in the Indian Madrasas. Noor, Farish A.; Sikand, Yoginder; van Bruinessen, Martin; *The Madrasa in Asia: Political Activism and International Linkages*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press & ISIM Series on Contemporary Muslim Societies.

⁷³ Nair, P. (2009), The State and Madrasas in India, Working Paper, 15, Religions and Development Programme, International Development Programme, Birmingham University, available at http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/1567/1/Nair_Madrasas_India.pdf

Therefore, a large number of Madrasas in UP are not engaged with the government. Normally, Madrasas with a shortage of resources are keen to engage with the government. For them, the process of engagement and recognition from government agencies is a cumbersome process. The government in UP has attempted reforms in Madrasas but half-heartedly. On the other hand, in the case of West Bengal, state-run Madrasas are under the Madrasa Education Board. On the other hand, there are large numbers of Madrasas that are independent of the government. These Madrasas are called Kharzi Madrasa. In West Bengal also, Madrasa education was attacked in the name of terrorism. Thus, the paper concluded that state-Madrasa relationships need more structured form across Indian states recognising the constitutional rights of Indian Muslims to provide religious education.

Kuldip (2004) presented a brief history on the development of India's Madrasa education.⁷⁴ The paper also discusses the development and evolution of curriculum in Madrasas in its historical context. It reviews the present state of Madrasa education in India and highlights the role of Madrasas supported by states which follow the Aliya system of education. In its historical context, Madrasa Aliya established in Kolkata was instrumental in paving ways to introduce state affiliation of Madrasas. Normally, the state through a body called Madrasa board regulates Madrasa education supported by government Madrasas. Hussain (1956) argues that Madrasas were established in India long before the arrival of Muslims in India. However, the research was limited

⁷⁴ Kaur, K (2004)"Madrasa Education in India", Encyclopaedia of Indian Education, Vol-II (ed.) J.S.Rajput, National Council of Educational Research and Training, New Delhi, 2004, pp. 1034-1066.

to historical development of Madrasas and curriculum.⁷⁵ This work is significant owing to the fact that it carried out an early work on Madrasa's historical development and progress.

2.4: Madrasas and Society

Apart from historical and analytical studies undertaken on the structure and curriculum of Madrasa education, substantial literature is available on Madrasa education and its socio-economic implications in both South Asian as well as Indian contexts. Sikand (2005) provides both a historical account and also the present status of Madrasa education. It gives an account on how Madrasa education is influential in Muslim society.⁷⁶ It examines the changing contours of teaching and other activities in Madrasas. The research also concludes that the Madrasa system had a role in providing training to bureaucrats and religious specialists. One of the important aspects of this work is that it addresses the concerns among masses after the terrorist attack on twin tower in the United State popularly known as 9/11. This work provides an examination of the behavior of Ulemas which Sikand (2005) believes that Madrasas "tend to ignore the inner world of Ulemas".⁷⁷

Wasey (2005) studied the present state of Madrasa education in India and presented a critical analysis of the Madrasa system in India.⁷⁸ The work highlights shortcomings of present-

⁷⁵ Khan, Y. Hussain, "The Educational System in Medieval India", Islamic Culture, Vol.30, No.2, (ed.)Shahid Ali Abbasi, The Academic and Cultural Publications Charitable Trust, Tilak Road, Hyderabad, 1956, pp. 106-125

⁷⁶Sikand, Y. (2005). *Bastions of the believers: madrasas and Islamic education in India*. Penguin Books India.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸Wasey, Akhtarul, "Madrasas in India Trying to be Relevant", Global Media Publications, Jamia Nagar, New Delhi, 2005

day Madrasa education and also suggests some remedies. The study concludes that there is a need to improve the curriculum in Madrasa education in order to improve the system and make it relevant to the needs of present day society. In other words, Wasey (2005) gives utmost emphasis on linkages between societal needs and Madrasa education. This is one of the core ideas advocated by today's educationist.⁷⁹ In fact, many scholars are vocal in advocating that education must work as a remedy for the existing problems in the society. In this context, Wasey (2005) also calls for improvement in teaching methodology- an area which requires constant improvement.⁸⁰ It must be noted here that the existing Madrasa system of present day India follows almost the similar system which was followed during the early days of the Madrasa system.

Sikand (2008) extended the voices of reforms in Madrasas and presented a favourable context of Madrasa education.⁸¹ The research tries to break the stereotype related to Madrasas prevailing in the society. It also examines the ideological frontiers of those who advocate reforms in Madrasas. It argues that the majority of traditionalists believe that the existing system is a perfect system as it was developed by the older generation who were better than the present day generation of Ulemas. In this context, the traditionalists see the present system as a perfect system which does not need any reform. In fact, traditionalists often see Madrasa reform proposals as a source of interference in their system. On the other hand, there are many reformists who want to break this tradition of rigidity. One of the important reasons provided by reformists is that traditionalists keep interpreting Islamic ideology and theology in an authoritarian way. This gives monopoly power to

⁷⁹ Wasey, Akhtarul, "Madrasas in India Trying to be Relevant", Global Media Publications, Jamia Nagar, New Delhi, 2005

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Sikand, Y. (2008). *Voices for Reform in the Indian Madrasas*. Noor, Farish A.; Sikand, Yoginder; van Bruinessen, Martin; *The Madrasa in Asia: Political Activism and International Linkages*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press & ISIM Series on Contemporary Muslim Societies.

traditionalists which must be broken through reforms introduced in Madrasa education. The paper also focuses on debates between the Ulemas over the question of reforms to be introduced or not. The paper after presenting a wide range of debates concludes that gradual reforms are taking place in the existing Madrasa education system but hesitantly. The pace is slow but there are open signs that Madrasas are open to embrace reforms in its structure and curriculum.

Jhingran (2012), distinctly studied Madrasa education in India.⁸² This work has vital concern with the objective of examining the reality of Madrasa education in India. This work brings out a different perspective particularly after 9/11. It is generally accepted that the scholarship on Madrasa education has two different groups. One belongs to those who study the historical context of development of Madrasa education in the country and the other who criticizes this system of education. The second group is very vocal against Madrasa education particularly after the incident of 9/11. Jhingran (2012) in his book “*Madrasa education in modern India*” tries to break the very popular stereotypes and conception that Madrasas are the centre of terrorist activities.⁸³ In fact, the study provides a scientific enquiry into the existing system of education of Madrasas. This is a comprehensive work on the methodology adopted by the Ulemas for teaching. One of the important features of this study is the socio-economic analysis of the reasons behind Madrasa education opted by the students.

There are several initiatives that have been undertaken by Madrasa education which can also be termed as modernization or reforms. In particular, Dars-i-Alia also adopted a new curriculum and method of teaching. There are several universities in the country like Maulana Azad National Urdu University, Hyderabad and Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh provide bridge

⁸² Jhingran (2012). *Madrasa Education in Modern India: A Study*. Manohar Publication.

⁸³ Ibid.

courses to students from both Dars-i-Nizamiya and Dars-i-Aliya. Gradually, students from Nizamiyah Madrasa are admitted in different universities at graduate level. This compelled Madrasas to adopt modernization and reform in the curriculum. Fahimuddin (2004), in this context, examines Madrasas and analyses its role in meeting societal needs. The study also provides an economic basis for the selection of Madrasas and the impact of modernization on the educational needs of these students. One of the important findings is that Madrasa education is catering education to poor Muslims of the country. In other words, sizable numbers of poor students are admitted into Madrasa education. The study concludes that with modernization and reforms adopted in Madrasas, the poor section of Muslim society gets an alternative education system.⁸⁴

In the context of critical analysis of Madrsa Education in India, Ara (2004) examines the role of Madrasa education in the backwardness of Muslim society in India.⁸⁵ In fact, the paper concludes that Madrasa education is one of the causes of the backwardness of Muslims in India. Considering the right to equal development, Ara (2004) argues that the government needs to provide alternate institutions in the vicinity of Muslim populated area against existing Madrasas.⁸⁶ One of the critical aspects of the paper is that it rests on the menace of growing educational backwardness of Indian Muslims in Madrasa education. However, it is the one side of the story. In fact, Madrasa education has legacy of providing ample opportunities to the masses in Muslim society which this paper failed to argue.

⁸⁴Fahimuddin.Modernization of Muslim Education in India. Adhyayan Publishers,2004.

⁸⁵ Ara, A. (2004). Madrasas and Making of Muslim Identity in India. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 34-38.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

Apart from literature on Madrasa system of education, there are also substantial literatures available which investigate the possible outcomes of Madrasa education and its impact on Muslim society as whole. There also exist sectarian conflicts between groups which are essentially propagated by Madrasas in South Asia, particularly in India. This research is a milestone for understanding Madrasa education. In the subsequent section, I present a review of these important works.

Aleaz (2005) in her research titled *Madrasa Education, State and Community Consciousness Muslims in West Bengal* present a scientific debate over the role of Madrasa education in shaping community identity.⁸⁷ Part of such debate was also followed by Alam (2011) but confined to sub-identity within a religious identity i.e. Maslaks.⁸⁸ In this study, Aleaz attempt to study the Madrasa system in the state of West Bengal and its role in shaping identity of Muslim society as a religious community. The paper also recognizes the fact that different Madrasas cater different communities within Muslim communities and identifies that these Madrasas whether supported by the Government or not substantially differ on their curriculum-suggesting that even the Government supported Madrasas are not following the curriculum standardized by the Madrasa Board in the State of West Bengal. The paper also makes a case for bringing out improvement in Madrasa's basic infrastructure and improving its conditions. This study after reviewing a substantial national and international literature on Islamic education discusses the nature and forms of Madrasa education in India. The study presents a critical review of historical development of Madrasa education in the country and concludes that Muslim society in West Bengal is divided both on the ground of theological perspectives and also linguistics. Madrasas are playing a vital

⁸⁷Aleaz, B. (2005). Madrasa education, state and community consciousness: Muslims in West Bengal. *Economic and political weekly*, 555-564.

⁸⁸ Alam, A (2011) *Inside a Madrasa: Knowledge, Power and Islamic Identity in India*. Delhi: Taylor & Francis.

role in keeping these distinctions alive in their respective target population. After presenting a debate on the two types of Madrasa system i.e. privately owned and supported by the government, the paper highlights major issues faced by Madrasas in West Bengal. The paper argues that the government's entire endeavour seems to be misplaced. Because the government has failed to treat the students passed from these Madrasas at par with other students passed by other secular institutions. Moreover, the government run Muslim institutions has failed to garner scholarships that the government runs other institutions have achieved. The government needs to look into the financial and infrastructure constraints of Madrasas supported by the government.

Bandyopadhyay (2002) presents an analytical review of the existing Madrasa education with restrictive views.⁸⁹ His article makes the case that whether supporting Madrasa education by the state, which is the State of West Bengal in this article, is good for the country or not. He seems to be presumed that supporting such education is a threat to not only national security but also to the constitutional ethos of this country which is secularism. His debate is limited to this idea. The article also presents a debate on pedagogy adopted by Madrasa education. However, Bandyopadhyay is not able to make distinction between different curriculum followed by Dars-i-Nizami and Dars-i-Aliya. Particularly, Madrasas supported by the government which follow Dars-i-Aliya are debated based on the presumed curriculum and activities adopted by Dars-i-Nizami.

It is therefore essential to examine Dars-i-Aliya as a standalone system or an intermediary system of Dars-i-Nizami. There is very little literature available on the state-funded Madrasas. In fact, Majority of researchers limit their ideas to Nizamiya education. One of the important reasons for this is that the Aliya system is directly affected by the Nizamiya system. Most of the Ulemas

⁸⁹Bandyopadhyay, D. (2002). Madrasa education and the condition of Indian Muslims. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 1481-1484.

from Madrasas following the Nizamiya system teach in Madrasas supported by the Government. Besides such a big impact of the Nizamiya system on the Alia system, there is a need for investigation of Madrasas supported by the state governments.

As discussed earlier, Aleaz (2005) in her research titled *Madrassa Education, State and Community Consciousness Muslims in West Bengal* examines both kinds of Madrasas i.e. Aliya and Nizamiya.⁹⁰ Her research does not make clear distinction between the two traditions but presents analytical perspectives on Madrasas supported by the Government in West Bengal. As we know that Madrasas supported by the Government in West Bengal are government through the Madrasa board and are to follow the Dars-i-Alia system of Madrasa education in which the Government has a say in designing curriculum. In fact such a system includes subjects which are taught in schools and colleges. Aleaz (2005) presents a detailed discussion on the issues faced by these Madrasas.

Engineer (2001) has says that in his Book “*Muslims and education*” The stereotypical definition of Muslim education ignores changing realities. Though Muslim Education institutions don’t have enough resources to provide quality education, madrasa education is still preferred by the poorer classes, the growing middle class including increasing numbers of women students has increasingly turned to modern, secular education.

Bandyopadhyay (2002) in *Madrassa Education and the Condition of Indian Muslims* emphasises that The Indian nation cannot march forward with a major segment of its largest minority group remaining backward, illiterate, unenlightened and weak. It is the duty of every section of Indian society to help in the mainstreaming of this section. But the issue of modernisation of madrasa education brings up the vested interests of fundamentalist elements

⁹⁰ Aleaz, B. (2005). Madrasa education, state and community consciousness: Muslims in West Bengal. *Economic and political weekly*, 555-564.

trying to protect their turf and the political system which strives to utilise the backward for electoral gain. Strangely, the interests of the non-secular religious groups and those of the so-called 'secular and progressive' politicians merge, reinforcing one another.

Sikand (2001) concludes that indiscriminate targeting of madrasas will only alienate minorities further and harden extremist sympathies on both sides. Besides, efforts were set in motion by several madrasas to adapt to the change.⁹¹ In medieval India facility of education was available at least through three means: formal institutions (in the form of maktabas & madrasahs), informal institutions (in the shape of individual canters of teachings) and private teachers and tutors (known as Muslim, muaddib or ataliq).

Noor et. al (2008) argue that Madrasas were attacked to change the face of Islam after the incidence of 9/11 in the US. The US administration offered additional funds to Pakistan education reforms.⁹² In India, this was taken as an opportunity to target Madrasas. Even before 9/11, Madrasas in India were suspiciously seen as the institutions teaching against Hindu community. This research also highlighted that after 9/11 incidence and bombings in Indonesia, Madasas came under the lens of the government. But the fact is that Madrasas are primarily concerned with the ideological reproduction of their own Maslak. The paper describes processes and strategies within a Madrasa in North India through which such ideological reproduction takes place.

2.5: Madrasa Modernisation and State

The government of India has made various attempts while interfering with the curriculum, syllabus and the overall pattern of the Madrasa system of education in order to execute and operate

⁹¹ Sikand, Y. (2001). Targeting muslim religious schools. *Economic and political Weekly*, 3342-3343.

⁹²Noor, F. A., van Bruinessen, M., & Sikand, Y. (2008). *The madrasa in Asia: Political activism and transnational linkages*, edited by Noor et. all, Amsterdam University Press.

its constitutional mandate as well as the features provided in the Universal Elementary Education (UEE) scheme. A central level sponsored scheme as well as programs have been made which is running from more than a decade and whose aims and objectives is to support and provide grant in aid while also working to modernize all the syllabus and curriculum by introducing mainstream subjects into the madrasa system of education and also helps in improving teaching methods which abrogates the obsolete means and techniques. Various states in India have established and set up their own separate Madrasa education board which operates on a certain basis where the state is providing grant in aid to those Madrasa which has duly been recognized and the same is being funded by the central government schemes also on an equal basis as that of the state. These financial support are quite similar to those grant in aid provided to the government schools which are so aided while the Madrasa board and it's functioning is totally influenced by the running political methodology of the state concerned which clearly reflects the same in pitch and substance.

2.5.1: The Area Intensive and Madarsas Modernization Programme

The Ministry of Human Resource Development Department sponsored and started the Madrasas Modernization Scheme and Program which happened to be the first instance where the central government interfered with a major plan and built-up scheme in the Madrasa system of education. As of now it happens to be the only program and plan which interferes with the education system of Madrasas in terms of formal upgradation etc. In 1983 this idea was actually introduced by the then government of India in a 15 Point Programme for betterment of education, social life and overall upliftment of the minority community. However the plan somehow remained dormant and it was until the year 1993-94 when it actually came into existence in collaboration with the revised Plan of Action which happened to be in the year 1992 and of the National

education policy which took place in the year 1986 which suggested various forms of long term and short term plan for the suffering minorities and their deprived education at that time. Later on the Tenth Five Year Plan was merged by the government where the two models were brought together namely the modernization of the curriculum and syllabus with the building and development of the infrastructure of such educational minority systems. This very program has now been termed and collaborated with the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyaan which signifies and denotes the existence of schemes which were supposed to be executed under the Universal Elementary Education system. It has been a scheme which is voluntary in nature and Madrasas were and are expected to apply to get those assistance and government support. However, only those Madrasas which have been established for more than three years and are working regularly are only eligible to get such assistance and recognition.

The main aim and objective of these programs are to encourage and support the old way of traditional Institutions like these Madrasas and maktabas in order to help them introduce the subjects and topics like social studies, English, Hindi, Maths, Science etc in order to widen the knowledge and experience of the concerned students so that their level may get up to the mark with the prevailing system of education which runs nationally. In the scheme of First phase of the program which happened to be the eighty fifth year plan (1992-1997) primary classes were covered, while in the Second phase of the program which happened to be the ninety fifth year plan (1997-2002) the scheme has been widened and extended to all those Institutions which provides education equivalent to the secondary level. In the first phase almost hundred percent assistance in the appointment of well qualified teachers were given to these Madrasas as well as assistance was even provided where libraries and book Banks were widely established. Scientific apparatuses along with maths kits were even provided with all other necessary equipment which were needed

in an upgraded Institution. Later on the scheme got edited and reviewed which still continues in the current Tenth Year Plan, which even has a proposal to cover at least 5000 Madrasas which actually accounts for even less than 15 percent of the Madrasas as a whole in eight states alone where very large number of Madrasas are found where the text books are basically provided by the National council for the promotion of Urdu Language which happens to be an autonomous body or council which is set up by the central government.

The above scheme has till now supported and assisted 4694 Madrasas but the total allocation of amount from the year 2002 to 2006 calculates to be only Rs 1060/- million Rupees where almost three quarters of it was supposed to be utilized for the development of the infrastructure (Ministry of Human Resource Department, 2006 statement). This meagre amount which was disbursed in favor of the Madrasas were attributed to the informants who miss-informed and miss-represented the needs which was actually very high and on the other hand the government has also not disseminated proper account due to which this inadequate funding was given which clearly reflected the lack of intent and seriousness to help and promote the concerned issue. Also some of the Ulemas were also blamed for not assisting properly the need of reflecting the adequate amount which was needed by these Madrasas due to the reason that they foresaw a threat towards their hegemony in these Madrasas which they have been running from generations (Sachar Committee, 2006).⁹³

2.5.2: *Unrecognized Madrasas and the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan*

Under the program of 'Education Guarantee Scheme' the state governments can very well set up various centres or can intervene under the 'Alternative and Innovative Education' where

⁹³ Sachar Committee Report, Ministry of Minority Affairs, Government of India, 2006, available at <http://minorityaffairs.gov.in/reports/sachar-committee-report>

maktabs and Madrasas which remain unrecognized especially the Madrasas for girls where free textbooks as well as teachers can be provided by the government initiative. These two schemes belong to the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) whose aim is to achieve universalization of elementary education through the efforts of the local community which is based on quality education and proper availability of teachers in order to suit the running atmosphere of the area. It also aims to build up a strong educational system where gender, caste, creed and social gaps no longer remain. As per the census of 1981 about 99 districts have been marked in 16 states where various Madrasas have been kept to be given special attention for its betterment. The states which the government has undertaken for this upliftment of Madrasas are primarily the states of Bihar, Assam, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal etc. Under the A & I E component, about 3500 unrecognized Madrasas have received support and such upliftment schemes in the years 2005-2006. Various Madrasas even rejected the state assistance and support due to factors basically unknown but they happen to be very small in numbers. Their rejection of such state assistance and support could possibly be viewed as the tendency which had developed and happens to be highly critical of the mainstream society and its education actually provides a wider concept and gives an additional dimension to the issue of state and Madrasa relationship in today's world.

2.5.3: Madrasa Education Boards Parallel Mainstream Education Boards

Various states such as Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Assam, Rajasthan etc which happens to have a substantial Muslim population have re-structured and re-constituted the state Madrasa boards in order to introduce the modernization program into its mainstream education policies and to completely change its obsolete curriculum in order to achieve and increase its government support both technically and financially. A Madrasa education board has been set up in the state of Bihar and almost all the Madrasas have been brought up under the said

board in order to achieve uniformity in its mainstream curriculum and to get parallel advancement from the state support. In the state of Uttar Pradesh the Governor has already given a nod to establish the Madrasa Board but still the same has to be seen being achieved although under a virtual operating Madrasa Board studies are going on like Arabic Board and Persian Board. In the state of Madhya Pradesh the establishment of the Board has done well at the primary level but at the higher level the religious teachers doubt its credibility and consider it to be not a genuine one as due to the reason that the upgraded syllabus in the new Madrasa boards have brought latest education curriculum which happens to run in the mainstream society where religion has not been given that importance while also the subjects have been limited to one or two which teaches religion to the students. In West Bengal the state support has been duly given but the Madrasas themselves have started to operate regularly in the last few years while before that they themselves were not as concerned as the other states as a result of which only 500 Madrasas are operating that way as of today. Similarly such bodies have earlier existed in the state of Bihar, West Bengal, Assam, Orissa etc but were not running efficiently. In West Bengal in the year 1973 the state government had developed and established a Madrasa board which was later on in the year 1994 abolished by the Calcutta High Court stating the reasons for it to be inadequate and that it had no foundation at all. The state and its authorities were directed by the Honourable High Court to bring those Madrasas under the Statutory Laws and system. Similarly in the year 1982 the Bihar State Madrasa Education Board was established which kept an eye on creation of such studies and syllabus where it was even empowered to constitute or dissolve the management Committees of the Madrasas running and was basically given the supervisory powers as a whole. This power of reconstitution of management Committees was later on struck down by the Honourable High Court of Bihar where it was held to be in violation of the mandate of Article 30 of the Constitution of

India. The latest Board which has been reconstituted in the state of Bihar has been rated and ranked as one of the best Madrasa education system in whole India where it helps upgrad curriculum as well as examinations. In the state of Uttar Pradesh the department of Arabic and Persian has been working like any ordinary state board with no effective measures whatsoever.

At the end of the year 2006 the Ministry of Human Resources Development Department led by a minister laid down the proposal for the establishment of the Central Madrasa Education Board, a concept which had remained dormant for the last several years. The concept was basically mooted by the National Commission for Minority Educational Institutions which was based on the documents which aptly portrayed the backwardness and highest rate of illiteracy among the Muslim community. This proposal gave recommendation regarding the remedial initiatives to be taken in order to upgrade the Madrasa system and bring it to the mainstream education where it further planned to be most critical in order to achieve "modernizing and upgrading Madrasa education, besides prioritising muslim majority areas for educational development". This proposal was with its prime and main objective to mainstream the obsolete syllabus of the Madrasas and bring it into the latest curriculum and system of education. The responsibility which was given to the National Commission for Minority Educational Institutions which was headed by Justice M.S.A. Siddique came with a rider that any kind of association with the Central Board System would be totally voluntary. The same was met with many criticism and doubts with some other suspicion where some religious and spiritual leaders believed it to be highly intervening in the Madrasa education while other like Syed Shahabuddin question the relevancy of this modernization stating the reason that only a small percentage of muslim children attend Madrasas as of today.

2.6: Research Gap

The above mentioned research is related to Madrasa education in India as a whole. There is little literature available on Madrasa education in Bihar. Moreover, there is an apparent research gap in academia on the issue of Madrasas funded by the government in Bihar. The current research tries to fill the same. It covers 4 Madrasas situated in three districts of Bihar. All these Madrasas are affiliated to the Bihar Madrasa Education Board, Patna.

The above mentioned review of related studies indicate that major work has been done in madrasa education in general and the present researcher could hardly find any research study conducted on Developmental of Madrasa education in Bihar.

Chapter 3

Madrassa Education in Bihar: History and Changing Contours

3.0: Introduction

Madrasas play a critical role in Muslim society in India. Madrasas are important for early education. These Madrasas are imparting education among marginalized section of Muslim society. However, as per the Sachar Committee Report (2006, p.76), only 4% of the total school going Muslim students go to Madrasa.⁹⁴ This is the case for India. On other hand, in the case of Bihar, total students in Madrasas were estimated to be more than 15 lakhs studying in Madrasas of more than 4000 in numbers affiliated to Madrasa board (Singh, 2020).⁹⁵ The Sachar Committee report estimated that more than 2 lakh students were studying in Madrasas in Bihar in 2004. In terms of numbers, students studying in Madrasas increased manifold in last 15 years. However, this may be noted that in terms of percentage, it is essential to update the share as estimated by the committee. However, the outlook of the society in Bihar indicates a more or less similar situation as outlined by the committee.

Sachar Committee's conclusion that only a handful students are going to Madrasas is an important finding. This indicates that the majority of Muslim students are choosing school education instead of Madrasa education. There are many misconceptions among Indian society relating to Madrasa education in India. Alam (2008) critically examined this notion and established

⁹⁴Sachar, R. (2006). Sachar Committee Report. *Government of India*.

⁹⁵ Singh, S. (2020), Bihar Madrasa bring in Science, Arts: Student must Compete with the World, Indian Express, September, 5, 2020, available at <https://indianexpress.com/article/education/bihar-madrassa-syllabus-science-arts-6583696/>

that such notion among masses regarding Madrasa education is erroneous.⁹⁶ While challenging the prevailing perception regarding Madrasa education, particularly among Hindu community, the study also cited examples of political leaders in bolstering such erroneous ideas. These leaders belong to right wing political parties and religious organizations which are traditionally critical of Muslims and their practices in India. In order to strengthen the available literature on Madrasa education in Bihar particularly covering the education system supported by the government, the current research studies the scenario and perceptions of students from government supported Madrasas in Bihar under Bihar Education Madrasas Board.

The nature of Madrasa education in Bihar has changed rapidly. As argued by Alamgeer (1998) that Madrasas are competently fulfilling the needs of Muslim community in Bihar by imparting knowledge and spreading literacy even in the presence of severe financial and infrastructural constraints.⁹⁷ Now, the condition of Madrasas supported by the government in Bihar has changed considerably. Some financial and infrastructural constraints have eased yet imparting education in these Madrasas is still an uphill task. These changes will be discussed later.

It is important here to make clear distinction between Dars-i-Nizamia and Dars-i-Alia before we make cases of changing scenario of Madrasas in Bihar. A clear distinction between the two systems of Madrasa education has been discussed by several scholars (Alamgeer, 1998 and Alam, 2011). Chapter 1 of the current research also deals with such a distinction. However, a short analytical discussion is essential for us to proceed further discussing on Madrasa education in Bihar under Madrasa Education Board, Patna.

⁹⁶Alam, A. (2008). The Enemy within: Madrasa and Muslim identity in North India. *Modern Asian Studies*, 42(2-3), 605-627.

⁹⁷ Alamgeer , M. A. (1998), The role of Madrasa Education in Educational Development of Muslims in Bihar, ICSSR, New Delhi

It may be deduced from above the discussions by earlier scholars and also after discussion with the Ulemas that the two systems differ owing to the syllabus they followed. Thus, Dars-i-Nizami or Nizamia education system follows syllabus based on the philosophy of Dinwi (religious) education. However, the case of Dars-i-Alia (Alia system) is a bit different from Nizamia. Alia system of education follows philosophy of both Dinwi (Religious) and Dunyawī (modern) education in its syllabus and therefore, Alia is a confluence of both modern education system and also the orthodox education system. Another important distinction is based on their funding. Nizamia system based Madrasas are funded by the Muslim community through charitable and other financial helps. Nizamia Madrasas do not accept government funding and thus, they keep their syllabus independent of government interventions. On the other hand, Alia system based Madrasas are funded by government as well as the community. Their syllabus is designed by the government. In the case of Bihar, the syllabus of Alia Madrasas is designed by Bihar Education Madrasa Board, Patna. As a result, Madrasas under the Board have scope of government interventions in designing their syllabus.

There is a huge network of Madrasas in Bihar. The total number of Madrasas for both systems in Bihar was nearly 1400 supported by Madrasa Board in Bihar and big Madrasas running on Nizamia syllabus is in large number in the State of Bihar but not as large in number as the Madrasas affiliated to Bihar Board (Alamgeer, 1998).⁹⁸ This number of affiliated Madrasas to Bihar Education Madrasa Board, Patna increased to 4000 of which 1942 Madrasas are government funded.⁹⁹

⁹⁸Alamgeer, M. A. (1998), *The role of Madrasa Education in Educational Development of Muslims in Bihar*, ICSSR, New Delhi

⁹⁹ Singh, S. (2020), Bihar Madrasa bring in Science, Arts: Student must Compete with the World, Indian Express, September, 5, 2020, available at <https://indianexpress.com/article/education/bihar-madrasa-syllabus-science-arts-6583696/>

Madrasas affiliated to the Madrasa board follow syllabus of Dars-i-Alia- a combination of both Dinvi and Dunyavi. The syllabus of secondary education of Alia Madrasas in Bihar is equivalent to the syllabus of secondary education of Bihar School Examination Board. A perusal of the syllabus suggests the inbuilt modernization within the Madrasa system. It covers social sciences, sciences, mathematics and languages and literature like any other boards in India. The difference is the inclusion of subjects like diniyat, hadees, Quran, etc. Approved syllabus of Madrasa Board in Bihar for Fauqania which is secondary level education is presented in table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Madrasa Board Syllabus of Secondary Education

S. No.	Subjects	Total Marks
1	Diniyat	200
2	Arabic Literature	200
3	Urdu (Mother Tongue)	200
4	Hindi (Rashtra Bhasha)	100
5	Farsi	100
6	English	100
7	Mathematics	200
8	Social Sciences	200
9	General Science	200
10	Sanskrit/Bengali/Maithili/ Economics/Commerce/Physical Science/Home science	100

Source: Bihar State Madrasa Education Board

The syllabus noted in the table 1 has a legacy in India. The history of Madrasa education in the country indicates that during the Delhi Sultanat period, almost all the above subjects were included in Madrasa education in one or the other ways. Shah Waliullah Dehlavi from Delhi founded a Madrasa in Delhi during 18th century. The syllabus of his Madrasa included Mathematics, Logic, Philosophy, Law, Grammar, Rhetoric, etc, a tradition which is still alive in both Nizamia and Alia Madrasa. Mullah Nazimuddin enlarged the syllabus and added several books to the study of grammar and attempted to lay the foundation of a broad based educational system so that the graduate could continue his studies on his own after completing school. The study of hadith was reinforced.

However, Madrasa Nizamia after the foundation of Dar-ul-Uloom at Deoband and thereafter many others as its networks in India led to the creation of several large Madrasas. One was established in Lucknow known as Nadwat-ul-Ulema. In the similar fashion, Madrasas were established by sects influenced by Barailwi ideas during second half of the 19th century. Sects based Madrasas were liable to impart ideas and philosophy of a particular sect within the Islam. There was deviation from the Shah's syllabus in Nizamia Madrasas after sect based education emerged as a new battlefield in Islamic education system. On the other hand, Alia system was envisioned to be not contaminated by such ideological battle. Nonetheless, Alia system is also suffering from the same problem which is discussed in the subsequent chapter in detail.

For the current study, I followed a multipronged strategy embracing field and also historical investigations. In addition, several secondary research based study materials were collected in order to understand the historical perspective of Madrasa education in Bihar. Surveys were also conducted to understand the preferences of students studying in Madrasas. Four Madrasas under the Bihar Education Madrasa Board was selected for field study Patna, Darbhanga

and Kishanganj. These Madrasas are Madrasa Shams-ul-Hoda, Patna, Madrasa Hameedia, Darbhanga (Urban), Madrasa Qasim-Ul-Uloom, Darbhanga (Rural) and Madrasa Anjuman-e-Islam, Kishanganj. Surveys were conducted with the objective to get an idea of personal experiences through interviews and discussions with students and Ulemas.

3.1: Bihar Madrasa Education Board and Its Spread

As stated earlier, there is a huge network of Madrasas affiliated to the Madrasa Board in Bihar. History of the modern Madrasa board in Bihar traces it back to the period when Bihar became a separate state from Bengal during British Raj in 1912. At the time, the government of Bihar established a Mohammadan Education committee to review the educational status of the Muslim community in the state. The objective of this committee was to bring uniformity in Madrasa education among Muslims in the state. As a result, at the initiative of Sir Fakhruddin, the first education Minister of Bihar, a Madrasa Examination Board was established in 1922. The board was empowered to bring uniformity in the exams conducted in Madrasas affiliated to the board and also publish the result of the same. There were 39 Madrasas affiliated to the board in 1947. The functioning of the board was very limited with the conferred power and limited interventions in the Madrasa education system. Eventually, there was limited change visible in the Madrasa system. In fact, the board could not bring desired changes particularly quantitative changes in the Madrasa education system (Alamgeer, 2008). In order to bring both qualitative and quantitative changes in Madrasa education system in the state, All Bihar State Madrasa Student Union was established. Their struggle led to the creation of Bihar State Madrasa Education Board in 1979 through an ordinance which was replaced by an Act in 1982. The struggle was spearheaded by Maulana Shah Md.Khan, Principal Shamsul Hoda, Shahnawaz Khan, student leader and others.

The Act passed in 1982 was one of the most important milestones in Alia system of education in Bihar. Accordingly the main function of the board was further extended and the Board was empowered to register private Madrasas, design uniform syllabus, admit students of the affiliated Madrasas, conduct examinations and also approve appointment of teachers in affiliated Madrasas.¹⁰⁰

The board has a Chairman nominated by the government of Bihar. In addition to the Chairman, there are some ex-officio members of the Board which include Chairman of Bihar State Sunni Waqf Board, Chairman of Bihar Shia Waqf Board, Director of Institution of Arabic and Persian Research, Principal of Madrasa Islamia Shams-ul-Hoda and Special Director (secondary education), Government of Bihar. The ex-officio members also include two MLAs, two MLCs, three education experts nominated and two senior Madrasa teachers nominated by the government. The Madrasa Board has classified classes of its affiliated Madarsa based on the following:-

1. A Madrasa running classes from 1 to IV is called Wastaniya Madrasa
2. A Madrasa running classes from 1 to X is called Fauqania Madrasa
3. A Madrasa running classes from 1 to XII is called Maulvi Madrasa
4. A Madrasa running classes from 1 to XV is called Alim Madrasa
5. A Madrasa running classes from 1 to XVII is called Fazil Madrasa

¹⁰⁰ For detail see the Bihar State Madrasa Education Board Act, 1982

3.1.1: Provisions of Bihar State Madrasa Education Board Act 1981 (passed in 1982)

There are 32 articles enlisted in the Bihar State Madrasa Education Board Act 1981 Act.¹⁰¹ Article 1 and 2 deals with the title and definition respectively. Article 3 gives the provision regarding effective date of the act. Article 5 of the act provides with the composition of the board. As per the article, the board consists of Chairman, Director of Education, Director, Institute of Post Graduate Studies and Research in Arabic, Patna, the Principal of Madrasa Shams-ul-Hoda, Patna, Chairman Bihar Sunni Wakf Board, Chairman Bihar State Shia Board, Three members of legislative assembly, two senior teachers, three other members nominated by the government. The chairman is de facto administrative head of the board.

The act also outlines the powers and functions of the board as per article 7. The function includes providing instructions related to the promotion of research in Arabic, Persian and Islamic Studies and such other branches of knowledge. In addition, the board can advise the state government on the matter relating to Madrasa Education. The board has power to direct and supervise Madrasa education in Bihar. It can grant recognition, affiliation and withdraw recognition as deemed feasible. The most important function is also to prepare and publish books related to Madrasa education. The board has the right to sell these materials and books. The board has financial power to administer funds of Madrasas aided by the government.

The act also highlights the constitution of the office of the board and its office bearer. As per article 8 of the Act, office bearer includes chairman, secretary, finance Officer and Controller of Examinations etc. The subsequent articles of the act provide power and functioning of these office bearer. Article 17 indicates that a Bihar State Madrasa Education Fund is to be created. The

¹⁰¹Bihar State Madrasa Education Board Act 1981 (passed in 1982),
http://bsmeb.org/Downloads/Madrasa_Board_Act_1981.pdf

government of Bihar is doing all transactions through this fund as per the provision of the act. The board has also the power to formulate and implement regulations for the appointment and promotion of teachers as per the provision of the Article 24 of the Act. Thus, the Act provides with the detailed functioning of the Madrasas.

3.1.2: Spread of Aided Madrasas

Majority of Madrasas affiliated to Bihar Madrasa Education Board are established by Muslim community in a fashion similar to that of establishing Nizamia Madrasas. These Madrasas are registered with the government and have the autonomy to establish such institutions under the provision of the Constitution in Article 301. The rest of the administration of these Madrasas is appointed by the principal. In addition, each Madrasa has a managing committee consisting of local representatives elected by the locals where the Madrasa is situated. The committee is headed by a President. It also has a Secretary. Normally, secretaries are empowered to look after day to day activities of Madrasas. Besides, the managing committee consists of seven elected members from local representatives, along with a principal and a teacher as its member. The financial power rests with the Secretary of a Madrasa and also the Secretary is de facto head of the committee.

The Secretary also exercises real control of administration along with finances. The committee has the power to appoint both teaching and non-teaching staffs and take disciplinary action against them. These appointments are further approved by the Madrasa board. These interventions from the Board were envisioned to strengthen the control of the government. This has both advantages and disadvantages. Advantages include that usually managing committee members appoint their own people and locals against vacant post which needs scrutiny from the board. In addition, monitoring of finances and administrative works is required as locals have several constraints and issues including fear of corruption. On the other hand disadvantages

include delay in the appointment of new staffs against vacant post which results in dismal condition of education in Madrasas affiliated to the board. In fact, education in these institutions has degraded caused by multiple factors. Once having vast hinterland, these Madrasas are now starving to attract local population. A district wise list of Madrasas aided by Bihar Madrasa Education Board is presented in table 3.2.

Table 3.2: District-wise List of 1937 Madrasas Aided by Bihar State Madrasa Education Board

S. No.	District	Number of Madrasa
1	Kishanganj	338
2	Katihar	274
3	Madhubani	227
4	Darbhanga	183
5	Purnea	164
6	Araria	128
7	Sitamarhi	109
8	West Champaran	93
9	East Champaran	65
10	Supaul	57
11	Bhagalpur	50
12	Siwan	40
13	Smastipur	39
14	Saharsa	21

15	Muzaffarpur	18
16	Begusarai	15
17	Banka	13
18	Gopalganj	12
19	Rohtas	12
20	Nalanda	11
21	Khagaria	10
22	Madhepura	10
23	Patna	8
24	Gaya	7
25	Aurangabad	6
26	Shekhpura	5
27	Vishali	5
28	Nawada	4
29	Saran	4
30	Bhojpur	3
31	Buxur	2
32	Jamui	2
33	Munger	2
	Total	1937

Source: Bihar State Madrasa Education Board, Patna

There are 1937 Madrasas financed by the government under Bihar State Madrasa Education Board. On the other hand there are about 4000 Madrasas affiliated to Madrasa Board

for examination only. There is a distinction between affiliated and financed by the Board. Affiliated Madrasas have permission for admission for students under the Madrasa board but these Madrasas are not financially supported by the government. On the other hand, Madrasas financially supported by the government are given salary and other financial contributions.

The table 3.2 gives an outline of those districts where Madrasas financed by the government of Bihar through Madrasa Education Board are concentrated in large number. Top 10 districts constitute more than 80% of the total Madrasas aided by the board. These districts include Kishanganj, Katihar, Madhubani, Darbhanga, Purnea, Araria, Sitamarhi, West Champaran and Supaul. Kishanganj has the highest number of Madrasas aided by the government of Bihar with 338 Madrasas functioning and imparting education. This is 17% of the total government aided Madrasas. Katihar has the second largest share with 14% of the total government funded Madrasas. The district has 274 Madrasas. Madhubani has 227 and Darbhanga has 183 Madrasas having share of 12% and 9% respectively. Similarly, Purnea, Araria, Sitamarhi combined with Sheohar, West Champaran, East Champaran and Supaul together have 32% of the total government aided Madrasas in Bihar. These are the districts where Muslim population has high concentration. All these districts are situated in either Simanchal or North Bihar. As far as South Bihar is concerned, the number of government aided Madrasas is very less in number. Gaya, Patna, Aurangabad, Shekhpura, Nawada, Jamui, Nalanda, Banka and Munger together constitute 3% of the total government aided Madrasas in Bihar. This indicates the regional share of government aided Madrasas. It may be construed from the above that Southern Bihar has less number of Madrasas owing to the perceptions that Madrasa education is essential to mainstream its students.

3.1.3: System of Government aided Madrasa Education

As pointed earlier that the Alia system of Marasa education is a confluence of both religious and modern education. The courses were designed in such a way so as to facilitate students to get possibilities for employment with the government. The syllabus was first prepared by the committee headed by Shamael Nabi in 1976 having eminent members like Prof. Syed Hussain, Mohiuddin Salik, Maulana Abul Qasim, Shah Islmael, Prof. Siddiq Ali Haider, Maulan Betaab siddiqui and Rizwanul Haque Nadvi. Their continuous effort and vision designed the courses for Alia system of Madrasa education in Bihar. They kept in view the needs of students and their relevance for contemporary systems of employment as well as their levels of competitiveness with other education board such as school examination board, etc. Therefore, subjects like social sciences, science and math were introduced in the syllabus.

The Alia education system under the Bihar Madrasa board was designed in such a manner that the courses can be completed in 17 years with Tahtania 4 years, Wastania 4 years, Fauqania 2 years, Maulvi 2 years and Alim three years and Fazil 2 years. Tahtania is akin to elementary education in schools and like schools **its** syllabi includes elementary Arabic, Urdu, Persian, Hindi Math, Social Sciences, English and Diniyat. Diniyat at this level is teaching basics about religion. In addition, students are to choose any one of Physical Exercise, Gardening and Khattati. For Wastania classes, the syllabi remain same except inclusion of Arabic grammer as Nah and Sarf. As far as skill development is concerned; the students are free to choose any one of Physical Exercise, English Calligraphy, Elementary Tailoring, Spinning Weaving, Carpentry, Katub Sazi and Domestic Science.

At the level of Fauqania, courses are designed in such a manner that the students must have potential to make a shift from Madrasa education to senior secondary schools affiliated to any

school examination board in India. The government of Bihar has made Fauqania equivalent to Matric or secondary examination. Therefore, the syllabus of Fauqania is designed at par with Bihar School Examination Board syllabus which includes 1) Diniyat, 2) Arabi Literature, 3) Urdu, 4) Hindi 5), Persian, 6) English, 7) Mathematics, 8) Social Studies, 9) History, 10) Geography 11) G. K, 12) Optional Subjects like sewing, calligraphy, physical education, etc. The syllabus at Maulvi levels include 1) Diniyat, 2) Arabi Literature, 3) Urdu, 4) Hindi 5), Persian, 6) English, 7) Logic, 8) Optional Subjects –any one of History, Geography, Political Science, Economics, Psychology, Philosophy, Sociology, Astronomy, Islamic History, Sanskrit, Bangla and Mathili. At Maulvi level, syllabus is designed in such a way that the students who passed Maulvi exams can take admission in any university but only in Bachelor of Arts. After Maulvi exams, the students are not allowed to pursue streams like Commerce and Science by the government. The government has made Maulvi equivalent to intermediate of arts. It is further confined to religious education when a student is pursuing Alim. Tafsir, Hadis, Fiqh, Arabic Literature, Persian, Urdu and Tarikhe Islam are the subjects designed for Alim courses which is equivalent to B. A. in Bihar. .

The government of Bihar accorded recognition to the degrees awarded by the Board and it made them equivalent to the degrees of the university in 1978. As per the Government gazette 1978, Wastania, Fauqania, Maulvi, alim, Fazil and Kamil made equivalent to Middle School, Matric, I. A. B. A., M. A. and Ph.D. respectively. It is important for here to mention that some of the affiliated Madrasa has education upto Wastania level and some of these have education upto Fauqania level. In that case, the Madrasas having affiliation with Madrasa board and has education approved upto Wastania level send their students to nearby Madrasas in network for further education. In some cases, the Madrasa having approval of running education upto Alim levels also

attract students from those Madrsas which have approval for lower level courses. This also reflects in case of Madrasa Qasim-ul-Uloom, Darbhanga. This is discussed in detail later in this chapter.

3.2: Performance of Bihar State Madarsa Education Board

With the background above, the performance of Bihar Madarsa Education Board indicates that the number of students appearing for secondary examinations i.e Fauqania is around 86000 and for senior secondary education the total students appeared for examination is around 35036. The statistics has two important aspects viz. either the students are getting dropped out or the students are making shift from Madrasa education to other education systems. The two important questions will be examined later in this chapter. This situation is also discussed when performance of selected Madrasas is discussed in this chapter.

At a glance, it is important to note that female students has higher share in Madrasa education (table 3.3). In fact, in 2015, almost 62% of the total appeared students were female students. This is in contrary to the notion and general perception regarding Madrasa education in India. Total pass percentage of students for secondary education is noted to be 84% in 2015 of which 66% are female students and 34% are male students.

Table 3.3: Performance of Students under Bihar State Madrasa Education Board, 2015

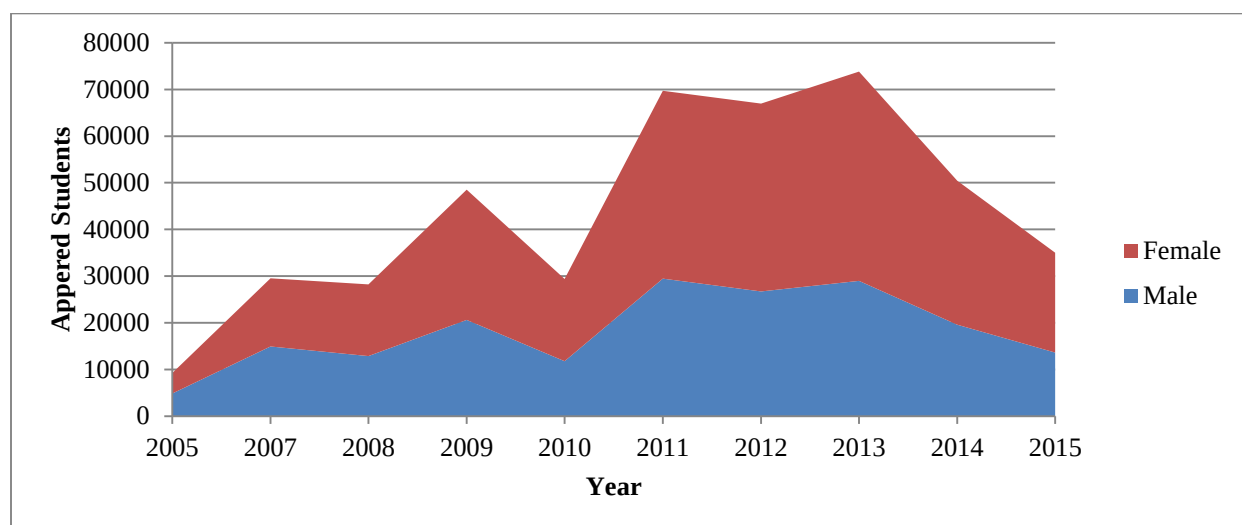
Items	Appeared			Passed		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Secondary Examinations	32267	53525	85792	24273	47923	72196
Higher Secondary Examinations	13592	21444	35036	11959	19672	31631

Source: MHRD, Government of India

In case of senior secondary education i.e. Maulvi under the Bihar State Madrasa Board, total number of students appeared for the examination in 2015 was 35036 of which 31631 were passed constituting 90% of the total students appeared for Maulvi examination. Among the students appeared for Maulvi, 61% were female whereas 39% were male students. The case of students who passed the secondary examination is almost similar when we analyze it on a gender basis. Among passed students, 62% were female and 38% were male students.

For a better understanding, the historical performance of male and female students of Madrasa education in Bihar is presented in table 3.4 and 3.5. The Table indicates both number of appeared students and number of passed students. If we analyse the table, it shows that number of female students appeared has been continuously increasing over time except the case of 2010, 2014 and 2015. In these years, total number of students decreased. Consequently, the performance of male and female students is also appearing to be same. These trends are also depicted in figure 3.1 and 3.2. The data taken from the Ministry of Education, Government of India is in fact reported by the state board. With such a huge network of Madrasas, the institutions are not able to attract students. Therefore, the performance of students of these Madrasas is also decreasing. Table 3.4 and 3.5 brings out similar trend.

Figure 3.1: Trend of Male and Female Students Appeared in Higher Secondary Education



Source: Author, Prepared using Data from MHRD, Government of India

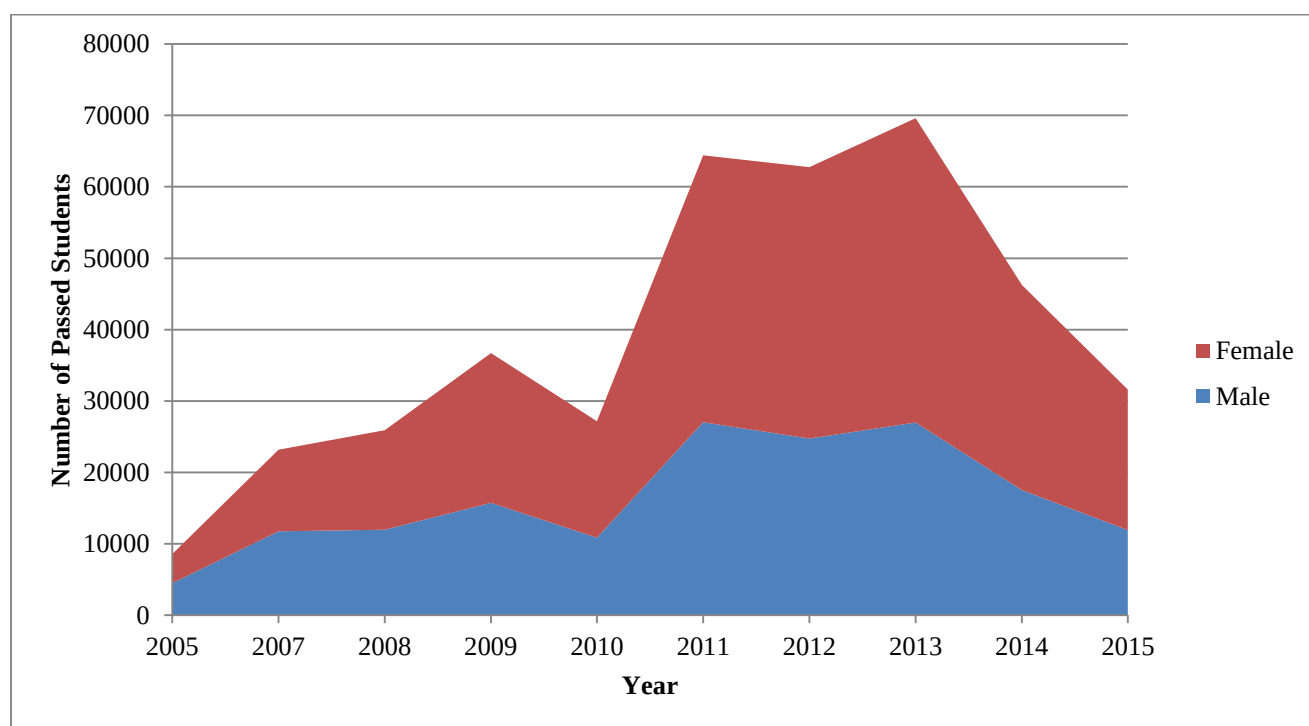
Table 3.4: Trend of Higher Secondary Education under Bihar State Madarasa Board

Year	Appeared			Passed		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
2005	4859	4373	9232	4496	4096	8592
2007	14913	14637	29550	11749	11429	23178
2008	12852	15377	28229	12001	13932	25933
2009	20586	27962	48548	15770	20951	36721
2010	11797	17570	29367	10870	16287	27157
2011	29438	40285	69723	27021	37391	64412
2012	26728	40244	66972	24764	37975	62739
2013	28986	44828	73814	26978	42631	69609

2014	19554	30881	50435	17531	28712	46243
2015	13592	21444	35036	11959	19672	31631

Source: MHRD, Government of India, Various Reports

Figure 3.2: Trend of Male and Female Students Paased in Higher Secondary Education Exams



Source: Author, Prepared using Data from MHRD, Government of India

Table 3.5: Trend of Share of Both Genders in Higher Secondary Exams under Madrasa Board in %.

Year	Male Appeared	Female Appeared	Male Passed	Female Passed
2005	52.6	47.4	52.3	47.7
2007	50.5	49.5	50.7	49.3
2008	45.5	54.5	46.3	53.7
2009	42.4	57.6	42.9	57.1
2010	40.2	59.8	40.0	60.0
2011	42.2	57.8	42.0	58.0
2012	39.9	60.1	39.5	60.5
2013	39.3	60.7	38.8	61.2
2014	38.8	61.2	37.9	62.1
2015	38.8	61.2	37.8	62.2

Source: MHRD, Government of India, Various Reports

It is important to note from table 3.5, share of female students in higher secondary exam conducted by Bihar State Madrasa Education board has been continuously increasing during recent years. The share of female students appeared in higher secondary exams of the board was 47.4% in 2005 and share of female students passed the same exam in 2005 was 47.7%. The share increased to 60% in 2012 and touched around 62% during 2014 and 2015 for both the indicators. It would be important to further examine the trend of secondary education of the board with a view to gender participation (table 3.6)

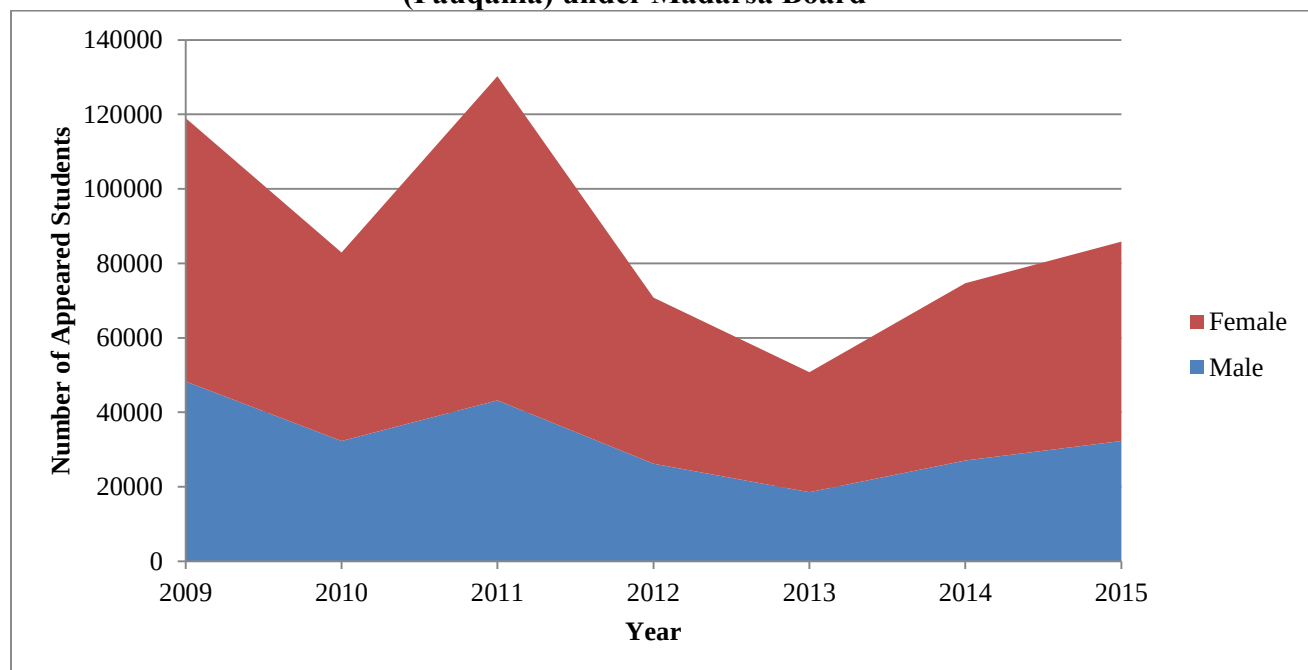
Table 3.6: Trend of Secondary Education Exams under Madrasa Board, Bihar

Year	Appeared			Passed		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
2009	48286	70753	119039	31279	47201	78480
2010	32317	50556	82873	29019	46627	75646
2011	43233	86988	130221	39533	63087	102620
2012	26167	44631	70798	22992	40457	63449
2013	18565	32168	50733	16592	29490	46082
2014	27086	47562	74648	23692	43772	67464
2015	32267	53525	85792	24273	47923	72196

Source: MHRD, Various Reports

Gender-wise analysis of secondary exam (Fauqania) conducted by Bihar State Madarsa Board in recent years indicates that number of total students appeared in the exam have been drastically fluctuating. In 2009, the total number of appeared students was more than one lakh of which around 60% are female students. The number of total students appeared in Fauqania exam reduced to 82,000 in 2010 and further reduced to 50,733 in 2013. However, the share of female students appearing in the exam increased to 61% in 2010 and 62% in 2013. In the year 2015, total number of students appeared for Fauqania exam was 85,792 and share of female students in the year was around 64%. This trend is also shown in figure 3.3 indicating share of male and female.

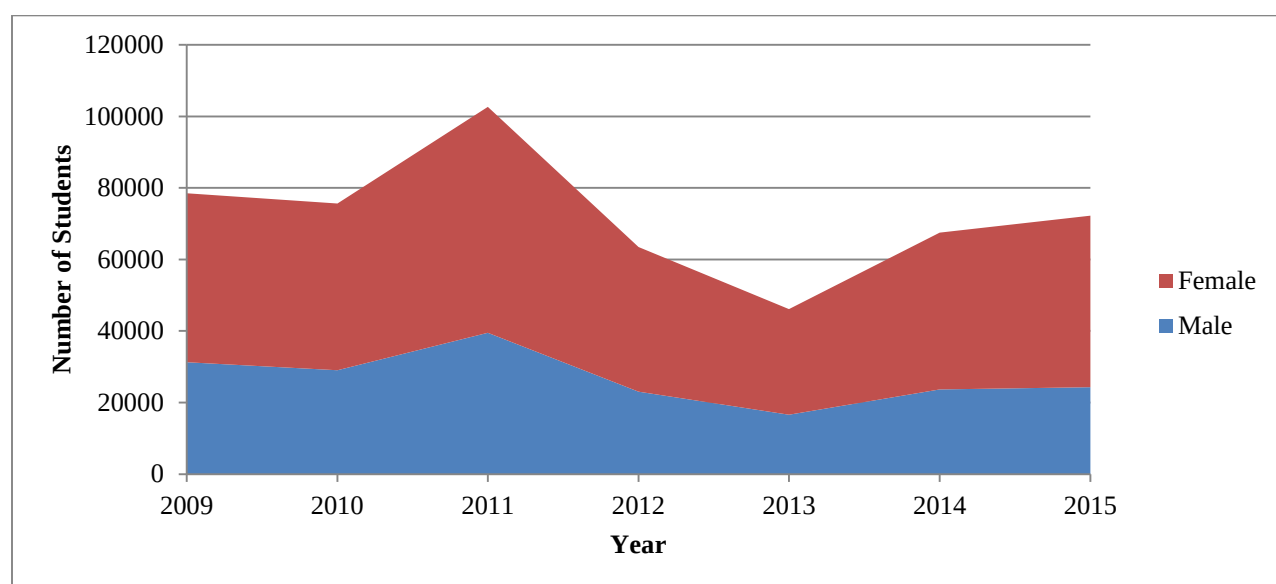
Figure 3.3: Trend of Male and Female Students Appeared for Secondary Examinations (Fauqania) under Madarsa Board



Source: Author, Prepared using Data from MHRD

A similar analysis of students who passed the Fauqania exam under the Madarsa board suggests that the trend of total students passed the exam in 2009 was 78,480 of which 60% was female. The number increased to 1, 026, 20 in 2011 of which 61% was female students. The share of female students has increased in the same way, as the number of appeared female students increased from 2009 to 2015. The number suggests that share of female students passed the Fauqania exam increased from 61% in 2011 to 66% in 2015. Figure 3.5 indicates the trend of male and female students who passed the fauqania exam under Bihar State Madarsa Board during recent years. The pass percentage of the students appeared in Fauqania exam was 66% in 2009 which increased to 90% in 2012 and 84% in 2015 (table 3.6).

Figure 3.4: Number of Students Passed Secondary Exam under Madarsa Board



Source: Author, Prepared using Data from MHRD, Government of India

Table 3.7: Share of Male and Female Students in Secondary Exam Conducted by Madarsa Board in %

Year	Appeared		Passed	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
2009	40.6	59.4	39.9	60.1
2010	39.0	61.0	38.4	61.6
2011	33.2	66.8	38.5	61.5
2012	37.0	63.0	36.2	63.8
2013	36.6	63.4	36.0	64.0
2014	36.3	63.7	35.1	64.9
2015	37.6	62.4	33.6	66.4

Source: MHRD, Government of India, Various Reports

The analysis of performance of students in the selected two exams i.e. secondary (Fauqania) and higher secondary (Maulvi) conducted by the Madarsa Board has several dimensions to discuss. The most important dimension that the current chapter suggests is diminishing gender bias in Madarsas affiliated to Bihar Board. This is an important change taking place. While thinking about Madarsa education, it is a generally accepted idea that female students in Madarsas are low in number and they are also facing discrimination in their pursuit of educational goals.

The present data does not clearly suggest that discrimination with female students is decreasing in these Madrasas. However, the analysis is indicative towards the fact that participation of female students is increasing and therefore, it can be deduced that discrimination would also be decreasing in these Madarsas. It must be noted that the analysis is limited to Alia Madarsa under Bihar State Madarsa Education Board. Such changing nature and dimensions of Madarsa Education in Bihar is further examined through primary surveys conducted in four Madarsas affiliated to the Madarsa Board. The context and scope of the field study and its locational choices are discussed in the next chapter. The following Madarsas are selected for field survey.

1. Madrasa Shams-ul-Hoda, Patna
2. Madrasa Hameedia, Darbhanga
3. Madrasa Qasim-ul-Uloom, Darbhanga
4. Madrasa Anjuman Islam, Kishanganj

3.3: Conclusion

This chapter presents the history and spread of Madrasa Education Board, Patna. The spread suggests that the number of government aided Madrasas are large in numbers. Moreover, a large number of such Madrasas are concentrated in districts of Simanchal like Kishanganj, Araria, Katihar and Purnea. On the other hand, districts like Madhubani, Darbhanga, East Champaran and West Champaran have also high concentration of Madrasas. South Bihar does not have such level of concentration.

Performance of Madrasas affiliated to Bihar Madrasa Education Board is a matter of critical concern. As per statistics by Ministry of Education, government of India, enrolment in the government aided Madrasas decreased significantly. One of the important reason for low level of enrolment could be the decreasing standards of both school and higher education in Bihar. The statistics suggests that majority of degree colleges are functioning without teachers suggesting that classes are not being held. In addition, the universities are functioning late on account of session. Therefore, the students are migrating from Bihar for higher education.

Not only Madrasa education but the education in Bihar needs special attention for improving the system. Madrasas are part of the larger network of overall education system in Bihar. In particular, Alia Madrasas are part of such network. With improved and rational syllabus followed by the government aided Madrasas, the students are given privilege to be considered equivalent to that of school and college level education. Therefore, a holistic approach is needed to improve Madrasa Education. This would need close interaction both at community and government levels.

Chapter 4

Context and Scope of the Field Survey

4.1: Introduction

This chapter aims at presenting the historical background and the current state of the Madrasas selected as per the field survey conducted in four locations. As discussed in the previous chapter, there is secondary evidence that participation of female students in secondary and higher secondary exams is increasing from which it was inferred that contrary to general perception, the discrimination against female students in Madrasas is decreasing. Furthermore, there is also data available which indicates the fact that after passing secondary education from Madrasas Board, majority of them are choosing Madrasa education for higher secondary education. However, students ranging from 20 to 30% are either shifting education from Madarsa to Schools or opting to drop out. The exercise that is undertaken in the field survey is therefore aimed at addressing the following issues in the following manner.

1. Why do students choose Madarsa Education, particularly for female students?
2. What is the existing scenario of education in Madrasas affiliated and supported by the Board?
3. Understanding causes and conditions in which students are opting for shift from Madarsa board to formal and modern education system.

In addition to understanding the issues mentioned above, the field survey also aimed at identifying future plans of the students indicating their interest in jobs and other ambitions. Therefore, a sample of 190 students was interviewed in the four Madrasas identified above. Of the

total 190 students, female students were 97 and male students were 93. The issue of the participation of female students is taken up in due consideration with the changing share of female students in these Madrasas. However, no female students were interviewed at Madrasa Shams-ul-Hoda.

In the subsequent section, there is a discussion regarding locations chosen for field survey. It is also discussed that these educational institutions are also important in facilitating education among the students of catchment area and also outside its catchment area. It is stated clearly here that we have targeted students of secondary (Wastania and Fauqania) and Higher Secondary (Maulvi) for our purpose considering the fact that students are making shift after these classes. There are several examples of shifting education systems after getting Alim degree or graduating from Madrasa. Some of cases of such shifting and getting mainstream education after Alim degree will also be presented in the next chapter. Despite the fact that the students are making shift from Madrasa to Universities after Alim (graduation) degree, the present study covers only secondary and higher secondary students for field study considering the fact that there is more scope of changing streams after secondary education whereas after higher secondary (Maulvi), the students can only enroll themselves in Arts stream if they change education system or make shift from Madrasa education. Nevertheless, there is no limitations of subjects in which the students are expecting to get admitted in graduation programme in universities with Arts stream. This scope is very limited when students from Madrasa education are shifting from Madrasa to university.

The field study is limited to secondary and higher secondary education and presents findings through structured questionnaires as well as findings based on focused group discussion making questions open to respondents. The methodology is discussed in detail in the next chapter.

4.2: Identification and Justification of Study Location

For any field study, it is important to justify the choices of locations or selection of sample which actually represents the population.

Theoretically, the sampling method followed for this research is random sampling. In statistics, random sampling is defined as choosing sample randomly from the population (Yates et. all, 2008).¹⁰² The bases of using this type of sampling are the chances of eliminating element of bias and also making field survey a bit easy for the purpose of research. Random sampling has both benefits and also limitations. The benefits include probability of choosing each of subset of population is equal, simple form of collecting data through sampling and has not predetermined biased perception regarding population. On the other hand, limitations include less chances of representation for population and requires large sample for less error in statistical inferences and calculations (Kothari, 2004, Gupta, 2012).¹⁰³

In order to do this exercise, I looked at three important aspects relating to Madrasa education in Bihar. The first and foremost is Madrasa's role in promoting shifting of education. Madrasa Shams-ul-Hoda which is situated in Patna has a strong tradition in promoting and mainstreaming its students. There are many success stories from this Madrasa. Many of its alumni are in Government services with different departments, although the present situation indicates overall miserable situation of student's strength. Students of this Madrasa used to pursue university

¹⁰²Yates, Daniel S.; David S. Moore; Daren S. Starnes (2008). *The Practice of Statistics, 3rd Ed.* Freeman.

¹⁰³Kothari, C. R. (2004). *Research methodology: Methods and techniques.* New Age International.

Gupta, S. P. (2012), *Statistical Methods*, S. Chand Publication, New Delhi

degrees in large number. This shift is now lower in number due to the fact that student's numerical strength in Madrasa Shams-ul-Hoda has decreased over time.

Second important aspect, in this context, is concentration of Muslim population in a district in Bihar and where number of Madrasas affiliated to Bihar Madrasa Board is relatively very high. Accordingly, a Madrasa from Kishanganj was selected. The third important case was selection of Madrasa in a district where population of Muslims is moderate but has better influence on the Muslim society. Considering this, two Madarsas, one situated in urban area and one situated in rural area in Darbhanga were selected.

Darbhangha is selected for the field considering the concentration of Muslim population in the district. Madarsa Hameedia is situated in headquarter of Darbhanga district which is urban in its location. I also selected one more Madarsa in Darbhanga district situated in rural area which has historical importance. Madarsa Qasim-ul-Uloom is important for our purpose situated as it is in the rural area of Darbhanga district. The number of students interviewed from this Madrasa is higher than the number of students interviewed in Hameedia. All the four Madrasa have hostel facilities and education for both male and female students.

This is important to note that Muslim population in the three districts of Bihar. As per census data 2011, Muslims are the second largest population in Bihar accounting for 16.87% spread across the state. Kishanganj is one of the Muslim majority districts in India. Muslims in Kishanganj account for 68% of the total population of Kishanganj. However, Kishanganj town is mostly populated by Hindus and majority of Muslims are located in Bahadurganj town of the Kishanganj districts and spread across rural areas. Darbhanga is another important district where Muslim population accounts for more than 22% of the total population. While towns in Darbhanga are dominated by Hindu population yet the share of Muslim population in Darbhanga town is

nearly 28% of the town's total population making it an important location of concentration of Muslims in Bihar. Muslim population in Patna district is nearly 8% of the total population of the district, but the concentration of Muslim population is limited to few of the town areas. For example Muslim concentrated areas in Patna district are Phulwari Sharif, Nohsa, Janpur and Dariapur. In addition, there are few settlements where Muslims population is significant which includes Patliputra colony, Barh and Patna town, etc. The share of Muslim population in the three districts as per census data 2011 is given in table 4.1 along with list of towns where Muslims are significant in number.

Table 4.1: Share of Muslim Population with Muslim Concentrated Town Areas

District	Share of Muslims in total Population	Town Areas with Significant Muslim Population
Kishanganj	68%	Bahadurganj (67%), Kishanganj (43%)
Darbhangha	22%	Darbhangha (28%), Benipur (23%)
Patna	8%	Phulwari Sharif (56%), Dariapur (53%), Nohsa (73%), Janpur (76), Patna (12%).

Source: Census Data, 2011, MOSPI, GOI

Apart from the above basis, the selected locations and sample for the study is also taken up considering the historical importance of the identified Madrasas. The next section gives a brief description of these madrasas and makes a case that these are the true and representative sample for whole of the madrasa education in Bihar under the Bihar State Madrasa Education Board.

4.3: About Selected Madrasas

4.3.1: Madarsa Shams-ul-Hoda, Patna

Madarsa Shams-ul-Hoda (MISH) is situated in Patna. The original name of Patna was Pataliputra or Patalipattan and its history makes a start from the century 600 B.C. The name Patna has undergone many changes at its earliest stages like Pataligram, Kusumpur, Patliputra, Azimabad etc., ultimately to the present one. Chandragupta Maurya made the city of Patna as his capital in the 4th century A.D. Thereafter, the city lost its importance until Sher Shah Suri rose into power in the early 16th century A.D. Another version that comes to focus is that there existed a village named Pattan or Patthan, which later turned into Patna. It has been said that Pataliputra was founded by Ajatashatru. Patna, therefore, has become inextricably bound up with the ancient Pataliputra. The ancient village was named ‘Patali’ and the word ‘Pattan’ was added to it. Greek history mentions ‘Palibothra’ which perhaps is Pataliputra itself.

Ajatashatru had to adopt certain security measures in order to protect Patna from the repeated Lichchavi invasions. He had got a natural riverine fort protected by three rivers. Ajatashatru’s son had moved his capital from Rajagriha to Pataliputra and this status was maintained during the reign of the Mauryas and the Guptas. Ashoka the Great, administered his empire from here. Chandragupta Maurya and Samudragupta, took Pataliputra as their capital.

Prince Azim-us-Shan, the grandson of Aurangzeb came as the Governor of Patna in 1703. It was prince Azim-us-Shan who tried to turn Patna into a beautiful city and it was he who gave it the name 'Azimabad'. The common people however went on calling it 'Patna'. The old Patna or the modern Patna City had at one time a wall all round, the remains of which can still be seen at the entrance of old Patna.

Demography of Patna- As per census 2011 the population of Patna District is 5,838,465 (Male – 3,078,512 and Female – 2,759,953). The growth rate is (2001-2011) is 23.73%. Overall Literacy rate is 70.68 %, male Literacy rate is 78.48% and female Literacy rate is 61.96%. Many languages are spoken in Patna. Hindi is the official language of the state of Bihar. English is also spoken extensively. (Source: Census of India 2011) The native dialect is Magahi. Other dialects from other regions of Bihar spoken widely in Patna are Bhojpuri, Hindi and Maithili. Other languages spoken in Patna include Bengali, Urdu and Oriya.

The district is devoid of any forest wealth of consequence. The alluvial tract of land yields rice, sugarcane and other food grains. The area under cultivation is studded with mango orchards and bamboo clumps. In the fields adjoining the Ganges weeds such as ammannia, citriculari, hygrophile and sesbania grow. But palmyra and date palm and mango orchards are found near habitations. Dry shrub jungles are sometimes seen in the villages away from the rivers. Trees commonly found are bel, siris, jack fruits and the red cotton tree.

The modern district of Patna was created in September 1770 as provincial council by the British, to supervise revenue matters of Bihar, along with Murshidabad for Bengal. In 1793, Patna became a separate judicial district. This led to the foundation of modern district. The district has 23 blocks: Patna Sadar, Phulwari Sarif, Sampatchak, Paliganj, Fatuha, Khusrupur,

Daniyawaan, Bakhtiyarpur, Barh, Belchi, Athmalgoal, Mokama, Pandarak, Ghoswari, Bihta, Maner, Danapur, Naubatpur, Bikram, Masaurhi, Dhanarua, Punpun.

Schools in Patna are either government run schools or private schools. Schools mainly use Hindi or English as the medium of instruction.^[22] The schools are affiliated with the Bihar School Examination Board, the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE), the National Institute of Open Schooling (NIOS) or the Indian Certificate of Secondary Education (ICSE).^[23] Under the 10+2+3/4 plan, after completing their secondary education, students typically enroll in a school with a higher secondary facility affiliated with the BSEB, the NIOS, Indian School Certificate (ISC) or the CBSE. Students usually choose from one of three streams — liberal arts, commerce, or science, though vocational streams are also available. Upon completing the required coursework, students may enroll in general or professional degree programmes. Table 4.2 presents demographic characteristics of the population of Patna based on religion.

Table 4.2: Religion wise share population, as per census, 2011

Religion	Share in %
Hindus	91.74
Muslims	7.54
Christian	0.21
Jain	0.04
Sikh	0.08
Buddhist	0.02
Not Stated	0.37

Source: CSO, Ministry of Statistics and Planning

The MISH is located at Patna on Ashok Rajpath. The Ashok Rajpath is considered among the oldest education hub as several Institutions are situated on it such as, Magadh Mahila College, B. N. College, Patna Medical College, Khuda Baksh Library, Government Urdu College, Patna College, Patna University, Science College and Engineering College are situated on it. Just opposite to MISH, the famous Patna Science College is situated.

MISH is founded by Justice Syed Noorul Hoda in the memory of his father Samshul Hoda in year 01 November 1912. Initially the syllabus included Quran Majeed, Hadees, Tafseer, Fiqe based on Islamic Jurisprudence. Once the MISH got its affiliation from Bihar Madrasa Education Board Patna in 1920, the syllabus got revised based on Bihar State Madrasa Education Board. The affiliation was for Wastania (9th standard), Fouquania (10th standard), Molvi (Intermediate), Aalim (Graduation) and Fazil (Post Graduation). MISH has been one of the Best Madrasas for higher education in Bihar among all government and private Madrasas for years. Apart from Islamic education and Madrasa education, this Madrasa also teaches modern subjects such as History, Geography, Mathematics, Urdu, Hindi, English, General Science, Psychology, and Economics. Therefore, MISH holds high status in terms of Madrasa Education system of Bihar.

The Bihar Madrasa Board was established in 1922, and after a year it was transformed into Bihar Madrasa Examination Board. Earlier, due to lack of space, it was operating inside the campus of the MISH and they used to control all the Madrasas of Bihar Government. Later in 1978, the Bihar Government changed its name to Bihar Madrasa Education Board and the subjects taught in the Madrasa system were integrated with the mainstream education system and its degree got recognised at the School, college and University level. After these progressive changes the students of Madrasas started taking higher education and job with ease due to mainstreaming of the education system. In 2009 they came up with an Academic calendar. After 2009, the degree and

the conduct of examination of the course Aalim and Fazil, got controlled by Maulana Mazharul Haque Arabi Farsi University. It is interesting to know that, there exists only three Madrasas all over India, which are fully funded by the state government and the central government. They are following:¹⁰⁴

1. Madrasa Aalia, Calcutta- They are fully funded and run by West Bengal Government and Central Government.
2. MISH- They are fully funded and run by Bihar Government only.
3. Madrasa Aalia, Rampur- They are fully funded by Uttar Pradesh Government only.

These above mentioned Madrasas are well renowned for their good Education system all across the country and in the Islamic Countries.

Before 01 January 1920, there were only 9 teachers at MISH. After affiliation by the Bihar Government and the change in curriculum, the number of teachers increased to 16. One of the founder members of MISH, Justice Syed Noorul Hoda, who was the then Justice Patna High Court, was the first person to receive degree of Maulvi from MISH in year 1926. He established 6 Boys Hostel in the campus of MISH. Around 200 students reside there, most of them study till Fazil degree. Faculty of MISH gets salaries at par with the faculties of Patna University. Moreover, the degree of MISH is well recognized all over India by the government. First Muslim IAS Topper (1987) from Bihar, Amir Subhani who is currently a Principle Secretary Home, Bihar, had established a state of the art building for MISH in 2012.

¹⁰⁴Chapter on “History of Madrasa Islamia Samshul Hoda”, in the Book “Madrasa Islamia Samshul Hoda se Maulaha Mazharul Haque Arabi Farsi University tak”, Authored by Maulana Abul Kalam Qasmi Samshi (Ex. Principal MISH), Published by BiharPublishers, 2009.

The Madrasa was initially started for elementary education and later on it started secondary education. Secondary education was introduced in 1921. In 1922, the Madrasa started classes for Maulvi and in 1924 it started classes for Alim. Madrasa Shams-ul-Hoda was an institution of higher learning with its own system of education. Madrasa is situated on Ashok Rajpath opposite to Science College, Patna (See Qasmi, 2012).¹⁰⁵

There are two sections of the Madrasa viz. Junior Section and Senior Section. Junior section covers education from Tahtania to Fauqania and the Senior Section covers education from Maulvi to Fazil. It is important to mention here that Alim is recognized by the government as equivalent to B. A. and Fazil is equivalent to M.A. programme. Both the sections have separate buildings. At present, there are only two teachers in the senior section and three teachers in junior sections. Thus, there are 5 teachers for courses from the level of primary to higher education in the Madrasa decreased from 21 teachers in both the sections during 1990s. This reflects a situation of miserable education system. Such a scenario can also be considered for almost all the Madrasas running with the funding of the government in Bihar.

Interestingly, medicinal education or Ilm-e-Tib was also included in the syllabus of Madrasa Shams-ul-Hoda during its initial phases and Hakim Abdul Qayyum was appointed as a teacher to run the course. The government Tibbiya College in Patna was established in later phase which has a separate system from the Madrasa. The education of Tibbiya was removed from the Madrasa Shams-ul-Hoda. The Madrasa has both male and female students in its junior section getting education upto Fauqania equivalent to Matric or Secondary education. In the senior section female students are not allowed. Only male students can get education from Maulvi to Kamil. Tables presented below are showing performance of the Madrasa during the recent years or last

¹⁰⁵ Maulana Abul Kalam Qasmi (2012), Madrasa Shams-ul-Hoda se Maulana Mazhar-ul-Haque University tak

few years. It can be construed from the tables that choice of this system of education in a big centre like Shams-ul-Hoda is reducing. The students are not opting Shams-ul-Hoda in big numbers. It is important to mention here that the institution has a bright past and its alumni are working in various capacities in the government including high rank professors in academics. In Bihar, teaching community of Urdu, Persian and Arabic in secondary and higher secondary schools has alumni from Madrasa Shams-ul-Hoda almost everywhere.

Table 4.3: Number of Students Appeared in Wastania

Year	Total	Male	Female
2013	18	17	1
2014	16	16	0
2015	15	8	7
2016	14	14	0
2017	13	13	0

Source: Collected from Madrasa Shams-ul-Hoda

Note: Female Students are not regular students

Table 4.4: Number of Students Appeared in Fauqania

Year	Total	Male	Female
2013	18	17	1
2014	17	17	0
2015	15	13	2
2016	14	14	0
2017	13	13	0

Source: Collected from Madrasa Shams-ul-Hoda

Note: Female Students are not regular students

Table 4.5: Number of Students Appeared in Maulvi Exam

Year	Total	Male	Female
2013	14	14	3
2014	24	21	0
2015	5	5	0
2016	17	12	5
2017	4	4	0

Source: Collected from Madrasa Shams-ul-Hoda

Note: Female Students are not regular students

The above statistics in tables 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5 shows the current status of Madarsa Shams-ul-Hoda in Bihar. A centre which was one of the renowned and attractive destinations for Muslim students in Bihar is now hosting a handful of students in its junior section as well as in its senior section. There are multiple reasons for this situation. One of that is the future of students getting graduated from the Madrasas. Students in the Madrasa are also aiming at doing well in their professional careers. In fact, the legacy of its history is still alive in the spirit of the students in the Madrasa. We will be discussing many such issues in detail in the next chapter. An important observation is to be made here that the female students in both junior and senior sections are not the regular students of the Madras, although Madrasa's junior section offers regular classes for female students. However, senior section starting from Maulvi has facilities for private female students to appear in exams only. Despite the facilities of the regular classes for female students in junior section, the Madrasa is not able to attract students. This might have many reasons. One

of the important reasons is the economic well-being of the population in Patna on the one hand and availability of good education institutions including good universities and schools on the other hand. Thus, people are sending their children in Patna to schools rather in Madrasas whereas female students of villages are hardly allowed to move out of villages for pursuing either education from Madrasas or from Schools located farther from their residential areas.

4.3.2: Madarsa Qasim-ul-Uloom Husainia, Doghra, Darbhanga

When India was struggling to get freedom from British rule, then Muslims of the country had also sacrificed their life for the freedom of our country. Several Ulemas and Alims died for the nation. Maulana Abul kalam Azad's India wins Freedom, Maulana Hali's Rekhta, Maulana Shibli's Sirat-un-nabi, helps us to refresh our knowledge about sacrifices of Muslim Ulemas and Maulanas and it provides evidence that the freedom fought well and participation of Muslims which cannot be neglected for the cause. So for the purpose of protection of the Muslim community and Shariah Madrasa Qasim-ul-Uloom Hussainia, Doghra (MQUD) was established. The founder of MQUD was Maulana Anisur Rahman Qasmi and Maulana Abdul Raheem Qasmi. They have established this organization under the supervision of Hussain Ahmed Madini, who was then associated with Dar-ul-Uloom, Deoband.

This Madrasa follows Jagir System. Jagir system is also known as Jagir Darana Nizam, it can be explained as the system in which most of the students of the Madrasa belongs to socio-economically deprived family who cannot afford food and education for their children and the Madrasa runs from the donation in the form of Zakat and Fitrah from the society. So we can say that all the cost of education, food and other living costs including clothes to wear, food to eat, books to study etc are managed only by means of donation (Zakat and Fitrah from the society).

It is because of the influence of these great founder members that this Madrasa has flourished well since their establishment. The first Principal of this Madrasa was Maulana Nawab Sahab, and the first secretary was Mulana Anis-ur- Rahman sahab. Table 4.6 brings out details of the principles of the Madrasa and table 4.7 gives the details of the secretaries of the Madrasa managing committee.

Hafiz Abdul Jalil and Hazrat Najim Saheb were academically well- known personalities in this field and they were very famous for their scholarly achievement. They were committed for the construction of this Madrasa specifically at Doghra village of district Darbhanga. They travelled widely from North Bihar to Nepal to seek donation for the construction for this Madrasa. The education system of this Madrasa is very strong and Children from this Madrasa easily fit in for higher Madrasa studies at Deoband. The commitment level of Maulana Anisur Rahman was commendable then, as he used to provide extra tuition classes for free (without charging any extra cost from the student) so that the children benefitted from his knowledge and prepares themselves for getting Higher Madrasa education. These students carried good name of the institution and soon the Madrasa Qasim ul Uloom became famous for its good education system. Besides, Hafiz Shamshul Hoda Qasmi (Lecturer Qazi Ahmed Inter college), Dr. Maulana Dabeer Qasmi Alig, Professor Abul Kalam Qasmi, Maulana Muzammil Hussain Qasmi, Maulana Abul Kalam Qasmi Shamshi and there are many other scholars who have got basic education from MQUH, Doghra and then they got admission for higher education at Deoband. These days all of them are distinguished personality in their respective fields and working at various places in various capacities in Aligarh Muslim University, Bihar Unani Medicine College (Tibbiya College Patna), Mazharul Uloom Sailam Madras, Patna High Court and Madrasa Samshul Hoda Patna.

Table 4.6: Name of Principals of Madrasa Qasim-ul-Uloom Hussainia, Doghra

S. No.	Name of Principal
1	Maulana Nawab Sahab
2	Maulana Ataur Rahman Sahab
3	Maulana Asrar Ahmad Shamshi
4	Maulana Razi Ahmad
5	Maulana Anwar Sahab
6	Maulana Asrar Ahmad Shamshi
7	Maulana Ibadat Ali

Source: Author's compilation based on interview with higher authority and documental evidences gathered from the field study.

Table 4.7: Name of Secretaries of Madrasa Qasim-ul-Uloom Hussainia, Doghra

S. No.	Name of Secretaries
1	Maulana Anis-ur-Rahman Qasmi
2	Hafiz Abdul Jalil
3	Maulana Abdur Raheem Qasmi
4	Hafiz Md. Moinuddin
5	Maulana Shahabuddin
6	Mahmood Ansari
7	Tariq Mahmood

Source: Author's compilation based on interview with higher authority and documental evidences gathered from the field study.

The MQUH got affiliation from Bihar State Madrasa Education Board, Patna on 1st March 1958 under the incredible supervision of its very first principal Maulana Anisur Rahman. After this affiliation, the course curriculum of MQUH has been revised based on Bihar State Madrasa Board. The affiliation was granted for Wastnia (means ninth standard) and Fauquania (means tenth standard i.e; Mericulation). It was a great achievement for the Village of Doghra and people felt proud that the Government has given affiliation to this Institute and the hardships of Maulana Anisur Rahman got paid off.

The Madrasa Qasim-ul-Uloom Husainia was another important institution of Darbhanga district which was established by Ulemas from Deoband including Maulana Anis-u-Rahman Qasmi and Maulana Abd-u-Rahim Qasmi in 1954. The foundation stone of the Madrasa was laid down by the renowned Muslim leader Maulana Husain Ahmad Madni. In fact, the Madrasa was named after Maulana Qasim Nanautwi and Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani. The Madrasa is playing a vital role in imparting both deenavi and dunyavi education among the economically less empowered masses of the area. This Madrasa had a rich history and produced students who worked with government and non-government organizations in various capacities. The alumni of this Madrasa are civil servants, university professors and also teachers in various other Madrasas.

A notable aspect of the Madrasa Qasim-ul-Uloom is that the students from this Madrasa, after completing secondary exams, make shift in both directions of Madrasa and School education. It owes to this tradition, the students, in the past, went to Madrasas like Dar-ul-Uloom at Deoband,

Nadwat-ul-Ulema, Aligarh Muslim University, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Patna University and Jamia Millia Islamia.

They studied in not only traditional subjects like Arabi and Farsi but also other subjects like Economics, Political Science, Engineering and others. The students who appeared in exams like Wastania, Fauqania and Maulvi are given below. This is to be noted here that the Madrasa is approved for higher education upto Almiat (graduation) from elementary classes i.e. Tahtania levels. The Madrasa has regular education for both male and female students and host classes together from Tahtania level to Fauqania levels. However, from Maulvi levels, both female and male students have separate classes. The Madrasa also caters for other junior Madrasas affiliated to board in the surrounding area. Therefore, the statistics include both regular and private students who studied at different Madrasa but allowed to get admitted in fauqania and Maulvi in Qasim-ul-Uloom. Tables 4.8, 4.9 and 4.10 present students appeared in various levels of exams conducted by Madrasa Board in Bihar. The data also suggests strength of students in the Madrasa in class Wastania, Fauqania and Maulvi.

Table 4.8: Number of Students Appeared in Wastania Exam

Year	Total	Male	Female
2013	61	26	35
2014	67	41	26
2015	45	25	20
2016	38	20	18
2017	62	34	28

Source: Qasim-ul-Uloom, Darbhanga

Table 4.9: Number of Students Appeared in Fauqania Exam

Year	Total	Male	Female
2013	53	13	40
2014	75	28	47
2015	70	18	52
2016	62	20	42
2017	78	29	49

Source: Qasim-ul-Uloom, Darbhanga

Table 4.10: Number of Students Appeared in Maulvi Exam

Year	Total	Male	Female
2013	70	25	45
2014	54	11	45
2015	48	16	32
2016	60	24	36
2017	61	14	45

Source: Qasim-ul-Uloom, Darbhanga.

4.3.2: Madarsa Hameedia

Madrasas Hameedia is an age old institution situated in Darbhanga district. Under the British Rule, Darbhanga was a part of Sarkar Tirhut up to 1875, when it was constituted into a separate district. The subdivisions had been created earlier – Darbhanga Sadar in 1845, Madhubani in 1866 and Samastipur (then known as Tajpur) in 1867. It was the part of Patna division till 1908, when the Tirhut division was created with its headquarters at Muzaffarpur. As a result of reorganization of districts in the State which took effect in the year 1972, Madhubani and Samastipur subdivision were upgraded as independent districts and then the trimmed Darbhanga district has two subdivisions, viz, Darbhanga Sadar and Benipur consisting of 12 Development Blocks in all. Biraul Subdivision was created in 1992 and six more Development Blocks were created namely Hanuman Nagar, Tardih, Gaura Bauram, Kiratpur, Kusheshwar Asthan East and Alinagar in later stage. The district is bounded on the north by Madhubani district, on the south by the district of Samastipur, on the east by Saharsa district and on the west by the district of Muzaffarpur and Sitamarhi.

The district takes its name from its only town Darbhanga, the District headquarters, which is said to have been founded by one Darbhangi Khan, about whom practically nothing is known. It is also held that the name Darbhanga has been derived from Dwar Banga or Dari – Banga, meaning the ‘door of Bengal’. This derivation does not appear to be very correct as division between Bengal and Bihar has always been further to the east. However, the linguistic and cultural affinity with Bengal may be said to commence from here. Darbhanga town attained the status of a city (Population 1 lakh and above) in 1961. Darbhanga is the seat of the Maharaja of Darbhanga. Laheriasarai which is the seat of district and divisional administration is a part of the Darbhanga

town. The Raj area is a well-developed and beautifully laid-out complex of palaces, temples, offices, parks, garden and ponds. There are a number of palaces built by the successive Maharajas, important among them being Nargauna Palace, Rambagh Palace, Anandbagh bhawan and Bela Palace. A number of buildings are in the use of the Kameshwar Singh Darbhanga Sanskrit University, Darbhanga and Lalit Narayan Mithila University, Darbhanga. The old Raj Library has been taken over by L. N. Mithilia University. Perhaps Darbhanga is the only city in India, which has two universities in a campus. The Maharajas of Darbhanga have traditionally been very great patrons of art and literature and through their munificence have always provided encouragement to the scholars of Maithili and Sanskrit. Mahesh Thakur who founded the Raj was a renowned scholar of Sanskrit. The estate was conferred upon him by Emperor Akbar who was very much impressed by Raghunandan Jha, a scholar and disciple of Mahesh Thakur.

The district is noted for its trade in Fish, Mango and Makhana. Among its educational institutions are Chandradhari Mithila College, Chandradhari Mithila Science College, Darbhanga Medical College, Women Institute of Technology and Darbhanga Engineering College and Various other institutions. There are two Urban Local Bodies – The Municipal Corporation Darbhanga and the Benipur Municipal Council. The Benipur Municipal Council has been divided in 29 wards. The Population of Benipur Municipal Council is 75317 as per census 2011. Darbhanga is a municipal corporation town. Presently headquarter of Darbhanga district as well as Darbhanga Division. Darbhanga is the 5th largest city of Bihar. It is one of the most important districts and big cities of North Bihar. Darbhanga is also known as Heart of the Mithilanchal. According to census 2011, the total population of the District is 3937385. The Male population is 2059949 and Female population is 1877436. The Population of Darbhanga Town is

371356. Darbhanga district is having a total geographical area of 2279 Sq. Km. It is situated between longitude 85 degree 45 minute east and 25 degree 53 minute north.

Table 4.11: Religion wise share of population of Darbhanga, as per census 2011

Religion	Share in %
Hindus	77.28
Muslims	22.39
Christian	0.09
Jain	0.02
Sikh	0.01
Buddhist	0.01
Not Stated	0.21

Source: CSO, Ministry of Statistics and Planning

According to the 2011 census Darbhanga district has a population of 3,921,971. This gives it a ranking of 64th in India (out of a total of 640). The district has a population density of 1,721 inhabitants per square kilometre (4,460/sq mi). Its population growth rate over the decade 2001-2011 was 19%. Darbhanga has a sex ratio of 910 females for every 1000 males, and a literacy rate of 58.26%. Population of this district as per 2011 census is 3,985,493 of which rural population is 3,018,639 and urban population is 306,089. According to the Census of India 2011, literacy rate of the district is 44.32% (male 57.18%, female 30.35%). Table 4.11 presents religion wise share in the total population of Darbhanga. The share of Muslims indicate that this district has Muslim concentrate areas with around 22% Muslim population in the district. Madrasa Hameediah is one

of the most important and oldest Madrasas in Darbhanga district. The Madrasa was established in the year 1882. Tables 4.12 and 4.13 present students appeared in Wastania and Fauqania exams respectively in Madrasa Hameediah.

Table 4.12: Number of Students Appeared in Wastania Exam

Year	Total	Male	Female
2015	103	76	27
2016	129	85	44
2017	89	58	31
2018	113	64	49

Source: Madrasa Hameediah

Table 4.13: Number of Students Appeared in Fauqania Exam

Year	Total	Male	Female
2015	97	59	38
2016	119	66	53
2017	93	51	42
2018	109	63	46

Source: Madrasa Hameediah

4.3.4: Madarsa Anjuman Islamia, Kishanganj.

Madrasa Anjuman Islamia is located in Kishanganj district. This district is home to a higher number of Muslims than other religious community. It is said that, during the period of Khagada Nawab, Mohammed Fakiruddin, one Hindu saint arrived. The saint was tired and wanted to take rest at this place, but had some reservations with the name of place due its Muslim nomenclature. The place was Alamganj and the river name was Ramazan and the Jamindar's name was Fakiruddin. So, he refused to enter Alamganj. After knowing this incident, the Nawab decided to change name of the some portions of these places. The nawab announced change of name of some portion of Kishanganj Gudri to Ramzan pool and Gandhi ghat as Krishna-Kunj. As time passed by, the name got converted to Kishanganj. The district Kishanganj came in existence on 14 January 1990. It was a result of hardships of seventeen years by people of this locality. They include Social workers, politicians, journalist, businessmen and farmers. Earlier, the district Kishanganj was just an important Sub-Division of Purnea. The total Area of Kishan ganj is 1884 sq km with total Population of 1690948. The Literacy Rate is 57.04%. It consists of 7 numbers of block, 126 Panchayats, 802 villages.

Geographical characteristics of Kishanganj district occupy an area of 1,884 square kilometers. Kishanganj district is surrounded by Araria district in the West, Purnia district in the south-west, Uttar Dinajpur district of West Bengal on the east, and Darjeeling district of West Bengal and Nepal on the north. A narrow strip of West Bengal, about 20km wide separates it from Bangladesh. Kishanganj district is located between 25.20 and 26.30 north latitudes, and 87.7 and 88.19 east longitudes. Major rivers flowing through the district are Mahananda, Kankai, Mechi, Donk, Ratua and Ramzan Sudhani.

The population of Kishanganj district is 107,076 as of Census 2011. Out of 107,076 there are 55,688 male and 51,388 female. The male and female literacy rate is 71.7 and 56.3 respectively with an average literacy rate 64.24 as of Census 2011. It is one of the few districts where the population of Muslims is in majority.

Connectivity of Kishanganj has a major railhead which is connected to major cities and towns of India. Kishanganj railway station belongs to Northeast Frontier Railway (NFR). The National Highway no. 31 also passes through Kishanganj. The railway station and NH 31 are connecting northeastern region of India to the rest of India. The railway station has some direct trains to some major cities of India like New Delhi, Mumbai, Patna, Kolkata, Guwahati, Bangalore, Chennai, Trivandrum etc. Rajdhani Express has also its stoppage in Kishanganj which runs between New Delhi and Guwahati. The starting train from Kishanganj is Garib Nawaz for Ajmer. NH 31 is one of the important and busiest highways in India. Major rivers flowing through the district are Mahananda, Kankai, Mechi, Donk, Ratua and Ramzan Sudhani.

4.4: Methodology

While the next chapter is all about data analysis and results from data, a brief description of analytical framework for data analysis is required to be discussed in this chapter. The current research carries out a detailed survey with both open and closed ended questionnaires designed with the objective to understand factors of choice of and shifting from Madrasa education in Bihar. This further enables us to identify the changing nature and dimensions of the Madarsa education. Therefore, the survey follows both structured questionnaires for taking interviews from students of selected Madrasas and also some open ended questions with students, teachers and also alumni in order to present case studies containing success stories and also suggestions.

The analytical methods used in this research are simple statistical tools for presenting data collected. These include measures of central tendency like mean or average, presentation of data through charts and graphs etc. No specific sophisticated tools were used for data analysis like correlation, regression etc. These are further discussed in details in the next chapter.

The following hypotheses were developed:

Hypothesis 1:

H0: Type of Education is independent of the Economic Future in case of Madrasa Education

H1: Type of Education is dependent of the Economic Future in case of Madrasa Education

Hypothesis 2:

H0: Gender is independent of reason of choice for madrasa education

H1: Reason of choice for madrasa education is dependent on gender

Hypothesis 3:

H0: Type of education in Future is independent of the gender

H1: Type of education in Future is dependent on the gender

Hypothesis 4:

H0: Type of Education is independent on continuation of studies

H1: Type of Education is dependent on continuation of studies

These hypotheses have been tested using Pearson's chi-square test. Chi-square test (χ^2) is a statistical test used for hypothesis testing. This test is used to ascertain if there is any significant difference between the expected and observed frequencies. It tends to evaluate as to how likely the observations assume that the null hypothesis is correct. The hypothesis testing has been done using SPSS.

4.5: Conclusion

The chapter deals with both present and past of the selected Madrasas and the district it is situated in. It discusses the Madrasas in detail. It also highlight the past of districts selected. The chapter also highlights the justification of the selection of location. One of the important aspect of the chapter is the presentation of current state of the selected Madrasas. Almost all the Madrasas have been deteriorated in terms of its education. The statistics of these Madrasas show that students are very low in number compared to the past performance of these Madrasas. Over time, enrolment ratio is also decreasing in Madrasas. This indicate that Madrassa education is less popular among Muslim population.

Chapter 5

Data Analysis and Findings of the Field Study

5.1 Introduction

While describing the hinterland of a Madrasa, Alam (2011)¹⁰⁶ points out that a Madrasa in Mubarakpur, Uttar Pradesh has its hinterland as distant as Kishanganj, Purnia and Katihar in Bihar. This was the case of a Madrasa which has potential impact over distant populated areas of Muslim society in India. The Madrasa in this case by Alam (2011)¹⁰⁷ was Madrasa Ashrafia and Ahyaal Uloom in Mubarakpur in Uttar Pradesh having lineage with the origin of ideas evolved within Muslims in India. The historical context traces an ideological battle between communities and sects within the Muslim community. Most importantly, such battles are so vocal as to conceive that these Madrasas are producing forces for ideological battlefield. This is still true in case of Nizamia Madrasas. The syllabi include those debates in details. It is in this context that such Madrasas are not taking funds from the government in order to continue with their syllabus and autonomy. In other words, these Madrasas are continuing their battlefield through alienation from government funding. However, the cases of Madrasas affiliated to the board (Alia Madrasas) are different and has typically common syllabus. Notwithstanding the fact that the board also clearly differentiates between the syllabus of Madrasas run by the Sunni community and the Madrasas run by **Shia** community.

¹⁰⁶Alam, A. (2011). *Inside a Madrasa: knowledge, power and Islamic identity in India*. Routledge, Taylor and Francis.

¹⁰⁷Alam, A. (2011). *Inside a Madrasa: knowledge, power and Islamic identity in India*. Routledge, Taylor and Francis.

Considering the fact that there is a huge difference between Shia and Sunni sect of Islam, the broader commonalities of syllabus of the Madrasa Board is not leaning towards creating ideological battlefield at least in theory. The practice is a bit same in Alia Madrasa as in case of *Nizamia*. Majority of Madrasas affiliated to Board is managed by the community itself. Therefore, the employees particularly the teachers are selected by the management committee approved by the board. Therefore, the chance of teachers being selected is minimal who belong to ideological sects other than that of the management committee. In other words, a Madrasa situated in a village dominant by the *Deobandi* community preaches the ideas of *Deobandism* whereas the Madrasas run by other communities preachers their respective religious practices and ideas such Barailvism etc.

5.2: Description of Field Study

My field visit of the Madrasas for this study was not limited to one community. I tried to understand the functioning of Madrasas belonging to major sects of Sunni community and prospects of their students. The one important finding is that the majority of the people still consider Madrasa education as the way to achieve righteous path. As Alam (2011)¹⁰⁸ argues, parents think that their child will deviate from the right path to wrong when they will go to schools. However, a striking change that I felt was many of the students are willing to pursue for jobs of mainstream careers like going for school teachers, clerical jobs. Even some of the students are aspiring for cracking medical examination after shifting from Madrasa education to formal school education.

Despite the striking change noted in the previous paragraph, many students do not differentiate between the teaching standards of Madrasas affiliated to the Madrasa board and

¹⁰⁸Alam, A. (2011). *Inside a Madrasa: knowledge, power and Islamic identity in India*. Routledge, Taylor and Francis.

schools affiliated to Bihar School Examination Board (BSEB). One of the important reasons for this perception is the low standards of school education particularly in government schools. This can be noted here that government schools in Bihar is failing miserably to provide quality education and teaching student ratio at secondary level and higher secondary level is respectively.

In some areas, there are no schools in the villages where these Madrasas are functioning. Of course, the fact of the matter is that the economic burden of pursuing school education and the same for Madrasa education. A well-known and established fact in the literature is that the students in Madrasas belong to lower strata of the society both at economic and societal levels. Economic levels is defined as income whereas societal levels is define as caste in Muslim_society.

In addition to the social and economic compulsion, there is also religious compulsion to the students to pursue, Madrasa education. A widely recognized perception among Muslims is considering the students of Madrasas as the defenders of their religion and practices. In view of this, the society also gives importance to those who studied in Madrasas. In my discussions with the students and also with others at different locations, I recognized that majority of them are very apprehensive of the current government. They argue that the people of the Muslim society need to defend themselves against the encroachment by the government to their faith. This perception is also developed against the steps taken by the government after the Supreme Court's judgment against instant **Triple Talaq**. Concerted efforts were taken by several groups of **Ulemas** against the government interventions in personal laws. It can be argued, implicitly, that majority of the students and the Madrasa teachers and other residents with whom I interacted, are not happy with the way government is dealing with their personal laws. In coining such views, it was observed that these people were coining their sectarian (**Muslaki**) beliefs. Although, Madrasas affiliated to the board have common syllabus yet they firmly believe in their sect's ideas or **Muslaks** and

therefore, their stands are more or less as per the stands of Muslim Personal Law Board, Idara-e-Shariah and Imarat-e-Shariyah, Patna.

It is important here to mention that Muslim Personal Law Board, Idara-e-Shariah and Imarat-e-Shariah are playing vital role in Muslim society and have indirect impact on Madrasas as well. The All India Muslim Personal Law Board is a non-governmental organization constituted in 1973 aiming to protect religious rights of Indian Muslims. The body has representation from all the major sects of Islam in India. Imarat-e-Shariah in Patna is another important organization headed by Ameer-e-Shariat or Leader of the Shariat with its jurisdictions covering states of Bihar, Jharkhand and Orissa. The institution was established in 1921 and **is** striving to propagate Islamic shariat among Muslims in these states. Imarat-e-Shariah has typically presence of Ulemas influenced by Deobandi ideas. On the other hand, those influenced by the Barailwi ideas established by Idara-e-Shariah are **Akin** to **Imarat** in its functioning and outreach. While the objectives are same, these institutions have indirect linkages with Madrasas under the Bihar Education Madrasa Board. These institutions are also the sources and linkages of employment of the students of Madrasas both from Nizamia and Alia systems. While speaking to the teachers of the select Madrasas, it was observed that they are closely and emotionally linked with these institutions. In the current years, institutions like Imarat-e-Shariah are also working to provide modern education, health facilities to the masses at the level of its scale of operation. Their growing influence can be construed by the fact that for any kind of dispute relating to **Shariah** law including **Talaq**, people are approaching these institutions to solve their problems.

During the field visits, I also experienced apprehensions in the institutions and in the board offices I visited. People at Madrasas and the board are very particular in sharing their views and information. It was not easy to get this information from them. They always reminded me not to

write wrong things about the Madrasa education and in reply I always assure them about not writing objectionable aspects.

It was already mentioned that the apprehensions are mounting among students, teachers and even residents owing to the posture of the government towards minority on different occasions. Incidents like cow vigilantism and lynching that happened in other states makes the **Uulemas** so apprehensive that they sometime see gloomy future of Indian Muslims and do not hesitate comparing the future with the current situation of **Rohingayas** in Myanmar. Apart from the political turnaround in Bihar, they also see the influential political and other leaders talking to challenge their existence in India. Regions in districts like Kishanganj where Muslims are in majority are regularly called as mini Pakistan, which is anomaly for almost all the Muslim dominated areas in India (Alam, 2011).¹⁰⁹ During the latest assembly election in Bihar politicians tried to build up binaries with Pakistan in the centre of their speeches. Such high pitched speeches have direct impact on communalization. This also affects the process of education at these Madrasas. The students at the identified Madrasas affiliated to board also suggested that there is a need of hour to strengthen the shariah therefore strengthening the Nizamia system in the country. Some of male students are in favour of continuing their education with big Madrasas like Dar-ul-uloom Deoband and Ndwat-ul-Ulema, Lucknow. Notwithstanding the fact that these perceptions are building up in the Muslim society particularly in the institutions and locations surveyed for this study, there are many students or large number of students who favored mainstreaming their educational goals and pursue education in universities and colleges.

The field work for this study was very complex as I followed both structured and unstructured ways of field survey. I prepared possible questions in a questionnaire and also left

¹⁰⁹Alam, A. (2011). *Inside a Madrasa: knowledge, power and Islamic identity in India*. Routledge, Taylor and Francis.

discussions open to respondents. Structured questionnaires were restricted to the students of Wastania, Fauqania and Maulvi. In addition, open ended discussions were also conducted with students, teachers and also residents. The views expressed by the respondents are expressed in the above discussions. However a detailed analysis of field study is presented in the following sections.

The tables below bring out information about the sample size and the characteristics of the sample surveyed. Table 5.1 indicates gender-wise sample of each Madrasa students surveyed. The data indicates higher number of female respondents in case of Madrasas like Anjuman Islamia, Kishanganj, Madrasa Qasim-ul-Uloom and Madrasa Hameedia. The case of Shams-ul-Hoda is different from these Madrasas. When discussed in detail with the teachers about the scenario in Shams-ul-Hoda, they answered that the Madrasa is not able to attract local students for Madrasa education as a whole (see table 5.1). Male students can come from districts as far as Kishanganj, Katihar, Madhubani and Gopalganj, etc for education whereas female students from these districts are not either allowed or do not like to study in Madrasas if their financial conditions allow them to go for higher studies. Moreover, in Madrasa Shams-ul-Hoda female students are only allowed in junior section which is upto Fauqania. From Maulvi onwards, only male students are allowed to continue their education. Furthermore, in recent years, students are not choosing Madrasa Shams-ul-Hoda as their destination for education as in the past it was one of the major centre in Patna in attracting students from Muslim society across Bihar. This was clearly discussed in detail with statistics in previous chapter.

Table 5.1 Gender-wise Respondents

Madrasas	Female	Male	Total
Madrasa Anjuman Islamia	30	13	43
Madrasa Hameediah	27	29	56
Madrasa Shams-ul-Hoda		27	27
Madrasa Qasim-ul-Uloom	40	24	64
Total	97	93	190

Source: Author's Field Survey

In case of other Madrasas, female student's number is high. In view of the increasing participation of female students in Madrasa Hameediah, Madrasa Anjuman Islamia and Madrasa Qasim-ul-Uloom Husainia, the female respondents are high in numbers in our survey (see table 5.1). Most important reason for this is the location of Madrsas. The four Madrasas are located in a Muslim populated area and they attract local Muslim students-most of them economically backward. There are other social dimensions such as caste and social hierarchy for which the current research is not concerned with. However, discussions with locals also indicate that the students are high from the caste which has high population in the locality of the Madrasas. The discussions with teachers and elders also suggest that there is also a nexus between Madrasas and their usage in the interest of community within the Muslim community dominating the in and around Madrasa population.

In fact, the above table could also have been segregated in terms of social strata i.e. Caste in Muslim society. However, our work is concentrated on the performance and reasons for

choosing and incidence of shift from Madrasa to modern and formal education, therefore we are not focusing in this area. Of course, this area is a research gap which also need to be filled in academia. We further classified the sample data surveyed into class-wise gender selected for the study. Table 5.2 indicates this scenario.

Table 5.2: Class and Gender-wise Number of Respondents

Madrasas	Wastania			Fauqania			Maulvi			Grand Total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
Madrasa Anjuman Islamia	6	11	17	7	19	26	0	0	0	43
Madrasa Hameedia	8	9	17	13	9	22	9	8	17	56
Madrasa Shamsul Hoda	15	0	15	4	0	4	8	0	8	27
Madrasa Qasim-ul-Uloom	5	15	20	9	10	19	10	15	25	64

Source: Author's Field Survey

Regarding table 5.2, this can be noted that there are no female students in Madrasa Shamsul-Hoda and not students in Maulvi in Madrasa Anjuman Islamia. It is because the Madrasa Shamsul-Hoda has only allowed male students in its junior and senior section for regular classes whereas in the case of Madrasa Anjuman Islam, only courses upto Fauqania are allowed. There is also hostel facility for female students in this Madrasa wherein large of students are residing. Female students are high in number in case of Madrasa Anjuman Islam in both Wastania and Fauqania

classes. In fact, choosing such a diverse sample was basically aimed at true representation of population. We know from previous chapters that female students are high in number in almost all the classes in Madrasas like Qasim-ul-Uloom and Anjuman Islam. Therefore for the purpose of survey, we chose to have higher number of female students in our sample.

5.3: Economic and Religious Nexus of Madrasa Education

As discussed earlier majority of the students are from poor family choosing Madrasa education. The economic compulsion of choosing Madrasa education is evident among the students surveyed. We understand the fact that the locations selected for this study has varying economic and demographic characters. In the previous chapter we have discussed the demographic profile of Kishanganj, Patna and Darbhanga. It was observed from the census data that Kishanganj is a Muslim majority district whereas Darbhanga has less than 35% population as Muslims and the same is very low in case of Patna. On the other hand, economic characteristics are different in such a way that the district highly populated by Muslims is backward at several economic and social indicators. This is true in the case of Kishanganj. At the same time, districts like Darbhanga and Patna have comparatively better indicators. Table 5.3 presents few economic and social indicators to compare the district level variation in development process. Disparities enlisted in the table indicate that Patna has comparative better indicators whereas indicators for Darbhanga is slightly higher than that of Kishanganj yet Kishanganj is the most backward district among the three district.

Table 5.3: District-wise Development Indicators: 2015-16

Indicators	Kishanganj	Darbhanga	Patna
GDDP/Capita in Rs.	9928	10932	63063
Literacy Rate (in %)	55.6	56.6	70.7
Urbanisation	9.5	9.7	43.1
Schools	1638	2699	3876
Total Colleges in No.	8	50	121
Constituent Colleges in No.	2	22	37
Pupil Teacher Ratio at Primary Level	56	48	44

Source: Economic Survey of Bihar, government of Bihar Various Year Reports

Note: GDDP= Gross District Domestic Product for the year 2011-12, Urbanisation is for the year 2011 as urban population as a %age of total population, Literacy rate is for the year 2011 and pupil teacher ratio is for the year 2012-13

While judging the educational performance and variation as reflect in the field study suggest that the two important findings of economic parameters viz. a) there is little differences among the economic well-being of the families of students enrolled in the four Madrasas of our study and b) differences in monthly expenditure of students. Table 5.4 indicates these two indicators for the students enrolled in this Madrasa in Fauqania and Maulvi. In case of students in Shamsul Hoda, all the respondents are residents of hostel in the Madrasa whereas for rest three Madrasas, both residents in hostel and local students were interviewed. Average monthly family income of the respondents is for all the four Madrasas are varying from Rs. 7000 to 9000. In

addition, the monthly expenditure of the students as reported by them seems to be homogenous for students of all the Madrasas leaving Madrasa Shamsul Hoda. Average monthly expenditure of the students more or less Rs. 550 except average monthly expenditure of Madrasa Shamsul Hoda. One of the core reason for the high expenditure in Shamsul Hoda compared to other three Madrasas may be attributed to the city of Patna which is the capital of the state. Patna is a little more expensive than other districts including Darbhanga.

Table 5.4: Average Monthly Family Income and Students' Expenditure

Institution	Average Monthly Family Income	Average Monthly Students' Expenditure	District
Madrasa Shams-ul-Hoda	9407	944	Patna
Madrasa Hameedia	7429	552	Darbhanga
Madrasa Anjuman Islamia	6930	553	Kishanganj
Madrasa Qasim-ul- Uloom	7250	534	Darbhanga

Source: Author's Field Survey

There are two important aspects of the above homogeneity of average family income and average expenditure of students viz a) underreporting and b) symmetrical reporting. For the first aspect, it was observed that majority of students are from poor families and income level as their report seems to be a true representation. Most of them are dependent upon either their father's income or the income of their elder brothers. As stated by a student of Madrasa Shams-ul-Hoda

that after death of his father in 2016, he was feeling the pressure of family and was in favour of dropping out of the Madrasa. However, his elder brother-a teacher in a government school and working on contract-asked him to continue the education and is supporting him for education. Notably, number of students reported their monthly family income more than Rs. 10000 but their numbers are limited. As in case of the student in discussion, the monthly income of his family is Rs. 15000. There are few students who reported their family income as high as 25000 and also their expenditure is relatively higher than others.

Another notable factor was noted while discussing with the students that only one member of their family is earning i.e. Father and most of the students reported that their father is either a fruit seller, vegetable seller or has small family businesses. Their income, therefore, largely depend on daily sales of their respective businesses. Some of the students also reported that their father is either employed in schools or in Madrasas. It is important here to mention that the teachers employed in government schools at permanent scale and grade are earning as per the government pay and scale whereas the teachers employed in government schools as contractual staffs are getting a lump sum salary ranging from Rs. 10000 to 15000 based on their experiences without any additional benefit. The case of teachers in Madrasas affiliated to board is little better than that of contractual teacher in government school with salary ranging from Rs. 12000 to 25000. On the other hand teachers employed in private schools and private nizamia Madrasa has more or less similar fate. Their nature of employment is typically the situation of underemployment which is akin to unemployment. Madrasas in Bihar generally attracts students from such families.

In case of Madrasas affiliated to Bihar Education Madrasa Board, this can also be construed from the discussion with the students that majority of them are economically compelled to choose this system of education, albeit religious mentality among these people are also ubiquitously

prevalent. For example, taking the case of Madrasa Shamsul Hoda, the hinterland is spread across districts across the state. It was also noted that there were few students belonging to the Patna districts. In fact, on account of spread of hinterland of Madrasa Shamsul Hoda, the nature of attraction from students to this Madrasa is similar to that of big Nizamia Madrasa such as Madrasa Rahmania, Munger. Madrasa Shamsul Hold's hinterland does not have pan India expansion. Students in Madrasa Shamsul Hoda are mostly from Kishanganj, Purnia, Darbhanga, etc. They mostly belong to the same economic strata and therefore, they chose Madrasa education both under economic and religious factors. Majority of students in Madrasa Shamsul Hoda pointed out the fact that they chose this education system owing to the fact that they will not be able to continue school education either in their home district or in their village. The average monthly expenditure in schools is very high apart from doing coaching for various subjects.

So far as average expenditure in Madrasa is concerned they are very less when compared to school education. Yet, a fair number of students averred that they chose this system of education because of religious factors in Madrasa Shamsul Hoda. For them, religion is important and they really want to have good idea of religious values and principles. Nonetheless, students in Madrasa Sahmasul Hoda are keen to pursue education from a university so as to get employment. This is discussed later in this chapter. A reference here is made to understand the decisions that a student of a Madrasa takes for their education and employability. A comparative picture of respondents from respective Madrasas indicates that majority of them are choosing the education system because of their economic condition. One important thing is that when tried to explain what religious and social factors are and how they are different, the students still believe that they are inter-changeably used in their society. Students do not differentiate much between religious and social factor. If we count this problem, then it is apparent that they are much influenced by religious

and social condition. In fact, religious factor is the second largest factor affecting the student's choice. Moreover, if we combine the two factors viz religious and social, we may find that majority of students are socially and religiously motivated to adopt this system of education (table 5.5).

Table 5.5: Factors Affecting Students Choice: Madrasa-wise Respondents
(as %age of total Respondents)

Factors	Madrasa Anjuman slamia	Madrasa Shams-ul- Hoda	Madrasa Hameedia	Madrasa Qasemul Uloom
Economic	53.5	55.6	64.3	53.1
Religious	37.2	29.6	23.2	28.1
Social	9.3	14.8	12.5	18.8

Source: Author's Field Survey

During my field study clarified the difference between the two important aspects i.e. social factors and religious factors. The fundamental distinction between religious factor and social factor is that the student is self-motivated when it comes to religion whereas the student is motivated through peer groups and friends. This distinction is a very thin difference. Therefore, many students do not make much difference between the two factors and therefore, their response can be understood in both social and religious context. For them, religious factors are also influencing as outside elements and in this process peer groups, friends, family and society as a whole works together. This nexus is discussed in detail in the next section.

A comparative picture of the four Madrasas indicates that the percentage of students reported that their choice of Madrasa education is based on economic factors of which income of

the family. While asking them this question, it was made clear that economic factor means income level of family and their economic status in the society. More than 50% of the students interviewed at Madrasa Anjuman Islamia, Kishanganj think that their choice of education is owing to their economic backwardness. While making such comment or marking for this option, some students of the Madrasa also pointed out that for them religious factor is equally important yet they could have continued their education in schools if their family income would have been high. Students interviewed at the other three Madrasas have responded in similar fashion (table 5.5). It is important to note here that despite the religious syllabi being followed in these Madrasas, students are still choosing this system of education due to their economic backwardness. Moreover, they also articulate their backwardness. Articulation of their economic issues, affecting their choice of education, indicates that the awareness level of the students is limited.

Economic factors have many facets in Madrasas affiliated to Bihar Madrasa Board. One of the important characteristics of such institution is their funding for keeping students in hostel. These Madrasas are somehow fortunate in attracting funds from common people as well as from the government. In fact, prior to the affiliation under the Madrasa board and recognized for government funding, the Madrasas are established by the Muslim communities mostly those educated in a Nizamia system of Madrasa education. This pattern has influence among common masses. They hardly differentiate between Nizamia and Alia systems. For Madrasas are important pillar for their religion as they keep tradition alive. Therefore, the Madrasas which are government funded also ask for financial help from general public. Types of private funding include Zakat, Khairat, Hadia or Gift and other forms of financial help. However, justification of funding from people rests with the students residing in hostels.

Few students and people in the locality of the Madrasas under study showed concern about private funding. They think that such institution does not need funding like Zakat, Khairat, etc. In fact, these funds are meant to be given to those who are poor. They even advocated giving this money to Madrasas running under Nizamia system which are not getting funds from the government. Those advocating this idea have understood the distinction between the two systems. Moreover, the degradation that is visible in the Alia system of education also attracts criticism from commons. On the other hand, those who criticize private funding of the Madrasas supported by the government also agreed to a large extent that private funding is acceptable if Alia Madrsas are functioning well and giving education at the level of their expectation.

5.4: Socio-Religious Nexus of Madrasa Education

Discussion with students regarding social aspects of the Madrasa education system was one of the tough tasks for the field survey. As pointed out earlier that the students were unable to differentiate much between social and religious aspects of their life. This is also due to their process of educational development. Madrasas are considered as a place of *Tarbiat* or disciplining. Muslim society does not give similar importance to school education. Moreover, disciplining has also been an important aspect of Madrasa education in India. Disciplining include all the social aspects of human being relating to general behavior in the society. In fact, this process often needs religious references like references from Quran and Hadees regarding the attitude of pupils towards other members of the society particularly towards other members of the Madrasa.

Besides such confusion, I explained carefully what I mean by social factors. Social factors for choosing Madrasa education include pressure of peer group, choice of students from the same village and area and pressure from elders in the family and society. While discussing this aspect, students agreed that these factors play vital role in choosing Madrasa education. However, there

are several other factors having similar importance include religious values advocated by elders in their family and society. Most of the female students articulated that their guardians do not allow going to school at early age due to the other female students of their family and neighbors are also going to the same Madrasa. Nonetheless, for them economic factor remains vital in making choice of education. One of the striking fact came out of discussions with female students that they like to shift education system from Madrasa to School after completing Fauqania and Maulvi and get admitted in nearby colleges, as their elders have done. When asked about going to these colleges for class, their reply was that their seniors are not going to colleges regularly but occasionally. With some hesitations they continued that usually girls go to colleges or senior secondary schools for four or five times in a year either for getting admission or filling forms for exams, etc. In fact, not compulsorily going for classes is one of the important factors that family members of girl students allow them to get admitted in schools or colleges. Such a situation was apparent when discussed with the students of Qasim-ul-Uloom, Darbhanga and Anjuman Islamia, Kishanganj.

The case of male students was a bit different. They ubiquitously argued that the situation of education in Bihar as a whole is not good. Majority of the member of their peer group and also their neighbors chose to go to school and colleges as they were economically well off of they shifted from Madrasa at various stages. For them switching from Madrasa to schools and colleges make them competitive enough to get government jobs. Most of the students of Madrasa think to get teaching jobs. Detail discussion regarding future planning will be discussed later in this chapter. Here it is important to mention social factor is third important factor affecting choice of Madrasa education.

There is a clear interdependency that can be seen between Madrasas and Muslim society in India. Muslim society has several groups and all the groups follow their own jurisprudence. In

this process, role of alumni from Madrasa becomes critical. The Ulemas from these Madrasas are known for guiding society in various religious matters. They are playing leading role in Muslim society. In fact, the Muslim society needs Ulemas from Madrasas and therefore, they open Madrasas. However, to get such roles, students from Alia Madrasas also shift to Nizamia Madrasas. In fact, Madrasa Qasim-ul-Uloom, Darbhanga has long tradition of sending its students direct to Darul Uloom at Deoband and Nadwat-ul-Ulema at Lucknow. Many of its alumni studied in these big Madrasas and they served with the government as well as non-government organizations in various capacity. In this context, it is noticed that if the students from Alia want to continue Madrasa education then they go to other Nizamia Madrasas after obtaining middle or secondary education from these Madrasas.

Table 5.6: Gender-wise Share of Respondents in Articulating Factors Influencing Their Choice of Education (in %age of total respondents of respective Madrasas)

Madrasas	Social			Religious		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Madrasa Anjuman Islamia	2.3	7.0	9.3	14.0	23.3	37.3
Madrasa Shams-ul- Hoda	14.8	-	14.8	29.6	-	29.6
Madrasa Hameedia	5.4	7.1	12.5	16.1	7.1	23.2
Madrasa Qasemul Uloom	6.3	12.5	18.8	10.9	17.2	28.1

Source: Author's Field Survey

As evident from table 5.6, female respondents have higher share in almost all the Madrasas having been influenced by social and religious factors except the case of Madrasa Shams-u-Hoda which does not include female respondents and Madrasa Hameediah. On the other hand, male students have largely been influenced by religious factors in Madrasa Hameedia only while choosing this mode of education. This finding can also be interpreted in a way that female students are usually influenced by the society. It has also peer group compulsions in choosing their education system. Several students at Madrasa Anjuman Islam, Kishanganj highlighted that they chose this Madrasa owing to the fact that most of their friends are also the students of the same Madrasa since their childhood.

Another important factor, which has also been highlighted by teachers as well as by the elders in the locality, is the choice of education for female students. The families of female students are not comfortable in sending their child in schools considering the aspects of security, safety, and most importantly cultural westernization that they most fear. Interestingly, the factor of cultural westernization is not limited to Muslims but orthodox Hindu society also opposes it-sometimes more fiercely than the Muslim society. But the discussions with stakeholders including students, guardians and teachers conclude that these are not only the factor in choosing Madrasa education but also religious compulsion coupled with family income level. They also accepted that those who are economically well off are already choosing school education after having been educated at initial elementary level.

There is a case sighted by Md Mumtaz, a teacher in the elementary school run by the government of Bihar in the locality of Madrasa Qasim-ul-Uloom. He is the resident of the same village where this school and the Madrasa are situated. He recounts the past and says that male students in the past hardly use to come from Muslim society in this school. The school which is

situated on the other side of the road where Hindus are populated. In fact, in the past most Muslims in the village use to consider this institution as the institution for Hindus and not for Muslims. Thus, Madrasa Qasim-Ul-Uloom was the only option where the Muslim students use to get elementary and middle education. Some of the students of Madrasa after completing Wastania or Fauqania use to shift to secondary education or in senior secondary. There were few students who also shifted after completing early elementary education from the Madrasa. However, there were limited students or few students who used to come in our school. He remembers his own days narrating such instances and says there were neither female nor male students from his age group of the Muslims in the village who went to this school. The narrative is drastically changed. He says now there are more than 50% of the total students in the school from the Muslim families and majority of them are female students.

This change has another important dimension. People of villages are more aware of their political rights as well as government programmes and schemes for them. It is a separate issue that how absence of government aided schemes are affecting Alia Madrasas albeit, as Mumtaz says that recent change in attitude of the villagers regarding the government school is also due to incentivizing various levels of education by the government through schools and colleges. There are many programmes running in schools attracting students. These programmes are not covering government aided Madrasas. Of late, government schemes like Midday Meal and Cycle Schemes started in Madrasas also. However, majority of Madrasas are not availing benefits of scheme due the fear of increasing monitoring by the government.

The above case is of competing institutions in the same locality suggests that large number of students are giving preferences to school education and very few are choosing Madrasa education. Alia Madrasa's syllabus include modern subjects and follows the instructions of the

government to mainstreaming the students of Madrasas, yet students are not choosing this stream of education. The case of Nizamia is a bit different. Large numbers of Nizamia Madrasa having higher education are limited to male members. Therefore, Nizamia is neither an option for the female students or their compulsion. Alia Madrasas are most suitable for them and families of the students are also comfortable with sending them in these Madrasas. In fact, if working properly, Alia Madrasas have large task of modernizing Muslim society by imparting education based on its curricula.

Role of Madrasas becomes very important for those still believe in their history and performance. As already discussed earlier that the students, teachers and guardians unanimously consider Madrasas as the centre where education is imparted through certain disciplining methods. For them Taleem (education) and Tarbiat (Disciplining) are inter-related things for students. It is considered in the Muslim society that both the things are essential for the Akhlaqiat (social behavior) of students. However, teachers at Madrasa Anjuman Islamia and Madrasa Qasim-ul-Uloom openly discussed that they are seeing degradation in the Akhlaqiat (social behavior) in the students of both Madrasas and Schools in their respective locality. In fact, hostel life of students in Alia Madrasas is more or less similar to Nizamia Madrasas. As Alam (2011)¹¹⁰ points out that Nizamia system has developed unique style of monitoring and surveillance of its students. There are several facets of control over students in Nizamia Madrasas and the strict disciplining makes them different from others. Like Nizamia, Alia Madrasas are also having a Nazir which a role of hostel warden. Students are supposed to wake up before dawn and like Nizamia system, students

¹¹⁰Alam, A. (2011). *Inside a Madrasa: knowledge, power and Islamic identity in India*. Routledge, Taylor and Francis.

are also required to be present for Fajr Namaz. Their disciplining starts for the day starting from this point of time.

The students are allowed to go out from Madrasa during the period between the two Namaz in the evening i.e. between Asr and Maghrib Namaz. Usually, students gather at tea stalls after the Namaz of Maghrib. This was the same case found in Alia Madrasas. Some students were available for discussion at tea stalls nearby Madrasas visited. It was unanimously agreed by the students of all these Madrasas including Shams-ul-Hoda, Anjuman Islamia, Hameedia and Qasim-ul-Uloom that there disciplining makes them different from others. Accordingly, they also highlight that if comparison is to be made with the local students who are not residing in the hostel, one can find that the students living in hostel have better Akhlaqiat and educational standards.

It is important here to mention that Madrasas like Shams-ul-Hoda has also computer centres for the students. Such centres in Madrasas also equip the students with modern technologies. As pointed out by Shah and Shah (1998) that “in order to achieve the goal of modernization the educational system needs to undergo big change in itself”.¹¹¹

5.5: Future and Shifting from Madrasas

In order to understand future plan and shifting from Madrasa to school or college education we asked three questions to the respondents and all of them are closed ended question. With some students we also had informal discussions about their future plans. In this section both aspects of survey is discussed and result of the survey is presented. The first question in this segment was related to the continuation of the study for which closed ended answer was given i.e. yes or no.

¹¹¹Shah and Shah (1998) that “in order to achieve the goal of modernization the educational system needs to undergo big change in itself”.¹¹¹

Those who want to continue their education were asked for shifting from Madrasa education to schools and colleges. The question is also closed ended with Yes or No as answer. Students do not want to continue education; this question was not applicable for them. The next was related to future plan. We asked the students whether want to pursue general graduation or professional degree or wants to be with the Madrasa system. Finally, we wanted to know that which factor influences their choice again in terms of social, economic and religious.

The survey statistics indicate that majority of the students from all the three Madrasas want to continue their education. Almost 93% of the total respondents said that they want to continue their further studies. Only 7% of the students did not want to continue with their studies. When asked, informally, for reason for not continuing the studies we get mixed response from the students. They have either economic issues or they do not see good future in continuing education rather they like to opt for works. Table 5.7 presents gender-wise percent of total respondents who want to either continue or discontinue their education.

Table 5.7: Madrasa-wise Share of Respondents
(In %age of total respondents of respective Madrasas)

Madrasas	Does Not Want to Continue	Wants to Continue
Madrasa Anjuman Islamia	9.3	90.7
Madrasa Hameediah	7.1	92.9
Madrasa Shams-ul-Hoda	0.0	100.0
Madrasa Qasim-ul-Uloom	9.4	90.6
Total	7.4	92.6

Source: Author's Field Survey

Gender as the aspect of dropping out is important point in analyzing sociology of education. However, case in here suggests a similar pattern. Very few students in both the gender opted for dropping out. In fact, in case of Madrasa education in Bihar, female students are happy to continue their education upto Maulvi and Alim levels. An important reason for this change is the fact that majority of Madrasas are not hosting regular classes. Therefore, for guardians, it is easy to allow their daughters to continue the education in which they are supposed to appear only in exams. It is akin to the case of higher education in Bihar in general. Moreover, after graduating from Madrasas, students have possibilities to get jobs as teachers in schools at different levels particularly at primary levels. Our respondents have also pointed out that they want to be a teacher in future. Majority of the students are influenced by their elders who got government jobs as teachers in government schools. In fact, this tendency has increased after the government of Bihar appointed teachers on contract to fill the large vacant seats in schools of the state government.

When asked whether they want to shift their education system from Madrasa to modern education in colleges and universities, majority of the respondents answered yes (Table 5.8). In fact, more than 60% of the total respondents want to shift from Madrasa education. This percentage is highest in case of Madrasa Qasim-ul-Uloom and Madrasa Hameedia accounting for nearly 75% and 79% respectively. Similarly, 63% of the respondents in Madrasa Shams-ul-Hoda want to shift from Madrasa education. In case of Madrasa Anjuman Islamia, 59% students do not want to shift from Madrasa rather they like to continue their education. While analyzing this response, we have taken only those respondents who want to continue their studies i.e. 176 respondents out of 190 wanted to continue their education.

Table 5.8: Madrasa-wise Response on Shifting from Madrasa
(As %age of total respondents of the respective Madrasa)

Madrasas	Does Not Want to Shift	Wants to Shift
Madrasa Anjuman Islamia	59.0	41.0
Madrasa Hameediah	25.0	75.0
Madrasa Shams-ul-Hoda	37.0	63.0
Madrasa Qasim-ul-Uloom	20.7	79.3
Total	37.9	62.1

Source: Author's Field Survey

While discussing shift from Madrasa education system, students mainly focused on their professional future. Another aspect was ubiquitous in Bihar especially in case of Madrasa education. A significant number of students follow both the stream of education simultaneously. This fashion is not limited to cities but also such cases can be found in villages level Madrasas. Students who are enrolled in Madrasas are also enrolled in colleges and universities. The number of such students is small, yet significant. Since such a choice of systems is illegal, students are not clearly articulating their other educational goals parallel to Madrasa education. When raised questions regarding illegality and validity of such education, students complained that the system allows such things to prevail. The most important aspect of such irregularities and illegal practices is the absence of classes in Madrasas and Colleges as well as universities. However, noted factor

is that the majority of the students who want to shift from Madrasa education to universities are pursuing university degrees after attaining education in Madrasas. Majority of students do not pursue parallel and simultaneous degrees on regular basis.

Increase in the number of female students in recent years is critical for sociological analysis of Madrasa education. It was also pointed out that why female students are increasingly choosing Madrasa education and highlighted that social and religious causes are playing an important role. However, one of the important factors in general was no compulsory classes for students. In case of Madrasa Anjuman Islamia, it was found that classes are held separately for female and male students. In fact, this Madrasa has also hostel facilities for female students. Therefore, it was important to know from them regarding discrimination against female students. Several of the students suggested that they have never been subjected to discrimination on the basis of gender. The students unanimously pointed out that the behavior for teachers and others are fairly good with them. However, they also pointed out that they will get less opportunity than the male students in future in acquiring their desired future.

5.6: Statistical Analysis

The statistical analysis was also carried out to test the four hypotheses of this study. These hypotheses are as under;

Hypothesis 1:

H₀: Type of Education is independent of the Economic Future in case of Madrasa Education

H_A: Type of Education is dependent of the Economic Future in case of Madrasa Education

Hypothesis 2:

H0: Reason of choice for madrasa education is independent of gender

HA: Reason of choice for madrasa education is dependent on gender

Hypothesis 3:

H0: Type of education in Future is independent of the gender

HA: Type of education in Future is dependent of the gender

Hypothesis 4:

H0: Type of Education is independent on continuation of studies

HA: Type of Education is dependent on continuation of studies

The above hypotheses were tested using chi square test owing to the characteristics of the data.

- A.** At the outset, the statistical analysis is based on the establishing causal relationship. In the first case, a causal relationship is established between choice of type of education and economic future of respondents. The hypothesis is stated below;

Hypothesis 1:

H0: Type of Education is independent of the Economic Future in case of Madrasa Education

HA: Type of Education is dependent of the Economic Future in case of Madrasa Education

Table:5.9: TYPE_EDUCATION * ECONOMIC_FUTURE Cross tabulation(H1)									
Count									
		ECONOMIC_FUTURE							Total
		Econ omic	Relig ious	Religiou s and economi c	Religiou s and social	To acquire professi onal degree	Wants to become a doctor	Wants to be a school teacher	
TYPE_ED UCATION	Not Applicable	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	14
	Remain in Madrasa System	17	33	4	4	0	0	0	58
	Want to do B. A	0	0	0	0	1	0	36	37
	Wants to acquire professional degree	0	0	0	0	76	3	2	81
	Total	31	33	4	4	77	3	38	190

The results of the data indicate that total number of valid cases in terms of type of education an economic future is 190. This result is presented in table 5.9. Presents the factors influencing future of education of the respondents. Students with religious leaning have articulated that they

will remain in Madrasas whereas students' economic factors are also influencing their choice of being in Madrasas.

One of the striking responses is the fact that those Madrasa students who want to pursue university education based their choice due to their goal of pursuing teaching profession. This is also the result of the fact that several Madrasa students became school teachers after getting graduated from Madrasas. Majority of students surveyed want to acquire a professional degree indicating their ambitions for future.

Table 5.10: Chi-Square Tests (H1)				
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	
Pearson Chi-Square	419.098 ^a	18	.000	
Likelihood Ratio	400.826	18	.000	
N of Valid Cases	190			
a. 15 cells (53.6%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .22.				

Using Chi-square test, it is estimated that the P-value is less than 0.05 in table 5.10. Therefore, we reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternate hypothesis. We can conclude that the Type of Education is dependent of the Economic Future in case of Madrasa Education. In other words, the choice of education system depends on the various economic future of students as they perceive.

B. The next exercise is to understand the relationship between status of gender and choice of the Madrasa education. The hypothesis is stated below;

Hypothesis 2:

H₀: Reason of choice for Madrasa education is independent of gender

H_A: Reason of choice for madrasa education is dependent on gender

Table: 5.11: Gender * REASON_CHOICE Cross tabulation (H2)						
Count						
		REASON_CHOICE				Total
		Economic	Family Income	Religious	To Get Jobs	
Gender	F	6	10	20	61	97
	M	6	19	11	57	93
Total		12	29	31	118	190

The results highlighted in table 5.11 summarises that the out of the total respondents the students stated that they are pursuing Madrasa education for getting jobs. This response is almost uniform in the case of both male and female respondents. The next influencing factor for their choices is religious. However, more female students articulated this factor than the male students. In the case of family income, male students are higher in number in articulating this factor.

Table: 5.12: Chi-Square Tests (H3)			
	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.460 ^a	3	.141
Likelihood Ratio	5.542	3	.136
N of Valid Cases	190		
a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.87.			

Table 5.12 presents result of the chi-square test indicating that the P-value is greater than 0.05. At 5% level of significance we failed to reject the Null Hypothesis. Thus we conclude that gender is independent of the choice for selection of Madrasa education. In other words, that reasons for choice of the education is uniform in both the male and female.

C The next task is to understand that weather responses for future of education between male and female differ or not. The hypothesis is stated as under;

Hypothesis 3:

H₀: Type of education in Future is independent of the gender

H_A: Type of education in Future is dependent of the gender

Table 5.13 presents the fact that majority of respondents both male and female want to acquire professional degree. Similar is the case for respondents who want to be remained in

Madrasa. The number of both male and female students is almost same who want to be in Madrasa education. Thus, this may be concluded that there is no significant difference seen in the choices of future between male and female respondents as articulate by them. This is statistically tested using Chi-square test. The p-value for the chi-square test is greater than 0.05 in table 5.14. At 5% level of significance we failed to reject the Null Hypothesis. Thus we conclude that gender is independent of the type of the education in future.

Table: 5.13: Gender * TYPE_EDUCATION Cross tabulation (H3)						
Count						
		TYPE_EDUCATION				Total
		Not Applicable	Remain in Madrasa System	Want to do B. A	Wants to acquire professional degree	
Gender	F	8	28	19	42	97
	M	6	30	18	39	93
Total		14	58	37	81	190

Table: 5.14: Chi-Square Tests (H4)			
	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.409 ^a	3	.938
Likelihood Ratio	.410	3	.938
N of Valid Cases	190		
a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 6.85.			

D In the end, I try to find out that whether the type of education is a factor causing continuation of the studies of respondents. Hypothesis is given below.

Hypothesis 4:

H₀: Type of Education is independent on continuation of studies

H_A: Type of Education is dependent on continuation of studies

Table 5.15 and 5.16 presents the results of the analysis using Chi-square test. The p-value for the chi-square test is less than 0.05 hence at 5% level of significance we reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternate hypothesis. We can conclude that the Type of Education is dependent of the gender in case of Madrasa Education.

Table: 5.15: TYPE_EDUCATION * CONTINUATION Cross Tabulation (H4)				
Count				
		CONTINUATION		Total
		No	Yes	
TYPE_EDUCATION	Not Applicable	14	0	14
	Remain in Madrasa System	0	58	58
	Want to do B. A	0	37	37
	Wants to acquire professional degree	0	81	81
Total		14	176	190

Table: 5.16: Chi-Square Tests (H5)			
	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	190.000 ^a	3	.000
Likelihood Ratio	99.965	3	.000
N of Valid Cases	190		
a. 3 cells (37.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.03.			

5.7: Summary of the interview of Ulemas

Interview was conducted with Maulana Khalid Saifullah Rahmani and Mohtamim of Madrasa Nizamia, Hyderabad. The interviews highlight their perceptions of Madrasa education in the context of modern education. The detailed interview is placed at appendix-1. Maulana Rahmani presented his thought on the Madrasa education in Bihar. He highlighted the pathetic situation of Madrasa education in Bihar. He argued that teachers are not being recruited in Madrasas. As a result, classes are not held in these Madrasas. However, this is not the case in Madrasas only. Higher education in Bihar also suffer from such situation. He also pointed out the factors for rebuilding Madrasa education in the state which include regular salary payments, reformation of syllabus and recruitment of teachers. Maulana Rahmani however is not able to articulate the mechanism through which Madrasas can attract more students. It is important for Ulemas to link the education system for attaining materialistic goals along with idealistic goals. The second interview was conducted with Mohtamim of Madrasa Nizamia, Hyderabad. He also articulated similar view point.

5.8: Conclusion

The chapter deals with findings of the field study. The chapter presents both summary of the survey data and also statistical analysis of the same. In addition, the chapter also highlighted the view point of Ulemas on the current state and challenges of Madrasa education in Bihar. The four Madrasas are located in a Muslim populated area and they attract local Muslim students-most of them economically backward. The discussions with locals also indicate that the students are high from the caste which has high population in the locality of the Madrasas. The study found

that average monthly family income of the respondents is for all the four Madrasas are varying from Rs. 7000 to 9000. In addition, the monthly expenditure of the students as reported by them seems to be homogenous for students. It is also found that majority of students are socially and religiously motivated to adopt this system of education. In this context, it is noticed that if the students from Alia want to continue Madrasa education then they go to other Nizamia Madrasas after obtaining middle or secondary education from these Madrasas. Students in Madrasas are reducing due the fact that governments are not running developmental programmes through Madrasa education. Thus, the beneficiaries i.e. students are enrolled in those intuitions which provide such programmes. Statistical analysis indicates that the choice of education system depends on the various economic future of students as they perceive. Reasons for choice of the education is uniform in both the male and female.

Chapter 6

Conclusion and Recommendations

6.1: Introduction

This thesis has deciphered the current status of Madrasa education in the country. It is based on a field study across four selected Madrasas and the data thus collected have been used to test a number of hypotheses and finally it brings about the findings. Madrasas have to realize that they are in the 21st century, here, new issues unfold rapidly. There are deficiencies in the entire Madrasa system and these deficiencies should be looked after according to the changed situation, which in turn would be better for the community. Some of the problems include the absence of a centralized agency to exercise control on all Madrasas. Many Madrasas follow their own designated syllabus which is a hindrance for smooth functioning and standardising of quality education; all small Madrasas should be affiliated to one university and should adopt its syllabus. There is a lack of modern teaching methodology in almost all big Madrasas. Thus, this study pertains to the performance of Madrasas and would focus as to how they can help in creating a socially inclusive society.

The objectives of study are as follows:

- To understand basic epistemological philosophy of the education imparted in the Madrasas of Bihar (Deobandi Madrasa)
- To study the differences in the academic outlook of the four selected Madrasas
- To study and ascertain the life activities of the students of madrasa while they are studying

- To examine the orientation of the students toward pursuing higher education
- To examine the overall impact on the livelihood of Madrasa students

6.2: Outline

The first chapter of this thesis gives a broad introduction and discusses the historical landmarks in the status of Madrasa education in India. It examines various stages e.g. stage of patronization, stage of centre for learning, etc. In the stage of patronization, the Sultans or Muslim ruler patronized the **Ulemas** and thus legitimized their rule in the country (Sikand, 2005). This became a popular practice during the time. In the stage of centre for learning, the rulers facilitated the provision of other kind of education to consolidate their power. This was done to strengthen the empire because any scientific development puts the kingdom in a better position from security point of view. New books on logic, mathematics, literature and philosophy (Sikand, 2005) were introduced.

Further, in the stage of challenges, the late 18th century saw gradual decline of the Mughal rule and the **Ulemas** faced problems as they saw that their powers were slipping away from their hands. Moreover, owing to the attitude of the Ashraf Ulemas, the ordinary Muslims did not regard them as their custodian and they did not see any change for themselves with the change in power structure. This development led to the activism of **Ulema** in which they propagated that such a situation was the result of ignorance towards the religious text and **Sunnah** of the Prophet. Leading Islamic scholars like Shah Ismaiel Shaheed and Shah Abdul Aziz advocated strict interpretation of Quran and the **Hadith**. Also, the followers of Ahmad Raza Khan Bareilvi emphasised on Sufi Islam. In the stage of crisis, it saw the reaction of Ulemas who were against the adoption of western education. Owing to this, Darul-uloom in particular put focus on traditional subjects. Also, another Madrasa i.e. Darul-Uloom-Nadwatal-Uloom that came into existence aimed to provide a balanced

synthesis of the classical and modern. They focused on integrating the fundamental and ever transforming world of modern knowledge.

Later, the chapter discussed contemporary ideological deconstruction of madrasa education in India. It examines the recent debate about the Madrasa and argues that it got significant attention mainly due to two basic reasons: security and development. Whether it is the Islamophobia of the West or the modernization and modernity thesis from Muslim intellectuals, both discourses have survived and are still prevalent. Therefore, a look at the critical discourse has been covered in the next section of this chapter.

‘The Quran’, Rahmani says, ‘encourages us to acquire knowledge of the sciences that can reveal the secrets of the world’, and these include the human and the natural sciences (Sikand, 2007). Therefore, it is crucial to comprehend that contemporary education is the right of every individual. This will make the community more socially inclusive. Moreover, Madrasas are now becoming a meltingpot of communities. They discussed about mainstreaming Madrasa education and teaching mainstream courses like science, mathematics and economics, among others.

The chapter also brings out an issue of the availability of means of education. It says that many time Madrasas are the only educational option available to Muslim children, especially in areas where no schools have reached the Muslims masses. Often children go to Madrasa not out of choice but due to non-availability and inaccessibility of other schools. Their presence is felt even in the remotest area of the country where no other educational facility exists. But interestingly as of today only the marginalized section of the Muslim community prefers to send their ward to these Madrasas and ironically those who aid these institutions seldom educate their children in these institutions and they even prefer convent school and modern secular-scientific education for

their children. Essentially Madrasas helped in management of protecting and preserving Islamic identity in India and at the same time facilitated in creating synthesis of Indo-Islamic culture.

The second chapter of the thesis carries out an extensive review of literature. It is based on research papers from several sources. It also includes literature available from other journal sources including those in the EPW. After going through the literature, it can be said that broadly the discourse on Madrasa education has focused on the following seven critical aspects:

1. Historical development and ideological differences in Madrasa system (e.g. John, 1929; Hussain, 1956; Zaman, 1999; Alavi, 2003; Ara, 2004; Sikand, 2005; Aleaz, 2005; Riaz, 2010; Alam, 2011).
2. Structure and political influences/ intervention (e.g. Alam (2003), Aleaz (2005), Riaz (2010)
3. Curriculum, academics structure and governance structure (e.g. Hussain (1956), Metcalf (1978), Welch (1996), Ara (2004), Wasey (2005), Riaz (2010). Metcalf (1978)
4. Religious fundamentalist and security concern in madrasa education (e.g. Metcalf (1978), Alam (2003), Ara (2004), Sikand (2005), Aleaz (2005), Wasey (2005), Alam (2011), Jhingran(2012)
5. Mainstreaming, Reforms and modernisation (e.g. Alam, 2011; Ara, 2004)
6. Infrastructure development and budget allocation (Metcalf (1978), Aleaz (2005)
7. Community identity (e.g. Riaz (2010). Ara (2004), Sikand (2005), Wasey (2005), Sikand (2008), Jhingran(2012),

After having review the available literature it was found that there is a wide gap in the literature available on Aliya Madrasas particularly on the Madrasa Board in Bihar. The present research therefore, tries to fill the gap of existing literature on Madrasa education. In fact, Madrasas are

viewed as only one system i.e. Nizamia. However, the reality is that the Aliya system also exists and government is directly providing financial support to such Madrasas. It is in this context that the present study is undertaken to highlight the importance and performance of Madrasas working under Aliya system with the case study presented in case of Bihar.

The third chapter of the thesis discusses the choice of location and methodology.

Alamgeer (1998) has argued that Madrasas are effectively fulfilling the needs of Muslim community in Bihar. This is being done through imparting knowledge even when these Madrasas face severe financial and infrastructural constraints. But over the years, the situation has changed a lot owing to the support by government in Bihar. Some financial and infrastructural constraints have been eased out. However, few other basic challenges still remain. Bihar has a huge network of Madrasas. The total number of Madrasas for both systems in Bihar was nearly 1400 supported by Madrasa Board. The Madrasas affiliated to the Madrasa board is following syllabus of Dars-i-Alia which is the combination of both Dini and Dunyavi studies. This chapter further examines the role of Bihar Madrasa Education Board and how it has spread its outreach. Also, the chapter further examines the performance of Bihar State Madrasa Education Board.

The chapter also discusses the syllabus of Alia system in Bihar. Madrasas affiliated to the Madrasa board are following syllabus of Dars-i-Alia which is the combination of both Dini and Dunyavi. The syllabus of secondary education of Alia Madrasas in Bihar is equivalent to the syllabus of secondary education of Bihar School Examination Board. A careful study of the syllabus suggests the inbuilt modernization within the Madrasa system. It covers social sciences, sciences, mathematics, languages and literature like any other board in India. The difference is the inclusion of subjects like *Diniyat*, *Hadees*, Quran, etc.

Later, this chapter sets the context and scope of the field survey undertaken during this study. The aim of the field survey was to address issues as relevant as finding the reasons for students particularly for female students for choosing Madrasa Education. Also, it aimed to ascertain the existing scenario of education in Madrasas affiliated and supported by the Board. It also aimed at understanding the causes and conditions in which students are opting for shift from Madrasa board to formal and modern education system. The field survey is also aimed at identifying future plans of the students indicating their interest in jobs and other ambitions. The field survey included a sample of 190 students who were interviewed in the four identified Madrasas. Of the total 190 students, there were 97 female students and 93 male students. The participation of female students is taken up in due consideration with the changing share of female students in these Madrasas.

The subsequent sections of this chapter, discussed the reasons for choosing these locations for field survey. We have targeted students of secondary (*Wastania* and *Fauqania*) and Higher Secondary (*Maulvi*) for our purpose considering the fact that students are making shift after these classes.

The next section of this chapter presents a justification of study location. The sampling method followed for this research is random sampling. I looked at three important aspects relating to Madrasa education in Bihar. First and the foremost is Madrasa's role in promoting shifting of education. Madrasa Shams-ul-Hoda which is situated in Patna has a strong tradition in promoting and mainstreaming its students. There are many success stories from this Madrasa. Many of its alumni are in Government services with different departments, albeit the present situation indicates overall miserable situation of student's strength. Secondly, there is a concentration of Muslim population in a district in Bihar and where number of Madrasas affiliated to Bihar Madrasa Board

is relatively very high. In these criteria, a Madrasa from Kishanganj was selected. The third important case was selection of Madrasa in a district where population of Muslims is moderate but has better influence on the Muslim society. Considering this, two Madrasas- one situated in urban area and one situated in rural area in Darbhanga were selected. Darbhanga is selected for the field considering the concentration of Muslim population in the district. Madarsa Hameedia is situated in the head quarter of Darbhanga district which is urban in its location. I also selected one more Madarsa in Darbhanga district situated in rural area which has its historical importance. Madarsa Qasim-ul-Uloom is important for our purpose situated in the rural area of Darbhanga district. The number of students interviewed from this Madrasa is higher than the number of students interviewed in Hameedia. All the four Madrasa has hostel facilities and education for both male and female students.

Further, the chapter builds on the methodological aspects. This chapter is all about data analysis and results from data. The current research carries out a detailed survey with both open and closed ended questionnaires designed with the objective to understand factors of choice of and shifting from Madrasa education in Bihar. This further enables us to identify the changing nature and dimensions of the Madrasa education. Therefore, the survey follows both structured questionnaires for taking interviews from students of selected Madrasas and also some open ended questions with students, teachers and also alumni in order to present case studies containing success stories and also suggestions.

The following hypotheses were developed:

Hypothesis 1: Type of Education is independent of the Economic Future in case of Madrasa Education

Hypothesis 2: Gender is independent of reason of choice for madrasa education

Hypothesis 3: Type of education in Future is independent of the gender

Hypothesis 4: Type of Education is independent on continuation of studies

These hypotheses have been tested using Pearson's chi-square test. The hypothesis testing has been done using SPSS.

Findings

Chapter 4 presents data analysis and results. The chapter starts with the description of field study. During the field study, discussions with students which include both male and female it was found that students do not differentiate in teaching standards of schools affiliated to Bihar Education Board and the same of Madrasas affiliated to Bihar Madrasa Board. This observation is critical. The statement relates to the fact that education in schools and Madrasas are not different when compared to the quality standards. This can be noted here that government schools in Bihar is failing miserably to provide quality education and teaching student ratio at secondary level and higher secondary level is low.

Some students during field study also highlighted that they are pursuing this education owing to religious compulsion. A widely recognized perception among Muslims is considering the students of Madrasas as the defenders of their religion and practices. In view of this, the society also gives importance to those who studied in Madrasas. In my discussions with the students and also with others at the locations, I recognized that the majority of them are very apprehensive of the current government. They argue that the people of the Muslim society need to defend themselves against the encroachment by the government of their faith. This perception is also developed against the steps taken by the government after the Supreme Court's judgment against instant **Triple Talaq**. Concerted efforts were taken by several groups of **Ulemas** against the government interventions in personal laws. It can be argued, implicitly, that majority of the

students and the Madarsa teachers and other residents with whom I interacted, are not happy with the way government is dealing with their personal laws. In airing such views, it was observed that these people were exhibiting their sectarian (**Muslaki**) beliefs. Although, Madrasas affiliated to the board have common syllabus yet they firmly believe in their sect's ideas or **Muslaks** and therefore, their stands are more or less as per the stands of Muslim Personal Law Board, Idara-e-Shariah and Imarat-e-Shariyah, Patna.

During the field visits, I also experienced apprehensions in the institutions and in the board offices I visited. People at Madrasas and the board are very particular in sharing their views and information. It was not easy to get information from them. They always reminded me not to write wrong things about the Madrasa education and in reply I always assure them about not writing objectionable aspects.

It was already mentioned that the apprehensions are mounting among students, teachers and even residents owing to the posture of the government towards minority on different occasions. Incidents like cow vigilantism and lynching that happened in other states makes the **Ulemas** so apprehensive that they sometime see gloomy future of Indian Muslims and do not hesitate comparing the future with the current situation of Rohingyas in Myanmar. Apart from the political turnaround in Bihar, they also see the influential political and other leaders talking to challenge their existence in India.

The field work for this study was very complex as I followed both structured and unstructured ways of field survey. I prepared possible questions in a questionnaire and also left discussions open to respondents. Structured questionnaires were restricted to the students of Wastania, Fauqania and Maulvi. In addition, open ended discussions were also conducted with students, teachers and also residents. The views expressed by the respondents are expressed in the

above discussions. However, a detailed analysis of field study is presented in the following sections.

6.3: Conclusion

The data indicates higher number of female respondents in case of Madrasas like Anjuman Islamia, Kishanganj, Madrasa Qasim-ul-Uloom and Madrasa Hameedia. The case of Shams-ul-Hoda is different from these Madrasas. When discussed in detail with the teachers about the scenario in Shams-ul-Hoda, they answered that the Madrasa is not able to attract local students for Madrasa education as a whole. Male students can come from districts as far as Kishanganj, Katihar, Madhubani and Gopalganj, etc for education whereas female students from these districts are not either allowed or do not like to study in Madrasas if their financial conditions allow them to go for higher studies. Moreover, in Madrasa Shams-ul-Hoda female students are only allowed in junior section which is upto Fauqania. From Maulvi onwards, only male students are allowed to continue their education. Furthermore, in recent years, students are not choosing Madrasa Shams-ul-Hoda as their destination for education as in the past it was one of the major centre in Patna in attracting students from Muslim society across Bihar.

In case of other Madrasas, female student's number is high. In view of the increasing participation of female students in Madrasa Hameediah, Madrasa Anjuman Islamia and Madrasa Qasim-ul-Uloom Husainia, the female respondents are high in numbers in our survey. Most important reason for this is the location of Madrsas. The four Madrasas are located in a Muslim populated area and they attract local Muslim students-most of them economically backward. There are other social dimensions such as caste and social hierarchy with which the current research is not concerned with. However, discussions with locals also indicate that the students are high from the caste which has high population in the locality of the Madrasas. The discussions with teachers

and elders also suggest that there is also a nexus between Madrasas and their usage in the interest of community within the Muslim community dominating in and around Madrasa population.

It was also found that there is extensive religious nexus in Madrasa education under the Alia system. This chapter also discusses this in detail. It presents that majority of students are from economically backward families and also from economically backward areas. Economic characteristics are different in such a way that the district highly populated by Muslims is backward at several economic and social indicators. This is true in case of Kishanganj. Thus, choice of Madrasa education is also related to economic backwardness.

After the discussion of field survey and findings of informal discussions, the chapter presents analysis of structured questions. The analysis suggests that the average monthly family income of the respondents for all the four Madarsas varies from Rs. 7000 to 9000. In addition, the monthly expenditure of the students as reported by them seems to be homogenous for students of all the Madarsas leaving Madarsa Shamsul Hoda. Average monthly expenditure of the students more or less Rs. 550 except average monthly expenditure of Madarsa Shamsul Hoda. One of the core reasons for the expenditure high in ShamsulHoda compared to other three Madarsas may be attributed to the city of Patna which is the capital of the state. Patna is a little more expensive than other districts including Darbhanga.

It was also found that most of them are dependent upon either their father's income or the income of their elder brothers. As stated by a student of Madrasa Shams-ul-Hoda that after death of his father in 2016, he was feeling the pressure of family and was in favor of dropping out of the Madrasa. However, his elder brother-a teacher in a government school and working on contract-asked him to continue the education and is supporting him for education. Notably, a number of students reported their monthly family income more than Rs. 10000 but their numbers are limited.

As in case of the student in discussion, the monthly income of his family is Rs. 15000. There are few students who reported their family income as high as 25000 and also their expenditure is relatively higher than others. Another notable factor was noted while discussing with the students that only one member of their family is earning i.e. father and most of the students reported that their father is either a fruit seller, vegetable seller or has small family businesses. Their nature of employment is typically the situation of underemployment which is akin to unemployment. Madrasas in Bihar generally attracts students from such families.

So far average expenditure in Madrasa is concerned they are very less when compared to school education. Yet, a fair number of students averred that they chose this system of education because of religious factors in Madarsa Shamsul Hoda. For them, religion is important and they really want to have a good idea of religious values and principles. Nonetheless, students in Madarsa Sahmasul Hoda are keen to pursue education from a university so as to get employment. This is discussed later in this chapter. A reference here is made to understand the decisions that a student of a Madrasa takes for their education and employability.

The study found that more than 50% of the students interviewed at Madarsa Anjuman Islamia, Kishanganj think that their choice of education is owing to their economic backwardness. While making such comment or marking for this option, some students of the Madrasa also pointed out that for them religious factor is equally important yet they could have continued their education in schools if their family income would have been high. This may be noted here that school education means schooling in private schools not the government schools.

Apart from discussion of economic and religious nexus, the chapter also finds socio-religious linkages of choosing Madrasas. Madrasas are considered as a place of *Tarbiat* or disciplining. Muslim society does not give similar importance to school education. Moreover,

disciplining has also been an important aspect of Madrasa education in India. Disciplining include all the social aspects of human being relating to general behavior in the society. In fact, this process often need religious references like references from Quran and Hadees regarding the attitude of pupils towards other members of the society particularly towards other members of the Madrasa.

A clear interdependency can be seen between Madrasas and Muslim society in India. Muslim society has several groups and all the groups follow their own jurisprudence. In this process, role of alumni from Madrasa becomes critical. The Ulemas from these Madrasas are known for guiding society in various religious matters. They are playing leading role in Muslim society. In fact, the Muslim society needs Ulemas from Madrasas and therefore, they open Madrasas. However, to get such roles, students from Alia Madrasas also shift to Nizamia Madrasas.

It was also found that people are more aware of political and economic rights. They are also aware of programmes run by the government in Schools. It also affects Madrasa under Bihar Madrasa Education Board. . These programmes are not covering government aided Madrasas. Of late, government schemes like Midday Meal and Cycle Schemes started in Madrasas also. However, majority of Madrasas are not availing benefits of scheme due the fear of increasing monitoring by the government.

Alia Madrasa's syllabus include modern subjects and follows the instructions of the government to mainstreaming the students of Madrasas, yet students are not choosing this stream of education. The case of Nizamia is a bit different. Large numbers of Nizamia Madrasa having higher education are limited to male members. Therefore, Nizamia is neither an option for the female students or their compulsion. Alia Madrasas are most suitable for them and families of the students are also comfortable with sending them in these Madrasas. In fact, if working properly,

Alia Madrasas have large task of modernizing Muslim society by imparting education based on its curricula.

The field survey also found that majority of the students from all the three Madrasas want to continue their education. Almost 93% of the total respondents said that they want to continue their further studies. Only 7% of the students did not want to continue with their studies. When asked informally for reason for not continuing the studies, we get mixed response from the students. They have either economic issues or they do not see good future in continuing education, rather they like to opt for works.

In the end, the chapter also presents statistical analysis for hypothesis testing. As highlighted earlier, the hypothesis was tested to understand the relationship between choice of education and economic and social status. This exercise suggests that demographic and economic characteristics of respondents are significantly affecting the decision to choose Madrasa education.

- (1) Darul Uloom, Deoband, 1866.
- (2) Mazaheral Uloom, Shaharanpur, 1866.
- (3) Madrasa Baqyatris Salehat, Vellore, Tamil Nadu, 1883.
- (4) Jamia Mazharul Uloom, Benares, 1893.
- (5) Darul Uloom Nadwatul Ulema, Lucknow, 1894.
- (6) Madrasa Ameeniah, Delhi, 1897.
- (7) Darul Uloom Khalilia Nizamiah, Tonk, 1899.
- (8) Jamia Arabia Hayatul Uloom, Mubarakpur, 1899.
- (9) Madrasa-ul Islah, Sarai Mir, Azamgarh, 1909.
- (10) Jamia Darus Salam, Umnabad, 1924.

It is to be noticed that most of the well known madrasas were situated in UP. Before the partition UP had a large population of the Muslim elite. They took the lead in establishing these institutions as a part of their social and religious obligation to the community and simultaneously to create and enlarge their social and political base.

6.4: Recommendations

1. For months teachers are not paid with their salary. They experience financial trouble. Therefore, government should provide adequate financial assistance to Madrasa teachers.
2. Syllabus of Bihar Madrasa Education Board include both dini and asri uloom. Despite of this fact, the current syllabus needs to be reformed in order to include modern vocational courses.
3. It is important for Madrasas of Bihar Madrasa Education Board to follow a uniform syllabus to avoid sectarian imbalances.
4. A community level awareness is important to improve the Madrasa education.
5. Madrasa should follow open process of appointment.
6. The role of local administrative committee needs to be restricted. The Madrasa education should also become under the jurisdiction of government.
7. Madrasas are the least concerned sector for the government. The government should use huge infrastructure of Madrasas to spread education among the Muslim community.
8. Link Madrasas with modern technical educational institutions.

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Interviews with Ulemas

A. Interview of Maulana Khalid Saifullah Rahmani on Urdu Madrasas in particular on the Madrasas funded by the Government of Bihar under Bihar Madrasa Education Board, Patna.

Maulana Khalid Saifullah Rahmani had given me ample time for discussion. Moreover, he also gifted me several books for my research works and research papers. He established a Madrasa in 1999, almost 20 years ago in the city of Hyderabad located on a hill in Shaheen Nagar (Barkas) area. Today, the Madrasa is a full-fledged centre of research in Islamic studies. It attracts students who have completed their Islamic education from institutions like Darul- Uloom Deoband, Nadwat-ul-Ulema, and other institutions of higher learning in Madrasa education in Bihar, New Delhi and Uttar Pradesh for further research and knowledge. This Institution provides an opportunity for scholars to carry out research in Islamic Studies particularly Islamic Jurisprudence and Tafseer of Quran in two languages namely, Arabic and Urdu. Maulana Rahmani himself is devoted to giving guidance to students at the institutions. Despite his busy schedule, students at his Institution are benefited from his valuable guidance and available resources. This is to be noted here that he is recognized as one of the most important Islamic scholars across the globe. He is a member of Muslim Personal Law Board and other several institutions. The institution is called Al Mahad Aali Al Islami, Hyderabad.

Maulan Rahmani belongs to a village called Jalley situated in North Bihar in the Darbhanga. He started his education at Madrasa Qasim-ul-Uloom, Doghra, Darbhanga (a Madrasa under the case study of my research). In fact, I also belong to Doghra situated at a distance of 2 kms from Jalley (the village of Maulana Rahmani). I am fortunate that Maulana Rahmani spared some time for my research work. Furthermore, I am also a beneficiary of the resources available at his Institution. I asked several questions concerning to my research topic. He gracefully responded to my all questions which are important for the research. I am happy to incorporate his views in my research thesis.

Question.1: Please give me an overview of the history of the Madrasa education in Bihar

Ans. Madrasa education in Bihar has a very old historical tradition. India is a country where people of diverse religion, language and culture live. Bihar is one of those states where such diversity is prominent. Education is a big issue in Bihar, especially, school, college and universities in Bihar. Overall, education has been degraded in Bihar. We can say that this is a bad period of education, health and other services. It is correct to say that both the government of Bihar and the people of Bihar are equally responsible for this situation. There are limited resources available for education in particular availability of teachers at schools, colleges and Madrasas. Unfortunately I have been experiencing that only paper work is being done in Bihar in the name of education. No government helped the system improve. In so far as Bihar Madrasa Board is concerned; it is common to hear the issue of corruption and misadministration. Such corruption is evident since the inception of Madrasa Board. In fact, people who joined the Madrasa Board in Bihar are involved in day to day corruption. The history of education in Bihar will remember the bad days of education in Madrasas. Many Madrasas are associated with the Bihar Madrasa Board which are also funded by the Government of Bihar. However, the government provides fund to the teachers

of Madrasas under the Board separately. For example, after exhausting budgets for all other works, the Government allocates money for the teachers of Madrasas. It's like giving Zakat or giving Khairat to them. Besides, salaries are given after several months in most of the cases it is very difficult to guess as to when the government will release the salary. Teachers in Madrasas do not receive salary for more than 8 months and in some cases it takes 10 months for the government to release the salary of Madrasa teachers. These teachers remain in a bad financial condition for years. In the era of high inflation, where corruption is prevalent, you can imagine their economic condition. How are they going to manage their life and going to finance the education of their children? There are many things to discuss, but the limitation of time does not allow discussing those issues.

Question.2: Please give a brief overview of the current situation of Madrasa Education in Bihar.

Ans. Madrasas are in a very bad condition in Bihar. I have already pointed out that classes are not held in Madrasas properly. In fact, those who are enrolled to get education do want to be educated and those who are appointed to educate students are not interested in giving education. Majority of the students are bereft of the learning through education. However, those having good economic condition, good income level send their students to different cities in India in different states for education. But we all know that India's economy is in turmoil. Its economy is passing through recession period. In a period like this, it is very difficult for common people to pursue good education. Moreover, low level of education is ubiquitous in Bihar and illiteracy is still high. Bad education is ubiquitous in schools, university and colleges. Bihar Madrasa Board is the worst among them.

Syllabus of Madrasa Board is good. It covers Urdu, Arabi, Farsi, Maths, Science, Geography and other required branches of social sciences. However, teachers are not recruited adequately. There is a huge shortage of teachers. Normally, illiterate and those who are not interested in education are promoted as secretary and members in the governing bodies of Madrasas. These people are entitled to recruit new teachers. Corruption is an essential part of their recruitment procedure. If the government, and member of the governing body are interested in paying attention to day to day administration, then the situation may be improved to a large extent. However, this needs revolutionary changes in the Madrasa education in Bihar which no one knows when it will be possible to see the changes when the students and teachers will work together to bring their own family, village, district, state and the country forward and participate in the well being to the society through education. In a nutshell, education in Madrasas is in a precarious situation and the Muslim community is not doing anything.

Question.3: How to modernize the Madrasa education in the modern world.

Ans. It is essential to modernize the Madrasas particularly those funded by the government of Bihar in the modern era of technology. Madrasa Shams-ul-Hoda was established in Bihar. Its objective was pious. Teachers were capable of carrying both Islamic and Modern education in tandem. On the basis of this, syllabus of Madrasas under the Government of Bihar was designed. The syllabus is comprehensive in nature and based on the progressive ideals. This has the potential to provide opportunities of employment to the Muslims of the state. However, the real objective was to create preparedness among Ulemas to know both Islamic and Modern education together. This objective is now vanished. It is essential to connect technological progress with the education system in Madrasas in the era of modern technologies like internet/online systems, whats app, facebook etc. It is also essential to upload all the relevant material including syllabus online on the

website of Madrasas. In addition, Madrasas should also update its teaching material and also create and upload such materials on its website. Madrasas should also provide computer education. It will enable the students of Madrasas to compete with those who are studying in schools, college and universities. In this modern world, the students of Madrasas will achieve progress by adopting such technology. It is noted here that the syllabus of Madrasa Board in Bihar is essentially related to modern education and almost all the relevant courses are included in it.

Question.4: What are the weaknesses of Madrasa Education Board in Bihar? Please list some points of concern.

Ans. Madrasa Shams-ul-Hoda was established in Bihar and Bihar Madrasa Education Board was established in the same Madrasa. The Board was functioning at Madrasa Shamsul Hoda for years. Later on, the number of students increased at the Madrasa which required more spaces for students. As result, Madrasa Education Board was shifted to a different place. The government of Bihar took over the Madrasa education board. With the affiliation of the Board, several other government Madrasas were established in the state. Different places has different Madrasas established at different time and date which do not need further discussion. Coming to the point that the objective of these Madrasas like Madrasas Shams-ul-Hoda and Madrasa-Qasim-ul-Uloom Husainia was pious. These two Madrasas were instrumental in providing both Islamic and modern education together having comprehensive syllabus based on progressive ideals. These were the institutions having the potential to create technical know-how among its students enabling them to compete in market. Moreover, these institutions were helpful in achieving higher education among Muslims. But the objective to facilitate education of both Islamic and Modern tradition vanished among Ulemas. They did not give emphasis on the need of such education. In my views, there are many causes for this;

- i. First and foremost is that the syllabus is good but became outdated therefore, it cannot be adopted in practice. The syllabus should be designed in such a way so that it is workable for the students. One way is to trim the extra inclusion of Asri Uloom.
- ii. The second cause of degradation is the appointment of teachers by the committee constituted by the governing body of Madrasas which is not correct. Normally, less educated people are the member of the committee having no idea of education both in Islamic and Modern tradition. These members of the committee considered the Madrasas as a business. Generally, teachers are appointed by giving bribes. The committee members either appoint their relatives or persons belonging to their own communities. This is prevalent not only in Bihar but also in India. However, the constitution of India does not allow creating any difference based on religion, caste, creed, colour, etc. But this is happening in the appointment of teachers in Madrasas at a big scale. As a result, highly qualified teachers are not appointed. If good and qualified teachers are not appointed, the students will suffer. Their standard of education can also be imagined. Students only give exams. They do not go to Madrasas but only for filling forms and giving exams. Reforms should be adopted in relation to the appointment of teachers in order to attract qualified and teachers with modern qualifications.
- iii. The third important aspect is to reform the examination system. Malpractices are prevalent during exams by students at these Madrasas. They think that it is good to do this. It will help the students. Resultantly, instead of Ulemas, only pass-outs with certificates are ubiquitous in the society. They also appointed on the basis of bribes

or other factors like caste, creed and relations. Such teachers are not beneficial for students. This has negative result on society. Illiterate with certificates are created in a continuous manner from one family to other, from one village to other and from one state to other.

- iv. The fourth bad things with Madrasas are their affiliation with the government. As we know, the government of Bihar is not able to improve its school and university education system; how are we expecting of them to improve Madrasa education system. Unqualified teachers are appointed in schools through frauds. They will not give good education to children. These teachers are continuously busy in corruption. Moreover, the government of Bihar does not monitor these Madrasas in the way the government is monitoring the other institutions. In other words, the government does not have any interest in producing educated people from these Madrasas. Rather, they are spending money on it as an obligation to the minority community. The Government is using the community as a vote bank only. Owing to this, neither teachers are teaching nor do students have interest in acquiring knowledge. Only paper works are happening by maintaining attendance in register.
- v. The fifth issue is the salary of the teachers in these Madrasas. Although, it is higher than that of the teachers in Nizamia Madrasas, the salary in government Madrasas is not timely paid. Sometimes it takes more than six months to get salary in government Madrasas. Or in some cases, salary is paid on the occasion of Eids or on the occasion of any other festival. Even in such cases, there is frequent demand for bribes from the people in DEO offices. In fact, DEO has to sign the files of salary of teachers in Madrasas. Bribes are normal and we can say it that it is the

new normal which has lead to the situation of non -realization of responsibilities among teachers.

Considering the above issues, the following should be taken into consideration;

- Need to review the syllabus
- Employing the trained teachers or experts through interviews instead of following the current norm of employing relatives and non-deserving people. These trained teachers and expert can give proper education to children.
- Promote usage of electronic and digital technology in Madrasas for monitoring the attendance of teachers.
- Examination should be conducted properly. There is no need to conduct examination for giving certificates, rather it should be conducted in order to give proper education. Digital network can also be promoted in evaluation of exam paper. Exam papers should be made publicly available online after evaluation.
- The system of salary should also be corrected in order to eliminate bribery. There should be monitoring of officers at district and block levels who are working only after taking bribes.
- The government should not accept any delay in salary to teachers in Madrasas and fix responsibilities to officers if any delay is happening. This will have positive result in the Madrasa education system.

Through above points we can expect any reforms in Madrasas.

Question.5: - Should modern education be incorporated in Madrasas or not.

Ans. It is essential to introduce modern education in Madrasas in Bihar. However, there is also a need to keep balance while introducing modern education. Such experiments in Madrasas

were not fruitful owing to the fact that no balance was kept between modern education and Islamic Education while introducing it in Madrasas. However, there is no difference between modern education and Islamic education in Islam. Madrasas should reform its syllabus by introducing modern education considering the requirements of the age.

Question.6: What is the future of students getting education in Madrasas?

Ans: Every system of education has several objectives. Only economic well- being is not the main objective of Madrasa education. Rather, the objective of Madrasa education is to reform the society by promoting ethical means of life in society and refining the soul of human being. This is also noted that in such Madrasas, research is being carried out on Arabic Language and Literature and also on Islamic jurisprudence. These are the works related to religious obligations of Muslims. The students of Madrasas are also getting higher education in other government and non-government Madrasas which also serve as platforms to get employment. This will also continue in future.

Question.7: Why is the high drop out in Madrasas? Why the students from Madrasas are not joining college and universities?

Ans: Normally, students after receiving education from Madrasas get employment in Mosques as Imam and Moazzin and in small Maktabas as teachers or in some cases they do small jobs. The main reason for this is the bad financial conditions of the family of Madrasas students. In fact, majority of Madrasa students belong to economically backward families with meagre income. They cannot send their children for higher education in universities. The families of the Madrasa students spend their lives in poverty. Therefore, these students do such jobs in order to support their families. This further creates disconnect in their process of education. This is one of the most important reasons for drop out among Muslims children. The other important reason is

the low standards of education in Madrasas of the Government of Bihar. I have already pointed out these issues. The students are not capable enough to get admission in good colleges and universities. There are some students who belong to relatively prosperous families. These families are able to send their children in cities for higher education. .

B. Interview with the Mohtamim of Jamia Nizamia Hyderabad

After spending five days in Almahad Ali, Hyderabad with Maulana Saifullah Rahmani, I met Mufti Khalil Ahmad Saheb of Jamia Nizamia. He also helped me a lot. He gave me books related to my topic of research and also agreed upon giving me time for interview on the issue of Madrasa education in Bihar. Jamia Nizamia Hyderabad is different from Almahad Ali founded by Maulan Kkhalid Saifullah Rahmani. There are many subgroups in Muslim community based on their jurisprudence like Barailwi, Deobandi, Ahl-e-Hadees, Shia and Sunni etc. This is an issue which needs long discussion. Further, it is not essential to include these aspects at this stage. They way different subgroups exist, these two Madrasas are different based on their respective jurisprudence. The Madrasa Nizamia follows a Nizamia tradition of education within Madrasa education based on Brailwi jurisprudence. The Madrasa also gives education from Class 1 to Fazeelat. As per the statement of Mufti sahib, the students of the Madrasa follow sunnah tradition. The Madrasa was founded by Maulana Hafiz Mohammad Noorullah Farooqi. This is one of the oldest Madrasas founded in Hyderabad imparting Islamic education among Muslim students. The Madarsa is funded by the people of the country specially people of Hyderabad. Some of the grants are received from other countries. There are about 600 students studying in the Madrasa and they are also living in the hostel where lodging and fooding are arranged. All the required facilities including books are freely available to all students. Students facing no discrimination are living

based on the ideals of sunnah and receiving education for years. Many Mufitis and Ulemas in the country and in Hyderabad are the alumni of this Madrasa. The alumni, students and the teachers of the Madrasa is fulfilling the dreams of Maulan Noorullah Farooqi. The interview was undertaken in Urdu. A translation of the same is presented as under;

Question.1: Please give a brief history and outline the objective of the establishment of the Madrasa.

Ans: Thousands of Madrasas were established in India. There are the kind of Madrasas based on both Aliya and Nizamia systems. Madrasas based on Alia system is running with the help of the governments and also funded by them from their budget. Madrasa Nizamia is a different set of system. These Madrasas have nothing to do with the government funding. The number of Nizamia Madrasas are great and spread across the country. The government does not interfere in such Madrasas. Such Madrasas are funded by Zakath, Khairat and other help from Muslim community. By the grace of Allah, these Madrasas are doing well and performing their duty as assigned.

This Madrasa (Nizamia, Hyderabad) is also doing well. It has its own grand building. The Madrasa has all the necessary facilities for education including class rooms, library, mosques and books. Students are residing in hostel available in the Madrasa campus. Most of the students are form Hyderabad and other places. Lodging and fooding for the students are arranged for the students residing in the hostel. All the students are devoted to get education. There is also mess built in the hostel having both chef and bearer for serving food to students. The Madrasa gives salary to these employed people from the contributions received from Public. The chef and the bearer and other employee in the kitchen are devoted to cooking and serving food for three times

in a day. Almost 600 students receive food on a daily basis. This is happening with the help of the people of the country and the people of India living in Arab countries.

Question.2: What are the specific steps taken towards modernization of the Madrasa?

Ans: All the praise for Allah: in this Madarasa we have already introduced computer education and other modern education including Maths, Science, and English etc. We have arranged teachers for this separately. The students receive such education in the afternoon after the Namaz of zuhar and lunch. Moreover, students are taking part in these. Through appointment of domain experts we tried to enhance the students' interest in modern education. In this Madrasa, syllabus is based on Urdu, Farsi and Arabi therefore, we teach subjects related to Urdu, Farsi, Arabi and Islamic Studies. We are imparting education on computer, maths and other modern subjects separately. We are trying to modernize the syllabus of the Madrasa. We are introducing new syllabus to cover both modern and Islamic education and also trying to introduce books covering both the education systems. There many faults in the modern education which needs more time. Therefore, we are concentrated on computer education and English language.

Question.3: What your view on Madrasa education in Bihar specially for those Madrasas funded by the government of Bihar.

Ans: Bihar has a very old tradition of Madrasa education. Both Nizamia and Alia system of Madrasas exist in Bihar. Both the system had different kind of syllabus. Alia system of education is controlled by the Government. The government is also funding the expenditure made by these Madrasas under the Alia system i.e. Bihar Madrasa Education Board, Patna. However, education is in bad condition. Normally, those students are admitted in such Madrasas who are economically backward. Their families are not in good condition and they cannot afford financing the education of their result. These students drop out of the education system after spending few initial years.

The other choice for them is to work in big cities like Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata, Bangalore and Hyderabad etc. They work there as child labour. In fact, Bihar has the lowest ranking on the social indicators like education, health, roads, water etc. There are many Madrasas in Bihar running on the syllabus of Nizamia system. They are also funded by the contributions from public which help these Madrasas in meeting expenditure on salaries and lodging and food of the students enrolled. Few students from these Madrasas are continuing higher education in universities and colleges. In Bihar, people are more interested in working.

Question.4: What is the future of Madrasa Education? What kind of steps do you think should be taken for better future?

Ans: It is not possible to predict the future of the Madrasa education at this juncture. It needs more time for detailed discussion. However, it is noted that the students and teachers are protected only in Islamic education. Government is taking many steps to improve their well- being. The responsibility for the ignorance of Madrasas may also be put on the government. I am the leading teacher of the Madrasa Nizamia and I can say that none of the teacher and students of this Madrasa receive any support from the government. Moreover, the government is not interested in this. The education in India is in bad condition. I usually read new from various online and offline sources regarding this situation in the country. When general education system is degraded in the country, the result on Madrasas will also be the same. In addition, the government put different allegations on Madrasas. In a nutshell, I can put that the Madrasa education in the country is in danger. We can only pray Almighty for a better future.

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Ideological De-Construction of Madrassas Education in Bihar

Faizul Islam

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INTRODUCTION

Madrasas are the organized Centre of education or institution where knowledge is disseminated. The word Madrasa is derived from Arabic language. In the Arab world, Madrasa is perceived as all sorts of schools, including schools providing modern education in addition those giving Islamic education. In the Sub-continent, the understanding of madrasa is restricted to institutions which provide education only of religious character. In other words, Madrasa is regarded as institutions imparting only Islamic knowledge and confined to memorizing of Quran and teaching of Hadith¹.

Madrasa education in South Asia, particularly in India has direct or indirect impact of different sects or different jurisprudence. For example, Madrasas established by Shia is expected to provide education pertaining to Shia jurisprudence. This is also in the case of other sects like Barailvi, Deobandi and Jamat-e-Islami etc.

Contemporary Madrasas provide education to students whose parents and guardians belong to the economically backward group of the Muslim community. Although majority of Muslim population is considered as the marginalized section in Indian society yet only those parents send their wards to madrasas who are poorest in the Muslim society. This choice is obvious because these institutions provide all other necessities apart from educational

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Faizul Islam

Madrasa Education in Bihar: History and Changing Contours

Faizul Islam

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INTRODUCTION

The Arabic term Madarsa simply means "school", without any intended religious connotation. The earliest known Madarsa of historical importance is Al-Azhar, which was established in Cairo, Egypt by the fourth Caliph of the Fatimid dynasty, Al-Muizz (925-975 AD). For several centuries, there was no bifurcation between religious education (Deeni Talim) and worldly education (Duniyavi Talim). But in the contemporary times, there is a distinction between the two. Of course, Madarsas cannot be converted into English medium schools considering its underlying philosophy of existence, but they can become the centre of learning to provide modern education along with the religious streams.

A Hyderabad-based Islamic scholar Maulana Khalid Saifullah Rahmani, who is the General Secretary of the Islamic Fiqh Academy, has written a book entitled 'Dini waAsriTalim: Masailwa Hal' ('Religious and Contemporary Education: Problems and Solutions'). His book provides interesting insights into the problems of Muslim, particularly madrasa, education, and spells out an ambitious set of proposals to encourage the ulema to be more socially engaged. He argues that Islam adopts a holistic approach to knowledge, not making any rigid division between 'religious' and 'secular' knowledge. Rather, it divides knowledge into 'useful knowledge' (ilm-e nafi) and 'useless knowledge' (ilm-e ghayrnafi), with 'usefulness' being determined by the capacity of a certain body knowledge to promote individual and social welfare in this world and in the life after death. Hence, socially useful sciences like medicine, engineering and other are positively allowed for in Islam. The Quran, he



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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that Prof./Dr./Mr./Ms. Faizul Islam of
Dept. of Sociology, University of Hyderabad has participated/ presented a paper
titled "Socio-economic status of migrant women workers"

in the **INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON EMERGING DISCOURSE IN SOCIAL SCIENCES AND
MANAGEMENT** organized by the Society for Policy Research and Empowerment (SPRE) at India
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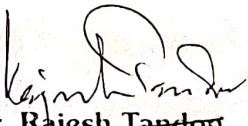
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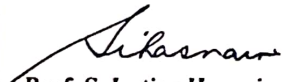
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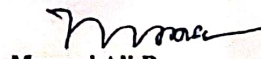
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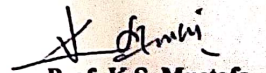
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Religious Instructions and Secular Education: A Comparative Study of Select Madrasas in Bihar

by Faizul Islam

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