

Understanding the Secularization Process through English Language Teaching at Qawmi Madrasa in Bangladesh

Azam Md GOLAM

Graduate Student

Graduate School for International Development and Cooperation

Hiroshima University

1-5-1 Kagamiyama, Higashi-Hiroshima, 739-8529, Japan

mohsin6857@gmail.com

Tatsuya KUSAKABE

Associate Professor

Center for the Study of International Cooperation in Education

Hiroshima University

1-5-1 Kagamiyama, Higashi-Hiroshima, 739-8529, Japan

kusakabe@hiroshima-u.ac.jp

Abstract

Qawmi Madrasas are one of the two types of religious schools in Bangladesh, educating students from primary level to Master's level. These Madrasa schools have diversified their curriculum to compete with other public and private education providers. In previous research works, the sociological perspective was of prime importance in understanding the Qawmi Madrasa. Pedagogically, no research works have dealt with the secularization process of the Qawmi Madrasa. Notably, 'introducing and practicing' the English language in the syllabus and class up to grade 8 level has not been the focus of any previous study. In the current study, we investigate what improvements need to be made to English teaching programs in Qawmi Madrasa schools to enable students to successfully secure admission to public universities and apply for positions in the civil service in Bangladesh. We conducted semi-structured interviews in 2017 with 64 interviewees, comprising students, teachers, and principals across four Qawmi Madrasa schools in Dhaka, the capital city of Bangladesh. The key limitations and improvements presented by these interviewees include teacher training for English language learning, new technology for learners, development of classroom resources, the establishment of a Qawmi Madrasa teaching college, implementation of authentic teaching materials within the classroom, and extension of English language education up to graduate level at Qawmi Madrasa schools.

Key words: Qawmi Madrasa, Secularism, English education, Bangladesh.

1. Background

In the domain of generalized perceptions, the relationship in Bangladesh between the Madrasa and secularism is arbitrary. The rationale for this oppositional relationship has a long historical background on the Indian sub-continent. From the beginning, Islamic religion-based education systems were the driving force for Muslim people. Ironically, they regretted not adopting within the syllabus the learning of the English language. It was the beginning of isolating themselves from the scientific education system, as the Madrasas pushed themselves towards a stagnant knowledge system. Muslim people on the Indian sub-continent were kept away from the secularization process for many years due to this orthodox mindset. Various religious accounts and sociocultural explanations have been offered for the lack of advancement by Muslims in English education. According to Hunter (1872), the three principal reasons why English education failed to attract the Muslim middle class were the absence of proper language instruction, the lack of Muslim teachers, and the lack of a proper curriculum.

Even today, Madrasas are considered to be derived from a pre-modern backdated religion based on a feudalistic education system, with Qawmi usually identified as a primary example. In contrast, the English language and secularism have a good

relationship, as the English language holds the dominant position in operationalizing the secularization process. The notion of secularization to date is that it is the modification of a society from handy identification with religious values and establishments toward the adoption of non-religious principles and secular institutions. The university, the institution responsible for generating and transmitting information, has been conceived as a vehicle of secularization (Feldman & Newcomb, 1969). Asad (2003) described his examination of the secularization hypothesis with specific reference to the formation of modern nationalism. He also mentioned the long and interesting tradition that suggests nationalism is a religion, although it is granted that nationalism is essentially secular in the sense that it is rooted in human history and society. A leading exponent of this trend is the anthropologist Talal Asad. In *Genealogies of Religion* (1993) and, consequently, *Formations of the Secular* (2003), Asad accepted a Foucauldian critique of the notion that the secular characterizes a neutral category. A sharp distinction between the secular and the religious is the erroneous claim of secularism. And, indeed, to make a rigid division between the term 'the religious' and 'the secular' is surely to diminish both (Asad, 2003). In this regard, Hall & Gieben (1992) mentioned that philosophers, in their opposition to traditional religious authority, stressed the need for secular knowledge free of religious orthodoxies.

Under deep influences sourced from the educational system of Cambridge University and Oxford University, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan became one of the primary initiators to break the world of Muslim orthodoxy in 1875 by establishing the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College which subsequently became Aligarh Muslim University in 1920. He understood that competence in English and Western sciences provided skills necessary for maintaining Muslim political influence, particularly in Northern India. This was originally established as Madrasatul Uloom (Islamic seminaries). The question of English studies is both a fact of India's colonial history and an ongoing problem for those trying to think about and beyond that history (Poddar, 2002). The British established their presence in Indian territory in the late 16th century; however, English did not achieve the status of the official language until the mid-19th century.

The initial spread of English (Kanungo, 1962) began through missionary activities that commenced around 1614 and became more pronounced after 1659. Controversies had begun about the medium of instruction in education by the first quarter of the 19th century. An insignificant but powerful group of Indians had been impressed by Western thought, culture, science, and technology and considered the English language to be the appropriate medium for the acquisition of such knowledge. With the acceptance of Macaulay's Education Minute on March 7, 1835, by Lord William Bentinck, a new educational policy in South Asia was initiated which gave the English language a central role in the region's educational system. Viswanathan (1987) advocated that British administrators discovered an ally in English literature to support and maintain control of the 'natives' under the excuse of a liberal education. With both secularism and religion appearing as political liabilities, literature appeared to represent a potential combination. The increasing demand for English represented some transformations within society, that is, from an agrarian society to an industrial one and, more importantly, to a society integrated with the global market.

Language teaching is a profession of values: this deserves due attention especially in an era when English has become the global language and is used for communication more by non-native speakers. For instance, non-native speakers are increasingly using 'English as a lingua franca' (ELF). This matter is addressed by following Johnston's (2003) framework of the three fundamental categories of moral dilemmas in English language teaching, namely: dilemmas of pedagogy, dilemmas of teacher-student relations, and dilemmas of beliefs and values. The framework was put forward over a decade ago when the ELF movement had just begun with very little discussion over ELF's pedagogical and educational implications. However, to date, it remains as probably the most comprehensive examination of the moral dimensions of English language teaching.

General education, technical and vocational education, and Madrasa education—these generally typify the education system in Bangladesh. Qawmi Madrasas (Islamic seminaries) are a component of the religion-based education system along with Alia Madrasas. Qawmi Madrasas are self-proclaimed as autonomous and do not follow government guidelines. However, Alia Madrasas are directly operated by the Education Department of the Bangladeshi government. Interestingly, considerable contrast is shown between the teaching styles and syllabi in Qawmi Madrasas and those of the government-regulated general education system. On the other hand, Alia Madrasas developed by following the adaptive method, where religious education and modernized education have had almost equal priority since the 1980s. The importance of the English language, for which Sir Syed Ahmed Khan campaigned, is indirectly followed by Alia Madrasas.

However, Qawmi Madrasas have come this far with their orthodox idealism and have avoided teaching the English language. They first changed their views in 2012. With the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College established in 1875, this means that 137 years had passed before Qawmi Madrasas in Bangladesh ethically started to adopt the English language in their syllabus. This means that 2012 was the year in which Qawmi Madrasas opened the process of secularization by introducing the English language. It was arguably necessary to modernize the Qawmi Madrasa system by adopting a holistic approach combining the secular, for example, English, and the non-secular, for instance, Arabic education. It is felt that the Bangladesh government should constitute a commission, comprising experts from both Qawmi Madrasas and the general education system to streamline Qawmi Madrasa

education by reforming and modernizing its syllabus.

Hall & Gieben (1992) highlighted that the formation of modernity aimed to provide a comprehensive, innovative and stimulating introduction to sociology. They also explained the set of interconnected values, for example, reason, progress, individualism, freedom, and secularism which provided both an image of the natural and social world, and a way of thinking about it. The paradigm of the Enlightenment—its philosophy and approach to key questions—is a combination of a wide range of ideas, bound together in a tight cluster.

The adoption of English language education can be considered as a paradigmatic shift of Qawmi Madrasas in Bangladesh. It will open the reasoning-based world of knowledge to the student. This language skill will be the key to entering the world which could be reshaping Bangladeshi society in the 21st century. Bangladesh was born as a state in 1971 when neoliberalism was taking shape, the challenges of which were welcomed by the country as it grew to become a lower- to a middle-income country. Meeting with the world in which English was the dominant language, therefore, led to regrets that not knowing English meant exclusion, while knowing the English language was regarded as the means of inclusion (Graddol, 1997). English language education in Bangladesh has been made essential due to a wide range of perspectives, ranging from the social and economic through to political factors as the country struggles to create an inclusive knowledge-based society. In Held et al.'s (1999) opinion, certain languages are spreading across increasingly large areas of knowledge and territorial jurisdictions throughout the world, with this most notable in the case of English, with far-reaching consequences.

The religious Madrasa education sector in Bangladesh comprises both state-regulated private Madrasas and independent Madrasas. The former are popularly known as Alia Madrasas where, alongside Islamic education, modern general education is also provided. The latter, commonly known as Qawmi Madrasas, specialize in religious education. Muslim students learn in these two types of religious schools.

At the time of Bangladeshi independence in 1971, about 1,000 Madrasas operated in the country. However, just one decade after independence, rapid growth occurred in the establishment of Madrasas in Bangladesh. This increase was much faster than that of mainstream education institutions (Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Information and Statistics [BANBEIS], 2016).

Unlike Alia religious schools, the Qawmi Madrasas depend largely on private donations and charity from the general public for their operation. As part of their religious duties, many Muslims contribute substantial amounts of money for the maintenance of Madrasas. To increase their popularity and status in society, people in business, industry, and politics often donate generously to local mosques and Madrasas. Most Qawmi Madrasas are on *Waqf* land, granted for religious use (Bano, 2008). Private donors and organizations in the oil-rich Gulf states, notably Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, have at times financed various Qawmi Madrasas in recent years to influence religious education.

Table 1. Number of Qawmi Madrasas, Alia Madrasas, and General Schools, and Students and Teachers 2017

Type of Madrasas/ Schools	Number of Madrasas/ Schools	Enrollment Boys	Enrollment Girls	Total enrollment	Teachers Male	Teachers Female	Total Teachers
Qawmi	26,671	1,058,636	339,616	1,398,252	66,902	6,829	73,731
Alia	9,303	1,102,815	1,350,549	2,453,364	98,849	14,912	113,761
General Schools	158,303	15,835,357	16,476,374	32,311,731	1,612,609	484,737	2,097,346

Source: Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Information and Statistics (BANBEIS, 2017)

Up to 1980, mosques and Madrasas were the primary sources of employment for students who graduated from religious schools. This has arguably changed from the beginning of the 1980s under Bangladesh's modernization projects. The modernization scheme of 1980 gradually introduced secular subjects, such as English, Bangla, Science, and Mathematics, into the syllabi of religious schools, and specifically in Alia Madrasas, alongside religious-related topics and languages (Asadullah & Chaudhury, 2010).

Asadullah & Chaudhury (2009) argued that the inclusion of new subjects (e.g., English language) would not only provide Qawmi Madrasa students with the required skills that are highly valued in a market-based economy, but would also change their attitude towards world affairs and members of different religions and ethnicities. Most Qawmi Madrasa graduates do not have extensive experience in subjects commonly regarded as critical for participation in a contemporary global economy (Bano, 2014).

Regarding the prospects for obtaining a job in the civil service or admission into a public university, students from Qawmi Madrasas are disadvantaged as this education system is not officially recognized. In addition, Qawmi Madrasas are considered

inadequate as they are informally organized, with their gender composition, curriculum offered, and scope of student transitions to higher education and the job market regarded as inadequate. A fine example here is the civil service¹ in which the process to secure a position within Bangladesh's market economy is highly competitive. The number of candidates selected for general cadres every year is less than 1,000 from more than 200,000 applicants from across the country. Moreover, entry into the civil service is essential as well as to gain admission to a public university, for instance, Dhaka University², as graduates who gain university admission will secure positions in the market economy at a much higher salary rate than those who do not. In both cases, English skill is required.

The generalized understanding is that it is useful for students to develop communicative language abilities in order to obtain a government job (Farooqui, 2014). Several efforts have been made to attain this objective as English is spoken in some countries for business and education (Farooqui, 2008), with this also applying to the Bangladeshi context. The government, along with a significant number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other education organizations in Bangladesh, has been actively promoting the quality of English teaching in secondary education, with students' level of English language proficiency having improved since 1990 (Chowdhury & Farooqui, 2012; Haider & Chowdhury, 2012; Hamid & Honan, 2012).

In the current study, we investigated the perceptions and attitudes of students regarding English language learning and their aims and motivation in learning English. Secondly, we examined whether the teachers are sufficiently effective or whether they have been trained in teaching English effectively. The study's research question focuses on Qawmi Madrasa education in Bangladesh:

What indispensable improvements need to be made to English teaching programs at Qawmi Madrasa institutions to enable students to enter a public university and secure a position in the civil service in Bangladesh?

2. Method

In terms of methodology, this study's pre-fieldwork, fieldwork, and post-fieldwork were conducted sequentially. The review of the literature (i.e., Asad, 2003; Bano, 2014; Asadullah & Chaudhury, 2010; Riaz, 2010; Smith, 1998) articulated the research question, with the study then developing semi-structured questionnaires for conducting the fieldwork. The current study was regarded as a pre-field-level study. The fieldwork was done in two stages: obtaining official permission from the Deputy Commissioner of Dhaka, and then visiting four of the most highly renowned institutions in Qawmi Madrasa to conduct purposive surveys and to meet with their teachers and principals. The head of the school, the principal, permitted us to visit specific classes, for example, grade 8, to collect data. We visited the classroom and identified individuals who could serve as guides by volunteering to form friendships with students. In total, we interviewed 64 interviewees in this research.

An open-ended interview with a semi-structured questionnaire was used to survey each Qawmi Madrasa student. Other than the students, the open-ended interviews were conducted with teachers and principals. The interviews mainly focused on changes to the curriculum, the students' prospects and teachers' ability to teach English as a subject. We considered English education at grade 8 level across four Qawmi Madrasas in Dhaka in 2017. These religious schools do not offer co-education; therefore, only male students could be interviewed. The school level of students, subjects taught by teachers, and educational level of principals are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Descriptive profile regarding student, teacher and principal interviewees

Categories	School Level of Students	Subjects of Teachers	Educational Level of Principals	Number of Interviewees
Students	Grade 8	-	-	40
Teachers	-	English	-	16
Principals	-	-	Dawra-e-Hadith (Master's level)	8

Source: Fieldwork (2017)

The conversations, held as one-to-one in-depth interviews, consisted of a series of open-ended questions. This method provided the opportunity for the researchers to ask follow-up questions. Joshi (2014) argued that this interview protocol is an effective research methodology. In the segment comprising the critical analysis discussion, we used a pseudonym for the interviewee's identity, for example, *Jahangir* as *Rimon* or *Rimon* as *Kadder*. Even in the case of the principal's opinion, we hid the principal's real identity; however, principals seemed to be opinion leaders in the context of Qawmi Madrasas. The rationale was

that the socio-politico-economic conditions of the principal's positionality were highly vulnerable in the context of Bangladesh. Likewise, the identities of the Madrasas remained anonymous in this research paper.

After completion of the fieldwork for the study, we sought to develop a critical analytical procedure, following the argument of Asad (2003), as this is strongly considered to build an understanding of the formation of secularization. He asserted that "I take the secular to be a concept that brings together certain behaviors, knowledge, and sensibilities in modern life." This research chiefly studied the curriculum of Qawmi Madrasa, especially the insertion of "English Language" as a secularized subject, with this work carried out both extensively and critically.

3. Revisiting the Curriculum of Qawmi Madrasas

Seven stages of learning occur in a Qawmi Madrasa. After completing the pre-primary grade, students then move to the primary level. Teachers impart some basic Bangla, English, Mathematics, and Islamic History to the students. After 10 years of schooling, students then move to *Mutawasita* (Secondary School Certificate [SSC]) level and then to *Sanunia Ulya* (Higher Secondary Certificate [HSC]) level. At that stage, students should have a sound knowledge of the Quran and its interpretations and will have memorized hundreds of *Hadith* (the traditions attributed to the Prophet Muhammad) and their origins. Students also study Islamic Law and Jurisprudence, read Islamic philosophy and history, learn logic and examine some classics in Arabic, Persian, and Urdu. A minimal number of students would move to the next stages of higher education in Bangladesh, both *Fazeelat* at the undergraduate level and *Taqmeel* as the Master's level. As is noted, Qawmi Madrasas cover the levels of school education up to Master's.

Students graduating from Madrasas do not learn modern skills such as English and Mathematics past grade 8 and cannot utilize their education in employment other than in Muslim religious institutions. While some textbooks on secular subjects have been published by the *Befaqul Madarrisil* (i.e., the Bangladesh Qawmi Madrasa Education Board) for use in Qawmi Madrasas, these are not approved by the government. In Qawmi Madrasas, to date, 12 subjects are offered including five secular subjects, for instance, Bangla, Mathematics, Science, English, History, and Geography at grade 8.

After grade 8 and up to Dawra-e-Hadith (Master's level), Madrasas across Bangladesh impart only religious subjects, for example, the Holy Quran, *Hadith*, and others. They cover school education levels ranging from grade 1 through to graduate. On the other hand, both Alia Madrasas and general schools deal with secular subjects, including English, up to undergraduate level across Bangladesh. This means that the fundamental religious subjects and modern skills are taught at a different level in Qawmi Madrasas.

3.1 Adaptation of the secularization process notion in Qawmi Madrasa education

The first National Education Commission in Bangladesh, headed by Dr. Quadrat-i-Khuda, was formed in July 1972 (Sattar, 2004, p. 259). In 1974, the Commission recommended uniform, free, and compulsory primary education for eight years and English was given priority as a foreign language. The report recommended Bangla as the medium of instruction at all levels of education. The last National Education Policy was formed in 2010 and placed emphasis on English education to create a stable and progressive knowledge-based society.

According to the 18th aim of Qawmi Madrasa, as mentioned in the draft Qawmi Madrasa Education Policy 2012, English is included in the Madrasa curriculum to fulfill the current government's demand. However, Qawmi Madrasas have little or no connection with the government, as they follow the guidelines of independent Islamic education institutions in Bangladesh and other Muslim countries.

The aims and objectives of the mentioned syllabi are to develop students' English language skills to enable them to benefit personally and professionally. The four skills—listening, speaking, reading, and writing—are integrated to encourage better language use.

Given the Qawmi Madrasa syllabus, persuasive, creative, exploratory, and argumentative discourse are commonly absent, yet these are pivotal for students to discover the nature of writing in domains of professional communication. They chiefly practice reading comprehension and the descriptive genre of writing on different topics ranging from essays to letter writing. As opposed to exercising the four skills that also entail speaking skills, as is done in general schools, the two types of religious schools, Qawmi and Alia, predominantly develop only three skills: reading, writing and listening. The verbal component is instrumental in covering areas such as conducting and participating in meetings, interviewing and taking job interviews, and presenting and participating in seminars, symposiums, and workshops across the country and beyond.

Table 3. English syllabi of Qawmi schools, Alia schools, and general schools

Qawmi Schools at grade 8	Alia religious schools at the undergraduate level	General schools at Bachelor level
<p>1. Reading comprehension Lesson: one Poem: 'I Wonder' Jeannie Kirby I wonder why the grass is singing and why the wind is never seen ... Word meaning, exercise Lesson: two The Teaching of Hazrat Muhammad (Sm.) One day Prophet Hazrat Muhammad (Sm.) was sitting with his followers around him and giving them instructions about Islam. Suddenly a man came to him. He looked very weak and nervous. He said, "I am hungry, and my children have been starving for three days. Please give alms ..." Word meaning, exercise.</p> <p>2. Grammar: Article, number, gender, person, the case, the sentence, translation into English and Bangla.</p> <p>3. Letter: Write a letter to your parents informing him/her about the results of your final examination</p> <p>4. Application: Write a petition to the headteacher of your school praying for five days of leave of absence.</p> <p>5. Essay: (1) describe a village; (2) describe a hospital building's life; or (3), Paddy</p>	<p>1. Reading comprehension a. Answering questions b. Writing synonym or antonym or making sentences with phrases and idioms or changing words into different parts of speech and making sentences c. Writing a summary</p> <p>2. Writing a. Situational writing b. Letters and resume c. Job application d. Notice, memos, news report, press release</p> <p>3. Paragraph: Descriptive, narrative, explorative</p> <p>4. Essay writing: Descriptive, narrative, explorative</p> <p>5. Applied grammar: a. Fill in the blanks using articles, prepositions b. Completing sentence using phrases, clauses c. Transformation of sentences (simple, complex, compound) d. Passive construction e. Changing direct speech into indirect speech f. Forming negative questions/ WH questions and question tags g. Re-writing sentences using the right form of verbs.</p> <p>6. Translation into English and translation into Bangla.</p>	<p>1. Reading and understanding a. Considering different purposes and types of readings b. Guessing word meaning in context c. Understanding long sentences d. Recognizing the critical idea and supporting ideas e. Writing some comprehension questions from your text f. Writing summaries on contemporary issues.</p> <p>2. Writing a. Writing some correct sentences, completing different sentences and combining a few sentences b. Situational writing: posters, notices, slogans, memos, advertisements c. Paragraph writing d. Newspaper writing e. Writing resume f. Writing a letter: Formal and informal letters, letters to the editor, job applications, complaint letter g. Essay</p> <p>3. Grammar a. Word order of sentence b. Formatting sentences c. Tenses, articles, subject-verb agreement, conditionals.</p> <p>4. Improving vocabulary: Using the dictionary, suffixes, prefixes, synonyms, antonyms, changing word forms.</p> <p>5. Translation from Bangla to English</p> <p>6. Speaking skills.</p>

Source: BQMEB³, IAU⁴ and NU⁵

3.2 English language education in Bangladesh

English language education in this region might be seen both as a historical accident and as an inevitability. After the battle of Plessey in 1757, knowledge of English became essential for trading partners in the Bengali business circle. As the contact between the British and the Bengali grew through the establishment of warehouses, law courts and other institutions, the demand for English in a section of the community increased tremendously.

The people of this subcontinent accepted English primarily to maintain a livelihood and, later, to pursue creative knowledge and wisdom via the language. The use of this language in education gradually shifted from a religious purpose to a more practical one. English thus became a historical case in Bangladesh. During the period before 1947, people had more reason to use English as a means of communication. After 1947, the use and learning of the language continued to remain almost identical.

In the Pakistan regime, lasting until the end of 1971, English continued to play an essential role in national life. It was widely used as a lingua franca between the two wings, namely, West Pakistan and East Pakistan. This was the language used in government administration, law courts (especially the Supreme Court), and financial activities. In higher education, it was the medium of instruction. At the higher secondary level, it was treated as the optional medium of instruction until 1962.

3.3 State and Status of English in Bangladesh

The Constitution of Bangladesh is bilingual in Bangla and English. The status of English in Bangladesh as both a medium of

instruction and a subject for study appears to be rather unstable. After the liberation of Bangladesh in 1971, the status of English as the second language has declined and remains unconfirmed. The Education Commission of Bangladesh, formed in 1974, recommended that Bangla should be the medium of instruction for all grades of education in Bangladesh. This resulted in English being the optional medium of instruction at the tertiary level in 1975. In that report, it was recommended that English be introduced as a compulsory subject from grade 6 and be taught with this status until grade 12. In 1976, the National Curriculum Committee formed by the government made provisions for teaching English from grade 3. This decision came into effect in 1980. In 1990, the government again reversed the decision and suggested that English should be introduced from grade 1. The decision was implemented in 1992, with this remaining the current situation.

In 1996, a one-year foundation course in English was introduced at the tertiary level across the country. However, English was taught following the traditional grammar-translation method (GTM). To overcome the GTM shortcomings, the education committee and experts proposed the adoption of communicative language teaching in 1998, beginning from grade 8 in schools. With this time frame, learners were having problems in dealing with English grammar. As a result, grammar was introduced in the syllabus from 2002.

It is generally agreed that the ability of students in English classes, especially at the secondary level across Bangladesh, is not satisfactory due to some real factors. On this matter, Das (1998, p. 2) remarked that “the state of learning and teaching English in Bangladesh is fairly miserable.” Furthermore, Hasan (2005) revealed that the syllabi and curricula are examination-centered and prevent students from obtaining language competency. Referring to the inferior condition of English education, Rahman (1998) asserted that Bangladesh does not seem to have an explicit and stable language teaching policy for the primary, secondary, and tertiary levels. In the absence of a clear language policy, much of what is imparted in our classrooms may be vague, unrealistic, and a waste of time and resources (Rahman, 1998, pp. 94-111).

3.4 English language as an instrument of globalization and secularization

English is considered a global language; thus, both the West and the East have become equally busy at promoting this language (Imam, 2005). Bangladesh, being a new country and having its origin in the glorious 1952 language movement, is comparatively new in the English language promotion race. However, due to the recent craze of so-called concepts, such as development and globalization, Bangladesh is not that far behind. The Bangladesh government has become more serious in promoting the English language in recent times with the aim being to cope better with the rest of the world (The Daily Observer, 2002).

Modernity and modernization have become contested terms, both philosophically and contextually. Historically, not everything modern is functional. Conversely, not everything that is dysfunctional needs reforms. According to Asad (2003), the secular cannot be seen as a successor to religion, nor can it be viewed as on the side of the rational. It is of a type, with a multi-layered history, that is related to the main premises of innovation, democracy, and the concept of human rights.

As previously mentioned, Qawmi Madrasa schools teach up to Dawra-e-Hadith (Master’s) level and cover secular subjects until grade 8, after which students study 27 different Islamic subjects until Dawra-e-Hadith. The modernization system initiated originally in the early 1980s has, since then, created a large pool of adolescents who currently comprise a significant proportion of Madrasa teachers (Asadullah & Chaudhury, 2010). In the Alia Madrasas, specialization in religious subjects begins at Master’s level, whereas in Qawmi Madrasas, it commences after grade 8. Some changes introduced in Qawmi religious schools in recent decades (Ahmed, 2005) are mentioned below:

- (a) Bangla replaced Urdu as the medium of instruction after independence, and it is now a compulsory language up to junior secondary level.
- (b) English has been made a compulsory subject at primary and junior secondary level. As mentioned earlier, in 2012, the subject, English, is included in the Qawmi Madrasa curriculum based on their education policy. At present, English is taught up to grade 8 across the country. During the current research, one of the teachers who completed his graduation from a public university said, “we are going to include [the] English subject in the syllabus up to grade 10 next year.”
- (c) All subjects of general primary education have been introduced at *Ebtedayee* level (grade 5) so that primary education in Bangladesh, including the Alia stream, have appeared, to date, to be integrated.

4. Critical Analysis of Opinions

4.1 Students’ opinions

In this research, interviews were conducted with students regarding: L2 (second language) practice, the use of modern technology, introducing English as a secular subject in their curriculum, students’ career prospects, pursuing English in higher

education, and the present Qawmi Madrasa curriculum. The results showed that students had an optimistic attitude towards the need to learn English as a foreign language (EFL) in their classes. Most interviewees mentioned that the frequent use of English in their classes would have no adverse influence on their religious studies. One of the students, Robiul, aged 19, suggested the following:

If you practice L2 meticulously, then your religious exercises will not be negatively influenced.

Likewise, most students wanted to pursue English as a subject as it gave them academic, economic, and social privileges. Given this result, one student, Rahman, aged 18, who intended to learn English with the help of leading-edge technology, mentioned that they were not getting the chance to learn English through technology. As he mentioned:

We, the Qawmi Madrasa students, are not getting the scope to learn English by using modern technology. However, the students of Alia Madrasa can keep practicing by utilizing leading-edge technology in their class or lab.

Some students mentioned that they had recently seen a few non-religious subjects introduced into Qawmi Madrasa curricula, but they added that these subjects were still irregular and scattered across the religious schools. As they mentioned:

Though some secular subjects have been introduced into the Qawmi curricula ... it is not widely known and appreciated, so far.

In a survey conducted in 2014, the Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Information and Statistics (BANBEIS) (2014) found the following subjects were offered: 73% of rural Qawmi Madrasas included English; 70% had applied science, 59% encompassed the Bangla language, and 44% imparted mathematics up to grade 8 or its equivalent.

Some interviewees mentioned that the new curriculum and English syllabus did not meet the modern needs of students. They highlighted this as follows:

We, the students of Qawmi schools, are unable to pursue higher studies in specialized subjects. It is true, to be honest, and most of the jobs offered across the country and beyond require specialization in topics that we, so far, do not receive from this religious seminary.

Moreover, several interviewees argued that the school curricula were not suitable to meet social demand. As they mentioned:

Our general school curricula are pretty poor—no doubt about that. However, there is just no denying that Qawmi Madrasas cannot produce skilled workers.

The study's results indicated that it was very difficult in the religious school for students to have the opportunity to use leading-edge technology. Jorge et al. (2003) stated that integrating information and communications technology (ICT) tools into teaching can lead to increases in students' learning competencies. Previous research has indicated that ICT tools are especially useful in supporting more student-centered approaches to instruction and in promoting collaborative activities (Haddad, 2003). The application of ICT tools in L2 learning seems to have increased recently, with the appropriate use able to bring many advantages to learners. Morgan (2001) claimed that modern technology is both a resource and a context for communication. Ample evidence is available that ICT tools can indeed assist students in acquiring subject-content competencies and in progressing the quality of their learning experiences in many ways. Reforms have not been systematic, partly due to the fractured nature and limited authority of Qawmi Madrasa boards. Indeed, some reforms have stemmed from the arrival of young teachers who are more connected with a global view and, arguably, are more likely to place a value on secular subjects (Asadullah & Chaudhury, 2009).

4.2 Opinions of teachers conducting English classes

In our study, we talked with Qawmi Madrasa teachers about the syllabus, students' career prospects, teacher training for L2, critical thinking, teachers' salary, and curriculum change. Most interviewees mentioned that Qawmi Madrasas are enormously focused on religious subjects. Secular subjects, such as English and the social sciences, are enormously neglected. One of the teachers, Fahim, aged 49, who had completed his Dawra-e-Hadith as Master's level, reported as follows:

The syllabus formulated for pre-school to class 8 by the Befaqul Madarisi Arabia Bangladesh does not have science as a subject.

In addition, several teachers reported that they had not trained enough for topic-based teaching in their religious schools or outside. A teacher, Obaed Alam, aged 53, who had completed his graduation from a public university, taught English in the religious school and mentioned the following:

We had not trained to teach the English language; for example, ICT subject training and subject-based in-service training. Besides, we had not trained for professional development.

Table 4. Teachers' education in Bangladesh

Education Layer		Grade Level	Type of Pre-Service Teacher Education	Offered by
Primary		Grade I-V	1.5-year Diploma in Primary Education	Primary Teachers' Training Institute
			1.5-year Certificate in Education	Bangladesh Open University
Secondary	Junior secondary	Grade VI-VIII	1-year Bachelor of Education (Bed)	Teachers' Training Colleges through the National University and other public and private universities
	Secondary	Grade IX-X	2-year BEd 4-year BEd (Honors)	
Higher Secondary		Grade XI-XII	Not compulsory	Not compulsory
Tertiary		XII+	Not compulsory	Not compulsory

Adapted from Ahsan et al. (2016)

On the other hand, the Bangladesh Madrasa Teachers' Training Institute (BMTTI) was established in 1995 as a training center to train only Alia Madrasa teachers. This institute runs under the Ministry of Education, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. It works for the development and modernization of Madrasa education. The training institute offers a four-week course on "Communicative English Language." However, teachers from Qawmi Madrasas have no opportunity to participate in the mentioned course. The main aim of Qawmi Madrasa education is to teach learners the religious subjects. One of the senior teachers, Abdul Kader, aged 61, who had completed his graduation from Qawmi schools, mentioned as follows:

In the Qawmi schools, students principally stress on religious subjects. Consequently, they are unable to enroll further into higher education institutions and to join [the] civil service.

However, the Alia Madrasa education system provides a unified education with secular and religious knowledge to produce skilled graduates. In 1987, these schools introduced humanities and science subjects into their curriculum. Many Qawmi Madrasas have expanded their curriculum to compete with other public and private education providers. However, the curriculum is still not adequate as mentioned by one of the English subject teachers, Mohiuddin Ahmed, aged 59, who holds a Master's degree from an Alia Madrasa:

Qawmi Madrasas, so far, have done some reforms into their curriculum. However, these are inadequate. This curriculum should be updated.

Qawmi Madrasas do not teach science, social sciences, mathematics, and literature beyond grade 8. Bangla and English are taught up to grade 8. Researchers have not been able to understand the contents of students' textbooks, with these textbooks not recognized by the Bangladesh government (Bano, 2014). This situation, without the curriculum being enhanced, will not help Qawmi Madrasa students to get a job in the civil service as they have been taught mainly religious subjects, while students who have attended Alia Madrasas have been taught other secular subjects.

The study's findings revealed that no teacher received any training for subject-based teaching from teacher training institutes. The lack of teacher in-service training will impede teachers' professional growth as well as widening gaps between demand and actual achievement levels (Osamwonyi, 2016). In-service training, also referred to as continuing education, is designed for retraining, re-skilling and updating the knowledge of the workforce. According to a written document penciled by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) (1985) on education, continuing education can be regarded as the perfect body of scholastic progression. The study's finding revealed that in-service training is immediately necessary for teachers in religious schools. The findings also revealed that secular subjects, for instance, English, are mainly neglected in the Madrasas, and that the reforms undertaken by the Bangladesh Qawmi Madrasa Education Board are far from adequate in meeting the present demand of society at large.

4.3 Opinions of principals: As a decision-making process

During their interviews, principals of the Qawmi schools were asked about the influence and importance of English, training for teachers, state responsibility, and students' prospects. Similar opinions were expressed that the increasing presence of English in Qawmi schools would have no adverse influence on religious practices and beliefs. Some interviewees extended the argument that anti-English attitudes in Bangladesh were a historical mistake that had resulted in Bangladeshis, as well as Muslims in India, lagging in economic development. All principals had completed their Dawra-e-Hadith (Master's level). One of the principals, Mawlana Abdur Razzak, aged 55, mentioned as follows:

In the British period, Muslims thought that if they learn[ed] English, their religion will be converted and they would become another religion, for example, Christian. As a consequence, Muslims isolated themselves from learning English. It is the reason why we are lag[ging] far behind ... others.

Regarding teacher training, most principals indicated their teachers did not receive any in-service training from any institution located in Bangladesh or overseas. However, the study revealed that government primary school teachers received two types of in-service training: subject-based and sub-cluster (DPE [Directorate of Primary Education], 2014). This training was mostly conducted by the local education office or *Upazilla* Resource Center located at the *upazilla* level. A government primary school teacher can receive six days of training a year. The absence of teacher in-service training will impede the professional growth of teachers and their actual achievement levels (Eduwen, 2016). (In-service training can be defined as relevant courses and activities, for example, training in English, computers, and other important subjects, undertaken while in service so professional knowledge, skills, and competence in the teaching profession can be upgraded.) According to principals, teachers are ready to receive any training, but they do not have the opportunity. Only Alia Madrasa teachers and general school teachers can take part in this in-service training which is provided by government institutions. As stated by one principal, Mufti Ajhar, aged 69:

Our teachers are not getting any training from the government. Any sorts of training, for instance, CPD [Continuing Professional Development]-1, CPD-2, and subject-based training and others. Alia Madrasa teachers merely receive these types of training. Moreover, our status is low in society.

The finding revealed that in-service training was urgently needed for Qawmi Madrasa teachers in order to achieve the purposes of the national Bangladeshi educational system with the aid of adequate government funding.

The Constitution of Bangladesh, adopted in 1972, declared that it was the state's responsibility to provide education to all citizens:

The essential obligation of the state shall be to attain, through a planned and remarkable development in the material and the cultural standard of living of the people, to securing to its citizens the provision of the necessities of life, including food, clothing, shelter, education and medical care (Constitution of Bangladesh, 1972, Article 15).

In Bangladesh's first Education Commission, formed in 1974, English was given priority as a foreign language. In the same vein, Bangladesh's last National Education Policy, established in 2010, emphasized English education. This was mentioned by one of the senior principals, Mawlana Abdul Halim, aged 63, as follows:

English education has been given greater importance to building a stable and progressive knowledge-based and information-oriented society which we got to know from our latest Education Policy, the National Education Policy 2010. Moreover, our Qawmi Madrasa curriculum should be ... updated to meet the social as well as global demand all the way.

The findings revealed that teachers did not receive any in-service training and had no long-term fundamental training or any other professional development training. According to Maley (1992), teachers are always likely, and are expected, to be committed professionals through their conscientious artistry and application of skillful work to achieve a high standard of performance (p. 96). Goodwin et al. (2014) determined that a relationship existed between students' learning and the quality of their teachers, considering teachers to be the most critical factor in student achievement.

Many countries in Asia have accepted English as an official language or have recognized it as their second language (L2) to compete in the global market (Nunan, 2003). Bangladesh's last National Education Policy in 2010 identified English education as the tool to create a knowledge-based society. Given the significance of this secular subject in both international and local settings, policy makers need to reconsider how the English curriculum can be reformed to address the existing gaps in Qawmi Madrasas. English is the language of the internet, it is used around the world, it continues to change, and it helps us to understand other languages. More importantly, it is the most commonly spoken language in the world.

Researchers have noted that the Qawmi Madrasa curriculum should be updated. Curricular reforms (Chowdhury & Kabir,

2014) are needed to make the curriculum more job-oriented and problem-oriented. Teachers should be given training and other resources for their educational development and should gain more confidence in the teaching-learning process, especially in the subject of English.

This study covers one region (Dhaka) in Bangladesh. Therefore, it does not cover Bangladesh's entire Madrasa education landscape. Furthermore, as co-education is absent in these four Qawmi Madrasa schools, only males could be interviewed. This can be considered as a limitation of this study, and can be addressed in future studies by targeting female interviewees.

5. Concluding Remarks

Through their extensive works, Asadullah & Chaudhury (2010) showed that Madrasas have often failed to deliver the needs of modern society. Through this study, the same scenario has emerged. It is still very premature to comment on the output of the English syllabus, as Qawmi Madrasas only began to adopt it in 2012 on a limited scale. This initiative is not able to fulfill the requirements of gaining admission to public universities and entry to civil service examinations and positions. Without receiving training in essential life skills and the professions, many Qawmi Madrasa graduates continue to remain employed in sectors outside the boundaries of the market economy (i.e., in Madrasas and mosques). Therefore, there is a dire need to include secular subjects, and specifically English, that are relevant to the market in the curriculum of these religious schools.

Qawmi Madrasas meticulously produce religious knowledge-based human resources. The neoliberal wave generated an enormous desire within Bangladeshi society to adopt a modernized, secularized educational system in Qawmi Madrasas. Recently, Qawmi Madrasas began to adopt the English language as a prominent secularized subject. These religious schools should be a very strong driving force for adoption of the English language and for playing key roles that aim to promote education. Bano (2014) found that the universally applicable Madrasa reform model would now be very much in demand. The elements of the strategy that have survived should be borne in mind.

Through extensive field experience, this study found that teachers who taught in Qawmi Madrasas had inadequate training in teaching the English language; thus, these schools were unable to provide quality education to their students. In most cases, especially when discussing students in grade 8 and above, only a very poor English language ability was achieved. Through the current study, we found the very unsystematic syllabi of English to be of concern in seeking to achieve the ultimate quality needed for Qawmi Madrasas to enter the secularization process. Strategies have been developed by English teaching institutes across the world for learning the English language. It is foremost essential that a specific method be immediately selected to increase the teaching ability of teachers of Qawmi Madrasas. They need to know the methods and to learn how digitalized methods can be used to teach the English language, especially the reading, writing, speaking, and listening skills. Secondly, English syllabi should be developed by following the existing methods that are the result of valuable suggestions from English syllabi experts. Thirdly, the process of learning the English language is not only from books. Other resources are needed, such as libraries that contain different types of English books, literature, and journals, with another digital library also developed for learning English digitally through listening and visualizing. For this purpose, students should have permission to access the online world of knowledge. Besides these strategies, English speaking clubs should be developed for English learning and to enhance English speaking ability. For students, this will be a true knowledge-sharing platform. The students and teachers in the current study highlighted that digital technologies should be ideally placed to improve their language development. Moreover, based on our findings from this empirical research, it was suggested that, as a secular subject, English should be taught up to graduate level in Qawmi Madrasas to address the concerns of teachers and students.

It is a praiseworthy decision by Qawmi Madrasas in Bangladesh to have adopted the English language for their teaching. It is a very late realization of the complexity of this time of the neoliberal economic market; however, the Qawmi religious schools have understood the needs of modern society. Morally, these religious schools have entered the process of secularization by embracing the formations of modernity, thus aiming to offer a wide-ranging overview of the development and functioning of human society. The formations of modernity entail a set of unified principles and values, for instance, progress, reason, individualism, freedom, secularism, and others, providing both an image of, and a way of thinking about, the social and natural worlds. Likewise, English language teaching is essential for Qawmi Madrasas as the use of the English language spreads across increasingly large areas of knowledge and territorial jurisdictions of the globe with far-reaching significance.

Endnotes

¹ The Bangladesh Public Service Commission (BPSC) is responsible for the recruitment of civil service servants in the Bangladesh government through competitive examinations ranging from preliminary and written through to *viva voce*. The commission is a quasi-judicial constitutional body established in 1972. The test is called the Bangladesh civil service (BCS) examination, and the recruited government officers are called Bangladesh civil service (BCS) cadres. There are 27 cadres at present in the civil service in Bangladesh. The candidate who passes the preliminary test is considered qualified for

the written examination. Here, out of 900 marks, 200 marks are allotted for the subject of English.

The candidate must obtain 50% marks in the written examination as the qualifying marks. Candidates who have achieved pass marks in the written examination and *viva voce* (200 marks) are entered on the merit list. According to the BPSC website, in the 37th Bangladesh civil service (BCS) examination, of the 243,476 candidates, only 1,226 were finally selected in the 27 cadres ranging from BCS administration to teaching. Among the selected candidates, less than 1,000 were appointed to general cadres.

- ² Dhaka University is one of the largest public universities in Bangladesh, with a student body of 33,000 and a faculty of 1,800. It was founded in 1921. It conducts an admission test at an undergraduate level every year. Those who have 200 marks in the subject of English in their Higher Secondary Certificate (HSC) (after 12 years of schooling) with the required grade point average (GPA) are considered eligible for admission to the undergraduate course. To date, admission is highly competitive. All qualified candidates have to undertake a written examination out of 120 marks comprising 30 marks in the subject of English.
- ³ The Bangladesh Qawmi Madrasa Education Board is located at Kazla, Vangapress, Donia, Jatrabari, Dhaka in Bangladesh. It approves all Qawmi Madrasa school curricula and syllabi ranging from grade 1 to Master's level. It was founded in 1978.
- ⁴ The Islamic Arabic University is responsible for developing Alia Madrasa syllabi for *Fazil* class (Bachelor level) and *Kamil* class (Master's level). It is situated at Boshila, Mohammadpur, Dhaka in Bangladesh.
- ⁵ The Bangladesh National University's 2017 English syllabus for the Bachelor of Arts. The Bangladesh National University is located at Gazipur, Bangladesh. It provides college curricula and syllabi for Bachelor, Honors and Master's degrees in 10 disciplines.

References

- Ahmed, Mumtaz. (2005). Madrasa Education in Pakistan and Bangladesh, *Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies*, 107.
- Ahsan, M. T., Tasnuba, T., Akter, M., Islam, M. K., Miah, A. S. M. J., & Sabri, A. A. (2016). *Teacher Education Programme in Bangladesh: Inclusiveness for Children with Disabilities*. Dhaka.
- Asadullah, M. N., & Chaudhury, N. (2009). Holy Alliances: Public Subsidies, Islamic High Schools, and Female Schooling in Bangladesh. *Education Economics*, 17(3), 377-394.
- Asadullah, M. N., & Chaudhury, N. (2010). Religious Schools, Social Values, and Economic Attitudes: Evidence from Bangladesh. *World Development*, 38(2), 205-217.
- Asad, Talal. (1993). *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Asad, Talal. (2003). *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. ISBN 798-0-8047-4768-4
- Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Information and Statistics (BANBEIS). (2014). Ministry of Education, Dhaka. www.banbeis.gov.bd
- Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Information and Statistics (BANBEIS). (2016). Ministry of Education, Dhaka. www.banbeis.gov.bd
- Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Information and Statistics (BANBEIS). (2017). Ministry of Education, Dhaka. www.banbeis.gov.bd
- Bano, M. (2014). Madrasa reforms and Islamic modernism in Bangladesh. *Modern Asian Studies*, 48(4), 911-939. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X12000790>
- Bano, M. (2008). Allowing for Diversity: State-Madrasa Relations in Bangladesh. *Working Paper 13, Religions and Development Research Programme*. University of Oxford.
- Chowdhury, R., & Farooqui, S. (2012). Teacher Training and Teaching Practice: The Changing Landscape of ELT in Secondary Education in Bangladesh. In L. Farrell (Ed.), *English Language Education in South Asia: From Policy to Pedagogy* (pp.147-159). Delhi: Cambridge University Press.
- Chowdhury, Raqib., & Kabir, A. H. (2014). Language Wars: English education policy and practice in Bangladesh. *Multilingual Education*, 4(21), 1-16.
- Constitution of Bangladesh*. (1972). Ministry of Law, Justice and Parliamentary Affairs. The People's Republic of Bangladesh, Article 15.
- Das, S. K. (1998, September). A better methodology for English teaching. *The Bangladesh Observer, 11 Observer Magazine* (p.2). Dhaka: Globe Printers.
- DPE (Directorate of Primary Education). (2014). *Bangladesh Primary Education Annual Sector Performance Report 2014*. Dhaka. Retrieved from <http://dpe.portal.gov.bd>.
- Eduwen, F. O. (2016). In-service education of teachers: Overview, problems and the way forward. *Journal of Education and Practice*, 7(26), 83-87.
- Farooqui, S. (2008). Teachers' Perceptions of Textbook and Teachers' Guide: A Study in Secondary Education in Bangladesh. *Journal of Asia TEFL*, 5(4), 181-200.
- Farooqui, S. (2014). The Struggle to Teach in English: A Case Study in Bangladesh. *Journal of Education and Human*

Development, 3(2), 441-457.

- Feldman, K., & T, Newcomb. (1969). *The impact of college on students*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Goodwin, A., Smith, L., Souto-Manning, M., Cheruvu, R., Tan, M., Reed, R., & Taveras, L. (2014). What should teacher educators know and be able to do? Perspectives from practicing teacher educators. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 65, 284-302.
- Graddol, D. (1997). *The future of English*. London: The British Council.
- Haddad, W. D. (2003). Is instructional technology a must for learning? Retrieved from <http://www.technologia.org>
- Hasan, K. M. (2005). A linguistic study of the English language curriculum at the secondary level in Bangladesh-A communicative approach to curriculum development. *Language in India*, 48, 1-24.
- Haider, M. Z., & Chowdhury, T. A. (2012). Repositioning of CLT from Curriculum to Classroom: A Review of the English Language Instructions at Bangladeshi Secondary Schools. *International Journal of English Linguistics*, 2(4), 12-22.
- Hall, S & Gieben, B. (1992). *Formations of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hamid, M. O., & Honan, E. (2012). Communicative English in the Primary Classroom: Implications for English-in Education Policy and Practice in Bangladesh. *Journal of Language, Culture, and Curriculum*, 25(2), 139-156.
- Held, D., Mc Grew, A., Glodblatt, D., & Perraton, J. (1999). *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hunter, W. W. (1872). *The Indian Musalmans*, London: Trubner.
- Imam, Rumnaz Syeda. (2005). English as a global language and the question of nation-building education in Bangladesh. *Comparative Education*, 41(4), 471-486.
- Johnston, B. (2003). *Values in English Language Teaching*. Mahwah, N. J: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Jorge, C. M. H., Jorge, M. Del C. A., Gutierrez, E. R., Garcia, E. G., & Diaz, M. B. (2003). Use of ICTs and the perception of e-learning among university students: A differential perspective according to gender and degree year group. *Journal of Interactive Educational Multimedia*, 7(2), 13-28.
- Joshi, P. (2014). Parent decision-making when selecting schools: The case of Nepal. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 44(3), 411-428. <http://doi.org/10.1007/s1125-014-9319-9>
- Kanungo, G. B. (1962). *The language controversy in Indian education: A historical study*, Chicago: Comparative Education Center, University of Chicago.
- Maley, A. (1992). An open letter to the profession. *ELT [English Language Teaching] Journal*, 46, 96-99.
- Morgan, C. (2001). Cyber PD: Creating an online professional learning community. In C. Durant & C. Bevis (Eds), *P (ICT) Urges of English* (pp. 68-95). Kent Town, South Australia: Australian Association for Research in Education (AARE).
- National Education Policy. (2010). Ministry of Education. The People's Republic of Bangladesh.
- Nunan, D. (2003). *Practical English Language Teaching*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Osamwonyi, E. F. (2016). In-service education of teachers: Overview, problems and the way forward. *Journal of Education and Practice*, 7(26), 83-87.
- Poddar, P. K. (2002). *Violant civilities*. Denmark: Narayana press.
- Qawmi Madrasa Education Policy. (2012). Ministry of Education, The People's Republic of Bangladesh.
- Rahman, A. (1998). English language teaching in Bangladesh: Problems and prospects. *Journal of the Institute of Modern Language*, 3, 94-111.
- Riaz, A. (2010). Madrasa Education in Pre-colonial and Colonial South Asia. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 46(1), 69-86.
- Sattar, Abdus. (2004). *Bangladesh Madrasa Shikhhka o Samaj Jibone tar Proverb* (Madrasa Education in Bangladesh and Indications in Social life). Dhaka: Islamic Foundation.
- Smith, Jonathan Z. (1998). Religion, religions, religious. In Mark C. Taylor (ed.), *Critical Terms for Religious Studies* (pp. 269-284). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- The Daily Observer. (2002, February 1). English indispensable part of the government of Bangladesh. *The Daily Observer*, p. A1
- UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization). (1985). *The use of vernacular languages in education*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Viswanathan, Gauri. (1987). The beginnings of English Literary Study in British India. *Oxford Literary Review*.