

The Spread of Primary Education: A Study of Problems and Prospects in the Garo Community of Mymensingh District



A dissertation submitted to the Institute of Education and Research (IER) at the University of Rajshahi for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

By
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Declaration

I do here by declare that the dissertation, **The Spread of Primary Education: A Study of Problems and Prospects in the Garo Community of Mymensingh District** submitted to the Institute of Education and Research, University of Rajshahi, Rajshahi, Bangladesh, for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy is an original research work carried out by me under the Supervision of Dr. Md. Abdul Haye Talukder, Professor, Department of Philosophy, University of Rajshahi and Co-Supervision Dr. Akter Banu, Assistant Professor, Institute of Education and Research, University of Rajshahi. No part of this dissertation in any form has been submitted to any other university or institute for the award of any degree or diploma. The sources used in this thesis have been duly acknowledged.

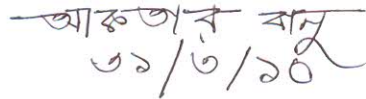


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Certificate

We have great pleasure in certifying that Mr. Lutfor Rahman, a Ph.D. fellow of the Institute of Education & Research has completed a dissertation entitled **The Spread of Primary Education: A Study of Problems and Prospects in the Garo Community of Mymensingh District**. Having gone through the research draft prepared under our joint supervision. We have found it quite satisfactory and original piece of research work.

We also certify that the work is suitable for submission to the Institute of Education & Research, University of Rajshahi for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



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Abstract

This thesis contains a study of Problems and Prospects of Primary Education among the Garos in Mymensingh District. The Garos are an aboriginal hill tribe of Mongoloid blood and the inhabitants of the places in and around the Garo hills in the Mymensingh district of Bangladesh. Hills and forest, streams and torrents, springs and swamps, are the salient features of the Garo environment. The group which settled on and around the Garo hills was recognized as the Garos and that is why we find Garo settlements in the Districts of Mymensingh, Netrokona and Sylhet. As they are the part and parcel of our population so without their development it is impossible to progress. That is why they need proper education, because education is the key to all success and all the obstacles to life can remove in the light of education. As Primary Education is the foundation of education so at first Primary education related Problems should be finding out of the Garo Community and these problems should be solved for their better life. The main objective of Primary education is to help children developing this social sense, good manners and fair attitude towards family and society. The socio-economic condition of the Garo Community of Bangladesh is miserable. Socio-economic condition plays a vital role in the field of education in Primary as well as at all levels of education systems. I believe this thesis will help to find out the educational Problems of Garo Community and help to contribute them to the development of the country.

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ACRONYMS

AD	: Assistant Director
ADB	: Asian Development Bank
ADC	: Additional Deputy Commissioner
ALRD	: Association of Land Reform and Development
AS AUS	: Self and Social Development Association
AUEO	: Assistant Upazila Education Officer
AUS	: Adivasi Unnayan Sangstha.
BAF	: Bangladesh Adivasi Forum
BANBEIS	: Bangladesh Bureau of Educational information and statistics.
BBS	: Bangladesh Bureau of Statistic
BIPF	: Bangladesh Indigenous Peoples Forum
BLAST	: Bangladesh Legal Aid and Services Trust
CAM	: Catchment Area Mapping
CDE	: Child Development and Education
CEDAW	: Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CERD	: Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination
CHT	: Chittagong Hill Tracts
CIDA	: Canadian International Development Agency
C-in-Ed	: Certificate-in-Education
CNA	: Coordination of NGOs for Adibashis
CPE	: Compulsory Primary Education
CPEIMU	: Compulsory Primary Education Implementation Monitoring Unit
CRC	: Convention on the Rights of the Child
DANIDA	: Danish International Development Assistance
DD	: Deputy Director
DG	: Director General
DPE	: Directorate of Primary Education
DPEO	: District Primary Education Officer.
EMIS	: Education Management and Information System
GIS	: Geographical Information System
GOB	: Government of Bangladesh
GPS	: Government Primary School
HRD	: Human Resource Development
ICCCR	: International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ICCPR	: International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICR	: Indigenous Community Rights
IDA	: International Development Agency
IDEAL	: Intensive District Approach to Education for All

ILO	: International Labor Organization
IP	: Indigenous Peoples
JAP	: Jatiyo Adivashi Parishad
M&E	: Monitoring and Evaluation
MGPS	: Model Government Primary School
MIS	: Management Information System
MOE	: Ministry of Education
MOPME	: Ministry of Primary and Mass Education
NAPE	: National Academy for Primary Education
NCPE	: National Committee on Primary Education
NCPME	: National Council for Primary and Mass Education
NCTB	: National Curriculum and Textbook Board
NEC	: National Education Commission
NFBE	: Non-formal Basic Education
NGO	: Non Government Organization
NPA	: National Plan of Action
NCSC	: National Curriculum Syllabus Committee
PCU	: Program Coordination Unit
PEDP	: Primary Education Development Programme
PMED	: Primary and Mass Education Division
PRSP	: Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PSC	: Primary School Certificate
PSQL	: Primary school Quality Level
PTI	: Primary Training Institute
QPMED	: Primary and Mass Education Division
RDC	: Research and Development Collective
RNGPS	: Registered Non-Government Primary School
ROSE	: Reaching Out of School Children
SMC	: School Management Committee
TLQ	: Teaching-Learning Quality
TWA	: Tribal Welfare Association
UEO	: Upazila Education Officer
UNDP	: United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	: United Nation Education Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	: United Nations Children's Fund
UP	: Union Parishad
UPE	: Universal Primary Education
URC	: Upazila Resource Centre
VSOB	: Voluntary Services Overseas Bangladesh

Glossary

Achik	: Language of the Garos
Achik Shongha	: Organization, established by the Garos
Adivasi	: This word is used for Indigenous/Minority peoples in Bangladesh.
Agalmaka	: The first festival of the Garos to Start with each agricultural year.
Agati Marriage	: The marriage of a non-heiress daughter
Bashor Ghor	: Nuptial Chamber or dreaming first night for the newly couple
Bibaho	: Marriage
Bibaho Prostab	: Marriage Proposal
Chra	: Maternal uncle. Male head of the family
Chu-Rice Beer	: A traditional drink of the Garo Community
Do Dokka	: A part of traditional marriage which is performed by cutting the head of a hen
Do'sia	: The principle form of marriage recognized by all garos in Do'sia
Ghar	: Home
Ghatak	: Mediator
Grogam'a	: The person who gives gro
Jhum	: Slush and burn method of cultivation
Kacha	: made of mud
Kamal	: Head man
Khas land	: State owned land property
Lamdani	: Plain Land Garo Village
Ma'chong	: A group of people descending from one common Mather, means Mother's lineage, within a same Ma chong marriage is unacceptable.
Ma'dong	: Marrying own mother
Mahari	: Clan of one's mother hood.
Mandi	: Another name of Garo

Mansa Puja	: Sacrifice or offerings to the spirit after the patient recovered
Mehedi	: Henna
Mimang	: Spirit of Goodess
Mohila	: Woman
Nengti or Jana	: A narrow piece of Cloth
Nokma	: Heiress daughter
Nokna	: The girl who inherits the property of her family is nokna
Nokpante	: Bachelors dormitory and communal cultural school of the Garos
Nokrom	: Husband of (Nokma) heiress daughter
Pacca	: Cemented
Pacca	: Cemented
Paka Katha	: Final agreement
Pira	: Wooden made flat thing for seating
Pon	: Presentation
Raj	: King
Rongchugala	: A main Garo festival observed immediately before the harvest.
Sal	: A long type of Tree
Saljong	: Name of the God of creation or the sun God according to Garo myth.
Satsatsoa	: Important ceremony in Wangala where villagers assembled and rice beer, curry and rice are served for them in liberal quantities.
Shangsarek	: Garos' Traditional religious beliefs
Sherenjeen/Shonajeen	: Two very popular ballads of the Garos.
Upajati/pahari	: Different names used for referring the adibashi.
Wangala	: Main Garo Festival which Celebrated after cutting the harvest.
Wanna	: The biggest socio-religious festival of the garos celebrated in the month of October.
Zaminder	: Landlord

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Chapter- 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Bangladesh is one of the over-populated countries in South-East Asia. The present Bangladesh is mainly a part of ancient Bangla. Gradually a number of Gypsy people came to Bangladesh in different period of time and settled here. In this way, a mixed people originated and developed with different races of people. In the historical revolution and in political ups and downs, a number of people of different religious groups named the Jano, the Buddish, the Hindu, and the Muslim are settled here. Along with the mainstream people, a good number of ethnic groups of people or the tribal people are living all over Bangladesh.

These ethnic groups of people mainly inhabit in three major geographical areas of Bangladesh. These are:

- (i) South-South East Hilly area or very adjacent area of coastal belt;
- (ii) North-South and middle semi plain area of Barind area, and;
- (iii) North East area of Bangladesh.

Bangladesh is the abode of diverse ethnic religious and linguistic societies and they are named in various words, such as the use of the terms indigenous or Adibashi, Upajatis, Paharis, etc. These appellations are either derogatory or offensive and in some cases discriminatory in nature and the communities also do not want to be named as such. So the use of the term indigenous among all these terms is much more logical and appropriate to name these communities. Now the community people, though few in number, is raising voice against calling them Upajati, Paharis, etc. This was found during my field visits while i asked the community members about this issue. They call themselves Mandi, meaning 'Human being' and they do not want to be treated as Upajati. It is their common belief that their numerical inferiority is often invoked to separate them from the mainstream Bangladesh population. However, their culture, religion, beliefs practices, customs etc. give them a

clear distinctive feature. These features are distinguishable and it is realized that this creates a cultural divergence. They have some commonalities as any other ethnic groups.

Upajati is the Bangla meaning of the word Tribal,¹ The use of this term makes the ethnic communities subordinate to the mainstream though none of these ethnic groups is part of something greater. That they are small in number does not necessarily make them up or sub of something greater.²

So, the question that comes before us is what is ethnicity or what do we mean by ethnic groups? The term ethnic refers to "group of people who share a common national or cultural tradition; They have commonalties in the case of Clothing, cultures, customs, traditions, food habits etc and as a result, they are different from the mainstream population"³

According to K.S Nair "The sub continental sense of ethnicity denotes as cultural divergence or as a social organization of cultural difference which tends to distinguish between the concepts of culture from ethnicity." If we analyze these two definitions we see that the characteristics of carrying some common cultural and social aspects are very present in ethnicity.

Contemporary academic notions of ethnicity generally incorporate a dynamic and relational perspective and do not include notions of superiority and inferiority. Ethnic group is group who shares a common historical sense (Which may only be assumed) based on overt features and values, and who, through the process of interaction with others, identified themselves as sharing that style. The Garo is such a community which carries some common features in this daily social, cultural life and they have their own language and they frequently practice these things among them. They feel comfort and pride in maintaining all these things.

During field visit, it was very much realized that the Garos are very much eager to protect their own customs, practices, life style etc. So in this respect the Garo are an ethnic community.

Now we have to deal with the term, indigenous, and in doing so we have to look at many international and national instruments. According to the Oxford Dictionary, "Indigenous means native belonging naturally, that of the people regarded as the original inhabitants of an area."⁴

The convention concerning indigenous and tribal peoples in independent countries.⁵ applies to:

- (a) Tribal peoples..... Whose social, cultural and economic conditions distinguish them from other sections of the national community and whose status is regulated wholly or partially by their own customs or traditions or by special laws or regulations.
- (b) Peoples..... who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of colonization or the establishment of present state boundaries and who, respective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions.

The UN's working Group on indigenous population uses the following definition:

"Indigenous communities' peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system"⁶ The UN also recognizes that this definition may create confusion in case of indigenous peoples in Asia. That is why the words "tribal" and semi-tribal" have also been used along with 'indigenous' during the declaration of

the ILO convention, which encompasses Asian (including Bangladeshi) Indigenous peoples as the beneficiaries of such a declaration of rights.⁷

The World Bank's 1991 Operational Directive 4.20 defines indigenous peoples by the presence in varying degrees of-

- a close attachment to ancestral territories and to natural resources in these areas;
- Self-identification and identification by others as a distinct cultural group;
- an indigenous language, different from the national language.
- the presence of customary social and political institutions;
- primary subsistence oriented production⁸

Besides this definition, the UNDP 1992 Report on the international year for the world's indigenous people asserts the above definitions and defines "indigenous people" as vulnerable groups often living in extreme poverty, Indigenous people are a type of ethnic minority themselves, but often facing distinct problems in relation to their cultural integrity, political representation, land right and access to resources generally⁹. The word indigenous group means or denotes "to any groups of people within the large social unit who identity themselves as belonging to distinct cultural unit separate from rest may be called as ethnic group"¹⁰

Anthropologist Thomas Hylland Eriksen defines the term, indigenous population as-

"a blanket term for aboriginal inhabitants who are politically non-dominant and who are not, or only partially integrated in the dominant nation-state. This means that their language. Customs, political practices and for livelihood must be different from that championed by the state".

The World Council of indigenous peoples is an international organization, which made the following proposition regarding the term.

"Indigenous peoples are such population groups as we are, who from old-age times have inhabited the lands where we live, who are aware of having a character of our own with social traditions and means of expression that are linked to the country inherited from our ancestors, with a language of our own and having certain essential and unique characteristics which confer upon us the strong conviction of belonging to a people, who have an identity in ourselves and should be thus regarded by others.

So there is no fixed definition of the form indigenous. Different definitions raise issues in various aspects. The Garos are community who is living in Bangladesh for a long time. Though they are very much few in proportions with the large scale population in the country, they maintain a different life style, culture and beliefs and hold a history that is combined with mythology. They have their peculiar self-governing institutions. Considering all these factors and the definitions stated above the Garos must be identified as an indigenous community¹¹.

In Chittagong and hilly areas, the major ethnic peoples are Chakma, Marma, Tripura, Khamar, Tangchangya, Khumi, Lusai, Chak, Pangkhu, Rakhain, Shing.¹²

North and middle of Bangladesh are dwelling places of Garo, Hajong, Monipuri, Khasi, Dalu and so on. These ethnic people mainly live in greater Mymensingh and Sylhet districts.¹³ They bring not only a diversification in life and society of the country but also they add a significant dimension in socio-economic development activities.

The major tribal people of greater Mymensingh are the Garo. In the socio-religious, cultural and progressive views, they are less conscious and backward than other tribal people of Bangladesh. The main cause of their backwardness is lack of education.

The researcher would like to mention that their poor status in education, specially in primary education, is to be developed for their all sorts of development. It is also the desire of the researcher that this situation should

be removed and that is the focus point which should be analyzed and explore for their betterment of socio-cultural development.

Education is the backbone of a nation and it is the life long process of human being. People learn many things from the very beginning of their birth to the end of life among various facts and happenings as well as various activities around their lives and society. It is universally believed that primary education is the foundation of all types of education. In fact, higher education is mainly dependent on primary education. Education changes the life-style of the citizens and gear up them towards development.

So, it is clear that without removing the problems of primary education of Garo community, they are never be developed and their universal development or over all welfare can never be materialized.

Primary Education

Education is the life long process of human being. People learn from the very beginning of their birth to the end of their life among various facts and happenings as well as various activities about their lives and society. It is noteworthy that primary education is the base of other educational activities. Intact higher education and other educational activities of life mainly depend on primary education. Primary education means a lesson for primary level school children. It indicates certain level of knowledge, skill, attitude, habit and capacity, which bring positive value and behavioral change among the primary school- going children who belong to a certain age group.¹⁴

The aims and objectives of primary education are determined on the basis of the overall aims and objectives of the education of the country. The universal developments of the mass people of a country and the national ideology as well as the state principle are the determiners of education policy which ensure the overall welfare and development of the country. In this regard ideal primary education system always strengthens the overall development. Because education is the key force of creating skillful human resources; which play a vital role in socio-economic development of a nation.

Irrespective of nation the socio-cultural development, national consciousness, cultural development and significance change in morality and value are depended on the educational standard of the nation. Education system is the mirror of a nation. Total picture of a nation is reflected through its education system. In this regard Aristotle, the great philosopher of the Greek, told, that “the differences between literate and illiterate people are equal as the difference between living being and dead object.”¹⁵

The France political scientist Rousseau mentions, “Our all sorts of lacking can be overcome through education.”¹⁶

Primary education should be universal, free and compulsory. In this regard the human right charter of UN article 26 is very relevant, “Every one has the right to Education. Education shall be free, at least in elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory.”¹⁷

Similarly, the constitution of the People’s Republic of Bangladesh (Article 17) is very significant, “The State shall adopt effective measures for the purpose of (a) establishing a uniform mass-oriented and universal system of education and extending free and compulsory education to all children to such stage as may be determined by law.”¹⁸

So, it is clear that as the foundation of a building determines the strength and longevity of a building, the weakness in primary education system can never ensure a complete and effective education system of a nation. The above statement is equally true for the Garo people. So without well-planned dynamic primary education system among the Garos, they will never be developed and their universal development and overall welfare can never be materialized.

1.1.1 Statement of the Problem

Bangladesh achieved its independence on December 16, 1971 as a sovereign country in the world map through a blood shedding war of nine months long. After one year, it promulgated its constitution based on four

fundamental principles. It has 153 articles under 11 clauses. It guarantees democracy, fundamental rights, justice and other rights of the citizens, including tribal people. But socially, economically, legally, personally and politically they enjoy much inferior position to mainstream people.

Garos community is the part and parcel of our nation and they constitute less than one-tenth of total indigenous people of the population of Bangladesh. Despite its large number, they still remain far away from the mainstream of activities and hence they are known as disadvantaged section of the total population. Without their educational development, it would not be possible to build up prosperous nation, because no nation can make real progress keeping a portion of its population in the dark. In the last 37 years, the advancement of primary education sector of the Garos community is not satisfactory. There are many reasons behind that. These are poverty, unconsciousness, linguistic problem of tribal people, corruption of education sector of the government, lack of good education system for the tribal people etc.

The problems of primary education in the Garos community should be solved to ensure the development of them as well as of our country. To ensure standard and quality primary education among Garos community, we must have to find out the ways and means to solve their problems.

1.1.2 Objectives of the Study

- (i) To identify and analyze the major socio-economic and infrastructural problems of the Garos community;
- (ii) To detect the prospects of primary education in the Garos community;
- (iii) To explore the problems of primary education in the Garos community; and
- (iv) To suggest what steps or strategies should be taken to eliminate or alleviate those problems of the Garos community for achieving socio-economic development as well as to make them skillful human resources.

1.1.3 Rationale of the Study

There are 45 ethnic groups of people in Bangladesh. Among the ethnic minorities, the Garo is one of the major tribal communities of Bangladesh.

The Garo people have some distinctive features of their socio-cultural life. For example, they have their own language without any dialect. Mainly the Language of the Garo is of two types. One is “Mandi Kusik” (universal language) and another one is “A Chik Kusik” (language for hilly people).¹⁹ It is apparently believed that if the language barrier or other difficulties in primary education is not reduced they will not be able to involved in income generating activities and their socio-economic life will not be developed.

The spread of primary education would make them conscious and ensure their standard living. Garo people may be productive human resources in our national economy. Consequently they will contribute a lot in our GDP. Several anthropologists have conducted study on the people of Garo community and their socio-cultural life but none of them conducted any research on primary education or problems of primary education of the Garo community. The main focus of the study is to find out the obstacles of their primary education. It is hoped that the on-going study may be helpful to minimize their age-old socio-cultural problems and gradually they would be active and productive in various socio-economic programs.

1.1.4 Review of Literature

Reviewing literature means study of other literatures for finding out the research gap. So far as the researcher has surveyed, this is a new field to study. People very often wish to know the socio-economic and educational development of the Garo community in Bangladesh. But no real attempt has been made yet in this field, though some related studies had been done on primary education and Garo community in different countries. Here I present some related studies conducted on Garo Community in Bangladesh by different researchers.

Butt followed both historical and cultural approach in his study on *A History of Education in American Culture*.²⁰ Shukla in her study on *Development of Education in British India*, emphasized economic interpretation and also stressed other theories.²¹ Zellner's *Education in India* gave major importance to political events as a cause of modern education.²² Nurullah and Naik's *History of Education in India during the British period*²³ and Mukherji's *History of Education in India*²⁴ and Dayal's *Development of Modern Indian Education*-all these studies combined historical approach with analyses of forces such as national movements, constitutional and administrative factors and political events etc.

The journal *Dwip Shikha* published by the Primary and Mass Education Department, Dhaka, which has constituted important instructions and information of management problem of primary education and solution of the problem in 1995.

The report titled *Food for Education* published by Bangladesh Govt. has flourished the rising enrolment rate at primary level, implement of the program food for education and some techniques of ensuring quality education in 1996.

Report on *Primary Education, Challenges and Success* delivered at the 3rd summit on South Asian Development hosted by SAARC, on May 19, 2005. An overview of Bangladesh education system past and present Dr. Amjad Chowdhury, deputy director of BRAC Bangladesh, leading institution for non formal education, which argued on the gender equity as an important subject for quality primary education.

In an unpublished research paper, Dr. Zahidul Islam has analysed the changing pattern of Garo family structure, pattern of land ownership and mode of production in Garo community, social organization of the Garos and so on in his *compiled materials on Garos of Bangladesh*.²⁵ It is noteworthy that Dr. Islam has mentioned the education system of Garo very slightly. However he did not discuss the difficulties of their primary education.

Similarly, Prof. Dr. Mizanur Rahman in his Ethnographic book²⁶ *The Garos: Struggling in the Valley of Death* has elaborately discussed the origin, legal status, anthropological identity, economic activities, social structure, hunting, land right etc. But he was very reluctant about their education.

Mostofa Majid edited *Garó Ethnology* in a book on Garó community. In this book Monandrinat Marak has given a picture of Garó's origin. He also avoids the educational aspect of the community.

Major Playfair was very careful to give a detailed description about Garó's food and dress, ornament and utensils along with their food habits and other socio-religious custom in his book – *The Garos*.²⁷

We also get a comprehensive life-style from review of Rv. William Carrey in this book- *The Garó Jungle Book*²⁸ where he gives a description of Garó community people who then lived in Northern part of greater Mymensingh and Modhupur of Tangail district. In fact, in his ethnographic analysis he gives a comparative picture of the former Garó's and today's Garó's life and society.

The famous anthropologist Dalton (1867) has described the indigenous people and their ethnological aspect of Bengal. Along with other ethnic minorities he described the Garó's geographical location, housing pattern, ways of life and rituals, physical structure, different festivals, dance and music, social tradition and customs, funeral etc. It's a very important anthropological book however this famous book – *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* does not contain any analytical discussion about their educational system.

G.D. Panda (1994) has provided a comparative picture between indigenous and mainstream girls and socio-demographic differentiation in his study–*Demographic Characteristic of Tribal and non-Tribal Females Comparative Study*. The major study were a comparison between the two communities and their illiteracy rate, marriage related different aspects, age of marriage, age structure, fertility rate, family planning, child mortality rate etc.

The famous anthropologist and pioneer of indigenous people study Abdus Sattar has provided a comprehensive picture of Garo's socio-economic status and their origin, daily life, society, religions, marriage system, matrilineal family structure and so on in his well-known book – *Oranna Jonopoda*.²⁹ However it is a matter of regret that he did not mention about education system and the prospects and problems of education of the Garo community.

Mahmud Shah Qureshi edited *Tribal Culture in Bangladesh*³⁰ is a textbook on the tribal community and their culture of Bangladesh. *Garo Society in Transition* is an important article of this edition by Ali Nawaz where the author presented different socio-cultural aspects of the Garos very tactfully. He also gives attention to the activities of the missionaries and formal education among the Garo children as he mentions *Ramke* and *Omed*, two religious converted boys, who took education in missionary school. But he did not analyse the education related issues of the Garo community separately.

Several articles of the tribal culture in Bangladesh edited by Qureshi are the important sources of Garos life and society viz: *Garo Matrilateral cross-cousin Marriage: continuity and discontinuity in the face of social change*, *On Garo Folklore and culture* by Mahbubul Hasan. In these articles the marriage system, property inheritance, kinship relation, songs and music, musical instruments and so on socio-cultural subjects have been discussed. However, a very important aspect of human education system and basic educational problem of the community are not highlighted.

L.S. Morgan has also analysed the life and society of the Garo in his book *-Primitive Society* along with the other indigenous ethnological description.

Korshid Alam Sager in his book – *Bangladeshar adibashider Coatha*³¹ has discussed the indigenous people and physical structure (e.g. hair colour, nose, lip, face, chin, etc.) of the Garo and other tribal people.

Khwaja Kamrul Haque has explored and analyzed the life and society of the Garo; specially their geographical location, claim, family, religions, worship, festivals, rite and rituals, language, culture and so on in his book – *Bangladeshar Upajati*.³²

Sovas Janchum has presented historical evolution, permanent settlement in Bangladesh and social structure, a brief history of revolution, past and present occupation, etc. of tribal people in his book – *The Tribal Community of Bangladesh*.³³ He also presents the educational system and contribution of government and non-government institutions to upgrade their education and social status very briefly, but the author was not attentive to analyse the different important aspects of their education system.

An article named *The Sad Story of Garo Pahar* of Sanjeeb Drong in Bangladesh indigenous peoples forum³⁴ which is published by “Solidarity” where he mentions the universal and traditional miseries, exploitation and deprivation of the Garo people.

CARITAS, Mymensingh zone also presented a yearly report 2006-2007.³⁵ In this report we get different aspects of neglected child education and their different complicities in education. In this report CARITAS Mymensingh claims that, they have taught 3273 students up to class three.

Tribal cultural academy (Birisiri, Durgapur, Netrokona) has published a yearly cultural report 2005, where Rv. Monandranat Marak contributes an article – *Garo Culture*, where the author analyses the culture, life struggle, participation in liberation war in 1971, taking shelter in India refugee camp and other social aspects of the Garos.

Rama Contha Singh and Md. Ainul Haque have been worked on *ethnic people of Bangladesh*³⁶ *life-style and historical background of tribal people* accordingly. However none of the authors analyse the educational aspects of the Garo people and their difficulties in primary education exclusively.

Robbins Burling has provided a picture about indigenous people's dialects in his unpublished research paper Garo³⁷. This is an important research work about the Linguistic problem of the Garos. It will help to solve the problem. He has described about phonology, syllable, verbs, Noun phrases, pronouns, Language contact and language maintains of the Garos.

Robbins Burling also narrated the early history of the Garos in his book *The Strong women of Modhupur*.³⁸ In this book he has described about the family and kinship, religion gender role of the Garos. The writer described about the role of the Gaors in our liberation war, the first riot, 1964, the second riot, 1971, the role of nongovernmental organizations, wealth, medicine, gender roles etc. But the writer told about the education system of the Garos very shortly. He did not analyze the education related problems of the Garo Community separately.

*In the sylvan shadows*³⁹ is another famous book of Abdus Sattar. In this book the writer has discussed that the Garos are not the autochthones of the soil. The clan system, their religious beliefs, song, music and dance mentioned in this book. The writer referred that the dance of Garos is the accompaniment of folk-songs. They have a religious approach to dance and songs. They believe that dance and songs are the means of appeasing Gods or spirits. So they contain the life essence or fertility. The writer also collected very rare folk-song from a village of Mymensingh district. But he did not highlighted about education system of the Garos. He only mentioned a single para about education in this book. These are as follows "In the Garo dialect, Mandi means Man and the Garos are also known as Mandais". No difference is discernible between the two classes of Garos as regards religious rites and physiognomy. But in some regions they are considerably influenced by the local Hindu culture which has led to a shade of differences in their rites and ceremonies. Many of them have received education and come into the light of civilization.

Askepara Wanna Celebrated Committee has published a yearly cultural Magazine named *Wanna* 2008⁴⁰, edited by Sanjeeb Drong. On that

Magazine an article named *Festival and Ceremonies* written by Mihir. N. Sangma has mentioned various forms of festivals and ceremonies with different rites and rituals of the Garos concerning their traditional belief and religious in the manner of performing divine services. The writer also focused about the basic facts of Wangala festival.

An article named "The constitution and Education Policy of Bangladesh and the place of minority Languages" of Borendra Lal tripura in Bangladesh indigenous peoples Forum, which is published by *Solidarity-2008*⁴¹ where the writer has mentioned "If constitution is the sprit of a nation, education policy is the agenda for the spirit". We can see the reflection of the assimilations spirit of the constitution in the education policy of Bangladesh. Just like the spirit and aspiration of the national constitution the education policy has also totally ignored the existence of plurality of ethnicity and languages. The fully fledged education policy of Bangladesh was passed in the national parliament only in 2000. The writer highlighted about Three Educational Commissions which were constituted to guide the education system of Bangladesh. The writer believes that, all the educational commissions and even the national education policy (2000) stayed silent, blind and passive about the special needs of the ethno-linguistic minority peoples. But the writer was silent to give a guideline about the problems of the education or primary education of Garo Community.

*Discourses on policy perspectives on land rights and Adibashis of the plains of northwest Bangladesh*⁴² is a very useful book for the Garos, edited by Gina.p. Dizon and published by voluntary services overseas Bangladesh. In this book several writer explored and analyzed land rights of the Garos, Land Acquisition Ordinance 1982, The transfer property Act of 1882, causes of school dropouts of the Garos, Recognition of customary rights, objectives of Bangladesh indigenous peoples forum, the role of international NGO and donor support, tribal movements and the major demands of the Garos, But none of the writers try to find out the problems of education definitely.

A manual named *ILO Convention on indigenous and tribal peoples, 1989 [No. 169]*⁴³ published by Geneva international labour office which has analyzed important instructions and information of ILO. In this book we get only a short discussion about education which did not fulfil the demands of the Garos.

The report titled *Northwest indigenous livelihoods study 2004*⁸ published by Care Bangladesh has flourished the literacy of indigenous people in Bangladesh. This report shows an imbalance in literacy rates among indigenous groups.

Mahfuzur Rahman has presented history of primary education in Bangladesh, primary dropout, early marriage, poverty and child labour behind dropout, payment system of primary school teachers, primary education stipend project, improving quality of education etc. in his book *Primary Education Needs More Care*.⁴⁵ He also presents the role of the Ministry to spread education but the author was not interested to analyze the problems of education and the different important aspects of the education system of the Garos.

In an unpublished research paper, Mr. Olc Henrik Magga has analyzed the quality of education for the indigenous people. He mentioned "indigenous children have the right to all levels and forms of education of the state. All indigenous peoples also have this right and the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning." In his book "Indigenous Peoples' Perspectives on Quality Education."⁴⁶ It is note worthy that Mr. Magga has mentioned the quality education for the indigenous people but he did not discuss the problems of primary education in the Garo Community.

*Bangladesh District Gazetteers Mymensingh*⁴⁷ edited by Nurul Islam Khan and published by Government of the Peoples Republic of Bangladesh is a very important document. In this book the writer has analyzed the education

system and educational background of Mymensingh district. several educational institutions, educational administration, teachers training, technical education, agricultural education and other education related objects has been discussed. But it is a matter of regret that the writer was very reluctant about the education of the Garo Community.

Ellen Sattar was very careful to give a detailed description about primary education of Bangladesh. He also discussed about the curriculum, administration, training system and the function of primary education in his book *Universal Primary Education in Bangladesh*⁴⁸. But the writer was very much silent about the Education system of the indigenous people of Bangladesh.

Similarly, Dr. Sharifa Khatun in his book *Development of Primary Education Policy in Bangladesh*⁴⁹ has elaborately discussed about the problems and needs of primary schools, evolution of state responsibility for education, legislations, religious instruction, latest move of the Government for primary education etc. But the writer was very reluctant about problems and prospects of primary education. In this study the researcher is very much sincere and concentrated to explore and analyse pros and cons of basic primary education of the Garo community for finding out an effective way to overcome education-related hazards among the Garos.

1.2 Methods of Data Collection

In the present study questionnaire method was adopted to collect basic information from the field. One close-ended written questionnaire was developed by the author and was used for data collection in the present investigation.

After surveying the study area we constructed the questions of one questionnaire in the form of statements after reviewing the available literature on problems and prospects of primary education of the Garos. Initially a total of 15 items in the form of statements on problems of primary education of the Garo Students were constructed on the questionnaire. The items of the

questionnaire were then given to several judges to ascertain whether the content of the items were relevant and appropriate for collecting the desired information for the present research. A brief instruction was also written on the top of the schedule and suitable spaces were provided to record the demographic information of the respondents.

1.2.1 Sources of Data

For the purpose of the proposed research, information and data has been collected from both primary and secondary sources.

Primary sources

The main foundation of the study was based on primary source. Primary information necessary for the study were collected through written questionnaire and interviews of the selected respondents in the selected areas.

Secondary Sources

To conduct this research, secondary data were collected from various sources including authentic writings of eminent authors, journals, statistical reviews, academic papers, government documents, Newspapers, Magazines. Souvenirs, published and unpublished research works relevant to the main theme of the study.

1.2.2 Selection of study Area

Dhobaura upazila of Mymensingh district was selected as the study area for this research. Because most of the Garos live in the study area than other upazila's of Mymensingh district and other districts of Bangladesh. So it is expected that the findings of the present study will represent the whole Garo Community of Bangladesh.

1.2.3 Sample Size and Sampling Techniques

A total of 300 respondents constituted the sample of the present study. Among them 200 were guardians of the Garo students of primary schools and 100 were teachers of primary schools of the Garo students who live in the study area.

1.2.4 Procedure

Each subject was approached individually. Educated subjects were asked to read the instructions attentively and to give their opinions about each statement by giving a tick (✓) mark on the number given below. The opinions of illiterate subjects were collected with the help of the researcher. The instruction was given in Bengali.

1.2.5 Scoring

The sum of the item score was the total score of the subject. Each subject was approached individually to ensure the quality of data. The technique of sampling was purposive incidental.

1.2.6 Data Analysis

Statistical technique was used for data analysis. The analysis of variance was used for the computation of the results, Computer tools as MS word and Excel were used.

1.2.7 Limitation of the study

There are many dimensions for conducting research on primary education of Garo community. But the proposed research study has focused specially on the problems of primary education in Garo community. Socio-economic development is related to education. As primary education is the basis of all education, so without solving the problems of primary education, it is quite impossible to make the development of the Garo community. The present study did not include all the Garo people living all over Bangladesh as macro study because of lack of time and money. Secondary data is not available.

The study area is situated in the remote area. Transport problem is a great hindrance to work. But due to time and source constraint I am to limit myself within the objectives of my study.

1.2.8 Research Gap

Many researches have been done on various aspects of Garo Community in Bangladesh. But no research has yet been done on the problems of primary education of Garo community to my knowledge. So, there may be same gaps in this field. For this reason this problem may be an important issue of a research work. The present study is such an attempt.

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Chapter- 2

Background of Primary Education in Bangladesh

2.1 Introduction

Education is the life-blood of the late twentieth century. In so far as the people's potentialities remain untapped, thus far Bangladesh stays backward for it is people who make nations. Even the richest resource is of no use unless individuals can use it and that in today's world; the most important step is to attend a primary school.

The only purpose of education is to teach a student how to live his life-by developing his mind and equipping him to deal with reality. The training he needs is theoretical, i.e., conceptual. He has to be taught to think, to understand, to integrate, to prove. He has to be taught the essentials of the knowledge discovered in the past and he has to be equipped to acquire further knowledge by his own effort" - Ayn Rand.¹

Unless the nation puts priority into education and that means starting with the first step, the primary grades, Bangladesh is never going to become a literate nation and participate effectively in the twentieth century world. It will remain as the "handout" side the lower side, it will have decisions² made for it, for it will not have the collective intelligence initiative, and discipline to make them for itself.

2.1.1 Definition of Education

The word 'Education' derives from the latin educare mean 'to nourish' or to "rise'. It means the act or process of imparting or acquiring general knowledge, developing the powers of reasoning and judgment, and generally of preparing oneself or others intellectually for mature life. Education is the development of the abilities of the mind (learning to know). Education encompasses teaching and learning specific skills, and also something less

tangible but more profound; the imparting of knowledge, positive judgment and well-developed wisdom. Education has as one of its fundamental aspects the imparting of culture from generation to generation. Education means “to draw out” facilitating realization of self-potential and latent talents of an individual. It is an application of pedagogy, a body of theoretical and applied research relating to teaching and learning and draws on many disciplines such as psychology, philosophy, computer science, linguistics, neuroscience, sociology and anthropology. The education of an individual human begins at birth and continues throughout life. (Some believe that education begins even before birth, as evidenced by some parents playing music or reading to the baby in the womb in the hope it will influence the child's development).³

Different philosophers give different definition about education. Here is given some popular definition of different Philosophers:

1. "Education is the capacity to feel pleasure and pain in the right moment -" Plato.
2. "Education is the creation of a sound mind in sound body" - Aristotle.
3. "Education is child's development from within" Rousseau.
4. "Education is natural, harmonious and progressive development of man's innate power." Pestalozzi.
5. "The best education is that which does not give us information but makes our life in harmony with all existence" Rabindranath Tagore.

2.2 History of Primary Education

2.2.1 Vaidik Era

At the Vaidik decade when there was no existence of State, no State rule or administration, then learning was under religious binding that appreciable to any modern civilization. The Vaidik education was established depending on the holly religious book 'Bed'. The main objective of this learning was to build the children on the aspect of Vaidik thought and philosophy. 'Sanskrit' was the media of Vaidik learning. All the teachers were Brahman. There are three sorts of education to the Brahman education. The schools were entitled as toll and pathshala. Pathshala was ancient

educational institution of this country.⁴ The Brahman was in tolls on payment all got chance primary education except shudra. In pathshala reading innumeracy and puranic history were learnt there. "The teachers did not get any salary. Some honoraria they got at the time of crops and puja ceremony".⁵

2.2.2 Buddhism Era

The education of Buddhism was adopted based on its initiator Buddha on non-discrimination after Vaidik education in India. The last target of Buddhism is to award 'Nirvan'. The Buddhism education was that 'Nirban' is gotten through eight ways. The element of it is honest thinking honest worship, honest words, honest faith, honest activity, honest earning and honest memory. When the baby was six then the education was started in Buddhist education and that was continued up to fourteen. Though story oral process was the education medium of Buddhist education sometimes discussion and debating meeting took place. Democracy was the root of Buddhist education. The door of education was opened for all. Lord Monra, William Adam and Sir L. Finstone when evaluated the domestic education told that the Buddhist education was more developed, wider and democratic than the Hinduism education.⁶

2.2.3 Muslim Era

In the Christian era eight century Muhammad Bin Kashem had initiated the Muslim remise here being won in the battle. Muslim ruling was started in Bangladesh in the thirteenth century. Ikhtiar Uddin Bakhtiar Khilji won Bangladesh in 1203 of Christian era. We found in Muslim reign that they also built mosques, schools, madrash like Hindu education in providing of education for pardah system, though the education was basically religious based. But that was a qualitative feature. Pathshala were conducted in the mosque, temple and even under these. Books were not available, but hard slate and on soil writing was continued. The teacher provided education of their own style. Missionary Maxmular said there was 80,000 thousand primary school on that British period in this area.⁷

2.2.4 British Period (upto 1947)

The British who have brought up education, that was at the beginning of nineteenth century. The conventional schools have gone to abolished in 1757 when East India Company won Palashi war then the rule of English was initiated in India and at the beginning they did not take any responsibility of education of the people here. In 1813 the British government ordered East India Company to educate the people of India and to allocate one lakh taka per year. In 1844, lord Hardinge built 102 Jornakura primary schools in exploring primary education using mother tongue at the village level.⁸

“William Adam”, in his education report, stressed the following.”⁹

- Collection of district - wise information on education.
- Introducing text books in various mother tongues.
- Placement of an inspector in every district to implement the education plan.
- Establishment of the normal school system of training of teachers.
- Encouraging the teaching profession by allocation of land as incentive.
- Introduction of scholarships through competitive examinations.

The wood's Education Dispatch of 1854 was a significant example of the efforts to the modernization of education by the British rules in Bengal. Following its recommendation, a Department of Public Instruction was created in 1855-56.

Lord Curzon took some steps for expanding primary education in 1910.¹⁰ Copal Krishna Gokhale placed a bill in the law council for making primary education compulsory. The bill was however, rejected in 1912. Later on, in 1919, a bill making primary education compulsory in the municipal areas was passed. With the provision of limited autonomy in the Indian Book Act of 1921, Bengal (Rural) Primary Education Act was enacted in 1930. For over a decade after this, there was hardly any follow-up action. Under this act, District School Board were set up to control, direct and manage the dissemination of education and reach ultimately the goal of universal

compulsory and free education. Although primary education was controlled, directed and managed by the director of public instruction, and the schools were inspected by the District, Subdivision or Circle Offices.

After the Second World War, the Sergeant Commission Report 1944 for the development of education was published.¹¹ It was the first report to recognize pre-primary education. As the British rule ended in 1947, the Sergeant Commission Report remained unimplemented.

2.2.5 Pakistan Period (1947-1971)

Soon after partition of India, a resolution to make education universal, compulsory and free was put forward at the National Education Conference (1947). In 1957, the government announced the dissolution of the district school Boards and handed over the management. Control and administration of primary education to the District Inspector of Schools were appointed as chief executives of the office under the aegis of the Deputy Commissioners.¹² The Bengal (Rural) Primary Education Act was amended in 1951. In order to make primary education compulsory, the government undertook an experiment. In the selected unions, 5,000 primary schools were selected to be run as "Compulsory Primary Schools".¹³ Till 1951 primary education was a 4-year course. In 1952, it was made a 5-year course.

As a result of bifurcation of the primary schools into "Compulsory Primary Schools" and "Non-Compulsory Primary Schools" discontent spread amongst the teachers. The government, therefore in 1957 renamed the 5,000 compulsory primary schools in the unions as "Model Primary Schools" and the rest as "non-model primary school." The headmasters of the Model Schools could inspect and supervise the Non-Model Schools.

Universal access to primary education was given emphasis in the first five-year plan. The first education commission was set up in 1959. This commission recommended that within the next 15 years, primary education should be an 8-year course and liberal promotion on the basis of age should be introduced. In the second and third five-year plan, there were increased

allocations for the development of primary education sub-sector to enhance facilities in the schools and to provide for increased student enrolment.

A section of parents, students, teachers and educational authorities did not approve the nomenclature of “Non-Model” practice of inspection and supervision of the activities of Non-Model School Headmasters by the Model School Headmasters. The government, in 1965, collectively termed model and non-model schools as “Managed Free Primary Schools”. Under that scheme, all the primary schools were brought under one administration and teachers received pay and allowances according to their qualifications.

2.2.6 Bangladesh Period

This period started in 1971 when people fought a glorious war for the independence of the country. The constitution of independent Bangladesh states that primary education shall be the responsibility of the state. The provisions are: “The state shall adopt effective measures for the purpose of (a) establishing a uniform, mass-oriented and universal system of education and extending free and compulsory education to all children as may be determined by law; (b) relating education to the needs of the society and producing properly trained and motivated citizens to serve those needs; (c) removing illiteracy within such time as may be determined by law.”¹⁴

The government of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman nationalized 36,165 primary schools in 1973 under an Act named Primary Education Taking over Act and declared 1,57,724 teachers of those schools as government employees.¹⁵ To achieve this goal primary education received priority attention in almost all the five-year plans. The second step was taken by government of late president Ziaur Rahman. Primary education was included in the second five-year plan as well as in the perspective plan (1980-2000) for its successful implementation. Primary education received priority attention in these plans and allocation for primary education reached more than 46% of the total allocations for education sector. The government of Ershad continued with the plans taken for primary education. In the third five years plan (1985-90), the directorate of primary education was entrusted with

the responsibility of implementing the primary education program and DG of primary education was made the project director. In 1990, the National assembly of Bangladesh passed the "Primary Education (Compulsory) Act" "(Act 27 of 1990) to implement the program 'Education for All' by the year 2000.¹⁶ The present situation of primary schools is shown in the following table.

Table 2.1

Number of Primary Schools by Type, Teachers and Enrolment in 2005

Type of Schools	Number of Schools	Number of Teachers		Number of pupils	
		Total	Female	Total	Girls
Govt. Primary Schools	37672	162084	71740	9483891	4848049
Regd. NGPS	19682	76566	22833	3572686	1802605
Non-regd. NGPS	946	3456	2200	158059	78186
Experimental Schools	54	223	84	9828	4762
Community Schools	3027	8773	6368	425992	218939
NGO Schools	2281	18997	10108	246286	105658
Ebtadaee Madrasaha	289	1175	713	37690	18867
Primary Sections of High Madrasaha	6768	28294	2986	849755	401624
Primary Sections of High Schools	8329	32206	2218	1146138	499649
Total	1353	13075	5740	295333	156098
	80401	344789	124990	16225658	8134437

Source: Bangladesh Educational Statistics 2006.

The number of GPS was 1,771 in 1996. It raised to 37,671 in 2001.¹⁷ In the fourth five-year plan (1995-2005) the government promulgated "Food for Education" program which was officially first launched on 1st January 1992 in 68 selected thanas of 64 districts. Gradually the whole country was brought under the same primary program. Enrolment target was found at 100% of 6-10 years age-group children and attained a literacy rate of 62% by the year 2000.¹⁸ The result of the primary education program has so far been found fruitful. In the year 2000, 97% percent of school-age population in Bangladesh was enrolled in primary schools. The ratio of boys and girls in primary education is 51:49 while the ratio of male and female teachers is 34:64.¹⁹

Naturally education is getting priority in government policy. The highest amount of budget allocation has been made in education. Recently government has established a separate division named Primary and Mass Education Department.

2.3 Education Commissions of Bangladesh

In order to maintain a modern, scientific and effective education system, Bangladesh Government attaches highest priority to the improvement of education sector. With this objective, the Government of Bangladesh had established several Education Commissions and Committees since the independence of the country.

- a. Qudrat-e-Khuda Education Commission-1972
- b. Mofiz Uddin Education Commission-1998
- c. Shamsul Haque Education Committee-1997
- d. Dr. M.A. Bari Commission-2002
- e. Mohammad Moniruzzaman Mia Commission-2003

2.3.1 Qudrat-e-Khuda Education Commission-1972

Qudrat-e-Khuda Education Commission was formed in 1972, headed by the leading educationist and scientist Dr. Qudrat-e-Khuda. The commission submitted its report to the Government in May 1974. The report was formulated and is based on the socio-economic and political state and cultural heritage of the country. The perspectives and this scenario of the education system of the contemporary world were also taken into consideration. In fact, Qudrat-e-Khuda Commission report reflected the fundamentals of the newly framed constitution of Bangladesh. The concerned authority examined the report carefully and the preparatory steps were taken to implement the report were delayed. In the light of the recommendations of this commission, a committee for developing National Curricula & Syllabi was formed in 1976. The National Committee consisted of 47 eminent educationists of the country headed by Prof. Shamsul Haque. The National Committee developed a detailed procedure and mechanism for developing national curricula & Syllabi. In order to achieve its target, these NCSC (National Curriculum Syllabus Committee) constituted 10 sub-committees and 27 subject committees. The NCSC submitted its report to the Government in 07 volumes in 1976, 1977 and 1987.

Qudrat-e-Khuda commission suggested some major changes in the Primary, Secondary and Higher Secondary stages of education. According to the Commission report primary education will be of 8-years (Class 1 to Class VIII) and secondary education will be of 4-years duration (Class IX to Class XII). In the field of Higher education a combined degree course of four years and a one year Master's course will be offered in the Universities. Regarding curriculum, syllabus and textbooks, the commission suggested a uniform curriculum for primary level based on competence. The Commission gave special emphasis on improved assessment system and suggested letter grading in the assessment of student performance in all stages of education.

2.3.2 Mofiz Uddin Education Commission-1988

After the publication of the Qudrat-e-Khuda Education Commission report, some of the recommendations were implemented. In 1979 the Government felt the necessity of reviewing the report. Advisory Council for National Education styled Interim Education Policy Recommendations was published and the reports of the Mofiz uddin Commission were brought to light in February, 1988.

2.3.3 Shamsul Haque Education Committee-1997

Qudrat-e-Khuda Education Commission submitted their report in 1974, Due to some unavoidable circumstances the recommendations of the Committee were not implemented properly. It was felt that for meeting the national needs and for keeping pace with the unprecedented advancement in the field of knowledge in the contemporary world, original and qualitative change in our education system were needed. With this end view, the Government of Bangladesh constituted a 56-member committee headed by Prof. Shamsul Haque. The committee has made all out efforts for developing an education policy in order to introduce a pragmatic education system suitable for the country. The report of this commission was placed in the cabinet and to review this report a cabinet committee was formed. The report of this committee was sent to National Assembly.

2.3.4 Dr. M.A. Bari Commission-2002

An Expert Committee headed by Dr. M.A Bari was formed in 2002 to identify immediate implemental reforms of education sector. The Committee suggested several interventions in the sector which were considered later by the Education Commission 2003.

2.3.5 Mohammad Moniruzzaman Mia Commission-2003

In order to improve the quality of Education and initiate a set of reforms to develop the sector government undertook several actions of which the formation of Education Commission in January 2003 was one of the major initiatives. The Commission submitted its report to the Government in March 2004. The Commission Report consists of three parts and suggests 880 recommendations on all the education sub-sectors.

2.4 Ministry of Primary & Mass Education (MOPME)

Bangladesh is committed to the World Declaration on Education for All (Jointin, March 1990) and the Convention on the Right of Children (New York, September 1990).

Recognizing the importance of primary and non-formal education, in ensuring education for all and eradicating illiteracy, the government created a new Division called Primary and Mass Education Division (PMED), in August, 1992. This division is now operating as a ministry. The Ministry of Primary and Mass Education is responsible for policy formulation, planning, evaluation and execution of plans and initiating legislative measures relating to primary and non-formal education.

2.4.1 National Academy for Primary Education (NAPE)

This is an apex institution for training and research in the field of primary education, which is headed by a director and governed by a Board of Governors headed by the secretary, PMED. There are 53 governments and one private Primary Training Institute. They offer 1-year certificate-in-education course to teachers of primary schools.

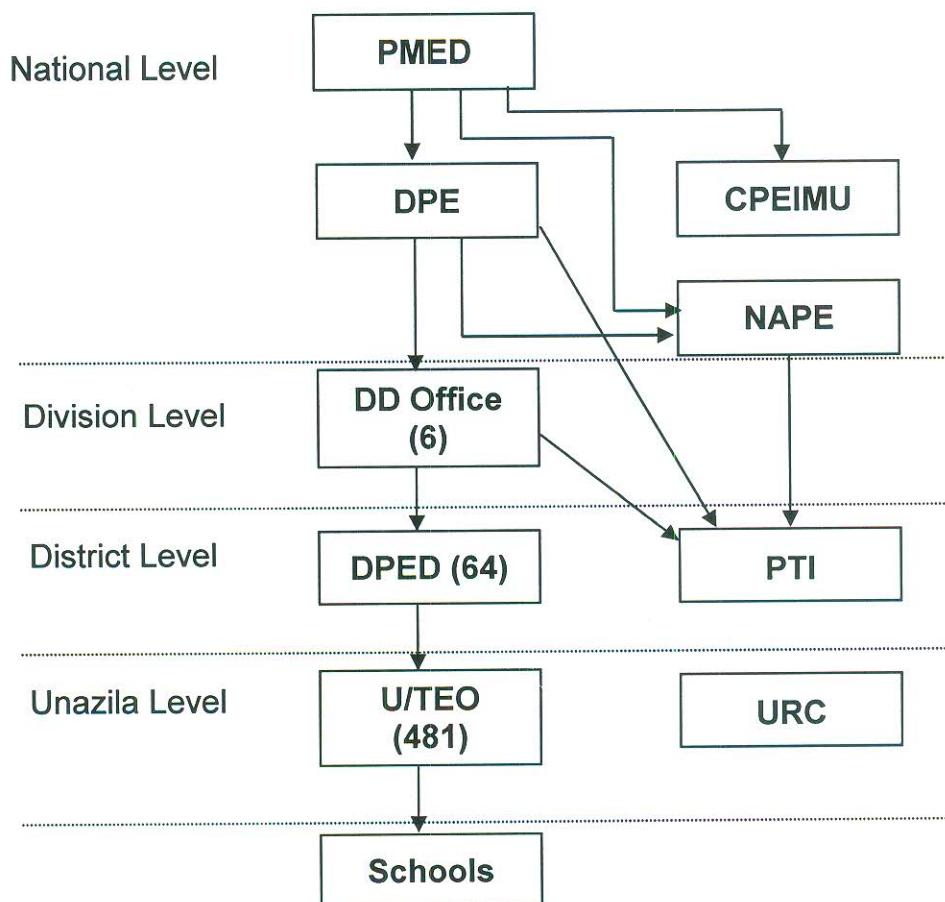
2.4.2 Bureau of Non-formal Education (BNFE)

A directorate was created in 1995 with the responsibility of execution of policy decisions and plans relating to non-formal education. The non-formal education programs were then implemented *through* (a) NGO run centre-based literacy program. (b) total literacy movement by the *district/thana* administration. This directorate has been abolished and started functioning as bureau of non-formal education.

2.4.3 Compulsory Primary Education Implementation Monitoring Unit

After the enactment of Primary Education (Compulsory) Act of 1990, the government created the Compulsory Primary Education Implementation monitoring unit in 1991, headed by the director-general with the responsibility to monitor the compulsory primary education program at the field level and conduct child-survey to collect information on the numbers of primary school-age children attending schools.

Figure 2.1
ORGANIZAITONAL STRUCTURE OF PRIMARY EDUCATION²⁰



PMED	- Primary and Mass Education
DPE	- Directorate of Primary Education
CPEIMU Unit	- Compulsory Primary Education Implementation and Monitoring Unit
NAPE	- National Academy of Primary Education
DD OFFICES	- Deputy Directors Offices
OPEO	- District Primary Education Officer
PTI	- Primary Training Institute
UTEO	- Upazila/Thana Education Officer
URC	- Upazila Resource Center

2.5 Directorate of Primary Education

In 1981, a separate directorate, named Directorate of Primary Education was set up. This directorate was created in order to streamline universal primary education and strengthen the infrastructure. The directorate is headed by the director general. In the directorate, there are four divisions each headed by a director. The task and responsibilities of the divisions are as follows:

2.5.1 Administration Division

The responsibilities of this division include general administration of the central and field offices. This division coordinates among the divisional, district and upazila offices and the PTIs.

2.5.2 Planning & Development Division

The responsibilities of this division are: drawing up of various development projects on priority basis of effect general and gradual development of primary education in the light of government policies; getting approval of projects; implementation, evaluation; supervision and winding up of completed projects. This division also conducts the preparation of development budget, disbursement and allocation of funds and redistribution of foreign exchange.

2.5.3 Training Division

The responsibilities of this division are to work for qualitative improvement of primary education, to build up competent and efficient teachers for the class-room and school management. To do this, the division assesses training needs for the, teachers as well as for the officials at different levels, draws out plans and implements training program. The fixed responsibilities of this division are: organization of various workshops, training of PTI teachers and instructors, various short-time training of SMC and PTI staff members, sub-cluster training, curriculum dissemination courses and orientation courses, management training for the head teachers and short in-service training for teachers.

2.5.4 Monitoring and Evaluation Division

This division collects data on primary education from the field levels, analyzes the collected data and published quarterly and annual reports. Other responsibilities are: Storage and distribution of textbooks, supervision of satellite schools, arrangement of regular inspection of various offices and primary schools at the field level, sending of reports related to these areas to PMED.

2.5.5 Policy and Operation Division

This division is newly created. To create the new policy and implement the policies are the main duties of 6 divisions. At present teacher recruitment, the transfer and posting duties are done by this division.

2.5.6 Management Information System Cell (MIS)

There is a separate cell in the directorate for collection of data on selected primary education indicators. This cell is also responsible for computerizing and developing a data bank.

2.6 Subordinate Offices of the DPE

Divisional Primary Education Office (Div. PEO)

The director administration directly links the field level administrative offices of primary education with the DPE. The nearest administrative unit of the DPE is the divisional primary education office headed by a Deputy Director (DD). The divisional offices are located at Dhaka, Chittagong, Rajshahi, Khulna, Sylhet and Borisal. The office of the divisional primary education officer is consists of a Deputy Director an Assistant Director an Account Officer and two Education officers.

Each divisional office is responsible for managing supervising and supporting the district officer of its jurisdiction. All of the Govt. policies, laws, ordinances and guidance concerning primary education are conveyed to the district officers through the divisional offices.

2.6.1 District Primary Education Office (DPEO)

The District Primary Education Officer is the authority of primary education of a particular district. The government has given wide range of powers to the DPEOs by decentralizing authority of primary education since 1983; though it has been shortened presently. The office of the DPEO is responsible entirely for supervising, managing and co-coordinating the field level primary education of its own jurisdiction. Its responsibilities include distribution of text books, organization of in-service training, recruitment, posting, transfer, toward and punishment giving of the teachers and the employees of primary education over the year.

The DPEO being the local authority of a district area is given special importance by the office of the Director General for primary Education and also by the PMED.

2.6.2 Upazila Primary Education Officer

The upazila Primary Education Officer previously Thana Education officer (TEO) is the authority of field level primary education. He is responsible for directing, supervising monitoring and coordinating the upazila level primary education. His responsibility includes school inspection, proposal submitting to the DPEO for transfer, training, reward and punishment giving of the teachers and employees, preparation of their monthly salary, monthly meeting with the school heads etc.

2.6.3 Upazila Resource Center (URC)

Upazila Resource Center (URC) is an effective and innovative organ to the primary education management. Five URCS were established first in 1998 on pilot basis in the country under primary education development protect. The Government of Bangladesh has taken up comprehensive primary education programs where quality improvement of primary education was the main objective and establishment of the URC is also aiming at achieving this objective effectively. The URC is a significant reform in the academic management system of primary education, which aims to provide academic

support to the upazila primary education system with specific teachers. To make the URC functioning one instructor One Assistant Upazila Education Officer, (AUEO), one data entry operator and one night Guard have been appointed.

The URC has an essential linkage with the relevant education officer of located area. The linked offices are the PTI, DPEO, UZPEO, and Model Primary School (MPS) of the URC premises.

2.7 Activities in Primary Education

Academic Supervision

For the successful implementation of any kind of educational program, reinforcement of inspection and academic supervision is necessary. In order to perform this inspection properly the following steps have been taken;

- Monitoring the School administration;
- Fixing target of inspection; offering awards to the inspecting officers;
- Taking necessary follow-up, actions for implementation of recommendations made during inspection; and
- Ensuring the regular attendance of the students and teacher in schools are reducing dropout through regular supervision and inspection.

Community Involvement

Active public support is one of the major means of implementing any social programs. Public support is a very important factor in achieving wide publicity and awareness about primary education. To enlist participations of the people, the following schemes have been undertaken:

- School Management Committees have been constituted to conduct smooth management of the schools. The terms and responsibilities of these committees have been clearly outlined. Besides, Parent-Teachers Associations have been constituted with the participation with the teachers and parents. In order to mobilization people for the implementation of compulsory primary education, 13,380 ward

committees, 4450 union committees, 481 thana education committees and 64 district education committees have been constituted. These committees try to involve the people with the management of the primary education. The local management committees have powers to appoint teachers in the satellite and community schools;

- In 17 selected districts of the country, a project named Incentive District Approach to Education for all (known as IDEAL project) has been initiated. Plans and programs had been under taken locally to achieve large scale improvement on the standard education through the coordinated efforts of the management committees, teachers, students, and guardians. This program will be gradually expanded to every part of the country. This program has created considerable interest in the community for participating in the development of the schools. At present committees have authority to undertake small scale repairs of schools;
- Every alternate year a survey is under taken to enumerate the children eligible for going to schools within the school catchments area. They primary schools teachers conduct they survey. Steps are taken to bring enlisted school going age children to schools. With the concerted efforts to teachers, Trainers, Supervisors, Officers, School Management Committees, Ward committees, education organizers, persons interested in education, and officers of the line departments other than education, they primary education program is accelerating day by day.

Primary Education Fortnight

As a part of the program to socialize the movement for universal primary education, Primary Education Fortnight is observed throughout the country to highlight the activities, and to ensure people's participation in primary education programs as supplementary to the efforts of Government. The activities of the program are:

- Evaluation of last year's program and drawing up of the program for the coming year;
- TV and Media coverage;
- Circulation of posters;
- Meeting and rallies at school thana district and national levels.

These programs also include cultural events, award-giving ceremony, distribution of free books and many other events. This program helps the community to realize that school is a social institution and everybody has a responsibility for achieving better performance of the schools. These coordinated efforts create a suitable environment for teaching and learning.

2.8 Education planning

Educational planning in Pakistan Period

Systematic work on educational planning relating to former East Pakistan started with the first five year plan of Pakistan (1955-60). Between 1955 and 1970 three Five Year Plans had been prepared and launched in which education formed an important component. A fourth Five year Plan which was prepared for 1970-75²¹ hardly got off the ground when the country was plunged in civil strife culminating in the independence of Bangladesh towards the end of 1971.

Although the importance of education for overall development was often reiterated by national leaders and top planners education was a neglected sector in Pakistan. Over the three Plans, the share of education in the public sector development expenditure for Pakistan as a whole remained only 5 per cent or so²². The priority accorded to education in drafting of plans were not usually reflected in the implementation of plans. Required funds were denied to the education and training sector because of pressure for resources in other economic sectors. The Fourth Plans document of Pakistan points out that as a result "the country found itself faced with a serious imbalance between manpower needs and education output". The Plans document expressed the view that notwithstanding large-scale

unemployment, there were shortages of skilled manpower in fields that were critical for development²³.

Nevertheless, experience of educational planning in Pakistan was useful. It enabled planners and educational administrators to gain deeper insight into problems of educational development and highlight areas of concern. Through successive plan periods machinery of planning and educational administration were improved. It also led to better collection and compilation of educational data and some research on educational problems although at the time of independence of Bangladesh the quality and coverage of educational data left much to be desired.

2.8.1 The First Five Year Plan of Bangladesh

A comprehensive exercise in educational planning in Bangladesh was made by the Planning Commission of the Government of Bangladesh in the First Five Year Plan (1973-78) published in 1973. It was mainly the work of professionals in consultation with the relevant Ministries of Government under the direction of the Deputy Chairman and Members of the Planning Commission. Although the Government set up a Commission on Education in 1972 which was expected to examine the education system in detail and make recommendations for the future structure and development of the system and the preparation of a comprehensive educational plan, the report of the Commission was available well after the plan had been actually prepared. A serious lacuna of the plan was that there had been no popular participation in its preparation. Although the Plan was approved by the Cabinet with some modifications, it was never debated in the Parliament. The rank and file politicians as well as the ministers had probably no deep commitment towards the Plan²⁴. This seems to be a pity as in few fields the recommendations of the planner has so significant political implications as in the field of educational planning.

The objectives of educational development stated in the First Five Year Plan, more or less the Constitutional principles to which we have referred, although these could have been further elaborated. The strategies to achieve

the objectives include improving the quality of education by making an optimum use of the available facilities and increasing the number of trained teachers; strengthening science education in schools and colleges; putting greater emphasis on vocational and technical training at different levels; provision of central laboratories and community workshops; spreading effective adult literacy; encouraging sports and cultural activities, giving special attention to female education.

The methodology followed in the preparation of the education sector plan in the First Five Year Plan is one of trend analysis. Past trends were examined and targets of expansion were set on the basis of desirability in the light of overall objectives which themselves were somewhat vague e.g., feasibility and the so-called "social demand for education". Thus over the Five Year period (1973-78) the Plan envisaged an expansion of enrolment at the primary stage (Classes I-V) by 43 per cent, at the secondary stage (Classes VI to X) by 57 per cent, at the college level (Classes XI to XIV) by 52 per cent and at the university level (Classes XIII to XVI) by 63 per cent. Teacher education was to be expanded by 150 per cent and technical education by 172 percent over the plan period²⁵ a major expansion was envisaged in the enrolment of girls at all levels, particularly at the primary and secondary stages viz. by 59 per cent and 105 per cent respectively.

The plan envisaged a substantial diversification of courses at the general secondary stage and put substantially greater emphasis on science and vocationally oriented courses. Growth of enrolment in the "humanities" was to be kept modest while promoting a very large expansion of enrolment in science, agriculture, commerce, industrial arts, home management and nursing. At the university stage also enrolment in 'science' was to increase at a substantially higher rate than in humanities.

No clear justification of the targets of expansion is provided, particularly of the relatively moderate expansion at the primary stage as compared with that at the higher levels. It is clear from the observations of the former Deputy Chairman of the Bangladesh Planning Commission that political pressures

and political commitment played an important part in the determination of the various targets of educational expansion which were not necessarily aimed at providing support to the overall development effort.²⁶

The First Plan document contains recommendations for a number of innovative measures. These are intensive use of physical facilities, in particular the introduction of double shifts in primary and secondary schools and teacher training institutions; provision of central laboratories and community workshops in schools and vocational training institutions which would be accessible to various non-formal training programmes also, large scale recruitment of female teachers for primary schools and the induction of educated housewives as part-time teachers. Programmes of non-formal education which were meant to be part of a major strategy for achieving mass education are discussed only in general terms. The Planning Commission, however, did highlight the importance of non-formal education by setting up an expert committee on the subject which would suggest guidelines for developing the necessary programmes.

Investment in education as in the other social sectors in the First Five Year Plan of Bangladesh was decided "exogenously" largely on socio-political considerations.²⁷ As it turned out, education in the Bangladesh Plan received somewhat higher priority than in the Pakistan plans in spite of the manifold demands placed on the resources of the country by the "directly productive" sectors. While in the third Five year Plan of Pakistan (1965-70) the actual public sector development expenditure on education in former East Pakistan is estimated to be about 6.58 per cent of its total development expenditure, in the First Five Year Plan of Bangladesh, Education accounted for 8 per cent of the total allocations.

The allocations for different levels and types of education within the sector reflect the targets of expansion proposed. Thus development expenditure for primary education proposed in the Plan was 18.78 per cent of the total as against 19.49 per cent for secondary education, 5.21 per cent for

teacher education²⁸. It is somewhat strange that college and university level education taken together was allocated significantly more than the development expenditure on primary education in the Plan in spite of the fact that in the Bangladesh Plan document educational plans in the Pakistan period have been criticized for emphasizing higher education at the expense of primary education. One mitigating factor was the large allocation amounting to 11.4 per cent of the total proposed for non-formal education which was expected to support literacy efforts outside the school system and provide vocational education for out-of-school youth. However, it was obvious that there were serious limitations in developing mass Education Programmes on a considerable scale over the course of the Plan, when very little of actual experience in the field existed.

Due to unsatisfactory economic progress and unexpected increase in current expenditure, short fall in resources developed quite early in the plan which was aggravated by a sharp deterioration of the country's international terms of trade and a reduction in the flow of external assistance below projected levels. As a result sharp cutbacks were made all rounds in the development expenditure, which were particularly severe for the social sectors. Actual development expenditures on education in the First Plan was 73 per cent of the original allocation in current prices and formed 5.39 per cent of the reduced total development expenditure²⁹.

The actual achievement of enrolment in the First Plan period fell far short of the targets at all levels. The mass education programme hardly got off the ground. Although there was an increase in the rate of growth of female enrolment at the primary and secondary stages, little progress was made in increasing the ratio of female teachers in primary schools. Providing a scientific and vocational bias to college level of education and stepping up enrolment in science subjects in the general universities while slowing down

enrolment in the humanities, were largely unrealized and the ratio of enrolment actually increased in favour of humanities.

On the termination of the First Five Year Plan in 1978 a Two Year Plan was prepared which aimed at meeting the short falls in the First Plan and providing the time for carrying out necessary studies for the preparation of a Five year Plan. It might be useful to consider the First Five year Plan and the Two Year Plan together and compare the allocations with the actual expenditures. It appears that the education sector did not do too well in the Two Year Plan accounting for only 3.54 per cent of the total development expenditure. Thus the estimated expenditure in the education sector over the First Five Year and Two Year Plans together amounted to about 4.49 per cent of the total.

Table 2.2 indicates that in the First and Two Year Plans while the plan allocation on primary education was 17.63 per cent of total; actual expenditure on primary education was only 13.18 per cent. Similarly, actual expenditure on secondary education was 11.63 per cent of the total as against the plan allocation of 19.53 per cent. The expenditure on teacher education was only 3.06 per cent of the total which was less than half of what had been the allocation. There was a slight reduction in the proportion of realized expenditure on technical education as against the 19.52 per cent of the total allocated for this type of education. The lion's share of the actual development expenditure went to the universities which received 26.39 per cent of the total as against a planned allocation of only 12.59 per cent. The gross distortion in educational expenditure in favour of the universities can be explained only in terms of social and political factors. It appears that irrespective of what the plans recommended the power elite succeeds in pre-empting resources for higher level education at the expense of lower level education which is essential for satisfactory economic progress.

Table 2.2

Allocation and Expenditure during the First Five Year Plan and Two Year Plan (1973-80)

Levels of Education	FFYP	Plan Allocation and percentage				%	Actual allocation	Actual expenditure	%	Col. 9 as % of col. 6	Col. 9 as % of Col. 8
		%	TYP	%	Total						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Primary Education	577.22	18.78	223.16	25.28	800.38	17.63	386.05	341.14	13.180	42.62	93.96
Secondary Education	598.80	19.49	287.69	19.61	886.49	19.53	350.53	301.11	11.63	33.97	85.90
College Education	247.00	8.04	138.49	9.44	385.49	8.49	171.79	147.54	5.70	38.27	85.88
Teacher Education	160.00	5.21	122.35	8.34	282.35	6.22	101.81	79.21	3.06	28.05	77.80
Other Educational activities (DPI).	146.00	4.75	39.46	2.69	185.46	4.08	493.84	479.94	18.54	258.78	97.19
Technical Education	5.00	16.27	386.33	26.33	886.33	19.52	595.06	470.73	18.18	53.11	79.11
University Education	350.00	11.39	221.57	15.10	571.57	12.59	691.09	683.04	26.39	119.50	98.84
Ministry of Education's own schemes	494.00	16.07	47.96	3.28	541.96	11.94	123.08	85.85	3.32	15.84	69.75
Total	3073.02	100.00	1467.01	100.00	4540.05	100.00	2895.25	2588.53	100.00	57.20	89.41

Source: Planning Commission, Draft second Five Year Plan, Ch, XVI,

2.8.2 The Second Five Year Plan

A draft Second Five Year Plan was issued in 1980. The objectives of educational development in the Second Plan are more or less similar to those stated in the First Plan and in the report of the Education Commission of 1974. However, there are several distinguishing features in the Second Plan, e.g. introduction of universal primary education, launching of a national mass education programme, introduction of vocational course in secondary schools and decentralization and reorganization of educational administration. Among other objectives which have been reiterated may be mentioned accelerated expansion of facilities for women's education, removal of the existing imbalance in various levels of education and introduction of selectivity in higher education.³⁰

In consequence with these objectives ambitious targets have been set for educational expansion at different levels. Enrolment at the primary stages is to increase by 86 per cent by 1985 over the 1980 level so as to cover 91.47 per cent of the age-group population. Enrolment in secondary schools (Class VI to X) is to increase by 25 per cent by 1985, in the colleges (Class XI to XIV) by nearly 32 per cent, in the general universities including university colleges by 38.51 per cent, in the technical universities by 16 per cent, in the technical colleges by over 61 per cent and in the polytechnics by more than 300 per cent.³¹

The suggested public sector allocation for education in the Second Plan is Tk. 10,150 million which amount to only 3.97 per cent of the proposed total development outlay of Tk. 255,950 million. The detailed allocations proposed reflect the priorities between different levels and types of education. Thus primary education will receive an allocation of 41 per cent of the total and mass literacy 9.44 per cent of the total. The proposed allocations for secondary education and college education are 18.53 per cent and 5.31 per cent of the total respectively. While university education will account for a modest allocation of 5.90 per cent of the total, technical and teacher education will receive allocations amounting to 7.37 per cent and 2.83 per cent respectively of the total.

Table 2.3

Second Five-Year (1980-85) Plan Allocation (Education Sector)

SL. No.	Sub-Sector	Total Allocation (in Million Taka)	% of allocation
1.	Primary Education	4150.00	41.00
2.	Mass Literacy	960.00	9.44
3.	Secondary Education	1885.00	18.53
4.	Teacher Education	290.00	2.85
5.	Madrasha Education	150.00	1.47
6.	College Education	540.00	5.31
7.	Technical Education	750.00	7.37
8.	University Education	600.00	5.90
9.	Scholarship	465.00	4.57
10.	Educational Technology	30.00	0.30
11.	Curricular Development	10.00	0.10
12.	Text Books	20.00	0.20
13.	Educational Planning and administration	30.00	0.30
14.	Educational Statistics, Evaluation and Research	20.00	0.20
15.	National Cadet Corps and Cadet Colleges	250.00	2.46
	Total	10,150.00	100.00

Source: Draft Second Five-Year Plan, 1980

After carefully considering the history of educational development in a number of currently developed countries, in particular Japan, the Bangladesh Education Commission (1974) recommended that public educational expenditure in Bangladesh (developmental as well as non-developmental)

should be so allocated that primary education (including adult and non-formal education) receives 60 per cent of the total, secondary, vocational and teacher training receives 25 per cent and university education receives 15 per cent³². These figures are not comparable with those proposed by the Planning Commission for the Second Five-Year Plan. Primary stage is defined by the Education Commission to cover class I to VIII, Secondary stage to cover class IX-XII and university stage to cover classes XIII-XVI. Further, the Planning Commission figures for the Second Five-Year Plan refer to development expenditures. In an unpublished study it has been estimated that considering total public expenditure by levels of education (developmental and recurring) and leaving out non-allocatable primary education (Classes I-V) received an allocation in the 1976-77 budget of 48.6 per cent of the total, adult and non-formal education received 0.3 per cent, while secondary education (classes VI-X) including vocational education received an allocation of 24.4 per cent of the total, College education (classes XI-XIV) including general as well as technical accounted for 8.6 per cent of the budget, while university education (classes XIII-XVI) general as well as technical, accounted for 18 per cent of the budget.³³

The development allocations proposed in the Second Five Year Plan for the different levels of education as compared with the actual expenditures in the First Five year and Two Year Plans do mark a significant improvement and certainly a move in the right direction, except for the reduced proportional allocation for teacher education when the quality of education is being so much emphasized at present. What is disquieting, however, is the reduced proportional allocation to the education sector as a whole in the Second Plan (4 per cent) as compared with the estimated expenditure in the First Five year Plans (4.49 per cent). In view of the ambitious targets of educational expansion envisaged in the Plan one could seriously doubt the adequacy of the financial allocations proposed even if the educational administrators are able to introduce such desirable measures as maximum utilization of capacity in the various institutions and mobilization of educated youth for such programmes as mass literary and non-formal education as have been proposed. It may be of interest to mention that in the light of the

recommendations of the Tokyo Conference of Educational Ministers, the Bangladesh Education Commission (1974) suggested that the total expenditure for education in Bangladesh should be immediately raised to 5 per cent of the GDP and a goal of raising it to 7 per cent of the GDP in the shortest possible time should be set. It has been estimated that the proportion of GDP devoted to education in the 1977-78 budget of Bangladesh was 1.72 percent, as against 1.19 per cent in 1968-69 and 1.57 per cent in 1972-73.³⁴

2.8.3 Review of Fourth Five Year Plan

During the Fourth Plan, steps were taken for the improvement of primary education and the thrust was on introduction of Compulsory Primary Education (CPE). The major objectives were to ensure (a) optimum use of existing physical facilities and maintaining regional balance in respect of creating new educational facilities (b) enhanced participation of women at primary level as teachers, (c) establishment of an effective system of in service training of primary school teachers, (d) development of primary school curricula, and (e) introduction of academic supervision and administrative inspection.

The original Plan allocation for primary education was Tk. 14,281.68 million. The allocation, however, was increased to Tk. 24,216.48 million through ADPs and the actual expenditure was Tk. 20,307.40 million. The allocation for primary education was in the range of 50-52 per cent of total allocation made for the education sector in the ADPs. The year-wise position of allocation and expenditure is shown in Table. 2.4.

Table 2.4
Allocation and Expenditure for Primary Education 1990-95

Year	Allocation*	Expenditure*	Allocation**	Expenditure**
1990-91	1,939.16	888.78	1,804.34	826.99
1991-92	3,445.73	1,885.49	3,059.07	1,673.91
1992-93	3,957.76	3,401.96	3,394.01	2,917.38
1993-94	6,285.87	5,817.59	5,315.14	4,919.18
1994-95	8,587.96	8,313.58	7,316.88	7,083.12
Total	24,216.48	20,307.40	20,889.44	17,420.58

* Current Prices

** Constant Prices (1989-90)

By 1995, a total of 59,894 primary schools were functioning. During the Fourth Plan, 9398 Ebtedayee Madrasha, 394 NGO primary schools, 53 primary schools attached to PTIs, 1566 primary schools attached to secondary schools and 1628 kindergarten/primary schools were set up. Year-wise number of Government and non-government primary schools is shown in Table 2.5

Table 2.5
Number of Government and Non Government Primary Schools 1990-95

Year	Total	Government	Non-Government	
			Registered	Non-Registered
1990	47,241	37,655	6,266	3,320
1991	49,539	37,694	8,684	3,161
1992	50280	37,706	8,885	3,689
1993	52,886	37,706	8,994	6,186
1994	56,165	37,710	14,807	3,648
1995	59,894	37,710	17,151	5,033

Enrolment in primary education increased from 12.1 million (5.4 million girl students) in 1990 to 17.3 million (8.18 million girl students) in 1995 along with the rise in completion rate from 41 per cent in 1990 to 60 per cent in 1995. Food for education programme was introduced for increasing enrolment and reducing drop-out rates among the poor children. Year-wise enrolment is shown in Table 2.6.

Table 2.6
Enrolment of Students in Primary Schools 1990-95

Year	Total	Boys	Girls	Percentage of Girl Students (%)
1990	1,20,51,172	66,62,427	53,88,745	44.71
1991	1,26,35,419	69,10,092	57,25,327	45.31
1992	1,30,17,270	70,48,542	59,68,728	45.85
1993	1,40,67,332	75,25,862	65,41,470	46.50
1994	1,52,80,680	80,48,117	71,32,563	46.98
1995	1,72,84,113	90,94,489	81,89,624	47.38

2.8.4 Fifth Five Year Plan

The programmes for primary education will be continued in the Fifth Plan with the ultimate aim of raising the literacy rate and the quality of

education at all levels. The government was committed to raise the literacy rate to 100 per cent within about ten years beginning from 1995 with a mid-term target of achieving about 70 per cent by the year 2002. To this end, compulsory primary education programme made more effective through local government and community support. The organization and management of schools at local level meant creation of a participatory role forging working links between home, school and community along with developing community services with commitment of resources.

Objectives of Fifth Plan

The objectives of the Fifth Plan pertaining to education were to:

- a. attain about 70 per cent literacy rate by the year 2002 in order to achieve 100 per cent within 10 years;
- b. bring all children of age group 6-10 under the formal primary educational stream within shortest possible time;
- c. make institutional arrangement for imparting technical and vocational education at the thana level;
- d. ensure optimum use of existing educational facilities at all levels;
- e. utilize the multi-sectoral potentials of education with respect to other objectives: social awareness, entrepreneurship and community feeling;
- f. maintain regional balance in respect of development of educational facilities with particular attention to the northern region and the hill tracts areas;
- g. enhance participation of women in every sphere of education as well as to reduce the gap between facilities provided for male and female education;
- h. encourage private sector and community participation in setting up educational institutions;
- i. improve management of educational institutions through involvement of local bodies;
- j. modernise and improve religious/madrasha education with science and technology bias;
- k. improve physical and health education at primary and secondary levels;

Strategies for Fifth Five Year Plan

For attaining the above objectives, the following was the main strategies:

- a. the highest emphasis was on primary education; to bring all villages and Mahallas (in urban areas) under the cover of compulsory, uniform and free primary education; simultaneously, with building of permanent schools, the black-board/satellite school approach based on provision of teachers and community support was followed so that a village or a Mahalla did not had to await construction of school buildings before its children receive primary education;
- b. a national movement for total literacy was undertaken; government resources was supplemented in this process by efforts of NGOs, communities and beneficiaries;
- c. Massive and continuous training of teachers at primary and secondary levels within the country had undertaken;
- d. local government bodies will be increasingly involved in management of primary and secondary schools and institutions;
- e. education extension and management training for teachers and educational administrators organised on strong footing;
- f. performance of institutions and teachers evaluated and linked to government's financial support;
- g. appropriate steps had been taken to reduce drop-out rate and minimise its incidence at the primary and secondary levels;

Primary Education

The government has adopted a national plan of action for 'Education for All' in Bangladesh. Primary education has been made compulsory with the target of (a) increasing gross enrolment to around 110 per cent and (b)

ensuring the completion rate upto at least 75 per cent by the end of 2002. Adequate physical facilities will have to be created to make the programme successful. Efforts will be made to set up facilities at the village level involving the community and NGOs along with the government programmes at local level. In order to bring every child in the educational stream to achieve the national objective by the year 2002, it will be necessary to establish a primary school in each and every village as per requirement.

Objectives

For achieving the goal of Education for All (EFA), the steps were to

- a. Increase gross enrolment to around 110 per cent (net 95 per cent) by the year 2002 with particular emphasis on girl enrolment;
- b. Increase completion rate of primary education to at least 75 per cent by the year 2002;
- c. Improve the quality of teacher's training, supervision, management and monitoring system;
- d. Revise and update curricula with a view to making them relevant to the needs;
- e. Set up an effective information base at the thana level and develop appropriate linkage with district, division and central authorities;
- f. Undertake innovative programmes and conduct research and evaluation;
- g. Enhance capability of National Academy for Primary Education (NAPE), Directorate of Primary Education (DPE) and Primary and Mass Education Division (PMED);
- h. Reduce gender gap and regional imbalances;

Strategies

In order to achieve the objectives of primary education in the Fifth Plan period, the following were the elements of an appropriate strategy:

- a. Every village will have a primary school. Till such time construction of primary school is completed by the government, the "Black-Board/Satellite School Approach" of teaching will be followed.
- b. Community had been encouraged/sensitised to establish satellite/feeder schools and new primary schools in the still unsaved villages/areas. Community provided land while the government constructed the school building and provide subvention. The community appointed teachers and exercise the power of hiring and firing as and when necessary.
- c. Double shifts introduced in every school where the number of students was more than 500 and at least 150 more students remain to be enrolled.
- d. Schools established by the community on their land and having minimum enrolment of 150 students well receive provisional registration as a matter of course.
- e. Textbooks supplied free of cost to all children at primary level.
- f. Food for Education or its effective alternative continued and extended after careful review of the disadvantaged areas in a phased manner.
- g. Learning materials, e.g., exercise books, pencils, etc., distributed to the children in a phased manner.
- h. Resource Centers at thana level established to make the teacher's training and other training programmes cost-effective and sustainable.
- i. The National Academy for Primary Education (NAPE) will be professionally strengthened for undertaking policy research as well on primary education.
- j. Mass media used extensively for social mobilisation for the cause of primary and mass education.
- k. Nutritional and health care programmes introduced and expanded.

Programmes

The following programmes had been identified to achieve the objectives set for primary education:

- a. A primary school established in each village as may be required.
- b. A total of 47,000 additional classrooms in the existing government primary schools were expected to be built. Additional classrooms provided depending on the number of students. The ultimate aim was to have at least five class rooms in each school.
- c. A total of about 20,000 satellite schools were expected to be established for teaching in classes I and II with community female teachers within the catchments area of each government primary school. Some of the satellite schools developed later into primary schools in consideration of local needs.
- d. About 5,000 community-based non-government primary schools were expected to be established in areas without school with direct participation of the community; the government subvention to the teachers' salary had been given for these schools.
- e. Nearly fifteen thousand government primary schools were expected to be reconstructed/renovated/repared.
- f. For obtaining reliable and dependable data on various activities on primary education, an effective system of information base had been established in each thana, district and division.

Financial outlay

The above programmes carried out through a number of projects. There was one umbrella project, named, Primary Education Development Programme (PEDP) which was supported major schemes. In the Fifth Plan period, the estimated outlay for the primary education was Tk. 68,594.20 million including a spill-over requirement of Tk. 1,714.00 million. Under the revenue budget, it was estimated that an amount of Tk. 66,800.00 million was required to meet the cost of subvention to teachers of non-government primary schools during the Plan period.

Table 2.7

Number of Institution, Teachers and Enrolment-2008

Type of School	Institution	No. of Teacher		Enrolment	
		Total	Female	Total	Girls
Govt. Primary School	37672	182899	96453	9537571	4893215
Registered Non-Govt. Primary School	20083	76875	25299	3472799	1753551
Non-Registered Non-Govt. Primary School	966	2460	1579	99564	49046
Other Primary Level Institution	23497	103691	29620	2891671	1385956
Total (Primary)	82218	365925	152921	16001605	8081768

Source: DPE-2008

Table 2.8

Gross and Net Enrolment Rate in Primary Education-2008

Gender	Population (6-10 yrs.)	Total Enrolment (all age)	Enrolment of School age (6-10 Yrs)	Gross Enrolment Rate (%)	Net * Enrolment Rate (%)
Both Sex	16390221	16001605	14882321	97.60	90.80
Male	8538431	7919837	7505281	92.80	87.90
Female	7851790	8081768	7380683	102.90	94.00

Directorate of Primary Education

Table 2.9

Grade wise Enrolment by Sex in all Types of Primary Level Institutions, 2007 and 2008.

Grade	Enrolment 2004			Enrolment 2005		
	Total	Girls	% of Girls	Total	Girls	% of Girls
Grade 1	4652038	2292533	49.28	4421063	2201028	49.79
Grade 2	3940759	1947013	49.41	3553587	1766210	49.70
Grade 3	3589776	1788072	49.81	3560972	1632237	50.05
Grade 4	3135770	1557190	49.66	2753517	1397234	50.74
Grade 5	2634957	1322059	50.17	2236519	1137728	50.87
Total (1-5)	17953300	8906847	49.61	16225658	8134437	50.13

Table 2.10

Teacher-student Ration and Average Students Per institution by Type, 2008

Type of Primary School	Teacher-student Ration	Average Student per institution
Govt. Primary School	1:52	253
Registered Non-Govt. Primary School	1:45	173
Non-Registered Non-Govt. Primary School	1:40	103
Other Primary Level Institution	1:28	123
Total (Primary)	1:44	195

Date source: Directorate of Primary Education

Table 2.11**Indicators of Internal Efficiency in Primary Education System 2005-2008**

Year	Repetition rate in all classes		Survival rate to all class		Coefficient of efficiency		Years input per grade	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
2005	10.7	9.6	51.7	56.1	58	63.2	8.6	7.9
2006	11.4	10.9	47.1	53.3	56.6	61.3	8.8	8.2
2007	11.8	11.3	48.9	54.9	56.5	61.1	8.9	8.2
2008	11.7	11.4	52.9	57	57.5	59.1	8.7	8.5

Table 2.12**Primary School Scholarship Examination Results 2002-2008**

Year	Participation				
	Number	Assent	As % of enrolment in class -5	Total	Girls
2002	451033	39259	21.57	44.19	41.19
2003	452415	43340	21.89	51.94	48.83
2005	604359	56373	31.57	67.25	65.05
2007	568177	6716	32.90	79.50	78.19
2008	766947	96601	41.72	74.03	72.78

Data source: Directorate of Primary Education-2008

Table 2.13**Number of Primary Schools by Management and Teachers and Students by Sex**

Year	No. of Primary School			No. of Teachers			No. of Students		
	Public	Private	Total	Total	Female	% of Female	Total	Girls	% of girls
1970	26399	2683	29082	117275	2541	2.2	5250819	1671335	31.8
1980	36665	7271	43936	174161	10847	6.2	8219313	3011024	36.6
1990	37655	9586	47241	189508	39564	20.9	12051172	5388745	44.7
2000	37677	39132	76809	309341	104549	33.8	17667985	8635287	48.7
2006	37672	44348	82020	344914	130450	37.82	16385847	8256533	50.39

Source: BANBEIS Publication No. 31 and Directorate of Primary Education (DPE)

Note: (a) In private primary schools, no. of schools and teachers include private primary schools, community school, satellite school, experimental school & kindergarten schools from 1995.

Table 2.14**6 to 10 Year Population and Primary Level Enrolment**

Year	6-10 Year Population		Enrolment		Gross Enrolment Rate (%)	
	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl
1996	9,506,775	8,998,926	9,219,958	8,361,058	97%	93%
1997	9,675,992	9,185,591	9,364,899	8,666,774	97%	94%
1998	9,760,550	9,319,338	9,576,942	8,783,700	98%	94%
1999	9,294,826	9,012,439	9,065,019	8,556,712	98%	95%
2000	9,351,062	8,945,250	9,032,698	8,635,287	97%	97%
2001	9,236,432	8,877,769	8,989,795	8,669,425	97%	98%
2002	9,154,846	8,885,177	8,841,648	8,720,180	97%	98%

Table 2.15
Gross Enrolment Rate in Primary Level

Year	Total		Gross Enrolment Rate (%)
	6-10 Population	Enrolment	
1996	18,505,701	17,580,416	95.0
1997	18,861,583	18,031,673	95.6
1998	19,079,888	18,360,642	96.2
1999	18,307,265	17,621,731	96.3
2000	18,296,312	17,667,985	96.6
2001	18,114,198	17,659,220	97.5
2002	18,040,023	17,561,828	97.3

Table 2.16
Percentage of Boys and Girls in Enrolment

Year	Number of Students			% of Students	
	Total	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1991	12,635,419	6,910,092	5,725,327	54.7	45.3
1992	13,017,270	7,048,542	5,968,725	54.2	45.8
1993	14,067,332	7,525,862	6,541,470	58.5	46.5
1994	15,180,680	8,048,117	7,132,563	53.0	47.0
1995	17,280,416	9,094,489	8,189,668	52.6	47.4
1996	17,580,416	9,219,358	8,361,058	52.4	47.6
1997	18,031,673	9,364,899	8,666,774	51.9	48.1
1998	18,360,642	9,579,942	8,783,700	52.2	47.8
1999	17,621,731	9,065,019	8,556,712	51.4	48.6
2000	17,667,985	9,032,698	8,635,287	51.1	48.9
2001	17,659,220	8,989,795	8,669,425	51.0	49.0
2002	17,561,828	8,841,648	8,720,180	50.3	49.7

Table 2.17
Male-Female Teachers in Govt. Primary School

Year	Working Teachers			
	Total	Male	Female	Female (%)
1991	160,098	126,341	33,757	21.1
1992	156,480	122,700	33,780	21.6
1993	157,633	120,104	37,529	23.8
1994	159,149	119,325	39,824	25.0
1995	158,658	115,950	42,708	26.9
1996	161,458	116,250	45,208	28.0
1997	158,057	113,655	44,402	28.1
1998	153,247	105,392	47,855	31.2
1999	158,317	105,072	53,245	33.6
2000	158,216	104,588	53,628	33.9
2001	162,090	101,082	61,008	37.6
2002	157,236	98,239	58,997	37.6

Table 2.18
Five-year Cycle Completion and Drop out Rate

Year	Completion Rate (%)	Drop out Rate (%)
1991	40.7	59.3
1994	61.3	38.7
1995	62.0	38.0
1998	65.0	35.0
1999	65.0	35.0
2000	67.0	35.0
2001	67.0	35.0

Table 2.19
Students Appeared and Passed in Primary Scholarship Examination

Year	Appeared			Passed (Rate %)		
1996	269,871	162,636	107,235	32,733 (12.1%)	21,328 (13.1%)	11,405 (10.6%)
1997	256,736	153,940	102,796	57,518 (22.4%)	35,197 (22.9%)	22,321 (21.7%)
1998	258,302	148,481	109,461	65,041 (25.2%)	39,259 (26.4%)	25,782 (23.6%)
1999	335,745	188,959	146,786	106,365 (31.7%)	63,351 (33.5%)	43,014 (29.3%)
2000	370,372	205,817	164,555	97,543 (26.3%)	58,110 (28.2%)	39,433 (24.0%)
2001	380,814	210,223	170,591	140,870 (37.0%)	82,902 (39.4%)	57,968 (34.0%)
2002	411,774	222,804	188,970	181,953 (44.19%)	104,116 (46.73%)	77,837 (41.19%)

Table 2.20
Expenditure on Primary Education

Year	Revenue	Development	Total	% of Education Sector
1990-1991	538.5	193.9	732.4	49.0
1991-1992	670.4	344.6	1015.0	53.2
1992-1993	762.2	395.8	1158.0	51.1
1993-1994	847.9	628.6	1476.5	53.5
1994-1995	866.0	857.8	1723.8	48.9
1995-1996	950.4	789.5	1739.9	49.4
1996-1997	998.2	805.9	1804.1	46.9
1997-1998	1147.5	682.1	1829.6	43.8
1998-1999	1199.0	817.1	2016.1	42.7
1999-2000	1312.1	936.5	2248.6	42.9
2000-2001	1378.3	1122.6	2500.9	42.8
2001-2002	1428.0	1144.5	2572.5	43.6

* Tk. 1 crore = Tk. 10 million

Table 2.21
Government Budget on Education, 1990-91 to 2006-07

(Tk. in Million)

Fiscal Year	Revenue	Development	Total Budget	% of Growth
1990-91	11820.1	3124.1	14944.2	-
1995-96	21514.5	13711.7	35226.2	135.72
2000-01	35996.6	22520.4	58517.0	66.12
2001-02	37398.7	21376.8	58775.5	0.44
2002-03	39627.1	25410.7	65037.8	10.65
2003-04	44748.0	22831.1	67579.1	3.91
2004-05	50813.9	20487.3	71301.2	5.51
2005-06	63471.4	27551.3	91022.7	27.66
2006-07 (BE)	71204.8	37853.0	109057.8	19.81

Data Source: GOB, Bangladesh Economic Review- 2007, (Dhaka: Ministry of Finance, Finance Division)

Table 2.22
Government Revenue Budget on Education by Type of Education, 2006-07 (BE)
 (Tk. in Million)

Sub-Sector	Budget Allocation	%
Primary & Mass Education	24061.3	33.79
Secondary & Higher Education	34794.1	48.86
Technical Education	946.8	1.33
University Education	5273.4	7.41
Other Subsidiary Services (MOE)	1843.7	2.59
Administrative (MOE)	3084.2	4.33
Administrative (MOPME)	561.6	0.79
Development Program From Revenue (MOE)	639.7	0.90
Total (Education):	71204.8	100.00

Data Source: GOB, National Economic Budget 2006-2007, (Dhaka: Ministry of Finance, Finance Division)

Table 2.23
Government Revenue Budget on Education by Sub-Sectors, 2005-06 (RB)
 (Tk. in Million)

Sub-Sector	Budget Allocation	%
Primary & Mass Education	20743.4	32.68
Administrative (MOPME)	499.6	0.79
Secondary & Higher Education	33332.2	52.52
Technical Education	775.0	1.22
University Education	4998.6	7.88
Other Subsidiary Services (MOE)	1323.8	2.08
Administrative (MOE)	1412.4	2.22
Development Program From Revenue (MOE)	386.4	0.61
Total (Education):	63471.4	100

Data Source: GOB, National Economic Budget 2005-2006, (Dhaka: Ministry of Finance, Finance Division)

Table 2.24
Government Revenue Budget on Education by Sub-Sector, 2005-06 and 2006-07 (BE)
 (Tk. in Million)

Type of Education	2005-06 (RB)		2006-07 (BE)	
	Budget	%	Budget	%
Primary Education	20714.2	34.00	22782.5	33.71
Secondary Education	11970.5	23.26	15437.9	23.44
College (General) Education	7259.5	13.69	9141.6	13.82
Madrasah Education	5916.7	11.45	7754.6	11.59
Technical Education	445.3	0.85	700.7	0.88
University Education	4043.5	7.98	4919.0	8.24
Teachers Training	256.2	0.46	300.5	0.45
Others Administrative & Subsidiary Services Department	12865.5	8.31	10168.0	7.87
Total (Education):	63471.4	100	71204.8	100
Cadet College Education	*189.3	-	*201.3	-
Medical Education (included Medical, Dental, Unani & Ayurvedic and Homeopathich Education)	**436.0		**511.4	
Nursing Education	**6.6	-	**8.5	

* Budget included in the Defiance Ministry for 2004-05 & 2005-06

** Budget included in Health & Family Planning Ministry for 2004-05 & 2005-06

Data Source: GOB, National Economic Budget 2006-2007, (Dhaka: Ministry of Finance, Finance Division)

Table 2.25
Government Development Budget on Education by Sub-Sector, 2005-06
(Rb) and 2006-07 (BE)

(Tk. in Million)

Sub-Sector	2005-06 (RB)		2006-07 (BE)	
	Budget allocation	%	Budget Allocation	%
Primary & Mass Education	16947.5	61.51	19927.8	52.65
Secondary & Higher Education	7459.6	24.07	9234.1	24.39
Technical Education	1252.3	4.55	1882.5	4.97
University Education	1878.2	6.82	1271.8	3.36
Own Project (MOPME)	-	-	2679.2	7.08
Own Project (MOE)	13.7	0.05	2857.6	7.55
Total	27551.3	100.00	37853.0	100.00

Data Source: GOB, National Economic Budget 2006-2007, (Dhaka: Ministry of Finance, Finance Division)

2.9 Vision of Basic and Primary Education by 2015

The basic goal of NPA (National plan of Action 2003-2015) II is to establish a knowledge-based and technologically-oriented competent society to ensure that every school-age child has access to primary level institutions that provide all necessary facilities, continue in school to receive and achieve quality education, and provide opportunities to pre-school children, young persons and adults to meet their learning needs in a competitive world, both in the formal and non-formal sub-sectors of basic education without any discrimination.

It is envisaged that through successful execution of NPA II, the educational scenario by 2015 will encompass the following.

- (i) An informed, knowledge-based and learning society for all has taken firm roots-facilities are available for enhancing learning and gaining appropriate employable and life skills through formal, non-formal and informal education mechanisms;
- (ii) All pre-school children, 3-5 years of age, are attending ECCE programs of some kind and have access to programmes of health, nutrition, social, physical and intellectual development, and being initiated into formal education;

- (iii) All primary school-age children (6-10 years), boys and girls, including all ethnic groups, disadvantaged and disabled, are enrolled and successfully completing the primary cycle and achieving quality education;
- (iv) Adequate scope exists for primary level graduates to go on to secondary education and beyond; children can plan and pursue their career path and switch from one stream of education to another of their choice at any level;
- (v) All primary level institutions, formal and non-formal, offer standardized and quality basic education, providing a strong foundation which prepares children and others to face challenges in higher education, training and broader life with confidence and success; equivalence between formal and non-formal basic education and between different streams within each firmly established at all levels;
- (vi) all residual illiterate and semi-literate young persons and adults have access to learning opportunities-basic education, adult literacy, post-literacy, continuing education and life-long learning, including skills development for gainful wage or self-employment;
- (vii) Gender equality in basic and primary education, for teachers as well as learners, is a normal phenomenon, both in the institutions and homes of children as well as the broader society;
- (viii) All children enrolled in basic and primary education level institutions have access to health, nutrition, water and sanitation, cultural, social development and similar other services and activities, which ensure a healthy learning and living environment for better life; are involved in school management and decision-making processes; and they are all aware of the dangers of and ways of dealing with HIV/AIDS, arsenic contamination and such others;

- (ix) Poverty is substantially reduced in line with PRSP and MDG targets through and as a result of quality basic education and selective skills development training, in conjunction with and measures taken for eradication of poverty in other sectors of development, both public and private, particularly NGOs; and
- (x) There is transparency and accountability in program development, organization and management, financial transactions, and in activities of managers, supervisors and teachers as well as the SMC members and all others involved, both in the government and non-government education sectors.

2.9.1 Issues and Challenges in Achieving the Vision

- The pursuit of NPA II towards achieving the above vision requires careful consideration and effective engagement on the following priority issues:
- The manifold efforts through NPA II have propelled Bangladesh into the medium human development league of countries as per UNDP's ranking. Though access challenges remain, the priority task for the NPA II period is to bring the multiple issues of quality at the centre of the policy vision;
- While the quality agenda will be an evolving one, immediate priorities are a threefold one: (i) significantly reducing the drop-out rates of both boys and girls so that enrolment achievements translate into comparable completion rates, (ii) introducing an effective and scaled-up programme of Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE) using community approaches where meaningful, and (iii) improving teaching quality through better recruitment, incentives and training on the one hand and effective performance monitoring on the other;

- Notwithstanding access gains, specific sub-groups remain at a disadvantage. An inclusive policy has to be pursued to take care of the physically and/or mentally challenged, ethnically disadvantaged, geographically, socially or economically hard to reach children in cooperation with the NGOs and GOBs where relevant;
- Appropriate school infrastructure with availability of school within the reach of each and every child throughout the country while school environment and contact hours would have to be sufficiently improved and standardized;
- Child-friendly pedagogic approaches with emphasis on life-skills, awareness of social environments and appreciation of global knowledge resources have to be prioritized in the development of curriculum and textbooks;
- A key challenge will be to identify and implement incremental and realistic steps to improve school governance on a sustainable basis with more effective community participation and meaningful oversight by sector administration;
- A comprehensive strategy has to be developed to address the teaching of English as a second language more seriously, including the challenge of preparing teachers for English teaching;
- A school meal programme for primary schools carry potential benefits for both educational and nutritional aspects of MDGs. Developing an effective programme based on nutritionally-relevant meal content, cost-effectiveness, decentralized supply chains and a management strategy, which avoids vesting responsibilities on teachers will be a key PRSP-relevant challenge for the sector ; and
- Ensuring sustainability of learning skills of both non-continuing primary school leavers and graduates of various non-formal streams is a key EFA priority. Given the overarching challenge of poverty reduction, the

necessary focus here has to be on developing and implementing a comprehensive policy vision on skill education utilizing public sector, private sector and NGO expertise to enable a significantly scaled-up exploitation of global and local livelihood opportunities.

2.9.2 Guiding Principles

Following are the guiding principles for programme formulation under NPA II

- Formulation and implementation of all policies relating to basic education-covering primary and non-formal education-will be guided by the Constitutional provision of ensuring free and compulsory education to all children and removal of adult illiteracy, and UDHR, UNCRC, UNCEDAW, WDEFA, DFA, MDG, UN Decade of Literacy and other international instruments to which Bangladesh is a signatory. National Education Policy will be reviewed and updated as necessary;
- Ensuring equal opportunity for all school age children (6-10) years) to have free access to an agreed minimum quality of education, regardless of the stream followed (mainstream primary schools, Madrasha, others) or by management (government, non-government, private, local government of the institution attended;
- Bangladesh has already made substantial progress on gender parity goals in education. NPA II will continue relevant affirmative actions in this regard not only with regard to girl students but also other disadvantaged children and female teachers;
- Making available textbooks and other relevant education materials and aids free of cost to all children enrolled in primary school, whether government or non-government as it is the responsibility of the State/Government to ensure free and compulsory primary education to all children, without discrimination;

- NPA II will emphasize a convergence of services and community through bringing together relevant services at the primary schools/community learning centers and transforming these as outreach points for community awareness on health, nutrition, water and sanitation, and environmental sustainability;
- Introducing a public examination at the end of Grade V of primary school to ensure a basic minimum level of competence for the children graduating and entering secondary school and also to give them a certificate of accomplishment (the examinations can be set nationally, conducted locally and assessed regionally to avoid any underhand interference). Wherever possible half-yearly and annual school examination will also be introduced;
- Institute an agreed core of equivalence between formal and non-formal basic education sub-sectors and between/among different streams of formal sub-sector and between public and NGO and private programmes to ensure comparable standard of quality of education across the board and transferability from non-formal to formal and between streams to enable those who want to join the mainstream and continue further education or switch from one stream to another to pursue a chosen career path;
- Ensuring adequate budget allocation for basic education to cover the cost of required physical facilities, secure environment, books and educational accessories to guarantee minimum agreed quality in light of vision and goals;
- Aligning NPA II to other key national strategies in particular the PRSP;
- Ensure that no corporal punishment, abuses, maltreatment or offensive language is used in dealing with children in schools or learners under NFE;
- Emphasize meaningful community participation including that of parents/guardians, local communities, local governments, civil society,

NGOs, in all aspects of planning, implementation, monitoring and assessment of basic education programmes and projects. Appropriate opportunities need to be developed for children to be active participants in all relevant aspects of school activities and management;

- Emphasize transparency and accountability in all matters relating to financial management, personnel policy, supervision, programme development, and procurement of goods and services pertaining to formal and non-formal basic education; and
- Make use of relevant lessons from earlier initiatives, including NPA I towards achievement of NPA II goals.

MOPME has formed a committee comprising representatives of all relevant Ministries and NGOs to develop a policy Framework for pre-primary education. This committee has already drafted a Policy Framework.

Targets

A summary of NPA II targets to achieve EFA is given in Table 2.26 below:

Table 2.26
Summary of Targets of EFA NPA II, 2001-2015

(In Percent)

Indicators	Benchmark 2000	Targets for the Selected Years		
		2005	2010	2015
ECCE (both formal & non-formal):				
Formal ECCE (Primary School Attached)	22	(#1.0m)	(#1.0m)	(#1.0m)
Non-Formal ECCE (Family and Community-based)	-	15	20	15
Primary Education				
Gross Enrolment Rate (Total)	96.5	103	108	110
Gross Enrolment Rate (Boys)	97.0	104	107	110
Net Enrolment Rate (Total)	80	83	92	95
Net Enrolment Rate (Boys)	82	87	91	95
Net Enrolment Rate (Girls)	85	89	93	95
Dropout Rate	33	25	14	05
Completion Rate	67	75	86	95
Quality Achievement in Pry-Education	05	30	65	90
Non-Formal Education				
NFBE-Access/Coverage	11	19	48	33
Adult Literacy Rate (15-24 Age Group)	66	73	82	95
Adult Literacy Rate (25-45 Age Group)	56	70	78	90

Source: Gob, Ministry of primary and Mass Education, NAP-II, Page-33.

2.10 Chapter Summary

The Government of Bangladesh has given great importance on Primary education, and its development and progress are carefully monitored to ensure that the resources and interventions are properly utilized. The government through the Ministry of Education has always been confronted with numerous challenges brought about by the various developments taking place in the education sector in particular and the whole nation in general. The intentions are how to address these challenges and properly documented in the national framework for development. The goals and objectives, the strategies and targets of Primary education are clearly and succinctly stated as broad guideposts for development efforts chapter 2 presents the basic characteristics of all the primary education institutions in the country in terms of number, sector, gender, level and type of institutions. The total students enrolled in different types, levels sectors, and teacher and supporting staff, designation and training system of primary education are express in this chapter.

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Chapter- 3

Socio Cultural Profile of Garo Community

3.1 The Origin of the Garo

The Garo were a nomadic tribe who emigrated from the Chinghai lake-area of ancient China (which, in course of time came to be known as Mongolia) through Tibet.¹ They came in successive waves and spread not only over Brahmaputra valley, but even beyond-up to the sea. Some aspects of the Garo folklore are similar to those of the ancient Chinese and Bangladeshi folklore which bear an anthropological testimony to the Garo to have been the autochthons of China who, after their settlement on the northeast frontier of Bangladesh, exerted some impact on the local folk culture. A section of the Garos spread over the plain land around the Garo hills.²

The Garos are an aboriginal hill tribe of Mongoloid blood and the inhabitants of the places in and around the Garos hills in the Mymensingh district³ of Bangladesh and the Garo hills district of Meghalaya, an autonomous Indian state.

3.1.1 Origin of the Garo in Bangladesh

The community with whom I am working is known to the world as Garo.⁴ The origin of the name Garo has been a subject of controversy. Different views are expressed on the meaning of the word 'Garo'. Outsiders know the tribal itself as Garo but the Garo call themselves 'A-Chik' or 'Mandi'.⁵ About 1,06,447 Garos live in Bangladesh, most of them in a fringe of territory only a few kilometers wide that stretches along the southern edge of the Garo hills.⁶ The Garo constitute less than one-tenth of total indigenous people of the population of Bangladesh.⁷

The Garos are a distinct ethnic community in Bangladesh. The vast territory that the Garos once inhabited is known as Tibet, which, lies in the heart of Asia. The ancestors of the Garos inhabited a province of Tibet which drifted gradually into eastern India and Burma⁸ (present Myanmar) from the uplands of the Himalayas and the movement may have started as early as 1000 B.C. at least and it is believed that Garos settled there during pre-historical age.

In course of time, Juming or the shifting cultivation started as the traditional method of cultivation and for this method of cultivation the vast and large forests were cut down. The Garos thereafter spread towards South-western side, Middle and Eastern part of Tibet in search of new areas for cultivation. During this time, the Garos started wandering and the tribe broke up into different branches under the leadership of their respective chiefs like Jappa Jalimpa, Sukpa Bonggipa, Auk Raja, Asilik Gitel and Raj Sirampa.⁹

A group of Garos crossed the high mountainous regions dense and irregular mass of hills and first entered the place which is in the Bhutan hills along the river 'Tista' or 'Torsa'.

At first Bhutanese King received them in a friendly manner but later on being afraid of them, he did not allow them to settle down there permanently. So they moved towards western side on the bank of the river 'Tista'. Later on they came to the place known as 'kalimpora' now under north-Bengal. There they stayed for several years. Again they moved towards the south and occupied a place called Cooch Behar for four hundred years.¹⁰

Before the arrival of the Garos, probably Koch and Kacharis, who, also probably sprang from the great Bado family to which the Garos belonged dominated this land.

The Koch and Kachari King drove them away from the place and did not allow them to stay there permanently. So, the Garos moved once again towards 'Dhubri'. The King received them friendly. But the Garos could not

mix up with the Dhubris because of the latter's distinct culture, food, religion and belief. Thence, these people moved towards "Rangamati in Rangpur" in Bengal. The land was fertile and the Garos economically became prosperous.¹¹

After few years, the Garos began to cross the Brahmaputra and they came to the Kingdom of the Assamese Raja Lila Singh from whom they suffered much persecution. A neighboring chief, Arambit, however created many troubles for the Garos. So, again from this place they started off and occupied the new place that is present Kamekhya in Kamrup district.¹² This place was still important where they settled for more than a hundred years. During their stay at 'Kamekheya', the Garos first started a market and the place was known as 'Gua-Ate', which may be the reason why this place is now called 'Guahati'. Not long after, Assamese King, Lila Singh gradually suppressed the Garos and made them slave. So the Garos left this place again and took up residence a Baghmela pahar, a hill about five miles South-East of Boko in the Kamrup district.¹³

In the way of their moving from place to place the tribe broke up into the different branches. A group of Garos came from Burma through the mountainous regions of Nagland and entered into Assam. They moved towards South along the source of the Surma or Barak River through Cochar and Sylhet districts. The Garos first established their Kingdom at 'Gour' in Malda district. During the period of Hindu King this place was known as Gauria Bangla. This place was once occupied by the Muslims in 1201 A.D. Bengal (present Bangladesh) was subjected by Bakhtyar Khilji from the hands of Lakshman Sen and soon after that he changed his capital, Nadia to Gaur.¹⁴ Since then upto the time of Muslim King, Jalaluddin Shah and this place was the Capital of Bengal up to the year of 1564 A.D. It is believed that, perhaps the Garos even far ahead of the Hindus and the Muslims once occupied this place. The Garos were driven away by the Muslims from the place and started off more towards South and occupied Dacca (present Dhaka). The Mughal Viceroy also subjected this place from the lands of the Garos and later on, the capital of Bengal was shifted from Gaur to Dacca.

It is probable that during the reign of Mumin khan in the year 1575 A.D, the former, after defeating Daud Shah, proceeded towards many places with his army. The result may be that the inhabitants suffered much and practically no peace and tranquility existed in the whole country. Then Garos decided to move towards the north to the Garo Hills.¹⁵

In the year 1584, Rangpur came completely under the hands of the Mughals, during that time, in the north, the kings of Cooch Behar became Submissive to the Mughals. They were the Zamindars who became responsible to their respective states in connection with collecting land revenues and settlement of certain local case. In the year 1655 Subadar Mir Jumla invaded Assam and all the plains on the left bank of Brahmaputra River. Thus the Garo kingdom came under the suzerainty of the Mughals.

Bengal came under the control of the British East India Company in 1765, but the direct authorities of the company did not immediately extend to remote areas such as along the borders of the Garo Hills. In 1822, all the plains of the left Bank of the Brahmaputra were included in the first created Goalpara district. Then the Garos inhabitation extended to Sherpur, Susung Durgapur and other thanas of Nalitabari Haluaghat, Dhobaura, Kalma Kander and sribordi. By the 1860's it was finally decided that the entire Garo areas would have to be bought under British administration. A permanent government station was established in the Garo Hills in 1867 and the hills were constituted separate district in 1869.¹⁶ The Garos Hills and the last independent Garos were annexed by British in the winter of 1872-1873.¹⁷

In 1936, the British extended their all India Policies to 'Exclude' or partially. 'Exclude' certain back word of tribal areas of northern Mymensingh. The five Northern most Thanas of Mymensingh (Kalmakauda, Haluaghat, Natitabari, Susonh Durgapur and Shribordi) Came under direct control of the Governor of Bengal who was allowed to directly interfere in the local situation.¹⁸

After the separation of 1947 the line that was drawn along the southern edge of the hills to work the boundary of the new Garo Hill District, became the border between the British Indian provinces of Assam and Bengal. It became the international border between India and Pakistan. Some 40,000 Garos of the northern portion of Mymensingh district were separated from the Garos of India by the heavenly established international border. After partition Garos continued to leave their area for India and for the Tea gardens in Sylhet. And until 1964, they quietly left one by one, family by family¹⁹.

On January 1964, Bengali refugees from Assam and from different places of East Pakistan invaded the area. The inflow started in 1963, but dramatically increased in early 1964. Garos played no role in the quarrel between the Assamese and the immigrant Bengalese, but the conflict came to have terrible consequences for the Garos of north Mymensingh. When the Indian government began to evict illegal immigrants from the border area, the old inhabitant Garos become foreigners in their own land.

In 1965 a war took place between India and Pakistan. The government of Pakistan took the advantages of war as a pretext and enacted the Enemy Property Provision to cease the property of the Hindus with a declaration that the Hindus were the enemies of the Muslims and of Pakistan also.²⁰ This caused sufferings to the poor people regarding their title and possession of lands leading to a great magnitude of land litigation in Bangladesh. The Garos faced additional problems upon adoption of the "Enemy Property Ordinance" by the government. This ordinance stipulated that the property of Indian nations in East Pakistan and of those residing in India were vested with the Pakistan Government. People who had found their lands declared "Enemy property" had to spend a great deal of money on court cases against this government ordinance. The land of those who did not return continued to be occupied by Bengalis, whether illegally or under the ordinance. It has been argued that the law was strategically misused against all non- Muslim inhabitants of East-Pakistan and later Bangladesh. This meant that the property of Garo refugees were also declared "Enemy property". In 1974, the

Bangladesh government confirmed this ordinance as the vested and Non-Resident property (Administration) Act (XLVI)

In 1971 once again the Garos became victims of war. Life near the border was hopelessly disturbed and virtually the entire Garo population of north Mymensingh fled across the border to India. In 1971, the Garos were part of a much wider political movement, and they could even identify enthusiastically with Bangladesh independence. The Garos and Bengalese were united against the Pakistani occupying force.

Soon after the war had started, many young Garo men joined the "Mukti Bahini" and risked their lives and dreamt of a country free from Pakistani domination. In 1971, Bangladesh became an independent nation. Along with millions of other refugees, Garos were eager to return to their villages, but they came back only to witness a situation of colossal destruction-houses destroyed and possessions scattered. But some Garos preferred to stay in India. When they come back they had to sell their land to those Bengalis who could offer them ready cash.

On 15 August, 1975 Sheikh Mujibur Rahman²¹ was assassinated. Many Garos expected more violence. After the assassination of Sheikh Mujib, Kadir Siddique, a freedom fighter went to northern Mymensingh and recruited many young Garo men his guerrilla force.²² With the attack on the thana of Haluaghat, a guerrilla war of a year and half started between the Kadir Bahini and the BDR. Soon after the fighting started many Garos fled across the border.

The successive states of East Bengal, East Pakistan and Bangladesh have played a significant role in the ethno genesis of Garos of Bangladesh. State formation, centralization and international relations seriously influenced the lives of Garos, their organization, Self-perception, relationships with other communities, and conceptions of home and homeland.

The Garos in Bengal gradually spread out and most of them moved towards bordering hillsides (present Garo hills). They occupied many places here and there under Mymensingh and Rangpur districts.

Now in Bangladesh the largest numbers of lowland Garos live in northern Mymensingh. Another area, where, Garos live in Modhupur forest, located in Mymensingh and Tangail district.

Northern Mymensingh refers to the six northern most thanas of the greater Mymensingh district. This also includes the districts of Sherpur and Netrokona. The majority of villages are located in the Haluaghat thana, Dhobaura, Muktagachha, Dargapur, Netrokona and Kolmakanda. Now-a-days, Garos are also found in sunamgonj and Moulivi Bazar, the districts of greater Sylhet. Since 1950s, Garos have started to migrate to the betel leaf and tea plantation in Sylhet. From the 1960s onwards, many Garos have started migrating to Dhaka and Chittagong. Today, a couple of thousand Garos live in Dhaka.

At present the Number of Garos in Mymensingh district is 32411. Among them 11883 Garos live in Dhobaura, 11115 in Haluaghat and 418 in Muktagachha Thana (Md. Golam Mostafa, zonal statistical officer, Mymensingh, statement given on 02.12.07).

3.1.2 Legal Status of the Garos in Bangladesh

The adibashis of Bangladesh are not recognized in the constitution of Bangladesh as a separate community even though having and maintaining a distinct culture and way of life. In other words, their national identity has been disregarded by the existence of the majority. But constitutional recognition is very much necessary if we want to protect the existence of the Adibashis in our country. They are adapted to a different form of culture, life-style. They are not recognized and given separate identity in our constitution as tribal or upazati. It creates a threat for these Adibashis to maintain and protect their existence in the midst of the large majority, Bengalis of Bangladesh.

After the changing of political situation in 1975, Islamic concept was added to our constitution. The words "BISMILLAH-AR-RAHMAN-AR-RAHIM" were inserted in the beginning of the constitution above the preamble by the proclamations order No. 1 of 1977. By this proclamation a provision was made to make the citizens of Bangladesh, Bangladeshi from Bengalese as their identity. But this is done not from the demand of non- communalism but it was done with a religious communalism²³

By the 8th Amendment of Bangladesh constitution on 7th June in 1988, Islam was made the state religion of Bangladesh. As a result, the minority groups really both in communal and religious senses. The policy makers refer only Article 28 (4) when question arises regarding the security of the minority people Article 28 (4) States. "Nothing in these articles shall prevent the state from making any special provision in favour of woman or children or for the advancement of any backward section of citizens"²⁴. But this provision it is not clear enough to define the backward section of citizens.

The minorities are an integral part of the population of Bangladesh, but the constitution of the country is very silent about them, The Adibashis feel great discomfort regarding this issue. As Adibashis are not constitutionally recognized in Bangladesh, the Garos also face the same problems. At present they cannot follow their own traditions in most cases but they are now trying to adjust with the practices and traditions of the mainstream people, the Bangalees.

Draft Declaration on the Rights of indigenous peoples 1995,²⁵ has strongly affirmed that indigenous peoples are equal in dignity and rights to all other peoples, while recognizing the right of all peoples to be different, to consider themselves different, and to be respected as such and has concerned that indigenous peoples have been deprived of their human rights and fundamental freedom.

The Adibashis, and scholars working with the Adibashis are also speaking for their constitutional recognition in Bangladesh. By getting this constitutional recognition the Adibashis can enjoy and practise all the fundamental rights of our constitution as well as they can protect their own traditions, customs and cultures.

Here we discuss various aspects of the lives of the Garo Community in Bangladesh.

3.2 Language

The Garos once had written language which has been lost because of their strenuous and struggle some wild life and detachment from their ancestry.

The Garo tongue belongs to the Sino-Tibetan language group, which is called “A Chik Kusik” in their terms meaning hill language.

The plain Landers are bilingual Garo and Bengali. Languages of some other tribes of this region have striking similarity with the Garo tongue. In physical features, food habits and some customs, the people of Garo tribes bear resemblance to the Chinese. Many common words and lore’s are still found in Garo and Chinese languages with or without variations.

The Garos speak an oral dialect which has no script or written form whatever. There are two types of Garo dialect, namely “mandi kuchick” or universal dialect and “achik kuchik” or hilly dialect.²⁶ Regional differences in accent exist among the Garos as among any other people. Dialect wise the two broad classes of the Garos can be Further re- classed into Abeng, Abi, chibak, Ating and Ruga.²⁷ Among those living in the vicinity of Garo Hill, Achik kuchik is the language most commonly found. There are exceptions of course Here is reproduced some words out of there dialects.

English	Garó	English	Garó
One	Sa	Father	A-PA
Two	Gni	mother	A-ma
Three	Gitam	grand father	Achu
Four	Bri	grand mother	ambi
Five	Bonga	son	sak
Six	sok	man	mandi
Seven	sni	woman	mechik
Eight	chet	servant	ankha
Nine	sku	cock	dobipas
Ten	chikong	hen	dobima.

3.2.1 Economic Activities

Economic freedom is the most essential pre-condition to ensure human development. Without economic emancipation any development is impossible and freedom is meaningless.

The Garos like hunting wild animals and birds. They hunt tigers, wild dogs, deer, wild hogs, silver, pheasants, snipe, jungle-fowl, hares, partridges, quails, pigs, wild buffaloes, cattle etc. The Garos are habituated in eating almost all kinds of animals.

Hills and forests are the part and parcel of the Garo way of life. The Garos still practise primitive method of production. Jhum chash is a peculiar type of horticulture on the slopes of the hills. Hunting is the principal means of subsistence of the Garos. The Jhum cultivation is long- rooted in the ways of life of the Garos and inseparably associated with their rites and rituals. Jhum chash is extremely difficult though no instrument is practically required. Having taken off two crops, the people have to shift their cultivation to a new spot leaving the former field outcropped for few years. As the fertility of the soil is spent up after one or two crops, they prepared new Jhum by cutting and clearing jungles, which is very laborious, and risky too because of wild animals. In the Jhum cultivation rice, vegetables, pulses, cotton, brinjal, turmeric, Indian corn, chilies, ginger etc. are produced.

Now-a-days, the economic structure of the Garo community is mainly based on agriculture. The Garos who live in plain land, grow rice, jute, mustard oil etc. by normal process of cultivation. However, capitalist penetration in to the Garo society has broken up the economic pattern of the Garos through reorganization of pre- colonial economic and cultural system and by the mid twentieth century growing privatization and free trade in the name of globalization succeeded in breaking up communal solidarity, enhancing socio-economic inequality, and transferring a large part of the land and power to the dominant community.

Now Garos are in search of alternative profession to change their fortunes. There is apparently a wave of change in Garo economy that reflects a deviation from entire dependence on agriculture. The reasons of this change are multifold. Moreover, a small portion of them who have got modern education is reluctant to work in agricultural field. Some Garo people are working as NGO-workers, beauty- parlor workers, garment workers, house servants, workers in the missionaries etc. A few of them are engaged in teaching, Nursing, Government service etc. Some indigenous people, although small in number have started to operate business in greater Mymensingh. Among them cosmetic, clothes, ready- made garments, tea-stalls, hotels, pharmacy; bakery, block batik weaving etc are mentionable. Some are administering business in local markets, some other in respective upazila towns.²⁸

In Modhupur, the Garo grow banana and pineapple. The land of Modhupur is very fertile to grow these two crops and their demand in the market is very high. The Garos initiated the pineapple plantation in the forest. However, Garos cannot enjoy the profits coming from these cash crops exclusively. It is because now both pineapple and banana production and trade are controlled by the Bangalee business intermediaries.²⁹

Garo have little access to market. The marketing process is totally controlled by the Bangalees. As I have mentioned earlier that Garos are almost absent in the sphere of commerce and business, so they are only

producers and consumers, not sellers in the market. There are some reasons behind their non involvement in business. Prominent of them are the following³⁰

1. Indifference of the Garos to Operate Business

Garos are not vigilant about business; many of them do not consider business as a respectable profession. They explain business from negative and pessimistic point of view.

2. Dominant by the Bengalese Business Intermediaries

Another important reason of non-access to market of the Garos is the hegemonic control by the dominant Bangalee community of entire process of business administration. I have visited different Mufassil 'hats' in Garo areas where I found no representation of the Garos in bazar managing committee. For example Ghosgoan is a big hat in Dhobaura upazila which Garos own on shops. Some influential persons of the Bengalese community are the owners of the shop houses. They are also the members of the bazar managing committee.³¹ In these market Garos are to pay money per shop as rent to the owners of the shop houses in a month.

3. A kind of Hatred to Buy Garo Products

The dominant Bengalese community is less enthusiastic to buy Garo products. They (Bengalese) are ready to pay much less price for those products than demanded.

4. Want of Capital

As most of the Garos are poor, they suffer extremely from scarcity of capital. Though some NGOs provide loan to run business, their terms and conditions are very rigid and rate of interest is so high that the poor business men get little benefit from it.

5. Lack of Higher Education

In Garo society, the rate of literacy is very low; and non-access to education has a relation with non-access to business and commerce. During my field visit, most of the interviewers told that lack of consciousness is another reason of Garo's non access to market.³²

3.2.2 Social Structured and Social Stratification

Social structure denotes to a system through which the relation between the individual of a particular community or groups of a community are kept.³³ The social structure of a community may be to be found to be based upon some determinates like, sex, colour, age locality, belief, custom etc which the Marxists call super structure of a society where as the basis structure of the society includes the kinship, social organization, procreative instruments, means of production etc which regulate the former super structure. The social structure of Garo community falls within the matrilineal form of structure, because the continuity of group interest and transmission of right of community is concerned with the mother's kin alone. There was a custom to marry the mother-in-law by the bridegroom in case of the death of father in law, which is prohibited now.³⁴ And it is believed that the matrilineal structure of primordial society which has its origin is the pre- historic era had emerged from the concept of group marriage and communal sex.³⁵ In this context of Garo social structure D.N. Majumdar says the Garo community introduces us with a near matrilineal but more matrilocal or uxorilocal social system.³⁶ Which displays the community's particularity and extra- Aryan origin as the social structure of Aryan was patrilineal.³⁷ The Garo community displays different character where the female works harder than the male which substantiates the community's matrilineal structure. In the Garo society, the female stands in a much respectable position But, the management and administration of property are virtually carried out by the male yet it is proved beyond doubt that the matrilineal structure of the society has proved it's efficacy within the male members of the community. But recently, few members of the community are demanding change in this age old set-up which if happens, may negatively, react upon the stability of this peace loving community.

3.2.3 Social Stratification

Social stratifications are effected by some factors like unequal distribution of prestige, honour and wealth in different age groups, sex groups, lineage etc. But there lies a surprising distance between the word social stratification as we mean in the generic sense and the picture of stratification depicted in the Garo society. The Garo society does not show any strong form of centralized authority, administrative hierarchy etc. The Garos are less specialized in governmental organization; they don't have institutionalized organization also.³⁸ The stratification of this society is very much related with the type of land they occupy. The Garos stratify among themselves with in a dozen of groups on geographical basis. These are as follows.³⁹

a) Awe/Akawe	g) Matabeng
b) Abeng	h) Ruga
c) Chisak	i) Attong
d) Dual	j) Kochi
e) Machi	k) Gara
f) Atiagra	

Besides the above stated clarification the Garos society can stratify into another 5 main class.⁴⁰

- 1) Sangma 2) Mark 3) Momin 4) Shira and 5) Abeng

3.2.4 Status of Women in Garo Society

The women in a Garo community can be found in a progressive role; like in other matrilineal societies the women in this community is considered as the principal sex. The actual treatment of the society towards women is positive and women in Garo society play a pedestal role. As the Garo community regard themselves as descendants of common an ancestress, their line of inheritance is reckoned through mother and if the properly once vested to mother, it can not be divested. So treatment of the society towards the women is positive. The male relative of the mother that is maternal uncle

is known as Chra who has a good hand over the family members only because of his being the brother of the mother.⁴¹

The role of Garo women in economic pursuit can best be perceived from their physical appearance and their busy movement in household work. In decision taking regarding family matters the Garo women are unavoidable as because she is the head of the family. W. Hunter about the women in Garo society The Garo women holds a high status and an important position among them. Though Garos are still in a position of maternal or paternal descent but they concede the high status and responsibility to their womenfolk.

Though the inheritance laws and succession assign important functions to women, there is no way to think that they play the role of a family boss. That is, in a Garo society the female is the principal in the society rather than the assumption of dominant roles played by individual woman.

3.2.5 The Position of Male in Garo Society

In the Garo society after marriage a male has to shift to his wife's house to become the manager of the property. He stays there as an adopted member in his wife's clan. Traditionally he retains his position in his wife's clan even at the death of his wife. The male in Garo society shares his influence in one form as a Chra for his sister's family and in other form as a husband for his own family. This system itself inculcates the plural distribution of authority. The intention of which is to strengthen the communal Co-operation.

In a traditional Garo society the status of a male as a husband in comparison to the wife is less important, and legally somewhat marginal, with less stress on economic and legally somewhat marginal, with less stress on economic and legal ties. But that does not inevitably mean, the male Garos are in a disadvantageous condition. Albeit there are few persons within the community dissatisfied with the system, majority people of this community desire to keep this heritage intact.

3.3 Marriage

'Marriage' is one of the central topics in anthropology as a significant part of kinship relationships from the bonds of marriage. A marriage may result from the wishes of a man and a woman acting as private individuals; and if a marriage is considered by itself it is nothing but a relation between two individuals. But if a marriage is considered with reference to its significance for the society, marriage is something more than a relation between two individuals; rather, with a marriage between a man and a woman a relationship between two social groups is established. Leach defines a marriage as "a systematically organized affair which forms part of series of contractual obligations between two social groups".⁴²

3.3.1 Forms of Marriage

There are various forms of marriage among the Garos. Besides the legal form of marriage, there are some which are not completely legal or official but which are recognized by customary laws. In all the above forms of marriage, the formality of approaching the parents and the clan of the boy by the parents and the Chras of the girl have to be made even though the couple might have stayed together. In older days, custom of the Garos do not prescribe any age limit for the marriage. Child marriage was prevalent amongst the Garos.⁴³

Any other forms of marriage may be legalized or recognized by the society provided all the formalities of marriage and contracted by mutual consent of the parents and the clan of the couple. C.D. Baldwin says that, the principal form of marriage cognized by all Garos is Do'sia.⁴⁴ According to this custom some alcoholic drink (Chu or rice beer),⁴⁵ two chickens (small) and one large cock are sacrificed. Only the cock is roasted and eaten. In order to predict whether the wedded pair will be happy or otherwise the entrails of the cock are observed. That is to say, if the hooks at the end of the entrails should be of equal size and form, the bright of the wedded couple is ensured. The officiating priest strikes the bride and the bridegroom with closed fist three times on the back and thus the marriage is completed.⁴⁶ In addition, Christian Garos go to the Church to pray for the new couple.

3.3.2 Engagements

In Garo society engagements is a contract between the Ma'chongs (clan) as well as the Maharis of both the parties. Engagement is a mutual agreement between the two Ma'chongs as well as the Maharis. The boy, on the advice of his clan will take into consideration all the good and bad sides of the uncles and brothers of the girl before giving his consent for marriage. The agreement duly made between two Ma'chongs as well as the Mahari of the boy and the girl for marriage, involves them will certain duties, conventions, customs of the society and practices. The engagements for marriage are made into between the Chra (the Chra is the honoured and respected person) and parents of the boy and the girl without informing them. The girl was seldom consulted.

In course of time, due to more and better facilities of transport and good communication, the boys and girls could meet each other more frequently and select their partners during the festive days of 'Wanna' and other special ceremonies and the like. In whatever manner the girl may select her life partner, she must inform her parents. Her parent's will in consultation with her uncles and brothers give their opinions. In this case, the decision of the Chra is final and binding on her. If the parents and uncles are not in favour of the boy, then the initiative for engagement shall not be taken and she is prohibited from further contact with the boy. On the contrary, if the parents and uncles or Chra are in favour of such boy, immediate arrangement for formal engagement is made. The Chra of the girl along with her father, if alive will go to the house of the boy's parents and must the Chra of the boy to apprise them of their daughters or niece's affairs and ask their Mahari's consent. On receipt of the proposal, the parents and Chra of the boy would decide the case.

After the completion of all the formal engagement or the contract made by her parents and the Chras along with the parents and the Chras of the boy, the engaged couple is expected to remain faithful until the day of their actual marriage.

3.3.3 Law of Monogamy

A man can marry only one time. This custom is applicable to those poor families who can not afford to maintain more than one wife and to those who cannot obtain the prior permission of the principal wife of her Chra. The laws of monogamy are strictly adhered to by the Christians. No Christian is allowed to have two wives at the same time and can only remarry after the death of the first wife.⁴⁷

3.3.4 Polygamous Marriage

The Garo customary laws allow a man to marry more than one wife but the Christians are not allowed polygamous marriage. Polygamy existed among the Garo animists but with the progress of society it is being looked down upon even by them.⁴⁸

3.3.5 Divorce

The Garo customary law does not restrict any person from divorcing on proper and sufficient grounds. A man and a woman must observe strict conjugal fidelity. Divorce may be made on some grounds, namely.⁴⁹

- ☐ If there is imminent danger to the life and security of any one of them
- ☐ When a wife or a husband commits adultery with another man or a woman
- ☐ When a man or a woman is insane
- ☐ When a wife and a husband live in different places and no longer maintain any connection for two years or more
- ☐ When a wife or a husband is cruel and is a cause fear of harm and injury in the mind of the other partner
- ☐ Refusal to maintain the family
- ☐ When a woman conceives a child by someone other than her own husband

3.4 Property in Heritance and Garo Marriage

Garo marriage system is closely related to their system of property in heritance. The basic law of their property inheritance is that it is strictly matrilineal; no man can own or inherit any property - mother's property passes on to her daughter. It is very remarkable that not all the daughters but only one daughter of a household can inherit her mother's property. Due to the prevalence of this special type of property inheritance system two different types of marriage have been developed in the society.

3.4.1 Nokna Marriage (the marriage for the heiress daughter)

One of the daughters of a household is selected by the mother and father as the heiress (Nokna) of all the property of that household. There is no specific criterion for the selection of a Nokna.

Anyone of the daughters may be selected, but the daughter whom the parents consider to be the best for their protection and support in old age is selected as Nokna. In principle, there is no preference of youngest to the eldest or vice versa; but it has been observed that the youngest daughter is generally regarded as the favourite one and is selected as Nokna. It should be noted that generally the elder daughters are married away before the youngest one.

When the heiress daughter (Nokna) becomes old enough to marry, a young husband (NOKROM) is taken from the girl's father's 'Ma'chong' (clan). Generally the girl's father has to take the initiative to bring his sister's son as the husband of his heiress daughter (Nokna)

3.4.2. Agati Marriage (marriage for the non-heiress daughters)

There is no hard-and-fast rule in the case of the non-heiress daughters (AGAT). A non-heiress daughter can choose her husband from any Ma'Chang other than that of her own; however, a preference is always given to a boy from the girl's Ma'chong.

3.4.3 Pattern of Residence after Marriage

Two different residential arrangements have been developed for two types of daughters. The heiress daughter must live (with her husband) in the household of her parents and must share meals with them. The Nokrom must do all the household works of his wife's family. The Nokrom becomes the manager and administrator for the property of his wife's household after the death of his father-in-law; and the Nokna inherits all the property of the family after the death of her mother.

The non-heiress daughters (Agati) and their husbands (Chawarie) may live in the household of the girl's parents for a certain period (varies from months to years) and help the household works. But they can not live permanently in that house. After having some initial establishment they have to leave the household and form an independent household of their own.

3.4.4 Bride-groom Capture and Marriage Ceremony

Custom of bride capture may be found among many tribes, but among the Garos the custom is reversed here not the bride but the bride groom is captured. After the engagement contract some young men from the girl's side go without any notice to capture the bride groom. If the bride groom can know it beforehand that the people are coming to capture him, he tries to hide himself. But even he hides the young men from girl's side find him out and capture him, and when they succeed they take him forcibly to the girl's house where the marriage ceremony is performed. The ceremony of marriage is called "Do-siA" (to slay fowls). According to custom a cock and hen, some rice-beer (Chu) is necessary for the ceremony.

3.4.5 Marriage and the Relationship between the Groups

With the marriage between a Garo man and a woman a permanent alliance is established between the 'husband giving' and wife-giving Ma'changs (clan). This bond is known as the 'A' kim' bond.⁵⁰ The two clans related by 'A'kim-band have mutual rights, duties, and obligations and maintain family tie and thereby the close relationship between two groups.

In some simple societies a 'status' relationship between the 'wife giving' and 'wife-receiving groups may be found but among the Garos the wife-giving and wife receiving groups are neither named like the above fashion, nor they have any superior or inferior status in relation to each other. However, according to the A'kim laws the wife's group has the right to keep all the household property within it, and the husband giving group has the right to supply from amongst its members a suitable 'husband' for the *heiress* daughter of the wife giving groups in each generation. The wife giving group has the right to retain the offspring and they seem somewhat like the 'buying' of sexual service of the husband from the husband giving group. But socially the two groups are equal in status.⁵¹

3.5 Contribution of Women's in Cultivation

It is a common view that most of the Bengalese women are unable to work outside the house for various reasons. But in a Garo Society, it is totally different. They work in and out of the house. It is a normal scene to see Garo women in the field for working purposes. They cultivate the land, cut the crops and do other necessary works. A Garo woman maintains household matters, decides family matters, brings up children and so forth. Women work hard and earn for the family and in the society they are equally respected with men.

3.5.1 Livestock Rearing

A traditional village needs goats, fowls, boar and cattle for sacrifices in village ceremonies and household rituals and these are taken ultimately as source of food and not as the base of capital.⁵² During field visit I found a common thing in each Garo family. Dogs, pigs and sometimes goats are available in the families. Most of the Garos buy pig for more profit. When pig becomes big in size then they sell it. In course of time, livestock has proved to be a source of income. It is impossible for the Garos to perform any special program with sacrificing pigs.⁵³

3.5.2 Sense of Beauty

The Garos have strong sense of beauty. During field visit, I went to so many houses and assumed that flower gardens are the part and parcel of the Garo residences. Almost every house I found one or two flower gardens. Actually flower is admired and welcomed by people of all ages irrespective of caste and creed across the world. After coming back from the field, when I recall, I can not even think of a Garo dwelling without a flower.

3.5.3 Popular Wisdom

Knowledge and practices of local communities many offer valuable lessons for policy discourses, and there fore, deserve to be integrated in to the mainstream development agenda.⁵⁴ Traditionally, popular wisdom has most effectively been used in mitigating the problems and difficulties which surround local communities in the developing societies. The Garos use Ghashanta as herbal medicine which is quite effective for some diseases like headache, fracture etc. They feed their cattle and fishes rice, which is used for making Chu to make them healthy. If any place of the body is burnt then Garos advised him (The burnt person) to bite a leaf of lemon to reduce the pain. The Garos use this medicine made of twigs and tendrils for various diseases like diarrhoea, cholera, dysentery, headache, cuts and burns or possessed.

3.5.4 Family Laws

Though the family laws of the Muslims and the Hindus are mainly based on their respective religion, a few statutes have also been enacted in this regard, which have brought some changes in their family laws. But the Garo customary laws, from the very past, are based on the customs and usages, which are some what independent of religion. Their own conception of the principle of equity, good conscience and justice has made their laws, based on customs, usages, practices and traditions, as compatible, if not more, with the idea of equality and equity as in any other personal law.

3.5.5 Usages

When a Garo person dies, the parents or the relatives will send for the Chra and Mahari of the deceased. The dead body shall have to be laid by the Chra or the nearest relatives of the deceased. When a Garo dies, they hang a black flag in the house for a year. The Garos still believe in the psycho-physical change of a man or a woman to some other form of animals. Originally, the Garos cremated the dead bodies, but with the advent of Christianity, the Christian Garos began to bury the dead body and the non-Christians also came under the influence to their practice. As a result, even among the non-Christians, the dead are rarely cremated. At present, funeral ceremony of the Garo's is becoming simpler according to the changed circumstances, i.e., Christian usages.

A number of ceremonies are performed at the time of birth. When a woman is about to be conceived, her husband sacrifices a bull, a goat or a fowl according to his means. The woman scatters rice grains on the floor of the house and entreats the evil spirit to depart. In case of any abnormal delay in the delivery, a goat is brought and its body placed in contact with the woman. At the same time the priest sprays water from his mouth on her, and wishes her good luck.⁵⁵

3.6 Role of Missionaries

The endeavour of the Christian missionaries for the development of the life style and socio, economic structure of the Garo and to make them aware of their own privileges is certainly exemplary. Christian missionaries have done a lot to remove superstition from the aboriginal Garo society, guiding them and setting them on the way of economic constancy. In the process, they have also converted many to Christianity through active missionary campaigns. In fact, all the benefits are given to those Garos who have converted to Christianity. Conversion to Christianity of the Garos is not a recent phenomenon. It started in this subcontinent long ago during the erstwhile British rulers. However, after the liberation war of Bangladesh in 1971, the process of conversion of Christianity took place during a period

when the Garos were economically destitute and were faced with starvation and overwhelmed with the hopelessness of their situation.

From this experience, during my interviews with the villagers, the Garos hold introvert displeasure in opposition to the missionaries in some cases. The missionaries are basically playing with the feelings and emotions of the poor indigenous community by financial inducement and leading the community to the trial of annihilation.⁵⁶ Besides few positive and remarkable changes, it is also true that the activities of these missionaries are no doubt one of the vital factors acting strongly at the back of the route of slow but sure annihilation of an old tradition. Looking at the ecological and socio- structural aspects along with an in-depth study of the Garo customs, traditions and usages, we can conclude that, the process of change of the Garos of Bangladesh has been due to the impact of Christianity and this has slowly brought about disintegration in the traditional life of the Garos and led them to their gradual isolation from the wider society.

3.7 Religion

The traditional Garo religion and its followers are called songsarek. Some of the old Garos are still songsarek. But unlike a couple of decades ago, outward signs of this religion are difficult to find. 'songsareks' believe that the world is populated by mite. Mite is generally referred to as 'Spirit' But some mites were so powerful that they would better be translated as Gods. This mite can cause illness by biting people. The khamal or priest knows how to perform sacrifices in order to be the victims. Sacrifices were also performed at various points of the annual cycle, and they were a central part of village festivals. The most well-known festival, wanna, is held at the beginning of the cold season, after the harvest had been completed. In Bangladesh, real songsarek festivals are rare. These days Garos are reviving wanna in a whole taking a central role.⁵⁷

But At present, most of the Garos are Christians. During field visit, I found no songsarek in my study area at Dhobaura. Very few songsarek are living at Modhupur. A large number of Garos has been converted to Christianity

due to long time missionary efforts in the Garo localities. I also found that the converted are considered them as an upper class and they hold a negative attitude to the traditional worshippers. Some believe that it is because of their religion that they have managed to maintain such a distinct identity. Another important aspect is that the Garos feel that religion links them to a much larger world outside Bangladesh. Different denominations of Christianity as found in the researched area are:

- a. Seventh Day Adventist.
- b. Roman Catholic.
- c. Baptist; and
4. Church of Bangladesh.

3.7.1 Religious Beliefs of the Garos

Judging by their religious beliefs, the Garos have to be called spiritists or animist. Their religious cults are the combinations of ancestor worship, worship of natural forces and deities. Major A. play fair observes:

A great deference for ancestors and for the deceased in general is clearly indicated in the Garo funeral observances, such as, the placing food for the spirits: the erection of shrines for the temporary sepulcher of the bones, and the carving of memorial posts: but I can not find that ancestor worship itself is practised. There is no deification of ancestors and no sacrifices are offered to them. The Garos fear the return of the dead in ghost form, but they look to their reincarnation after a period of penance.⁵⁸

The first and foremost deity or high spirit of the Garos is Tatararabuga. He is the Supreme Being and at his command Nostu Nopantu and Machi brought the world into existence. The other deities whom the Garos pay reverence are the following: Saljong, the sun; susime, the moon; Naringro-Najingjo, the stars; Goera, the thunder; Norechire- kimorbeokre, the rain; mean the earth; Asima-Dingsima, susime's mother; kalkame, Goera's brother chorabudi, the protector of the crops; Rakime and Misiagrang-sallong-song-gitang; spirits of the rice and Nawang the keeper of the dead etc.⁵⁹

Through innumerable religious rites and ceremonies, these deities are worshipped. Besides, they worship the hills and mountains, trees and plants and rivers and streams for fulfilling their worldly desires. The Garos have mythical tales and folk-talks for every thing under the sun, about cosmogony, rivers and streams, plants and animals, food and drink and so on. A folk talk entitled Duramung songdumung Dakgrika or the fight between the Brahmaputra and the Tura Hill prevalent among the Garos is not only interesting, it also serves to enrich our folk-literature. The story runs as follows.⁶⁰

"Once upon a time Tura mountain went to the Brahmaputra to ask for the latter's son Singra for his daughter Simera. Singra's mother the Barhmaputra, said "If you do not dislike him, take him". So Tura took his nephew home with him and married to his daughter Simera. Afterwards Simera cooked a capon for her husband without herbs of condiments. She also cooked a pig with white sides in the same manner. Singra said "I will not eat this" Then Simera added the seeds of pumelo. well, because the flour was not quite cooked, and the ginger was underdone, he would not eat the food so for seven days and nights though Simera cooked rice and vegetables for him, he would not eat then singra, the son of the Brahmaputra said, "The country is not good, I will not stay; that water is not fit to drink, I will not drink, and for seven days and nights he fasted. Then being angry, Singra wound a hundred cubits of cane round his waist.

As he was starving, he went to his mother and said, "Mother, I am starving and for want of water my throat is parched; for seven days and nights I have not been able to eat owing to the bad smell of the food. Having said this he undid the cane from round his waist and fell dead before his mother, the Brahmaputra.

Then the Brahmaputra and Singra's brother Jangra were very angry and in order to fight with Tura, they loosened the rain, so as to rise and reach the mountain. And they prayed to the spirit whose name is Nangni, and also Tengaju, to wash away the earth and to pierce the rocks, and they made an

alliance with the Buga Radepa, and with the eel singsipa. The name of the rain is Norechire and that of the spirit Simbu-Ratcha karu-Nokma. These all were called to their aid. Then rising in the east they (spirits) caused it to rain seven days and nights and tried to kill Tura Mountain by flooding it.

Tura, weeping, prayed thus to the sun and wind 'Oh Salgirah, the river is trying to flood and kill me; Oh Salgirah, shine brightly if thou likes me. Then for seven days and nights the wind blew and the sun shone. For this reason, the Brahmaputra was not able to drown Tura Mountain or to pierce its rocks with water channels. But in the fight between the Brahmaputra and the Tura mountain two gaps were pierced in the mountain by the water, which are now known as the pass of the cormorant and the pass of the Vulture.⁶¹

The story reveals that the Garo girls learn to cook nicely before going to their in-law's house so that they may not face the anger of their husbands. Besides, the Garos sacrifice to the spirits of the Brahmaputra every year for a multitude of benefit. Major A. playfair observes:

"Like all animistic religion, that of the Garos consists of the belief in a multitude of beneficent and malevolent spirits. To some it attributes the creation of natural phenomena; and the destinies of man from birth to death are governed by host of divinities whose anger must be appeased by sacrifice, and whose good offices, must be entreated in like manner".

The same belief is shared by many other tribes of the world. The Bantu of Africa, the Arunta of Australia and the Algonquins of America believe in the same motif.

Now there are two blocks as regards the belief. One is Sangsarek block and another is Christian block. Sangsarek block carries the beliefs of traditional format. I mentioned earlier that almost all the Garos are converted to Christianity in Bangladesh. They believe in misfortunes.

3.8 Festivals

The cultural heritage of the Garos is as ancient as their history. Akin to other indigenous cultures of the country, Garos have a peculiarly diversified culture. Cultural practise are mainly linked with their traditional 'Jum' cultivation social norms and religious belief. Hills and forests are the womb of Garo culture; essentially it imitates the beauty and diversity of hill and forest life.

Agriculture being their occupation, the main festivals and ceremonies coincide with the various stages of cultivation throughout the annual agricultural circle.⁶² The other pivotal side of these agricultural festivities is that at the same time there are worships and venerations to different Gods⁶³.

As aforementioned, the Garo festivities start with the agricultural year.⁶⁴ Agalmaka is the fast festival to begin with 'Jum' cultivation performed just after burning of the fields. In importance it is second to wanna. The purpose of this festival is to get rid of bad spirits, to ensure grace of the Gods so that crops get sufficient rainfall, sunshine and it produces is good harvest. In this festival some rituals like sacrificing an egg by every family and a chicken by the village chief Nokna are performed and a mixture of seeds is thrown over the land. After sowing the seeds, rotational visits of villagers from home to home starts together with eating, drinking and dancing. It continues for several days, till regular planting starts.

Another main festival Rongchugala, generally held in August and follows the final cultivation of the rice in the fields.⁶⁵ Before any of the crops can be harvested, The Garos think it necessary to offer the first fruits to the spirit.⁶⁶ 'Rongchu' in Achik langues means a preparation of rice cooked until dry and 'crisp' and 'gala' means 'to throw'. Rongchu is offered by spreading it on banana leaves. This sacrifice is followed by rotational visits of villagers to different households in drinking, eating and singing but not dancing.⁶⁷ Jama gappa ahaua takes palace after the paddy harvest has been completed. In this ceremony each house hold sacrifices a fish. Wealthy villagers usually offer something bigger. And then once again the circulations of the village are

performed with eating, drinking and dancing. This festival continues for several days.

Among the cultural fiestas, the most prominent one is the 'wanna'. The carnival is, however, popularly branded as 'wangalla'; basically it's a post harvest new sunned rice festival of the community generally celebrated in the month of October. In essence this fertility ritual is performed for propitiating the Saljong, the Sun God or the God of Creation. But Robins Burling remarks about 'Wangalla'.⁶⁸

"Wangal is one of the three festivals at which group dancing takes place. This occurs in the courtyards in front of the houses, where people like to keep a sizable cleared space for this very purpose. Both married and unmarried people take part, though dancing is generally felt to be most appropriate for the young, especially those who are unmarried group dancing is almost exclusively a night pastime any may continue intermittently until down.

The dance figures are stylized pantomimes of everyday activities. In one girl pretend to cut off their heads, letting then flop to one side in imitation of cutting down a tree. In another, a girl dances with one boy and then moves to a second in a way suggesting that she has been stolen away by a new lover, and in fact, such boy and girl teasing is in element expressed in many of the dances. Groups of girls always dance more or less apposed to groups of boys. Though they pair off now and then temporarily, and there need not even be equal numbers of the two sexes dancing. Each boy carries a drum suspended from a cord around his neck and maintains a steady and sometimes-intricate rhythm while every one executes the various steps and patterns. Though the boys and girls approach one another repeatedly, they never quite come into physical contact, apparently teasing each other by coming as close as possible without touching. Some people are recognized as being more skilled than others at dancing an not all are equally enthusiastic. People drop out when tired and rejoin when they wish to, for no specific number is ever required. Rice beer drunk in copious quantities frees

the dancers of some of their shyness, and allows them to continue their strenuous sport for many hours. The boys and girls associate for more freely than on ordinary working days, and the closest public intimacies ever indulged in come during the breaks between dances when they sit together and pass around rice beer, betel nuts and tobacco. They talk, joke, engage in a mild sort of horseplay, and have a certain superficial physical contact with members of the opposite sex which would be out of the question at other times. Like, other neighboring communities, rice are the staple food of the Garos. Fish, Flesh and vegetables are very regular in their menu. Any preparation of Nakham (dried fish) is a frequently admired dish. In festivals, pork and beef are common food stuffs. The Garos prepare a special curry by tender bamboo stems; this preparation is popularly known as miwa.⁶⁹ Rice beer or Chu is a must for any social festival, religious ceremony and even in guest entertainments.⁷⁰

The Garos have typically cultural Music, dance, and fest which are very common in their festivals. Their traditional horizon of music and dance as cultural manifestations is tremendously affluent. The wanna festival can be cited as a significant paradigm that is oriented by at least forty-six types of dances.⁷¹ A central trait of these dances is that the dance figures are stylized pantomimes of everyday life.

3.9 The Garo Folklore and Culture

Though the Garos have no written script of their language, yet their literature is rich with so many items of Folklore. This Folklore includes some traditional songs, rhymens, Lullaby, tales and fictions. Besides these traditional songs, there are two important ballad namely "sheren-Jeen" and 'shonjeen'! Judging its story character, composition of songs, Language, illustrations and illusions it can well be compared with 'Mahua' an enchanting ballad of "Maymansingh Geetika" edited by Dr. D.C Sen⁷². It is interesting to observe that the songs of the Garos are inextricably linked with their music and dance. The tunes of songs, the rhythms and sounds of musical instruments, the type of dances are almost similar, not too rhythmic and rather

monotonous to our ears. Their musical instruments are known as khram, Dama, Achok, Koai, Bangsi, Nagara, Sanai, Ganganda, Oru, Rang and Dimsrang.⁷³ Song, music and dance are an indispensable part of Garos worships, rituals, matrimonial and funeral ceremonies. About the Garo dance Major A. playfair remarks.⁷⁴

“Among the most curious one which takes place on the occasion of the Ganna, the ceremony at which a Nokma or headman assumes the elbow rings which are the marks of the position he holds. When such an even takes place the kamal or priest officiates as master of ceremonies. He leads in the dance, in which he is followed by the Nokma and the headman of the neighbouring villages, who have been invited to witness the solemnities. The Nokma takes up his position behind the priest, and his wife who holds in her left hand a braizer containing burning sachat (a kind of the incense obtained from the saal tree), takes up a similar position behind her husband. Behind these there come the privileged guests, and thus, one behind that other they dance out of the house into the village square and thence into the house again, to and for many times. Nobody who is not a Nokma is allowed to join in the dance but a number of guests are invited who sit by and watch it. On such an occasion should the Nokma have more than one wife only the Jik Mamung or principal wife is allowed to dance, the Jikgites or concubines remain with the spectators.⁷⁵

The other important dances are: Doktu sua, Ambre-Rurua, Kilpua, Doregata, chambil mesara and Ajema etc⁷⁶. All these dances are performed during religious observances. Only the Ajema dance takes place at the time of funeral ceremony. Drinking is often added to these observances and rites.

They dance to the accompaniment of folk-song. They have a religious approach to dance and songs. They believe that dance and song are the means of appeasing gods or spirits. So they contain the life essence or fertility. Below is one folk-song prevalent among the Garos which I collected from Marshal chasam of village vhalukapara in Dhobaura of Mymensingh district.

The above song is devotional in spirit and written on the subject of surrendering the self to the almighty. Moreover, some Bengali words such as Bhagaban, binapar bandhu, aag bela, shesh bela, kumir, balu Char etc. have crept into the song. This is due to the Social contact with the Bengalese. The same is true to the other songs of the tribal people of Bangladesh.

While working in the field the Garo boys and girls sometime exchange amorous words and glances. But these gestures are seldom tainted with obscenity. The songs are mostly based on love, sometimes with derisive overtones. A song is cited below:

Do Do gita bidaling amaba
 Rau gita pinaring dongaba
 Sokma Kimkarong miting amasongba
 japing Gimbari bokgin donga gomba
 Kuchil mandal bibalim dangasongba
 Rikgil watri bijakim rajasongba.
 [Beailiful you are as a young hen,
 or like a well-shaped gourd.
 your breast is small and beautiful.
 Your thigh is white as the gimbari tree.
 Your lips are like the flower of
 the mandal tree
 your eyelids are like the leaves of
 the bamboo.]

The dress, ornament and make-up of the artists differ from clan to clan. They are quite colourful and noteworthy. The treatment of patients by village kamals have valuable part of folklore which includes spells and rhymes in the name of Gods and goddesses. In fine, the folklore of the Garos is enchanting treasury of music, dance and literature.

The Garos have no written script and as a result they are far lagged behind in respect of cultural development. Research is going on to introduce new scripts for Garo So as to use it as written media of expression. The Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh has established a tribal cultural Academy at Birisiri under Netrokona ex-sub division of Mymensingh district.

3.10 The Spread of Education in the Garo Community

Education is the major current of social change in both the developing and modern advanced societies. The basic functions of education in the society are value formation, value transference and value affirmation. Therefore, education in developing societies is not only an agent of stability and cultural continuity but also an agent of change. Education also provides scope and opportunity for development of necessary skills and training for adult which makes an individual to work significantly in the society.

In formal sense, education gained prominence very late but it is a process as old as the dawn of human society. May be in its rudimentary form, it did exist even in the pre-historic societies 'Durkheim' considered education as an all pervasive and universal phenomena.⁷⁷ In all the societies whether primitive or modern education is intertwined into almost every aspects of human life, may be economic, intellectual, political social, cultural, spiritual or even recreational. Education assumes a higher significance in the context of the weaker sections of the society such as scheduled castes and tribes. As these sections have neither the resources nor the requisite skills. It is only through education that can hope to come out of their traditional exploitative dens. Not only this, it is only education that can make them aware of their rights, privileges. This is the instrument that can help them shed off their traditional complexes and become part of the main national stream of life.

Among the Garos the system of education is both formal and informal. Among the ethnic minorities, Garos assume a higher social position because of their educational attainments. Due to Christian missionary educational interventions for more than a century, Garos have not only advanced in academic sphere but also they have asserted their roles in the overall contest of Bangladesh society.

According to Toppo "informal education is that education which the child gets by living with others in the community. It lives in its community or

group, moves there from birth to death and consciously and unconsciously picks up the behaviour and ways of the adults fellowmen.”⁷⁸

The informal education is not pre-planned system. It is not imparted or organized by any institutionalized agency. This system of education is for the whole of the life. The agencies of informal education are of two types i.e. primary and secondary. Primary agencies include the family, the peer group, the community and so on: and the secondary agencies include radio, television, film and newspaper etc.

The formal education has “formal means and formal ends”.⁷⁹ Formal education requires formal schooling or teaching which is deliberately planned. It has a regular course of studies. It is governed by formal curriculum and teaching methods which are practiced in formal institutions such as schools, colleges and universities etc. However, in contrast to primitive education, the modern education, by and large, is formal and integrated with economic and political institutions, a fact which tends to obscure the essential similarity in all societies of the purpose of a total educational process, which may be defined as the assimilation of each individual to a cultural tradition.⁸⁰

Traditionally, the Garo system of education is only the informal one. Dormitory was the major institution of informal education. In Garo terminology it is called ‘Nakpante’. According to Ambasht “in the absence of any formal education system, the most of the tribes in India had their own traditional institutions for educational purpose which catered to the needs of their culture. These institutions provided education in the realm of social norms and customs, traditions and cultures, behaviour patterns and the laws of society, totems and taboos, ethics and religion of the society.”⁸¹

The ‘Nakpante’ among the Garos played all the above educational roles. It was responsible for inculcating norms and values, patterns of behaviour, attitudes, totem and taboos and traditional or indigenous way of life including behaviour-sets among Garo children. Earlier the Nakpante was also associated with all religious and socio-political activities.

3.11 The Spread of Primary Education in Garo Community

The formal education among the Garos was introduced as early as 1854 which had become an integral part of India. Woods education despatch first recommended the establishment of graded education with primary school at the bottom and the university at the top.⁸² The first Government English School was started in the Sadder Station (Mymensingh town) in November 1853 in which the Garo students were enrolled for studies.⁸³ It was considered as one of the best schools in East Bengal now called Bangladesh.

A school for Garo boys was opened in Baleegaon village in the eastern part of Mymensingh district as early as in March 1867. Clay remarks, "the school has hitherto been fairly attended, but it is too early yet for me to attempt to say whether it is likely to be permanent. Those are acquainted with the district will watch with much interest the progress of this attempt to extend education to this uncivilized race of men."⁸⁴

In 1901, total number of literate Garos in the district of Mymensingh was only 108, out of which 94 were males and only 14 Females. The literacy rate in the district was 11.0 percent but it was only 0.4 percent among the Garos.⁸⁵

Expansion of educational facilities by the Christian missionaries in the different parts of the district plays significant role to remove illiteracy among the Garos in Bangladesh.

The hilly tribe was not interested in education. However, the Christian missionaries could lure two Garo cowboy of the plains by offering them scarlet garments, palatable food and covetable gifts. The two boys began secretly receiving education. However, because of the long dedicated activities of the missionaries, number of the Garo boys in the school started increasing rate being very negligible in exchange of food, clothing, gifts and many other additional facilities to the students as well as to their families. The missionaries planned to teach English to the Garo boys but they refused, rather, were inclined to learn Bengali as they were already acquainted with it. The missionaries agreed.

The educational policy of the govt. towards the Garos was to provide them with not more than primary education, and to keep them aloof from the Bengali-speaking population.

Of the few students of the missionary schools, two boys named Ramke and Omed were converted to Christianity, who was the first Garo Christians.⁸⁶ Then the missionaries began to teach some selected portions of the Bible translated into Garo language in Bengali character as text books of the schools. By this time, a few more schools were established. The missionaries switched over to English Character Instead of Bengali. In the meantime, a few more boys were converted to Christianity. The process still continues, resulting now in a large Christian Garo population. Many Christian Schools and Colleges were established in different parts during different periods in the country. Even today, some of them are the best schools and colleges of Bangladesh. According to the new policy the Christian missionaries have been providing help and facilities for higher education. For this purpose, schools and colleges are established in Bangladesh such as Notre Dame College in Dhaka. As a result, literacy among them has adequately increased since 1901 to 2007. Census 2001 did not mention literacy among Garos in particular; the average literacy among the people of tribal community in Bangladesh now is 21 percent.⁸⁷

During the second five year plan of 1980-85, the Government of Bangladesh had taken up a programme for the development of education. The objective of plan is to eliminate illiteracy and achieve universalization of education at the primary level for all sects and creeds as steps towards comprehensive human resource development. In this programme due emphasis has been given to the education of tribal and backward sections in the country. In general, the formal education policy has resulted in some linear expansion of formal system of education. But only marginal benefits have reached the vast majority of population in the rural and tribal areas.

However, the different Christian missionaries started the major formal educational Institution in the Garo society during the first half of the 20th

century. The Christian missionaries have taken much interest to educate the Garos.

It is for this reason GBC (Garo Baptist Convention) established Birisiri under greater Mymensingh district in 1890 and they started to build up primary school for the Garo children in 1896. At first they started only two primary schools, one for boys and another for girls. Day by day GBC increased the number of primary schools, in 1970 the number of primary schools under GBC was 85. After the liberation period of Bangladesh, for want of money GBC handover 35 primary schools to the Government of Bangladesh. Those schools are now recognized as govt. primary schools. At present GBC is leading 57 primary schools in greater Mymensingh and 18 primary schools under the study area.⁸⁸ Mymensingh Catholic Diocese established in 1942. At present 152 primary schools in Mymensingh district and 19 primary schools are running under the study area for Garo Children.⁸⁹ Seventh-day Adventist Church established in 1906 in Mymensingh district, which is known as North Bangladesh mission of SDA also leading 55 primary schools in Mymensingh district and 7 primary schools under the study area.⁹⁰ The worse condition of education among the Garo Community in Bangladesh can be assumed from the following table:

Education Rate by Sex among the Garos in Bangladesh⁹¹

Table: 3.1

Status	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)
Dhaka Division	12.67	11.71	24.38
Mymensingh District	12.66	12.01	24.68
Dhobaura Thana	12.64	11.92	24.56
Haluaghat Thana	12.68	12.16	24.84
Kukthagacha Thana	10.05	10.05	20.01

3.12 Chapter Summary

Mymensingh district is a store-house of scenic beauty and natural as well as anthropological curiosities. It presents a richly variegated landscape which finely welds into a natural harmony. It has vast stretches of plains

contrasted by lush green woods, cliffs, hills and hillocks which are a treat to the eye. The natural beauty of the place has given a charm and melody to the lives of the different peoples who inhabit it. The Primitive tribe of this area is called Garo after Garo Hills. This Chapter Presents the origin of the Garo, origin of the Garo in Bangladesh, legal status of the Garos in Bangladesh, their Language, Economic activities, Social Structured and Social stratification, Marriage System, etc. we have also discussed the Religion and Religious beliefs of the Garos in this chapter. The spread of Primary Education among the Garos was introduced as early as 1854 which had become an integral port of india. Christian missionaries have played an important role to spread education among the Garos, all this are expressed in this chapter.

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- ⁵⁰ Khaleque, T.M, kibriaul, on *Garo Matrilateral Cross Cousing Marriage: Continuity and discontinuity in the face of social change* in Mahmud shah Qurehi ed. Tribal culture in Bangladesh IBS, 1984 p.²³¹
- ⁵¹ I bid, p²³²
- ⁵² Kar, parimal chandra, *The Garos in Transition*, New Delhi, cosmo publication, 1982, p.¹⁷⁸
- ⁵³ Personal interview with Haris Gagra, Headmaster, Dhairpara high school, Dhobaura, Mymensingh.
- ⁵⁴ Personal interview with sojon Rama(35), Jayrumchora Haluaghat, Mymensingh on 30.10.2008.
- ⁵⁵ Personal interview with Marshal chasam, president of tribal welfair Association, Dhobaura, Mymensingh on 05.11.2008
- ⁵⁶ Personal interview with Runa Sangma, NGo worker, world vision of Mymensingh on 20.11.2008.
- ⁵⁷ Jagring, Manderangni, *Images of the Garos in Bangladesh*, The University press limited, Dhaka, 1999, p.²¹
- ⁵⁸ Playfair, A. *The Garos*. London: David Nutt, 1909, p.¹²⁹
- ⁵⁹ Sattar Abdus, *In the Sylvan Shadows*, Bangla Academy, Dhaka, 1971, p.¹⁹³
- ⁶⁰ I bid, p.p.¹⁹⁴⁻¹⁹⁵
- ⁶¹ Major A playfair : op. cit. p.¹⁰²
- ⁶² Thomas, iris water, '*Garo Music and Musical Instruments: Socio- cultural implications*' in Mignonette Momin (ed.) *Readings in History and culture of the Garos*, Regency publications, 2003, p.⁷⁸
- ⁶³ Unlike the western and Bangalee culture, the Garo culture (mainly their ceremonies and festivals) is so intermingling with their religion (i.e. songsarek) that none of these can be dissected from the other. So, here we will frequently cite the both to make the discourse more lucid.
- ⁶⁴ It seems to me that there are some apparent discrepancies amongst the authors regarding the sequel and rituals performed in those festivals. So to avoid any dispute I shall follow a middle course.
- ⁶⁵ Burling, Robbins, Rengsanggri, 2nd edition, Tura Book Room, 1997, p.⁶⁹
- ⁶⁶ Kar, p.c., *Garos in Transition*, cosmo publications, New Delhi, 1982, p.⁶⁶

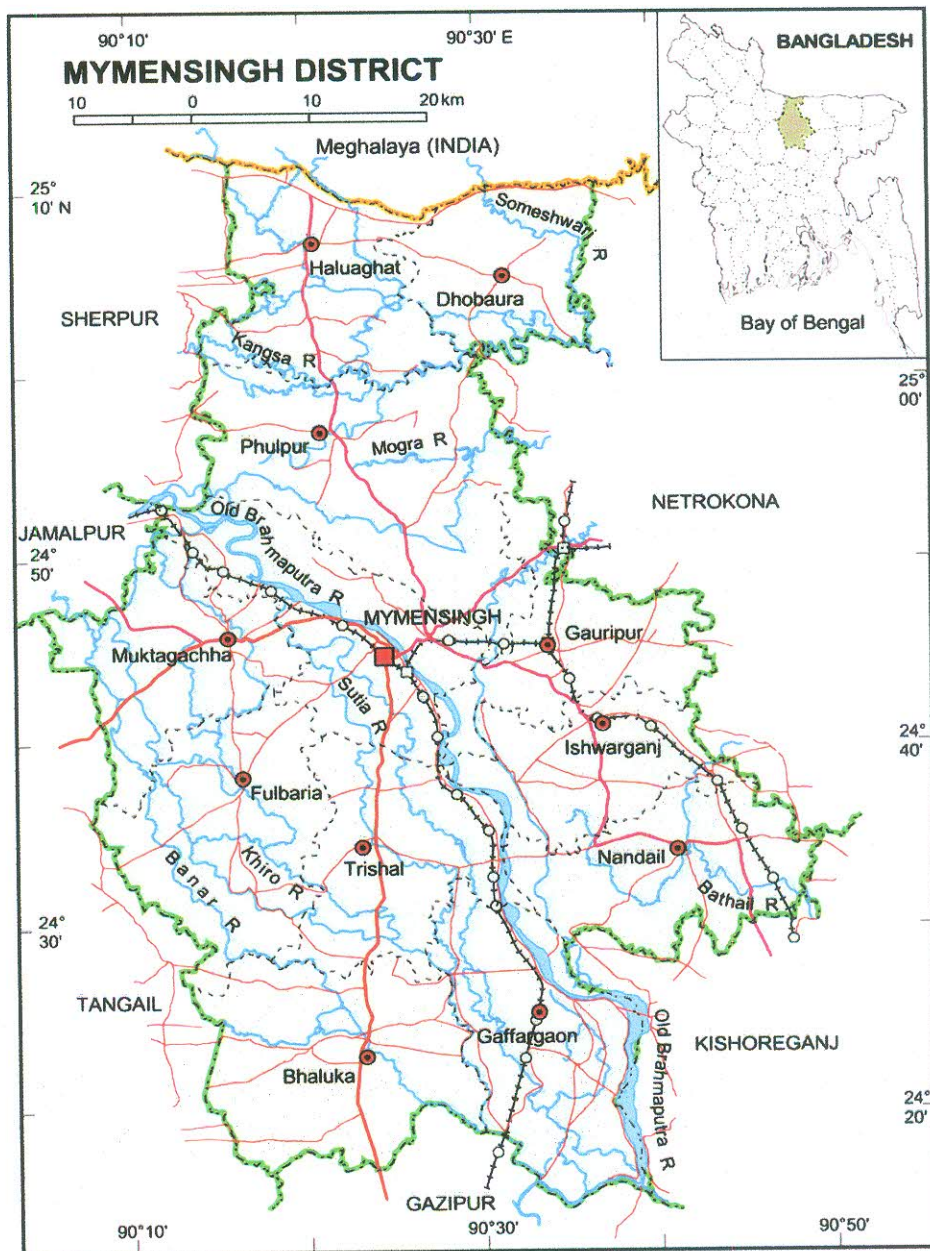
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- ⁶⁷ Personal interview with Sanjeeb Drong, on 26.12.2008 at his village in Haluaghat. The author was informed that the most opposite terminology of this festival is 'wanna' not wangalla; This view has been accepted for the present context.
- ⁶⁸ Burling Robbins, *Rengsanggrî; Family and kinship in a Garo Village*, Philadelphia: University of pennsylvania press. 1963 p.⁶⁶
- ⁶⁹ The Garos: op, cit. p.¹⁰⁵
- ⁷⁰ Jengcham, Subhash, *Bangladesher Garo sampradia*, Bangla Academy, 1994, pp⁴⁰⁻⁴⁸
- ⁷¹ Drong, Sanjeeb, *Bangladesher bipanna adibashi*, Naoroz kitabistan, Dhaka, 200, p.¹⁶⁶
- ⁷² Hasan Mahbubul, *On Garo Folk-lore and culture* in Mahmud shah Qureshi ed. *Tribal culture in Bangladesh* IBS, 1984, p.²³⁸
- ⁷³ I bid.
- ⁷⁴ A playfair: *The Garos*, London: David Nutt. 1909, p.⁵⁹
- ⁷⁵ I bid pp⁵⁴⁻⁵⁶.
- ⁷⁶ Sattar Abdus, *in the sylvan shadows*, Bangla Academy, Dhaka, 1971, p.²⁰³
- ⁷⁷ Emil Durkheim, *Education and Sociology*, Free Press, 1956, p.¹⁷
- ⁷⁸ Topposita, *Dynamics of Educational Development in Tribal India* (New Delhi: Classical Publication, 1979), p.²
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁰ RA Seligmen Edwin ed., *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 5 (New York: Macmillan Company), p.⁴⁰⁶
- ⁸¹ BANBEIS, *Educational Statistics of Bangladesh* (Dhaka: Ministry of Education, 1984), p.²
- ⁸² A.L. Clay, *Principal Heads of the History Statistics of Dhaka Division* (Calcutta: E.W. Lowis, Calcutta Central Press Company, 1868), p.²²⁷
- ⁸³ *Ibid.*, p.²²⁸
- ⁸⁴ Islam Zahidul, *Garos' of Bangladesh*, An unpublished Thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Dhaka, p.¹³¹
- ⁸⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁶ Ali Nawaz, *Garo Society in Transition*, Mahmud Shah Qureshi (ed.), *Tribal Culture in Bangladesh*, Rajshahi University: Institute of Bangladesh Studies, November 1984, p.²²⁰
- ⁸⁷ BRAC, Research Evaluation Department (RED), *Ethnic Survey Report 2004*.
- ⁸⁸ Interview with Dipak Chambugong, The President, Garo Baptist Convention (GBC), 01.04.2008.
- ⁸⁹ Interview with Mr. George Ruram, Education Officer, Mymensingh Catholic Diocese, Bhatikashore, Mymensingh, 02.04.2008.
- ⁹⁰ Interview with Dilip Hagidok President, Seventh-day Adventist Church, North Bangladesh Mission, 38 Dholadia, Mymensingh, 03.04.2008.
- ⁹¹ BRAC, Research Evaluation Department (RED), *Ethnic Survey Report 2004*.

Chapter- 4

Education System of Mymensingh District

4.1 Location/area

The district of Mymensingh is situated between $24^{\circ} - 2' - 03''$ and $25^{\circ} - 25' - 56''$ north latitude and $89^{\circ} - 39' - 00''$ and $91^{\circ} - 15' - 35''$ east longitude. According to the latest report received (1971) from the Director, Land Records and Surveys, it comprises an area of 5,039.76 sq. miles.¹



Source : www.bdshots.com

4.1.1 Origin of Name

The district took its name² from the Momenshahi Pargana (Revenue district) which at the time of Akbar, was in the possession of Mominshah, one of the lieutenants of Nusrat Shah, son of Hossain Shah, Sultan of Bengal. The *Pargana* was, therefore, named after him. Many people of the district still prefer to call it by Nasirabad. It is difficult to say when the district lost its original name Momensnahi.

Presumably the change took place during the early period of British rule when the Muslim influence was declining. Tradition says that the reason why the Company Collectorate took the name of Mymensingh in preference to many other paraganas comprised in it was that the Zamindars of Mymensingh agreed to pay double the revenue of Alapsingh, if the zillah was called after their pargana. In fact, the revenue of Mymensingh was double the revenue of Alapsingh, though the latter pargana was larger in area and certainly not less valuable. It is probable, however, that the choice of name was accidental. Mymensingh was the first of the paraganas in the list "Mymensingh Pargana Digar", which was separated from Dhaka under a Collector of its own in 1787.

4.1.2 Boundary

The district was acquired by the East India Company with the Dewani grant from the Mughal Emperor in 1765. At that time its greater part was included in the Niabat (sub-province) of Dacca and a small portion in the Zamindaries of Atia, Kagmari, Pukuria and Patitadaha (of Rajshahi Zamindari). At the time of Permanent Settlement, it included Northwest Garo-Hills and the Brahmanbaria subdivision of the present Comilla district but did not include north-Tangail and north-west part of Jamalpur. In 1799 Taluk Amirabad was transferred to Tippera (Comilla). In 1809, Patiladaha, situated north-east of the Brahmaputra came to this district from Rangpur. In 1811, the rivers Banar and Brahmaputra were declared boundary between Dacca and Mymensingh district and the rivers Brahmaputra and Meghna as boundary between Tippera (now Comilla) and Mymensingh and Dacca. In 1811, West Garo-Hills were transferred to Rangpur district. In 1812 Patiladaha, was

ratransferred to Rangpur. In 1830, Parganas Sarail, Daudpur, Haripur, Bejra, and Satarakhandal were transferred to Tippera for public convenience. In 1855, due to change in river course part of serajganj thana was transferred from Mymensingh to Pabna and in 1866, the whole of it was transferred to Pabna and in 1866, thana Dewanganj was transferred to Mymensingh from Bogra and thana Atia from Dacca. In 1867, for the administrative convenience boundaries of five subdivisions (including Tangail) and thanas were notified. In 1874 on the basis of survey, the district boundaries were notified. In 1874, the Jamuna (or Daokoba) river was declared the western boundary between Mymensingh and Bogra and as such, 165 villages were transferred to Bogra. In 1875, the Brahmaputra was made the boundary between Mymensingh and Rangpur and the portion of Patiladaha, east of the river, was transferred to this district from Rangpur. In 1877, the Jamuna was declared the boundary between Pabna and Mymensingh, in the west. On the first of December, 1969, Tangail subdivision was separated from Mymensingh and a new district of Tangail was formed.³

Present Boundary

There are as many as eight districts of Bangladesh and Assam (India) touching its borders. To the north are the Garo-Hills and Goalpara district of Assam (India). To the west and north-west are Tangail, Pabna, Bogra and Rangpur, to the south is Dacca, to the east is Comilla and to the east and north-east is Sylhet.

4.2 Education System of the Past

The education system as it existed up to the time of introduction of English teaching in the country could be divided into two distinct types. The influence of religion was greatly selected in the education system of the past, as it was predominant in the then social structure of the country. The Muslim used to take education in Maktabas and the Hindus in pathasalas and tols.

During Muslim rule, wealthy Muslims and the Sultans of Bengal began to patronise and encourage education in the country. They regarded it as their religious duty. Every mosque and immambara had a Maktab attached to it.

While analysing the state of education in 1882, the Bengal provincial Committee of the Education Commission reported, there was not a mosque or immambara in which Professors of Arabic and Persian were not maintained. There were also Maktab attached to the houses of well-to-do Muslims. The Imam of the mosque was also a teacher to impart primary education to the children.⁴ Regarding the state of education in Mymensingh district, F.A Sachse⁵ recorded that most of the Maktab and Madrasahs were established by the wealthy village Matabbars and that 'half-lettered' Maulavis of Noakhali and Chittagong were employed in these institutions. These Teachers were not paid at any fixed rates. They usually got free board and lodge from their master from their patrons. In the Maktab, children were primarily taught to read the Quran. Preliminary lessons in Urdu and Persian were also given.

Dr. M. Abdur Rahim⁶ recorded, "The students in the primary school had to learn three languages: Arabic, Persian and Bengali." It may be mentioned here that the Hindu students of upper and middle class had to learn Persian language from the Maulavis with a view to getting a job, since "Persian was the language of the court and culture throughout the Muslim period."

Education in the secondary and higher level was given in the Madrasahs. One significant feature of the secondary and higher education was the provision of the study and teaching of both religious knowledge and secular sciences in the Madrasahs and academics of the time⁷ In 1835, in his second Report, Adam stated that different subjects were included in the syllabus of the Arabic schools of the time.

The Hindu boys and girls were given education in the pathshalas and tols. They received Primary education in patsalas, which were usually attached to houses of rich men or gurus (teachers). Wealthy Hindus provided for the maintained of such institutions. Sanskritised-Bengali was taught in sub

institutions. Special Hindu practices were followed in teaching Hinduism and the Purana.⁸

The Hindus were provided higher education in the Chatupathis or tols, where the medium of instruction was Sanskrit. Different branches of literature such as Grammar, Kavya Rhyme, etc., were studied. This was followed by the most intellectual studies of sciences like Astrology, Philosophy, Medicine and Ethics. F.A Sachse⁹ recorded that teaching of the Hindu students was limited to that of learning sanskrit in the tols. He did not, however, mention the system of preliminary education in mother tongue in the pathsalas, the students coming from different villages used to stay in the houses of Pandits and received education free of cost. The wealthy villagers and the Zamindars used to pay the pandits at fixed rates. Besides, they could earn something on occasion of different festivals and melas.

In Mymensingh district, the old system of teaching was Maktabas, Madrasahs and Tols were in existence up to the time of introduction of English teaching by the British. The number of educated persons was very few in the district. Founder of renowned families were either government relents or army officers to whom wealth rather than wisdom was the criteria of social status. As a result, there did not sprang up any educational institution worthy of name in Mymensingh, which could attract students from other districts. The only exception was the Mangalbaria Madrasah of Kotiadi, where students from Sylhet used to prosecute their studies.

There was no adequate scope for acquiring European knowledge in the existing education system of the country. The English felt the necessity to reorganise the system of education after they established their rule in the Sub-continent. Lord Bentinck, Governor General, after considering the minutes of Lord *Macaulay* passed the celebrated Education Resolution of the 7th March, 1835 in favour of English education. The Council of Education thereafter inaugurated the policy of English education.

With the establishment of Middle English School at Narayandhar village 6 miles west of Netrokona, English teaching was first introduced in the district in 1846. In November of the same year, Hardinge School was established at Mymensingh town, IN 1900, however, the school was abolished¹⁰ in 1853, Mymensingh Zilla School was established at the town. This followed establishment of Jhannabi School at Tangail and Dawn school a Jamalpur. The Bidyamayee Girls' School was established in 1873.

In 1866-67, the number of different types of educational institutions in the district was 110 and that of students was 3,984. The number of students in the only high school of the district was 284,¹¹ W.W. Hunter¹² recorded that in 1875, there were two government schools in the district (one in English medium and another Bengali medium), and the number of student was 387. In 1870-71 the number of schools increased to 85 and that of students to 3,474. In 1856-57, government expenditure in the education sector was £ 210, 2S. 4d. and in 1870-71 it was £ 1,509. 11 S, 1d. The non-aided educational institutions were excluded from these statistics.

In 1871, Sir George Cambell introduced a new system of Primary education. Accordingly the Zilla Board was entrusted with the financial and administrative responsibility of the Primary Schools. In 1873, the number of different types of educational institutions was 245 and that of students 3,797. Government had to spend very little from its exchequer for this increase in the number of educational institutions.

The first enthusiastic step to disseminate education among the tribal people was taken by Sir George Cambell. In 1871, at his initiative 12 Upper Primary Schools and 2 Lower Primary Schools were established for the Garos, Hajongs, Hadis and Monthal tribes. In 1872, the first school for the Garos was opened in Bangaon. The Census of 1911, however, revealed that of the 40,000 tribal people only 218 were literate. The Christian Missionaries took the main part in educating the tribal people. The Baptist Mission was running a first class hostel at the Mymensingh town, mainly for the Garo students of Zilla School coming from Durgapur.¹³

During the thirty years since 1870-71, the progress of education was rapid and in 1901, the number of different types of educational institutions was 2,129 and that of students was 59,628. Of these, the number of High English School was 6 and that of students 4,797. There were two second grade colleges in the district. Students were taught up to F.A level in these colleges and the number of students was 190 only. Pramatha-Monnath College established in Tangail in 1900 was the first institution in the field of higher education in the district. Though the college was abolished after ten years it made significant contribution in the field of education of the district. In 1901, the City School, located at Mymensingh town, was upgraded into a branch of Calcutta City College.

In 1914, the number of different types of educational institutions in the district was 2,820 and that of students was 1,21,142. The total expenditure was Taka 7,91,948 of which government grants amounted to Taka 2,06,171.¹⁴

At the time of partition in 1947, the rate of literacy in Mymensingh was low. The rates of literacy of different years for the district were as follows.

Table: 4.1

Years	..	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Rate of literacy	..	4.6	5.11	6.34	10.89	18.24	14.13

According to the District Census Report the rate of literacy of Mymensingh district was the lowest among the districts of Bangladesh in 1911 and 1921. The position Mymensingh district in respect of literacy was, however, 12th and 14th among the districts of Bangladesh in 1931 and 1941 respectively. The rate of literacy increased appreciably in 1951.

According to the Census Report of 1911, of the 45 lakh population of the district, the number of literate men was 1,95,285 and that of literate women 11,869. The number of persons knowing English was 23,373 men and 294

women. The percentage of boy students reading in school was 25 and that of girl students 4 only.¹⁵

Regarding the reason for low literacy in the district, F.A sachse stated that as against the 10 per cent. Literacy rate of the Hindus, the rate of literacy of the Muslims was only 2.5 per cent. W.W Hunter also pointed out in 1870-71 about the scantiness of the number of Muslim students in his time. He stated that the percentage of Muslim students in his time. He stated that the percentage of Muslim population in the district was 64.7, out of the total number of 3,474 students, only 520 or 15 per cent were Muslim. The Muslim could not readily accept the English education introduced by the British. They found in English lack of Islamic teaching and apprehended that this type of education may lead to complete abolition of their religion.

According to Census Report of 1951, the total number of literate persons of the district was 10,55,277, of which 7,40,098 were men and 3,15,185 were women. The rate of literacy of men was 23.3 per cent and that of women 11.3 per cent. According to Census of 1961, the rate of literacy of men and women was 20.56 per cent, and 7.18 per cent respectively. The district of Mymensingh is lagging behind in the field of education. The position of the district so far the rate of literacy is concerned, was 14th among the district of Bangladesh in 1961¹⁶

The principal language of the people of the district is Bengali. The use of English and Urdu is also found among the people. The percentage of the people speaking in different languages in given below¹⁷

Table: 4.2

Language	...	Percentage
Bengali	...	99.26
English	...	0.58
Urdu	...	0.46

4.2.1 Educational Institutions

The number of different types of educational institutions in the district in 1972-73, is appended in the following table:

Table: 4.3

Type of educational institutions		Total Number
1.	Primary School	2,606
2.	Pre-Primary School	1
3.	Junior High School	283
4.	High School	424
5.	Madrasah	482
6.	College (Intermediate and Degree)	68
7.	Teachers' Training College	2
8.	College of Education	1
9.	Primary Training Institute	6
10.	Jamalpur In-service Training Centre	1
11.	Deaf and Dumb School	1
12.	Orphanage	9
13.	Govt. Vagrant House, Dhala	1
14.	Medical College	1
15.	Law College	1
16.	Agriculture University	1
17.	Agricultural Extension Training Institution	1
18.	Polytechnic Institute	1
19.	Vocational Institute	1
20.	Commerce School	1
21.	Adult Education Centre	353

4.2.2 Educational Administration

The responsibility of administering education from the primary to the secondary level lies with the District Education Officer. He is entrusted with the control and administration of the Junior High Schools and High Schools. He inspects the Primary Schools and co-ordinates the development activities of the schools from primary to secondary level. In performing his duties he is assisted by one District Inspector, 5 Sub-divisional Education Officers, 2 District Physical Education Organisers, Thana Education Officers and the Deputy Assistant School Inspectors.

The Officers of the Board of Inspectors of Schools of the district for the year 1969-70 is appended below:

Table: 4.4

Type of Officer		Number of Post
1.	District Education Officer	1
2.	District Inspector of Schools	1
3.	Sub divisional Education Officer	5
4.	District Physical Education Organiser	2
5.	Thana Education Officer	42
6.	Deputy Assistant School Inspector	39

The District Inspector of Schools inspects and supervises the primary schools. He is assisted in his duties by the Deputy Assistant Inspector of Schools. The Primary Schools under the Municipality are being maintained and managed by the Municipality itself. The Deputy Director of Public Instruction, Dhaka Division, gives grants and affiliation to the Junior High Schools. The Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Dhaka makes syllabus and gives affiliation to high schools of the district. The Board also conducts S.S.C Examinations of the high schools of the district. For each school, whether aided, non-aided, there is a Management Committee, entrusted with the task of internal administration and management of the institution. The management Committee, however, discharges its duties with the approval of the Deputy Commissioner.

The Zilla Board manages and controls the Non-government Technical Schools and advances grants to different schools and Madrasahs under it. The Madrasah Board controls the education and conducts the examinations of the Madrasahs.

The District Physical Education Organiser supervises sport and physical education arrangements for the schools and advises them in this respect. He helps to institute Tiffin Programme in the schools. The colleges are under the direct control of the Director of Public Instructions. The responsibility of the Directorate consists of giving financial grants to non-government colleges and employment of teachers and staff in government

colleges. Like High Schools dual administration exists also in colleges. While the Board gives affiliation, conducts H.S.C examinations and makes syllabus for Intermediate classes the colleges. Dacca University does the same for Degree classes.

Technical and Vocational Institutes are being controlled by the Directorate of Technical Education and the Agriculture Extension Training Institution by the Director of Agriculture Extension. The Agriculture University is under the control the Directorate of Agriculture.

4.3 Primary Education

In the British period, growth of primary schools was very fast both in the government and private sectors. W.W. Hunter recorded that up to March, 1873, the total number of primary schools was 171 including 151 pathsalas. The total number of students in all these institutions was 4,800 and the amount of government grants for them was £ 295.19S. 11d, the numbers of aided-pathsalas was only 95 and the amount of government grant for them was £ 34.5 S. 3 d.

F.A. Sachse¹⁸ recorded that in 1914, the total number of primary schools in the district was 2,619, of which 127 were upper primary schools and 2,492 lower primary schools and the number of students in then was 7,068 and 80,238 respectively. The information for 1914 in tabular form is given below:

Table: 4.5

	Type of Primary School	No. of Primary Schools.	Number of students	Expenditure (in Taka)
1.	Upper Primary School	127	7,078	34,962
2.	Lower Primary School	2,492	80,238	3,40,250
	Total	2,619	87,306	2,75,211

According to the District Education Office, the total number of primary schools in the district in 1947 was 2,705. This in 33 years from 1914 to 1947 the increase in the total number was 86. According to the ground survey conducted by the Education Directorate the total number of primary schools

was 2,707 and that of students 3,46,132. In the 12 Years free 1947 to 1959, the increase in the number of primary school was only 2, whereas the number of students increased by four times. In 1959-60 sessions the total number of teachers was 303 of which 3,399 trained non-Matriculate, 2,181 non-trained Intermediate, 3,399 trained non-Matriculate, 2,181 non-trained matriculate and non-trained Intermediate and 115 others¹⁹.

It may be relevant to mention here that after the partition in 1947, the educational institutions were passing through a political stage. As a result efforts were made to organise and consolidate the position of the existing educational institutions instead of increasing the number of the same. Besides, some important steps were taken to improve the syllabus and organisation of the primary schools.

In the British period the duration of primary education was four years from Class I to Class IV. There was no system of Annual Examination at the end of the 4th year. A limited number of students were selected for Scholarship Examination. In January 1952, the duration of primary education was extended from four years to five years (class I to Class V), on the ground that four years' duration was inadequate.

In accordance with the Bengal Primary Education Act (1930), the Government and the Local bodies were entrusted with the administration of primary education in the country. The District School Board administered primary education in the rural areas and the Municipality in the urban areas. The Government maintained its control over these institutions through the District School Inspectors. This sort of dual administration was a matter of criticism. The District School Board was, however, abolished and the position partially confined by the East Pakistan (Rural) Primary Education (Supplementary Provision) Act, (1957).²⁰ The administration and the progress of these institutions were facilitated with the bringing of the primary schools of the rural areas under the control of the Government. In April of the same year Compulsory Primary Schools were declared as Model Primary Schools.

In 1967-65 session the total number of Primary Schools (including 3 Pre-Primary schools) was 3,041, of which 217 were meant for girls only. The

total number of students in these institutions was 4,37,480 of which 1,38,008 were girl students. The total number of teachers was 10,345 of which the number trained teachers were 7,556 (including 38 female teachers). In the five years from 1964-65 to 1969-70, the number of school increased by 334 and that of students by 91,348.

In 1969-70, the total number of primary schools was 230 of which girls school was 120 including one pre-primary school. The total number of students was 5,15,189 of which 1,84,520 were girl students. The total number of teachers was 9,345 of which the number of trained teachers was 7,748 and those non-trained teachers 1,651. The decrease in the number schools in 1969-70, was due to the fact that Tangail was constituted a separate district in 1968.²¹

In 1964-65, the total expenditure for primary education was Taka 71,24,327 of which Taka 52,05,582 was from Government exchequer. The total amount of expenditure for pre-primary schools was Taka 48,327 of which Taka 4,000 was from government exchequer. In 1964-70, (though Tangail district was excluded), the expenditure was doubled and amounted Taka 1,64,66,391. The total expenditure for the pre-primary school in 1969-70 was Taka 9,884 of which Taka 4,200 was from Government Exchequer.

The amount of expenditure for the primary schools for sessions 1964-65 and 1969-70 and their sources are appear in the table below:

Table: 4.6

Source 1	1964-65		1969
	Primary Schools for boys 2	Primary Schools for girls. 3	Primary Schools for boys. 4
	Taka	Taka	Taka
Government	51,30,265	76,317	40,68,310
District Fund	..	..	29,933
District Primary Education Office	16,10,784	52,104	1,20,95,349
Municipality	86,496	10,899	1,39,992
Fees	9,218	13,265	15,341
Others	99,767	35,212	..
Total	69,36,530	1,87,797	1,63,48,925

Source: Report of the District Education Officer to D.P.I. in 1969-70.

According to the Report of the District Education Officer in 1972-73, the total number of primary schools was 2,607 of which 95 including one Pre-Primary school was girl schools. The total number of students was 4,95,479 of which 1,70,585 were girl students. The total number of teachers was 9,852 of which the number of trained teachers was 8,330 and that of non-trained teachers 1,522. The total expenditure in the same year was Taka 1,72,68,352 and that for pre-primary school was Taka 15,057.47. This information in tabular form is appended below.

Table: 4.7

Type of primary school 1	Number of schools		Number of students		Number of teachers		Expenditure (in Taka) 8
	For boys 2	For girls 3	For boys 4	For girls 5	Trained 6	Non-trained 7	
Government aided and Government controlled primary schools	2,422	84	3,08,353	1,59,974	8,110	1,236	1,66,73,212
Municipality controlled and aided primary schools	90	10	16,494	10,585	217	353	5,95,95,140
Pre-primary schools	1	1	47	26	3	..	15,057.47
Total	2,512	95	3,24,894	1,70,585	8,330	1,522	1,72,83,409.47

Compared to 1969-70 figures, the number of primary schools was decreased by 118 in 1972-73 and that of students by 19,702. This was mainly due to the fact that many educational institutions were destroyed and many students dropped their education during the war of liberation.

4.3.1 Pay of Teachers

The pay of the primary teachers was very low to meet their needs. The Education Commission of 1960 recommended subsistence pay for teachers of primary school so that they can maintain their standard of living. It also suggested formation of a body to investigate into the pay structure of these teachers. The new pay scales for the teachers of primary schools were, introduced in 1963 and were revised in 1965.

The pay scales of the primary school teachers for the year 1963, 1965, and 1973 are given below:

Table: 4.8

Type of teachers 1	Pay scales with effect from 1-7-1963 2	Revised Pay Scales with effect from 1-7- 1965 3	National Pay Scales with effect from 1-7-1973 4
A. Head Teachers			
1. Metric (train-ed)	Taka 60-1-80 <i>plus</i> charge allowance of Taka 20 in case of Model Teachers or Taka 10 for non-Model ones.	Taka 100-1-110-2-130. No charge allowance	Taka 220-8-268-10-348-12-420, 8th grade
2. Matriculate (untrained)	Taka 50-1-75 <i>plus</i> charge allowance of Taka 10	Taka 80-1-90-110. No charge allowance	Taka 145-6-205-7-275 9th grade
B. Assistant Teachers			
1. Metric (trained)	Taka 60-1-80	Taka 80-1-90-2-110	Taka 145-6-205-1-275 9th grade
2. Metric (untrained)	Taka 50-1-75	Taka 60-1-70-2-90	Taka 130-5-180-6-240 10th grade
3. Non-Metric (trained)	Taka 45-1-70	Taka 55-1-60-2-80	Taka 130-5-180-6-240 10th grade
4. Non-Metric (untrained)	Taka 35 (fixed)	Taka 45 (fixed)	Taka 130-5-180-6-240 10th grade

4.3.2 Adult Education

In 1964-65, the number of Adult Education Centre in the district was 71, of which 27 were for women. In 1969-70, the number increased to 350 of which 137 were for women. The total number of students was 2,710 (including 698 women) in 1964-65, and 8, 728 (including 2,846 women) in 1969-70²³.

In 1964-65, the total amount of expenditure was Taka 18,231 of which Taka 17,230 was spent from government exchequer and in 1969-70 that was Taka 1,06,430 of which Taka 1,05,280 was from government exchequer.²⁴

The teachers of the Primary Training Institutes, employee of the District Education Office and in-service school teacher are eligible to receive training from this institution. Training in B.Ed. and M.Ed. courses are being given. The minimum qualification for admission into B.Ed. class is B.A and the duration of course is one year. The minimum qualification in admission in to M.Ed. class is B.Ed, or its equivalent degree and the duration of course is one year. The Degree of M.Ed in Education is also given after successful completion of two year's course in this institution.

No tuition fee and seat-rent is realised from the student. The students are granted stipends at various rates. In 1959-60, 50 stipends at the rate of Taka 50 and 10 stipends at the rate of Taka 60 were granted to students of B.Ed. and M.Ed classes respectively. The total number of students was 46 and that of teachers was 7 in the same year. In 1972-73, the total number of students increased to 232 including 2 women students in B.Ed. class and 38 including 8 women in M.Ed class. The college has a hostel which can accommodate 29 students. In 1972-73, the total expenditure of the college was Taka 4,51,993.88. Government bears all the expenditure of the college.²⁵

Table: 4.9
Number of Primary Schools by Type in Mymensingh District

Type of school	Number of schools in 2009	Number of schools in 2008
Govt. Primary Schools (GPS)	1249	1249
Registered Non-Government Primary School (RNGPS)	623	619
Non-Registered Non-Government Primary School (NGPS)	65	50
High School attached Primary Section (H/A PS)	57	57
Kinder Garten (KG)	128	128
Experimental School attached to PTI	01	01
Ebtedayee Madrasha (EM)	423	404
High Madrasha attached Ebtedayee Madrasha	290	286
Community School	114	144
NGO-run Full Primary School	134	40
Total	3084	2910

Source: DPEO office, Mymensingh

Table 4.10
Number of one Shift Schools by Type in Mymensingh District

Sl. No.	Type of school	Number of schools in 2009	Number of Schools in 2008
1.	Govt. primary schools	25	23
2.	Regd. NGPS	-	-

Source: DPEO office, Mymensingh

Table 4.11
Literacy Rate of the Garos in Mymensingh District

Literacy rate	Male	Female
Total 24.67%	12.66%	12.01%

Source: BRAC, RED, Ethnic survey Report: 2009

Table: 4.12
Number of District Enlisted Primary Schools by Type in Mymensingh District

Type of school	2007					2009				
	A	B	C	D	Total	A	B	C	D	Total
Govt. primary schools	315	805	128	1	1249	317	807	124	2	1249
Regd. NGPS	25	330	268	-	623	25	337	261	-	623
Total	340	1135	396	1	1872	342	1144	385	1	1872

Source: DPEO office, Mymensingh

Table: 4.13
Number of class wise Students in the three Types Recognized School (GPS, RNGPS & Community)

Class	2008			2009		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Class one	105405	104346	209751	86530	100107	186637
Class two	72335	78938	151273	75802	78000	153802
Class three	65229	65470	130699	60616	63000	123616
Class four	51919	54111	106030	50100	52040	102140
Class five	39585	43366	82951	31550	40444	71994
Total	33,4473	34,6231	68,0708	30,4598	333591	638189

Source: DPEO office, Mymensingh

Table: 4.14
Number of Ethnic Students in the School

Class	2008			2009		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Class one	201	165	366	228	176	404
Class two	198	104	302	236	154	390
Class three	132	95	227	146	105	251
Class four	98	77	175	104	81	185
Class five	66	39	105	71	43	114
Total	695	480	1175	785	559	1344

Source: DPEO office, Mymensingh

Table: 4.15
Training Related Information

SL	Name of post	Recognized post	Working teacher	C-in-ed Trained Teacher	On going training in C-in-ed	Non C-in-ed Trained teacher
1.	Head Master (GPS)	1249	1161	1103	23	35
2.	Assistant teacher (GPS)					
	a. Basic Revenue	6088	5941	5621	40	280
	b. New Create Revenue	234	215	163	12	40
	c. Convert Revenue	284	169	97	12	60
	d. PEDP-II	845	820	250	132	438
3.	Assistant teacher (Regd. NGPS)	2473	2418	1938	40	440
4.	Assistant teacher (community school)	387	366	82	04	280

Source: DPEO office, Mymensingh

Table 4.16
Statistical Information about Mymensingh District

Status	Enrolled by sex			Enrolled by Religion				
	Total	Male	Female	Muslim	Hindu	Buddhist	Garos	Others
Population	4489726	2297302	2192424	4289789	168135	27999	4787	3803
Literacy Rate	39.11	41.86	36.26					

Source: Bangladesh Population Census-2001, Community series, Zila, Mymensingh (upgraded January' 2007)

Table: 4.17
Number of Indigenous Peoples by Type in Mymensingh District

SL No	Name of upazilla	Garos	Hajong	Barman	banai	Khatriya	Santal	Koch	Dalu	Total
1	Dhobaura	11883	2097	-	-	-	-	-	-	13980
2	Haluaghat	11115	390	261	260	-	-	392	655	13073
3	Phulpur	1305	-	-	-	1700	-	-	-	3005
4	Fulbaria	2500	-	2700	-	-	-	-	-	5200
5	Gauripur	-	-	-	-	273	-	-	-	273
6	Iswarganj	05	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	05
7	Muktagacha	118	-	-	-	-	-	22	-	140
8	Nandinal	175	25	-	-	-	-	25	-	225
9	Bhaluka	2500	-	1550	-	-	-	7500	-	11550
10	Gaffargaon	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	00
11	Sadar	2810	42	55	-	93	-	-	-	3000
12	Trishal	-	-	-	-	-	15	-	-	15
Total		32411	2554	4566	260	2066	15	7939	655	50466

Source: Golam Mustofa, Regional statistical officer, Mymensingh, dated 25.10.09.

Table 4.18
Number of Students by Type in Seventh - day Adventist Church
(Mymensingh)

SI No.	Name of School	Class One		Class two		Class three		Class four		Class five		Total
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
1.	Chargobadia	9	8	7	7	5	6	8	9	7	8	74
2.	Katgola Mission	8	12	9	9	7	8	6	7	6	7	79
	Total	17	20	16	16	12	14	14	16	13	15	153

Source: Dilip Hagidak, President, North Bangladesh Mission, 38 Dholadia, Mymensingh.

Table 4.19
Number of Students by Type in North Bangladesh Mission of SDA,
Mymensingh

SL NO.	School Name	Class KG	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV	SDA	Other Christion	M	H	Baptize	Total Num.
1.	Dhobaura SDA School (District)	14	6	6	4		6	17	6	1		31
2.	Khujura SDA School	10	4	6	2		11	6	7			24
3.	Bgunbari SDA Schol	5	8	4	3		12	10				22
4.	Langoljura SDA School	9	5	5	3		12	10				22
5.	Boalmara SDA School											
6.	Shebanandokila SDA School											
7.	Dhalapani SDA School	11	4	4	6		5	20				25
8.	Gazirvita SDA School	11	5	7	4		5	22				27
9.	Mandartoli SDA School	9	7	8	6		5	15	9			21
10.	Akonpara SDA School (District)	11	2	7	8		15	14				29
11.	Jakhomkura SDA School	11	8	4	3		5	21			1	26
12.	Kumuria SDA School	14	4	4	1		9	14				23
13.	Bethkuri SDA School	8	5	4	5		3	1	18			22
14.	Gilaboi SDA School											
15.	Batanayapra SDA School	8	4	5	3	8	7			5		20
16.	Polashtoia SDA School	14	6	2	3		9	4	12			25
17.	Sonamoha SDA School	4	9	4	5		14	8				22
18.	Dhalapani SDA School	11	4	4	6		5	20				25
19.	Shampur SDA School	7	4	10	1		6	7	9			22

Table 4.20
Information of MCD (Mymensingh Catholic Diocese) Primary Schools (Period: 2009)

SR. No.	name of Parish	No. of Teachers		Total Students	KG		I		II		III		IV		V		Total	Ch.	Mus	Hin.	Total
		Male	Female		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls					
1	Baruakona	10	15	25	89	100	82	65	82	63	56	53	43	31	25	35	722	594	67	61	722
2	Baluchora	13	11	24	79	67	34	51	57	33	40	35	27	22	26	13	484	304	160	20	484
3	Ranikhong	13	21	34	135	116	121	98	110	90	77	103	75	51	47	62	1085	678	295	112	1085
4	Bhalukapara	19	17	36	112	128	124	132	129	134	82	85	53	70	42	54	1143	946	192	5	1143
5	Biroidakuni	9	15	24	77	79	70	60	90	71	55	51	46	49	37	39	724	561	156	7	724
6	Jhalihalia	8	10	18	78	72	54	53	62	43	36	32	35	31	18	16	530	340	186	4	530
7	Baromari	8	11	19	67	44	76	64	86	54	76	43	37	29	30	15	621	311	272	38	621
8	Mariamnagar	19	19	38	161	109	111	105	118	100	68	61	70	41	32	28	1004	755	231	18	1004
9	Jachatra	11	28	39	168	145	147	129	151	152	118	119	114	111	77	88	1519	1023	359	137	1519
10	Pirgacha	9	39	48	147	121	149	97	139	133	116	117	108	111	80	84	1402	1265	50	87	1402
11	Mymensingh	13	20	33	155	153	175	174	159	141	114	115	62	49	35	55	1387	389	874	124	1387
		132	206	338	1268	1134	1141	1028	1183	1014	836	814	670	595	449	489	10621	7166	2842	613	10621

Sr. No.	Parish	Teachers		Total Students	Boys		Total	KG	I	II	III	IV	V	Total	Chris	Mus	Hind	Total	Schools
		Male	Female																
1	Baruakona	10	15	25	350	372	722	189	145	145	109	74	60	722	594	67	61	722	13
2	Baluchora	13	11	24	263	221	484	146	85	90	75	49	39	484	304	160	20	484	9
3	Ranikhong	13	21	34	1085	520	1085	251	219	200	180	126	109	1085	678	295	112	1085	14
4	Bhalukapara	19	17	36	1143	540	1143	240	256	263	165	123	96	1143	946	192	5	1143	19
5	Biroidakuni	9	15	24	724	375	724	156	130	161	106	95	76	724	561	156	7	724	11
6	Jhalihalia	8	10	18	530	383	530	150	107	105	68	66	34	530	340	186	4	530	10
7	Baromari	8	11	19	621	372	621	111	140	140	119	66	45	621	311	272	38	621	8
8	Mariamnagar	19	19	38	1004	560	1004	270	216	218	129	111	60	1004	755	231	18	1004	21
9	Jachatra	11	28	39	1519	775	1519	313	276	303	237	225	165	1519	1023	359	137	1519	15
10	Pirgacha	9	39	48	1402	739	1402	268	246	272	233	219	164	1402	1265	50	87	1402	18
11	Mymensingh	13	20	33	1387	700	1387	308	349	300	229	111	90	1387	389	874	124	1387	14
	Percentage	132	206	338	5522	5099	10621	2402	2169	2197	1650	1265	938	10621	7166	2842	613	10621	152
					52	48									67	27	6		

Source: Mr. George Ruram, Education Officer, Bishop's house, Bhatikashore, Mymensingh.

4.4 Primary Terminal Centre Exam 2009

The result of Primary Terminal Centre Exams have announced on 22 December 2009. The centre exams at class five were held for the first time in the country on November 21, 22 and 24. The percentage of pass in the Primary School Centre Examinations-2009 stood at 88.84, according to results announced by Primary and mass Education Ministry. Announcing the highlights of the results, a total 18,23,465 students appeared in the centre exams of which 16,20,054 passed in all subjects. Among the successful students, 7,51,465 are boys (90.44%) and 8,68,589 girls (87.51%). As many as 41.77% students secured first division, 37.98% secured second division and 20.25% third division.²⁶

In Mymensingh district, a total 67880 students appeared in the centre exams of which 50954 passed in all subjects. The percentage of pass in the centre exams-2009 of Mymensingh district stood at 83.88%. As many as 21343 students secured first division, 19265 student's secured second division and 10346 students second third division.

The results of Primary School Centre Exam-2009, of Mymensingh District's given below²⁷

Table 4.21

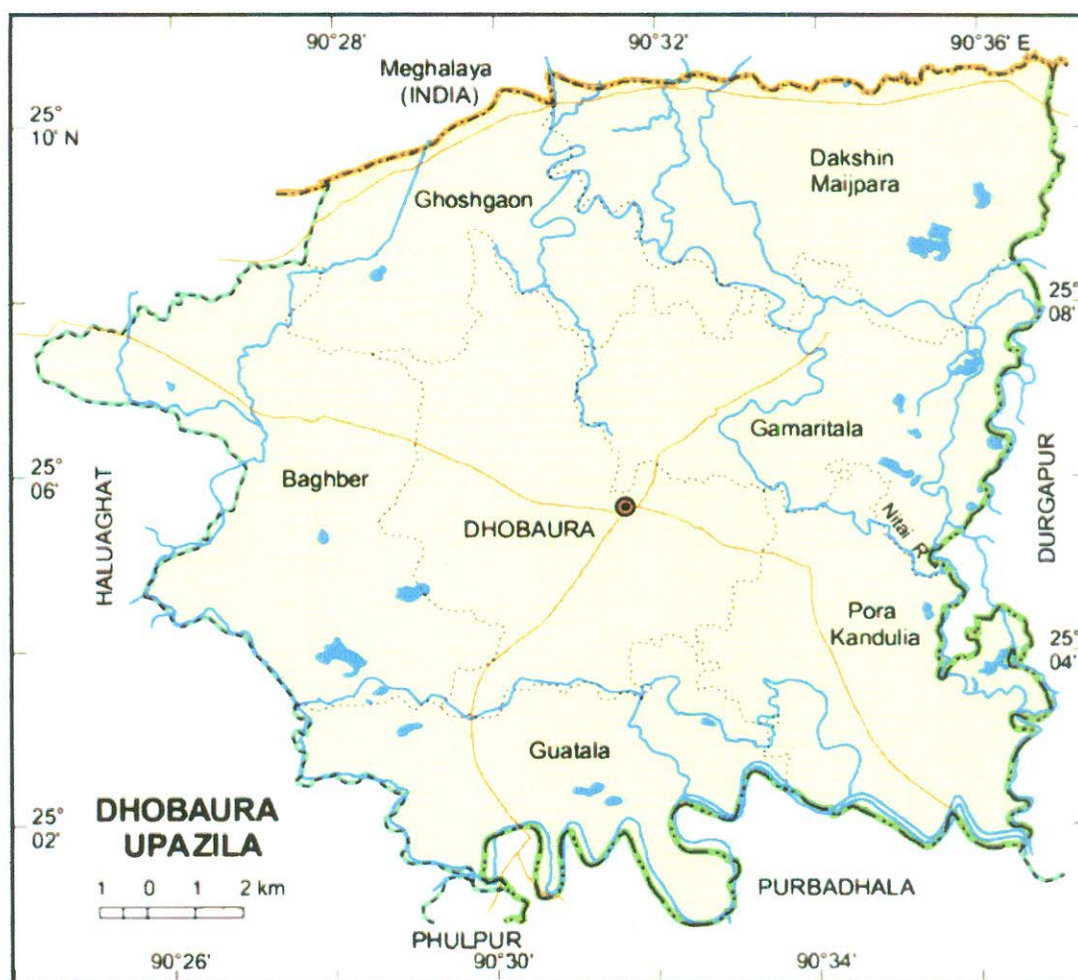
Name of Upazila	Number of Students			Total Presence	Number of Passage Students				Percentage of Pass
	Male	Female	Total		1st Division	2nd Division	3rd Division	Total Pass	
Sadar	4090	4797	8887	8177	3850	2543	1081	7474	91.40%
Muktagacha	2371	2910	5281	4760	1746	1841	783	4370	91.80%
Trishal	2415	2890	5305	4606	1447	1380	808	3635	78.91%
Bhaluka	2280	2817	5097	4542	1740	1492	650	3882	85.46%
Gaffargaon	2879	3633	6512	5525	2196	1844	1031	5071	91.78%
Nandial	2507	3240	5747	5242	1738	1617	838	4193	79.98%
Iswarganj	2287	2973	5260	4933	1767	1567	835	4169	84.51%
Haluaghat	2014	2521	4535	4104	999	1180	758	2937	71.56%
Fulbaria	2817	3345	6162	5546	1899	1769	1094	4762	85.86%
Gauripur	2304	2841	5145	4526	1266	1377	890	3533	78.06%
Phulpur	3401	4476	7877	6831	2201	2008	1154	5363	78.50%
Dhobaura	892	1180	2072	1950	494	647	424	1565	80.25%
Total	30257	37623	67880	60742	21343	19265	10346	50954	83.88%

4.5 Primary Education System of Dhobaura Upazila

4.5.1 Background

Dhobaura, the smallest upazila of Mymensingh zila in respect of area came into existence as a thana in 1976 and was upgraded to upazila in 1983. Nothing is definitely known about the origin of the upazila name. It is learnt that, at the beginning of the 16th century one Tarakanta sen. a talukdar meaning land lord of the locality dug a big pond and a considerable number of washer men meaning Dhopa in Bengali started habitation surrounding the pond. In course of time the village became known as Dhobaura. It is generally believed that the upazila might have derived its name from the name of the village here its Headquarters is located.²⁸

Geographical Map of Study Area



Source : www.bdshots.com

4.5.2 Area and Location

The upazila occupies an area of 251.05 sq.km. including 2.77 sq.km. forest area. It is located between 25°05' and 25°20' north latitudes and between 90°24' and 90°37' east longitudes. The upazila is bounded on the north by India, on the east by Durgapur upazila or Netrokona zila, on the South by Purbadhala upazila of Netrokona zila and Phulpur upazila and on the west by Haluaghat upazila.²⁹

4.5.3 First Primary School of Dhobaura Upazila

There is no sure and certain information regarding the origin and development of backward and neglected Dhobaura Upazila's first Primary School. However, the T.E.O of the upazila claims that, the first primary school was established at Dhairpara in 1898 by the missionaries. This statement is supported by the present Head teacher Mr. Asmat Ali of Dhirpara Primary School. But none of them presented any document regarding their statement. Principal Abdul Motalab, a prominent educationist and Historian of the Dhobaura upazila claims that the existing Dharsa Govt. Primary School is the first school of the upazila which was established in 1895 under the supervision and contribution then Union Board Chairman Mr. Golap Hosen Khan.

Table: 4.22
Statistical Information about Dhobaura Upazila

Status	Enrolled by sex			Enrolled by Religion				
	Total	male	Female	Muslim	Hindu	Buddhist	Garos	Others
Population	172152	86672	85480	155610	6332	10167	68*	25
Literacy Rate	27.94	31.59	24.27					

Source: Bangladesh Population Census-2001, Community Series, Zila: Mymensingh (Upgraded: January' 2007)

Table: 4.23
Number of Primary Schools by Type, Teachers and Students Enrolment in Dhobaura Upazila

Status of School	Number of School	Number of Teachers		Total	Number of Students		Total
G.P.S	43	93	96	189	6481	7170	13651
N.G.P.S	39	115	37	152	3829	4017	7846
Community School	04	04	06	10	227	273	500

Source : TEO Office, Dhobaura.

Table: 4.24

Number of Teachers by Religion in Dhobaura Upazila

Status of School	Number of Teacher	Muslim	Hindu	Buddhist	Garo		Total	Others
					Male	Female		
G.P.S	189	151	33		2	3	5	
N.G.P.S	152	139	11		1	1	2	
Community School	10	8	2	00	00	00		

Source : TEO Office, Dhobaura.

Table 4.25

Others Information about Primary Education of Dhobaura Upazila

Rate of Admission	95%	Vacancy Post		Approved Post	Teachers & Students Ratio
Rate of Attendance	91%				
Rate of Dropout	35.86%	i. G.P.S	26	215	1:72.22
Rate of Education	27.92%	ii. N.G.P.S	04	156	1:51.61
		iii. Community Schools	00	10	1:50

Source : TEO Office, Dhobaura.

Table: 4.26

Seventh Day Adventist Church Run School in Dhobaura Upazila

SL. No.	Name of School	Class One		Class Two		Class Three		Class Four		Class Five		Total
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
1.	Monsha Para SAD	5	5	3	2	3	3	4	1	2	4	32
2.	Shibananda Khila	4	5	3	4	2	3	3	4	1	4	33
3.	Dhobaura	3	4	4	2	5	4	3	5	2	4	36
4.	Mandartali	6	7	4	4	3	5	2	5	3	3	42
5.	Langaljora	5	6	3	3	2	3	-	3	2	-	27
6.	Kalidaha Kanda	7	6	4	5	3	-	4	2	3	5	39
7.	Thallapara	6	6	-	5	4	3	2	4	1	3	34
8.	Dighalbagh	4	7	3	4	-	5	4	6	5	6	44
9.	Chandrakona	6	5	7	2	4	-	3	2	1	4	34
	Total	46	51	31	31	26	26	25	32	20	33	321

Table: 4.27

Class wise Tribal Student's Enrollment in Dhobaura Upazila (GPS & NGPS)

SL. No.	Name of School	Class One		Class two		Class Three		Class Four		Class Five		Total		
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	Total
1.	Chaura Para Govt. Primary School	-	-	4	1	2	2	4	9	-	1	10	13	23
2.	Gilagora Govt. Primary School	-	1	1	1	-	-	4	-	3	-	8	2	10
3.	Monsapara Govt. Primary School	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	1	2
4.	Kalsindur Govt. Primary School	4	3	1	-	4	1	7	5	1	-	17	9	26
5.	Ramgnatpur Govt. Primary School	3	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	2	-	7	2	9
6.	Langaljora Govt. Primary School	3	5	6	-	4	6	5	8	4	-	22	19	41
7.	Krishnapur Govt. Primary School	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	4
8.	Dhobaura Model Govt. Primary School	-	-	-	2	3	-	9	11	1	1	13	14	27
9.	Dhairpara Govt. Primary School	8	9	7	6	7	4	15	6	2	3	39	28	67
10.	Rajibpur Govt. Primary School	4	6	5	12	14	7	11	12	8	3	42	40	82
11.	Hajangpara Govt. Primary School	1	2	-	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	4	3	7
12.	Bhalukapara Govt. Primary School	-	-	2	-	1	3	-	-	2	3	5	6	11
13.	Saluatola Govt. Primary School	6	5	5	9	4	7	3	4	3	4	21	29	50
14.	Aolatali Govt. Primary School	1	-	-	1	-	2	1	10	1	3	3	16	19
15.	Monshirhat Govt. Primary School	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	2	-	-	4	2	6
16.	Gosaipur Reg. Non-Govt. Primary School	2	3	3	4	1	1	-	2	-	-	6	10	16
17.	Dabal Reg. Non-Govt. Primary School	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	2
18.	Purba Bahuli Reg. Non-Govt. Primary School	2	-	2	1	2	-	1	-	1	-	8	1	9
19.	Chandrakona Reg. Non-Govt. Primary School	1	2	-	1	1	2	-	2	-	4	2	11	13
20.	Ganai Reg. Non-Govt. Primary School	10	2	2	-	2	-	1	-	-	1	15	3	18
21.	Chariakanda Reg. Non-Govt. Primary School	-	-	2	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	8	-	8
	Total	45	38	40	40	50	36	76	72	30	23	241	209	450

Source : TEO Office, Dhobaura.

Table: 4.28
MCD Runs Primary Schools in Dhobaura Upazila

SL. No.	Name of Schools	No. of Teachers		Total Students	KG		I		II		III		IV		V		TOTAL	CH.	MUS.	HIN	TOTAL
		Male	Female		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls					
1.	Tutorial	2	2	4	5	11	9	9	9	12	12	10	9	12	12	10	120	116	0	4	120
2.	Sapmari	2	1	4	6	12	9	9	7	9	5	5	5	15	4	10	96	80	16	0	96
3.	Dighalbagh	2	2	4	17	14	21	20	22	12	11	11	7	10	6	11	162	137	25	0	162
4.	Gilagora	2	1	3	9	11	8	19	12	15	13	6	4	9	4	5	115	32	83	0	115
5.	Gangerbera	0	1	1	3	4	3	3	3	5	3	2	0	0	0	0	26	26	0	0	26
6.	Goalkhali	0	1	1	6	1	4	7	4	7	2	3	0	0	0	0	34	30	4	0	34
7.	Ganoi	0	1	1	2	1	4	3	7	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	21	21	0	0	21
8.	Aulatuli	1	0	1	6	7	6	9	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	34	33	1	0	24
9.	Bhutta	0	1	1	4	9	5	8	9	6	4	3	0	0	0	0	48	42	6	0	48
10.	Chariakanda	1	0	1	5	6	8	2	1	7	2	2	0	0	0	0	33	18	15	0	33
11.	Tholuapara	1	0	1	4	7	3	4	3	9	2	6	0	0	0	0	38	38	0	0	38
12.	Debal	0	1	1	3	2	4	4	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	18	2	0	20
13.	Panchanandapur	1	0	1	2	0	1	3	1	10	1	3	0	0	0	0	21	18	3	0	21
14.	Bhuiyanpara	1	3	4	15	12	13	13	12	13	10	8	14	12	8	10	140	132	7	1	140
15.	Keshiapara	2	1	3	10	8	10	4	11	2	9	11	10	5	4	4	88	85	3	0	88
16.	Dhairpara	1	1	2	2	6	4	2	6	3	3	5	2	3	0	0	36	36	0	0	36
17.	Atharobari	0	1	1	2	9	6	3	7	3	2	3	0	0	0	0	35	35	0	0	35
18.	Goborchena	2	0	2	6	2	4	6	5	7	1	4	2	4	4	4	49	22	27	0	49
19.	Borak	1	0	1	5	6	2	4	2	5	0	3	0	0	0	0	27	27	0	0	27
		19	17	37	112	128	124	132	129	134	80	85	53	70	42	54	1143	946	192	5	1143

Table: 4.29**GBC, Runs Schools and Students**

SL. No.	Name of School	Class One		Class Two		Class Three		Class Four		Class Five		Total
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
1.	Goborchona GBC	10	12	7	6	4	6	2	4	1	2	54
2.	Tangati GBC	5	7	2	6	5	4	2	3	1	2	37
3.	Kandapara GBC	9	3	5	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	22
4.	Rotonpur GBC	26	17	1	11	3	2	0	0	0	0	60
5.	Jigatola GBC	16	10	7	4	5	6	0	0	0	0	48
6.	Mandatuli GBC	17	18	7	8	9	6	0	0	0	0	65
7.	Digolbag GBC	5	4	4	3	2	4	0	0	0	0	22
8.	Balarampur GBC	7	9	11	7	7	9	10	8	2	2	72
9.	Chandrakona	12	13	12	12	9	14	9	12	7	4	104
	Total	107	93	56	58	47	52	23	27	11	10	484

Table 4.30**Number of Teachers in GBC Runs School**

SL. No.	Name of School	Number of Teacher		
		M	F	Total
1.	Goborchona GBC	2	00	2
2.	Tangati GBC	2	00	2
3.	Kandapara GBC	1	1	2
4.	Rotonpur GBC	1	1	2
5.	Jigatola GBC	2	00	2
6.	Mandatuli GBC	1	1	2
7.	Digolbag GBC	00	1	1
8.	Balarampur GBC	1	2	3
9.	Chandrakona	1	2	3

4.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter deals with the education system of Mymensingh district. Education System of the past, the origin of the name, Number schools, of teachers, students, and Garo people, literacy Rate of Garos, percentage of education of the Garos in Dhobaura Upazila (Study Area) the first Primary school of study area has been briefly discussed in this chapter. There is also information regarding several NGO runs schools, gender and posts possessed are among the most important information described in this chapter.

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Chapter- 5

Problems of Education in the Garo Community

5.1 Introduction

Education is the backbone of a nation. No nation can prosper without education. The main cause of miserable condition of the Garo is lack of education. Education can ensure the perfection of knowledge and skill of human being which would make them fit for modern world or for their survival. Educated men can judge everything perfectly. So, it is difficult to deprive him of his rights and duties. Educated people can exchange their ideas and views with different types of people in their practical life which make them perfect. They generally become more careful of their children education as they know today's children is the leader of the future nations.

The Garos of Mymensingh are failing to ensure standard living due to lack of education. Moreover at present they realize the necessity of education for their children as they suffer a lot in their practical life. But they have to fight a lot as there are many hindrances to the way of educating their children. There is no separate education system for the Ethnic minority communities in Bangladesh. Owing to their different languages and cultures, the Garo children have no easy access to national primary schools.

The female are more educated than males among the Garos. The backwardness of the education of male is mainly for their bias social system as the female are the successor of total property among the Garo community. The male are totally deprived of their property rights. As they have no bright future in life, many of them lose interest in life. Consequently they remain illiterate and became lazy and indifferent.

After being conscious, the Garo children can realize that they have no authority and power in the family; they are just like a guest that makes them lazy and indifferent.

Moreover there is a historical reason behind backwardness in education among the Garo community. These Ethnic minority groups of people are borne and brought up in woods which are totally a natural environment. In this environment they just learn some natural rules and regulations. They seldom get any formal or institutional lesson from time immemorial they never learn or feel the necessity of formal institutional lesson. As they have no competition in life or complicities in their forest life.

The followings are major common obstacles to get institutional education among the Garo people:

- (1) The foremost important reason is poverty. Most of the people of the Garo community are unable to manage their educational expenditure;
- (2) Linguistic problem is also a hindrance of taking lesson along with mainstream people;
- (3) Socio-cultural difference is also a difficulty for Garo children in the schools.
- (4) Corruption in educational administration never ensures their quota wise enrolment in higher studies;
- (5) Transport and communication system is also not easy to the Garo community; and
- (6) The ethnic minority Garo community people also face difficulties in residential facilities in urban area where maximum educational institutions are available.

5.2 Problems of Primary Education in Garo Community

The Garos are suffering from various difficulties for access in primary education. The researcher has already talked with different stake holders of Garo Community particularly who are working for strengthening primary education among the Garos viz; local leader, NGO activists, Missionaries people and other tribal leaders and education officers. Marshal Chisim, President of Tribal Welfare Association, Dhires Chiran, Education and Development Officer of Mymensingh,

CARITAS, Aunipama Richil, Officer of World Vision of Bangladesh of Dhobaura Upazila, Province Marak, IPDS (Indigenous People's Development Service) in charge, Jatan Rama, in charge GBC (Garo Baptist Convention), Motanra Mankin in charge of Catholic Mission Sonjeeb Drong, General Secretary, Bangladesh Indigenous Peoples Forum, Promod Mankin, President of Tribal welfare Association (TWA) and So on to know the problems of education in Garo community. The most important problems are discussed below:

5.2.1 Linguistic Problems

It has been known from a report published in the "Daily Samakal" dated 23 February 2008 that UNESCO in a function organized on the occasion of International Mother language Day on 21 February, at its headquarters' in Paris, has declared the year 2008 as the international year of language. According to the report there are six thousand and seven hundred languages of which have no their own scripts. It is very deplorable to know from the report that in every 14 days one of these languages is losing its existence¹. We all know language of a community is inseparable from its culture. Without it no society can fully flourish. We can not even think of the existence of a cultural group. It is part and parcel of a culture. So there is no language without culture and vice versa. So the Bengalis of this territory, when Mohammed Ali Jinnah tried to impose Urdu as the state language on the majority Bangla speaking people in 1948, instantly protested against the declaration and opposed it in 1952 at the cost of many lives.

Many democratic movements based on the spirit of the language movement, took place in Bangladeshi political arena. So the people of Bangladesh (the then East Pakistan) had to undergo sufferings due to numerous movements and gained independence at the loss of millions of lives. It is a matter of great pride that 21 February; the UNESCO has, now acknowledged Martyr Day, as "international Mother Language Day". It is not the acknowledgement of Bangla as a monopoly language but the acknowledgement and the sacrifice the Bengalis made in 1952 and of spirit (significance) of the movement. The acknowledgement also signifies the

recognition of other languages that exist and are used by some people belonging to some cultural groups. It is not a matter of honour and dignity that the languages of 45 indigenous ethnic communities having different social, economic, political, cultural aspects, are yet to be acknowledged. The government, instead of the demand for the constitutional recognition made by indigenous peoples, is still indifferent to the issue. It is more deplorable that the existence of the indigenous peoples, of Bangladesh, though they contributed to the war of independence in the same way the majority Bengalis did, is not recognized in the constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. Moreover like other parts of the world, indigenous peoples in Bangladesh are the most marginalized, disadvantaged, neglected and vulnerable people in the country.

Social scientists designate a segment of the world's population as tribals, primitive or native tribes or aborigines. Such tribes or communities are found in all six continents. The growth of western trade and commerce and the expansion of colonial rule brought western people into contact with these people. But not until as late as the 1950's did the international Labor Organization (ILO) recognize them as being different from the dominant society of each country. These people are now described as "indigenous" in many official international documents.

Bangladesh has over 45 distinct indigenous peoples or 'Adivasi' groups and their populations are about 1,772, 788 according to the 2001 census Report (provisional 2003). Indigenous population is, therefore, form 1.28% of the total population in the country².

But indigenous peoples in Bangladesh are generally regarded as 'tribal' in official documents. Which are some laws refer to them as "indigenous" (Act 12 of 1995 and rules 6, 34, 45 & 50 of the CHT regulation 1900) or as 'aboriginal' (section 97, East Bengla states acquisition and tenancy Act, 1950). The constitution of Bangladesh does not recognize the distinct ethnic identity, language, religion and culture of the indigenous peoples.

United Nation has declared 1993 as 'International Indigenous Year' and 1995-2004 as "International Decade of the Worlds Indigenous People". Second time UN declared International Decade of World's Indigenous People, 2005-2014. UN Draft Declaration on the rights of Indigenous peoples in an indication in the direction of recognizing the rights of Indigenous peoples. Also the UN permanent forum on Indigenous Issues is another pragmatic example of significant institutionalized role of indigenous peoples as an equal partner with governmental and inter-governmental organizations and institutions.

The Universal Declaration of language Rights 1996 clearly says "The language is a fundamental rights for all". Also to learn one's own language and culture, to have access to culture services; and to equal presence in the mass media of the group's language and culture. The Act 10 of 1995 is clear "All language communities are legally equal" and Act 11 also clearly says, "Any language community, within its territory, has the right to use its own language as an official language." Our National Anthem "My Bengla of gold, I love you, forever your skies, your air set my heart in tune as if it were a flute. In spring, Oh mother mine, the fragrance from your mango-groves makes me wild with joy-Ah, what a thrill!... Oh mother mine, words from your lips is like nectar to my ears! Ah what a thrill! Oh mother mine casts a gloom on your face; my eyes are filled with tears! "In our National Anthem touch our mind when some line start "Oh mother mine". We observe and realize our mother on the line of assemble when we sing National Anthem. Really we love this country. But it is such a sad thinks that as an indigenous people don't have rights to sing and reflect this in Mother Tongue. From childhood they (Garos) speak in their mother tongue A-Chik (Ambeng) language, a lot of indigenous story, songs, poems, novel listen from their mother and from ground father. The Garo are still continues to be a matrilineal society. Mothers are taking initiative to teach own language for her children in home. There is a child getting satisfaction, which is realistic. In the words of Lamin saneh, the indigenous and this languages were 'destigmatized' and they were raised to equality with any other people. Their languages had the same strength to express ideas as any other language in the world.

Communication is always two-way traffic. Communication between persons, communities and people is an on going process. Culture at an abstract level is the basic medium of communication within same community. Any communication is an interpretation of what is communicated to one by the other or vice versa. Therefore, own mother tongue is the best to communicate. All over the world many languages don't have alphabet, which is one kind of problem, but it is not a big problem. The English, French, Spanish such a rich language but they don't have alphabet. They also were using Roman Script. Garo indigenous people in Meghalaya, India use Roman alphabet. It is not a big problem but the Government and scholars need to be willing and have fruitful mind to establish indigenous language formal education.

The UNESCO declared for "International Mother Tongue Day" which is mentioning multilingual, multicultural and develops our mother tongue foundation. In the context of globalization half of the languages all over the world will be destroyed within 2100³. Nevertheless, this country is not taking any strong initiative to keep up the indigenous languages. What about the languages scholars? We can imagine 45 language speaking indigenous peoples in Bangladesh are still neglected. Dhaka University, Anthropology Department had a research that in Rajshahi division have 51 indigenous community⁴. But that research did not include relevant education for 45 indigenous language communities in Bangladesh.

In 2001, the heads of the United Nations agencies responsible for the Education for All Movement reviewed the situation and reiterated that its is unacceptable for more than 113 million Primary School age children more than 60% of whom are girls, to be denied the chance to go to school, as is the case in developing world today. They reaffirmed the importance of education and restated the new Education for all (EFA) goals, notably elimination of gender disparities at all levels of education by 2005 and completion by all children of the full course of Primary Education by 2015 (UNESCO)⁵.

More than 6,000 languages are spoken in the world today. Approximately 1.38 billion people are speakers of local languages, languages that may not be used for formal education because they are yet Unwritten or are deemed unsuitable for other reasons. If an average of 16% of the population of developing countries is of school age, then estimate 221 million school age children today are speakers of these lesser-known or unwritten languages. Some of them will be in school struggling to take advantage of the education being offered; many will drop out early for lack of success; still will not be able to enrol at all. The situation in Bangladesh also some NGOs like SIL Bangladesh, CRWRC, GBC, MCE, PARI, PROSHIKA, BRAC, CARITAS, GONOSHASTO KENDAR, FOOD FOR THE HUNGRI, etc had start Garo, Telegue Santal, Sardi Mru language primary education and research work. Some missionary schools are trying to start primary mother tongue education program.

Hope these programs that promote life long education minority language communities are especially for Mother Tongue speakers of the languages but can also be used by 'Outsiders' who are helping minority language communities develop their programs. The indigenous peoples Mother-Tongue languages enable learners to build a strong educational foundation in their language and good binding to their second languages so that they can continue learning in both languages.

The situation is disappointing because of the evidence in hundreds of published and unpublished works that failure to use the mother tongue for initial education is a factor in the failure to provide equal educational opportunity to all children. Children who speak only local languages many lack physical access, even when these children have access to school, they are denied educational opportunity. They attended classes taught which they therefore cannot learn. As a result, many children drop out before finishing even the primary cycle without mastering skills in their first language, not to mention skill in the official language, the language of instruction. In addition to the cognitive factors, there are emotional ones. Members of minority ethnic

groups, whether children or adults, are empowered when their first language is used. Conversely, when the mothers tongue is not used, they are made to feel awkward, inferior, and stupid. Their culture is denigrated, and the children are scared, confused, and traumatized. This is long-term effects.

There is a strong relation between language and education. Generally the Garo children enroll themselves lately because their linguistic problem. They fail to go to school in due time as they cannot express their ideas and feelings in school because of their poor knowledge of Bengali. Consequently the tribal community of Mymensingh cannot use their own language outside their community people including educational institutions. They do not have their own dialect. So they cannot use their own language in educational purpose. However in India, the Santal community people get an opportunity to use their language as a means of education after Romanized alphabet, the Santaly language alphabet. They also translate many academic materials in their language with the help of new dialect. But in Bangladesh such type of initiatives are totally absent. As a result, the young Garo Children have to face many difficulties in the school as most of the children and teachers speak in Bangla. Consequently they start to lose interest in school and finally many of them stop schooling due to linguistic difficulties.

Recently, Professor Md. Jafor Iqbal, a prominent novelist told in a seminar arranged by RDC (Research and Development Collective) for celebrating GCE (Global Campaign for Education) for ensuring primary education among indigenous children that we have to ensure an education facilities in their own mother language. Moreover we have to remove other difficulties for getting primary education.

Mazbah Kamal, the General Secretary of RDC and Professor of History Department, Dhaka University claims that, "Education is birth rights of human being but the indigenous people are deprived of education due to their linguistic problem. So, we have to ensure their education through their own mother tongue".

The Garo children can not speak Bangla well in their class room and a communication gap with teachers and students creates complexity among them and they suffer from inferiority complex and lose interest in education. Regarding these, the following letter is mentioned-worthy.

Letter to Editor,

The Garos, people of Sorrow; Yes, we are.....

Sergius S Marak
Southern Baptist mission
Sarodaganj, Gagipur

Partition of Indian Sub-Continent happened in 1947, according to the two nation theory of Mohammed Ali Jinnah. Till now, religion in politics is very common in South Asian countries national politics. After the partition how were the Garos in Pakistan? And after the emergence of Bangladesh, what is the present state of their living? Many inquisitive mind of Garo older generations always try to compare between the past and the present.....

The Garo new generation does not have any nostalgic longings like the older generations. In the clock-dominated world they are always busy with discovering future. Some of the Garos might feel much pride for their education. Some of them might feel satisfied in their hearts for the good number of literacy rate in Bangladesh, Now for the Garo's education means reading, writing and solving arithmetic in Bangladesh. Garo children never get any chance to learn their own language in school. It is very difficult for our Younger generations to know the history of the Garos in Bangladesh. If we don't understand our past how can we deal with the present or plan our future? What will you teach them? Present education system of the country has been designed to draw all people in mainstream nationalism. But we must admit our differences in ethnic or national identity, in culture, language or religion.

5.2.2 Financial Difficulties

Poverty is one of the major difficulties in taking lesson among the Garo people. Traditionally, they collect their livelihood through hunting and getting in their Jungle life. But along with the development of modern civilization they lose the right on their land and other source of income as well as livelihood. Consequently they fall in acute poverty and it makes them illiterate. The poor parents fail to manage their children educational expenditure and very often they are forced to send their 8/9 year old children to work in other houses as a cow boy and such. They learn agricultural and household activities in other houses so they don't get opportunity of formal institutional lesson. Recently a good number of Garo girls are forced to engage in a household activity in Dhaka city. The poor guardians are bound to send their children to work in risky environment in the city. The Garo children do not get academic environment from their early childhood due to their parents' economic hardship.

5.2.3 Lack of Consciousness

Lack of consciousness is also a serious obstacle to education. Many of the Garo guardians are not conscious about the importance of their children's education. So they never realized the necessity of their schooling. They became happier if their children support them in their household activities rather taking lesson in the school. Anupama Richil expresses very primmest that, there are very peculiar facts among the Garos. According to Richil's opinions, unconscious parents keep their school going children busy in taking care of their younger baby instead of sending them school.

5.2.4 Drug Addiction

Drug addiction is also a significant reason behind illiteracy among the Garo children. Most tribal communities use wine in their all socio-cultural and religious feast and festivals all over the World. At present many people from Garo community converted to Christianity in study area. Many of them stop drinking due to their religious oath; still drinking is ceremonially menu among

the tribal people. Drinking is a traditional habit of the tribal people, so it is very difficult to stop their practice. Non-converted Garos drink wine irrespective of their age. Many Garo mothers give a little amount of wine to their babies. The liquor which is generally a week home brewed beer of a milky colour made from rice or other grains is even poured into the mouths of their babies as soon as they can swallow.

At the time of outing, Garo mothers carry their babies on their back and during the long outing they also give few spoonful of wine to their babies as they can sleep comfortably on their back. In this way the Garo children become habituated and addicted to wine. It makes change in their physical structure, activities and habits as their voices become harsh and behaviour become wild.

After taking wine they feel drowsy and they do not go to school from hesitation as the wine creates bad smell. In this way they remain illiterate. So it is very essential to protect the Garo children from the drug addiction for helping them in getting their primary education.

5.2.5 Frustration from Deprivation

At the very beginning of their life, the male children of Garo community observe very pathetic scenario in their family life. After getting married the Garo males have to leave their parents house for their mother-in-law's house and they are totally deprived of their parents' property. In practice Garo female is the real authority of their parent's property. So the son never enjoys their parent's property but the daughter and son-in-law become gainer or successor of the ancestor's property. This system creates a frustration among the male member of Garo family. This pessimistic trend makes them indifferent to education.

5.2.6 Unpleasant School Environment

Socio-cultural system among the Garos is also a hindrance to receive education. The mainstream children neglect the Garo children and very often

they insult them and hesitate to sit in all together. The Garo children do not feel comfort in the school and very often they are forced to leave the school. Moreover, at the time of their conversation the Garo children use their own language and it creates laughter among the mainstream children at same time they humiliate the tribal children so they feel embarrassed and finally stop their education.

At the time of the celebration of GCE week which was arranged by RDC and Oxfam GB. A student of Rajshahi University Horandra Nath told that when he was lodging with a Bengali family during his SSC examination his meal was served in banana leaf, no plate was given as he is from indigenous community. Similarly, an indigenous female student from Dhaka University told in the seminar that many female students from indigenous community are not allowed to sleep in the bed along with the mainstream student rather they have to sleep on the floor in the residential hall. The mainstream students treat them as a wild animal and they never cooperate with them in educational institution. These negative environments dishearten indigenous students in getting their education. So, the social environment in the educational institution is very disfavoured to them which create a serious obstacle to their student life.

5.2.7 Difficulties in Transport and Communication

The study area is situated under Dhobaura Upazila of Mymensingh district. It is a remote area. There was no electricity before 2001 and there are only 50 kilometer pucca and the rest of the roads are kucca. The Garos have to send their children very long distance to schools. There is no comfortable means of communication to these schools. During the rainy season the Garo children are unable to go to school through the muddy road. So, bad communication is also an obstacle to their education.

5.2.8 Problems of Political Representation

Bangladesh was born as a state and society in 1971 with a strong commitment to the parliamentary democracy as a form of government and

politics. Surprisingly, this parliamentary model of government and politics, as it was articulated in the constitution of 1972, was abandoned in a relatively short span of three years to establish the presidential form of government. This resulted a “Constitutional dictatorship” of present of the state and eventually led to military rule in Bangladesh that continued until 1990. However, in 1991, as the military regime had overthrown by mass political movement, and also in part because of the popular will of peoples, the parliamentary forms of government as the system of governance and political practice was reintroduced and re-enacted in the constitution.

According the new parliamentary system the Prime Minister and his/her Cabinet forums the executive branch of the government with broad powers, nominated from the political groups who had command and confidence of members of the parliament who are elected for 5 years term. The president who is elected by the members of the parliament and can be removed only through impeachment by at least-two-thirds majority of the members of the parliament acts as the head of the state and on the advice of the Prime Minister. The President has no veto power although a bill passed by the parliament requires the assent of the president to be an act. The parliament is the supreme law-making body. The parliament is also the guardian of the national finance and no tax can be imposed without its sanction.

Like most of the Third World Countries, democracy in Bangladesh has remained fragile and raven due to instability and power struggles although many formal democratic institutions such as parliament, an active opposition, a ‘Free’ print media and the judiciary exist in the political system. The major problems in consolidating democracy in Bangladesh include Deep-seated Institutional shortcoming because the existing democratic institutions and system are highly politicized-Frequent interrupted by civil and military dictatorship, often function with limited transparency by accountability and openness to public input. Lack of Consensus among the national political leadership about policy-making process, and most importantly, the failure of political parties in Bangladesh to settle down one for all about the mechanism and manner in which the general election will be conducted are the main

manifestation of those problems, if not the causes of the failure of democracy in Bangladesh; the restoration of democracy in 1991, Bangladesh's electoral system and related institutional reforms have remained the focal point of political power struggles, conflicts, and violent protests, as well as the national and International debates for the democratization of politics and governance. As Bangladesh is scheduled to hold the general election in 2007, political impasse regarding the institutional reforms for holding free, fair and credible general election has now reached at a critical juncture. During October 2006, at least 40 people have died and thousands of people being injured in street violence and political agitation.⁶ Later, the general election was scheduled on January 22 under the interim caretaker government that had to be cancelled because of International pressure resulting from the boycott of all major political parties except the ruling alliance of political parties of the last government. In turn, the state of emergency was declared on January 11, 2007, and military backed civil interim new caretaker government was formed promising free, fair and credible election within its constitutional mandate which has yet to be realized.

Aside from the political debates, conflicts, and violence that have dominated the political scene since 1991, the ethnic (indigenous) communities in Bangladesh have increasingly been mobilized for cultural rights, political powers and the resources. Therefore, many ethnic leaders and human and indigenous rights activities are voicing the need of more participation and representation of the ethnic communities in the parliament.

Bengalis are predominant in Bangladesh; however, there are at least twenty-nine other ethnic groups which, according to 1991 census data total 12 million constitutes about one percent of the nation's total population of 120 million⁷. The number of indigenous communities and their size of the population or population size seems to be much higher than being reported by the census of 1991. Bangladesh indigenous people's forum (BIPF), a national body indigenous organization in Bangladesh, claims that there are more than 45 indigenous communities and they altogether total about 3 millions of population⁸.

The constitution of Bangladesh that was adopted immediately after the independence of Bangladesh from Pakistan in 1972 has gone through 14 amendments and yet has special provision for direct or indirect representation of the ethnic or religious minorities in the parliament. According to the constitution, any citizen at Bangladesh of 25 years ago, mentally sound, and is not criminated charged from any court of the country can compete in the general election. Although the constitution does not bar members of ethnic communities to complete and to be elected for the parliament, it is unlikely for members of ethnic communities getting elected in the parliament without much difficult as we have seen it in the last four parliament election since 1991. A recent survey conducted by a daily newspaper, The "Doynik Somakal" Suggested that it is not only ethnic Communities but also minorities in general (Including both religious i.e., Bengali Hindus and ethnic minorities who represent about 12% of the total population) are increasingly finding it difficult to participate and represent in the parliament. There are several obstacles that the ethnic communities and minorities face in their way to political participation and representation under the current election system and political culture. One of the major barriers for ethnic communities to participate and represent in the parliament is present election system of the parliament. At present, according to the constitution, the parliament consists of 300 members to be elected form 300 single member territorial constituencies by direct election on the basic of universal adult franchise for the terms of five years period. In addition to this, there are additional 45 reserved seats exclusively for women to be elected by the members of the parliament for the same period of time. However, there are no reserved seats for the minorities in the parliament, as the constitution does not recognize the religious and ethnic minorities of country. The parliament consists of 300 single member territorial constituencies, and the constituency is delimited by the Election Commission⁹. On the basis of total population of the country and then distributed among the administrative districts and sub-districts of the country.

Because the ethnic communities represent only about 1% of total population of the country, and are, with exception of the CHT, geographically and administratively dispersed, they do not form even a single constituency in which they form the majority of the voters. Moreover, the article 21 of the constitution prevents preparation of electoral roll on the basis of religion, race, caste and sex, and the article 125 of the constitution also gives absolute power and authority to the Election Commission to delimit the constituency that cannot be called into question in any court of law.

5.2.9 Lack of Constitutional Reorganizations

Since the independence of Bangladesh in 1971, the ethnic communities have been approaching the government with demands for provision of safeguarding their language, culture, heritage and the distinctiveness of identity. The moves for these demands have been made both inside and outside the national parliament. But the urge, appeals and demands of the ethnic communities were not taken into consideration while the national constitution was drafted and accepted in the parliament in 1972. As a result, the one and only members of the then parliament from ethnic communities walked out from the session of parliament. The trend of urge, appeal and movement of the indigenous ethno-linguistic minority peoples of Bangladesh is still going the same way.

However, the constitution delineates that Bangladesh will be a 'unitary' country, where Bengali will be the state language. According to Hossain & Tollefson (2006), "The new constitution of Bangladesh.....placed the Bengali language at the centre of Bangladeshi nationalism"¹⁰. Not only this, the constitutional narrative of the independence struggle highlights the central role of the Bengali language

"The unity and the solidarity of the Bengali nation, which deriving its identity from its language and culture, attained a sovereign and independent Bangladesh Through a united and determined struggle in the war of independence, shall be the basis of Bengali nationalism"¹¹.

This declaration would not be harmful to the minority peoples if the constitution, at the same time, had recognized the variety of ethnicities and languages, and if it had warranted the protection and development of the variety of languages and culture. Rather article 23 states.

“The state shall adopt measures to conserve the cultural traditions and heritage of the people, and so the foster and improve the national language, literature and arts that all sections of people are afforded the opportunity to contribute towards and to participate in the enrichment of the national culture”.

In the light of the above clause, government can pass any law and policy in the parliament for the protection and development of minority language and cultures if it had been forgotten at the time the constitution was adopted. It is even possible to amend the constitution to provide constitutional recognition to the ethno-linguistic minority peoples. In this regard, we can refer to the constitutional amendment of India (Article 29(a), 350A and with amendment cited in Annamalai, 2001). Bangladesh has also amended its constitution more than a dozen times.

The National Education policy 2000 also mentioned in its introduction that an “International Institute of Mother Tongue” would be established for the teaching, training and research of the various languages in Bangladesh¹². The researches hope that the international institute would not look into the foreign languages alone; it will also take care of other languages of the home.

Thus it is crystal clear that the problem of introducing the minority languages as MI in local primary Schools is not the lack of resources and funds, nor the lack of expertise and knowledge. The problem is with the intention of assimilation and suppression, which will give nothing to the nation but which will take away everything from the minority people. But, in contrast to this nation assimilation, which is left out by many nations, a paradigm shift needed to address the issue of plurality and diversity for more civilized, modern and productive statehood which not only recognize the minority people, but also guarantee their existence and nurture for their prosperity.

At last the researches would like to say, the Bangladesh constitution does not recognize the indigenous identity. Bangladesh did not observe 1993 as the UN international year of the world's indigenous people, and did not sign ILO convention no.169 The Government of Bangladesh believes that there is no indigenous population in Bangladesh only tribal people.

5.3 Problems of Land Rights

For the indigenous people both in the plains and in the hills, management of land and ownership has as altogether different meaning. From my field experiences I have seen that in early days, ownerships of property were communal in nature among the Garos. All the properties along with lands belonged to the community as a whole. It has become abolished from their society as it is not too recognized in Bangladesh¹³. Due to the invasion of state sponsored individual ownership instead of communal ownership, there is conflict between the traditional land rights of that Community and the present land laws as well as land administration of Bangladesh.

The Garos are not out of the reach of state practices and how the state penetrates to their culture and economy. It is not different in respect of their land rights too. The state sponsored individual ownership drove them to face serious miseries of landlessness. And the simultaneous result of the individual ownership which is the out come of the capitalistic system makes a class division among themselves. Because at present situation of the landlessness of the Garos Community, the land holding families do not want the survival of the communal ownership whereas the landless Garo wishes to approach it though all of my interviews agreed that they could protect their lands from the land – grabbers by the communal ownership.

Land and property may be registered in personal name but ultimate ownership of the land goes to Machong (Clan). According to Garo customary law property descends through the mother and not through the father. Property is passed on from mother to daughter (Nokna) and never to a son.

5.3.1 Land Rights of the Garo People

The Garos have a hereditary relationship with their lands. From the following circumstances the researcher can assume about their present position of enjoying land rights.

5.3.2 Land Record System

For the state sponsored individual ownership the Garo people had to record their names in the record of rights. As they were regulated by the customary law, they were not aware of the land record system. Therefore, most of them were unable to record their names in the record of Cadastral Survey (C.S record during the British period) as land owners during the British colonial period. Later, the State Acquisition and tenancy Act 1950 empowered the state to seize all the rent receiving interests from landlords and lands held under their khas possession¹⁴. The tenants were made proprietors of land provided that they should prove possession of holding directly under the rent-receivers¹⁵. In this respect the Garo people were totally ignorant about ascribing holding rights before settlement office or Survey process, which is the first requisite to become land owner under the State Acquisition and Tenancy Act 1950. As a result, in the Settlement Attestation most of them failed to record their names as owners of their land. Declaring those unrecorded lands as Khas lands the government allotted those to the landless Bengalis. To avoid the complexity of land litigation the Garo people always remain far from civil court to recover their lands. As they know that they are unable to meet the financial support to continue that litigation.

So the complexity of land litigation in Bangladesh and the unprotected regime of Khas land have given the land grabbers an opportunity to work to their advantages¹⁶.

5.3.3 Present Land Laws for Adibashi People

The lands administration of the Mymensingh Garo people was regulated by the Mymensingh partially excluded Areas Tenancy Regulation, 1940 when it was known as partially excluded Area. In this regulation we have

found a strict provision that the provincial government may on his own initiative or an application restore aboriginal tenants to lands from which they were disposed¹⁷. But in later enacted land laws we have not seen the reflection of that provision to protect their lands.

At present, the only direct provision to protect Adibashi's land rights is provided by the State Acquisition and Tenancy Act 1950 which has already proved itself insufficient to achieve its objective. The Act contained that transfer by an aboriginal raiyat of his right is holding or in any portion thereof shall not be valid unless it is made to another aboriginal domiciled or permanently residing in Bangladesh¹⁸.

If in any case an aboriginal raiyat desires to transfer holding or any portion thereof by private sale, gift or will to any person who is not such an aboriginal, permission from the Revenue Officer is necessary. But the necessity of prior permission was not made automatically enforceable in each area rather it is subject to proper gazette notification. Besides this in this Act the terms "Tenant and raiyat." Have been used for distant purpose, the tenant indicates "the holder of any kind of land" but the raiyat indicates "the holder of agricultural land". So in the said Act raiyat indicates only the agricultural land owner but not the non- agricultural land owner. It would be better for indigenous people if the Act was amended in favour of non-agricultural land owner too.

In the said Act an aboriginal raiyat's power to mortgage his land is restricted to only one form of mortgage, namely, a complete usufructuary mortgage. But the restriction on mortgage does not apply to a mortgage to government or to financial institutions for obtaining loans for agricultural purposes. The Act also permits the usufructuary mortgage to a non-Adibashi. It gives the chance to the Bangladesh people to grab the land.

The said Act also provides that no decree or order shall be passed by any court for the sale of the right of any aboriginal raiyat to his holding or any portion thereof nor shall any such right be sold in execution of any decree or

order. But this is not applicable in decree obtained by the government or the Bangladesh Krishi Bank or the Agricultural Corporation or a Co-operative society.

5.3.4 Use of Force and Forged Documents

The Garo Community is also threatened by the hooligans who are engaged by the Bengalese neighbours in respect of their lands. And they do not get help from the police or the land related government officials. At last they have to be evicted from their own land. Very often, they are victimized through forged documents made by the Bengalese people and lose their lands.

5.3.5 Unethical Attitude of the Government Officials and the Officials of the TWA towards the Garos

From field visits it was came to know that before the permission of the Revenue Officer a recommendation of the concerned branch of the Tribal Welfare Association (TWA) is necessary to transfer the Garo's land. In this circumstance the Garo becomes the victim of harassments of extortion by the governmental officials and also by the officials of the Tribal Welfare Association.

Not only this but also their investigation about the purchaser is not trustworthy. Very often the officials of the Tribal Welfare Association do not investigate whether the purchaser is an Adibashi or not before approving the sale. As there is no monitoring system, the government officials take a long time to investigate about the purchaser and sometimes they demand extra charge from the Adibashi people. All of these situations drove the Garos in more helpless position. That's why the Goros have no faith on the activities of the Tribal welfare Association and the government officials regarding transfer of lands and they try to avoid taking permission.

5.4 Eco – park

The Forest Department continues to declare the lands of the indigenous people's ancestral lands as reserved forest and protected forest in the name of rubber plantation project, social forestry agro forestry and development of Eco- park.

And one of their controversial development projects is Madhupur National Park Development project (MNPDP) mostly known as Eco-park. (Though Eco-park area of Modhupur is not the research area of the researcher but as it the major problems of Garo Community and it is related with the problems of education so the researcher is interested to discuss about it) This project is on 3,000 acres of core zone out of compression 20,000 acres in clouding 21 Garo and Kach villages and threatening with eviction to 1,510 families by construction 61,000 feet length concrete wall¹⁹. The government's plan for Modhupur eco- Park is with following mouzas²⁰.

Mouzas	Area coverage (in Acres)
Aronkola	11,872.70
Gachabari	52.00
Pirgacha	88,179.53
Chapaid	140.00
Rusulpur	350.00
Bijoypur	243.00
Total 6 Mouzas	20,873.23(8437 Hectors)

For this project the Government is investing us \$9.93 million dollar with the help of Asian Development Bank.

The problem relating to lands of the Garos in Modhupur is somewhat different from that of Dhobaura Upazila in Mymensingh district as well as Nalitabari Upazila in Sherpur district. In latter two districts most of the Garos hold to corded lands, though some problems lie. But the Garos in Modhupur Garh area hold both recorded and unrecorded traditional lands which they have been cultivating for generations. Many of them did not think of recording

the lands. The reason is that they did not face such problem in the past regarding lands as they are now facing seriously. Many of them wanted to record their lands but did not get their lands recorded.

The Customary land rights is traditional domain have been an eloquent topic on national and international issues. But in Bangladesh perspective customary land rights issues regarding indigenous people are always being ignored. Consequently, most of the indigenous people are being displaced from traditionally owned land, ancestral abode and surroundings in the name of or as a consequence of so called development for public interest.

The Garos have their own customary laws to deal with any dispute arising about the ownership. But this concept of ownership of land and property of the Adibashis is hardly being taken into consideration. So there prevails constant conflict between the Garos concept of ownership lands and land and forest laws of the state.

The Limitation Act of 1908 has legally recognized the traditional land rights emerging from prescription or adverse possession. According to this Act, rights exercised or enjoyed uninterrupted and peacefully for 20 years on any private property or 60 years in the case of government property create a legal right. Each of the said periods of 20 years or 60 years would be taken to be a period ending within 2 years next before the institution of the claim. In case where the forests have been the khas properties of the state, 60 years would be the period for acquiring titles. According to that estimation, The Garos are the real owner of the Modhupur forest. But such rights can not be enjoyed once the is declared as reserved under section 20 of the forest Act of 1927. The Garo people in Modupur forest are the most adversely affected by this Act, as their ancestral lands were declared as reserved forest. The amendment of the Forest Act of 1972 in 1989, which brought the entire forest area under the control of the Forest Department, By classifying the land as 'forest land' and "government trust land". Then the Forest Department proclaimed the entire forest as 'national asset'.

If we just look back to the British domain, the whole Modhpur forest track was under Natore Zaminder in the British Zamindari system. It was treated as a Debottors (Devoted to God) Property of Natore Zaminder. Within this system, the Garos could register low lands under their own name and take lease of high lands for cultivation. The Garos recorded their low lands under the Indian Tenancy Act of 1878. The annual tax is still paid to the Revenue Department, the successor of the Zaminder and the British Raj for recorded lands. Most of the high lands remained unrecorded but traditionally possessed by the Garo from generation to generation. During the time of Zaminder the Garo and the Koch Adibashis, like their ancestors, cultivated jum and used the forest resources rendering taxes through charchit. The government did not care tax receipt as a proof of the Garo's ownership from the British period. Rather the Forest Department treating the Garos as the illegal encroachers, has declared the eco-park area as national asset and the rights and claims of the Garos who have distinctive affinity with the forest are nullified and ignored. So if the eco-park comes into operation, it will directly deprive the local Adibashi including the Garos.

The grabbing of lands of the Garo and the Koch by the Forest Department violates human rights and international law which recognize indigenous peoples' traditional rights over their lands whether it be recorded or not in record of rights.

Article 17 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) 1948 states:

Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in the association with others. And no one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

5.5 Article 11 and 12 of the ILO Convention 169 States

The right of ownership, collective or individual, of all the members of population concerned over the lands, which this population traditionally occupies, shall be recognized (Art-11) and population concerned shall not be removed without their consent from their habitual territories (Art-12).

Article 14 of the ILO Convention No 169 also recognizes rights of ownership and possession. It states, “the rights of ownership and possession of the peoples concerned over the lands which they traditionally occupy shall be recognized”. In addition, measures shall be taken in appropriate cases to safeguard the right of the peoples concerned to use lands not exclusively occupied by them, but to which they have traditionally had access for their subsistence and traditional activities. Particular attention shall be paid to the situation of nomadic peoples and shifting cultivators in this respect’.

5.5.1 Article 16 of the ILO Convention 169 States

1. Subject to following paragraphs of this Article, the peoples concerned shall not be removed from the lands which they occupy;
2. Where the relocation of these peoples is considered necessary as an exceptional measure, such relocation shall take place only with their free and informed consent. Where their consent cannot be obtained, such relocation shall take place only following appropriate procedures established by national laws and regulations, including public inquiries where appropriate, which provide the opportunity for effective representation of the peoples concerned;
3. Whenever possible, these peoples shall have the right to return to their traditional lands, as soon as the grounds for relocation cease to exist;
4. When such return is not possible, as determined by agreement or, in the absence of such agreement, through appropriate procedures, these peoples shall be provided in all possible cases with lands of quality and legal status equal to that of the lands previously occupied by them, suitable to provide for their present needs and future development. Where the peoples concerned express a preference for compensation in money or in kind, they shall be so compensated under appropriate guarantees;
5. Persons thus relocated shall be fully compensated for any resulting loss or injury.

The above international instruments are implemented in many countries, though Bangladesh has not yet ratified the ILO Convention 169 (which replaced the ILO Convention 107). But Article 16 of the ILO Convention Plays a vital role providing the international standards of government's responsibility regarding removal of the indigenous people from their ancestral lands, which is not followed by Bangladesh government in respect of the Eco-park project in Modhupur.

As per Article 16, if we presume that the government took that project as an exception measure, it should have relocated the Garos of that area following the above measures mentioned in Article 16. But the government has not yet taken such initiative rather it has already declared the Eco-park area as national asset. The intention of the government not to follow the above mentioned measures in Article 16 becomes clearer from their attitude of not ratifying that Convention. However, from above discussion we can say that to protect the tie between the life of the Garos and the land of the Modhupur forest, no hard and fast rules is necessary but to modify the existing laws concerning forest as per their amenities.

5.6 Lack of Implementation of National Policy

Bangladesh is a signatory to many international conventions and initiatives to promote equity and equity in educational opportunity, including the convention on the Rights of the Child, 1990, which emphasizes that an equal opportunity to access education is a basic primary right of every child. This is reflected in the governments to achieving the Millennium Development Goals to eliminate gender disparities and achieve universal primary commitment education for all children by 2015.

A further commitment to meet the Education for All (EFA) goals that all children have access to a completely free and Compulsory Primary Education of good quality means those schools should accommodate all children regardless of their physical, intellectual, social emotional or other conditions. This should include disabled and gifted children street and working children,

children from remote or nomadic populations, children from ethnic or cultural minorities and children from other disadvantaged or marginalized areas or groups.

The right to education is a key instrument for achieving equitable development and respect for cultural diversity. Education is an investment in the future, a means to reduce poverty and counter discrimination. Indigenous peoples have the right to quality primary education that is sensitive to their holistic worldviews, traditional knowledge and other aspects of their cultures, which contribute to human dignity and intercultural dialogue.

Article 27 of the Constitution of the peoples' Republic of Bangladesh states all citizens are equal before law and are entitled to equal protection of law. The national constitution also outlaws discrimination on grounds of race, religion and place of birth (Article 28) and provides scope for affirmative action ("positive discrimination") in favour of the backward section of citizens" (Article 28, 29). Consequent upon these provisions, a small percentage of public sector jobs and seats in a number of government educational institutions are reserved for indigenous persons.

In addition, there are some specific laws that make reference to indigenous peoples. The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper recommends the forming of a National Commission or Advisory Body consisting of indigenous peoples and representation from indigenous organizations.

The government of Bangladesh has a special affairs division under the Prime Minister's Secretariat, which looks after the development of indigenous population outside CHT. The special Affairs Division provide fund for indigenous populations for their development including dispendis for students. The stipend is given once a year for purchase of books, tuitions fees etc. and is mainly paid to students of colleges and higher classes.

To take up a special programmer for poverty reduction among the indigenous people, to incorporate their culture in the national curriculum of education, and to formulate a policy for the development of indigenous people

and implement laws. The PRSP suggests that it is necessary to provide education to indigenous people with a Curriculum that allows learning in their own language at the primary level.

The Bangladesh primary Education (compulsory) Act 1990 is the basis for much education current policy, aiming to ensure that : (i)no child is deprived of education for lack of teachers, learning materials or adequate space (ii) no child is subjected to disparities of access to primary education arising from gender, age, income, family ,cultural or ethnic difference and geographic remoteness', (iii) the quality and relevance of primary education program are improved and supplies ensured, and (iv) all possibilities are acted upon to improve learning contents and materials, to enhance physical facilities and to carry out necessary reforms in the primary education system. These aims are reinforced by Bangladesh's commitment to EFA, and the incorporation of its goals into the National plan of Action (NPA) 2002-2015.

5.6.1 Lack of Information

Indigenous people mainly live in isolated areas, outside the mainstream of national economies and development support. The areas they inhabit are even more likely to lack basic infrastructure such as roads, markets, schools and health facilities, than the other areas of population.

There remains a serious dearth of information on education of the indigenous population, and especially those living outside CHT. Data from 1991 census and micro studies indicate that literacy and school enrolment of indigenous groups are low. A study conducted by an NGo Research and Development Collective, titled Baseline Survey on Indigenous Peoples in North-west Bangladesh, published in November 2000, Report No.15 shows that the literacy rate of Santal, Koch, Mahalis are 22%, 17% and 25% respectively²¹. All indigenous groups have distinct language, which are different from the mainstream language of Bangla, and this is one of the major barriers preventing indigenous children from accessing education.

The lack of information makes it difficult to assess the literacy rate of the indigenous children. Bhumija, a local NGo working in southwest region, has developed a database on 20 different groups within the indigenous population. Among them the literacy rate of Buno is 7% and Rajbangshi is 14%. The primary enrollment rate is 12.5%. Majority of tribal children usually attend NGO (NEPE), or private schools. Among the Garose and Khasis the literacy rate is high, because Christian Missionaries have been active in their society for centuries but there are no reliable statistics available²². The 2001 census does not provide information regarding the indigenous population because there were no columns in the survey format for including information on indigenous issues.

The main types of school serving the indigenous communities are: government primary, registered primary, no-registered primary, private primary schools, community schools, and non-formal schools run by NGOs. Enrolment in primary school is particularly low amongst the indigenous groups and absentee and drop out rates are high. This may be simply because there is no school available in the area, or it may be due to the effects of poverty and marginalization. The NGOs currently provide Non-formal schools for disadvantaged children throughout the country and in some areas particularly for indigenous children. These schools recruit local teachers and may use local language in the classroom in the early years, phasing in the use of Bangla as the medium of instruction. Some NGOs have also established separate Pre-Primary Schools (PPS) for indigenous children providing teachers from the indigenous community.

5.6.2 Lack of Awareness

Parents are not aware of the importance of education, or find what is being taught relevant or important to their lives. In addition the children frequently are needed to help parents in agricultural or domestic work.

5.6.3 Poor Facilities

Because of their remoteness and the lack of community interest, buildings are frequently neglected and badly maintained, and textbooks do not arrive on time. This has led to an acknowledgement in some communities that NGO schools have better facilities and are more suited to indigenous children's education. One Headmaster of a Primary School in Mymensingh area felt that indigenous children in the area preferred to go to NGO and Missionary schools as they try to meet their cultural demands. He suggested that to reduce this attitude there be a series of dialogues between relevant government officials, SMC members, NGOs and indigenous organizations, traditional social and cultural organization and children regarding inclusive education programme.

5.6.4 Lack of Cultural Friendly Environment in School

Faced with difficult circumstances and in extreme poverty, it is not easy for Garo parents to send their children to the school. Schools do not attract them or aspire to meet their hopes and dreams. In government schools, particularly, the environments are not culturally friendly for Garo children. The teachers are not trained to understand diverse cultures or sensitized about the indigenous way of life.

5.6.5 Lack of Indigenous Teachers in Schools

There are insufficient government primary teachers from the indigenous community and the Bangla teachers do not know indigenous language. There are ten teachers at Dhobaura Upazila in Mymensingh district from the indigenous community, but they are often not assigned to their own community schools, but they have been appointed to other indigenous or Bengali areas.

The SMC members are mainly from the Bengali community. Because of their marginalization, indigenous parents are usually not interested to contest the election and if they do, they can not win.

5.6.6 Problems with Teacher Recruitment and Supervision

It is difficult to recruit teachers to the remote areas and posts of teachers remain vacant for a long time. High teacher absenteeism is also a problem as teachers who live in the town areas do not always want to travel to work. This applies to monitoring and supervision as those responsible also do not want to travel, or do not have time to visit the more remote areas. This means lessons are not planned or delivered properly.

5.6.7 Content of Curriculum

The curriculum and textbooks do not reflect indigenous life and history. Their stories are absent in the textbooks. Noticeably indigenous life and culture are presented in a negative manner. This leads to low self-esteem within the indigenous population and misconceptions and promotion of stereotyping amongst the mainstream Bengalis. In promoting only the culture of the majority, schools are not only failing the minority groups but also the majority who are not given the chance to understand the complex diversity of the society in which they live.

5.6.8 Difficulties with School Year Calendar

The school year calendar is also a difficulty for indigenous children as the children often do not go to schools during the harvesting and agricultural activity time. Instead they go to the field for helping their parents or look after their younger brother or sisters at home²³. In Greater Mymensingh and Sylhet region, the Christian Missionary Schools are allowing long vacation during the crop seasons, so that children can assist their parents.

Non-formal schools are trying to address these issues and indigenous children are therefore attracted to these schools. Some NGOs have established separate Pre-primary schools (PPS) with their own year calendar for indigenous children providing teachers from indigenous community.

5.6.9 Child lab our

In spite of their keen interest in education, the guardians of Garo children fail to send their children to schools due to their financial inability. In order to combat with their economic crisis, they are bound to employ the children in risky jobs against nominal ways instead of educating them. Even many parents send their female children to work as a maidservant without any wages²⁴.

In traditional rural Garo society, children learn their life roles from observation of their parents and, as they grow in stature, by aiding them in their work. Garo society is predominated by an agrarian economy. In an agricultural society children are highly valued; they add extra hands to help with the tasks required by agricultural necessities.

The child is an important sources of lab our in Bangladesh. From very early childhood, boys and girls are engaged in agricultural and household activities with their family. Girls remain at home and help their mothers in household works and learn how to manage a household. Girls are engaged in household activities like cooking, washing, dishes and clothes, taking care of younger brother and sister, gathering of fuel, helping their mother in the lengthy and arduous rice processing activities during and after the harvest season an and so on. Children are economic assets to their parents in a subsistence forming life style. Boys are engaged in tending cattle, helping to fish hunting, helping to cultivation, handling of a boat and other agricultural works. Primary school age children are thus integrated from their earliest years in the subsistence activities of the family. For economic insecurity, poor parents need to take help of their children at the cast of their schooling. A marginal farmer cannot afford to hire adult lab our, he is forced by his poverty to use his young sons in the fields for weeding and during harvest times. Only the middle and rich farmers can afford to forgo the child's lab our and send the sons to schools, loss of to labor being compensated for by hiring in adult lab our. Free schooling fails to hold the older and poorer children once they are old enough to be of meaningful aid to their parents in agricultural tasks. So highly valued child labour is one of the most important causes of low enrolment and high- dropout in Garo community.

5.7 Chapter Summary

Education can ensure the perfection of knowledge and skill of human beings which would make them fit for modern world or for their survival. Educated men can justify everything perfectly. The main causes of miserable socio-economic condition of the Garo are lack of education. This chapter presents the basic problems of Primary Education in the Garo Community. The major and common obstacles to get institutional education among the Garos are Poverty, Corruption in educational administrations, Transport and Communication, Financial difficulties, lack of consciousness, Drug Addiction, unpleasant school Environment lack of political Representation, Lack of Constitutional reorganizations etc. Most of the Garos said that one reason for the loss of their land is their lack of education and awareness on policies of the government related to land registration. In fact, the problems of Primary Education of Garo Community are high lighted in this chapter.

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19. M, Albert. *The Rights of Adivasis on land and Forest*. Bangladesh Governments, perspective, 2004 p.⁵⁹
20. *I bid*, P ²⁶
21. The ILO convention 107 for indigenous and tribal population.
22. Second Primary Education Development programme PEDP – 11, p.⁸
23. Commonwealth Education Fund, CEF report – 2004, published by Bangladesh Adivais Forum.
24. Personal interview with Roji Akther, assistant teacher of Dhairpara Govt. Primary School on 26.12.2008

Chapter- 6

Prospects of primary Education in the Garo Community

Education plays a significant role for the development of personality as well as to improve the quality of life of the individuals. It makes persons conscious about their rights, responsibilities and obligations with respect to family, to society and largely to nation.

The British philosopher and mathematician A. N. White says, "Education is like a candle, the light of which directs the human beings to go through their journey in this world." By acquiring education women can earn skills which will make them capable of doing their jobs efficiently. With this practical knowledge people can really reduce the gender segmentation of the labour market and equalize access to wage and self-employment opportunities. Education also makes women conscious of health care, nutrition for children and family planning.

Education is a process of learning through which human beings acquire knowledge and experience of appropriate understanding. In all respect, the development of individual depends on education.

Education changes the life-style of the people and gear up them towards development. The functions of education are; to provide financial solvency by employment, awareness building, skill development, protection of right, improvement of self-security and self-confidence, becoming dutiful and sincere, development of dignity and personality, etc. The ultimate result of education is the positive change of behavior towards improvements. It is prerequisite for human resource development.

There is nothing to over emphasis on education as it is regarded as a basic instrument of social progress and national development. No society can make real progress keeping a portion of its population in the dark. So that the tribal people may come forward and work hand in hand with mainstream people in all development progress. Both mainstream and tribal people are to be educated for such total development. As indigenous people are a portion of the total population of the country, so they constitute a great work force. Developing their skill through education human resource can be fully developed, it makes a man perfect. Women's education has assumed significant in the context of planned development because the efforts of planned development are to bring all, male-female, mainstream-indigenous, those in the mainstream who are left outside for some reasons or the other.

Education helps to expand economic opportunities for people. It leads higher economic status, better health, hygiene, nutrition and also to greater willingness to seek family medical intervention. All of these together lead people on the path of development.

Educated man can earn more than an un-educated one. Educated woman can do their household and economic works better, can preserve improved health; can nurse their husbands and children in sickness. Women are base of any nation. And since every woman is a potential mother, all-out educations should be imparted to the women folk to have more and more perfect citizens; if they are educated properly. They can teach their offspring with great care. A child's whole future life, to a great extent depends on teaching in early childhood, education play a vital role in molding the character of their children. Women are conscious partner to men in household and economic activities, education, offices, social services, child care, economic developments, etc. So to increase awareness among Garo community, both males and females should be educated through

government's initiatives. Then they will realize the necessity of education of their children.

Traditional and social norms, customs and belief deter the Garo people from participating in education. Substantial contribution made by tribal people especially in agriculture, livestock, poultry, fisheries, can increase dramatically if they are educated. If we can offer education as well as employment or economic solvency to tribal people, their economic and social status will be upgraded and their life style or standard of living will be improved. Their source of earnings can expand through education. Education can bring perfection in proficiency of works of individuals. Socio-economic development of a community depends on education. Development planning efforts must incorporate problems, prospects and aspirations of Garo people. Tribal issues should be made more specified and operational and efforts should be made to ascertain growth and equity more emphatically through productive use of underutilized manpower resources.

Property inheritance system of the Garos is the one of the main causes of frustration among the Garo males. Now educated Garos are distributing their properties among siblings against their custom. To reduce the discrimination between son and daughter in inheriting properly, equality of men and women must be guaranteed in every sphere of life through amendment of existing laws.

Illiteracy limits the opportunity for training and skill development of a person. So, necessary steps should be taken for increased education through human resource planning, free education for all tribal children, scholarships and stipends at all level types of education and training institutions and reservation of quota for tribal students in educational institutions.

Most of the people of Garo Community are landless and poor. So, scope of employment should be expanded in agriculture, in manufacturing sectors, specially the small and informal manufacturing activities, non-crop agriculture and other services. In order to harness the potentials of Garo people, conscious efforts will be needed to canalize greater investment in them.

Diversification of employment of the Garos should be encouraged both in public and private sectors through increased quota and better training facilities in non-traditional areas. Provision of increased credit facilities should be made for income generating activities to Garo people at the local level, we can help them by education, better training and financial aid to mobilize and organize them, so, that they can form their own support group structures (Institution building). To promote social mobilization defined in forms of building organizations of the poor Garo people at grass-root level to enable them to identify their problems themselves, make their own development decisions particularly in areas which concern them most, and articulate these with the relevant government agencies for necessary economic, technical, administrative, financial and other supports in the form of projects.

Although education is a basic necessity of life, tribal people have a limited access to education in Bangladesh. In Bangladesh, social customs and traditions, illiteracy, lack of technical and vocational training facilities, lack of employment opportunities have forced Garo people to stay far away from the mainstream of country's economic and development activities. To integrate Garo people in the mainstream economic activities through education, employment and self-employment and to raise the productivity and income opportunities on a sustained basis of Garo people through proper education skill development and training so as to reduce gradually the illiteracy, poverty and unemployment.

Tribal people are creative; they have their own small and informal manufacturing activities. Education can harness their creativity. We have to address both practical and strategic needs of the Garo people during policy formulation, undertaking advocacy, awareness and social mobilization programs, through the mass media (both Printing and Electronic Media) and local organizations to bring a general awareness about importance of education. Consideration of Garo people as a target group in all sectoral programs and formulation of development projects accordingly so as to ensure their effective participation in education and production. We have to make them more productive by introducing appropriate production technology for their hilly lands and skill development training.

Education can raise awareness among people in order to better understand their legal and social rights and responsibilities and to be more actively-involved in their self-improvement. There is a lack of general awareness regarding the necessity of education among the Garo people. It is essential to liberalize their minds to give up all ignorance, conservative outlook and superstition and give vent to the creative faculties of a person. So, we should educate Garo people to liberalize their minds and to make awareness among them. The media can play the most important role to increase mass awareness by broadcasting programs in television, radio and films which reflects the necessity of education. It is necessary that all campaigns including poster, leaflet and stickers should be easily understandable and should be based on real life situation and to be hanged in visible places and disseminate them to the target group.

Tribal people are also citizens of Bangladesh and inseparable part of our national life. So it is a must to include studies of tribal people's socio-economic life and culture in the curriculum of primary to university level. A distinct educations policy containing a special curriculum for tribal people should be done.

Education is deemed as a precondition of national development. Although law recognizes tribal people's right to equality and they enjoy several privileges as regards legislation, discrimination against them prevails in legal provisions, religion and local customs. Equality of tribal and mainstream people should be established in every section of national life in the course of eradicating discrimination against tribal people through expanding education.

Mental growth and progress, consciousness and basic understanding are expanded through education. Education has a major influence in the better training of people and consequently, in the opportunity to get better jobs. In Bangladesh, many NGO's micro credit programs serve financial helps and educational facilities for Garo people and children. Some national and international NGOs are working in the field of educational development in different tribal communities. In addition to the government programs, many NGOs are engaged in non-formal education programs for out of school and dropout students.

Socio-economic development of any community is related with education. As primary education is the basis of all education, so without solving the problems of primary education, it is quite impossible to make the development of the Garo community. The knowledge of the study will help the policy makers, social scientists, researchers, counselors, psychologists and lawmakers to take necessary steps to reduce the illiteracy among Garo people to solve the problems of primary education among them.

Chapter- 7

Findings and Conclusion: By way of Recommendations

7.1 Introduction

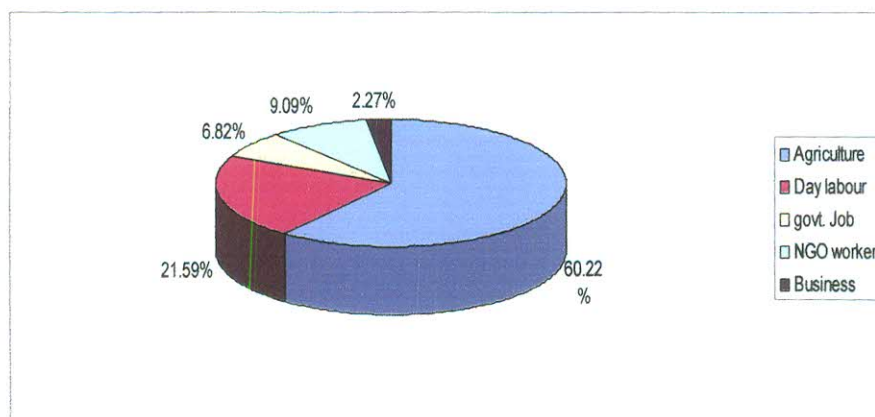
Education is the major current of social change in both the developing and advanced societies. It assumes higher significance in the context of the weaker sections of the society such as scheduled caste and minorities.

Bangladesh is considered as one of the least developed countries. Though homogeneous in character, Bangladesh has a number of ethnic minorities who are lagging behind the plain Landers in terms of social and economic advancement. Among these ethnic minorities, Garos are one of such ethnic groups, whose educational attainment shows a bright picture. In this chapter the result has been analysed from the information of field and the recommendations have been presented from this point of view.

7.2 Findings

Socio-Economic Condition (Occupation of Guardian)

Chart-7.1

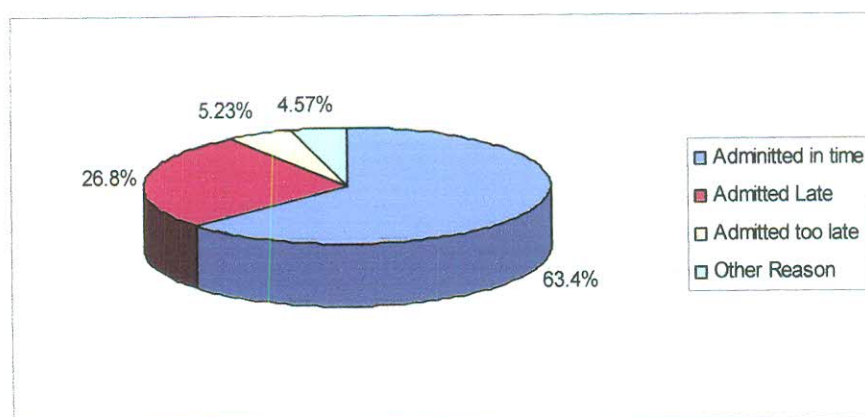


The standard, nature, problem and prospect of education in any society depend on the socio-economic condition of the country. That's why it is necessary to study the socio-economic condition of the society to discuss the

problems. On foot of Garo Hill, Dhobaura Upazila is a remote locality. Though the locality is full of natural resources, it is educationally backward. Agriculture is one of the major livelihoods of the people here. For want of mills and factories there is no chance to select other livelihood. It is found from the statistics among guardians that 60.22% Garos live on agriculture. 21.59% guardians live on day labour. Because of low literacy rate, the number of Government employee is hopeless, only 06.82% guardians' serve for the Government. 09.09% Guardians live on non-government service. The most surprising information is that the respondents among the Garo guardians who have a piece of business or live on business are only 2.27%

Garo Children get themselves admitted into Primary School in Time

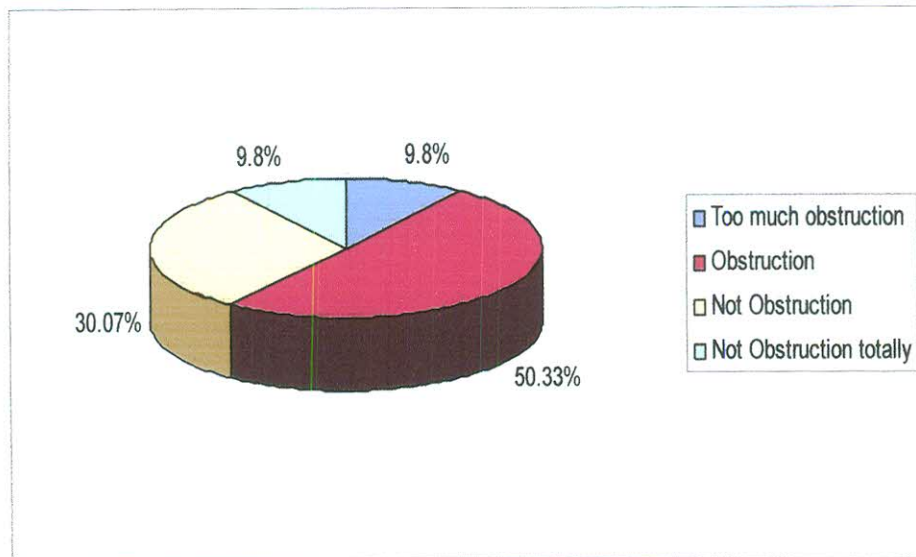
Chart-7.2



Hopeful information is found by talking to the guardians and teachers of children in the selected area of research. At present in most cases the Garo children get themselves admitted into the primary school crossing many problems and adversary. 63.40% respondents have said that the Garo children get themselves admitted into the primary school in time. 26.80% respondents have said that the Garo children get themselves admitted into the Primary school late. Only 05.23% respondents have said that the Garo children get themselves admitted into the primary school too late. 04.57% respondents have mentioned other reasons.

Not to Understand Bangla is an Obstruction to the way of Education for the Garo Children

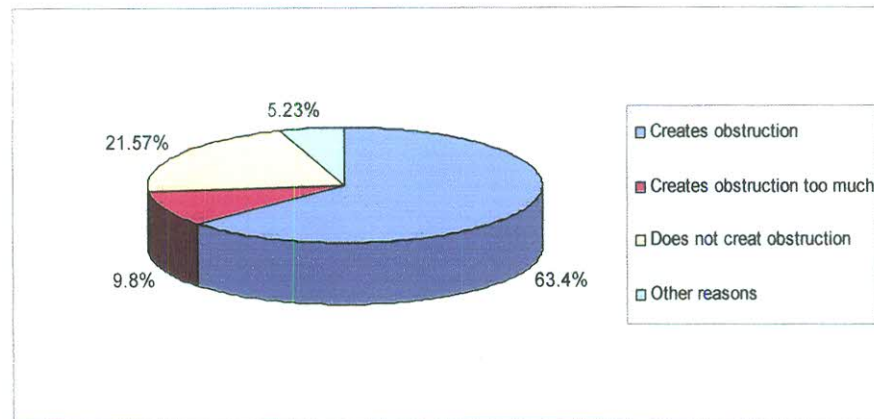
(Chart-7.3)



Every child feels fluency to speak his/her mother tongue after his birth. His mother tongue is mixed with his heart. He hears song, story, poem and lullaby in this language. He grows gradually. All his known children speak in their mother tongue, where they grow with their environment. The language of Garo is 'Achik'. The Garo children grow speaking or hearing 'Achik'. But suddenly when he is got himself admitted into the primary school, he introduces with a new world for study. All speak in Bangla here except Garo children. That's why he is faced with an uneasy feeling. In most cases, the Garo children give up primary school. It is found in the statistics that 9.80% respondents have said that it is too much obstruction for the Garo children not to understand Bangla and not to speak Bangla fluently. 50.33% respondents have mentioned that not to understand Bangla is an obstruction to the process of education for the Garo children. 30.07% respondents have mentioned that it is not an obstruction. 9.80% respondents consider that it is not an obstruction at all.

Poverty Creates Impediment to the Process of Education for the Garo Children.

Chart-7.4

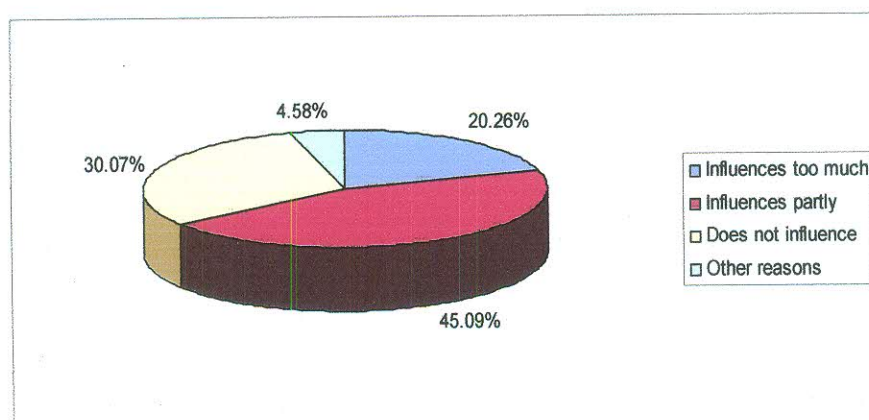


Poverty is a curse. Poverty baffles all the ways of development. It creates impediment to expand the merit of human beings. Inspite of dauntless ambition, the Garo children lose their inspiration because of poverty. Instead of going to school, most of the Garo children are obliged to help their parents in household chores or agriculture. Rozino Akter, Assistant teacher of Dahirpara Govt. Primary School, has described such a heart touching incident in the time of field work of the research. She says, "One day Orelia Mrong, a brilliant student of class five of our school, stands beside the road with a red banner with other Garo and Bengali women-I ask her, "What are you doing here now? will you not go to school?" Orelia Says with tearful eyes, "Madam, my mother works for a watcher of a road. In exchange with this she earns 20 kg rice and taka 300 per month. My mother is very ill. If she does not join the work, she will be departed from her job. So on behalf of my mother I am performing my responsibility of watching. I have to perform my duty and I won't go to school till my mother recovers". The statistics shows that 63.40% respondents have said that poverty of the Garo parents creates obstacle to their education. 9.80% respondents have said that poverty of the Garo parents Creates problems too much in the process of education for the Garo children. But 21.57% respondents have mentioned that poverty of guardians

does not create any problem in the process of education for the Garo children. 5.23% respondents have mentioned that there are other reasons for the obstructions of education among the Garo children.

Drug Addiction Influences Partly the Process of Education of the Garo Children

Chart-7.5

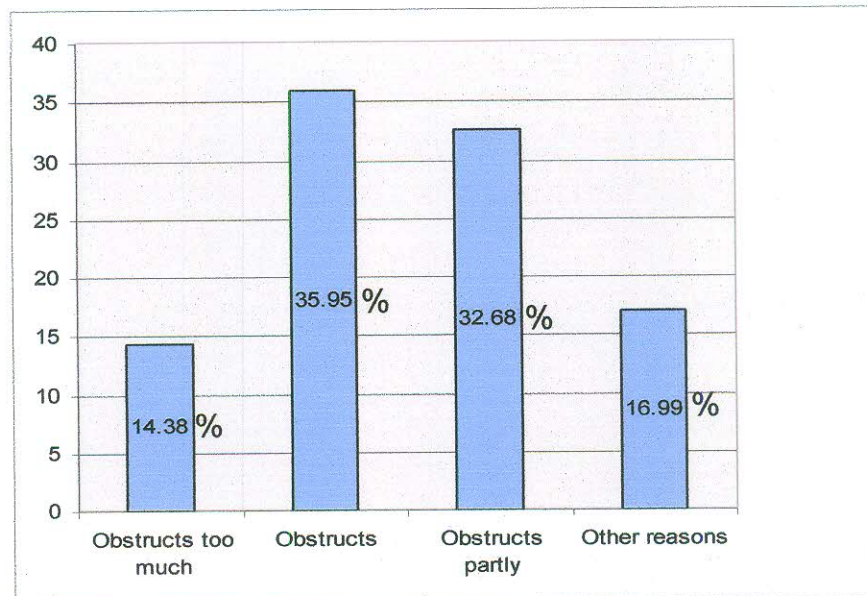


Drug is a very familiar thing in the occasion of family and society among the Garos. These occasions such as marriage ceremony, harvest-festival, which is known as Onegala hardly hold without wine. But the Garos don't take expensive wine. They take one type of wine which is specially made of rotten rice and which is known as 'Chu'. The Garo children are interested in taking wine in different occasions with their parents and relatives. As there is no obstruction socially without physical harmfulness, they take drugs easily. After taking wine, they feel drowsy and they do not go to school from hesitation as the wine creates bad smell. 20.26% respondents have mentioned that drug addiction influences the process of education of the Garo children very much. With the passage of time the consciousness among the Garos is increasing and they are trying to keep aloof from drug addiction. The Garos who are the followers of Roman Catholic do not take drugs. 45.09% respondents have opined that drug addiction influences partly the process of education of the Garos. 30.07% respondents have opined that drug addiction does not influence the process of education. 4.58% respondents have said

that drug addiction is not an obstruction to education rather they have mentioned other reasons.

The Socio-Economic Deprivation Impedes the Education of the Garo Children

Chart-7.6

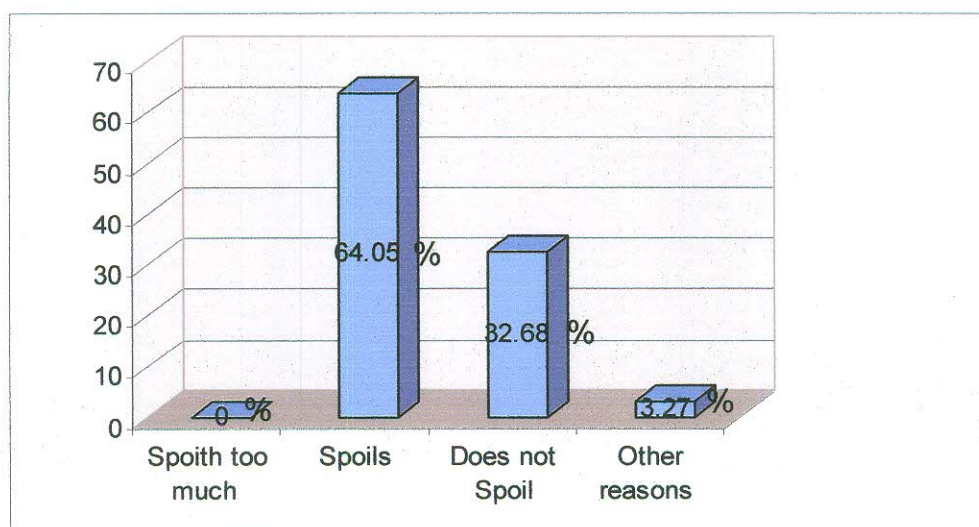


During the description of the history of the Garos, we have mentioned that the Garo society is matrilineal. Mainly the family of Garos is run by the leadership of mother. Mother takes all decisions of the family. The male children are not the heirs to property. The female children get the authority of their mother's whole property. In other community, the wife lives in her husband's household after marriage. But the Garos live in their wife's household after marriage. He deprives of the whole property of his father just after marriage and owns the whole property of his wife's household. That's why, It is seen that a man, of a rich family becomes poor only for marriage because he has married a poor girl. As a result, economic deprivation creates one type of struggle among the Garo children. They think what they will do to study; they will leave the property, household of their parents. Such type of uncertainty creates hopelessness among them. As a result, they lose their eagerness for study. 14.38% respondents have mentioned that economic

deprivation impedes the education of the Garo children too much. 35.95% respondents have mentioned that it impedes the education of Garo children. But 32.68% respondents have mentioned that the socio-economic deprivation impedes the process of education partly. The general secretary of "Bangladesh Indigenous people's Forum" and noted writer Sonjeeb Drong, have mentioned, that the tradition of property among the Garos is right. Individually he has presented his arguments with this support. But 16.91% respondents have said that the socio-economic deprivation does not impede the education of Garos at all.

Non-cooperation & Hostile Behavior of Bengali Children Spoils the Advancement of the Garo Children.

Chart-7.7

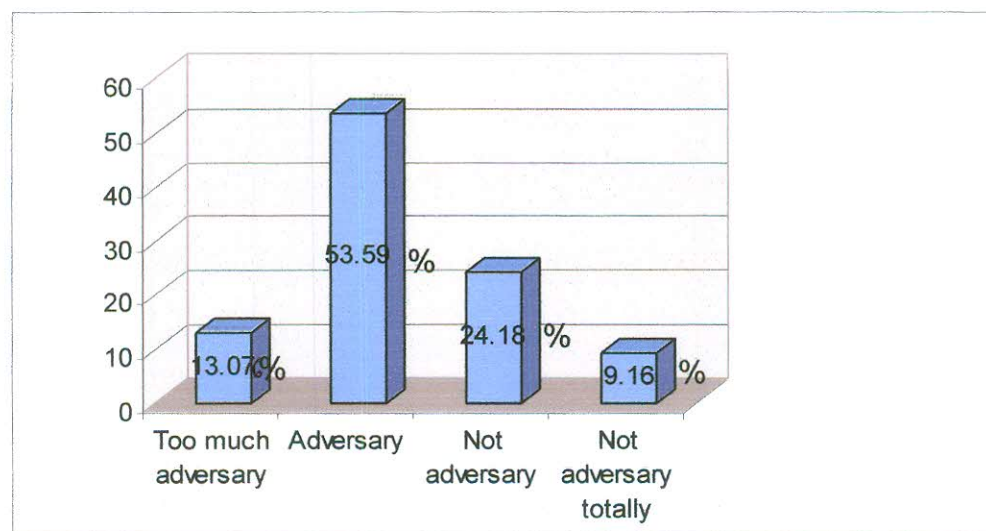


Generally the Garo children go to school in a body. They also play in a body that means they remain altogether while playing in the field. I have seen visiting different schools for collecting information that the Garo children take seat in a body If they take seat in the first bench, all sit there. There are no Bengali children. If they take seat in the middle or end, they follow the same way. I have seldom seen that there is mixture of Bengali and Garo children. During my visit, Mr. Abdur Rasid, Headmaster of Razibpur Government primary school, has said that in the time of quarrel the Garos take one side

and the Bengali children take another side. 64.05% respondents have mentioned that the antagonistic environment in school or hostile behaviour of Bengali children spoils the eagerness of education among the Garo children. 32.68% respondents have mentioned that the antagonistic environment in school or hostile behaviour of Bengali children does not spoil the eagerness of education among the Garo children. 3.27% respondents have mentioned that the antagonistic environment in school or hostile behaviour is not responsible for spoiling the eagerness of Garos rather they have mentioned other reasons.

Bad Communication Impedes the Process of Education.

Chart-7.8

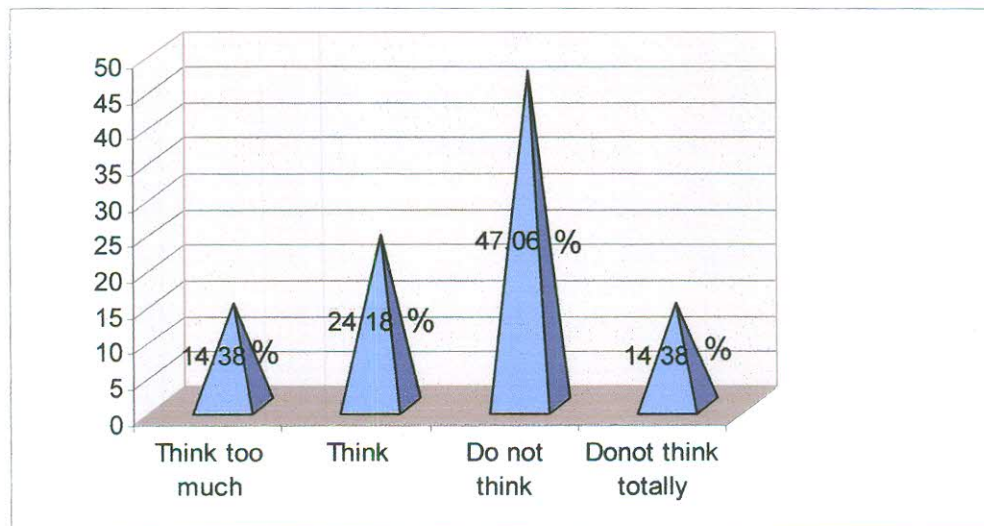


We know that Mymensingh stands on the foot of Garo hill. Dhobaura Upozila, which is selected for research, is a very remote locality. Like upazila the communication system of Union with Upazila & district level is not so developed. Without several villages the communication system with the union of different villages is troublesome. The communication system of Garo populous villages is bad with Dokkhin Maiz Para Union. In some cases the Garo children go to school crossing the slope of hill. The cascade of hill runs through the slope in the rainy season. The communication system cuts off totally. The roads are unsuitable not only for children but also for the older.

The fall of landslip cuts off the communication system for a while in the rainy season. As a result, the Garo children don't go to school for a while. The old bridges standing on the Garo roads are very risky. As a result, the little children lose their interest to go to school. The Netai River creates much obstruction for communication system in the rainy season. The swell of flood waters of Netai creates ebb suddenly. Then it is impossible to ferry. The roads of several school such as Purbobohuly Reg. Non-Govt. Primary School and Debal Reg. Non. Govt. Primary School is flooded with little water in Dhobaura Proper Union. As the roads are unmetaled, those remain muddy for a long time after flood. It is impossible to go to school for the little children crossing the muddy path. 13.76% respondents have replied that the bad communication system creates much trouble in their education. 53.59% respondents have mentioned that bad communication system creates obstruction. 24.18% respondents have mentioned that bad communication system does not obstruct the process of education among the Garo children. In this case, 09.16% respondents have expressed their opinion differently.

Having few Political Leaders among the Garo does not Create Obstacle to the Advancement of Education

Chart-7.9

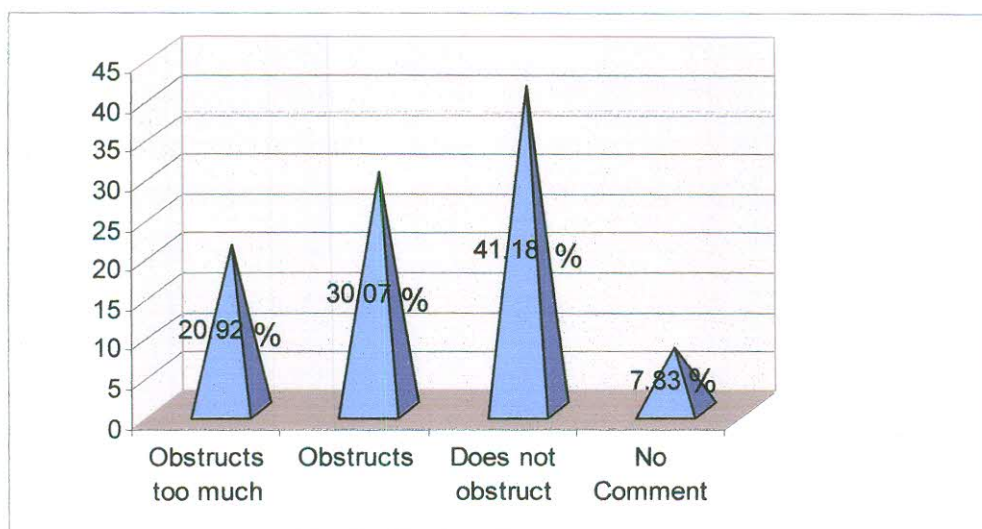


The rate of literacy is low among the Garo community. As there is no light of education, they are not conscious politically. Politically conscious

community claims his demand to the government and tries to be fulfilled. The Garos growing in hill, jungle are simple in nature. They do not want to involve in political conflict. It is found from the area of research taking with different classes that the Garo political representative is hardly found in local or national politics. But it does not create problem to expand education. But 14.38% respondents have replied that political leader is very essential for the advancement of Garo community. 24.18% respondents have mentioned the necessity of political leader simply. But 47.06% respondents have replied that it does not create problems for the advancement of Garos having a few political leaders. 14.38% respondents have replied that it is not a problem at all. Heris Ghagra, Headmaster of Dhairpara High School and tribal leader has said to me in a personal interview that the Christian Missionaries took the primary step to expand education in the Garo tribe. Different NGOs are working for expanding education with the financial assistance of Missionaries and different rendering organizations. In this case, there is a little role for the political leaders. Advocate Promod Munkin, MP is only the tribe leader in greater Mymensingh. There is no mentionable tribe leader in local or national level without him.

It Creates Obstruction to the Process of Education not to Recognize the Tribal Languages Nationally

Chart-7.10

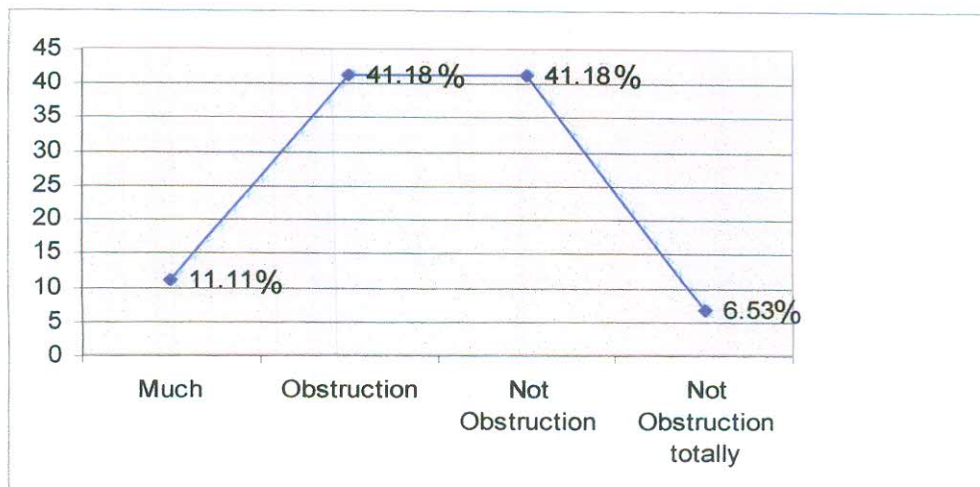


We have already mentioned that the language of Garo is 'Achick'. But there is no scope to exert this language officially. As a result, their alphabet is losing day by day. This is not being preserved. India, our neighbor-country, has taken steps to preserve the tribal languages through Romanize. To preserve the tribal languages national steps can be taken experimentally. But it is very difficult task to preserve 45 tribal languages existing in Bangladesh. A tribal writer Sonjeeb Drong has said to me in this matter in an individual interview at his residence of Mohammad Road that to preserve 45 tribal languages is a very difficult task for the Government. But the Government should recognize the main tribal languages.

A mixed reaction can be found about languages among the respondents. 20.92% respondents have replied that to recognize language creates impediment to the advancement of children very much. 30.07% respondents have replied that it obstructs. According to them, if the Garo language can be recognized nationally, it will be helpful in service and business for the Garos. They will keep pace with the Bengali students in different competitive examinations like BCS. But 41.18% respondents have replied that linguistic reorganization does not create any problem for education. 7.83% respondents have informed that they have no comment about this.

It Influences the Process of Education of Garo Children not to recognize the Male Children in Property.

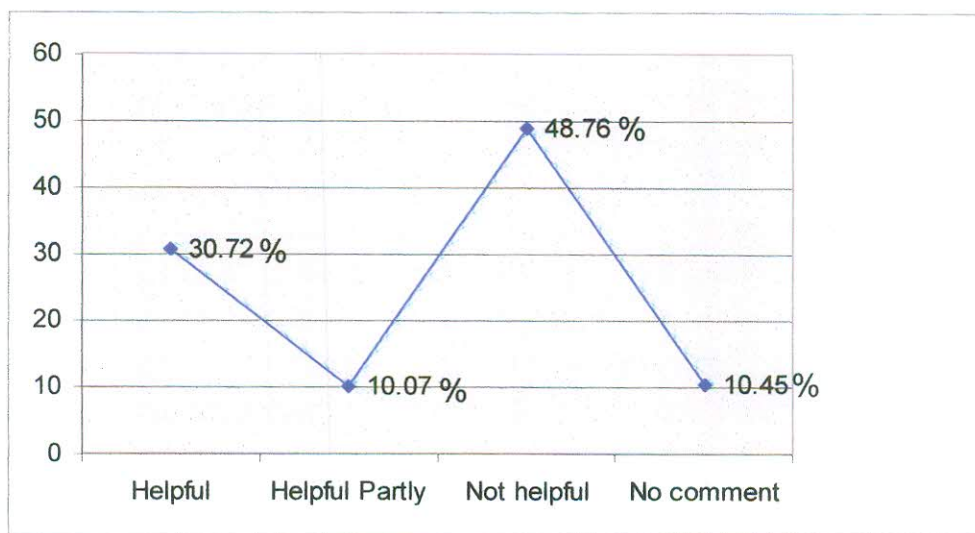
Chart-7.11



Garos male children don't get the right to property. We have already mentioned that the female children consume all rights. Though the motion of change is very slow, at present the changes are taking place in the Garo society. The Garos living in hill follow their social rules strictly. The Garos living plane surface have taken the matter normally not taking the rights to property who are getting the touch of modernization. Many of them try to establish their own qualification. 11.11% respondents have mentioned that not to have the right to property of the male children obstructs very much the process of education. 41.18% respondents have mentioned it as an obstruction. Again 41.18% respondents have mentioned that it is not an obstruction. 6.53% respondents have mentioned that It is not an obstruction at all.

The Present Curriculum at Primary Level is not Helpful to Expand the Culture and Practice of Garo Children

Chart-7.12



No living beings can live without oxygen. In the same way, no nation can prosper without expanding their own practice and culture. So it is necessary to expand the practice and culture of the Garos with expanding the practice and culture of other tribes. For this, it is necessary to include it in the curriculum of primary level. But our present curriculum at primary level hardly

mentions the tribal practice and culture. Many thoughts and discussions on the education of Bangladesh have been taken place after the liberation. Six educational committees have already been founded and the reports have been made. But no educational plan has been effective without the educational plan-2000. But it has not been effective because of changing the government. At present, Awami League Government had declared in its manifesto of election-2008 that they will build a secular democratic state.

For this aim, the national plan of education has started working. The committee holds its first meeting on the 3rd May, 2009 and performs its work on the 2nd September-2009. The committee holds 12 meetings for presenting its opinion, information, consideration and the opinion of the members. The plan of education has been divided into 29 chapters. The objects, aim and the art of the objectivity have been presented. Some important indications have been added to the 28th chapter as the purpose of educational level.

30.72% respondents have passed comments that the existing national curriculum at Primary level is helpful to expand the practice and culture of the Garo children. 10.07% respondents have replied that the present existing national curriculum at primary level is helpful partly to expand the practice and culture of the Garo community. 48.76% respondents have replied that the present national curriculum is not helpful to expand practice and culture. 10.45% respondents have not commented avoiding this matter.

Curriculum is the soul of education. So it is expected that national idea, aim, object, present demand will be reflected in the curriculum. It is necessary to build up the educational system of a country on the basis of Socio-economic condition remaining the cultural heritage of long term, religious beliefs, moral and human values. So these are reflected in the plan of educational curriculum. The aim of education is to build up a community with efficiency, Patriotic zeal, self-reliance moral values through the change of knowledge, attitude, efficiency, desired behaviour of the learners. Their curriculum and context should be made from this point of view. And the

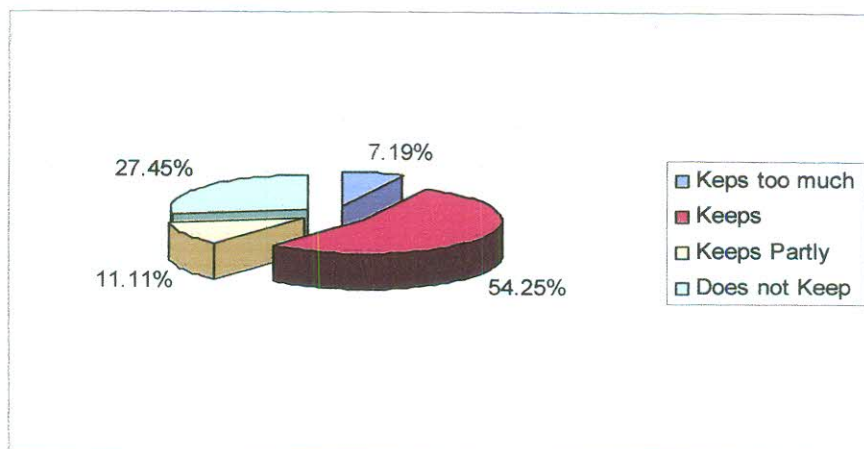
textbooks should be composed of the point of view of curriculum and contexts. It is also said in the draft plan of education-2009. For example:

1. The textural context and textbooks will be same on the selected subjects at the level of primary and high school. All sorts of primary and high schools will follow and effectual this.
2. Social, human and moral values will be reflected through all sorts of curriculum and textbooks.
3. The spirit of liberation war, mother tongue, and existing atmosphere of the country, own literature, culture and history will be reflected in all educational levels including the primary and secondary level.

We hope that the draft plan of education-2009 will include these in the final plan of education, practice and culture of Garo community will be included in the curriculum at primary level.

Child Labour Keeps Garo Children Aloof from Education

Chart-7.13

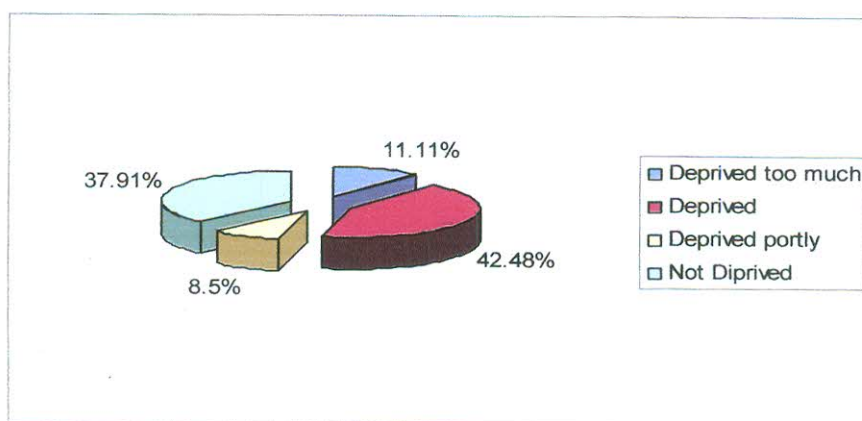


Child labour is prohibited in Bangladesh, but the reality is that thousands of children are obliged to be labour because of livelihood or of reducing the poverty of their family. The Garo society is not exceptional to that. The Garo children are obliged to work as a labour because of many reasons which are great obstacles to their education. Most of the Garo

children do not go to school in the season of husking the grain with few exceptional cases. They help their parents husking the grain. Some guardians send their little children to the house of others to work as a cow boy. Some children work in shops. It has been seen in the area of research that many guardians have sent their female children to Dhaka to work as a maidservant or to work in a beauty-parlor. As a result, they are deprived of education. It has found talking with many guardians that they had intention to educate their children. But after studying up to class one, two or three, they send them to work due to poverty. 7.19% respondents have said that child labour keeps Garo children too far from education. 54.25% respondents have said that generally it keeps them far. 11.11% respondents have expressed that child labour keeps Garo children away from education partly. 27.45% respondents have mentioned that child labour does not keep Garo children far from education.

The Distance of School Creates Impediment to the Garo Children

Chart-7.14

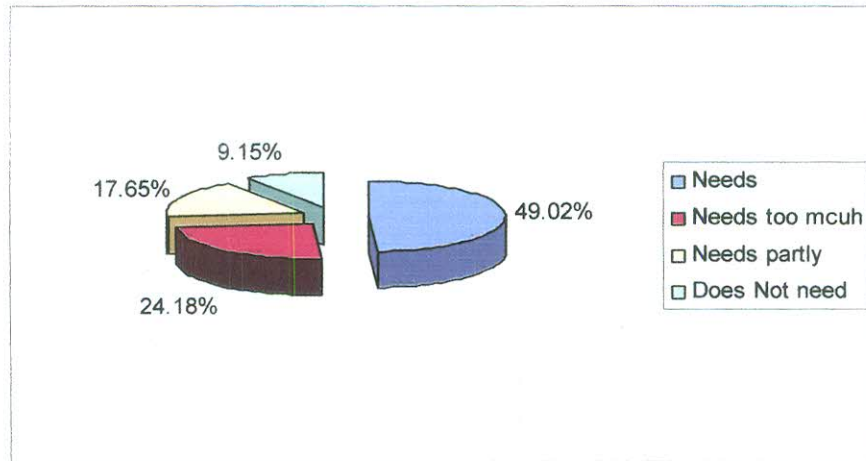


The Garos live in Mymensingh both in Plane surface and on foot of hill. The communication system of Garos who are living in plane surface is partly good. But the communication system of Garos who are living in hill is very bad. The Garos who are living on the hill, get down of the hill for livelihood or for other works. Sometimes it is not possible for little children to go to school getting down with the slope. Therefore, they lose their interest to go a long

way to school on foot because the primary school is so far. Most of the paths are suitable for going to school on foot. It is unthinkable to go by bus or by rickshaw. Again Garo children are deprived of education for the lack of supervision of Government in the remote locality. One day the researcher went to a Reg. non-government Primary school to talk to the teachers in the time of field work. There the researcher saw that none of four teachers was present. A college student Kanij Hazong (pseudonym) was in the office to work as a teacher. The researcher asked her where the other three teachers were. She replied that two teachers were on leave and one had gone to upazila to children survey. The school was at sixes and sevens. Some of the students were gossiping loudly. Some students were running from one class room to another aimlessly. Some of them were playing in the little ground of school. So it was impossible to control the situation by only one teacher. The researcher replied that the teacher named Kaniz Hazong feels very uneasy to talk. When the researcher asked her a new question, she said that she was coming; she delivered the answer talking over phone with someone from the next room. When the teacher was confirmed very well that the researcher was not an officer related with primary education, she informed the researcher that she was not the teacher of this school. Her sister is the teacher of this school. She has come to take the classes in absence of her sister. What will happen if the primary education officer or any officer related to primary education come for visiting? She answered, as the school stands on the remote place in the hill, the Upazila Primary Education Officer Seldom comes once or twice yearly. They also know that no other Officer will come here. 11.11% respondents have said that the Garo children are deprived of education very much for the lack of supervision of Government or the separation of Garo community from locality. 42.48% respondents have mentioned that they are deprived of education usually. 08.50% respondents have expressed that they are deprived of education partly 37.91% respondents have expressed their opinion differently about this.

The Empowerment of Women Needs to Expand Primary Education

Chart-7.15

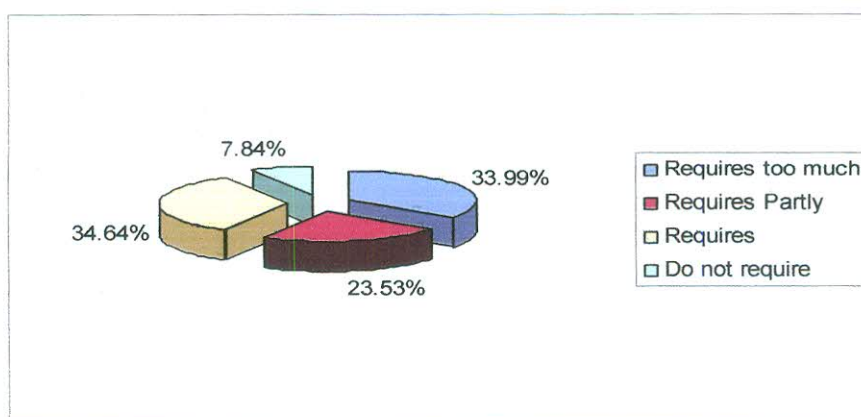


Napoleon Bonaparte Said long ago, "Give me a good Mother; I will give you a good nation." The role of mother is undeniable in nation building activity. Half of the population of Bangladesh is women. So it is impossible to develop our country without the empowerment of women. It is too much essential for the Garo community. The Garo women play the vital role in making, decision about family and about the education of their children. The researcher got more Garo Women than the male in collecting information and filling the form of guardians. The Garo Women are physically very strong. They work in field and other hard works with the male. The women are very interested to make co-operative, economic organization. The empowerment of women is necessary for social security. If the social security is ensured, the Garo women will take an active role to expand education. The ILO (The International Labour Organization) is a standard-setting specialized agency of the United Nations System which aims to improve living and working conditions for working people all over the world without discrimination as to race, gender or social origin. The ILO, Which was created in 1919 believes that poverty any where is a danger to prosperity every where. ILO convention on indigenous and tribal people, 1989 (No. 169] says, Women empowerment is necessary for the improvement of the Garo community. 49.02% respondents have mentioned that the empowerment of women is necessary to expand primary education. 24.18% respondents have said that the

empowerment of women is very essential. 17.65% respondents have replied that it is necessary partly. 9.15 respondents have mentioned that the empowerment of women is not essential, to expand primary education among the Garo children.

A Tribe Teacher Needs in the Garo Schools to Expand Education among the Garo-Children

Chart-7.16



The children express their feeling through mother tongue. No one feels easy to speak other languages. As a result, if a tribe teacher works in the primary school, the tribe children feel easy. Their exchange of emotion becomes easy. The teachers, officers and guardians related to primary education think that to have at least a tribe teacher in Garo schools will play an important role to expand education. Purobi Mankhin, Assistant Teacher of Monsha Para Government primary school, has said to the researcher about this, "When a Garo child gets himself admitted in my school, the guardians contact with me at first. They request me to look after their children in spite of having other teachers because they feel easy to tell me." She has also said to me that in most cases the Garo children tell me about their demands, objections and problems. 34.64% respondents have mentioned in the research that having a tribe teacher in Garo School is very essential for the advancement of primary education. 23.53% respondents have mentioned its necessity partly. 33.99% respondents have said that it is necessary. 7.84%

respondents have mentioned that a tribe teacher is not necessary to expand primary education among the Garo children. A Garo teacher is essential not only for the development of education but also for expanding their own literature, culture, music and religious matters.

7.3 Recommendations

Indigenous peoples should be allowed to be proud of their diversity, languages, cultures, beliefs and knowledge system. Reflecting this cultural diversity in the education policy would help for inclusive education of indigenous children. Providing access and equity in education to these diverse groups will require a coordination of efforts among the government, indigenous organisations, civil society members and NGOs.

Based on the findings of the situational analysis and recommendations on my field visits the following recommendations can be made:

Recruitment of Community based Teachers

Locally recruited teachers will be able to use local language to explain concepts and key learning points. This should not be seen only in terms of ensuring an increase in the number of indigenous teachers but also supporting enrolment of indigenous persons in the educational sectors, including in the policy, administration, production of educational materials, in teacher-training programmes and other relevant higher educational institutions.

Organise Training and Orientation Courses for Teachers

Teachers training needs to address the issues of child-friendly learning and inclusive education. Teachers need to understand the importance of recognizing differences in culture and identity such as the use of indigenous names and traditional dress in schools. Locally available materials need to be used in teaching and local stories should be told in the classroom. Teachers need to be trained to accept all children in their classrooms, and to encourage children to recognize difference and diversity as a positive factor.

Introduce Pre-primary Schooling with Language Education

Pre-primary schooling as a preparation for primary schooling may help to reduce some of the disadvantages faced, especially by providing early schooling in mother tongue. This would introduce the child to the school and learning environment and offer gradual introduction to Bangla language. Language is a crucial issue in promoting education for indigenous children.

The Garo Language 'Achik' needs a serious attention in order to regain its ancient status. For this the state has to take the vital step. It should introduce books written in 'Achik' language for the Garo children at least up to the primary level. The state can also establish a sub-regional language centre for indigenous languages.

Review Curriculum and Textbooks

Review current national curriculum and textbooks to erase culturally discriminatory materials and negative presentation of indigenous lifestyles and enhance knowledge of indigenous cultures. This should be done in consultation with indigenous experts in designing and developing appropriate teaching materials and methods. Indigenous culture should be promoted and respected in the curriculum. There are many important things that could be presented to all the students on indigenous issues, including traditions of thousands of years, dances and music, stories based on nature and earth, knowledge in protecting environment and forests, and the spiritual relationship between earth, rain, trees, sky, rivers and animals. Indigenous peoples were the first users of many staple foods and they have scientific knowledge on medicine. They are also rich in literature and story telling. Indigenous peoples of Bangladesh had an important role in the liberation war. Those peoples have beautiful crafts and designs.

Improvement of Infrastructure of the Schools

In many schools in remote areas it was found that the buildings are poorly maintained and need to be repaired. Many primary schools do not have

electricity, there are no facilities for drinking water, and tube-wells remain out of order most of the time. Where there are toilets, they are out of order or not in a good state of cleanliness or repair.

Provide Stipends

Provision of stipends and other incentives, such as Tiffin food for students may help to overcome the difficulties faced by their situation and encourage them to enroll and attend. Allowances could also be provided to teachers for working in remote areas.

Strengthen the Supervision and Monitoring

Teachers need support to change their teaching practice and create a more child-friendly and inclusive environment. Ensuring supervision and monitoring takes place and is in keeping with the aims of inclusive education is an essential part of educational change management. Indigenous community organizations and traditional social institutions can be strengthened and encouraged to monitor the educational services for their children.

Strengthen the SMC

Indigenous parents almost have no participation in School Management Committee (SMC), because in many schools SMC members are nominated by election. This discourages indigenous parents and they are reluctant to be candidates for SMC. It is essential to establish effective arrangements for the active participation of indigenous parents and community members in decisions regarding the planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of education services. Regular refresher courses are needed for SMC members.

Establish New Primary Schools

In areas where there are no schools, new schools need to be established. It is also important to provide high schools close to the primary schools.

Allow for Flexibility

Allow schools to adjust school calendar according to local traditions, religion, and work. Allow for use of supplementary reading materials in local languages and encourage use of local materials as teaching aids.

Establish new cultural institutions

I have seen that the culture of the Garos has for a long time been under tremendous pressure of multi level penetrations. That inevitably has caused a massive distortion of their culture. Many unique features of their culture have been lost forever. So, indeed cultural reconstruction is a tough mission. But for this new direction, the most important need is state's assertive feedback. The state can establish a separate cultural research institute exclusively for the Garos that can involve in different researches regarding the ancient patterns of cultural practices, its development and the measures to protect the original shape of Garo culture.

Women Empowerment

We know the Garos are matrilineal Society. Their all kinds of activities depend upon women. So, women empowerment is necessary to eliminate the problems of education in the Garo Society. Women's economic and political participation is a necessary precondition to women's empowerment. Awareness is required to educate the villagers in terms of importance of women's mobility. Women should be seen as human beings and not as objects. This should be highlighted in all the training manuals. Women should be politically mobilized to strengthen their position in the rural society so that they can participate in various outdoor activities more effectively and as well can bargain for right wage and fare price of their products in the market.

Recovery of Adibashi Land

While the landless should be provided land, a lingering demand is the recovery of Adibashi land. The State needs to come up with policies to recognize Adibashis in national laws and allow Adibashis recover their land which either had been classified as khasland or vested land.

The problem here is that the state does not have any law providing for the Adibashis acquired rights to his ancestral or communal land. Though a law providing for one to have legal ownership to land which he has occupied for years or more on cultivable land. There is a need therefore for State Policies to acknowledge 'Adibashis' acquired rights to their land, especially those of the plan lands and recover land which was illegally taken from them.

Customs and Traditional Institutes

Social structure of the Garos, is significantly deigned by distinctive customary features and traditional institutes. Like culture, many of these diverse manifestations of their society are also becoming diluted due to extreme penetration of different internal and international components. Yet, customs and traditional institutes are something exclusively honoured and maintained by a particular community within themselves. So in this case primary initiative has to be taken by the common Garo folk. The state can assist them by taking a number of supplementary initiatives;

The state can take a scheme for the capacity building of the traditional institutes (like Chra, Nokma etc.) of the Garo society. Rebirth of the traditional institutes may simultaneously give birth to the respective social norms and customs.

The government with the consent of the community leaders can establish a state patronized forum, composed of the popular, respected and renowned persons of the Garo community. This forum can play a key role in recognizing, promoting and patronizing the traditional institutes and customs of the society.

Indigenous Representation

Proper representation is a basic need to ensure the principles of democracy and good governance. Concerning any development initiative in the indigenous areas, the indigenous communities must be represented, in the decision-making levels. Experiences have shown that developments without consulting the indigenous peoples entail in the destruction of many

developed actualities that is very much disproportionate to that of the development. So in every level of deciding and implementing the natives must be consulted. For more effective representation the 'Adibashis' can be given much wider scope to get inside the power structures (including the parliament, port folios and different field level councils).

Constitutional Recognition

The constitution of Bangladesh is fundamentally a single nation centric instrument. It does not see the existence of indigenous peoples. This silence is hindering the promotion of a multi cultural society, which is in fact a reality. Moreover this view is giving a sense of non-existence and alien ness towards the indigenous community from the apex norm of the country. It also creates some legal restrictions of serious nature for the 'Adibashis'. The researcher believes that the indigenous communities should be given constitutional recognition.

Alongside, I would like to mention that simply constitutional recognition will never be able to do any comprehensive good for the 'Adibashis' unless it is pursued by positive state attitude and political commitment of the concerned parties.

7.4 Conclusion

Indigenous knowledge in modern days has become a great concern. To preserve the indigenous knowledge among the 'Adibashis' is now a demand of time. The state should establish an institute in order to preserve and maintain indigenous knowledge of all 'Adibashis'. It can also involve in researches of different degrees on indigenous knowledge. The state should take effective measures to scrutinize and regulate the NGO activities in the Garo areas. It must impede financial, social or religious activities performed, assisted or patronized by the NGO against the Garo interest.

The government should ratify different international instruments it signed, relating to the rights of the indigenous peoples and ensure proper implementation of those instruments within the national terrain of Bangladesh.

Hope for a better future has always been a common vision. We still are not sure, what is waiting for us in the coming hereafter. But always our dreams associated our mission. And it is the hope for a dignified, rich, cultural and safe joie de vivre for the common Garo people. Indeed, this research text is a suggestion to uplift the status and dignity of the Garo Community by implementation our recommendations which will help to build up a better nation.

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Identification of indigenous peoples

<http://www.iwgia.org/sw641.asp>

Definition of Indigenous People

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BRAC model, Education for Indigenous Children,

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The Title of the Thesis "The Spread of Primary Education: A Study of Problems and Prospects in the Garo Community of Mymensingh District".

The Identity of Respondents: Guardian/Teacher

Name: Occupation: Mobile:

Monthly Income: Members of Family: Age:

Studying/Serving Name of School: Rank:

➤ **Do the Garo Children get themselves admitted into Primary School in time?**

- | | |
|--|--|
| ☐ Admitted in time | ☐ Admitted late |
| ☐ Admitted too late | ☐ Other Reasons |

➤ **Is it an obstruction to the Garo children in the way of learning not to understand Bangla and not to speak Bangla fluently?**

- | | |
|---|---|
| ☐ Too much obstruction | ☐ Obstruction |
| ☐ Not obstruction | ☐ Not obstruction totally. |

➤ **Does the poverty of parents create obstruction to the way of education of the Garo children?**

- | | |
|--|---|
| ☐ Creates obstruction | ☐ Creates obstruction too much |
| ☐ Does not create obstruction | ☐ Other reasons. |

➤ **How does drug addiction influence the Garo children in the way of learning?**

- | | |
|--|--|
| ☐ Influences too much | ☐ Influences partly |
| ☐ Does not influence | ☐ Other reasons. |

➤ **Does the economic and social deprivation create obstruction to education of the Garo children?**

- | | |
|---|---|
| ☐ Obstructs too much | ☐ Obstructs |
| ☐ Obstructs partly | ☐ Other reasons. |

➤ **Does the antagonistic environment of School or hostile behaviour of Bengali children spoil the advancement of Garos?**

- | | |
|--|---|
| ☐ Spoils too much | ☐ Spoils |
| ☐ Does not Spoil | ☐ Other reasons. |

➤ **Is bad communication impedes the process of education of Garo children?**

- | | |
|---|---|
| ☐ Too much impedes | ☐ Impedes |
| ☐ Not impedes | ☐ Not impedes totally. |

- **Do you think that they do not advance in education for want of Garo leaders in politics?**
- ☐ Think too much ☐ Think
- ☐ Do not think ☐ Do not think totally.
- **Does it obstruct their way of education not to recognize their language or other tribal languages nationally?**
- ☐ Obstructs too much ☐ Obstructs
- ☐ Does not obstruct ☐ No comment.
- **How much is it an obstruction to the advancement of their education for deprivation of male children from property?**
- ☐ Much ☐ Obstruction
- ☐ Not obstruction ☐ Not obstruction totally.
- **Do you think that the present curriculum of Primary level is helpful to expand tradition and culture of Garo community?**
- ☐ Helpful ☐ Helpful partly
- ☐ Not helpful totally ☐ No comment.
- **Do you think that child labour keeps the Garo children away from education?**
- ☐ Keeps too much ☐ Keeps
- ☐ Keeps partly ☐ Does not keep.
- **Are they deprived of education due to distance of schools from locality or lack of supervision of the government?**
- ☐ Deprived too much ☐ Deprived
- ☐ Deprived partly ☐ Not deprived.
- **Does the empowerment of women need to expand primary education?**
- ☐ Needs ☐ Needs too much
- ☐ Needs partly ☐ Does not need.
- **How much tribal teachers are needed for the advancement of Garo children?**
- ☐ Needed too much ☐ Needed partly
- ☐ Needed ☐ Does not Need.

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