CHAPTER IV

UP-KEEP AND MAINTENANCE: THE ECONOMIC ASPECT
While education has always been held in high esteem in Islam, the conception of education has all along been gaining of knowledge and training of mind. Education thus understood, has meant both direct as well as indirect teaching. The indirect teaching includes, among other things, conversation, companionship and the force of example. In other words it is more teacher-centred. The biographical sketches of nineteenth century scholars always contain name of their teachers who coached them in one or the other subject. This teacher-centred, in contrast to institution-centred system of education, also explains existence of a relatively small number of University-like institutions in the Islamic world. In fact education as an economic activity imparted through teachers whose major incentive for opting for this profession is pecuniary gain has always been repugnant to Muslims. The Prophet, the first teacher in Islam never thought of personal gain. The early caliphs and companions who taught after him, not only declined to accept any payment, but are known to have spent their own wealth. It is said that when Nizam-al-Mulk established "al-Nizamiyyah and endowed them, learned men of Transoxiana met in Council and solemnly deplored that learning was now now to be procured for its own sake'.

One important repercussion of this antipathy towards economic aspect among the Muslims was their reluctance to maintain a detailed record in terms of income and expenditure of their educational institutions. Moreover, since the Madrasahs that sprang up in the nineteenth century were set up mostly by people who had already acquired the status of pious men and who
were primarily charged with missionary zeal to counteract the ever increasing Christian onslaught, people made liberal donations without asking for any account for its expenditure. Absence of accountability resulted into non-maintenance of even essential records. Even where records were maintained they were mostly done to segregate income from various sources such as sadaga and Zakat from being mixed up with income from donations, and munificence. This had to be done to avoid income from the former sources being spent on "Hashim" students for whose use of such money was forbidden by the Prophet himself. Sanction to this course is taken from a tradition where the Prophet has banned acceptance of Zakat and sadaga for "ahl al-bayt". Even to this day Darul-Ulum (Deoband) and Darul-Ulum (Lucknow) maintain separate records for income from sadaga and Zakat.

Lack of adequate relevant statistical records coupled with their typical tabulation system renders the task of any meaningful comparison of such statistics with the conventional educational system well nigh impossible. Yet another peculiar feature of traditional institutions is the inclusion in their expenditure of the amount that is spent on food and lodging, a head of expenditure which is never taken into account while calculating expenditure in conventional system of education.

However, before we come to analysing the income and expenditure aspect or what we have called, the problem of upkeep.

2. See their annual reports.
and maintenance, it may be useful to examine the sources of income and the head of expenditure during the medieval period as also in the contemporary period in the field of conventional education.

Education received sporadic and uncoordinate support during the early part of the medieval period. It was only during the Mughal period that we find trace of anything like a systematic arrangement for education. Though no separate departments were established for this purpose, yet records show that the public works department (Shu ba-i-Tamirat) in Babar's time was entrusted with the publication of Government gazette and the construction of the schools and college buildings. This practice was continued throughout the reigns of his successors. Without going into the details we may summarise the main sources of finance for education during the medieval period as follows:

1. State
   (a) Rewards and stipends
   (b) Construction and repair of buildings
   (c) Education for special communities

2. Endowments

3. Private munificence


The major heads of expenditure in colleges and schools included:

1. Salaries of teachers
2. Maintenance of students
3. Stipend and scholarships
4. Purchase of books
5. Building.

While the educational philosophy in India had remained unchanged, change of fundamental nature had occurred about the concept of education in the West. Widespread industrialisation and emergence of democratic and popular form of Government in contrast to the oriental institution of monarchy had made education of the common man in contrast to that of the elite a matter of supreme concern for the state. A network of institutions scattered all over the country and financed by the state out of the money collected through levies and taxes, had become very common. In India too, the government of the day took steps to bring education to the common man. Reports of Monteath and Hunter bear eloquent testimony to these steps. Regular budgetary allocation in contrast to ad hoc and sporadic grants became common.

Source of Income

Uncertainty about the sources of income is one of the most common features of present day traditional institutions. In fact we find some deliberate indifference towards any desire for financial security on the part of some persons who were instrumental in setting up the traditional educational institutions. Their attitude stands in strange contrast to the usual thinking that is common among the founders of the conventional educational institutions. Thus while Sir Sayyid Khan approached a large number of "Nawabs" and "Taluqdars" to ensure adequate finances for Anglo-Oriental College, we find a saintly disinclination on the part of his contemporary Maulana Qasim Nanawtawi, the founder of Dar-ul-Ulum (Deoband) about financial security of his institute.
The Maulana considered the uncertainty with regard to financial resources as an essential prerequisite for the continued existence of Dar-ul-Ulum (Deoband). As a matter of fact the Maulana devoted one of the eight guiding principles of the Dar-ul-Ulum to explain this fact.

State

Today state has come to play a major role in financing education in general. The role of the government is not confined to public institutions alone. Even those institutions which are classified as private and are run and managed by private bodies, receive a major share of their finance from the government.

In contrast to the above position where government is paying more than half of the total finance, traditional institutions take pride in not accepting any grant from the government. Most of these institutions came up in the wake of gradual expansion and consolidation of the English Empire and one of their professed aim was to protect and safeguard Islam from the onslaught of Christianity which had come to be equated with the state religion. The basic motivation for these institutions was to reorientate the Muslim community to its original cultural and religious identity. Acceptance of such Government aid in such circumstances was beyond the pale of imagination. As a matter of fact any institution which wants to develop education along the lines different from the prescribed policy of the Government has to find its own finances. Yet another deterrent to

4. Tayyib Muhammad, Darul-'Ulum Deoband, p. 18.
5. Aziz Ahmad, p. 104.
the Government aid was the fear of interference in the syllabus
and day-to-day functioning of the schools. Thus the seventh of
the eight guiding principles laid down by Mawlawi Nanuwawi for
the Darl-ul-Ulum, Deoband, reads as follows: "Participation of
the Government as also of the rich people appears to be harmful".
During the Non-Cooperation days when national universities such
as Jamia Milliyah Islamlya and Kasî Vidyapeeth etc. were being
set up, they also adopted similar attitude towards Government
assistance. Section 4 of the Constitution of Jamia Milliyah
Islamlya Society lays down the following basic principles:

"(i) It shall be autonomous education body.

(ii) It shall accept no aid given on conditions
that conflict with any of its aims or
principles."

This is not to say that Government does not play any role
whatsoever in the finance of the traditional institutions. The
famous Calcutta Madarsah is for all practical purposes, completely
financed by the Government. There are also institutions which
receive regular grants of substantial amount. Even Nadwat-ul-
'Ulama, Lucknow accepts grants-in-aid from the Uttar Pradesh
Government, though this amount does not exceed to a meagre sum
of 6 to 10% of its total income. However in most of the cases the
Government grant does not form a source of income.

**Donations:** The dominant role of the Government in the secular
institutions is replaced by donations (atiyat) in traditional
educational institutions. The following table gives the share of
donation to the total income of Darul-Ulum Deoband for 1961 to 1968.*

---

* Years correspond to hijri period freely rendered.
The importance of the "Átiyat" is so great that these institutions appoint representatives whose job is to contact persons and persuade them to make donations. Their importance may be judged from the fact that prominence is given to such contributions in the annual reports of these institutions. Some reports go to the extent of excluding almost all information about their activities during the year except a detailed listing of the donors and the amounts donated. For instance, out of 93 pages that are covered by the annual report (1966-67) of Madarsah al-Islah, Azamgarh, 91 pages are devoted to listing of details about donations.

**Zakat:** The next source of income which is almost as important as the donations (Átiyat) is Zakat. In fact, if the accounts of the Dar-ul-‘Ulum are in any way representative of the situation prevalent in similar institutions, the income from Zakat far exceeds that from the donations. The following table based on

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Income (2)</th>
<th>Átiyat (3)</th>
<th>% of 3 to 2 (4)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>6,23,465</td>
<td>2,60,665</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>6,68,222</td>
<td>3,13,710</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>7,03,697</td>
<td>2,84,247</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>8,08,680</td>
<td>2,37,312</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>9,43,364</td>
<td>3,15,218</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>9,07,021</td>
<td>3,12,211</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>10,20,915</td>
<td>4,21,290</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the annual reports of Dar-ul-Ulum Deoband bears a testimony to the above statement:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Donations</th>
<th>&quot;Zakat&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Miscellaneous: Compared to the above two, the other sources of income contribute rather insignificant amount. For instance, in case of Dar-ul-Ulum the remaining 15% to 20% of the total income comes from as many as five sources. Even among these "Sadaqat" which could have been grouped with "Zakat" constitute between 13% to 18% leaving out a balance of about 2% to be contributed by the other four sources. The following table gives a detailed breakdown of the miscellaneous sources of income.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Sadakat</th>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>Books</th>
<th>Tabligh</th>
<th>Handicraft</th>
<th>Publication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>.5%</td>
<td>.3%</td>
<td>.6%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>.01%</td>
<td>.3%</td>
<td>.5%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>.1%</td>
<td>.4%</td>
<td>.4%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>.2%</td>
<td>.2%</td>
<td>.3%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>.8%</td>
<td>.5%</td>
<td>.5%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>.4%</td>
<td>.5%</td>
<td>.4%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>.4%</td>
<td>.5%</td>
<td>.4%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A source of income which is conspicuous by its absence is the fees. While the fees constitute about 20% to 50% of the total income in case of private institutions, the annual reports of the Dar-ul-Ulum do not list them in the sources of income. In case of Nadwatul-Ulama, the actual contribution from the fees during 1962-63 was Rs. 114.00 as compared to a total income of Rs. 1,55,450 during the same period. That the situation has not altered is evident from the amount received under this head in 1969 (Rs. 117) as compared to the total income (Rs. 1,85,583).

In addition to the sources of income which the institutions attempt to raise themselves, they also get grants from the Waqf Boards, both at the State-level as well as from the Central Waqf Board. The aid from the Waqf Boards comes in two ways. Some institutions get regular grant to meet the part of their expenditure while there are others whose entire expenses are borne by the Waqf Board. To illustrate our case under the latter category Delhi Waqf Board bears the entire expenditure of Madarsah Aliyah Fatehpuri (Delhi) which comes to around Rs. 30,000 per annum.

In addition, the Board has provided support to institutions and also granted scholarships to deserving students. The following table gives a bird's eye view of the total support provided by the Board for educational purposes.
Expenditure

The expenditure in education is traditionally broken into expenditure on direct objects, such as teachers' salary and indirect objects such as direction and inspection, building and furniture, scholarships and other financial concessions, hostel charges, and miscellaneous. The head miscellaneous includes among other things, expenditure by way of special grants for physical activities, libraries and reading rooms, expenses on special programmes like midday meals and national campaigns organized by the institutions and other contingent expenditure. However, due to the peculiar procedure adopted in traditional institutions, we shall not be able to make anything like a comprehensive analysis.

There is a common notion about traditional education that it is comparatively cheaper than Western-style education. It

6. The data was obtained by personal visit to the Board Office.
must be made clear at the outset that to a great extent low cost is forced upon them due to poor financial position and is not entirely based on a deliberate choice of policy. For instance, the Vice-Principal of Madarasah ‘Aliyah, Fatehpuri, Delhi when asked why he did not make provision for teaching any craft or why he did not introduce modern Arabic in the syllabus of his school attributed both to the paucity of funds. However, there are also instances where an attempt has been made to make a virtue out of this vice. To quote Mowlana Mohd. Tayyib "To prepare a scholar with such a paulyty sum (Rs. 1314) ... is verily an ideal and exemplary success, unrivalled by the normal (educations) institutions of the world". 7

In addition to the paucity of resources at their disposal, another factor which helps them keep their cost low is lack of an adequate and satisfactory provision for certain basic activities and facilities so essential for an all-round growth of the personality of a student. There is justification to exclude from their syllabuses certain subjects on the basis of differences in ideology and faith; in fact diametrically different aim of education. It is open to doubt whether lack of provision for essential amenities can be equally justified. We would illustrate our case with the help of two vital facilities, namely medical and library. The following table gives expenditure incurred by Dar-ul-Ulum (Deoband) under the above heads.

---

7. Tayyib, Muhammad, Dar ul Ulum, Deoband, pp. 90-91.
The students' strength at the Dar-ul-Ulum from 1950 onward has been between 1,400 to 1,600. Even if we round off the medical expenditure to Rs. 3,000 per annum the average expenditure per student would come to Rs. 2/- per annum. The inadequacy of the amount hardly needs any comment. The situation with regard to expenditure on books is not very different. It is now agreed that for an adequate library facilities to post-secondary schools education, the book budget should be a minimum of Rs. 9/- per student per annum. On this basis there should be a provision for Rs. 1,350 for 1,500 students. What is actually being spent is one third of this figure.

What is surprising about the low cost is the prevalent student-teacher ratio. In this respect the position of the institutions is not very different from government aided or government run institutions.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Student-teacher ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average for under Graduate Arts and Commerce Colleges, Dar-ul-Ulam (Deoband)</td>
<td>20 per teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nadwat-ul-Ulama (Lucknow)</td>
<td>10 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madrasa 'Aliyah, Fatehpurī (Delhi)</td>
<td>6 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madrasa Aminyah (Delhi)</td>
<td>8 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bait ul-'Uloom (Sarai Mir)</td>
<td>20 &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is only one explanation for this low student-teacher ratio coupled with low cost and that is that the salaries paid to the teachers are very low.

The above low cost on education is further reflected in the overall average expenditure per student in these institutions.