

**RELIGIOUS EDUCATION AND STATE MODERNIZATION: THE
ROLE OF MADRASSAH IN PAKISTAN DEVELOPMENT**

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ABSTRACT

Religious Education and State Modernization: The Role of Madrassah in Pakistan Development

Aga S. Khan
April 20, 2005

The primary objective of this study is to explore madrassah (Islamic religious institution) education in Pakistan in relation to its role in national development. This case study was conducted at six selected madrassahs in the rural areas of northern Punjab. Data was collected through surveys from 15 participants from these madrassahs, and relevant policy documents.

Findings suggest that madrassahs provide free education, boarding, food, and clothing to students from impoverished families. Students mainly join madrassahs because of poverty and a desire to receive Islamic education. After graduating they mostly tend to join other madrassahs and mosques as preachers and teachers. Madrassah education in Pakistan further alienates people from the most disadvantageous sections of the society by creating a welfare system, which does not prepare its students to join the mainstream sections of the society. The Government is making efforts to integrate madrassah education with formal public education.

Acknowledgements

The process of writing this practicum report would not have been possible without the support and guidance of the most important people in my life. I would like to express my gratitude and love towards my wife Anila Asghar and my 2 year old son Sami Ullah, for their everlasting support for all my endeavors. I wish to extend much love and thanks for the daily phone calls from Boston that always make me smile, keep me grounded and ensure that I maintain perspective on the most important things in life.

Of course, I am indebted to my committee members for their continued assistance and support. Therefore, an abundance of appreciation and gratitude is extended to Dr. Anthony O'Malley, my supervisor, for his enlightened guidance at every step of the research process. I am deeply grateful to him for his thoughtful and detailed feedback. This work would not have been possible without his constant help and support. I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to Dr. Henry Veltmeyer for giving his time, energy and invaluable expertise to this project.

I would like to express my sincere appreciation and gratitude towards Annette Wright for the multiple ways she has contributed to my professional and personal development. Also, my thanks are extended to Heather Davis, Anita King and Mary Topshee for their valuable assistance and support.

Aga S. Khan
April, 20, 2005

Dedication

*To the loving memory of my parents, Aga Salamat Ullah Khan
and Mrs. Kishwar Sultana Aga, whose eternal blessings
enabled me to accomplish my academic goals*

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INTRODUCTION

In the post 9/11 world, much of the attention has been focused on terrorism, its effects, its reasons, and dynamics. Usually Pakistan is suspected of harboring an elaborate system for training, recruiting, and exporting the supporters of intolerant and violent ideologies. Madrassahs (Islamic religious institutions) have been cited as a major contributing factor amongst this infrastructure¹.

The contemporary madrassahs in Pakistan embody conflicting characteristics; they are perceived as a social welfare enterprise on the one hand, and as centers of indoctrination to prepare militants with extremist notions on the other hand. Madrassahs are believed to have played a crucial political role in some of the significant events that have changed the global political scenario, such as the Afghan War with the Soviet Union, rise of Taliban (Students) in Afghanistan, and Jihad (Holy War) in Kashmir.

A number of factors accounted for imparting a political and extremist character to madrassahs. The military dictator of Pakistan General Zia-ul-Haq (1977-1987) supported madrassahs financially in order to obtain political support from the religious groups. He played a pivotal role in setting up and supporting these institutions to strengthen his power base. In addition, some prominent ulemas (religious scholars) joined politics and assumed powerful position in the state. The occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet army in 1979 also marked a new phase of madrassah development in Pakistan. The proliferation of madrassahs and their

¹ From: Institute of Policies Studies. Independent think-tank dedicated to promoting policy-oriented research, Deeni madrassahs: Current situation & Future Strategy. ips.org.pk.

development in the direction of militancy is attributed to the Soviet-Afghan war in 1979². New madrassahs were established with the help of funding received through foreign donations from rich individuals and Islamic charities. Students from poorest of the poor areas were developed as tools of violence to wage proxy war in Afghanistan³.

The historically, socially, and economically marginalized people of Pakistan are being used as instruments of aggression and violence. Some madrassahs have been directly involved in sectarian violence and jihadi activities. These madrassahs are a glaring example of people's extreme exploitation by various political groups with vested interests. These economically disadvantaged communities are a victim of national and international politics. The economic, social, and cultural oppression in the rural regions has resulted in participation of these communities in militancy and terrorism⁴. This is by no means a justification for violence; however, people are not born militants. The alumni of the militant madrassahs are an outcome of a systematically institutionalized process over which they had very little control.

At the same time a large number of madrassahs have been serving the most impoverished families in Pakistan, providing schooling, food, housing, and clothing

²From; Brookings policy paper on “Pakistan's madrassahs: Ensuring a System of Education not Jihad” Analysis Paper #14, November 2001 P.W. Singer, John M. Olin Post-doctoral Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies.

³From; Brookings policy paper on “Pakistan's madrassahs: Ensuring a System of Education not Jihad” Analysis Paper #14, November 2001 P.W. Singer, John M. Olin Post-doctoral Fellow, Foreign Policy.

⁴From; Brookings policy paper on “Pakistan's madrassahs: Ensuring a System of Education not Jihad” Analysis Paper #14, November 2001 P.W. Singer, John M. Olin Post-doctoral Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies.

for disadvantaged students who do not have access to mainstream educational opportunities.

Very little is known about the objectives and content of the curriculum used in madrassahs. Further, almost no research has been conducted to understand the economic impact of the madrassahs on the local region, the dimensions of the welfare system these madrassahs have created where no other is available. The objective of this research is to explore the nature of madrassah education, more specifically its objectives and curriculum, and the population it serves. It also looks at the effect of madrassah education on its students in terms of their participation in the socioeconomic development of the society.

The current government in Pakistan has been making efforts to reform madrassahs. In his address to the religious scholars and leaders at a convention held in Islamabad (Live broadcast on the national television and radio) on February 18, 2004, President of Pakistan General Pervaiz Musharraf emphasized the role and importance of madrassah education system in Pakistani society. He strongly encouraged the religious scholars to play a positive role in promoting “sectarian harmony” and to eradicate extremism from the society.⁵ The President further added that madrassahs are the “biggest NGOs accommodating and feeding hundreds of thousands of poor children.” However, he also regretted that some institutions “are involved in inflaming hatred and discord.”⁶ President Musharraf’s government has

⁵ Religious leaders and scholars

⁶ From; *The Daily Dawn (Internet edition) Feb.18,2004. The leading and prestigious newspaper of Pakistan.*

taken a stern action to stamp out religious extremism based in the Northern areas of Pakistan.

The madrassahs in northern Punjab serve to provide an essential welfare service to the most disadvantaged rural communities, their contribution to the socio-economic development of Pakistan is largely insignificant. They generally impart medieval Islamic education and do not equip their students with modern knowledge and professional skills, thus hindering their participation in various economic development activities, such as business, industry, medicine, engineering, banking, teaching and industry. The paradox lies in the fact that in a country where the literacy rate is as low as 40%, madrassahs contribute to enhance literacy in the most impoverished sections of the society. However, these madrassahs transmit knowledge, which is irrelevant to the modern needs and developments of the society. The knowledge of sciences, modern history, politics, economics, mathematics, and civic education is excluded from their curricula. Madrassahs do provide food, shelter, and clothing to their students, but do not enable them to break the cycle of exclusion and poverty as they exclude them from mainstream education, and economic activities. Madrassah beneficiaries are economically, socially, and educationally alienated from the dominant society. Madrassah education thus hinders economic development of the state by alienating youth from participating productively in the dominant economic and social development spheres. About 10% of the madrassahs combine religious extremism with jihadi military training, which has a grave destabilizing effect on Pakistan and South Asian region. Research suggests that a

number of madrassahs are fanning sectarian violence, further destabilizing the prospects of harmony and peaceful coexistence among various religious and ethnic communities in Pakistan. In addition, sectarian conflicts have a debilitating effect on the politics and economy of the country.

State of Education in Pakistan

The current state of education in Pakistan is alarming. According to an Oxfam International study⁷, although the proportion of out of school children in South Asia as compared to the global total will fall by half by the year 2005, Pakistan will account for an increasingly larger share of children that are not attending school. In fact, the study warns that by 2005 Pakistan will account for 40 percent of the region's children out of school, compared to 27 percent in 1995. Moreover, a recent survey in Pakistan revealed that only 34 percent of children who completed primary school could read with comprehension and over 80 percent were unable to write a simple letter⁸. The Oxfam study reports that low quality of education and poor investment in education sector are the main reasons for this abysmal situation. Additionally, socio-economic constraints and scarcity of adequate resources and schooling facilities in the public sector, such as over crowded and dilapidated classrooms, lack of teaching learning materials, and rote memorization are responsible for this situation.

Acknowledging the bleak prevailing state of human development, Pakistan's National Education Policy for the period 1998-2010 has set ambitious targets such as

⁷From; Oxfam International, (survey report of education in Pakistan) October, 2003.

⁸From; Oxfam International, (survey report of education in Pakistan) October, 2003.

90 percent enrolment. But while Pakistan's policy focuses on the importance of education, it is quite short on essential details and financial and administrative measures on how its goals are to be achieved.⁹ The policy, however, does not outline essential details and financial or administrative measures on how its goals are to be achieved.

The rate of enrolment and adult literacy of the region is indicated in table 1.3

Table 1.3-1 South Asian Regional Overview of Literacy and Enrolment Rate.

Gender		Adult Literacy Rate	
	Total	45%	
Male		56.5%	
Female		32.6%	
Number of Schools		1998-1999 - 1999-2000	
Primary Schools	(5 th grad)	163,746	- 170,500
Middle Schools	(8 th grad)	17,007	- 24,900
High Schools	(10 th grad)	10,519	- 14,100
Secondary Vocational Institutions	(12 th grad)	498	- 498
Arts & Sciences Colleges		789	- 789
Professional Colleges		294	- 294
Universities		26	- 26

Source of table 1.3-1: The Human Development Report 2000, UNDP, New York.
Published By: Oxford University Press, Inc., New York 2000.

⁹ *Institute of Policies Studies. Independent think-tank dedicated to promoting policy-oriented research, Deeni madrassahs: Current situation & Future Strategy. ips.org.pk.*

Madrassah Education in Pakistan

Historical Background

Madrassah is an Arabic word meaning school or Islamic educational institution. In Islamic history, madrassahs were the major source of religious and scientific learning, especially between the 7th and 11th centuries, producing luminaries such as Alberuni, Ibne-Sina, Al-Khawarizmi and Jabir ibne Hayan. Schools in Damascus and Baghdad are comparable to greatest contemporary educational intuitions. However, with the downfall of the Islamic civilization these institutions also gradually lost their academic excellence and scholarship. Muslims in the Indian subcontinent carried the madrassah tradition, but with the advent of the modern colonial education system, it was restricted to the religious domain. These institutions did produce some eminent religious scholars in the subcontinent, such as Allama Shibli Naumani, Maulan Altaf Hussain Hali, and Sayyid Suleman Nadvia. At the same time, however, they were “instrumental in segmenting religious thought into different disciplines and in narrowing the vision of many who passed through their gateways” (Singer & Olin, 2001).

One of the unique characteristics of the Pakistani educational system is the reliance on religious schools commonly known as madrassahs. Madrassah education is a crucial part of the social fabric in Pakistan. According to one estimate, there are about 10,000 madrassahs in Pakistan, and more than 50% of them are located in the rural areas of Punjab. Historically these schools were founded as centers of learning for the next generation of Islamic scholars and clerics. However, during the 1980s the

madrassah system changed significantly. First, as part of its Islamization policy General Zia-ul-Haq's regime (former Army Chief and President of Pakistan from 1977 to 1988) provided funding to madrassah schools in order to strengthen his political support among religious circles¹⁰. Funds were dispersed at the local level to institutions deemed worthy of support by religious leaders, creating new incentives for opening religious schools.

Madrassah curriculum is generally perceived as promoting sectarianism, intolerance, and violent attitudes amongst its students. Sectarian politics has increased domestic feud among various Islamic sects¹¹, with considerable security implications for the country. Another important criticism against madrassah education is that it has little or no bearing on the development needs of the society. Therefore, it is extremely important to explore the system and consequences of this type of education.

In such areas where public educational infrastructure is either practically non-existent or is unable to fulfill societal education needs, madrassahs serve to provide an alternate source of education. Most of them have plenty of funds at their disposal¹². The World Bank estimates that only 40 percent of Pakistanis are literate, and many rural areas lack public schools.¹³ Madrassahs are located in places where public

¹⁰ From; Juergensmeyer, M. (1994). *The New Cold War?: Religious Nationalism Confronts the Secular State* (Comparative Studies in Religion and Society, No 5), California: The University of California Press.

¹¹ From; "Pakistan's Jihad Culture" By Jessica Stern, Kennedy School of Government. Harvard University. *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2000).

¹² From; "The daily Jang" Leading Urdu News paper of Pakistan, by Javed Ch. Nov. 16, 2003.

¹³ From: *The Human Development Report 2000*, UNDP, and New York, Published By: Oxford University Press, Inc., New York 2000.

schools are either few or completely non-existent. Another major reason for the popularity of madrassahs in Pakistan is that many families living below the poverty line cannot even afford the small fees they charge. Madrassahs offer an alternative system by providing free education, lodging, food, free schoolbooks, clothing, and in some cases even a stipend. A large number of madrassahs are located in the rural belt of northern Punjab. While the exact numbers are unobtainable, estimates are that over a million and a half students study at more than 10,000 of these schools¹⁴.

Madrassahs receive funding through public and private donations. The main source of public funds is zakat (a 2.5 percent tax collected by the Pakistani government from the bank accounts of Sunni Muslims once a year). This tax results in millions of dollars each year being diverted to the schools. Foreign donations come mainly from rich individuals based in Middle Eastern countries and Islamic charities in Saudi Arabia¹⁵.

The primary concern with the explosion of madrassah system is not with the schools in general, but the implications of the radical minority. Approximately 8-10 percent of the schools are affiliated with extremist religious political groups, who have co-opted education for their own ends. Some of these schools have built extremely close ties with radical militant groups. In this capacity they have increasingly played a critical role in sustaining the international terrorist network. In addition to their role in terrorism, the schools are a concern because of their non-technical and non-scientific curriculum. Many teach only religious subjects to their

¹⁴From; "Islam's Medieval Outposts" by Husain Haqqani, November/December 2002.

¹⁵ From; Ziring, L. (2000). *Pakistan in the twentieth century: A political history*. Karachi Oxford University Press.

students, focusing on rote memorization of Arabic texts. They are producing a generation of students unlikely to play a productive role in creating the type of modern dynamic economy necessary to reduce the country's overwhelming poverty¹⁶.

A small percentage of madrassahs (about 8-10%) have become the new breeding ground for radical Islamic militants, where the next generation is trained and groomed. These radical religious schools present a view of Jihad, which preclude a rational understanding and analysis of the concept of Jihad, thus teaching a distorted view of Islam. Their particular view of Islamic Jihad inculcates hatred, and allows the murder of innocent civilians including other Muslim men, women, and children. Some of these schools also include weapons and physical training in their program. The youth are economically dependent on these schools and usually not in contact with their parents for years. Their graduating classes form an integral recruiting pool for transnational terrorist and conflict networks. For example, both the Taliban and the more extreme Kashmiri militant groups recruit youth from crowded refugee camps taught at radical madrassahs. Such radicalized schools were originally allowed to thrive by the government because the militant groups were perceived to serve Pakistani interests in the Kashmir and Afghanistan conflicts¹⁷. This constant supply of recruits has risky consequences for internal security of the country as well as the larger security situation within the South Asian region. Pakistani madrassah students from the more militant schools have become the primary soldiers in the internal

¹⁶ From: Jessica Stern. She is a lecturer in public policy at Harvard University's Kennedy school of Government and Adjunct Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations September 20. (2001). "The Ultimate Terrorists". Kennedy School of Government. Harvard University.

¹⁷ From: Frank E. Vogel, (1999). "Madrassah and Taliban". Director of Islamic Legal Studies Program. Harvard Law School. Harvard University.

sectarian conflicts that have reached increasing levels of violence. Rather than acting as religious centers of cooperation, the leaders of various schools have issued decrees against other groups, causing violence in the society. For example, in all the four provinces of Pakistan (North West Frontier Province, Sindh, Baluchistan and Punjab), their statements have played a key role in transforming local Shia-Sunni disputes into major sectarian feuds in the nation¹⁸. Pakistani students from this small fraction of madrassahs have also raised the level of violence elsewhere. They are regularly sent abroad to serve in armed conflicts in Kashmir, Afghanistan, Chechnya, and a number of other wars decided by the school leaders to be a part of the jihad. Their influence at both the strategic and tactical level in these wars should not be understated. For instance, in 1997 the Dur-ul-Uloom Haqqania madrassah was completely closed to send the majority of its students to participate in body across the border to fight, helping a Taliban's attack to succeed.

Similarly, their role in supporting various groups fighting India over Kashmir issue has escalated tensions between India and Pakistan, the two nuclear powers, to dangerous levels. An added concern is that the student pool in many of these radical madrassahs is made up of foreigners as well, and thus lays the seeds of conflict elsewhere. This internationalizes their harmful influence. As much as 10-50 percent of the students in certain madrassahs are from abroad, coming from conflict regions such as Afghanistan, Chechnya, and the Philippines¹⁹. These students return with new influence and a changed outlook, helping to worsen the levels of violence in their

¹⁸From; *Annual Report of State Bank of Pakistan 2003-2004*

¹⁹From; "Islam, Nationalism and the West." by Iftikhar H. Malik. He is a lecturer in History Bath Spa University. St. Anthony's college Oxford. (1999).

home states. This second generation of conflict leaders tends to be more aggressive in their tactics and less willing to compromise or negotiate. The situation is changing now since the current state claims to eradicate extremist factions in this system.

Equally important are the foreign students in Pakistani madrassahs who come from states with rising Islamic extremist groups. These include students from China, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Saudi Arabia, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Yemen. The return of these students can further radicalize local groups and promote increasing violence. The result is that the madrassah system has changed in outlook, at the same time its influence has increased. The reason for the madrassahs' new centrality stems from the weakening of the Pakistani state²⁰. As corruption and debt built up over the last two decades, the government education system in Pakistan deteriorated extensively. Pakistan spends only two percent of its gross national output on public education, one of the lowest rates in the world (just behind Congo in UNDP rankings)²¹. Government-run schools are generally considered appalling. They often lack teachers, books, electricity, running water, and even roofs. A significant number are ghost schools, which exist only as budget line items from which corrupt bureaucrats draw money. Many administrators receive their jobs only through political connections; other teachers regularly go on strike for pay. The result is that the Pakistani literacy rate is at best estimated only around 40 percent. The rich elite in Pakistan responded to this government pullback by sending their own children to an expanded number of

²⁰ From: *Pakistan. Ministry of Education and Culture. (1994). Islamabad; the Office of Education and Culture Research and Development. Education Statistics of Pakistan.*

²¹ From: *The Human Development Report 2003, UNDP, New York, Published By: Oxford University Press, Inc., New York 2003.*

private schools, which are considered far superior. However, the poor cannot afford the private schools, which is where the madrassahs stepped in. With no better options, poor parents send their sons to madrassahs, where they receive at least some education. Some madrassahs provide food and clothes, and even pay parents to send their children (in some cases)²². Thus, the madrassahs became immensely popular by targeting the lower class and refugee populations, whom the Pakistani state has failed to provide proper access to education. The example of Dur-ul-Uloom Haqqania, one of the most popular and influential madrassahs (it includes most of the Afghani Taliban leadership among its alumni) illustrates that. It has a student body of 1500 boarding students and 1000 day students, from 6 years old upwards. Each year over 15,000 applicants from poor families compete for its 400 open spaces.

Methodology

Research Questions

The following questions guided me in tracking participants' perceptions, views, and feelings about the purposes of madrassahs education and its role in their religious, social, and economic spheres.

- (a) What are the perceptions of madrassah administrators, teachers, and graduates about the purposes of madrassahs education?
- (b) Why do parents send their children to madrassahs for education? What are the main factors influencing parents' decision about madrassah education?

²² Ahmad, M. (2002). *Madrassahs (Koranic schools) on Muslim societies: What role in development?* Speech delivered at the World Bank on April 30, 2002

(c) What career options are adopted by these madrassahs graduates?

The methodology that I adopted was to conduct a case study of the madrassah education system in the rural areas of northern Punjab. Conducting a case study allowed me to better understand how the madrassah system operates and functions. The objective of the in-depth analyses was to link the madrassah system to socioeconomic and political factors by assessing its effect on the lives of the people who are a part of this education system. The study used qualitative research methods in order to explain the nature of relationship between madrassah education and state development in rural Punjab.

The study was conducted at six selected madrassahs rural areas of District Khushab in Punjab. These districts are located in northern Punjab. I grew up and received my early education in District Khushab. I have also been engaged in several community development activities in this area, such as basic education and health, fund raising, and developing essential infrastructure in the rural communities.

The participants were all males (the study was conducted in the rural areas of District Khushab where only male students are enrolled in madrassahs; coeducation does not exist in these madrassahs; the teachers and administrators are also males). The age of the participants ranged from 18 to 68 years. In terms of class, the participants ranged from working class (low income group) to middle class from an array of different sects/schools of thoughts. The participants in my study are associated with six madrassahs located in the rural areas of District Khushab and

included madrassahs administrators, teachers, and graduates (who had completed the course of studies at their respective madrassahs; equivalent to high school).

Data Collection

I used a combination of data collection methods including surveys, observations, and using library resources. Surveys (See Appendix B); containing open ended questions were administered, to five madrassah administrators, five teachers, and fifteen graduates of the six selected madrassahs. The questions explored their perceptions, understandings, and values about a number of areas like the goals and purposes of madrassahs education, type of curriculum used in the madrassahs, socio-economic background of the students, reasons for which parents send their children to madrassahs, economic opportunities available to madrassahs graduates, and the career options they take up after graduating. Additionally, I visited these madrassahs to meet with madrassahs administrators, teachers, and students.

Participants were explicitly informed that their anonymity and confidentiality would be protected. A letter explaining the purpose of the study and the confidentiality procedures was presented to the participants (See Appendix C). They were be clearly informed that their participation is completely voluntary, which means that they could withdraw from the study any time without penalty. A translated version of the information letter in Urdu (the language of the participants) was given to the participants.

Library resources and documents

Library resources at Saint Mary's and Dalhousie University were utilized, particularly the databases EBSCO, PIAS, ERIC. Additionally, various UNDP, USAID and World Bank reports related to madrassahs education and development were examined. Government documents from the ministry of education, government of Pakistan, online Pakistani and international newspapers, and other secondary data were also consulted for this study. Online sources were consulted to look at different types of curricula used in Pakistani madrassahs. Government documents related to education policy and sector reform have also been significant in informing my research.

Data Analysis

The main sources of data included: (a) Participants' responses to the surveys, (b) Field notes from participant observations, and (c) Library resources and documents. Visits to the selected six madrassahs and informal conversations with students, graduates and teachers also informed the data analysis process.

I am a Pakistani national and was brought up in northern Punjab. My personal observations and interaction with the local communities have been valuable sources of information about madrassah education in my area. This knowledge has been instrumental in my quest for developing a critical and contextualized understanding of the issues related to madrassah education and its relationship to the larger economic context of Pakistani society.

Structure of the Practicum Report

The current part introduces the topic area and provides the study's rationale. It also includes an overview of the larger context of the study, objectives, and practicum report statement. Additionally, a brief description of the study design and methodology used for data collection and analysis is provided.

Part two presents a detailed review of the relevant literature concerning the background and historical development of madrassah education from various sources. It also discusses the bipolar discourse in relation to the role of madrassahs education in promoting social welfare as well as sectarian violence and *jihad* industry.

Part three provides important information regarding the larger socio-economic, political, and education context in Pakistan and the Punjab province. Relevant statistical information highlights the actual picture of state development. It also includes information related to enrollment and drop outs rate in primary, secondary and elementary schools (formal education system – government and private schools). Additionally, the guiding policy framework, objectives, and efforts of the government in relation to madrassah reform are discussed.

Part four presents an analysis of the findings from six selected madrassahs (from the urban and rural areas of northern Punjab). The main findings are also discussed in this part.

Part five presents conclusions gleaned from the findings and analysis.

Background

In this part I will present a brief overview of the historical development of Islamic madrassahs as centers of education in the Islamic civilization. More specifically, I have attempted to trace the origin and development of madrassahs in the subcontinent. The origin, structure, and content of the madrassah curriculum are also discussed.

Historical Development of Islamic Madrassahs

Islamic madrassahs in Pakistan had their origin about thousand years back. The madrassahs were established as centers of teaching and learning for the education and training of Islamic scholars and clerics for public service. The recent development of *some* madrassahs in the direction of extremism and their close ties to radical militant elements has transformed their original vision and intent (Singer & Olin, 2001).

Rahman (1982) states that the origins of Islamic education date back to the time of the Prophet when he started teaching the Quran, to educate his companions and followers about the principles of Islam. Later, in the first and second centuries of Islam “scattered centers of learning grew up around persons of eminence.” The students would receive a certificate – ijaza a “permit” to teach after the completion of their studies at that particular madrassah. Students generally learned to memorize the Quran, record traditions from the Prophet, and deduced “legal points” from

them. Establishment of formal madrassahs with a prescribed curriculum was initiated by the Shia²³.

When the Seljukids and Ayyubids [Sunni rulers] replaced the Shia states in Iran and Egypt, large madrassahs or colleges organized on Sunni lines were established, and with time they multiplied. With the establishment of the Shia Safavid dynasty in Iran in the sixteenth century, there grew a number of Shia seats of higher learning, the most common of which at present is Qum. In Sunni Islam the position of absolute prominence is held by al-Azhar of Egypt, founded in the tenth century by the Ismaili Fatimids of Egypt and turned over to Sunni Islam after the Ayyubid conquest of Egypt in the late twelfth century (Rahman, 1982; p. 32).

²³ There are two main sects among Muslims. Shia and Sunni. The Shi'a make up the second largest group of believers in Islam, constituting about 10-15% of all Muslims. (The largest sect, the Sunni Muslims, make up about 85% of all Muslims). Shi'a Muslims reside in all parts of the world, but some countries have a higher concentration of Shi'a. Iran is almost entirely Shi'a. Shias and Sunni follow different schools of legal thought. (http://www.wordiq.com/definition/Islamic_World) Shi'a Muslims accept Ali, the son-in-law of Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him), as the legal successor of Prophet Muhammad. The word Shi'a means "those people who love what the Prophet's Progeny loves, and they are loyal to such Progeny." Shiat Ali means specifically that party which, after the death of the Prophet prophet Muhammed (PBUH) considered Hazrat Ali [the son-in-law of the Prophet] to be his successor in temporal and religious matters.

(http://www.answeringansar.org/shia_viewpoint/to_know_the_shia/to_know_the_shia.pdf) Shia Muslims hold the same fundamental beliefs of other Muslims, with the principle addition being that they also believe in an imamate, which is the distinctive institution of Shia Islam. The imamate began with Ali, who is also accepted by Sunni Muslims as the fourth of the "rightly guided caliphs" to succeed the Prophet. But the Shia also revere Ali as the First Imam, and his descendants, beginning with his sons Hasan and Husain, continue the line of the Imams until the twelfth. The Twelfth Imam is alleged to have been just five years old when he assumed the position of Imam in 874 when his father died. But, because his followers feared assassination, he was seen only by his closest deputies. Sunnis, therefore, will often claim that he never existed or that he merely died when he was a child. But the Shia believe that he never died at all and instead simply disappeared in 939. This is called the Great Occultation, and it will continue until Allah commands him to manifest again on earth as the Mahdi. During this occultation, the Shia believe that he is still spiritually present, even if physically hidden - although some believe that he appears during various invocations and prayers. (http://atheism.about.com/library/FAQs/islam/blfaq_islam_twelver.htm)

The establishment of madrassahs was centered on the vision to provide religious and spiritual growth as well as imparting relevant knowledge and training for conducting the affairs of the worldly life.

Islam has set a high ideal of *ilm* [knowledge] which, with all its scholastic accompaniments involved in the study of the Quran, [Hadith] and other sciences is the only way to seek truth. It principally aims at the right way of thinking and living, proper understanding of what constitutes the human soul and molding a healthy mind, free from worldly desires. Learning has been defined as the highest attainment of humanity, a way leading to high conduct and cultivation of virtue. But learning, without putting it into practical use would be meaningless. Teaching and imparting knowledge is considered to be the noblest occupation. According to Islam, education is a powerful instrument for bringing about social change and to put an end to social ignorance and superstitions. Education can transform the world into an abode of peace, free from sin and misery (Kaur, 1990; p. 3).

The seminary founded by Nizam-ul-Mulk Hassan bin Ali Tusi in Baghdad in the 11th century is generally recognized as one of the pioneer institutions for preparing experts in Islamic law. Islam was spreading in various parts of the world ranging from North Africa to Asia. Quran – the word of God revealed to the Prophet - was the main source of guidance in terms of spiritual and theological guidance. Substantive theological texts did not exist around that time. The rulers belonging to the dominant Sunni sect used madrassahs to develop a class of religious clerics who were indoctrinated in a particular set of belief systems to create a class of ulema,

muftis, and qazis (judges) who would administer the Muslim empire, legitimize its rulers as righteous, and define a dogmatic and an invariable interpretation of Islam. The Sunni rulers used the scholars and clerics to legitimize their ruling interests and to govern the minds of the subjects to subvert any potential resistance. (Haqqani, 2000; Rahman, 1982).

Historically, madrassahs have always been “autonomous private organizations” operating financially and administratively independent of government (Kaur, 1990). The expenses of the madrassah were met from the revenue earned from large estates given as endowments. These sources included dwelling houses, shops, farms, etc. The madrassahs had libraries attached to them, for the use of the students, teachers, and even the public (Rahman, 1982).

Madrassahs never existed as state institutions. The pursuit of knowledge constitutes a religious duty in Islam. Both men and women are encouraged to seek knowledge. In the wake of the Muslim conquest of the subcontinent preachers of Islam and religious enthusiasts came and created mosques for religious observances and holding congregational prayers.

These mosques also served as maktabas and madrassahs in which the rituals of Islam and the recitation of the Quran were taught as an essential part of religious observances. The imam [priest] of a mosque in addition to his duty to lead prayers, imparted free education to boys and girls. Some Arabic scholars began to impart education voluntarily, in the higher branches of Islamic studies, either in a mosque or at home without seeking any

remuneration. As they became popular, ambitious students from surrounding parts of the country gathered round them for higher studies. Noblemen and wealthy persons often engaged such scholars to teach their sons along with other students of the locality. Sometimes madrassahs were started under state patronage through grants of land and other allowance (Kaur, 1990, p. 38).

Islamic Epistemology

A core curriculum was developed and implemented in the madrassahs consisting of two main areas: the “revealed sciences” and “rational sciences.” The revealed sciences included study of the Quran, *Hadith* (traditions of the Prophet), Quranic commentary, and Islamic jurisprudence. The rational sciences included Arabic language and grammar to help understand the Quran, logic, rhetoric, and philosophy (Haqqani, 2000). Rahman (1982) elaborates on the “nature and quality” of teaching in Islamic madrassahs to help us understand the goals of madrassah education in terms of shaping the world view, character building, and thinking of the Muslim students. “Law and theology” were an essential component of the higher educational system in the Sunni madrassahs. Later, certain “philosophical themes” such as essence and existence, causation, the nature of God’s attributes, and prophet hood were also included. Although very little is known about the curriculum and subjects taught in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, it is certain that clear distinctions were made between “theoretical and practical sciences” and between “universal and particular sciences.” The theoretical and practical sciences generally included

“theology” also called “science of the unity of God” or “principles of faith.” During the course of time other distinctions were developed between the “religious sciences (*ulum shariya*) or traditional sciences (*ulum naqliya*) and the rational or secular sciences (*ulum aqliya*)” (*Ibid*, p. 32).

There are two main categories of knowledge in Islamic epistemology: a) revealed knowledge (*ulum shar’iyyah* - ethics and values), and b) knowledge through experience and reason (*‘ulum ‘aqliyyah* - rational sciences and disciplines), such as the natural sciences, art, and technology. The basic principle of epistemology elucidated in the Quran is that God reveals knowledge through revelation in the “two Books,” the Quran and nature. The Quran is a source of knowledge pertaining to “basic value judgments” and “the unseen truths about the ultimate destiny of human beings.” The Quran contains a large number of verses related to the natural things and phenomena. “The other ‘Book’ – nature, cosmos, man, and his sociocultural system and history – provides knowledge of demonstrable facts” (Nasr 1993a). These facts are knowable through thinking and reason on the part of human beings. The signs of God (*ayat*) constitute the Quranic verses as well as the physical, biological, social, cultural, and historical phenomena (Husaini, 1985; Nasr 1993a).

Nasr (1993a) uses the term *Islamic science* to denote all the current sciences that were cultivated in Islamic civilization from 8th century onwards such as medicine, astronomy, alchemy, and mathematics. He argues that the scientific tradition in the Islamic world was inextricably linked to religion and practical life. Muslim scientists used deduction, experimentation, observation, and “intellectual intuition” as methods

for creating knowledge. Sardar (1989) contends that intuition and revelation are also accepted as valid ways of knowing in “Muslim psyche” which would not accept only purely scientific methods.

Abu al-Wahid Ibn Rushd²⁴ (1198 A.D.) – a philosopher, physician and expert on Islamic Shariah – sought to forge a harmony between science, philosophy, and Shariah (Islamic jurisprudence and law). He argued that gaining knowledge of nature was a responsibility of Muslims according to the Quran. An important development that took place in the Arab world from fourteenth century onward was that besides theology, the Arab science of rhetoric and eloquence became the major intellectual area among orthodox scholars²⁵ (Rahman, 1982). Alfarabi, who was an eminent Muslim scholar in the ninth century, developed an elaborate classification of sciences (Nasr, 1968) including astronomy, mathematics, and philosophy to be taught in the medieval Islamic educational systems (Please see Appendix A).

Islamic Madrassahs in the Indo-Pak Subcontinent

Islamic concepts and learning entered into the subcontinent through the Arab traders and travelers in the sixth and seventh centuries. Later, after the invasion and subsequent conquest of Sindh by Mohammad Bin Qasim in 711 A.D, the Arab soldiers set up mosques in Sindh and Southern Punjab (now in Pakistan), and developed centers of education in these mosques to encourage the study of Quran,

²⁴ Ibn Rushd was known as “the commentator” of Aristotle “the etcher” in the West. His philosophy “Averroism” greatly influenced the Western thought from 12th-16th century. His works were taught at the University of Paris and other European universities (Husaini, 1985).

²⁵ Fazlur Rahman. Islam & modernity: Transformation of an intellectual tradition. 1982.

Hadith, and Tafsir Quranic (interpretation and commentary). They were not only warriors, but teachers and preachers as well. In many mosques and madrassahs, scholars delivered lectures on Hadith, tafsir, and fiqh literature (Haq, 1972; Shahidullah, 1985).

According to Kaur (1990) madrassahs began to flourish in the subcontinent in the year 1066. Various institutions of learning emerged within the society to carry out educative and intellectual activities. Generally teaching was imparted at the teacher's house. The children of the nobility received elementary education at home. Literary studies were also pursued by the intellectual elite in literary salons and bookshops. Homes of learned persons were also among the sources for the "development of literary activities and kindling intellectual curiosity to illuminate the minds of those who were interested in education" (p.11). Monasteries and cells attached to mosques also provided opportunities for teaching not only mysticism, but also Haidth, tafsir, fiqh (jurisprudence), logic and grammar²⁶.

The principal types of educational institutions were maktab²⁷ and madrassahs throughout the country as well as universities in cities. Besides these formal institutions, individual teachers imparted education in homes and received remuneration from their pupils in the form of personal service (Brelvi, 1997; Shalaby, 1954). Kaur (1990) further elaborates on the purposes of maktab and madrassah education.

²⁶ Tarikh-i-Ferishta. Briggs. (1977). Vol. 1. Promotion of learning in India.

²⁷ Elementary schools.

Maktab was a place meant for elementary teaching. The objective of Islamic primary education was to impart knowledge of the alphabet and religious prayers. The madrassah, literally a place for learning, was a center of higher education, the alumni of which came to be known as Ulama [scholars]. Today, the word is used only for those Muslims who have graduated from a madrassah in the traditional Islamic subjects like the Quranic exegeses, Prophetic traditions, Islamic law and theology, but also those who try to follow the *Sharah* [Islamic law] to the letter. One can study these subjects outside a madrassah, but then one would not necessarily be considered an *Alim* (scholar in Arabic). During medieval times, particularly in India, all those who attended the madrassah did not necessarily belong to the class of Ulama. Only those who studied theology and law thoroughly and afterwards entered government service in the religious and judicial departments, or stayed in the madrassah to teach, were usually called Ulama. Both religious and secular subjects were taught in the madrassah (Kaur, 1990, p. 12).

During the reign of Muslim rulers (Sultans and Mughals) from (1000 – 1857 AD) the madrassahs and maktabas spread throughout India to impart education in religion, and to train administrators for the civil service. The Mughal emperor Akbar (16th century) renovated the existing system of madrassah education, and introduced major changes in the structure and content of the madrassah education. Kaur (1990) provides a detailed account of the methods of teaching and learning in madrassahs during Akbar's dynasty. Students learned to speak, read, and write in Persian

language, and pursued education relevant to their specific goals and ambitions (Kaur, 1990; Shalaby, 1954; Shahihduallah, 1985).

Brelvi (1997) reports that one of the brilliant achievements during the Mughal rule in the subcontinent was the organizational system of education. Muslim rulers demonstrated an ardent interest in the education of people. Brelvi explicates the condition of madrassahs and Islamic schools in India in the early twentieth century.

No village was without a mosque and no mosque was without a maktab and a modest library. Mosques were not restricted to Ibadat (prayer) and worship only, but were also used as lecture halls for dissemination of knowledge and learning. Shrines (*Khanqas*) also played a similar role in the spreading and widening of knowledge, both spiritual and secular. During Akbar's reign [Mughal emperor in the 16th century] great attention was given to education. Reading, writing, poetry prose, morals (akhlaq), arithmetic, agriculture, geometry, astronomy, physiognomy, household matters, medicine, the science of administration, logic, physical sciences, religious knowledge were included in the curriculum and the study of Quran (religious studies, memorization and recitation) (Brelvi, 1997, p. 16).

Arabic was introduced as a compulsory subject in almost all schools and colleges, while instruction was imparted in Persian (the official language of the court). Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb established a large network of madrassahs throughout the empire, and also provided stipends to students according to their abilities. Separate maktabas existed for the education of girls, but usually female students received their

education in the same schools where the boys were educated. However, girls received education up to their primary standard in maktabas or madrassas. Later on they received their education privately or in the schools specially provided for them (Ibid, 1997).

Brelvi states that there were about 3,691 madrassas with an enrolment of approximately 1,17,453 Muslim boys and girls in the United Provinces of India, besides secondary and Higher Educational institutions. His advice to the British colonial government was that such a large system of indigenous education should not be wiped out and replaced entirely by modern educational institutions modeled on the British systems of education. He, therefore, suggested that madrassah education should be reformed in line with the modern times. His critique of the secular institutions established by the British was that they lacked religious and moral education, which was necessary for the Muslim community. Religious and moral education had a special significance, he emphasized, for Muslims, who had alienated themselves from modern education, and “suffered the serious consequences which affected the position and prospects of the whole community in this country [subcontinent]” (p. 27).

Madrassah Curriculum

In this section I present an overview of the historical development of madrasah curriculum in the context of the India-Pakistan subcontinent. Ahmad (2001) presents

the following classification schemes for various types of madrassahs in the subcontinent.

- Ibtidai (elementary), where only the Quran is memorized and taught.
- Vustani (middle level), where selected books from *dars-i-Nizami* (the traditional Nizami curriculum are taught), and
- Fauqani (higher level), where the entire *dars-i-Nizami* is taught.

In addition, some madrassahs provide instruction in specialized subjects, such as *tafsir* (details of *Quran*), *hadith* (the Prophetic Traditions), and *fiqh*, which are taught by competent scholars. Rahman (1982) contends that Islamic education in the Indian subcontinent was not well developed because when it reached India in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries “the formative and creative stages of various sciences in Islam had already essentially passed, and these sciences were in fact static or in decline” (p. 61).

The curriculum used in madrassahs in the subcontinent has progressed through several iterations of “reform” over time responding to the “changing needs of the state” (Sikand, 2002)²⁸. The traditional focus of the curriculum was on *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) until the early sixteenth century. Law and theology were the first sciences to be introduced. Later, around the fifteenth century logic and rhetoric began to receive more attention. During the dynasty of the Mughal Emperor Akbar, the focus was shifted towards other disciplines, such as philosophy and logic. In the eighteenth century the study of *hadith* (a narrative record of the sayings or customs of

²⁸ Islam and Interfaith Relations in South Asia. <http://www.islaminterfaith.org/oct2002/article.html>

the Prophet Muhammad and his companions) was also introduced into the madrassah curriculum and gained prominence. Shah Waliullah (1702-1763), an Islamic religious scholar and a reformer, initiated this change in the curriculum. He introduced the teaching of the “six canonical collections of *hadith* (*sahih sitta*) in the Madrassah-i-Rahimiya, in Delhi” (Rahmani, 1994, p.8; Sikand, 2002).

Dars-i-Nizami (the Nizami Curriculum)

Dars-i-Nizami (the Nizami Curriculum) was developed and introduced in the eighteenth century by Mulla Nizamuddin Sihalvi (d. 1747) of the Firangi Mahal madrassah in Lucknow (India during the reign of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb). Mulla Nizamuddin who was a scholar in jurisprudence and philosophy constructed “a reformed madrassah syllabus, named after him as the *Dars-i-Nizam*” (Ahmad, 2001; Robinson, 2001; Sikand, 2002). The new curriculum embodied new books and material on “*hadith*²⁹ and Quranic commentary” along with “rational sciences” in order to train people in the religious as well as administrative and bureaucratic domains.

Ahmad (2001) and Rahman (1982) provide an elaborate description of the Dars-i-Nizami curriculum. Dars-i-Nizami was a nine- or ten-year syllabus of middle to higher education, spanned over sixteen to twenty subject areas, and consisted of approximately eighty books. Most of the Sunni³⁰ madrassahs, (Deobandi, Barelvi, or

²⁹ A collection of traditions relating to Prophet Muhammad.

³⁰ Sunni Muslims constitute a majority of the population (around 75% in Pakistan). Sunni and Shia sects are further divided into multiple branches.

Barelvis make up a substantial majority of the Pakistani sunni population, whereas Deobandis make up perhaps 15 percent. The most important difference between these sects is that Deobandis hold to a strict and historically orthodox view of Islam, while Barelvis have allowed local traditions and mysticism to intermingle with Islamic doctrine (Ahmad, 2001).

Ahl-i-Hadith persuasion) follow the same Nizami curriculum. The following table provides a classification of religious, quasi-religious, and secular topic areas included in the Nizami curriculum.

Table 2.1: Subjects included in the Nizami Curriculum

Religious	Quasi - Religious	Secular
Principles of Quran		Philosophy
Quranic commentaries	Prosody	Logic
Tafsir (interpretation of the Quran)	Rhetoric	Medicine
Hadith (the Prophetic Traditions,) and	Dialectical theology	Prose and poetry
Islamic law	Polemics	Mathematics
Arabic literature	Jurisprudence	
Life of the Prophet	Law of Inheritance	
Grammar		

Source: Islam and Interfaith Relations in South Asia.

Out of the twenty subjects only eight can be considered as solely religious. The curriculum is generally not available in its complete form in contemporary madrassahs. This is particularly true in the case of subjects such as medicine,

mathematics, history, prosody, and polemics. “The result is that students often have to move from one madrassah to another to complete their curriculum. This results in the failure of many madrassahs to institutionalize their grading and promotion procedures” (Ahmad 2001, p39; Rahman, 1982).

Rahman (1982) states that the Dars-i-Nizami syllabus was restructured and simplified soon after its compilation. Over time several subjects and, later, even whole disciplines like science and philosophy were eliminated.

Coulson (2004) provides an account of the state of education in the contemporary madrassahs in Pakistan. After spending two or three years at the madrassahs students also receive instruction in medieval Arabic, grammar, syntax, and classic works of Arabic literature. Islamic jurisprudence is also taught at the advanced level. Pakistani madrassahs “do not teach Arabic as a living language, but as a historic specimen, frozen in time. Few students emerge from madrassahs able to converse fluently in Arabic.” In addition to learning to recite and memorize the Quran in Arabic language, students also learn Urdu (the official language of Pakistan) or a regional language, such as Punjabi, Pashto, Sindhi, Blochi or Siraiki at the elementary level.

Modern Madrassahs in Pakistan

Ahmad (2002) sheds light on the origin and structure of the modern madrassahs in Pakistan³¹. He states that this model was developed in India during the nineteenth century. He states that madrassahs were generally “homogenous” in terms of their structure and content of instruction. Curriculum and instruction mainly included logic, philosophy, rhetoric, dialectical reasoning, mathematics, traditional medicine, and Arabic and Persian grammar, and literature. Many of the texts used in the present day madrassahs are from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. At the elementary level, reading the Quran is the major task and at the highest level generally the complete curriculum is taught. The typical curriculum in contemporary madrassahs in Pakistan largely draws on the Dars-i-Nizami syllabus (Ahmad, 2001; Coulson 2004). Recitation of the Quran in Arabic and learning the Sunnah and Hadith (a collection of traditions relating to Prophet Muhammad) constitute the core of the madrassah curriculum.

Traditionally and historically madrassahs have served as training institutions that prepared civil servants and judicial officials for governments across the Islamic world. The emphasis in the curriculum has been on law and fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence) for centuries. Ahmad (2004) argues that the Indian model of madrassahs shifted the emphasis from law to theology. He believes that one of the most interesting developments of the contemporary education in madrassahs is that the actual text of the Quran is not taught. The instruction only focuses on reading

³¹ <http://info.worldbank.org/etools/bspan/PresentationView.asp?PID=609&EID=302>

scholarly commentary of the Quranic text. An interesting observation that he makes is that many *ulamas* (scholars), considered experts on the Koran, have never read the text of the entire Quran. “Madrassahs produce religious functionaries that administer ceremonies in the mosques,” such as marriage and funeral rituals.

Jamia Ashrafia

In this section I present a brief description of the curriculum and certification system at a Pakistani madrassah located in Lahore, Punjab. Jamia Ashrafia is considered to be a progressive institution of Islamic knowledge. It is located in Lahore, which is the capital of the Punjab province. Not only does it emphasize the study of the *Holy Quran*, *Hadith*, and *Fiqha* and related theological subjects, it also includes the study of modern subjects, such as English Language, Mathematics, Social Studies, Material Sciences and even Information Technology. This institution aims to (a) impart knowledge of the *Holy Quran*, *Ahadith*, *Fiqh* and the basic principles of Islam to future Islamic scholars and (b) and equip religious scholars with the knowledge of the challenges of the modern age, for effective communication of the message of Islam to people all over the world. Jamia Ashrafia offers a variety of certificate and degree programs, including bachelors and masters degrees, in religious and modern education (See appendix D for a detailed description of the curriculum used at Jamia Ashrafia).

Contemporary Discourse around the Madrassah System in Pakistan

The following discussion illuminates diverse ideas and opinions about the purpose and character of the contemporary madrassahs in Pakistan. It also explains madrassah reform in Pakistan and resistance to the reform program initiated by the Pakistani state.

The conflicting character of Pakistani madrassahs as a social welfare enterprise on the one hand, and as centers of indoctrination to prepare jihadis with extremist notions has attracted much attention and debate. The discourse is polarized in terms of focusing on only one of the two aspects. One school of thought seems to stress the importance of madrassahs as a major community support mechanism for the welfare of the poorest sections of the society; the other school tends to criticize the madrassahs as breeding grounds for preparing terrorists and extremists. The purpose of this study is to examine both streams of thought in order to understand the role played by the madrassah in Pakistan's social, cultural, and economic development.

The madrassahs continued to develop outside the confines of the state apparatus and played their historical role and activities in Pakistan after the partition of the subcontinent in 1947. However, during the 1980's, some madrassahs went through a far reaching transformation largely due to the changes in the larger international political context. In Pakistan many *madrassahs* were increasingly politicized because of a number of factors: the ulemas (scholars) formed political parties and assumed positions of political power in the government and the

legislature³² (Khan, 2003). The military dictator of Pakistan General Zia-ul-Haq in an attempt to obtain political support from the local religious groups developed an elaborate system to support them financially. Money was disbursed “at the local level to institutions deemed worthy of support by religious leaders, creating new incentives for opening religious schools.” The occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet army in 1979 also stimulated a new phase of development in the madrassah system. Consequently, new madrassahs were established, funded and supported by “foreign donations from rich individuals and Islamic charities. Several Pakistani madrassahs were actively engaged in training fighters for the war against the Soviets in Afghanistan. “The schools also acted as orphanages for the many parentless victims of the war” (Singer & Olin, 2001, p. 2; Jawad, 1999).

However, it is important to note that despite financial support from the government in 1980s and support from the religious political parties, the madrassahs continue to operate outside the state infrastructure.

Thousands of madrassahs are imparting education in Islamic theology and law in Pakistan. The exact number of madrassahs is not known. Their number appears to range between 10,000 - 45,000. According to the official estimate, they total 10,000 serving approximately 600,000 students (Singer & Olin, 2001).

³² Khan, Z. (2003). “Do not equate Indian madrassahs with the Pakistani ones. <http://www.islaminterfaith.org/may2003/interview.html>

Social Welfare System

The madrassahs have served many of the most impoverished students in Pakistan, providing schooling, food, housing, and clothing for impoverished families that have no other options. Fee charging public schools and for-profit private educational institutions are beyond the means of the extremely underprivileged families. The justification for sending children to madrassahs having links with militant and jihadi organizations is mainly “money” for the families located in most poor and radicalized regions (Coulson, 2004). In the poor areas of northern Punjab, madrassahs funded by Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan (SSP), a Sunni sectarian political party - even pay money to parents for sending their children to the madrassahs supported by this party (Stern, 2000). Since education is beyond the means of the poorest of the poor sections of the society, these families are drawn towards free madrassahs, which provide boarding and lodging, food, and clothing besides imparting free religious education to children. Coming from poverty stricken homes these students find shelter and refuge in madrassahs.

Jihad Industry

Coulson (2004) emphasizes the jihadi and extremist character of madrassahs. However, he acknowledges the fact that the percentage of madrassahs engaged in jihadi education is not known. The percentage of extremist madrassahs in Pakistan is estimated to be one-tenth of the total number of madrassahs. Militant political groups and organizations obtain “ideologically sympathetic recruits” from these madrassahs.

About 10-15 percent of madrassahs have been engaged in militancy and violence. Goldberg (2000) argues that “militant Islam is at the core of most of these schools. Many madrassahs are village based, with student bodies of 25 or 50. Some of the madrassahs are sponsored by Pakistan's religious parties, and some are affiliated with the “mujahedeen groups waging jihad against India in the disputed province of Kashmir.” These schools tend to teach a more extreme version of Islam. They combine a mix of Wahabism (a puritanical version of Islam originating in Saudi Arabia) with Deobandism (a strand from the Indian subcontinent that is anti-Western, claiming that the West is the source of corruption in contemporary Islamic states and thus the laws of state are not legitimate” (Coulson, 2004). Haqqani (2002) observes that militant madrassahs indoctrinate their students with an ideology that justifies violence against all those who do not follow their version of Islamic ideology³³. However, some madrassahs also teach modern subjects and use modern textbooks related to various disciplines like mathematics, Urdu language, etc. (Coulson, 2004). Marshall & Daniszewski (2001) state that religious madrassahs following extremist ideology immerse their students in a suitable environment to mould their minds in line with their belief system. Students are secluded from the outside world and have minimal opportunities for interacting with other people in the community. By providing clothing, food, and housing to their students, these madrassahs construct a closed system where they are continuously exposed to a particular worldview based on dogma and extremism, which they can never question. The students also do not come in contact with women and rarely meet with their impoverished families.

³³ <http://www.ceip.org/files/publications/Haqqani112002FP.asp>

“Political ideologies are transmitted through formal teaching in school as well as sermons delivered at Friday congregations” (p. 29). The events from Afghanistan, Iraq, and Palestine covered in the mass media are discussed. The role of the US in these political conflicts is highlighted. “In this atmosphere, it is easy for a madrassah instructor's accusation of American complicity in violence against Muslims worldwide to become the accepted truth, so that even educated people begin to see the U.S. government at war with them and their religion³⁴.”

Since 1979 some of the madrassahs, particularly those located near the Pakistan-Afghanistan border, have been responsible for educating leaders of the Taliban and the warriors who fought against the Soviet occupation³⁵. Many leaders of the Taliban in Afghanistan were trained and educated in Pakistani madrassahs at that time. It is also reported that several hundred foreign students from Afghanistan along with dozens from and former Soviet republics as Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, and Chechnya also attend madrassahs engaged in militancy. The ideology underpinning their motivations is an expression of their nationalistic as well as pan-Islamic aspirations. The madrassahs operating with the support of radical elements are sending waves of concern to the top political centers of the world. One fear that dominates the mind is that extremists with jihadi spirit may use nuclear technology³⁶.

Stern (2000) states that the Islamic religious schools in Pakistan were not known in the west prior to the September 11 event in the US because they were

³⁴ <http://www.rickross.com/reference/islamic/islamic20.html>

³⁵ At the time of the invasion of Afghanistan by Russian troops.

³⁶ http://www.indianembassy.org/policy/Terrorism/news_us/education_holy_warrior_june_25.htm

mainly involved in Kashmir³⁷, and earlier in Afghanistan, and thus did not pose a substantial threat to the security outside the South Asian region. The Indian government has always accused Pakistani militant groups as engaging in jihad and militant activities in the disputed territory of Kashmir. The Pakistani government has been accusing Indian intelligence agencies of committing terrorism and killing hundreds of civilians in Pakistan. The agenda of the madrassahs operating near and within Kashmir is to “liberate” Kashmir from the clutches of the Indian oppressive government, which they believe was occupied by India illegally. Since 2001, the Pakistani president Mr. Musharraf has openly denounced the militant activities of madrassahs in Kashmir. Stern (2000) argues that “Pakistani militant groups among them, Lashkar-i-Taiba and Harkat-ul-Mujahideen pose a long-term danger to international security, regional stability, and especially Pakistan itself.”

Some extremist madrassahs preach jihad without understanding the concept: They equate jihad which most Islamic scholars interpret as striving for justice (and principally an inner striving to purify the self) with guerrilla warfare. These schools encourage their graduates, who often cannot find work because of their lack of practical education, to fulfill their "spiritual obligations" by fighting against the Hindus in Kashmir or against Muslims of other sects in

³⁷ Pakistan and India have been involved in a dispute over Kashmir since the partition of the subcontinent in 1947. At the time of the creation of Pakistan in 1947, the rulers of Muslim-majority states that had existed within British India were given the option of joining India or Pakistan. The Hindu king of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, which had Muslim majority, decided to accede to India. An indigenous rebellion arose in the state. India and Pakistan sent their troops to the state and India sent its troops to Kashmir and the resultant fighting ended with a 1949 cease-fire. Since then, Kashmir has been a disputed territory between both the countries and no long term solution has been developed as yet by both the states.

Pakistan. Pakistani officials estimate that 10 to 15 percent of the country's tens of thousands of madrassahs espouse such extremist ideologies (Stern, 2000, p. 3).

Stern (2000) uses the term “jihad international, inc.” to explain that engaging in jihad and militant activities is becoming an increasingly profitable business for those who are involved in it. She also captures the role of the international Muslim community in supporting the development of militant madrassahs into jihad industry. While militant madrassahs supply the “labor” and fodder for jihad, “wealthy Pakistanis and Arabs around the world supply the capital.

On Eid-ul-Azha, the second most important Muslim holiday of the year, anyone who can afford, sacrifices an animal and gives the hide to charity. Pakistani militant groups solicit such hide donations, which they describe as a significant source of funding for their activities in Kashmir. A major proportion of the funding comes from “anonymous donations” deposited directly into the bank accounts of the extremist political parties operating madrassahs. The extremist movement poses serious threats to the internal and external security of Pakistan. As it gains its own financial sufficiency financial momentum, it will become harder for Pakistan to curb their activities and influence.

Stern (2000) further explains the funding sources and financial situation of the institutions and individuals involved in jihad industry. Lashkar-i-Taiba (Army of the Pure), a rapidly growing Ahle Hadith (Wahhabi) group, raises funds on the Internet. Lashkar and its parent organization, Markaz ad-Da'wa Wal Irshad (Center for Islamic

Invitation and Guidance); have raised so much money, mostly from sympathetic Wahhabis in Saudi Arabia, that they are reportedly planning to open their own bank. Individual "mujahideen" also benefit financially from this generous funding. According to a prominent Pakistani journalist Ahmed Rashid, a mid-level manager of Lashkar told me him that he earned 15,000 rupees a month; more than seven times what the average Pakistani makes, according to the World Bank. Top leaders of militant groups earn much more; they have set up mansions staffed by servants and filled with expensive furniture. Operatives receive smaller salaries but win bonuses for successful missions. Such earnings are particularly attractive in a country with 40 percent official poverty rate, according to Pakistani government statistics.

The United States and Saudi Arabia injected around 3.5 billion dollars into Afghanistan and Pakistan during the Afghan war, according to Milt Bearden, CIA station chief. "Jihad," along with guns and drugs, became the most important business in the region. The business of "jihad" which the late scholar Eqbal Ahmad (a Pakistani scholar and intellectual of great repute) dubbed "Jihad International, Inc." continues to attract foreign investors, mostly wealthy Arabs in the Persian Gulf region and members of the Pakistani Diaspora. As World Bank economist Paul Collier observes, Diaspora populations often prolong ethnic and religious conflicts by contributing not only capital but also extremist rhetoric (p. 3).

According to Mubarak Ali (2002)³⁸, the perceived role of the madrassahs as jihad industry is generally "exaggerated." In his opinion, "On the whole, the

³⁸ Islam and Interfaith Relations in South Asia <http://www.islaminterfaith.org/oct2002/interview.html>

madrassahs create narrow-minded, sectarian students, but not terrorists. Not all the Afghan Taliban were madrassah educated. They also included young people educated in modern schools or colleges. They were influenced by the mass media, television, radio, newspapers and textbooks. Ali (2002) further states that when the Russian forces occupied Afghanistan in 1979, America provided support to madrassah students in the armed resistance termed as “jihad.” Special curricula and textbooks were prepared in those times and disseminated in the madrassahs to glorify jihad as a “holy war” between Muslims and Russian occupying forces. Military training was also provided to students going to these religious seminaries to engage in armed jihad against the occupying regime.

Sectarian Violence

Some madrassahs are spreading sectarian violence and hatred against various Islamic sects in Pakistan. They are stimulating sectarian violence, extremism, and intolerance under the cover of religious education. Each sect follows a distinct body of the Prophet’s traditions and Sunnah. Generally they do not agree on the authenticity of the Prophet’s tradition. As Naqvi (2003) puts it, “Indeed sectarianism is born just here. The fact is there is no common Islam among various sects; each has its own version. Each claims that its sect’s Islam is true and eternal; moreover no compromise or ad hoc homogenization is permissible. All other versions, even if they differ only slightly, are false³⁹.”

³⁹ <http://www.jang.com.pk/thenews/oct2003-daily/29-10-2003/oped/o1.htm>

Some of the militant madrassahs affiliated with the Deobandi sect” initiated a war against their Shia fellow citizens in the early 1980s, sparking sectarian skirmishes that took the lives of 411 Shias and 212 Sunnis in the province of Punjab alone (Jawad, 1999) between 1990 and 1999⁴⁰. This kind of violent activities have continued since then. The majority of the madrassahs are run by Deobandis (sect)⁴¹. Those that are more militant in orientation among Deobandi institutions sent their students to fight jihad against the Soviet forces during the 1980’s. They tend to preach intolerance and violence against those who do not subscribe to their religious ideology. Militant Deobandi madrassahs are concentrated in and around the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) in northern Pakistan, which border Afghanistan, but they can be found all across Pakistan (Mehta & Schaffer, 2002). However, the current Pakistani government has launched an army action against various terrorist networks in the Northern areas of Pakistan.

In his rebuttal to the criticism against madrassahs, Jan (2002) emphasizes that, “Not all the Afghan Taliban came from [the religious seminaries] in the Pashtun areas of Pakistan.” Almost 65 per cent of the Taliban officials and workers at lower level had never been to any religious school. Most of the faculty members at Kabul University were graduates from US and other European countries with years of experience abroad. The concept of Jihad and people's willingness to die for Allah is independent of madrassahs. Most people come forward at anyone's call for Jihad when they physically or psychologically suffering consequences of one or another kind

⁴⁰ <http://www.karachipage.com/news/sectarian2.html>

⁴¹ <http://www.csis.org/saprogram/islaminpakistan.pdf>

of oppression. Madrassahs in the subcontinent do not play a "supporting role" of serving as recruiting grounds for "Jihadis," while occupied land of Palestine and Afghanistan, however, certainly do⁴².

Madrassah Reform

The recent discourse around madrassah reform hinges on the purpose of educating individuals to participate in the mainstream economic and social activities in Pakistan rather than resorting to orthodoxy and extremism, which renders them incapable of contributing to the economic development of the country. "Jobs, and not bombs, can keep a madrassah graduate from becoming a militant," said Pakistan's Education Minister Zubaida Jalal (2003). The government is making efforts to provide "quality alternative education" to the madrassah students. Additionally, the government is trying to raise funds to establish new schools that would replace madrassahs. Furthermore, the government is embarking on plans to provide villagers, particularly madrassah graduates, to start their own businesses in order to assist them to join the mainstream and not to depend entirely on mosques for a living. The government also plans to provide vocational and technical training to prepare them for jobs outside the mosque (Iqbal 2003)⁴³. Ali (2002) suggests that fee-charging private schools need to be expanded, strengthened, and funded through subsidies so that they could embrace children attending madrassah school as well.

⁴² <http://www.muslimuzbekistan.com/eng/islam/2002/09/a09092002.html>

⁴³ <http://washingtontimes.com/upi-breaking/20031106-095943-7079r.htm>

Although the international community was aware of the madrassah phenomenon and its potential serious consequences, the September 11 attack in the US resulted in a heightened sense of urgency, particularly in the west, to moderate radical madrassahs in Pakistan. The Pakistani government responded by instituting various measures such as “government registration of all madrassahs and public disclosure of their funding sources.” However, such efforts have been met with fierce and aggressive reaction from the religious and political parties. As a result they were quickly transformed into voluntary programs (Coulson, 2004). In 2003 the government of Pakistan offered to provide textbooks and teachers for modern secular subjects to madrassahs. The government also offered to meet the expenses related to books and teachers. According to Coulson (2004), “The only significant result of Pakistan’s madrassah policy has been to stimulate the leadership of the previously factionalized madrassah boards to unite under a single umbrella organization: the Ittehad Tanzimat Madrassahs-e-Deenia – ITMD (The Alliance of Religious Madrassahs). Since the formation of the ITMD in 2000, the five board representatives have spoken with a single voice in defiance of all regulatory and reform efforts.” The belief underpinning this opposition is that these reforms are being undertaken at the behest of the US to crush the rising Islamic influence (Coulson, 2004; Ali, 2002).

The current madrassah reform efforts have been criticized on the grounds that the governments crack down is cosmetic, lacking any legal substance to sustain and institutionalize any long-term reform. Ahmed (2004) is critical of the reform project initiated by the Pakistani government under the leadership of President Musharraf to

combat the rising tide of extremism and religious bigotry. One such effort is in the direction of embracing madrassahs into the mainstream system of education. Some of them inculcate extremist perceptions and doctrines of jihad in the young minds of students relying only on their particular brand of religious education curriculum⁴⁴.

President Musharraf's government initiated a campaign to register all madrassahs to obtain a clear picture of the stakeholders (religious and political groups) involved in madrassahs. The government intends to introduce a different curriculum developed by the end of 2002, and put an end to the politically and religiously motivated activities at mosques and madrassahs. Ahmed (2004) contends that the present government has failed to control the madrassahs and mitigate "jihadi culture." She observes that the government has not taken adequate measures to "implement tougher controls on financing of madrassahs and extremist groups despite obligations under United Nations Security Council Resolution 1373." The government has not waged any systematic and serious campaign against endemic terrorism. Ahmed (2004) further contends that the government has not taken any strict measures against the religious right (Islamic right) because it needs the support of the religious coalition parties' in the parliament.

The madrassahs continue to operate outside the parameters and influence of the government despite Pakistani government's efforts for their registration. The administration and the teachers of madrassahs by and large refused to accept the syllabus proposed by the government because they think that it not religious in

⁴⁴ Samina Ahmed. International herald tribune January 26, 2004
<http://www.iht.com/articles/126492.html>

orientation. Therefore, most madrassahs in Pakistan remain unregistered (Ahmed, 2004; ICG, 2002). Alongside this very gentle prodding, the government is offering madrassahs some incentives for good behavior: free Islamic and modern textbooks and other rewards, including salaries for teachers. Most madrassahs have rejected both aspects of the plan and have said they will resist any attempts to secularize education. The religious organizations already banned by the government continue to run schools and to produce militant literature

The following are the main points summarizing Ahmed's critical evaluation of the government reform plan:

- 1) The Pakistan Madrassah Education Board, established in August 2001 to oversee the schools, has so far only distributed questionnaires to obtain voluntary information. It lacks the authority to enforce registration.
- 2) No national curriculum has been developed for the madrassahs. The board has set up three "model madrassahs" teaching government approved versions of the standard madrassah course along with subjects like mathematics, general science, computers and English. But together these three schools have only about 300 students, while as many as 1.5 million students attend unregulated madrassahs.

Ali (2002) argues that the curriculum in madrassahs needs to be restructured. At the same time he also believes that the public school curriculum also needs change and diversification. He stresses the importance of social sciences as the only way out to "radically change and reform the curriculum." He is critical of the government's

efforts to introduce the natural and computer sciences in the madrassah syllabus. “I think this is a useless exercise. It is the social sciences that make people think and helps them open their minds, not the natural sciences.”

A report prepared by the International Crisis Group⁴⁵ (ICG) on madrassahs and extremism in Pakistan outlines the following shortcomings in the reform measures taken by the government:

- 1) The madrassah reform law would provide for changes in the curriculum, registration and monitoring of finances but even the name of the draft – the *Deeni (religious) Madrassahs* (Voluntary Registration and Regulation) Ordinance 2002 – gives some sense of the lack of commitment to reform.
- 2) The bill does not envisage a real intervention in the madrassah system because the clergy is opposed to it. Madrassahs will instead be asked to submit to regulation voluntarily, and the law proposes no mechanism of enforcement or punishments for violations. Madrassahs would simply be asked to comply with the new curriculum.

The report identifies the following recommendations for the government to improve its madrassah reform project.

1. Establish a madrassah regulatory authority immediately, to be headed by the interior minister that should:
 - a) carry out a comprehensive survey of the madrassah sector for purposes of mandatory registration and classification within six months;

⁴⁵ <http://www.911investigations.net/IMG/pdf/doc-957.pdf>

- b) assist the Pakistan Madrassah Education Board in implementing and monitoring curriculum and financing reforms; and
 - c) Work as the focal point for liaison with the clergy, donors, law enforcing agencies and international organizations.
2. Institute curriculum reforms for madrassahs within six months that ensure:
- a) vocational training programs are included;
 - b) more time is allotted for modern subjects in the new teaching schedule; and
 - c) Recognition of madrassah certificates and degrees is conditional upon adherence to the new teaching regime.
3. Immediately close all madrassahs affiliated with banned militant organizations and prosecute their leaders under existing criminal laws if they are involved in incitement to violence.
4. Require all madrassahs at the time of registration to:
- a) publish annual income, expenditure and audit reports;
 - b) declare their assets and sources of funding; and
 - c) Disassociate from any militant activity or group.
5. Create a nation wide Financial Intelligence Unit, as a subsidiary of the banking regulatory authority, to prevent money laundering in the formal banking sector and to curb the hundi (illegal money transaction) system and other informal financial transactions.
6. Institute stringent monitoring of foreign students who seek admission to Pakistani madrassahs and permit their enrolment only if such religious education is not

available in their home countries or they have otherwise been carefully screened by both their home authorities and the appropriate Pakistani government authorities.

7. Ensure that madrassah reform is not confined to urban areas but also covers small towns and villages.

History will reveal the extent to which the Pakistani government and moderate elements in the society succeed in carrying out a successful madrassah reform project to begin a new phase of Islamic education in modern times.

In this part I focused on the historical evolution of madrassahs in the Islamic world in general and the Indian subcontinent, in particular. The elements of the curriculum followed in madrassahs were also discussed in detail. The last section of the part focused on the contemporary role and dialectical characteristics of Pakistani madrassah system. In the following part I will provide a description of the larger economic, cultural, and social context in the Punjab province within which the madrassahs are operating. It would help us to understand the character and development of madrassahs in the larger socio-economic context of the Punjab province.

Summary

Historically the Islamic seminaries have prepared experts in Islamic law, scholars, religious clerics, and public servants. Madrassahs have always acted as autonomous private organizations operating independently of government in terms of finances and administration. The expenses of the madrassah were largely met from the revenue

earned from large estate given as endowments. The traditional madrassah curriculum embodied (a) revealed sciences which included the study of the Quran, *Hadith* (traditions of the Prophet), Quranic commentary, and Islamic jurisprudence, and (b) rational sciences, which included Arabic language and grammar to help understand the Quran, logic, rhetoric, philosophy, medicine, astronomy, etc. Madrassahs were set up in the subcontinent with the advent of the Muslim rule and flourished during Mughal dynasty (15-18th century). Mulla Nizamuddin who was a scholar in jurisprudence and philosophy developed a curriculum named after him as the *Dars-i-Nizam* in Lucknow. Dars-i-Nizami the study of *hadith* and Quranic commentary as well as rational sciences, such as grammar, rhetoric, prose, dialectical theology, medicine, Mathematics, Islamic law, polemics, etc. Dars-i-Nizami curriculum is largely followed even in the contemporary madrassahs in Pakistan. However, disciplines like medicine, sciences, and philosophy have been eliminated from the curriculum. After the colonization of the subcontinent by the British in the 18th century the emphasis of madrassah education shifted from law to theology. The contemporary madrassahs in Pakistan embody conflicting characteristics; they are perceived as a social welfare enterprise on the one hand, and as centers of indoctrination to prepare militants with extremist notions. A number of factors accounted for imparting a political and extremist character to madrassahs: the ulemas (scholars) joined politics and assumed powerful position in the state. The military dictator of Pakistan General Zia-ul-Haq (1977-1987) supported madrassahs financially in order to obtain political support from the religious groups. The

occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet army in 1979 also marked a new phase of madrassah development. New madrassahs were established with the help of funding received through foreign donations from rich individuals and Islamic charities. A large number of madrassahs have been serving the most impoverished families in Pakistan, providing schooling, food, housing, and clothing for students who have not have access to mainstream educational opportunities. A small number of madrassahs, administered by right wing political parties, have been training their students for jihad in Afghanistan and Kashmir. They are indoctrinating their students with an extremist ideology based on intolerance and militancy.

PART THREE

This part describes the larger social, economic, political context as well as the state of human development in Pakistan and Punjab where the case study was conducted. The statistics presented relate to poverty situation, literacy rate, formal education system, socio-economic development, and demographics in Pakistan. It also depicts social and economic indicators, spoken languages, and other cultural characteristics of Punjab. In addition, the main policy framework and objectives related to an enhanced integration between madrassah and formal education system are presented.

Larger Context the Study

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan is situated in the south of Asia and shares its borders with four countries, namely Iran, Afghanistan, China and India. The country's total geographical area is 796,095 square kilometers. On the basis of ecology the country can be divided into five main geographic zones - Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan, North Western Frontier Province, and Federally Administered Tribal Areas⁴⁶ - (See Appendix E for a map of Pakistan). Pakistan's population is estimated to be 137 million. The population estimate is based on the fifth Population and Housing Census of Pakistan conducted in 1998. The current growth rate of 2.2 percent is considered among the highest in the region.

The major religion in Pakistan is Islam; about 96.7% of the population constitutes Muslims. Other religious groups include Christians (1.8%), Hindus

⁴⁶ Source: Survey of Pakistan, Government of Pakistan.

(1.5%), and Zoroastrians (table 3.1). Madrassahs were nurtured in a Muslim majority land with a view to promote religious education and values.

Table 3.1: Major religions

Religions	Percentage
Muslims	96.7 %
Christians	1.8 %
Hindus	1.5 %

Source: UNDP Report, 2003

This study was conducted in District Khushab which is located in northern Punjab. Punjab, the land of five rivers, is the biggest province in terms of population. It consists of 8 divisions and 28 districts. Its population is estimated to be about 70 million. It is bordered by the Indian states of Punjab and Rajasthan. The national language is Urdu, but Punjabi is also an important language in Pakistan. It is spoken and understood in areas beyond the confines of Punjab. It is used as the vehicle of common expression.

Economic Structure of the Society

Since madrassahs in rural areas generally cater to the most economically underprivileged sections of the society, it is important to look at the economic structure of the society and reasons behind poverty in rural Punjab. The economic determinants of poverty are crucial to understanding the circumstances that can

intensify poverty, or increase the proportion of people falling below the poverty line⁴⁷

⁴⁸ . Poverty results because of a number of mutually reinforcing factors that together define its scope and pervasiveness.⁴⁹

The economy of Punjab is mainly based on agriculture although industry makes a substantial contribution. It contributes about 68% to annual food grain production in the country. Although cities offer a full range of occupations; in rural areas most of the people are farmers, laborers, and specialized craftsmen. The Punjab has long been one of the world's most important agricultural regions⁵⁰. Pervasive inequality in land ownership intensifies the degree of vulnerability of the poorest members of rural society, because of unequal land distribution.⁵¹

Additionally, lack of effective governance practices, rampant corruption, and political instability have resulted in “waning business confidence, deteriorating economic growth, declining public expenditure on basic entitlements, low efficiency in delivery of public services and a serious undermining of state institutions and the rule of law”⁵².

⁴⁷ Government of Pakistan. 2002-03. Economic Survey of Pakistan.
United Nations Development Program. 2002. Human Development Report

⁴⁸ Government of Pakistan. 2002-03. Economic Survey of Pakistan.

⁴⁹ Asian Development Bank, 2002: *Governance: Sound Development Management Policy*.

⁵⁰Source: Federal Bureau of Statistics

⁵¹ A recent study on rural primary schools shows a significant association between the existence of a highly differentiated social system and participation in schooling. Gazdar 2000: *State, Community and Universal Education: A Political Economy of Public Schooling in Rural Pakistan*. Asia Research Center, London School of Economics.

⁵² Asian Development Bank, 2002: *Governance: Sound Development Management Policy*.

Political stability is fundamental to the creation of an enabling environment for growth and development. Politically, Pakistan has frequently shifted back and forth between democratic and military governments. Military establishment was holding direct political power for 24 years between 1947 and 1988. The period of parliamentary democracy between 1988 and 1999, was largely unstable as were four national elections and nine changes of government in a decade. In addition, Pakistan's involvement in the war during the 1980s and 1990s in Afghanistan was responsible for the growth of extremist groups, spread of weapons, and frequent breakdowns of internal security.⁵³

Trends in the key economic variables that have an impact on poverty are presented in the table below (See Appendix F for details).

State of the Social Sector in Pakistan

The 2003 Human Development Report produced by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) places Pakistan as 144th in the international Human Development Index (HDI).

TABLE 3.2: HDI Indicators # 144 (Year 2001-02)

Indicators	Pakistan	Countries Low Human Development	Countries Medium Human Development	Countries High Human Development
Life expectancy at birth (years)	60.4	49.4	67.0	77.1
Adult Literacy rate (% of total)	44.0	55.0	78.1	--
GDP/Capital (PPP US\$)	1,890	1,186	4,053	23,135

⁵³ Asian Development Bank, 2002: Governance: Sound Development Management Policy.

People without access to health services (% of total)	15	--	--
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Source: UNDP Report (2003)

Pakistan is ranked among the countries with Medium Human Development. Relevant social indicators which constitute basis of the HDI calculations are noted below⁵⁴. Average life expectancy in Pakistan is 60.4 years. Adult literacy rate has been estimated as 44 percent.

According to a World Bank report (2002) focused on “Poverty in Pakistan,” a substantial portion of Pakistan’s budget is devoted to military spending intensifying social, economic, and political hierarchies within the society. "High levels of military spending absorb a significant part of public resources. . . .Even following the substantial reductions in defense spending as share of GDP, 29 per cent of the Pakistan's budget still remains devoted to military expenditures a very high share by international standards" (World Bank Report, 2002).

The report provided fresh details of poverty and weak social indicators in the country. It called for spending adequate resources on social development with a view to improving what it termed ‘very poor social indicators’ in Pakistan.

The inequalities in social spending in Pakistan have had particularly adverse consequences for the disadvantaged. For instance, in the case of Pakistan, a rough benefit incidence analysis of public expenditure on education reveals that spending on primary education, in particular, is strong pro-poor. This is however, not the case for

⁵⁴ Source; World Evangelization Research Center

spending on secondary and tertiary education, primarily because of the low participation of the poor at such levels.

The system of patronage is deeply entrenched in rural Punjab, and encourages the concentration of power. Wherever this concentration of power exists, it has had serious implications for the vulnerability of the rural population, and particularly their ability to exploit whatever limited economic opportunities are available to them.

Finally, over-centralization in the public sector has led to inefficient delivery of social sector related and other services with the resulting disenchantment of the citizenry in the ability of the State to provide effective and accessible services. At the same time, the role of the private and civil society sector has not been systematically encouraged to build synergistic public private partnerships to achieve greater scale and coverage in the delivery of these services.⁵⁵

The adverse impact of social issues have been reinforced by other problems such as ethnic and sectarian violence, poor state law and order, and a high degree of economic and political uncertainty because of the many changes in government. The existence of rampant and persistent poverty is more attributable to social than to economic factors^{56 57}.

⁵⁵ Ahmad, M. (2002). Madrassahs (Koranic schools) on Muslim societies: What role in development? Speech delivered at the World Bank on April 30, 2002.

⁵⁶ Asian Development Bank, 2002: Governance: Sound Development Management Policy.

⁵⁷ Naqvi, Zareen F. (2003). Poverty in Pakistan: Review of Recent Literature. South Asia Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Unit, The World Bank, Islamabad.

Poverty Reduction and Human Development Strategy

The World Bank report on poverty (2002) cautions that there is a serious problem of governance in Pakistan. "As the case of Punjab illustrates, mismanagement and implementation failures have exacerbated the ill-effects of scarce allocation for social programs in Pakistan." Pakistan seems to have persistent problems in several "dimensions of governance that are relevant to sound public spending," the report noted, and added that there are leakages, difficulties with bureaucratic structure and quality, weaknesses in law enforcement structures, and "opacity" in government decision-making.

In order to improve the existing economic and social resources and generate further resources, it is extremely important that better governance systems be instituted in the country. An effective system of governance would increase the capacity to turn public income into human development outcomes. Good governance is an essential pre-condition for pro-poor growth as it establishes the enabling regulatory and legal frameworks essential for the sound functioning of land, labor, capital and other factor markets.

The Pakistan Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (USAID, 2003) addresses these critical issues and proposes a strategy for human development; it suggests a framework centered around five channels to empower the poor:

- (1) Fostering growth through economic reforms, stabilization, tax reforms, public works programs, and privatization;
- (2) Physical asset creation for the poor, through land, housing and access to credit;

- (3) Development of safety nets such as zakaat, food support, indigenous philanthropy, and social protection programs;
- (4) Social asset creation for the poor through reforms in education, health, nutrition, population, water supply and sanitation; and
- (5) Governance, through devolution of power, civil service reform, access to justice and police reforms.

Government's Devolution Plan and Literacy

The Government of Pakistan has embarked on a political and institutional reform for devolution and decentralization of local political power since 2001. Under this devolution plan, substantial components of authority and responsibility are now delegated to lower, more rejuvenated levels of government. The district and sub-district levels of government are given increased administrative and fiscal responsibilities in agriculture, education, health and the other sectors of development. Each of the country's districts has a special department for enhancing literacy; a higher literacy level is claimed to be one of the highest national priorities. The local union councils (union councils represent the smallest local government unit) have been made responsible for overseeing the implementation of programs in education, health, agriculture, public works and other areas.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Source: USAID,

http://www.usaid.gov/pk/isp/Interim_Strategic_Plan_03_06.shtml

State of Education

There are approximately 18 million children between the ages of five and nine in Pakistan; the target group for primary education. Of these children, about 11.8 million actually become enrolled in public schools and approximately 6 million will complete the fifth grade. Factoring in teacher and student absences, on any given day fewer than half of the school eligible children are in school. With an annual population growth rate of 2.6 percent, this age group is expanding each year, putting additional pressure on the Government of Pakistan's education system.⁵⁹ Pakistan today has about 184,000 primary schools. This number includes about 121,000 government schools, an estimated 25,000 Madrassah schools, and 38,000 private and non-formal community based schools. Approximately 75 percent of the enrolled children attend government schools. There are also over 10,000 Madrassahs in which the Government of Pakistan (GOP) intends to introduce core subjects at the primary, middle and secondary levels. Indicators for literacy, enrollment and retention demonstrate a serious need for a systemic reform in the education sector

There is a wide gap between male (63 percent) and female (38 percent) literacy estimates. Male children attend an average of 3.8 years of school while female children receive an average of only 1.3 years of schooling, further underlining the gender disparity in the Pakistan education system. Approximately 22 percent of boys and 50 percent of girls never even enter school, and of those who do, 44 percent of the boys and 56 percent of the girls drop out before the fifth grade. Only 29 percent

⁵⁹ Source: Federal Bureau of Statistics Government of Pakistan

of children who enter school make it to the secondary school level⁶⁰. These problem in the country's education system stem from a variety of factors: poor teacher training; little in-service teacher training; hiring teachers through political patronage; teacher absenteeism; rote memorization of the existing curricula; and limited access (especially for girls and women).

Although the government recognizes that the public education system has failed to meet the country's needs. This failure stems from issues of both access and quality. While the government and foreign donors have made substantial investments to build schools, access to education is not uniform and the overall quality of education remains very poor. Pakistan has embarked upon an ambitious national reform agenda, focusing on poverty reduction, human development, and education sector reform⁶¹ (See Appendix F for details).

Dropout and Retention Rates in Government Schools in Punjab

The Education Department, a part of the provincial government, is responsible for education and schooling in the Punjab Province. Summary statistics related to the enrolment and dropout rates in government schools are presented in the following table (3.3). This table indicates a high dropout rate at the completion of elementary schooling (75.9%). In other words, 75.9 percent of the students leave school after elementary schooling in Punjab. The dropout rate for girls is much higher 980.9%)

⁶⁰ Source: Federal Bureau of Statistics Government of Pakistan

⁶¹ (Source; Pakistan Observer, 26/2/2002)

than the dropout among boys (71.3%). More than 50 percent do not gain further education after primary schooling (dropout rate: 59.7%). Again, this trend is higher in girls than boys. Nonattendance of students implies high percentage of enrolment in madrassahs.⁶²

Table 3.3: Dropout and Retention Rates (Punjab)

Levels	Drop out Rates			Retention Rates		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
On completion of Primary Cycle (Class 1 to 5)	59.7 %	51.4 %	68.6 %	40.3 %	48.6 %	31.4 %
On completion of Elementary Cycle (Class 1 to 8)	75.9 %	71.3 %	80.9 %	24.1 %	28.7 %	19.1 %
On completion of Secondary Cycle (Class 1 to 10)	87.1 %	84.4 %	90.0 %	12.9 %	15.6 %	10.0 %

Source: Ministry of Education, Government of Punjab, Pakistan. (2000-2001)

Integration of Madrassah with Formal Education System

The government of Pakistan has initiated several mechanisms to integrate madrassahs with the mainstream formal education system, since both systems are running parallel to each other with minimal or no contact. Religious madrassahs are autonomous institutions their curricula are developed independently “in consultation with their scholars and ulemas”. The government commissioned a working group to develop measures to facilitate integration of the two systems. The report produced by

⁶²<http://www.pakobserver.com/february2002/26/national/nnews04.shtml>

the working on religious madrassahs contends that a variety curricula are being used by various madrassahs in the country; “the variety of curricula leads to variety of output and sectarian groupings.”

The faculty of each institution varies in qualifications/expertise. Some are equipped with highly qualified staff with special teaching expertise while the others miss it badly. The curricula variation coupled with faculty differences cause quality degradation/disparities. The working group on madrassahs proposed the following steps to align madrassahs education in line with the needs of the modern society (Report on madrassah reform, 2004, p. 3).

The report also argues that administration of most madrassahs is mostly not cooperating with the integration reform efforts. Any policy action from government is considered a challenge to their independence. The government has provided the following “incentives” to the madrassahs in this regard.⁶³

- 1) Teaching of English, Economics, Mathematics and Pakistan Studies at Secondary level in 140 outstanding madrassahs.
- 2) Teaching of English, Economics, and Computer Sciences at Intermediate level in 200 outstanding madrassahs.
- 3) Training one thousand teachers in formal education through Workshops.
- 4) Equipping Libraries of 70 madrassahs with modern books,

⁶³ Report of the Working Group on Madrassahs for Preparation of Five Year Plan 2005-2010. Planning Commission, Islamabad.

- 5) Teaching English, Maths, General Science and Social Studies in 3000 madrassahs at Secondary level for integration of their system with formal education system.
- 6) Teaching English, Economics, Pakistan Studies and Computer Science at Higher Secondary level in 2000 madrassahs.
- 7) To provide 10 computers and 2 printers each to 200 madrassahs for teaching Computer Science at Higher Secondary level in 2000 madrassahs and equip their computer lab.
- 8) To equip libraries of 5000 madrassahs through reference books, furniture, etc.
- 9) To impart training to 20000 teachers of 5000 madrassahs to update their knowledge and teaching experience in the formal subjects through two week duration workshops in different parts of the country
- 10) To provide a vehicle to each institution for providing facilities of pick and drop to their institutions

The working group has outlined the following vision and objectives to develop ways to bring the two systems of education at par with each other. The two systems need to be integrated with each other so as to “ensure qualitative and quantitative improvements in education enabling the country to meet the global challenges of socio-economic development.”

The main policy objectives would include:

- 1) Establishing and strengthening lines of communication amongst madrassahs and the Government.
- 2) Educating about one million students (both male and female) of 5000 madrassahs in formal subjects at Secondary and Higher Secondary School level to enable them to continue their studies in colleges and universities.
- 3) Providing opportunity for employment of 20000 teachers for teaching formal subjects at different levels in religious madrassahs
- 4) Providing incentives through books, furniture, computers, printers and vehicles to improve education system of madrassahs
- 5) Assistance for development of faculty of madrassah education system to bring at par with public sector institution
- 6) Recognition of degree awarded by Madaris equal to variety levels of formal education
- 7) Uniformity of teaching curricula for various sects of Islam

The report argues that the integration of two systems would be a major step for improvements in the quality of education – a leading factor responsible for socio-economic uplift of the society. Madrassahs [that are] already established would become a base for accelerating education, as it would involve a savings on account of establishment of new institutions. The savings in public resources could be utilized for other important competing demands of the economy.

PART FOUR

Findings, Analysis and Discussion

In this part I present, analyze, and discuss the main findings of the case study. Data was collected through a survey (See Appendix E) from madrassah administrators, teachers, and graduates from six selected madrassahs located in the rural areas of district Khushab, northern Punjab. These madrassahs follow different schools of thoughts; mainly Brelvi, Deobandi, and Ahl-e-Hadith. Two madrassahs from each of these categories were selected for the study. A sample of 15 graduates, five administrators, and five teachers were selected to administer the survey. Additionally, I visited these madrassahs and conducted observation and informal conversations with students, teachers, and administrators in relation to the main questions of my study.

In the following sections I will discuss various themes arising out of the data with respect to participants' views about the

- 1) goals, purposes, significance, and outcomes of madrassah education,
- 2) relevance of madrassah education to their broader religious, social, and economic lives
- 3) sources of funding
- 4) careers adopted by madrassah graduates
- 5) ideas for improving and reforming madrassah education
- 6) relevance of madrassah education to national development

Comparison of Six Rural Madrassahs in Northern Punjab

The six madrassahs chosen for this study follow various schools of Islamic jurisprudence, such as Brelvi, Deobandi, and Ahle-Hadith. The number of students enrolled each year varies from 40-110 in these madrassahs. The number of students graduating each year varies between 30-80 students. On average 40 students leave madrassahs after completing their required studies. All of these madrassahs award a certificate to the students after completing 10 years of education. Curriculum and career path are included in the following tables (4.1 – 4.6). In order to protect the confidentiality and privacy of the institutions, pseudonyms were assigned to all the madrassahs in this study.

The madrassahs reported in the tables. 4.1, 4.2 and 4.4 are not registered by the government of Punjab, they teach their own religious curricula. Madrassahs reported in tables.4.3, 4.5 and 4.6 are approved and registered by the government of Punjab. They teach both curricula (formal education and madrassah curriculum).

Table 4.1: Madrassah 1: Darul Ulum Brelvi I (Located in a small village, not registered or approved by the government of Punjab)

No.	Category	
1	Geographical location	District Khushab, Northern Punjab
2	Highest degree/certificate awarded	Certificate (10 years of study)
3	Enrollment/ No. of students	70 to 80 Students

4	No. of students graduating every year from the madrassah	35 to 40 students
5	Career paths adopted by the graduates	Join a madrassah or mosque around their village and teach children
6	Curriculum: Subjects	Only their own religious curriculum

Table 4.2: Madrassah 2: Darul Ulum Deobandi I (not Registered a village madrassah)

No.	Category	
1	Geographical location	District Khushab, Northern Punjab
2	Highest degree/certificate awarded	Certificate (10 years of study)
3	Enrollment/ No. of students	80 to 90 Students
4	No. of students graduating every year from the madrassah	40 to 50 Students
5	Career paths adopted by the graduates	Teach and preach in a madrassah
6	Curriculum: Subjects	Only their own religious curriculum

Table 4.3: Madrassah 3: Darul Ulum Deobandi II (Registered by the government of Punjab, located in a town in northern Punjab)

No.	Category	
1	Geographical location	District Khushab, Northern Punjab
2	Highest degree/certificate awarded	Certificate (10 years of study)
3	Enrollment/ No. of students	60 to 70 Students
4	No. of students graduating every year from the madrassah	40 to 50 Students
5	Career paths adopted by the graduates	Teach Islamic studies in government schools and local madrassahs
6	Curriculum: Subjects	Religious curriculum and formal curriculum followed by the government schools

Table 4.4: Madrassah 4: Darul Ulum Ahl-e-Hadith I (not Registered a village madrassah)

No.	Category	
1	Geographical location	District Khushab, Northern Punjab
2	Highest degree/certificate awarded	Certificate (10 years of study)
3	Enrollment/ No. of students	65 to 80 Students
4	No. of students graduating every year from the madrassah	40 to 50 Students
5	Career paths adopted by the graduates	Teach in a mosque or small

		madrassahs around their village
6	Curriculum: Subjects	Only their own religious curriculum

Table 4.5: Madrassah 5: Darul Uloom Ahl-e-Hadith II (Approved by the government of Punjab, village madrassah)

No.	Category	
1	Geographical location	District Khushab, Northern Punjab
2	Highest degree/certificate awarded	Certificate (10 years of study)
3	Enrollment/ No. of students	40 to 50 Students
4	No. of students graduating every year from the madrassah	30 to 35 Students
5	Career paths adopted by the graduates	Teach in mosques around their village or engage in farming and agriculture
6	Curriculum: Subjects	Only their own religious curriculum

Table 4.6: Madrassah 6: Darul Alum Brelvi II (Approved by the government of Punjab)

No.	Category	
1	Geographical location	District Khushab, Northern Punjab
2	Highest degree/certificate awarded	Certificate (10 years of study)
3	Enrollment/ No. of students	110 to 130 Students

4	No. of students graduating every year from the madrassah	70 to 80 Students
5	Career paths adopted by the graduates	Teaching, medicine, engineering, army, Business, and other professions
6	Curriculum: Subjects	Both types of curricula are followed (madrassah and formal education curriculum in public schools)

Economic Trajectories after Graduation

The following table (4.7) depicts the main economic activities taken up by the graduates of these madrassahs. Majority of the graduates join local mosques and act as priests, while others join local rural madrassahs associated with their particular sect and work as teachers. Some graduates, get employed by local government schools where they teach Islamic Studies. Some engage in farming and agriculture. Those who attend other formal education institutions after leaving madrassahs also tend to take up careers in different professions like medicine, engineering, army, business, and other professional arenas.

Table 4.7: Career Paths Adopted by the Graduates

No.	Madrassah	Curriculum: Subjects	Highest degree/certificate awarded	Career paths adopted by the graduates
1	Darul Alum Brelvi I	Religious curriculum	Certificate (10 years of study)	Join a madrassah or mosque around their village and teach children

2	Darul Alum Brelvi II	Both types of curricula are followed (madrassah and formal education curriculum in public schools)	Certificate (10 years of study)	Teaching, medicine, engineering, army, business, and other professions
3	Darul Ulum Deoband I	Religious curriculum only	Certificate (10 years of study)	Teach and preach in madrassahs and local mosques
4	Darul Ulum Deoband II	Religious curriculum and formal curriculum followed by government schools	Certificate (10 years of study)	Teach Islamic studies in government schools and local madrassahs
5	Darul Ulum Ahl-e-Hadith I	Only their own religious curriculum	Certificate (10 years of study)	Teach in a mosque or small madrassahs around their village
6	Darul Ahl-e-Hadith II	Only their own religious curriculum	Certificate (10 years of study)	Teach in mosques around their village or engage in farming and agriculture

Madrassah Curriculum – Goals and Purposes

Four out of six madrassahs included in this case study follow their own particular religious (deeni) curricula. Two madrassahs, however, follow religious as well as the formal curriculum used in government schools. The religious curriculum tends to focus on (a) teaching students how to read and recite the Holy Quran without meaning, (b) memorization of the Quranic text (*hifz*), (c) reading of the Holy Quran with correct pronunciation and prescribed principles (*tajweed-o-qirat*), (e) teaching of

Hadith, (f) teaching of Fiqh, and (g) other religious courses based on Dars-i-Nizami. Some madrassahs have also included Tafseer – teaching the Quranic text with translation and its interpretation. The madrassah administrators and teachers shared several unique reasons for their choice of madrassah curriculum. The madrassahs that are also imparting formal education alongside religious education are doing so in order to prepare their students “to join any profession of their choice.” They have presented both options to their students so that they could pursue their education further after leaving the madrassahs. On the other hand, the teachers and administrators of madrassahs that follow only their own particular “deeni” (religious) curriculum, cited diverse and interesting reasons for using only religious curriculum.

- 1) “Only religious education is good.”
- 2) Public and secular education takes students away from their religion
- 3) “Worldly education” is not compatible with religious education. Modern education affects people’s religious orientation and motivation negatively.
- 4) Lack of funds to include formal subjects. Inability to afford salaries of teachers teaching modern subjects

Goals and Purpose of Madrassah Curriculum

The participants shared their views about the purposes of madrassah education. Most of the goals overlapped; however, it was interesting to observe the different views expressed by the participants who follow both, religious and formal, curricula to justify the existence of both streams of education in their respective madrassahs. Participants’ views are summarized below:

The purpose of madrassah education is to:

- 1) Teach Islamic values and morality
- 2) Learn to read, recite the Quran
- 3) Memorization of the Holy Quran
- 4) Character building
- 5) Produce good human beings for the society
- 6) Develop “good” Muslims
- 7) Inculcate ethics and respect for elders
- 8) Impart literacy skills
- 9) Impart both religious and modern education to enable the students to join various professions in the society

Reasons for Receiving Madrassah Education

The major reasons cited by all the graduates of these madrassahs for receiving madrassahs education were difficult economic conditions and their parents’ desire to impart religious education to them. Their parents wanted them to learn about Islam. Ten participants said that poverty was the most important factor which influenced their parents’ decision to send them to a madrassahs as opposed to government or private schools. Some of them also pointed out that gaining religious education at madrassahs was also a motivating factor for their parents. However, five participants only stressed religious motivation as a guiding factor for joining madrassahs. Their

parents were interested in their religious education and training, such as learning to read and recite the Quran, knowledge of Hadith and Islamic values.

12 out of 15 graduates said that their madrassahs provided them with food and free boarding and lodging facilities. Three participants said that they did not leave their homes while receiving education at their respective madrassahs. Since their families put them in madrassahs to get religious training, they did not need any financial support from their madrassahs. None of them, however, paid any fee to their madrassahs. All of them said that the local communities supported the madrassahs and their expenses.

The administrators and teachers also said that their madrassahs provided free education, boarding, and lodging to students. The majority of the students in the rural madrassahs of northern Punjab belong to economically underprivileged families. Madrassahs largely cater to the needs of children who belong to the poorest of the poor sections of the society. In urban areas lower middle income groups and in rural areas mostly poor families send their children to these madrassahs because they cannot afford and fulfill their children's basic needs like food, clothing and other requirements. Their financial circumstances do not allow them to afford their children's education in government and private schools; therefore, they send them to madrassahs where students obtain free education, shelter, food, and clothing. Madrassah education attainment is closely related to poverty, with large gaps in literacy and enrollment rates dividing the poor and the non-poor.

Funding for Madrassahs

All the 25 participants said that madrassahs receive financial support from local communities and affluent community members. They also said that madrassahs did not charge any tuition fee and only provided free education along with free food and boarding facilities.

Madrassah Graduates

The madrassah graduates who participated in this case study spent 7.5 years on average in madrassahs. The number of years of madrassah education varied between six to ten years. Average numbers of years spent in madrassahs were around 7.5 years. Some of them either joined their respective madrassahs after receiving basic education in local government schools or left madrassahs in middle school to pursue secondary and higher secondary education in formal education institutions.

Table 4.8: Profile of Madrassah Graduates

No.	Name*	Years of madrassah education	Sect/School of jurisprudence	Main reason for joining madrassah education system
1	Alam	8	Brelvi	Poverty
2	Aslam	10	Brelvi	To gain religious education and training
3	Naeem	5	Brelvi	To learn about Islamic values and principles Religious reasons – spent 7 years in a government school then joined a local madrassahs
4	Afzal	10	Brelvi	Difficult economic circumstances - Poverty

5	Ikraam	10	Brelvi	Religious education and country's service
6	Amin	6	Deobandi	Religious motivation; to gain Islamic education
7	Akber	8	Deobandi	Poverty and religious motivation
8	Ghulam	5	Deobandi	Parents' decision, poverty, to gain religious education
9	Fayyaz	7	Deobandi	Poverty
10	Karam	8	Deobandi	Poverty
11	Elahi	6	Deobandi	Poverty, difficult economic conditions, and religious motivation
12	Mehdi	7	Ahle-Hadith	Poverty
13	Razzaq	10	Ahle-Hadith	Parents' decision, to gain religious education
14	Masood	6	Ahle-Hadith	Poverty and religious motivation, to learn about Islamic knowledge and values
15	Haroon	7	Ahle-Hadith	Poverty

*Participants' real names are not used in this report. Aliases are used to protect their privacy.

Career Options Taken Up by the Madrassah Graduates

Out of 15 madrassah graduates, seven participants took up the position of “imam masjid” – the priest at a mosque – after leaving their respective madrassahs. Their responsibilities as mosque priests include: leading the daily prayers, offering sermons, conducting funeral services and marriage ceremonies, as well as performing religious rites connected with various events. One participant is a teacher at a local madrassah. One of the graduates moved on to college after finishing up his madrassahs education, and received a Bachelors degree in Education. He is currently teaching Islamic Studies in a local government school. Two other graduates are also

working as teachers in government schools teaching Arabic and Islamic Studies elementary and middle grade students. Two graduates are running their family businesses, a cloth shop and a grocery store. Their main purpose for getting madrassahs education was to learn about religious knowledge and Islamic values. One participant is engaged in agriculture and farming on a piece of land owned by a local feudal. One of them does not have any regular job; he is doing casual labor to make his both ends meet.

The data presented in this section suggests that madrassah graduates mostly join mosques and other madrassahs as teachers or priests. They teach children about fundamental principles of Islam and how to read the Quran; also helping them to memorize the Quranic text. Most of them they do not participate in any economic activities in their communities, while some of them take up careers related to teaching, business, and agriculture.

Table 4.9: Career Trajectories of Madrassah Graduates

No. of participants	Job/Career
7	Priest in a Mosque (Imam Masjid)
4	Teaching in local madrassahs and government schools
2	Family/owned Business
1	Agriculture
1	Unemployed, casual labor

Relevance of Madrassah Education

All the participants expressed their satisfaction with regard the relevance of madrassah education to their social and economic lives. Some of them emphasized the importance of moral values that they gained through madrassahs education. One of them, a shopkeeper, said that “honesty” and other values help him in conducting his business activities. Two participants said that madrassahs education and experience helped in their character building. Those who are teaching in government schools and madrassahs said that madrassahs training helped them in getting their teaching jobs in the areas of Arabic and Islamic Studies. The priests at local mosques (imam masjids) also said that madrassahs education enabled them to take up the role and responsibilities as mosque leaders. The mosque priests are supported financially by the local communities.

Most of them, including the imams (priests), teachers, and businessmen, said that their income was sufficient to meet their expenses. Two mosque priests said that their income was barely sufficient. The school teachers said that teaching tuitions after school hours in addition to their salary helps because their salary is not enough to meet their economic needs. However, the participants engaged in agriculture and casual labor activities expressed their dissatisfaction with their level of income.

Madrassah Education and Development

All the participants emphasized the role of education in national development. Majority of the participants said that free education provided by the madrassahs,

along with boarding and lodging, enables students from the most disadvantaged and poverty stricken families to get education, which helps in national development. One of them stressed that madrassahs education serves to ‘enlighten” its students in religious matters. A number of participants emphasized the importance of madrassahs education in terms of imparting literacy skills to people.

Suggestions to Improve Madrassah Education

The survey contained a question asking madrassah graduates to share their ideas and suggestions in regard to improving madrassah education. Most of the participants including the administrators, teachers, and graduates, said that madrassahs should include formal education curriculum also, and there should be a greater collaboration between madrassahs and government education system. Most of them were of the view that the government should provide training and salaries to madrassah teachers. They said that better salaries from the government would allow them to help meet their family needs and expenses, which would allow them to concentrate on educating children. One even suggested that the “government should take over madrassahs in order to provide job security to the teachers.”

One of them said that madrassahs should incorporate vocational training in their religious curricula. Four participants, however, said that only religious curriculum should be strengthened and further improved. They also seemed to recognize the importance of better qualified teachers. They suggested that better teachers for teaching religious subjects should be hired, especially those who have

received religious training at better urban madrassahs and International Islamic University in Pakistan, and even from foreign institutions like Madina University in Saudi Arabia. They also said that the “local business community should more funding and resources to religious madrassahs to help improve their education”.

Quality of Madrassah Teachers

The participants in favor of having both religious and formal education curricula in madrassahs emphasized the role of teachers in improving madrassah education.

Teachers are perhaps the most critical component of any system of education. How well they teach depends on their motivation, qualification, experience, training, aptitude and a host of other factors, not the least of these being the environment and management structures within which they perform their role.

Teachers are considered to be the most significant contributors in the overall development of any country, as they are engaged in the intellectual, moral, social and academic development of children enabling them to become better citizens. Literature on educational change reveals that teachers are key players in the process of education change and school development. They are also engaged in re-defining and re-interpreting curriculum to achieve the desired policy goal, which is only possible if teachers are professionally sound, creative and critical. Bennett and Rolheiser (2001) argue that “teachers are involved in one of the most complex, demanding and important professions in the world- a profession where changes emerge in the blink of

an eye” (p.1). Indeed, changes are taking place in the education field so quickly that teachers have difficulty coping with them; inevitably they encounter the ‘implementation dip’ (Fullan, 1990). In this context, teachers’ professional development can play a major role in transforming teachers, to build their capacity for managing change effectively. In fact, transformation deals with the renovation of the education system through individual and institutional capacity building; education systems cannot transform themselves until their teachers are transformed through a rigorous process of professional development, which can allow them to challenge their current beliefs related to curricular and pedagogical practices. Transformation may begin with bringing about change in beliefs, values, ideologies, and practices of individuals for capacity building. It ensures effectiveness, efficiency, and efficacy of systems for sustainable changes.

The quality of teachers, which is a key factor in any education system especially in madrassah education, is poor in Pakistan. The main reason is the low level of educational qualifications required to become a primary school teacher; which includes ten years of schooling and an eleven-month certificate program. It has been established through various studies that pupil achievement is closely related to the number of years of formal schooling of teachers. Thus, students of teachers with 12 years of schooling perform better than students of matriculate (10 years education) teachers, who in turn perform better than students of teachers with only grade eight qualifications.

The second factor relates to the quality of teacher certification programs, which suffers from the lack of adequately trained master trainers, little emphasis on teaching practice and non-existence of a proper support/monitoring system for teachers. In the absence of any accredited body to certify teachers, the mere acquisition of a certificate/diploma is considered sufficient to apply for a teaching position.

In addition, teacher appointment in schools is subject to interference from local interest groups seeking to place teachers of their choice within their constituency. This has opened the system to graft and rent seeking leading to high levels of teacher absenteeism accentuated by the absence of an effective supervision system. The madrassah teachers need to be trained in effective methods of instruction so that they can help children learn better.

Plans for Children's Education

Regarding their own children's education, three graduates said that they would put their children only in religious madrassahs. However, 11 participants said that they want their children to receive both types of education, religious as well as modern. One of them said that he would educate his children in public schools only. They said that formal education would open up better economic opportunities for their children and also widen the job/career options for them.

PART FIVE

Conclusion

In this section I will describe the main conclusions derived from this study relative to the empirical evidence and findings from the document analysis in relation to religious education system in Pakistan and its role in the development of the state.

(1) The Public Education Sector in Pakistan suffers from insufficient financial input, low levels of efficiency for implementation of programs, and poor quality of management, monitoring, supervision, and teaching. As a result, Pakistan has one of the lowest rates of literacy in the world, and the lowest among countries of comparative resources and social/economic situations. The literacy rate in Pakistan is low (approximately 44%) and average per capita income is around \$450.

(2) The analysis of the empirical evidence related to the six madrassahs, located in northern Punjab, suggests that all of these madrassahs provide free education and basic facilities, such as boarding, food, and clothing to students from the most disadvantaged sections of the rural areas. Madrassahs (religious schools) thus provide an essential service to the economically impoverished families that cannot afford to educate their children through public or private education systems mainly because of poverty.

(3) The average number of students enrolled in these madrassahs is 95-100 students. Each year about 50-60 students graduate from these madrassahs.

(4) Parents send their children to madrassahs due to two main reasons: (a) poverty and (b) to receive Islamic education and training.

(4) Madrassah graduates mostly tend to join other madrassahs and mosques as priests and teachers, where they teach Islamic studies to children from the local communities. Some also teach Islamic studies and Arabic at public schools. They teach children about fundamental principles of Islam and how to read the Quran; also helping them to memorize the Quranic text.

(5) The majority of the graduates from these madrassahs do not tend to participate in the economic activities in their communities. However, some of them take up careers related to teaching in public schools, business, and agriculture.

(6) The government is making efforts to integrate madrassah education with formal public education system in order to enable madrassahs to play a more visible and active role in national and economic development.

(7) The Government of Pakistan hopes that the integration of two systems would be a major step for improvements in the quality of education – a major factor responsible for socio-economic uplift of the society” (Report of the working group on madrassahs reform).

(8) Most of the participants in this study were also in favour of having both religious and formal education in madrassahs. Some said that vocational training should also be included in madrassahs curriculum.

(9) All the participants emphasized the role of education in national development. Madrassah education is important for understanding the religion and gaining literacy skills. However, it is important that madrassahs should include formal education also.

(10) Most of the participants were of the view that the government should provide training and salaries to madrassah teachers. “Higher salaries” from the government would help them to meet family needs and expenses.

The conclusions of this study support the argument that madrassah education is generally not preparing its students to participate in mainstream economic activities. Madrassah education in Pakistan further alienates people from the most disadvantageous sections of the society by creating a welfare system, which does not prepare its students to join the mainstream sections of the society. The government is making efforts to reform this religious education system so that it can play a greater role in national development. Madrassah teachers, graduates, and administrators, who participated in this study, are also in favour of including formal education in madrassahs curriculum.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

AL-FARABI'S CLASSIFICATION OF THE SCIENCES

Abu Nasr al-Farabi (870-950) was a great Muslim scholar whose classification was one of the earliest and most prominent classifications⁶⁴. Its Latin translation was known as "De Scientis" in the West. His classification was contained in his work *Ihsa al-ulum – Enumeration of the Sciences*. Nasr (1968) has summarized his classification as follows:

I. Science of language: syntax; grammar; pronunciation and speech; poetry

II. Logic: the division, definition and composition of simple ideas [corresponding to the content of the *Isagoge of Porphyry*, and the *Categories* and *On Interpretation* of Aristotle.] The parts of logic after the terms have been defined are five:

1. Necessary conditions for premises which would lead in a syllogism to certain knowledge [corresponding to *the Posterior Analytics* of Aristotle]
2. Definition of useful syllogisms and the means of discovering dialectical proofs [corresponding to the topics of Aristotle]
3. Examination of errors in proofs, and of omissions and mistakes committed in reasoning, and the ways of escaping them [corresponding to the *On Sophistic Refutations* of Aristotle]
4. Definition of oratory: syllogisms used to bring a discussion before the public [corresponding to Aristotle's *Poetics*]

III. The propaedeutic

Sciences:

1. Arithmetic (practical, theoretical)
2. Geometry (practical, theoretical)
3. Optics
4. Science of the heavens (Astrology, motions and figures of the heavenly bodies)

⁶⁴ Source: *Science and civilization in Islam*. Nasr, 1968, p. 60-61.

5. Music (practical, theoretical)
6. Science of weights
7. Science of tool-making (the making of simple machines and instruments for use in various arts and sciences, such as astronomy and music)

IV. Physics

(Sciences of nature)

Metaphysics (science concerned with the Divine and the principles of things)

Physics

1. Knowledge of the principles which underlie natural bodies
2. Knowledge of the nature and character of the elements, and of the principle by which they combine to form bodies
3. Science of the generation and corruption of bodies
4. Science of the reactions which the elements undergo in order to form compounds
5. Science of compound bodies formed of the four elements and their properties
6. Science of minerals
7. Science of plants
8. Science of animals

Metaphysics:

1. Knowledge of the essence of being
2. Knowledge of the principles of the particular and observational sciences (the “first philosophy” of Aristotle)
3. Knowledge of nonocorporeal beings, their qualities and characteristics, leading finally to the knowledge of the Truth, that is, of God, one of whose names is the Truth

V. Science of society:

1. Jurisprudence
2. Rhetoric

Source: Nasr, S. H. (1968). *Science and civilization in Islam*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press

APPENDIX B

Survey I

Madrassah Administrators and Teachers

1. How long have you been associated with this madrassah?
2. When was this madrassah established?
3. Which school of thought/fiqh do you follow (, Deobandi, Bareilvi, Ahl-e-Hadis, Shiite, etc.)?
4. What is the purpose of madrassah education in your view?
5. What kind of education are you imparting to the students?
Do you focus on religious education only? Why?
Do you have modern/formal curriculum also? If yes, why? If no why not?
6. What does your curriculum look like?
What are the goals and objectives of your curriculum?
What do you want your students to learn well? Why?
7. What subjects are included in the curriculum?
8. What do you think would be the future of the students after receiving this education?
9. How do you think they will economically support their families?
10. What motivates your students to come to this madrassah rather than going to a mainstream formal school?
11. What is their economic background?

12. Does your madrassah provide boarding and lodging facilities to the students?
13. What is the fee structure?
14. What are the major sources of funding for the madrassah?

APPENDIX B

Survey II

Madrasah Graduates

When did you graduate from the madrasah?

Madrasah Education

1. Why did you join a madrasah for your education as opposed to mainstream formal schooling?
2. Why did you learn at the madrasah?
3. What subjects were taught?

Career Paths

4. What are your goals in life?
5. How, if at all, do you economically support yourself and your family?
6. What is your current occupation?
7. Was it easy to get this particular job?
8. What else could you have done? Why couldn't you do it?
9. Do you think you are participating in the economic development of your community? If yes, how so? If not, why not?

APPENDIX C

Letter of Consent

Madrassah Education and State Development in Pakistan: A Case Study of the Rural Areas of Northern Punjab

Aga S. Khan

Department of International Development Studies

Saint Mary's University

Halifax, NS B3H 3C3, Canada

Phone #: (902) 420-5768; Fax # (902) 420-5181; awright@smu.ca

Dear Participant,

I am a graduate student in the Department of International Development Studies at Saint Mary's University, Halifax, Canada. As part of my masters practicum report, I am conducting research under the supervision of Prof. O'Malley, Prof. Veltmeyer and Prof. Jim Morrison. I am inviting you to participate in my study. The purpose of the study is to examine madrassah education in Northern Punjab and the ways in which it is connected to the development of the state. I hope that this work will yield knowledge about the role of madrassah education in relation to development of Pakistan. Your help will be crucial in this process.

This study involves administering a questionnaire to you. It will take approximately 60 -75 minutes to fill out the questionnaire. {For the administrators of the madrassahs} I would also like to review the madrassah records related to enrolment and graduation of students. In addition, I would like to look at the madrassah curriculum and textbooks. The data collection (including questionnaire administration and documents review) at your madrassah will be completed in 2-3 days. I may use the data in my future studies for which I need your permission. I would greatly appreciate your cooperation and support in this regard. Your participation is completely voluntary. You may withdraw from this study at any time without penalty.

All information obtained in this study will be kept strictly confidential and anonymous. The questionnaire given to you will not have any identifying information about you. Your name as well as the name of your institution (madrassah) will not be disclosed to anyone during the analysis phase and in the final report/practicum report. I will use pseudonyms to protect your and your institution's privacy. Furthermore, the results of this study will be presented as a group and no individual participants will be identified.

APPENDIX C

If you have any questions, please contact the student researcher (Aga S. Khan at these phone numbers: (00-1-514) 299-4786 (Canada) or (92-300) 514-3290, and email: khan.aga@gmail.com.

This research has been reviewed and approved by the Saint Mary's University Research Ethics Board. If you have any questions or concerns about the study, you may contact Dr. John Young at ethics@smu.ca, Chair, Research Ethics Board.

Dear Participant,

APPRECIATION/FEEDBACK LETTER

Thank you very much for your participation in my study entitled 'Madrassah Education and State Development in Pakistan: A Case Study of the Rural Areas of Northern Punjab.' I am extremely grateful to you for sharing your invaluable insights and thinking about your experiences related to madrassah education. Your knowledge and ideas are very helpful to me in gaining a variety of perspectives on the role of madrassah education in the development of the Pakistani state and society. I appreciate your cooperation and help with my study.

I have completed data collection and I will be spending about 4-6 weeks analyzing the responses to the questionnaires. I will prepare a report on the purpose of the study and the main findings for your perusal. I would like to emphasize that the results of this study will be presented as a group and no individual participants will be identified. You may contact me at the following local address: House # 34, Satellite Town, Jauharbad, District Khushab. Phone #: 00-1-514) 299-4786 (Canada) or (92-300) 514-3290; Email: khan_aga@yahoo.com.

I expect the report to be ready by the end of December, 2004. I will contact you when the report is ready and you may receive a copy of it at the above address. If you prefer, I will arrange to have the report mailed to your address. If you have any questions or concerns, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely yours,

Aga S. Khan

APPENDIX D

Madrassah Education in Punjab

A Case Study of a Madrassah in Punjab (JAMIA ASHRAFIA)

In this section I present a detailed description of the aims and objectives, curriculum, and certification system at a Pakistani madrassah. Jamia Ashrafia is considered to be a progressive institution of Islamic knowledge. It is located in Lahore, which is the capital of the Punjab province. Not only does it emphasize on the study of the *Holy Quran, Hadith, & Fiqha* and related theological subjects, it also includes the study of modern subjects, such as English Language, Mathematics, Social Studies, Material Sciences and even Information Technology.

Aims and Objectives

1. To produce Muslim scholars who have full command on the knowledge of the *Holy Quran, Ahadith, Fiqh* and the basic principles of Islam.
2. To propagate the knowledge of the *Holy Quran, Ahadith, Fiqh* and the basic principles of Islam to Muslims all over the world.
3. To establish a Faculty of *Iftah* where facility is provided for common Muslims to obtain authenticated verdicts on issues of daily routine.
4. To create a forum of skilled Islamic scholars with a mission to motivate Muslims to mould their individual lives and the society around according to the dictates of Islam.

5. To acquaint Ulama with the challenges of the modern age, for effective communication of the message of Islam to people all over the world.
6. To fulfill all obligations for personal care and spiritual grooming of the students and the other associates of the JAMIA.
7. To publish Islamic literature as part of the accomplishment of the aims and objectives of the Jamia.

A synopsis of the subjects taught at Jamia Ashrafia is as follows:

AL-IBTADA'YA (Primary) – 5 Years

Al-Quran, Al-Tajweed, Al-Hadith, Al-Taheed, Al-Seeratun Nabi, Al-Fiqha, Arabic Language, Social studies, Geography & Material Sciences.

AL-MUTAWASSITA (Middle) – 3 Years

In addition to the graded continuity of the above subjects, the other subjects also being taught at this stage are Urdu Calligraphy & the Dictation, Al-Nahv, Al-Sarf (grammar & syntax), Reading & Comprehension of Arabic and Persian Language.

AL-SANIVIYYA 'AMMA (Secondary) – 2 Years & AL-SANIVIYYA KHASA (Higher Secondary) – 2 Years

In addition to Al-Tajweed, Al-Hadith, Al-Tauheed, Al-Seeratun Nabi, Al-Fiqha, Arabic Language, Al-Nahv, Al-Sarf (grammar and syntax), Reading & Comprehension of Arabic Text and English, the following subjects are also taught in

a graded manner at this stage. History of Islam, Islamic manners & behaviour, Logic, History of Arabic literature, Al-Blagha and Computer training.

AL-‘ALIYA (Graduation) - 2 Years

Al-Tafseer, Uloomul Quran, Al-Hadith, Mustalah-ul-Hadith, Al-Tauheed, Al-Fiqha, Usool-ul-Fiqha, Al-Faraiz, Islamic History, Islamic Culture, Objectives of Islamic Sharia (Islamic law), Arabic Languages, Arabic Literature, Al-Balagha & Al-Nahv.

AL-‘AALIMIYYA (Master Degree) – 2 Years

This is the final two years course of the JAMIA leading to the Degree of ‘Aalimiyya reckoned equivalent to MA in Arabic/Islamic Studies. The intense courses of study for 1st year of ‘Aalimiyya include the following subjects:

1.	Al-Tafseer (Interpretation of Quran)	2.	Usool-ul Tafseer	3.	E’jaz-ur-Qur’an
4.	Usool-ul-Hadith	5.	Mustalahul-Hadith	6.	Al-Fiqhul Islamee
7.	Usool-ul-Da’wa	8.	Al-Saqafatul Islamiyya	9.	Al-Adyan wal Turnq
10.	Al-Tarbiya wa Turuqul Tadrees	11.	Al-Bahas wal Manajeha	12.	Al-Uloomul Kauniyya
13.	Hafizul-Uloomul Islamee	14.	Al-Tibbul Islamee		

The 2nd year of ‘Aalimiyya includes the study of the following subjects. The courses of study focus on various collections of *Hadith* compiled by various authors.

No.	Subject	No.	Subject	No.	Subject
1.	Al-Sahihul Bokhari	2.	Al-Sahihul Muslim	3.	Jamia-ul-Tirmizi wa Shamaail
4.	Sunan Abi Dowood	5.	Sunan Ibn-e-Maja	6.	Sunan Nisaai
7.	Sharha Ma’aaniul Aasor	8.	Mauta Imam Malik	9.	Mauta Imam Muhammad

TAKHASSUS FIL IFTA - 2 Years (Specialization in Islamic Jurisprudence)

Post-graduation courses focusing on specialization in Islamic jurisprudence are conducted under the direct supervision of the Chief Mufti (chief Islamic scholar) of Jamia Ashrafia.

AALIM COURSE FOR GRADUATES – 3 Years

In 2002 AD *Sheikhul Hadith* Maulana Muhammad Abdul Rehman Ashrafia designed an abridged 3 years ‘*Aalim Course* for graduates of national universities. There are 120 Graduates on rolls for the first two badges of this course.

The course contents are as follows:

No.	Subject	No.	Subject	No.	Subject
1.	Al-Tafseer (Interpretation of Quran)	2.	Al-Tajweed (Quranic Recitation)	3.	Uloomul Quran (Science of Quran)
4.	Al-Hadith (The traditions and sayings of the Prophet)	5.	Usoolul Hadith (Principles of the traditions of the Prophet)	6.	Al-Tauheed (Islamic Monotheism)
7.	Al-Fiqh (Islamic law)	8.	Usoolul Fiqha (Principles of Islamic law)	9.	Al-Sarf (Conjugation)
10.	Usoolul Da'wa (Principles of invitation to Islam)	11.	Al-Nahv (Grammar)	12.	Uloom-Al-Sarf (Arabic Literature,)
13.	Al-Balagha (verbal communication)	14.	Arabic Language	15.	Al-Mantaq (Logic)
16.	Al-Falsafa (Philosophy)	17.	Al-Ehsan was Salook (Community behavior)		

AWARD OF ACADEMIC CERTIFICATES

On completion of various courses, the JAMIA awards the following certificates/degrees to the successful students.

1. CERTIFICATE OF HIFZ-E-QUR'AN after learning the *Holy Quran* by heart.
2. CERTIFICATE OF TAJWEED & QIR'AT after learning to recite the *Holy Quran*.
3. CERTIFICATE OF SANIVIYYA AAMA after successful completion of the Secondary Stage.
4. CERTIFICATE OF SANIYYA KHASSA after successful completion of the Higher Secondary Stage.
5. DEGREE OF 'AALIYYA after qualifying the Bachelor Degree Stage
6. DEGREE OF 'AALIMIYYA after qualifying the Final Examination of WAFaqUL-MADARIS (Madrasahs)
7. This degree of 'Aalimiyya is reckoned equivalent to MA in Arabic/Islamic Studies vide Pakistan University Grant Commission.
8. POST GRADUATION CERTIFICATE of *Al-Mufti* is awarded to those who successfully complete the two year course of Ifta i.e. specialization in Islamic Jurisprudence.
9. AALIM CERTIFICATE is awarded to those who complete the three years abridged *Aalim Course*.
10. The Ulama who complete the full length course of Languages, Computer Science & Da'wa at the *UMMUL QURA INSTITUTE* are awarded a POST GRADUATE CERTIFICATE.

11. Certificates are also awarded for completion of various short courses in Islamic Subjects and Computer Technology conducted at the JAMIA during the Academic year.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Source; <http://www.ashrafia.org.pk/>

Federal Bureau of Statistics Government of Pakistan.

APPENDIX E

The Map of Pakistan



Source; www.theodora.com/maps

APPENDIX F

Social Indicators

Table 1: Labor Force

Indicators	Value
Labor Force Participation Crude Rate (in %) (2001-02)	
- Male	48.0
- Female	9.9
- Both Sexes	29.6
Un-employment Rate (%)	
- Male	6.7
- Female	16.5
- Both Sexes	8.3

Source: i. Federal Bureau of Statistics Government of Pakistan P = Provisional

ii. Population Census Organization

Table 2: Education Indicators

Indicators	1998- 1999	1999- 2000	2000- 2001 (R)	2001- 2002 (P)

Primary Schools (Thousand)	159.3	162.5	147.7	149.1
Middle Schools (Thousand)	18.1	18.4	25.5	26.8
Secondary Schools (Thousand)	12.9	13.2	15.4	15.6
Secondary/Vocational Institutions (No.)	580	612	630	607
Teachers per Primary School (No.)				
	2.3	2.3	2.8	2.8
Teachers per Middle School				
Teachers per secondary School	5.0	5.0	8.2	8.6
Students per Primary School	12.3	15.1	15.0	17.8
Students per Middle School	114.1	117.8	116.0	117.6
Students per secondary Vocational Institutions	226.4	223.5	147.4	142.6
	129.5	148.4	131.3	136.5

Source: I. Federal Bureau of Statistics Government of Pakistan

P = Provisional

II. Population Census Organization

Economic indicators of the State

Table 3: Economic Determinants

(Billion Rs.)

Indicators	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03
Macro-Economic Framework			
GDP	3167.0	3377.1	3709.7
Indirect Taxes (Net)	256.1	251.6	308.4
GDP	3423.1	3628.7	4018.1
Net Factor Income from abroad	-50.7	32.0	180.6
GNP	3372.4	3660.7	4198.7
External Resource Inflow (Net)	29.7	-82.2	-157.1
Total Resources/Uses	3402.1	3578.5	4041.6
Total Consumption	2937.1	3107.9	3392.7
Total Investment	531.8	534.1	620.9
Fixed Investment	475.6	476.1	526.3
General government	67.0	70.4	76.1
Private plus public corporation	408.6	405.7	450.1

Changes in Stocks	56.2	58.0	94.6
National Savings	514.6	616.3	777.9
Domestic Savings	577.4	612.0	651.2

Source: I. Federal Bureau of Statistics Government of Pakistan

P = Provisional

ii. Population Census Organization

Table 4: Growth Rate

Indicators	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03
GDP Growth Rate (%) (Constant)			
GDP	2.2	3.4	5.1
- Agriculture	-2.7	-0.1	4.1
- Manufacturing	8.2	5.0	7.7
- Commodity Producing Sector	0.2	2.7	4.8
- Services Sector	4.8	4.1	5.3
Growth Rates (%) (Current MP)			
Total Investment	5.5	0.4	16.2
- Fixed Investment	5.2	0.1	10.5

- Public Investment	1.1	-9.0	3.8
- Private Investment	8.0	6.2	14.4
As (%) of Total Investment			
- National Savings	94.5	115.4	125.3
- Foreign Savings	5.5	-15.4	-25.3
As (%) of GDP (Current MP)			
Total Investment	15.5	14.7	15.5
- Fixed Investment	13.9	13.1	13.1
- Public Investment	5.5	4.8	4.5
- Private Investment	8.4	8.4	8.6
As (%) of GDP (Current MP)			
- National Savings	15.0	17.0	19.4
- Foreign Savings	0.9	-2.3	-3.9
- Domestic Savings	16.9	16.9	16.2
GDP Deflator (Growth %)	6.0	3.2	4.5
Consumer Price Index (CPI) (Growth %)	4.4	3.5	3.1

(a) Based on 95 items (b) Based on 91 items

Source: I. Federal Bureau of Statistics Government of Pakistan

P = Provisional

ii. Population Census Organization

Table 5: Production

Indicators	Scale	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03
MANUFACTURING (Production)				
Cotton Yarn	000 Tones	1721.0	1808.6	1914.2
Cotton Cloth	Million Sq. Metr	490.2	568.4	581.6
Sugar	Million Tones	3.0	3.2	3.7
Cement	Million Tones	9.7	9.9	11.0
Soda Ash	000 Tones	217.9	215.2	281.1
Caustic Soda	000 Tones	145.5	150.3	164.4
Cigarettes	Billion Nos.	58.3	55.3	49.4
Jute Textiles	000 Tones	89.4	81.7	93.8
ENERGY PRODUCTION				
Crud Oil Extraction	000 Barrels	21084	23195	23458
Gas Production	MMCFT	875433	923758	992589
Coal Production	000 Tones	3286	3512	3609
Electricity (Generation)	GWH	68442	72405	75682

TRANSPORT & COMMUNICATION				
Roads	000 Kilometer	249.9	251.6	251.8(P)
		3.0	3.3	3.5
Motor Vehicles on Road				
Post Offices				
Telephones	Million Nos.			
	000 Nos.	9.9	10.3	12.3
	Million Nos.	4.1	4.3	4.8(P)

Source: I. Federal Bureau of Statistics

P = Provisional

ii. State Bank of Pakistan

Latest Report (Board of Investment, Government of Pakistan)

Table 6: Economic Indicators (July 2003 to February, 2004)

Indicators	2000 - 01	2001 - 02	2002 - 03	July-Feb. 03	July-Feb. 04	+ (-) %
Exports (Billion \$)	9.20	9.13	11.16	6.92	7.88 *	14
Imports (Billion \$)	10.72	10.34	12.22	7.76	9.09 *	17
Trade Balance (Billion \$)	(1.52)	(1.20)	(1.06)	(0.84)	(1.22)	44.9
Net Revenue (Billion Rs.)	393.91	404.07	460.59	271.71	313.44	15.4
FDI (Million \$)	322.40	484.70	798.00	630.70	384.80	(39.0)

Workers Remittances (Billion \$)	1.09	2.39	4.24	2.874	2.546	(11.4)
Forex Reserves (Billion \$)	3.22	6.43	10.60	9.64	12.59	30.6
Exchange Rate (Rs./ US\$)	58.4	61.0	57.7	58.08	57.32	(1.31)
Stock Exchange Index	1300	1520	3402	2399	4840	101.75
GDP Growth	2.6%	3.6%	5.1%	-		
Inflation	4.4%	3.4%	3.3%	-		

Source: State Bank of Pakistan (SBP), Federal Bureau of Statistics

(FBS), *Provisional

Central Board of Revenue (CBR), Business Recorder.

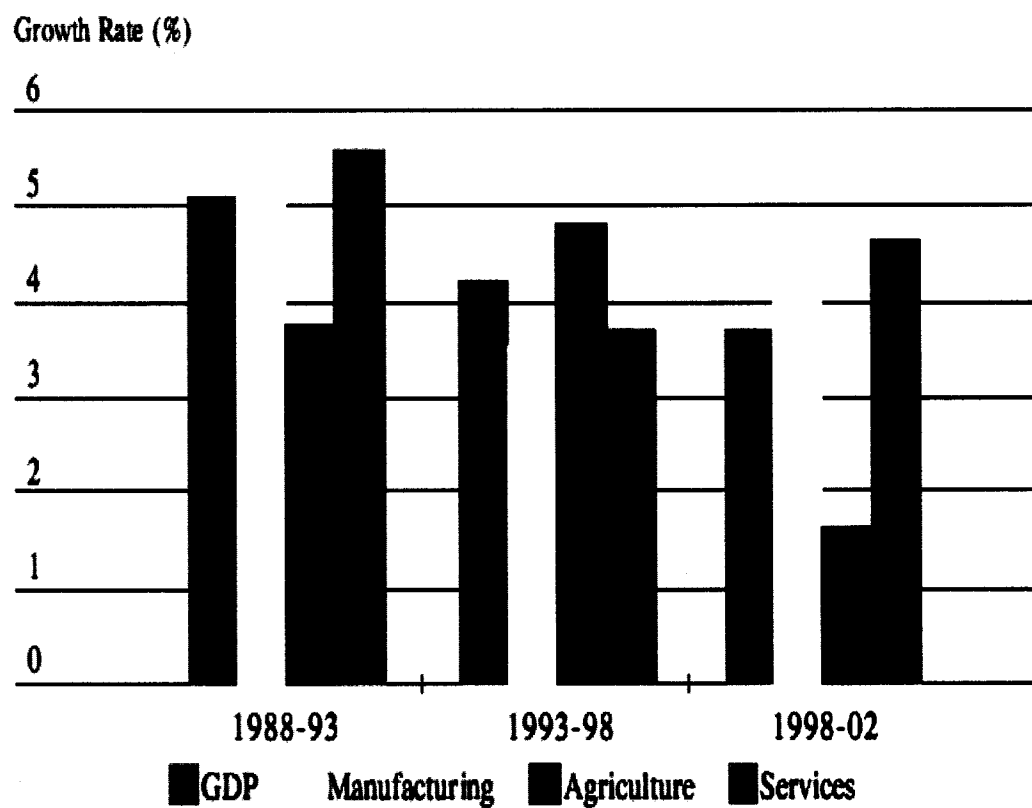
Table 7: Growth of GDP & Industrial Sector

	1960's	1970's	1980's	1999's	1999-00	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03*
GDP	6.8	4.8	6.5	4.6	3.9	2.6	3.4	5.1
Manufacturing	9.9	5.5	8.2	4.8	1.4	7.1	5.0	7.7

Source: I. Federal Bureau of Statistics Government of Pakistan P = Provisional

ii. Population Census Organization

Figure 3.1 Sectoral Growth Rates in the 1990s



Source: Government of Pakistan, *Economic Survey*, Various Issues.

APPENDIX G

PRESENTATION

MADRASSAH – ISLAMIC EDUCATION INSTITUTION

Madrassah means Islamic education institution or Islamic school.

PURPOSE

To

- **Explore the effect and contribution of madrassah education to the socio-economic development of the state.**
- **Investigate the perceptions of madrassah graduates, teachers, and administrators about the goals of madrassah education**
- **Examine career paths adopted by madrassah graduates**

The purpose of this study is to learn about the role of madrassahs in Pakistani economic development.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Historical Background

- **Madrassahs as centers of teaching and learning for religious and spiritual growth and training of Islamic scholars and clerics in the Islamic civilization (Singer, 2001)**
- **Madrassahs as autonomous organizations (Coulson, 2004). Haqqani, 2002; Marshall & Daniszewski, 2001; Rashid 1999)**

I conducted a literature review mainly focusing on the historical background and development of the madrassahs, the type of curriculum followed in the madrassahs, and the contemporary discourse around madrassah education.

Islamic madrassahs in Pakistan had their origin about thousand years back. The madrassahs were established as centers of teaching and learning for the education and training of Islamic scholars and clerics. The establishment of madrassahs was centered on the vision to provide religious and spiritual growth as well as imparting relevant knowledge and training for conducting the affairs of the worldly life. Historically the Islamic seminaries have prepared experts in Islamic law, scholars, religious clerics, and public servants. Madrassahs have always acted as autonomous private organizations operating independently of government in terms of finances and administration. The expenses of the madrassah were met from the revenue earned from large estate given as endowments. Madrassahs were set up in the subcontinent with the advent of the Muslim rule and flourished during Muslim dynasty.

SECTARIAN VIOLENCE

- **Some madrassahs indoctrinate their students with an extremist ideology based on intolerance and bigotry against other Islamic sects (schools of thoughts) (Mehta & Schaffer, 2002; Jawad, 1999; Stern, 2000)**

About 10% of the madrassahs combine religious extremism with jihadi military training, which has a grave destabilizing effect on Pakistan and South Asian region. Research suggests that a number of madrassahs are fanning sectarian violence, further destabilizing the prospects of harmony and peaceful coexistence among various religious and ethnic communities in Pakistan. In addition, sectarian conflicts have a debilitating effect on the politics and economy of the country. Madrassahs are promoting violence, bigotry, and hatred among various Islamic sects in Pakistan, such as sunni and shia. Some madrassahs are operated by religious parties. A number of factors accounted for imparting a political and extremist character to madrassahs: the ulemas (scholars) joined politics and assumed powerful **positions** in the state. The military dictator of Pakistan General Zia-ul-Haq (1977-1987) supported madrassahs financially in order to obtain political support from the religious groups. The occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet army in 1979 also marked a new phase of madrassah development. New madrassahs were established with the help of foreign donations from rich individuals and Islamic charities. A small number of madrassahs, administered by right wing political parties, have been training their students for jihad in Afghanistan and Kashmir. They are indoctrinating their students with an extremist ideology based on intolerance and bigotry. However, a large number of madrassahs have been serving the most impoverished families in Pakistan, providing schooling, food, housing, and clothing for students who have do not have access to mainstream educational opportunities.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- **(a) What are the perceptions of madrassah administrators, teachers, and graduates about the purposes of madrassah education?**
- **(b) Why do parents send their children to madrassahs for education? What are the main factors influencing parents' decision about madrassah education?**
- **(c) What career options are adopted by these madrassahs graduates?**

The following questions guided me in tracking participants' perceptions, views, and feelings about the purposes of madrassahs education and its role in their religious, social, and economic spheres.

RESEARCH METHODS

CASE STUDY METHOD

- a) Document Review**
- b) Qualitative Inquiry**

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS: SOURCES

- **Library Resources**
- **Databases (EBSCO, PIAS, ERIC)**
- **Reports (UNDP, USAID, WORLDBANK)**
- **Documents (Ministry of Education, Pakistani Govt., Madrassah documents)**
- **Academic Journals, Online Pakistani & international newspapers**

The methodology that I adopted was to conduct a case study of the madrassah education system in the rural areas of southern Punjab. Conducting a case study allowed me to better understand how the madrassah system operates and functions. The objective of the in-depth analyses was to link the madrassah system to socioeconomic factors by assessing its effect on the lives of the people who are a part of this education system. The study used qualitative research methods in order to explain the nature of relationship between madrassah education and state development in rural Punjab. Library resources at Saint Mary's and Dalhousie University were utilized, particularly the databases EBSCO, PIAS, ERIC & various UNDP, USAID and World Bank reports. Government documents from the ministry of education, government of Pakistan, academic journals, online Pakistani and international newspapers, and other secondary data were also consulted for this study. Secondary data on types, functions of curriculum used at different madrassahs (internet sources) Government documents related to education policy and sector reform (internet sources and personal contacts)

I am a Pakistani national and was brought up in southern Punjab. I travel frequently to visit my relatives and friends in those areas. Therefore, I have access to the latest information about the madrassah education in my area.

Document Analysis

- **Government documents related to education policy and sector reform (internet sources and personal contacts)**
- **Secondary data on types, functions of curriculum used at different madrassahs (internet sources)**

Specifically this research involved collection and analysis of the following data (read from the slide).

Qualitative Methods

DATA COLLECTION

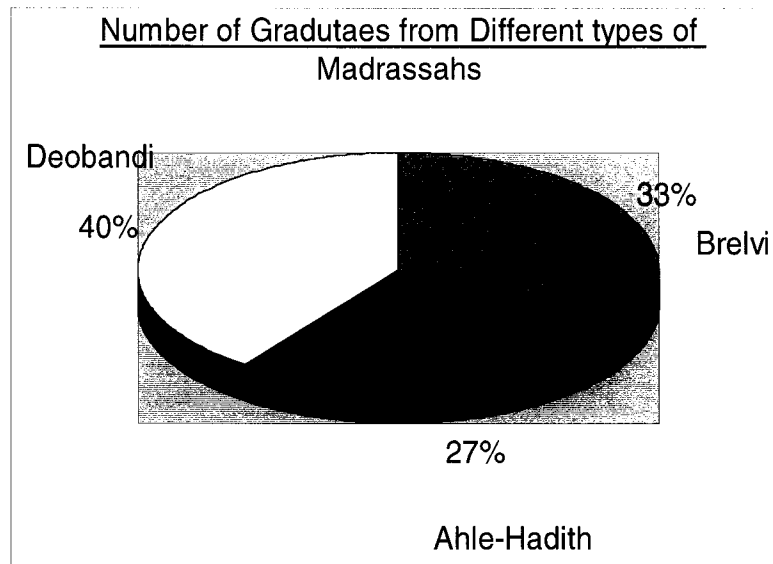
- **Surveys**
- **Visits to madrassahs**
- **Conversations with various
madrassah and local community
members**

Data was obtained through surveys, visits to the six selected madrassahs and conversations with various madrassah and local community members

PARTICIPANTS

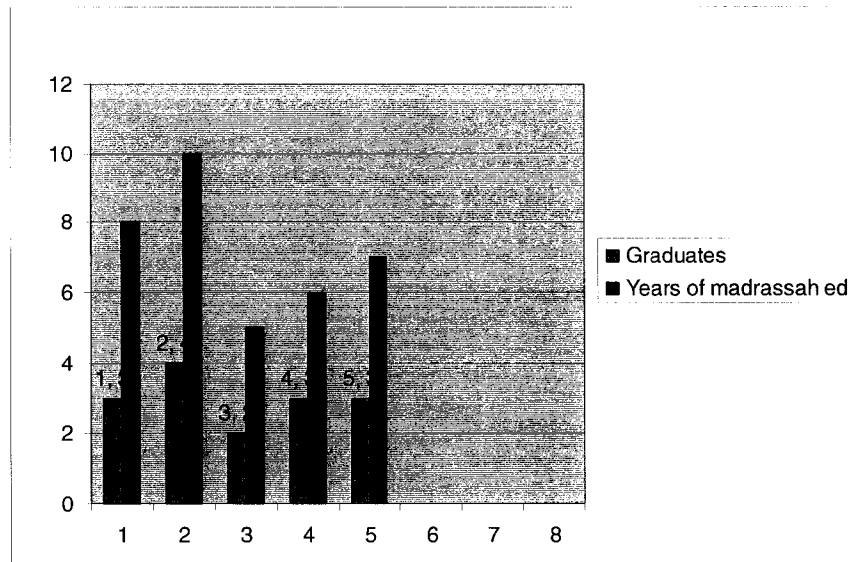
- **All males**
- **five madrassah administrators,**
- **five teachers, and**
- **fifteen graduates**
of the six selected madrassahs
- **Age range: 18 – 68 years**
- **Mostly low income group**

The participants were all males (the study was conducted in the rural areas of District Khushab where only male students are enrolled in madrassahs; coeducation does not exist in these madrassahs; the teachers and administrators are also males). The age of the participants ranged from 18 to 68 years. They ranged from working class (low income group) to middle class from different sects/schools of thoughts.



Six graduates from Deobandi madrassahs, 4 from Ahle-Hadith and 5 from Brelvi madrassahs participated in this case study.

GRADUATES: YEARS OF MADRASSAH EDUCATION



The madrassah graduates who participated in this case study spent 7.5 years on average in madrassahs. The number of years of madrassah education varied between six to ten years. Average numbers of years spent in madrassahs were around 7.5 years. Some of them either joined their respective madrassahs after receiving basic education in local government schools or left madrassahs in middle school to pursue secondary and higher secondary education in formal education institutions.

EDUCATION STATISTICS IN PUNJAB

Years 2001-2002 (in millions)			
School Age Group	School Age Population	Enrolled Children	Out of School Children
5-9 Years	11.23	6.34	4.89
10-12 Years	6.30	1.55	4.75
13-14 Years	3.30	0.64	2.66
10-14 Years	9.60	2.19	7.41
15-16 Years	2.93	0.29	2.64

This table indicates that the literacy rate is decreasing every year. Out of School ratio of age group 10-14 years is going up. In other words, out of 9.60 million students in 10-14 years age range, only about 2 million are going to school and around 7.41 million children do not even go to school. This means that 77.18 percent 10-14 year olds do not finish high school.

Profile of Six Madrassahs of Northern Punjab

Madrassah	Curriculum: Subjects	Highest certificate awarded	Career paths adopted by the graduates
Darul Alum Brelvi I	Religious curriculum	Certificate (10 years of study)	Join a madrassah or mosque around their village and teach children
Darul Alum Brelvi II	Religious and formal education curriculum	Certificate (10 years of study)	Teaching, medicine, engineering, army, business, etc.
Darul Ulum Deoband I	Religious curriculum	Certificate (10 years of study)	Teach and preach in madrassahs and local mosques
Darul Ulum Deoband II	Religious and formal curriculum	Certificate (10 years of study)	Teach Islamic studies in government schools and local madrassahs
Darul Ulum Ahl-e-Hadith I	Religious curriculum	Certificate (10 years of study)	Teach in a mosque or small madrassahs around their village
Darul Ahl-e-Hadith II	Religious curriculum	Certificate (10 years of study)	Teach in mosques or engage in farming and agriculture

Four out of six madrassahs included in this case study follow their own particular religious (deeni) curricula. Two madrassahs, however, follow religious as well as the formal curriculum used in government schools. The religious curriculum tends to focus on (a) teaching students how to read and recite the Holy Quran without meaning, (b) memorization of the Quranic text (*hifz*), (c) reading of the Holy Quran with correct pronunciation and prescribed principles (*tajweed-o-qirat*), (e) teaching of Hadith, (f) teaching of Fiqh, and (g) other religious courses based on Dars-i-Nizami. Some madrassahs have also included Tafseer – teaching the Quranic text with translation and its interpretation. The madrassah administrators and teachers shared several unique reasons for their choice of madrassah curriculum.

RELIGIOUS CURRICULUM: GOALS

- “Only religious education is good.”
- Public and secular education takes students away from their religion
- “Worldly education” is not compatible with religious education. Modern education affects people’s religious orientation and motivation negatively.
- Lack of funds to include formal subjects. Inability to afford salaries of teachers teaching modern subjects

The madrassahs that are also imparting formal education alongside religious education are doing so in order to prepare their students “to join any profession of their choice.” They have presented both options to their students so that they could pursue their education further after leaving the madrassahs. On the other hand, the teachers and administrators of madrassahs that follow only their own particular “deeni” (religious) curriculum, cited diverse and interesting reasons for using only religious curriculum.

Purpose of Madrassah Education

In participants' view the purpose of madrassah education is to:

- **Teach Islamic values and morality**
- **Learn to read and recite the Quran**
- **Memorization of the Holy Quran**
- **Character building**
- **Produce good human beings for the society**
- **Develop “good” Muslims**
- **Inculcate ethics and respect for elders**
- **Impart literacy skills**
- **Impart both religious and modern education to enable the students to join various professions in the society**

- **Poverty and difficult economic conditions were cited as the most important reasons for going to madrassahs by majority of the participants**

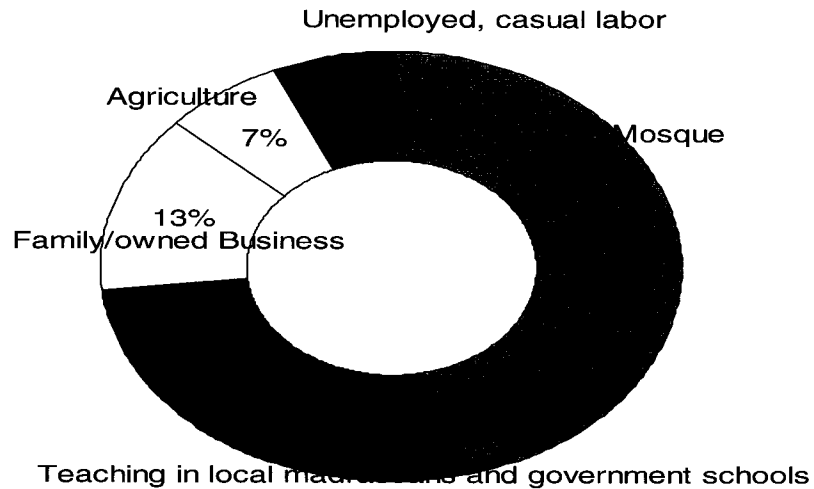
MADRASSAH AS A WELFARE INSTITUTION

- 12 out of 15 graduates said that their madrassahs provided them with food and free boarding and lodging facilities.
- 3 graduates said that they stayed with their families and went to madrassah to get religious training
 - **None of them paid any fee for their education and religious training**

Funding for Madrassahs

- All the 25 participants said that madrassahs receive financial support from local communities and affluent community members.
- They also said that madrassahs do not charge any tuition fee and only provided free education along with free food and boarding facilities.

Career Trajectories of Madrassah Graduates



The data presented in this section suggests that madrassah graduates mostly join mosques and other madrassahs as teachers or priests. They teach children about fundamental principles of Islam and how to read the Quran; also helping them to memorize the Quranic text. Most of them they do not participate in any economic activities in their communities, while some of them take up careers related to teaching, business, and agriculture.

Madrassah Education & Development

- All the participants emphasized the role of education in national development.
- Madrassah education is important for understanding the religion and gaining literacy skills
- Most said that madrassahs should include formal education also
- Vocational training also
- Most said that the government should provide training and salaries to madrassah teachers. “Higher salaries” from the government would help them to meet family needs and expenses.

POLICY RECCOMENDATIONS FOR REFORMING MADRASSAHS

- **Teaching of English, Economics, Mathematics, Computer Science and Pakistan Studies at Secondary level in 140 outstanding madrassahs**
- **Training madrassah teachers in formal education through Workshops**
- **Equipping Libraries of madrassahs with modern books**
- **Educating about one million students of 5000 madrassahs in formal subjects at Secondary and Higher Secondary School level to enable them to continue their studies in colleges and universities.**

The government of Pakistan has initiated several mechanisms to integrate madrassahs with the mainstream formal education system, since both systems are running parallel to each other with minimal or no contact. Religious madrassahs are autonomous institutions their curricula are developed independently “in consultation with their scholars and ulemas”. The government commissioned a working group to develop measures to facilitate integration of the two systems. The report produced by the working group on religious madrassahs contends that a variety of curricula are being used by various madrassahs in the country; “the variety of curricula leads to variety of output and sectarian groupings.”

The government has provided the following “incentives” to the madrassahs.

CONCLUSION

- Literacy rate is low in Pakistan (44%)
- Per capita income around (\$450)
- All the madrassahs provide free education, boarding, food, and clothing to students
- Madrassah graduates **mostly** tend to join other madrassahs and mosques as teachers, where they teach Islamic studies to children from the local communities
- Some teach Islamic studies and Arabic at public schools

The Education Sector in Pakistan suffers from insufficient financial input, low levels of efficiency for implementation of programs, and poor quality of management, monitoring, supervision and teaching. As a result, Pakistan has one of the lowest rates of literacy in the world, and the lowest among countries of comparative resources and social/economic situations. With a per capita income of over \$450 Pakistan has an adult literacy rate of 44%, while both Vietnam and India with less per capita income have literacy rates of 94% and 52%, respectively.

The analysis of the findings related to the six madrassahs located in northern Punjab suggest that all of these madrassahs provide free education and basic facilities, such as boarding, food, and clothing to students from the most disadvantaged sections of the rural areas. The average number of students enrolled in these madrassahs is 95-100 students. Each year about 50-60 students graduate from these madrassahs. They mostly tend to join other madrassahs and mosques as teachers, where they teach Islamic studies to children from the local communities.

CONCLSION

- The majority of the graduates from these madrassahs do not tend to participate in the economic activities in the state
- The government is making efforts to integrate madrassah education with formal public education
- Most of the participants were also in favour of having both religious and formal education in madrassahs

This shows that they do not generally participate in mainstream economic activities. Thus they do not contribute to the economic development of the state. Madrassah education in Pakistan further alienates people from the most disadvantageous sections of the society by creating a welfare system, which does not prepare its students to join the mainstream sections of the society.

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- The Daily Times
<http://www.dailytimes.com.pk>
- The Nation
<http://www.nawaiwaqt.com/>
- The Daily Jang
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- Paknews online
<http://www.paknews.com>
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http://www.geo.tv/main_files_u/index.html

Electronic Media (online)

- Reuters
<http://www.reuters.com/>
- BBC
<http://www.bbc.co.uk>
- CNN
<http://www.cnn.com/>
- CNBC
<http://www.msnbc.msn.com/Default.aspx?id=3032542&p1=0>
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- Arab News

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- Times of India

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Saint Mary's University

Certificate of Ethical Acceptability of Research Involving Human Subjects

This is to certify that the Research Ethics Board has examined the research proposal or other type of study submitted by:

Principal Investigator: Aga Khan


Name of Research Project: Madrassah Education and State Development in Pakistan: A Case Study of the Rural Areas of Southern Punjab

REB File Number: 04-103

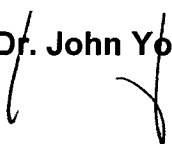
and concludes that in all respects the proposed project meets appropriate standards of ethical acceptability and is in accordance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement on the Conduct of Research Involving Humans.

Please note that for "ongoing research", approval is only effective for one year from the date approved. If your research project takes longer than one year to complete, submit Form #3 (Annual Report) to the REB at the end of the year and request an extension. You are also required to submit Form #5 (Completion of Research) upon completion of your research.

Date:

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Signature of REB Chair:


Dr. John Young